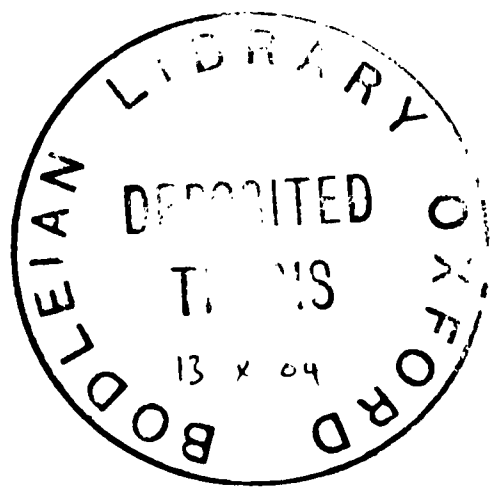
"Parish, People and the English Bible in East Anglia, 1525-1560"



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SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the impact of the English Bible upon the people and parishes of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex between 1525 and 1560. It examines two major themes of this impact: firstly, the level of success of the installation of the Great Bible in the parish churches; secondly, the effects of the publication and open reading of the scriptures in the vernacular upon the laity of East Anglia. The first theme explains the reasons for the order to install English scripture in the churches, and the information on the success of this installation provided by prosecution records and churchwardens' accounts. It then introduces an obscure document set, the church-plate certificates produced during the reign of Edward VI, and using these examines the level of installation of the Bible and of the religious injunctions of 1547. The results of the study of the church-plate certificates and churchwardens' accounts are compared with a number of factors, including parish wealth, proximity to towns and agricultural patterns, to determine which types of parishes were more likely to comply. The second theme examines the various responses of laypersons to the appearance of the English Bible in East Anglia. Although much of this section has been derived from records of prosecution, it also studies the effects of the English Bible on diverse events such as Kett's Rebellion of 1549, popular printing in Ipswich and the production of educational primers. This section also looks at the level of scriptural knowledge of laypersons ranging from that of Robert Reynys, a churchreeve of Acle, of the 1430's, to that of the prosecuted Marian Protestants during the 1550's.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses two major issues concerning the impact of the English vernacular Bible in East Anglia during the period between 1525, the year of the publication of the first Tyndale New Testament, and 1558, the death of Queen Mary and the end of the Marian Counter-Reformation. The first is the impact of the availability of the scriptures upon the lay population of the area. The second is the success or failure of the attempt by the Henrician and Edwardian Church to install the Great Bible in the parish churches, concentrating upon the installation in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Throughout this dissertation, I will chiefly examine these three counties; however, in some sections, either through of a lack of evidence or a necessity to examine the national situation, I will need to look at other areas in England and Wales.

Chapter 1 examines vernacular Bibles and their reception during the period before 1525. In the first section of the chapter, the national history of pre-Conquest vernacular Bibles written in Anglo-Saxon or Irish is studied. The next section deals with the decline in the production of vernacular Bibles in England, as contrasted with the situation in Continental Europe, and discusses how this decline affected Lollard and Reformation views of the English Bible. It also examines two late-medieval East Anglian translations of small sections of the scriptures. The third section focuses upon lay knowledge of the Bible in late-medieval East Anglia, and in particular the methods by which laypersons might be able to access the text of the scriptures. I also discuss the cases of three persons of fifteenth-century Norfolk—Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe and Robert Reynys—and comment upon the scriptural knowledge of each as depicted in their writings. In the final section the impact of the Wycliffite Bible is examined. The ownership of the Wycliffite Bible by orthodox laypersons and

clerics is studied alongside the opposition to the text. Finally, the use of the Wycliffite Bible by detected Lollards in Norfolk and Suffolk during Bishop Alnwick's prosecutions is studied.

Chapter 2 first examines the reaction of the Henrician church to the publication of Tyndale's New Testament, and the forms in which this reaction took place. The distribution and reading of the Tyndale Bible in East Anglia is studied, as well as the main arguments made by church leaders against the production of English scriptures. Henry VIII's change in attitude towards the English Bible, and the reasons why he decided to licence the Bible and to install it into the parish churches, will then be discussed. The mechanics of the installation of the Great Bible are also studied, in addition to the difficulties faced by church authorities in ensuring that the installation would be uniformly enforced. The final section of the chapter examines the records (apart from the church-plate certificates) which contain evidence about the success or failure of the distribution of the Bible, in particular archidiaconal court records and churchwardens' accounts. This argues that, although these records display only a very fragmentary picture of the state of the Bible in parish churches, they suggest that the introduction of the Bible was far from universal.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus upon the installation of the Bible in the parish churches, and particularly upon how church-plate certificates, the records of parish alienation of valuables made between 1547 and 1552, in combination with the churchwardens' accounts can help to identify trends in the fulfilment of the obligations outlined in the 1538 and 1547 religious injunctions. Chapter 3 describes the differing forms of the church-plate certificates in East Anglia as opposed to the nation as a whole, and also attempts to explain why the certificates take their three distinctive forms dating from 1548, 1550/51 and 1552. It also addresses the question

of churchwardens' accounts, how these records relate to the certificates, and how the accounts can be used in tandem with the certificates in examining the level of scriptural installation in the parishes. Lastly the question of whether the church-plate certificates can be used to identify parishes which did and did not possess the Bible before 1547 and, if so, how the information of the certificates can be correctly used, is addressed.

Chapter 4 first examines how previous authors have viewed and used the certificates. It then moves on to a detailed analysis of the data contained in the church-plate certificates in each county. This analysis identifies a number of key factors in the study of the data: namely the amount of plate and valuables sold by each parish; the amount of money gained by each parish spent upon "necessary" changes and repairs to the church fabric; and whether any of these expenditures involved fulfillment of any part of the requirements of the 1547 Injunctions, or, most importantly, whether a Bible was purchased with this money. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a series of tests made from this data, to examine whether any trends can be found within it, and to identify whether these trends can be explained by social, economic or religious factors. The chapter concludes with a summary of the analysis and a cautionary note that the conclusions are mostly drawn from extrapolations of indirect data.

Chapter 5 returns to the study of the impact of the printed English Bible upon the laypersons of East Anglia, focusing upon the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII and the reign of Edward VI. The first half of the chapter examines the indifference of many persons to the installation of the Great Bible, and the effects of Henry's policies towards the reading of scripture after 1541. This study also examines the handful of prosecutions which occurred in East Anglia for offences

relating to the Bible between 1541 and 1547, and attempts to explain how the apparently reactionary Act of Six Articles in 1541 actually strengthened the position of the English Bible by allowing evangelicals to continue to use the text. The second half of the chapter examines the impact of the Bible in East Anglia during the reign of Edward, by looking at three separate facets of the text. The first studies patterns of printing in the town of Ipswich, which proved not only to be strong in its Protestant tone, but also very protective of the English Bible. The second looks at the place of Christian teaching, including the Bible, in Kett's Rebellion of 1549. Finally, two radical Protestant sects active in the region, the Free-will men and the Anabaptists, and their connection to vernacular scripture, are examined. A final section examines various avenues which illiterate person might use towards the understanding of the English Bible, including primers, sermons, painting, singing and listening to ale-house gospellers.

The sixth and final chapter deals with the history of the English Bible during the reign of Mary and the first few years of the reign of Elizabeth. The first part of the section is an overview of the Marian reaction to the vernacular Bible, the assumptions behind its rejection, and the motivations of those Marian Catholics who supported the vernacular Bible. This section chiefly examines proclamations and printed works attacking the English Bible, and connects these works with other orthodox Catholic writings and doctrinal comments made both about the Wycliffite Bible and the Tyndale Bible during the reign of Henry VIII. The fate of East Anglian parish Bibles during the reign of Mary is examined. The use of churchwardens' accounts and prosecution records shows that many parishes were able to retain their Bibles throughout the reign, and to display these texts again at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The bulk of the chapter is concerned with the Marian prosecutions

of East Anglian Protestants, and the role played by the English Bible in these cases. It first examines the cases in which the vernacular scriptures are central, and studies how the Bible was used by the defendants, whether as a work of devotion, or, as in some cases, as a symbol of true religion. It then moves on to those cases in which the text of the Bible was quoted or alluded to by the prosecuted, and examines how scripture was used in their defence. The cases in which scripture is neither quoted nor explicitly mentioned are then studied, and the motivation of the defendants in each of these cases is considered. Throughout this section various themes concerning the English Bible are examined, such as the role of women in the dissemination of scripture, the tendency towards reading the Bible in groups, and the activities of separatist Protestant religious communities. In the final section of the chapter, the situation of the English Bible during the early years of Elizabeth's reign is briefly studied. In particular the relatively slow process of the return of vernacular scriptures is considered, and the use of Biblical knowledge as a test for laypersons is addressed.

REMARKS

September 26, 2001

It is often said that writing a dissertation is one of the loneliest of occupations: the days and weeks spent at the library, the record office, at the computer are indeed lonely at times. However, if it is lonely work, it has not been accomplished alone. Though my name appears on the title page, there is a large group of people without whom this dissertation would never have been completed.

Without the encouragement of Ronald Linker, Daniel Beaver and especially Benjamin Hudson at Pennsylvania State University, I would not have thought it possible for me to continue my studies in history. At the University of Toronto, Julian Dent and Ken Bartlett were instrumental in helping me apply to Oxford. Along the way I received good advice from J. M. Beattie at Toronto, Simon Green and Anthony Wright at the University of Leeds, and Claire Cross at the University of York.

Since the University of Oxford is first and foremost a community of scholars, it should come as little surprise that my colleagues there were of the greatest help. Both this dissertation and my understanding of history in general were aided by my conversations with fellow students; in particular, Helen Parish, Alec Ryrie and Tim Watson were of enormous help. As much of this dissertation is concerned with texts and reading, discussions with my wife's colleagues in the English Department were also of great value, and here I would like to thank Julie Cooper, Carl Phelpstead and my wife's supervisor, Heather O'Donaghue. Suggestions, advice and general encouragement were provided by many members of the History Faculty, notably by Martin Ingram, Ian Archer and Simon Gunn. Special mention should be made of my secondary supervisor, Diarmaid MacCulloch, who was always ready with an answer to any question I might ask. My college, Jesus College, provided the finances for me to attend several conferences, which were also of great use. Niall Ferguson, my college advisor, provided me with encouragement when I was at a particularly low ebb.

I would be remiss if I did not mention two other academics who helped at crucial junctures: Beat Kümin, formerly of Cambridge, and A. Hassell Smith, formerly of the University of East Anglia. I should also mention two staff members of the Modern History Faculty at Oxford, Hubert Stadler and Simon Ellis, who provided invaluable help.

The last two years have proved a difficult time for me both as a student and a person. The support of others during this time has been extremely important. My financial difficulties were eased by employment at Jesus College and St. Edmund Hall. Brigid Allen at Jesus College provided both work and encouragement to finish my dissertation; Phillippa Tarver at Jesus and Lori Baker and Sam Day at SEH were all friendly co-workers. During this time the Rev. Bruce Gillingham and the Rev. Andrew Moore were of great aid. I owe an unpayable debt to Kevin B., Mary H., Maureen O., and, especially, to John R.

My family has been of immeasurable support during my work at Oxford. I would most of all like to thank my parents, Larry and Becca, for their help, especially for supporting me through the last four months of work on this dissertation, and to my late grandmother, Irene, for her constant encouragement. Though my family was often an ocean away when I worked, yet they were always with me.

I have saved the most important help in my thesis to last. The job of academic supervisor is never easy, especially for those who supervise "difficult" students such as myself. How much more difficult this job was for someone who served as Senior Tutor of her college, and latterly as Head of the Modern History Department. But, no matter how often I needed help, Felicity Heal was always there. Though at times I perhaps resented Dr. Heal's constant calls to me for absolute academic rigour, I can now look back and say that her demands only came out of a desire to help. I can only thank her for what she has done for me.

Lastly, I want to thank my wife Siân. She encouraged me immensely, both directly and by completing her own dissertation. She represents to me an ideal scholar: a person who is both enthusiastic about her study and yet able to carefully and without bias research and present her work. Though our marriage has not worked out, my life has become richer for knowing her.

I write these words only a few days after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington which took thousands of lives. Although the perpetrators of these outrages have not yet been positively identified, it is feared that these were actions carried out by religious extremists. I cannot close these remarks without noting that my dissertation also reflects in part the dangers of, and the deaths that have resulted from, religious extremism. In this light, this dissertation is also dedicated to all of those victims of religious extremism throughout the centuries.

Two notes are in order concerning this dissertation. The first is that all quotations from the Bible, unless otherwise marked, are from the Great Bible of 1539. The second is that references to churchwardens' accounts are to year and not to folio; these documents are typically unfoliated, and I have elected to treat them all the same way.

REMARKS CONCERNING THE REVISION

March 7, 2004

The last two years that I have spent in revising this dissertation have been, on a personal and academic level, very difficult ones. I have nearly as many persons to thank for helping me this time as I thanked in the last set of remarks.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my examiners, Christopher Haigh and Alexandra Walsham, both for their positive comments and for the constructive criticism. To have kind words said about my work by these two scholars is a compliment of the highest order. I have taken their suggestions about the improvement of this dissertation to heart, and I hope that I have amended this work in a positive way.

The greatest hurdle I faced academically over the previous two years was the difficulty of access to libraries. While I lived in Los Angeles, I was able to use the Huntington Library. I thank Robert Muller for providing reference, and Christopher Adde for orienting me with the Library. After my move to Lewiston, New York, I was once again able to use the University of Toronto library system which I had used as an M.A. student. I thank Lari Langford for helping to obtain a library card for me, and, in an oblique way, the U.S. and Canadian customs services for taking me at my word on my frequent visits to Toronto.

In the summer of 2002, my mother was diagnosed with cancer of the liver. As a consequence I decided to move back to the East Coast from Los Angeles. Many people were helpful to me during this critical time. I would like to thank my co-workers at Marymount, Linda Holland and Leeann Thompson, for supporting me during the first few months, and the president of Marymount, Thomas McFadden, for being supportive of my search for employment. I thank Larry Johnson, Don Bielecki, and Howard Morgan for giving me a chance to work at Niagara University in Niagara Falls, New York. I also thank everyone here at Niagara, especially Wade Hart, Christine O'Hara, Christine Dunets, and Sharon Hardenstine, for their support of me, particularly during the long nights I have spent in the office both working on research for the university and on this dissertation. I would especially like to thank my friend Leigh Pilgrim for her constant encouragement, and for being there during many of my frequent visits to Toronto. But, most of all, I thank all of the people who have supported my mother during her struggle—the doctors and oncologists at Lancaster General Hospital in Pennsylvania, her friends, and her family. Their support has been encouraging to me as well.

There are two people I thank above all during these last eighteen months. The first is my supervisor Felicity Heal. Without her encouragement at crucial times, I do not know how I could have finished this revision. She has been so remarkably patient, especially during the past six months, even when I do not think I deserved her help.

The other is my mother, Rebecca. Throughout her diagnosis and treatment she has been so strong, and her strength has been an encouragement to us all.

One last note is in order. During my revision work, I have used the 1843-49 edition of Acts and Monuments, as this edition was the only one available to me at the libraries at Huntington, Toronto, and Pennsylvania State.

DEDICATION

To all those who have helped me along the way.

To Felicity Heal.

To my parents.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A and M	J. Foxe (eds. S. R. Cattley and G. Townshend), Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: with a life of the martyrologist, and a vindication of the work by George Townshend (8 vols.), (London 1843-49).
APC	J. Dasent (ed.), Acts of the Privy Council of England, new series (1542-1628), (London 1890).
BL	British Library
CHB	P. R. Ackroyd, C. F. Evans, G. W. H. Lumpe and S. L. Greenslade (eds.), The Cambridge History of the Bible (3 vols.), (Cambridge 1963-70).
CSPD (1547-53)	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Edward VI (1547-53), ed. C. S. Knighton, (London 1992).
CSPD (1553-58)	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Mary I (1553-58), ed. C. S. Knighton, (London 1998).
CWA	Churchwardens' account (in footnotes only)
Kempe	Kempe, M., (ed. S. B. Meech) The book of Margery Kempe : the text from the unique ms. owned by W. Butler-Bowdon, Early English Text Society (Oxford 1940).
English Bibles	A. S. Herbert (ed.), A Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525-1961 (London and New York 1968).
L and P	J. S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie (eds.), Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere (24 vols.), (London 1920).
MS	Manuscript
PRO	Public Record Office
RO	Record Office (used for regional and county record offices)

RSTC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds.) (2nd edition edited by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katherine F. Pantzer), A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and English Books Printed Abroad, (London 1988).
Strype	J. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials; relating chiefly to religion, and the reformation of it... (3 vols.), (Oxford 1822).
TRP	P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, Tudor Royal Proclamations (3 vols.), (New Haven, CT 1964-69).

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I, Gregory Duke, candidate for D.Phil in the School of Modern History, hereby declare that this dissertation is wholly a product of my own original research, and that I have written this dissertation wholly by myself. No part of this thesis has been published elsewhere, or has ever been released in another form, save *as per* requirements for my Probationary Research Student courses.

I also hereby confirm that this dissertation, exclusive of bibliography, comprises fewer than 100,000 words, and thereby meets the requirements of the School of Modern History.

Signature: _____

(Gregory Duke)

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation addresses the introduction of the English vernacular Bible into the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, a region that will be called for reasons of convenience East Anglia, between 1525, the year of the publication of the first printed Bible in English, and 1560. It examines two major issues: the reception of the Bible in the parishes, and the impact of the Bible on the laity. Firstly, how successfully was the order to install the Great Bible in the parish churches of East Anglia completed? Secondly, what effect did the publication and eventual licence of the English Bible have upon the lay population of the region? These broad questions are connected to a number of others. The reasons for Henry VIII's decision to promote the scriptures will be examined. The state of the English Bible prior to the Reformation, the forms of access to the Bible—including for those who were illiterate—and the effect of the Marian reaction upon the reading of the Bible will also be examined. Most notably, a method will be proposed for assessing the success of Bible dissemination in the parishes of East Anglia in the mid-sixteenth century.

The genesis of this dissertation lay in an MA dissertation on Sir John Cheke's "pure English" Bible of 1551, which I completed at the University of Toronto. Cheke claimed that his "Anglo-Saxon" translation was necessary because the "Latinate" Tyndale Bible and its successors were not understood by the majority of the population, and therefore had little impact on most laypersons. While Cheke's assumption that the language of the Tyndale Bible was difficult for many to understand was probably false—his own "pure English" translation proved more incomprehensible than any other post-Wycliffite version— the second part of his claim bears further examination. Cheke expressed concern about the lack of impact the printed Bible had on the laity, but was he correct in his pessimistic assessment?

Cheke was undoubtedly right in asserting that not all of the population was affected by the private reading of English scripture: perhaps as few as 20 *per cent* were able to read, and many of these persons may not have had the skill to comprehend the difficult text of the Bible.[1] However, the illiterate population may have been able to find other ways of learning about the English Bible, such as through sermons or Bible-reading groups.

1. The impact of the English Bible on the population of England.

The first subject which will be addressed in this dissertation is the broad issue of how well the lay population as a whole was able to interpret and understand the English Bible, and to what extent the laity accepted and read the text. It is, of course, impossible to answer this with precision: the popularity and level of understanding of the English Bible varied widely, and surviving records do not provide crucial information about the reading and dissemination of scriptures. The paucity of information available, and the great disparity evident in documentation which does exist, has led, perhaps inevitably, to fierce debate about the nature of the impact of the Bible in mid-sixteenth century England. This section will provide an overview of three of the more lively fields of recent debate on the subject of the English Bible.

a. Henry VIII and the English Bible.

The obvious starting-point for this historiographical study is the decision by Henry VIII to not only license the vernacular Bible, but also to actively support its distribution and reading, by requiring the installation of the Great Bible in the parish churches. The royal view of the merit, importance and theological implications of the scripture in English has been a matter of serious debate for over a century.

In Chapter 2 two of the newer, closely related, theories about Henry VIII's

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[1]D. Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order (London 1980), 32.

attitudes to the Bible will be discussed: firstly, the contention that he supported the Bible to further "obedience doctrine," and, secondly, the contention that the book of the Bible in English itself was an integral part of the promotion of the Royal Supremacy. Obedience doctrine, as explained by Rex in his survey of the king and Bible, refers to the relationship between submission and duty to the secular leaders of the state and certain sections of Christian doctrine, most notably the Fourth Commandment.[2] Rex implies that the understanding of the text of the scripture was critical in persuading the laity into an acceptance of the Supremacy. Running counter to this argument is the theory posited by J. N. King and MacCulloch that the presence of the Bible itself—more specifically, the significant royal imagery of the frontispieces of the authorised versions—was more important to the enforcement of the Supremacy than were words of the scripture.[3] Both of these theories assume that the Bible enjoyed some measure of ecclesiastical and governmental support from 1535 until the end of Henry's reign. As this thesis will contend, since the king was the one constant political force of the reign, that implies that the English Bible received more or less constant support from the crown.

How was this historiographical point reached? Ironically, contemporary Protestant propagandists were quick to point to Henry VIII as the guiding force behind the English Bible, and not necessarily for reasons of political expediency. In East Anglia, John Ramsey equated Henry's break with Rome with the freeing of vernacular scripture from "Romish captivity."[4] Taking their cue from the frontispieces of the Bibles themselves, many Protestant authors depicted the king in

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[2]R. Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation," Historical Journal, vol. 39 no. 2 (1996), 864-67, 883.

[3]J. N. King, Tudor Royal Iconography: literature and art in an age of religious crisis (Princeton, NJ 1989), 54; D. N. J. MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer: a life (New Haven, CT 1996), 238-40; J. N. King, English Reformation Literature: the Tudor origins of the Protestant tradition (Princeton, NJ 1982), 166.

[4]See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Ramsey's Protestant propaganda.

Old Testament terms, as the new David or Josiah who had brought the laws of God to the people in their own language.[5] As late as 1912 Gairdner was able to write that, on all matters concerning the English Bible, "everything was...left to the Defender of the Faith."[6]

In due time, however, most historians drew a connection between the time periods of the most fervent promotion of the Bible and the fortunes of King Henry's closest evangelical advisors. Many came to the conclusion that, as A. F. Pollard succinctly put it, that the king "trusted to his advisors" on the subject of vernacular scriptures.[7] Though arguments have been made that Henry was persuaded by Anne Boleyn or Thomas Cranmer to accept the English Bible—and Boleyn and Cranmer were undoubtedly of importance in the efforts of the evangelicals in doing so[8]—most authors have credited Thomas Cromwell with being the force behind the Bible. After Elton had identified Cromwell as the all-powerful "first minister" of the 1530's, many historians sought to attribute the licencing and distribution of the Great Bible, the most significant tangible domestic move towards Protestant reformation during the decade, to him. "For good or ill," contended Dickens, "the early history of the English Bible" derived from Cromwell, the minister who helped produce the printed English Bible, promoted the text at court, and drafted the key legislation which authorised its reading.[9] Dickens portrayed the king as almost an innocent bystander in this process; later historians discounted the royal role even further, suggesting that the Bible was the "culmination" of concerted efforts by the vice-gerent, who "caused" the

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[5]J. N. King, English Reformation Literature, 166; MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer, 238-40.
[6]J. Gairdner, The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary (London 1912), 189.
[7]A. F. Pollard, Henry VIII (London 1902; 1951 edition), 303-04.
[8]S. Brigden, New Worlds, Lost Worlds: the rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603 (London 2000), 114; MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer, 225; M. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII (London 1986), 37.
[9]G. R. Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government: administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII (London 1953); A. G. Dickens, Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation (London 1964), 113-18.

Bible to be produced and installed in the parish churches.[10] Henry VIII, many argue, was himself indifferent, or even opposed to, the widespread distribution and reading of the English Bible; after the fall of Cromwell in 1540, when the evangelical faction no longer held sway, the advance of the vernacular Bible "was legally halted." Real royal support would have to wait until the reign of Edward VI.[11]

Some historians, perhaps struck by the incongruity of an demonstratably Catholic monarch supporting a text embraced by the evangelicals, have attempted to attribute non-religious motives to the king. Some have argued that Henry VIII's complicated foreign policy prompted some of his key pronouncements on the English Bible. Tjernagel has noted that the period of Henry's strongest support of the Bible, from 1538 to 1541, coincided with English attempts at securing an alliance with the German princes; McEntegert has more recently discussed similar moves being made towards the Protestant-leaning League of Schmalkalden. Both argue that Henry's support of the Bible during those years was at least partially driven by a need to find common religious ground with Protestant Continental powers.[12] On the other hand, Brigden has asserted that the 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion, which heavily restricted the reading of the English Bible, was partly a result of a sought alliance with the Holy Roman Empire against France.[13]

However, there are problems with the contention that King Henry was uninvolved in the decisions concerning the Bible, or that the Bible was introduced into England for political, not religious, reasons. Firstly, it is clear that the king held a

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[10]J. S. Block, Factional Politics and the English Reformation, 1520-1540 (Woodbridge 1993), 130-31; D. Christie-Murray, A History of Heresy (London 1976), 151.
[11]W. R. D. Jones, The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1539-1563 (New York 1973), 77; J. E. Booty, D. Siegenthaler and J. N. Wall, Jr., ""Introduction," in J. E. Booty D. Siegenthaler and J. N. Wall, Jr. (eds.), The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: great books of the English Reformation (Wilton, CT 1981), 10.
[12]N. S. Tjernagel, Henry VIII and the Lutherans: a study in Anglo-Lutheran relations from 1521 to 1547 (St. Louis, MO 1976), 181-89, 253; R. McEntegert, Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden, and the English Reformation (Woodbridge 2002), 135-36.
[13]Brigden, New Worlds, 137.

long-standing interest in the vernacular Bible. Henry made well-documented attempts as early as 1530 to authorise English scripture, but backed down after being "shocked [by the amount of] clerical opposition" to it. Though some have argued that the king's support stemmed from his need to bolster the case for his divorce, most agree that Henry did in fact understand current humanist arguments in favour of vernacular scripture.[14] King Henry was familiar with the humanist assertion that the reading of the Bible was vital for the education of the laity, and concern that the English Bible was not always being used as a solemn tool for teaching was often evident in his proclamations and speeches.[15] It is unlikely that Henry, who took the religious doctrine of the national church very seriously, even if, as Starkey has written, "in the later years neither he nor anyone else was quite sure that it was," would have left a matter of such grave importance as the English Bible in the hands of others.[16]

More importantly, however, the contention that the English Bible lacked royal support after the fall of the evangelical faction is flawed. The proclamation which imposed fines of forty shillings per month on parishes which did not install the Great Bible was made in 1541, after the fall of Cromwell. After the 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion, which removed many of the progressive religious advances of the 1530's—including the fully open reading of the Bible—the requirements imposed on the parish churches continued, and the reading of the text of the gospels during the divine service was maintained. Haigh has contended that Henry VIII "wanted to ditch" the Great Bible by 1542; by 1546 he threatened to make

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[14]J. J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, (Berkeley, CA and London 1968), 257; S. Doran and C. Durston, Princes, Pastors and People: the church and religion in England, 1529-1689 (London 1991), 57, Dowling, 37.

[15]C. J. Dries, Authority and Dissent in the English Church: the prosecution of heresy and religious non-conformity in the diocese of Winchester (London 1997), 175; G. Bernard, "The Piety of Henry VIII," in N. S. Amos, A. Pettegree, and H. van Nierop (eds.), The Education of a Christian Society: humanism and reformation in England and the Netherlands (Aldershot 1999), 85. For the most famous example of Henry's public displeasure about the lay treatment of the English Bible, see LP, vol. 20 (ii), no. 1031.

[16]D. Starkey, The Reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics (London 1985), 153.

the English Bible a relic, and Bishop Bonner burned vernacular scriptures as in "the good old days of Wolsey and Fisher."[17] Yet the king had the chance to effectively halt the official advance of the English Bible, and not only declined to do so, but instead confirmed its place in the church by forcing parish churches into purchasing it.[18]

Obviously, King Henry was not enthusiastic about the open, unchecked reading of the English Bible, nor did he support the text to the same extent that Cromwell and Cranmer did. However, it remains the case that, in the face of opposition from the king's conservative allies, Henry "allowed" the Protestants to keep the English Bible,[19] which poses a problem for historians of the English Reformation. Why did the generally conservative King Henry continue his support? This paradox will be addressed in Chapter II, section 2 of this dissertation.

b. The Catholic response to the English Bible.

The actions of the religious conservatives during the reign of Henry VIII lead to the broader question of the reaction of the orthodox Catholics to the appearance of the Bible in English. The propaganda of authors such as Barlow, Hoggarde and Standish and the prosecuting activities of the reign of Mary[20] have led many historians to assume that the Catholic response to the vernacular scriptures was uniformly negative and obstructionist. In Hughes' eyes, the momentum of the introduction of the English Bible was checked by the "anti-Lutheran party in Henry's counsels" in 1543, and these conservatives continued to attempt to hold back the

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[17]C. Haigh, English Reformations (Oxford 1993) 156, 166.
[18]As noted in Chapter 2, a great majority of parishes had not purchased the Great Bible by 1541. Without the threat of fines, it is possible that few parishes would have done so. See Chapters 2 and 3 for an analysis of the proclamations and an examination of the parish Bible purchases.
[19]R. O'Day, The Debate on the English Reformation (London 1986), 147-48.
[20]See Chapter 6.

Bible.[21] This opinion has been held by many, stretching all the way back to Foxe, who had depicted Catholic clerics such as Pole, Bonner and Gardiner as the unabashed opponents of the vernacular gospel.[22]

It has long been accepted, however, that many conservative humanists such as Thomas More and John Fisher who, at some point at least, were in favour of the English Bible in theory, if not necessarily in practice. In their opinion, the vernacular Bible was of value, but only when "purely translated," and when filtered through the teachings of the church.[23] Haigh contends, that, during the early years of Henry's reign, a similar view was held by the king himself.[24] Catholic attitudes were polarized by the appearance of the firmly "Protestant" Tyndale Bible and the licencing of its successors. Orthodox Catholics, already predisposed against the use of the vernacular after its use by the Lollards, were now alienated by the "Protestant fetishizing" of the text.[25] The reign of Mary was destined to see even more violent conflict concerning the English Bible, as the church linked use of the vernacular to Protestantism—even if, as is evident from prosecution records, knowledge of the text and reformed religion were not always indicative of each other.[26]

Yet the Catholic response to the advent of the English Bible seems even more complicated than the dictotomy between the humanists and the "traditionalist Catholics" would suggest. Increased examination of the vitality and nature of the Catholic church before and during the early years of the English Reformation has

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[21]P. Hughes, The Reformation in England (London 1950), vol. 2, 60.
[22]W. Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London 1963), 51-53.
[23]Dowling, 61; N. Jones, The English Reformation: religion and cultural adaptation (Oxford 2002), 8; S. Wabuda, Preaching during the English Reformation (Cambridge 2002), 77; E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, CT and London 1992), 80. However, see P. Ackroyd, The Life of Thomas More (London 1998), 274, for an opposing viewpoint.
[24]Haigh, English Reformations, 125.
[25]O'Day, 139; C. Brown and A. Marotti (eds.), Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England (Basingstoke 1997), 53.
[26]See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the Marian Reaction and their treatment of those who used the English Bible.

shed new light on its relationship with the English Bible. Wooding has argued that a large and influential group of Catholic reformers supported the reading of the vernacular Bible even during the reign of Mary. She has contended that Mary's "allowal" of the English Bible to remain orthodox demonstrated to that she had remained "true" to this group.[27] Some Catholic authors even used the scripture in English liberally and extensively, actions which more traditionalist authors considered extremely unorthodox. Even Martin, who has written extensively elsewhere on the "failure" of the Marian regime to capitalise on the power of the printed word, has conceded that many orthodox Catholics were "not insensitive" to the use of the English Bible.[28]

Nonetheless, it is evident that the Catholic, "conservative" segment of the population during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI were not as enthusiastic about the advent of printed English scripture as were the progressives, nor were the laity who identified with these religious views—most likely a large majority of the people—as interested in reading the Bible. One point of debate which has interested historians concerns the resistance of traditionalists to the innovation of vernacular scripture. Why did the English Bible, which proved popular amongst a significant segment of the laity, fail to interest so many traditionalists, and indeed often provoke outright hostility? Obviously denunciations of the use of the vernacular since the Constitutions of Oxford must have had an effect. However, Duffy and Wabuda have advanced another, more compelling theory: that the revitalisation of the late medieval church, especially with respect to the renewed emphasis on the Mass and related rites

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[27]L. E. C. Wooding, Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England (Oxford 2000), 136, 183-84. However, Mary did in fact suggest the existing English Bible translations to be heretical, in part by placing all of the translators of the contemporary Bibles on a list of heretical authors. See Chapter 6.
[28]Wooding, 136; J. W. Martin, Religious Radicals in Tudor England (London 1989), 80-81; Martin, "The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing," Huntingdon Library Quarterly, v. 44 (1980-81), 240.

as the vehicle of divine service, satisfied the lay desire for the Word of God to such an extent that many did not need or want the scripture in English. While many authors have written extensively on the strength and popularity of the church in later medieval England,[29] Duffy has identified the service itself as crucial to the strength of the church to suppress the English Bible. Wabuda has further qualified this argument, contending that the indications of faith in the new variations of the Mass, which often included the singing or reading of the Epistles and Gospels, precluded lay need for the Bible in the vernacular.[30] Duffy and Wabuda have portrayed the late medieval church in England as not an obstructionist, reactionary force, but rather as an entity strong enough to confront the threat to theological unity posed by the printed Bible in English.

Despite the initial success the conservatives may have had in denying the use of the English Bible, it quickly became evident that the traditionalists needed the text, or at least the words of the gospel in English, to counter Protestant attacks. While many Catholics remained in steadfast opposition to the concept of the vernacular Bible,[31] even some of the most orthodox were "torn between access and restraint" when it came to the scriptures in English. As late as 1542, Gardiner was still attempting to rally conservative support for a Catholic revision of the Great Bible, and Cardinal Pole would do the same in Mary's reign. Even after the Council of Trent banned the use of the vernacular scriptures by the Roman church, many Catholics remained interested in the monitored use of English scripture. Furthermore, as Wooding has noted, Catholic authors, forced onto the back foot by Protestant propaganda which employed copious references to scripture, referred to the text of the

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[29]See, especially, Haigh, English Reformations; R. A. Hutton, The Rise and Fall of Merry England (Oxford 1994), and Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, for analyses of the resiliency of the late medieval church in England.
[30]Duffy, 91-130 *passim*; Wabuda, 24-25.
[31]*Ibid.*, 77-79.

Bible in English in their own works.[32] Even Duffy, perhaps the staunchest defender of the vitality of the late-medieval church in England, has conceded that there was a conscious desire for prayers in English, which could potentially have led many to desire the English Bible.[33] While some historians have suggested that the presence of the English Bible alone "would slowly have moved the conservative English to reformation,"[34] the recent interpretations of historians who have studied the Catholic response to the Bible imply that many conservatives may have been able to accommodate the Bible in the vernacular without compromising their orthodoxy.

The interest many orthodox Catholics held in the English Bible eventually filtered into the recusant movement at large. By the 1570's, there was a growing sense that a majority of English Catholics were attracted to the use of the vernacular Bible, by then available in the "Roman" Douai-Rheims edition.[35] What accounted for this relatively sudden shift? Some historians have argued that the appeal of the Bible lay not necessarily in the text of scripture but rather in the book itself. Even contemporary Protestant apologists such as Foxe sometimes implied that many treated the Bible as a quasi-magical instrument and not as an object of study.[36] There were apparently many Catholics in England comprising, as Duffy has characterised it, a "rampant semi-pagan culture," who could have been drawn to the Bible as an object of devotion in and of itself.

c. Popular reaction to the English Bible.

The volume and nature of the Catholic response to the appearance of the vernacular scriptures leads naturally to the question of the response of the lay nation as a whole to the English Bible. Of all the subjects concerning the advent of scripture

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[32]Wooding, 183-84, 32, 77; Dries, 147.
[33]Duffy, 80.
[34]Christie-Murray, 149.
[35]Duffy, 506.
[36]A and M, vol. 8, 148, for an excellent example.

in English, the question of the level of interest in the Bible by the laity has been the most hotly contested. For most historians, the answer has depended on his or her perception of the course of the English Reformation itself.

Foxe set the tone for most early interpretations of the spread of the English Bible as early as the 1560's. His Acts and Monuments not only portrayed the English Bible as being wanted and joyfully received by a grateful population, but also, through the use of biblical imagery in describing the course of the Reformation from the Protestant point of view, inextricably linked the use of vernacular scripture with the history of the Reformation itself.[37] With the significant exception of Catholic historians of the late-eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, Foxe's interpretation of the impact of the English Bible held sway. As late as 1890, historians such as Beckett could confidently write that there was a "widespread desire" for the scriptures in English, and that "even little boys flocked" to read the Bible.[38]

By the early years of the twentieth century, however, many historians began to question the validity of the traditional Protestant view of the impact of and interest in the English Bible as described by Foxe. Maitland set the stage by casting serious doubts about the veracity of Foxe's sources, and characterised his work as little more than propaganda. Pollard made a more serious allegation: that the course of the Reformation in England was not determined by the Bible-reading public, or by the desire of the laity for reform, but rather imposed by Henry VIII, in his position as "Defender of the Faith," on a nation that was not always willing to embrace the new faith. Other contemporary authors such as Gairdner, who like Pollard extensively used the new printed primary governmental sources such as the Letters and Papers of

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[37]T Betteridge, Tudor Histories of the Reformations, 1530-1583 (Aldershot 1999), 203, 193; Haller, 51-53.

[38]O'Day, 57 ff.; W. H. Beckett, The English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century: with chapters on monastic England, and the Wycliffite reformation (London 1890), 161, 165.

Henry VIII, expanded on the theme of "Reformation from above."[39] By the time Elton re-cast Thomas Cromwell as the political architect of the early years of the English Reformation, the ideology of the "Reformation from above" had comfortably attained the status of orthodoxy, and the role of the Bible in the process had been significantly downplayed.[40]

Running counter to the theory of "Reformation from above" were the social historians, led at first by J. R. Green. Green's philosophy held that the "history of the English people" was as valid a subject for historical debate as were the activities of kings and ministers.[41] Later historians tied these social studies to the history of the Reformation, positing that the course of religious change in England mirrored the shifting beliefs of the people as a whole. This theory became known as "Reformation from below," a theory which necessarily placed greater emphasis on the impact of the Bible.

While the concept of "Reformation from below" was largely discredited by the 1950's,[42] two of its tenets—the importance of the lay movements towards Protestantism, and the belief that religious change was actively embraced by many in England—were accepted by a group dubbed the "fast Reformation" historians, led initially by Dickens. This group contended that the changes wrought by the English church reflected a significant lay development, and proved popular. They further argued that the Reformation captured the hearts and minds of the majority of the population, so that the Marian Reaction was seen by the laity as an unwelcome

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[39]S. R. Maitland, Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England (London 1849); Gairdner, The English Church; Pollard, Henry VIII, all *passim*. See also O'Day, 88.
[40]Elton, Policy and Police: the enforcement of the Reformation in the age of Thomas Cromwell (Cambridge 1972).
[41]J. R. Green, A Short History of the English People (London 1881); G. P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (London 1913), 354.
[42]O'Day, 143.

attempt to return to what they considered a moribund medieval theology.

Central to the arguments of the "fast Reformation" group is the belief that the English Bible was popular, and had an immediate effect on the course of the Reformation. Dickens contends that the impact of English scriptures, from the first appearance of Tyndale's New Testament, was "immense," and that the English Bible was well-received by nearly all levels of society.[43] Hill argues that "there was a demand for the English Bible" engendered by favourable economic and social conditions, and that its publication sparked a "cultural revolution."[44] Davis and Brigden further note that the English Bible was in particular demand for the purpose of education.[45] These authors downplay the objections to the distribution of the vernacular scriptures made by Catholics and other conservatives, and are unanimous in citing the mid-sixteenth century readership of the English scriptures as a foundation of the English Protestant church.

Many "fast Reformation" historians believe that the groundwork for the popularity of the English Bible was laid by the previous support given it by the later Lollards. Cross has argued that medieval laymen "above all" wanted to read scripture in the vernacular for themselves, and embraced it on its appearance.[46] The English Bible allegedly held the greatest appeal among those who voiced anti-clericalist opinions. There was disquietude that the text had been "kept" from the laity, and, after the vernacular Bible had been introduced, popular anger arose against clergy who appeared not to understand the text of the Gospels.[47] The effect of its

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[43]Dickens, The English Reformation (2nd ed.) (University Park, PA 1992), 157.
[44]C. Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (London 1993), 12-13, 15.
[45]J. F. Davis, "Joan of Kent: Lollardy and the English Reformation," in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. 33 no. 2 (1982), 48, and Bridgen, "Youth and Reformation," in P. Marshall (ed.), The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640 (London 1997), 56.
[46]C. Cross, Church and People, 1450-1700: the triumph of the laity in the English church (Hassock 1976), 57-58.
[47]See Chapter 5; C. Davies, A Religion of the Word (Manchester 2002), 35-36, 87.

introduction on those dissatisfied with the medieval churches was "a revolution": from the opening years of the appearance of the Tyndale Bible, its presence encouraged the laity to learn to read, emboldened the formerly silent to speak out regarding matters of religious faith, and facilitated the impetus for changes to church doctrine.[48] Leading the charge were those sympathetic to Lollardy and related heresies. MacCulloch contends that Tudor supporters of the English Bible were aware of its use by the Lollards, and that later authors lauded their examples in Protestant "hagiography." It has been suggested that the reformers who supported the Bible consciously emphasised the support of Lollards to engender interest in the text.[49]

The "fast Reformation" historians believe that the main failing of the printed English Bible was that it was in fact too successful and popular at its outset. Martin has argued extensively that reading groups, or "conventicles," originally introduced by the Lollards, speeded the interest in and spread of the English Bible.[50] So popular, in fact, did the Bible prove that by the later years of Henry VIII's reign even the king began "take fright," allowing the 1543 Act for Advancement of True Religion to counter the "mob action" of radical supporters of the text.[51] Despite some misgivings by many reformers concerning the unintended consequences of unchecked Bible-reading, Protestant leaders in general expressed "optimism" about the prospect of universal Bible-reading, and believed that "an English Bible in the hands of avid readers ensured a steadily increasing number of Protestants."[52]

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[48]Hill, 11-13; Block, 164; Martin, Religious Radicals, 71-75.
[49]MacCulloch, Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the English Reformation (London 1999), 138; Doran and Dunston, 96; N. Tyacke, "Introduction," in N. Tyacke (ed.), England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800 (London 1998), 9.
[50]Martin, Religious Radicals., 13-23.
[51]MacCulloch, "The Change of Religion," in P. Collinson (ed), The Sixteenth Century, 1485-1603 (Oxford 2002), 98; Cross, 78-79.
[52]Booty *et al.*, "Conclusion", in Booty *et al.* (eds.), 252; N. Jones, 95-97; Block, 164.

The "fast Reformation" group has been vigorously challenged by a group of authors inevitably dubbed the "slow Reformation" historians. Central to their arguments is the contention that the Reformation was unpopular, and that religious change was accepted only by a small portion of the lay population. In their eyes, the medieval church retained great popularity, and that changes in belief and doctrine amongst the common people took decades, not years, to gain a foothold. It has become common, following the lead of Haigh, for the "slow Reformation" group to speak not of a single Reformation in England, but rather of a series of reform movements and "reformations," the cycles of which lasted well into the seventeenth century.[53]

Haigh notes that, while the English scriptures were fairly popular among the literate, the reading population was a small proportion of the laity. As a result, priests who exhorted their parishioners to read the scriptures, as required by successive Injunctions, were "less popular than [their] priestly predecessor[s]."[54] Whiting agrees that the low level of literacy restricted the readership of the English Bible, and also contends that its high cost and "infrequency outside of towns" also severely limited the impact of the text.[55] Scarisbrick is the most suspicious of the popularity of the English Bible; while he admits that the medieval church was "vulnerable" to the advent of the printing of vernacular scripture, he concludes that "probably not many" desired to read it during the reign of Henry VIII. Indeed, in The Reformation and the English People his only reference to popular opinion of the English Bible is to that of the leaders of the Western Rebellion, who wanted the Bible to be removed from the

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[53]Haigh, English Reformations, 14.
[54]*Ibid.*, 194-95; Haigh, "Anticlericalism and the English Reformation," in Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised (Cambridge 1987), 73.
[55]R. Whiting, "Local responses to the Henrican Reformation," in MacCulloch (ed.), The Reformation under Henry VIII (Basingstoke 1990), 201.

parish churches.[56]

The "slow Reformation" historians contend that the English Bible met a wall of indifference and suspicion. The order to install the English Bible, argues Hutton, was the "most widely flouted" of all of the injunctions of Henry VIII's reign, and, though eventually "virtually all" parishes conformed, the Bible was only grudgingly accepted.[57] Many clergy were distrustful and ill-informed about the text: ownership of Bibles remained at a low level, and many clerics remained uninformed about the Bible well into Elizabeth's reign. Without clerical backing of the parish Bible, the text, in the words of Luxton, "lay gathering dust," unread and largely unwanted.[58] Private editions of the Bible did not prove much more popular—its cost prevented many from obtaining a copy, and distrust and a "continuity of popular scepticism" kept many away from it.[59] In conclusion, the "slow Reformation" group believes that, while it is difficult to judge how greatly the English laity was affected by the English Bible, the text did not make real inroads into popular consciousness until at least the reign of Edward, and possibly not until the reign of Elizabeth.[60]

One factor cited by the "slow Reformation" group as an obstruction to the spread of the English Bible is the continued strength of the medieval church. As noted above, Duffy has written expansively on the revitalization of the Mass during the fifteenth century, and the popularity of the Mass precluded many from taking an

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[56]Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (Oxford 1984), 40, 47, 83.
[57]R. Hutton, "Local Impact of the Tudor Reformation," in Marshall (ed.), 144-45; see also B. Kümin, The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400-1560 (Aldershot 1996), 210-13, 216-17; Whiting, "Local Responses," in MacCulloch (ed.), The Reformation, 197.
[58]I. Luxton, "The Reformation and Popular Culture," in F. M. Heal and R. O'Day, Continuity and Change: personnel and administration of the Church of England, 1500-1642 (Leicester 1976), 64-65, 72; R. A. Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570 (Oxford and New York 1979), 205; Brigden, New Worlds, 131.
[59]T. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety (Cambridge 1991), 261; K. V. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England (London 1971), 169.
[60]C. Marsh, Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England, (Basingstoke and London 1998), 142; Watt, 345-46; Booty *et al.*, "Introduction," in Booty *et al.* (eds.), 10; A. Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England (London 1999), 169; Duffy, 506.

interest in the scriptures in the vernacular.[61] It must be said that those who professed faith in the medieval church would have been naturally sceptical of the Bible in English: as the text had so long been associated with the Lollard heresy, the natural conservatism of the professedly orthodox, the limited literacy of the populace, and its "infrequent public display" would have mitigated against its use.[62]

In recent years the "slow Reformation" has, in the words of Walsham, "attained the status of an orthodoxy."[63] While the reasons for the triumph[64] of those who portray the Reformation in England as an exceedingly gradual procedure are many, one of the most important factors must be the great expansion during the past forty years of regional studies of the social history of the Reformation. These regional studies have suggested, as Smith predicted in 1948, that the impact of the Bible during the early years was confined to "London, East Anglia and some of the larger towns."[65] While the open reading of the English Bible caused frequent "turmoil," to use the phrase of McClendon, in East Anglia, and was widespread in the Southeast and London,[66] elsewhere in the realm interest in the Bible was limited. In the West Midlands and Borders, notes Luxton, there were only a "handful" of Bible-readers. In Hampshire, reports Dries, Cromwell refused to prosecute those who spoke against the vernacular scriptures for fear of popular reprisals against the church and government. Bowker found that interest in the English Bible within the Diocese of Lincoln was confined to the Chilterns, a well-established base of Lollardy during the

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[61]See also Wabuda, 24.
[62]Whiting, "Local Responses," in MacCulloch (ed.), The Reformation, 200.
[63]Walsham, Church Papists: Catholicism, conformity and confessional polemic in early modern England (Woodbridge 1993), 7n.
[64]But see other recent works which re-state the "fast Reformation" theories—most notably, MacCulloch, Tudor Church Militant—with renewed strength.
[65]H. Maynard Smith, Henry VIII and the Reformation (London 1948 [2nd edition, New York 1962]), 343.
[66]M. C. McClendon, The Quiet Reformation: magistrates and the emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich (Stanford, CA 1999), 88; Davis, Heresy and Reformation in the Southeast of England, 1520-1559 (London 1983); Brigden, London and the Reformation (Oxford 1989); J. E. Oxley, The Reformation in Essex to the Death of Mary (Manchester 1965).

opening years of the sixteenth century, and to the young radicals at Oxford.[67] As for the North of England and Wales, Haigh and Williams contend that the English Bible was all but unknown there even in the later years of the reign of Henry VIII, and was not accepted fully there for many years afterward.[68] The overall picture painted by the regional historians is one of a nation that, apart from that area most under close governmental and central church control, and, especially in the case of East Anglia, within frequent contact with the Continent, accepted the English Bible only slowly as a whole. In the eyes of the "slow Reformation" group, at the close of the reign of Henry VIII, and likely well beyond, outside of the South-east and London was a country still largely waiting to be introduced to, and convinced of the need for, the vernacular scriptures.

What, if anything, have the "fast" and "slow" groups agreed upon about the impact of the English Bible on the laity during the early stages of the Reformation? In the midst of the struggle between these two groups, there appears a surprising consensus on a number of topics. First and foremost, there is a critical lack of documentation. As early as 1959, Dickens lamented the "silence" of the records of Bible-reading during the years of Cromwell.[69] The regional studies cited above failed to make crucial strides in this regard: church court documents and parish records such as churchwardens' accounts did not extend historical understanding as much as hoped. Houlbrooke has noted that the decline in the power of the church courts during the reign of Henry VIII often left them unable to uncover many minor offences, which

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[67]Luxton, "The Reformation," in Heal and O'Day (eds.), Continuity and Change, 74; Dries, 113; M. Bowker, The Henrician Reformation in the Diocese of Lincoln under John Langland, 1521-1547 (Cambridge 1981), 64.
[68]Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People: popular religion and the Reformation (Cambridge 1989), 190-91; Haigh, , Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (Cambridge 1975), 114-15; G. Williams, The Reformation in Wales (Bangor 1991), 12-15.
[69]Dickens, Thomas Cromwell, 120.

may have included the illicit reading of the Bible.[70] In any event, it is clear that the prosecution records only reflected behaviour that was illegal at the time; our understanding of the extent of Bible-reading during the reign of Edward VI is thus far less clear than for the reign of Mary. Whiting, who has perhaps written more extensively than any other historian about churchwardens' accounts and related parish records on a national level, has noted the limitations of these documents: while they can demonstrate compliance with the orders for parishes to purchase the vernacular scriptures, they cannot detail the intent of the churchwardens, nor do they indicate whether the laity of the parish agreed with these changes.[71] The picture of the popular response to the advent of the English Bible is, and will perhaps remain, unclear.

Nevertheless, there have been some positive agreements on the nature of the impact of the early English printed Bible. One point of agreement, and a theme which has received renewed attention in recent years, has been the appeal of the Bible to some of those on the margins of English society, particularly youth, women and the foreign-born. As Wabuda has noted in her study of women and Bible-reading, the practice appealed to "outsiders" who challenged authority and privilege, perhaps because the use of scriptures circumvented the role of clergy—a male, older and all but uniformly English-born and hierarchy—in the spiritual lives of the laity.[72] The English Bible's appeal for the younger generation had a lasting effect for the course of the Reformation, Brigden contends, as "the undergraduates and younger dons who were won to the new faith" of vernacular scripture during the reign of Henry VIII

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[70]Houlbrooke, "The decline of ecclesiastical administration under the Tudors," in Heal and O'Day (eds.), 244.
[71]Whiting, Blind Devotion, 5-6; see also Hutton, "The Local Impact of the English Reformation," in Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised, 114-15.
[72]Wabuda, "The Women with the Rock: the controversy on women and Bible-reading," in S. Wabuda and C. Litzenberger (eds.), Belief and Practice in Reformation England (Aldershot 1998), 42-46.

were eventually to rule over the Elizabethan church.[73]

Another common theme that appears to be gaining support among historians of differing opinions on the Reformation as a whole is the contention that the early English Bible was, contrary to the belief of contemporary Catholic commentators such as Standish and later detractors such as Pope,[74] intelligible to the great majority of the literate laity. In the early years of printing in English, differences in speech patterns and syntax from region to region remained strong. However, it seems certain that the Tyndale Bible and its successors were designed and translated in such a way to maximise readability. The "simple, yet numinous, prose style" of the early Bibles did more than prove understandable: its language was to become the English of the educated laity.[75]

It is also apparent that the laity, even in the early years of the Reformation, could take advantage of many aids to the understanding of the Bible, and did not need to rely on the text alone. Of course the official installation of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus has always been well-known. However, the *Paraphrases* were only of use to those who could read—indeed, the text was primarily intended for priestly rather than lay use—and in fact perhaps half of the parishes even in East Anglia did not own the text by 1549.[76] In recent years the use of official homilies as guides to the reading of the Bible has also been uncovered.[77] The use by Protestants of licenced preaching and woodcuts within the Bibles, long thought the preserve of religious conservatives,

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[73]Brigden, "Youth and the Reformation," in Marshall (ed.), 57-58.
[74]H. Pope, English Versions of the Bible (St. Louis, MO and London 1952), 65-66.
[75]I. M. Green, Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England (London 1999), 45-47; G. Walker, "The Renaissance in England," in Collinson (ed.), 173; P. Collinson, "Conclusion," in Collinson (ed.), 223; G. Hammond, The Making of the English Bible (Manchester 1982), 42-43.
[76]TRP, vol. 1, no. 287; Houlbrooke, Church Courts, notes that 48 *per cent* of the parishes in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk were prosecuted for not owning the text by 1549. See Chapter 3 for a discussion.
[77]Wall, in Booty *et. al.*, 85 ff.; I. M. Green, The Christian's ABC, 93; see Chapter 5.

also helped with the understanding of the vernacular scripture.[78] The Edwardian church also stipulated that a chapter of the Bible be read every day, during both the morning and evening services, and that the Psalms in English be sung during service. As a further aid, the Homilies of Thomas Cranmer, which helped to illustrate the scriptures, were to be read weekly.[79] While it is likely that the English Bible was still an unknown quantity to most during the early years of the Reformation, it appears that a small but committed minority was of a measurable size, even during the reign of Henry VIII.[80]

New research and authorship on the vernacular Bible may also aid our understanding of its effects on English society in the sixteenth century. One of the more interesting recent studies of the English Bible has been I. M. Green's Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England. By looking at the early English translations' formats, styles of translation, and even typographies, Green's work uses the tools of textual criticism to uncover why and how the Bible slowly became accessible to the English laity between 1525 and 1580. His study of the ways in which the vernacular scriptures were translated, printed, published and marketed has brought him to a striking and somewhat unexpected conclusion: while the English Bible was produced and intended for the mass of the literate laity, religious and political reformers lacked the policy goals that would have ensured that all would read it. He has characterised the early years of the printed Bible as a time of "enthusiasm and self-interest," and contends that at times that self-interest often hindered the genuine desire of

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[78]I. M. Green, Print and Protestantism, 66-69; Wabuda, 66.
[79]J. Parker (ed.), The First Prayer Book, as issued by the Authority of the Parliament of the Second Year of King Edward VI, 1549 (Oxford 1883); Parker (ed.), The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 1552 (Oxford 1883).
[80]C. J. Bradshaw, "The Exile Literature of the Early Reformation," in Amos, Pettegree, and van Nierop (eds.), 139, 128; but see also Walsham, Church Papists, 7n, for an opposing view.

progressives to increase the reading of the vernacular scriptures.[81]

Other historians have also recently applied the tools of textual criticism, both of the English Bible and of religious works incorporating scriptural text, to illustrate individual themes of the Reformation. Wabuda's study of the content of Reformation preaching in England illustrates the place of the text of the Bible in the struggle between those who saw the clergy as the ministers of salvation and those who wished to reduce the role of the clerics to that of mere teachers of the gospel. Duerden has explored how the theological and political struggles over authority and supremacy over the church shaped the language of the Tyndale Bible and its successors. And Wooding has explored the use of the English text of the Bible in orthodox Catholic explications of faith such as Whitford's A Werke for Housholders.[82]

The problem remains, however, that a lack of evidence, and in particular a dearth of quantifiable information, has plagued and will continue to plague the study of the early English Bible.[83] While this lack of documentation is perhaps an insurmountable problem, the last few years have nonetheless seen an increased interest in the place of the vernacular scriptures within the broader history of the English Reformation.

2. The introduction of the English Bible into the parish churches.

The second theme which this dissertation will address concerns the official distribution of the Bible in English with regards to its placement in the parishes of England and Wales. While the place of the vernacular Bible in the history of the English Reformation has been a subject of debate for many decades, the level of success of its installation in the parish churches has only recently come into question.

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[81] J.M. Green, Print and Protestantism, 42-80.
[82] Wabuda, 106; R. Duerden, "Authority and Reformation Bible Translation," in O. O'Sullivan (ed.), The Bible as Book: the Reformation (London 2000), 12-20; Wooding, 79.
[83] O'Day, 143.

The long-held view that the Henrician Injunctions of 1536 and 1538 were sufficient to engender universal, or at the very least widespread, compliance has been challenged by many historians.

a. Installation of the English Bible in the parish church: success or failure?

The parish Bible might have been the only contact that most parishioners had with vernacular scripture, whether it was read during the service by the priest or independently. Two factors may suggest that this installation was not as totally successful as the Henrician and Edwardian church and government desired. Firstly, the Great Bible was itself costly, and its procurement was an expensive enterprise that had to be funded by the parishes themselves.[84] It might be expected that some parishes were unable to meet these costs. Secondly, it is likely that some parishes would be hostile to the installation of a text whose vernacular predecessor had only been recently condemned as heretical. How successful, then, was the installation of the Bible?

Many historians have contended that the Bible was installed in all, or almost all, parish churches before 1547, and also that the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547 were accepted and carried out quickly. Dickens and Whiting argue that the 1541 order to fine parishes which had not purchased the scripture was sufficient to effect universal compliance.[85] Hutton contends that the campaign to whitewash the walls of parish churches and enact other changes to the church fabric after 1547 met with "success," and Dickens even claims that the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus was installed in almost all of the churches.[86] Scarisbrick, a historian who disagrees with many of

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[84]See Chapter 2 for an analysis of the costs involved in the installation of the Great Bible.
[85]Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of Yorkshire (London 1959), 170; Whiting, "Local responses," in MacCulloch (ed.), The Reformation, 224-25. See also Chapter 2 for a study of the 1541 Religious Injunctions.
[86]R. Hutton, "Local Impact," in Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised, 121-22; Dickens, The English Reformation, 227.

Dickens's other views on the English Reformation, concedes that the changes to the English parishes were almost universally enforced by 1547.[87]

Some authors have challenged this view, and argued that a small but significant number of parishes failed to purchase the Bible before the accession of Edward VI. Haigh maintains that the Bible and other Henrician innovations may have only "restricted" impact in the North, and that the Edwardian changes were not rigorously enforced in the region.[88] Elsewhere Haigh argues that "some country parishes" lacked the Bible until 1547.[89] Davis, writing about southeast England, contends that the Bible was not installed in "several" parishes.[90] Duffy sums up many regional studies by noting that while it is "preposterous to imply that the reform[s] made no headway in the parishes," possession of the Bible by 1547 was far from total.[91] It appears that additions to the church fabric such as the installation of the parish Bible were less universally completed than removals from the parish churches. Kümin calls the provision of the Great Bible "a costly implementation," though he believes that by 1547 "few found an alternative to conformity."[92] Williams cites evidence that, during the reign of Edward VI, Welsh parish churches lay "bare and empty," while the English Bible was all but unknown in the principality.[93] Duffy again sums up this view by contending that while the "old world" of worship had been wrecked through iconoclasm and confiscation, in many places the "new world" of Protestant religion contained in the English Bible and the *Paraphrases* had yet to be put in their place.[94]

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[87]Scarisbrick, The Reformation, 94-95.
[88]Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, 115-16, 143.
[89]Haigh, English Reformations, 157-58.
[90]Davis, Heresy and Reformation, 17.
[91]Duffy, 493.
[92]B. Kümin, The Shaping of a Community: the rise and reformation of the English parish, c.1400-1560 (Aldershot 1996) 210-13, 216-17.
[93]Williams, 12-15.
[94]Duffy, 494.

b. Documentation of the installation of the English Bible.

Considering the differences between historians on the success of the installation of the Bible, some form of documentation might be of help to resolve this problem. As O'Day remarks, "Many of the questions which Reformation historians have posed and continue to pose about the Reformation in England demand quantification"[95]: the installation of the Great Bible would appear to be such an issue. One possible form of documentation, churchwardens' accounts, supplies the most detailed direct information about the activities of individual parishes, and offer some intriguing information. Hutton, who draws heavily upon these accounts in his study of parish conformity, contends that only four parishes out of his national survey of ninety purchased the Bible after 1545, and only two of these during Edward's reign, so that it would appear that the vast majority of parishes had fulfilled their obligation to purchase the Bible before the end of the reign of Henry VIII.[96] Yet Whiting's study of accounts from Devon and Cornwall finds that four parishes in Exeter alone purchased a Bible in 1547/48, suggesting that perhaps many parishes had in fact failed to acquire the text by the reign of Edward VI.[97] In a more general sense, however, churchwardens' accounts are inadequate evidence on which to build a national survey. In the three counties examined in this dissertation, accounts survive for only twenty-six parishes out of a total of approximately 1650 parishes for the region. Furthermore, most of these accounts are damaged or incomplete, so that some of the records for the critical years between 1541 and 1553 are missing.

The other source, the study of ecclesiastical prosecution records, also poses difficulties. Only four archidiaconal act books, each covering three years, are extant

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[95]O'Day, 164.
[96]Hutton, "Local Impact," in Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised, 118, 118n.
[97]Whiting, 190. Whiting argues that these purchases are the second purchase of a Bible for all concerned parishes; however, as I will contend in Chapter 2, in many cases it is likely that Bible purchases during the reign of Edward VI were actually the first purchase for the parish.

for the seven archdeaconries of East Anglia between 1541 and 1553. The meagre information provided by such records, however, appears to support those historians who argue that the installation was not an instant success. MacCulloch finds that four parishes in a small area in south-western Suffolk had failed to comply by 1546.[98] Equally intriguing is Bowker's assertion that 80 *per cent* of a select fifty parishes in the diocese of Lincoln owned no Bible in 1539,[99] although, considering that this survey was taken before the introduction of fines for non-ownership of the text, the failure of the parishes is not surprising. Houlbrooke notes that 48 *per cent* of parishes in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk had failed to purchase the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus by 1549-51,[100] which suggests that many parishes were either unable or unwilling to implement all of the progressive religious changes, in spite of threatened fines. In Chapter 3 further prosecution records of non-ownership of the Bible in Norfolk and Essex, some occurring as late as 1551, will be examined. However, it must again be said that there are too few records of prosecution available to provide a clear picture of the installation of scripture from these sources.

c. The church-plate certificates.

This dissertation will contend that records of the confiscation of church plate during the reign of Edward VI, known as church-plate certificates, can be of help in understanding the availability of the Great Bible. In most cases these certificates consist of a bare list of the church valuables from each parish to be confiscated by the government. However, in a few instances, most notably in East Anglia, the certificates also contain a list of parish sales of church plate, and a list of purchases made from the proceeds of these sales. Although such sales were formally illegal, it

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[98]MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors: politics and religion in an English county, 1500-1600 (Oxford 1988), 164.
[99]Bowker, 170.
[100]Houlbrooke, Church Courts, 164-65.

appears that they were tolerated, as long as the proceeds of the sales were spent upon "necessary items." Some of these necessary items are related to compliance with the 1547 religious Injunctions, or, in other cases, the Great Bible itself. This dissertation will argue that an analysis of such records of compliance can allow the study of how parishes reacted to religious changes, including indirectly the installation of the Bible.

The church-plate certificates may appear an unusual means of studying the availability of scriptures in the parish church. Others who have examined the certificates have not considered the records of sales and purchases to be of significant historical use for these purposes. The original transcribers of the certificates were too bedazzled by the amount of ecclesiastical treasure on display to address the wider implications of the listed purchases. King, who edited the Essex certificates in 1869, set the tone of his study from the opening sentence of his introduction: "These valuable Exchequer Records furnish us with correct inventories of the vestments, altar-cloths, linen, plate, jewels, ornaments of the churches, organs, bells and other church goods as they existed at the close of the reign of Henry VIII, and until the 6th year of Edward VI. . . ." King proceeded to describe the contents of the certificates in extraordinary, perhaps unnecessarily lavish, detail.[101] Walters's introduction to the Norfolk church plate certificates is little different, spending five pages on such minutiae as the colours of the vestments, the weight of the church bells, and the types of fabrics used for the altar-cloths.[102] Neither compiler paid much attention to the records of sales of plate and purchases of items necessary to fulfil religious Injunctions. Walters mentioned it only in passing, as a trivial adjunct to the

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[101]H. W. King, "Essex Church Goods," Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, old series vol. 4 (1869) 197, 210-15.
[102]H. B. Walters, "Norfolk Church Goods, 1547-52," Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Records, vol. 26 (1934), 251-55.

inventories.[103] Though King denounced those churchwardens who sold plate as acting "unlawfully," he failed to emphasise the listed parish purchases, perhaps because such actions detracted from his portrayal of the parishioners and priests as the victims of the confiscations and of the government as greedy pilferers.[104] Muskett, who edited the church-plate certificates of Suffolk in 1885, noted that some plate was sold to finance "necessary repairs to the Church fabrick." However, Muskett did not mention the payments for the fulfilment of the 1547 Injunctions, nor the number of purchases of the Great Bible recorded upon the Suffolk certificates.[105]

Some modern historians have agreed with the views of King and Walters on the lack of usefulness of the study of the sales and purchases noted in the certificates. Hutton writes about the certificates, and mentions the sales and purchases, but does not discuss the wider implications of the expenditures on compliance with the Injunctions.[106] Dickens dismissed the certificates as "most peripheral to the story of Protestantism."[107] Duffy writes extensively on the certificates, and even refers to the employment of plate sales for use in funding compliance with the Injunctions in Suffolk, but does not draw any comparisons with these actions and levels of compliance. Instead he described the entries for purchases of "necessary goods" as mere "excuses" presented by the churchwardens, and not as part of a systematic means of financing the Injunctions.[108]

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[103]*Ibid.*, 249.

[104]H. W. King was sufficiently outraged to quote Collier's Ecclesiastical History, a work relatively critical of the government's actions during the reign of Edward VI, at length: "Had this [Council] governed in the minority of Josiah. . .they would in all likelihood. . .have disfurnished the Temple of most of the gold plate, carried off the unnecessary magnificance, and left but little plunder for Nebuchadnezzar." King, "Essex Church Goods," 205, 209; the quotation is from Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 5, 496. See also Chapter 2, for the identification of Edward with the "young Josiah."

[105]J. J. Muskett (ed.), "Church Goods in Suffolk," East Anglian Notes and Queries, new series vol. I-II (1885), 6.

[106]Hutton, "Local Impact," in Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised, 126-27.

[107]Dickens, Lollards and Protestants, 168, 170.

[108]Duffy, 485-86, 493. In Chapter 3 the means by which plate sales were allowed to fund the

Other historians disagree with such assessments. Haigh writes that only six out of 88 inventories in Lancashire recorded the ownership of Bibles in their inventories; although this figure is "surely too low," "it is very unlikely that vernacular Bibles reached the county in any number."[109] Scarisbrick argues that the church-plate sales undertaken in East Anglia were made for "unimpeachable causes" including the funding of compliance with the Injunctions, and suggests that the government may have turned a blind eye to the selling of plate, by the letter of the law an offence, if the proceeds were used in this way.[110] MacCulloch, in his study of Suffolk, notes that many of the certificates that show compliance with the Injunctions belong to parishes in and around Ipswich. He also states that some of the parishes whose certificates show compliance, such as Bungay St. Mary, Chediston and Laxfield, were also involved in resistance to the Marian Reaction.[111] Recently, Shagan has discussed the certificates in detail, and has argued that the funding of religious changes comprised a "loophole" for parishes, which "made it hard for the regime to complain" about the unauthorised sale of plate.[112]

As yet none of these studies have attempted to quantify the levels of compliance through a comprehensive analysis of the certificates, which this dissertation intends to do. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will discuss the church-plate certificates, and selected other documents which shed light on the extent of the success of the installation of the parish Bibles, in detail.

Injunctions will be discussed.

[109]Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, 114-15.

[110]Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, 94-95.

[111]MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors, 169. MacCulloch elsewhere mentions Stonham Aspal, another parish whose certificate displays compliance which was involved in resistance to the Marian Counter-Reformation.

[112]J. H. Shagan, Popular Politics and the English Reformation (Cambridge 2003), 295-98.

Chapter 1: The English Bible before 1525.

1. *The Pre-Wycliffite Bible Tradition.*

The medieval church in England was not always distrustful of vernacular scripture and gospel commentary. Between the time of the acceptance of Christianity in Britain and the Conquest written vernacular discourse was popular in the monasteries, and received official support from both religious and secular leaders. England became well-known throughout Christian Europe for its output of religious material in the vernacular, including the scriptures. These works were cited by supporters of the English Bible during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. John Purvey, believed by many to have translated the Second Wycliffite Bible, wrote approvingly of Bede's rendering of the Gospels.[1] The anonymous author of "A notable discourse for having the Bible in English," *c.* 1410, mentioned these Gospels, and claimed that copies of them were still held in monastic institutions.[2] The early Protestant martyr Thomas Bilney cited Bede's use of Anglo-Saxon Bibles, and John Foxe, the Protestant martyrologist, also noted the earlier English study of the scriptures in the vernacular.[3]

Noteworthy vernacular writings first appeared during what has been called the "Northumbrian Renaissance" of the seventh and eighth centuries.[4] At least three vernacular renderings of the Gospels are known from this period. The well-known Lindisfarne Gospels, glossed in Anglo-Saxon by Aldred, and the less familiar Durham Gospels, which have an Old Irish gloss, were products of the thriving monasteries in

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[1]Although Bede did translate John 1:1-6:9 into Anglo-Saxon (see below), Purvey probably meant the Lindisfarne or Durham Gospels. B. Cottle, The Triumph of English, 1350-1400 (London 1969), 226. A. Hudson, in Lollards and their Books (London 1985), 105, questions whether Purvey actually did write this treatise upon Biblical translation, but believes that the author of the treatise was involved in the production of the Second Wycliffite Bible.

[2]BL MS Harleian 425, fo. 1.

[3]A and M, vol. 4, 626; vol. 1, 365.

[4]Phrase from the title of C. L. Newman de Vergar, The Northumbrian Renaissance: a study in the

the North.[5] Bishop Cuthbert also claimed that Bede had translated John 1:1-6:9 "*in nostram linguam*," probably Anglo-Saxon, but this work is no longer extant.[6] There were also a number of Anglo-Saxon commentaries on the Gospels books of the Old Testament, many of which do survive.

Vernacular religious writing continued to be produced throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, although no scriptural translations are known from this period. The volume of vernacular writing in England has been said to be greater than in any other country in Europe, and the known holdings of monastic libraries appear to confirm this belief. Religious houses at Exeter and Salisbury owned some "old English" texts from this period during the twelfth century, and an Anglo-Saxon text at Bury St. Edmunds was still used as late as the fourteenth century.[7]

Yet, even at this early stage, there were doubts about the propriety of the use of the vernacular to render the scriptures. Concerns that ignorant persons might use the literal text of the Bible for impious activities appeared as early as the eighth century. The monk Ælfric, asked by Æthelward the alderman to translate Genesis into Anglo-Saxon, wrote in its preface:

> *Nū þincð mē, leof, þæt þæt weorc is swīðe pleolic mē oððe ænigum men tõ underbeginnenne, for þan þe ic ondræde, gif sum dysig man þās bõc ræt oððe rædean gehyrð, þæt hē wille wēnan þæt hē mõte lybban nū on þære nīwan æ swã swã þã ealdan fæderas leofodon þã on þære tide ær þan þe sēo ealde æ gesett wære, oððe swã swã men leofodon under Moyses æ.*[8]

Although he did produce the vernacular Genesis as requested, Ælfric pleaded with

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transmission of style (Selinsgrove, PA 1987).

[5]*Ibid.*, 170, 190.

[6]"Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede," in B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds.), Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Oxford 1969 [reprinted 1979]), 582. Bede also claimed to have written several annotated exegeses on books of the Bible (566-68), but it is unclear whether any of these notations were in Anglo-Saxon.

[7]R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies (London 1929), 160.

[8]"It seems to me, my lord, that that work is very dangerous for me or for any man to undertake, because I am afraid that if an ignorant man reads this book or hears it read, then he will think that he can live under the new covenant just as the patriarchs lived in the time when the old covenant was given, or as

Æthelward that he should not be asked to translate any more of the Gospel into Anglo-Saxon, as he did not wish to do so.[9] Ælfric's concern would be echoed centuries later by Henrician and Marian Catholics who feared that laypersons would misinterpret the scriptures if they were rendered in English.[10]

The English vernacular tradition in the monasteries collapsed after the Conquest, as the Norman kings systematically replaced English abbots with churchmen from their own nation.[11] As Normandy had no tradition of vernacular religious authorship, the new abbots repressed Middle English writings on religion, although many old texts were still used by English-speaking monks.[12] After this sudden break of continuity with English authorship, vernacular religious writing was slow to recover from the after-effects for the Norman Conquest, and England's primacy in the production of vernacular scriptures receded.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, monasteries in France, Germany, Norway and Italy produced sections of scripture, or even whole Bibles, in their own languages.[13] French monasteries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced three major scriptural translations, including the massive "Bible du XIIIe siècle," a complete Biblical translation.[14] These works had an impact on English religious discourse. Wycliffe noted that French vernacular Bibles, produced in France "despite opposition," could be found in the houses of the great noblemen in

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people lived under the law of Moses." (translation courtesy of Siân Groenlie)

[9]R. B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson (eds.), A Guide to Old English (Oxford 1986), 183.

[10]See Chapter 6.

[11]Graham, 165-66.

[12]*Ibid.*, 166.

[13]The complete Mentel Bible in Germany may be from as early as c. 1300: CHB, vol. 2, 433. In the mid-thirteenth century a "more or less complete" scripture in Italian was produced: *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 452. The manuscript known as *Stjórn* contains the Old Testament from Genesis to Kings in Norse, and other manuscripts contain the Psalms and Apocrypha. All these works are contemporary to the Mentel Bible. See also I. J. Kirby, Bible Translation in Old Norse (Geneva 1986), 51, 75, 83.

[14]E. Dekkers, "L'Église devant la Bible en langue vernaculaire: ouverture de principe et difficultés concrètes," in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), The Bible and Medieval Culture (Leuven 1979), 12-

England.[15] These scriptures were popular among the nobility, most of whom could not understand Latin, as works of personal devotion. The average layperson in fifteenth-century England could not read or speak French, but the nobility, and even moderately wealthy gentry, still could, as the library of the Paston family demonstrates.[16] The relative popularity of the French Bible is attested in Deanesly's study of wills in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the 136 Bibles which appear in bequests, nine of them are in French, and all of them belong to wealthy laymen.[17] So popular were the French Bibles in England that at least one version is known to have been translated and produced in an English monastery.[18]

When the First Wycliffite Bible appeared in 1384, it was the first complete scriptural translation in English. The Lollard Bible was therefore the only easily-understood Bible available to most laymen between the Conquest and the Reformation. Its heterodox use, however, caused the church to see all vernacular Bibles as undesirable. It is noteworthy that in France, where vernacular translations were comparatively common, the church attempted to ban them only when it was discovered that they were being used for the dissemination of heretical ideas. In England, almost contemporaneously, the increasing pressure of Wycliffite heterodoxy and its use of the vernacular brought an end to toleration of English scriptures.[19]

2. *Pre-Wycliffite scriptural translations.*

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[15]Wycliffe was obviously aware of the *Maiestas Caroline* of 1350 and the edict of Lucques of 1369 which barred "*les traductions bibliques répandues par des hérétiques.*" *Ibid.*, 14; Cottle, 227.

[16]N. Davis (ed.), Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century (2 vols.) (Oxford 1971-76), vol. 1, 109-10, 326; N. Orme, Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England (London 1989), 169.

[17]M. Deanesly, The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Versions (Cambridge 1920), 398.

[18]A. C. Paues, A Fourteenth-Century English Biblical Version (Cambridge 1902), xvii.

[19]R. N. Swanson, Church and Society in Late Medieval England (Oxford 1989), 339; Hudson, Lollards and their Books, 77.

Though the Wycliffite Bible was the first major post-Conquest English Bible, translations of small sections of the Bible did not disappear entirely from the realm. The author of the orthodox *Chastising of God's Children* argued that the reading of the English scriptures retained value, although not at the expense of the reading of the Vulgate.[20] On a practical level, vernacular Bible texts remained an aid to the personal devotions of literate laity. Many religious institutions also preserved and copied English or Anglo-Norman scriptures to help their inmates jog their memories when the precise Vulgate phrase was elusive.[21] English Bibles were held by libraries used by ordinary clerics who might not be able to remember their Latin, or who had a poor education.[22] Thus an orthodox need for the Bible in English remained, and it was filled by a handful of partial translations.

Most of the surviving translations are of very small portions of the Bible. One example, extant only in a minstrel song from London, related only the story of Jacob and Joseph from Genesis.[23] The majority of works, unlike this one, were meant to be read. The most popular translations were of the Psalms, of which Richard Rolle's celebrated version is the best-known, and of Revelation.[24] None of these works, however, are direct translations from Latin to English: the several Psalms translations are believed to be based upon Anglo-Norman works translated in England, while the translation of Revelation, sometimes attributed to Wycliffe, is certainly based on the Norman Apocalypse produced on the Continent.[25] Most of the other vernacular

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[20]W. A. Craigie, "The English Version (to Wyclif)," in H. W. Robinson (ed.), The Bible in its Ancient Versions (Oxford 1940 [reprinted 1954]), 137.
[21]Swanson, 270.
[22]J. A. H. Moran, The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548: learning, literacy and laicization in pre-Reformation York Diocese (Princeton 1985), 192; M. Aston, Lollards and Reformers (London 1984), 200-01, notes the Lollard anger over Bibles ("hidden buried treasure") in libraries which were inaccessible to laymen.
[23]D. C. Fowler, The Bible in Early English Literature (London 1977), 134-35.
[24]Paues, xvii-xix, xxii-xxiii.
[25]*Ibid.*, xvii-xix, xxii-xxiii. Wycliffe's own influence does appear in the commentary of the work, a

works are heavily paraphrased, or draw on earlier Anglo-Saxon texts. The largest portion of the English Bible surviving in manuscript form is a book of the Epistles copied from Midland and Kentish texts, probably produced for wealthy laymen in the mid-fourteenth century.[26] Compared with the Wycliffite Bible, these translations are incomplete, and of poor quality.

Two interesting translations are linked with East Anglia. The first, and oldest, is the long Old Testament poem *Genesis and Exodus*. Despite its title, the text covers almost the whole of the Pentateuch, though more than two-thirds of the work is devoted to the first two books of the Bible. Although many historians originally attributed the work to a London or Kentish translator, it has now been established that the dialect of the poem is that of northern Norfolk.[27] The work was obviously produced by a learned person, probably a monk: Fowler has identified the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor and Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews" among its sources.[28] Like many translations from this period, the prologue of the text contains a fervent plea from the author to the reader to turn away from secular works and romances, and to read religious works.[29]

Genesis and Exodus is a remarkable text, for a number of reasons. The first is its length: at over 2,400 lines it is much longer than other Biblical texts of the period. Another is its relative popularity, considering its probable monastic provenance. However, the work is not a biblical translation as we would now understand it. Its first editor wrongly identified it as the Pentateuch taken from the Vulgate. Arngardt

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later Lollard addition.

[26]Fowler, 146-47; Paues, lxx-lxxii.

[27]O. Arngardt (ed.), The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (Lund 1968), 46-47. The Norfolk version of *Genesis and Exodus* is not the same as the "Genesis and Exodus" of Bodleian MS Junius XI, a ninth-century version studied in M.-M. Larés, "Types et Optiques de Traductions et 'Adaptations' de l'Ancien Testament en Anglais du Haut Moyen-Âge," in Lourdaux and Verhelst (eds.), 70-88.

[28]Fowler, 127-29.

[29]*Ibid.*, 133; Arngardt, 54.

correctly sees it as a revision of the *Historia Scholastica*; hence the text is not a direct biblical translation at all.[30] The importance of the text lies in the fact that it demonstrates that large sections of the scriptures could be translated or paraphrased in the vernacular, in a form accessible to laypersons, without arousing the suspicions of church authorities.

The second East Anglian translation of note is the illustrated work known as the *Holkham Bible Picture Book.* This text takes its name from Holkham Hall in Norfolk, where it is currently held, and it is likely that the work was produced in a nearby Dominican monastery. It consists of eighty leaves of illustrated scenes from the Bible, the majority from the Gospels, with Anglo-Norman captions.[31] Although at first glance this may resemble the well-known *Biblia Pauperum*, the Holkham work is most emphatically not for the poor reader. Its richly-decorated and coloured illustrations are among the best artworks produced in England during the thirteenth century.[32] More to the point, the mere fact that the captions are in Anglo-Norman, the language of the nobility, indicates that the book was produced for a wealthy person, probably a layman. The beauty of the illustrations is not matched by the effectiveness of the wording of the captions. The author at first attempted to work in verse, but, perhaps finding this too difficult, switched to prose after less than a third of the text. His prose, described as "colourless" by one commentator, is no better than his verse, and indeed is often referred to as an example of the "disintegration" of the Anglo-Norman language during the thirteenth century.[33]

However, although the quality of the prose is poor, the substance of the text is of great interest. The Dominican author has rejected the typology of similar works to

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[30]R. Morris, The Story of Genesis and Exodus (London 1969), vii-viii; Arngardt, 9.
[31]W. O. Hassell, The Holkham Bible Picture Book (London 1954), 1-3.
[32]*Ibid.*, 10.

provide an accurate summation of the Gospel story.[34] Although some of the captions are extremely simplistic renderings of the Bible text—for example, the whole of the Sermon on the Mount is cut to one sentence[35]—the author has, for the most part, produced an accurate scriptural translation, except for three plates which detail the apocryphal story of Christ's flight to Egypt and His childhood miracles. There is an emphasis upon simple stories and miracles, scenes which can be depicted in one illustration, but, in most of the captions, the author keeps to the spirit of the Gospel message.

The most striking aspect of the author's theology is his reliance upon the scriptures as authority. All four evangelists are depicted, and the author gives a vivid description of each of them. In a brief prologue, the author contends that "*le humanité de Nostre Segniour Jhesu Crist*" is certain because "*touz lé catre ewa[n]gelistes*" confirm it.[36] Scenes from the Gospels, especially those of Christ's trial and crucifixion, are summarised almost wholly from the Scripture without theological comment.[37]

Despite its scriptural usages, the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, like most "biblical" translations of the twelfth and thirteenth century, was of little use to most laymen who wished to read the Bible text itself. This may well explain the popularity of the French vernacular Bible among the nobility and wealthy gentry. It may also explain the later use of the Wycliffite Bible by orthodox laymen and clergy.

3. *Learning and literacy in pre-Reformation East Anglia.*

Considering the paucity of English translations of the Bible, one might expect

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[33]F. P. Pickering, The Anglo-Norman Text of the Holkham Bible Picture Book (Oxford 1971), xx-xxii.
[34]*Ibid.*, xiv.
[35]Hassell, fo. 23. The sentence is the first of the Sermon ("*Beati pauperis...*"). Oddly, the author has kept the text in the Vulgate.
[36]*Ibid.*, fos. 11-v.

that common knowledge of the scriptures was relatively slight. Although in many areas of England, including in East Anglia, popular programmes of catechism were introduced during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such religious teaching rarely moved beyond the core of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Apostles' Creed in English.[38] One might also expect that the assumed heterodoxy of the Wycliffe Bible precluded its use by the orthodox. However, as the East Anglian Lollards themselves were to demonstrate, there was more than one pathway to scriptural understanding. A marked rise in schools and learning throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries allowed many laypersons to read books who would otherwise have been unable to do so, especially among the lower gentry.

East Anglia was well resourced with schools during this period. By the end of the fourteenth century the area had seven schools, more than any other region of similar size in the country,[39] and more were added in the fifteenth century. Some of these schools were grammar schools, originally intended for the training of priests, but to which other boys might attend on the payment of an annual fee. The most famous of these, at Bury St. Edmunds, became so well-known throughout Suffolk that it became the favoured school for the sons of wealthy townsmen of Bury and other towns in the county.[40] Such schools taught even children not destined for the clergy how to read Latin texts of theology, although not necessarily the Bible. The library of one such institution in Bury St. Edmunds held forty-six books on theology, liturgy and canon law, and only twenty-five on non-religious subjects. The reading of English was not emphasised, but was nevertheless important, as Latin grammar books

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[37]*Ibid.*, fos. 29-34v.
[38]E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, CT and London 1992), 53 ff.
[39]Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (London 1973), xiv.
[40]R. S. Gottfried, Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis, 1290-1539 (Princeton 1982), 208-10.

were sometimes written in the vernacular.[41]

One effect of this learning on the lay gentry and merchant classes was a marked increase in the ownership and reading of vernacular religious books and Bibles. By 1350, an increased demand for books in English was in evidence, and production of vernacular manuscripts rose sharply.[42] The Paston family are known for their ownership of books both in English and French during the fifteenth century, and their library included a singing book, a Psalter, a primer, various books of prayers, and a book of the "chapters of Lincoln."[43] Moran has noted that 16 *per cent* of fifteenth-century gentry wills in York diocese mention books, and that some of these books were bequeathed to persons of even lower social status. One religious book was given by a gentleman to his houseservant. Two vernacular Bibles were passed on to laity by orthodox clergymen.[44] Deanesly found that, of the twenty-six vernacular Bibles appearing in clerical wills from 1386 to 1500, two were bequeathed to laymen.[45] Many of these English Bibles were the Wycliffe version.[46]

The text of the Bible was not completely inaccessible to the illiterate. Some laypersons were fortunate enough to hear sermons on the Bible from their parish priest, although the phenomenon was not widespread. There was a strong belief that the preaching of the Bible ought to be allegorical, as a literal rendering of the scriptures might mislead the listeners.[47] Many preachers feared, after the laws passed against the reading of the scriptures in the vernacular in 1407, that the ban upon

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[41]Orme, English Schools, 64, 66-67.
[42]W. J. Courtenay, Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England (Princeton 1987), 373-74.
[43]Davis (ed.), vol. 1, 516-18, vol. 2, 360, 616.
[44]Moran, 152, 190.
[45]Deanesly, 333.
[46]H. Pope, English Versions of the Bible (St. Louis, MO and London 1952), 65-66, contends that these Bibles were another English version; however, he cannot identify which Bibles they might be. Deanesly, 333, argues convincingly that these Bibles were of the Wycliffite version.
[47]H. L. Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford 1993), 149, 175.

translation also applied to spoken renderings.[48] Nevertheless, medieval sermons were not devoid of scriptural material: biblical stories and parables were always popular topics, especially in holy day sermons.[49]

A more accessible and entertaining presentation of the scriptures appeared in the mystery plays and pageants which became popular in the fourteenth century. In East Anglia, most of the performances were presented in Norwich, although there is evidence that plays were also performed at nearby Wymondham and in Bury St. Edmunds.[50] The popularity of such dramas continued in Norwich even after the Reformation, although obviously they changed to conform to official doctrine.[51] The plays known to have come from East Anglia are considerably more advanced and contemplative than other plays such as those of the Chester and York cycles.[52] The Croxton play, though its source is a crude Continental anti-Semitic drama, skillfully moulds its material into a defence of the sacraments.[53] The series of plays known as the *N-Town cycle*, believed to have been written at the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, contain much material of scriptural interest. Despite an understandable emphasis upon the Blessed Virgin and on the Immaculate Conception, the *N-Town cycle* is considered to be much closer to the whole of the text of the Bible than other contemporary drama cycles.[54] As the plays usually accompanied the popular Corpus Christi festival, the scriptural message of the Croxton and N-Town dramas must have

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[48]*Ibid.*, 165, 175.

[49]G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: a neglected chapter in the history of English letters & of the English people (Cambridge 1926), 144 ff.

[50]J. Dutka, "Mystery Plays at Norwich: their Formation and Development," Leeds Studies in English, new series vol. 10 (1978), 107-10; G. M. Gibson, The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian drama and society in the late middle ages (Chicago 1989), 109 ff.

[51]Dutka, 108-09. Kett's Rebellion was allegedly hatched at a Corpus Christi play in Wymondham in the late spring of 1549. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the Rebellion.

[52]Moran, 128-31, 152.

[53]C. Cutts, "The Croxton Play: an anti-Lollard piece," Modern Language Quarterly, vol. 5 (1944), 46-55; J. Craig, Reformation, Politics and Polemics: the growth of Protestantism in East Anglian market towns, 1500-1610 (Aldershot 2001), 69.

reached many laypersons.[55]

Much more must have been taught about the stories of the Bible through informal contacts. Parents may have instructed their children about scripture, or laypersons might have transmitted scriptural knowledge to each other in conversation. Some information would have been found in medieval church paintings or tapestries. Popular literature, which became increasingly widespread during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, may have also aided the literate layperson. Although, during the twelfth century, the author of *Genesis and Exodus* warned his readers against popular lyrics and secular works, later popular writers incorporated scriptural scenes into lyrics and texts.[56] By the fourteenth century, authors such as Langland and Chaucer incorporated Biblical stories and quotations into their works. It has been estimated, for example, that Chaucer's works include as many as 500 references to the Bible.[57] Langland's *Piers Plowman* includes several long quotations from scripture, and expounds on biblical themes such as the Crucifixion and Christ's parables.[58] While Langland and Chaucer may not have intended their audience to understand all of their references, the sheer volume of scriptural allusions suggests that Biblical stories were widely known.

Nevertheless, it remains difficult to assess the level of scriptural knowledge of the common person. It might be more sensible to study the end result of personal biblical understanding rather than the methods by which this could be gained. The

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[54]Moran, 128-31, 152.
[55]D. Galloway (ed.), Records of Early English Drama: Norwich (Toronto 1984), 9-10 is an account for the Corpus Christi festival day play in 1543 in Norwich; see also Dutka, 108-09.
[56]Arngaardt, 9; R. Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford 1968), 2-4.
[57]W. M. Thompson, "Chaucer's Translation of the Bible," in N. Davis and C. L. Wrenn (eds.), English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday (London 1962), 188. Thompson believes (191-92) that Chaucer did not use the contemporary Wycliffite Bible, but rather translated from the French.
[58]A. V. C. Schmidt, The Treatment of the Crucifixion in *Piers Plowman* and in Rolle's *Meditations of the Passion* (Salzburg 1982); H. White, Nature and Salvation in *Piers Plowman* (Cambridge 1988).

following section will examine three persons from Norfolk and study their level of scriptural contact and understanding.

The first, Margery Kempe of [King's] Lynn, was a lost figure to history until the rediscovery of the manuscript of her story in 1934. Kempe was, in her day, harshly treated: she was wrongly prosecuted as a Lollard, despite her connections with church authorities,[59] and became alienated from everyone who knew her, save the priests who transcribed her memoirs. Historians who have studied her *Book* have often been similarly disparaging. Some have found the accounts of her conversations with Christ disappointingly simplistic.[60] Others believe that Kempe was, if not insane, at least "pathologically neurotic"; even relatively sympathetic authors such as Triggs argue that she was "wild."[61] Fortunately a number of historians have recently attempted to rescue Kempe's reputation,[62] for her *Book* tells us much about the potentiality of transmission of scriptural material to the laity.

Kempe was a member of the urban elite: her father was once the mayor of Lynn, and she owned a two-horse mill at the time of her conversion.[63] A man of her social status would have been educated, but Kempe was clearly not: she describes herself as "illiterate" and had no knowledge of Latin beyond a handful of set prayers, nor could she speak any other languages.[64] One advantage Kempe did enjoy, however, was the company of a fairly wide circle of learned men and women who

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[59]Kempe, 33. In this passage, Kempe appeals to the Bishop of Lincoln to bless her chastity. Kempe appears familiar to the bishop, and the bishop accedes to her unusual request without demur.
[60]T. Triggs (ed.), The Book of Margery Kempe: the autobiography of the wild woman of God (Tunbridge Wells 1995), 12.
[61]W. Riehle, The Medieval English Mystics (London 1981), 11; but see Gibson, 49, for a rebuttal.
[62]For example S. Dickman, "Margery Kempe and the English Devotional Tradition," in M. Glasscoe (ed.), The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, vol. 1 (Exeter 1980), 156-72; K. Lochrie, "*The Book of Margery Kempe*: the marginal woman's quest for literary authority," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, vol. 16 (1986), 33-55.
[63]Kempe, 10.
[64]*Ibid.*, 113, 81, 121, 82. However, in a vision (206) she states that she had seen in the "Boke of Lyfe" the name of the Trinity written in gold. This might suggest that she had some limited reading ability,

were able to read sections of the scriptures to her. Her confessor, Robert Spryngolde, was a "Bacheler of lawe" with some experience in interpreting the Scripture.[65] A priest with whom she was acquainted read to her over a period of seven or eight years not only the Bible but also "Seynt Brydys boke," presumably the *Life of St. Bridget*, "[Thomas] Hyltons boke," probably the *Epistle on Mixed Life*, Hilton's *Stimulum Amoris*, Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, "& swech oþer."[66] The mention of the *Life of St. Bridget* is of interest, as Kempe often identified with the saint and may have attempted to use the story of Bridget's life as a model for her own.[67] Hilton's *Epistle* is also of note, since its reflections on the co-existence of active and contemplative religious life had a profound effect upon Kempe's life.[68] In addition, Kempe often spoke with those she termed "Goddys servawntys," including learned doctors and scholars.[69]

The results of Kempe's listening to the Bible stories are evident from her *Book*. For an illiterate laywoman, her knowledge of the scriptures has been described as "considerable."[70] Throughout her life Kempe recited various scriptural stories, often to clerics who appeared angry to hear a laywoman recite from the Gospel.[71] She claimed to have visions of scriptural scenes, such as the Nativity or the Crucifixion, and seemed pleased that some preachers cited the scriptures in her defence against a travelling friar who attacked her knowledge.[72] Often her citations of scripture suggest

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although she always states that she had books read to her, and never that she read them herself.

[65]*Ibid.*, 150.

[66]*Ibid.*, 143, 39.

[67]*Ibid.*, 95, 47; B. Windeatt (ed.), English Mystics of the Middle Ages (Cambridge 1994), 11-12.

[68]Dickman, 158.

[69]Kempe, 25.

[70]M. Gallyon, Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England (Norwich 1995), 13.

[71]Kempe, 27, 65, 75, 115, etc. In the first instance, Kempe recited an unidentified parable to a monk of Canterbury, who replied that she should be walled up "in a house of stone"; soon afterwards she was accused of Lollardy.

[72]*Ibid.*, 18-19, 190-94, 169. Gibson, 49-51, has much to say about the significance of the Crucifixion vision.

that she tried to match her aural understanding against the literary wisdom of the clerics.[73] Yet, at the same time, Kempe's scriptural knowledge is refreshingly imperfect. Although she occasionally alludes to Biblical passages in her visions,[74] her accounts of God's words to her are usually down-to-earth and free of literal scriptural constraints. Typically, when citing scripture, Kempe does not identify which part of the Gospel she has used.[75] In her account of praying for sustenance when she was penniless and stranded in Italy, she does not recall Matthew 6:26, which would seem particularly suited to her situation.[76] Kempe's inexact recollections of the Bible perhaps provide a more realistic assessment of a laywoman's scriptural understanding than do hagiographical accounts of female saints who claim apparently perfect knowledge of the Bible.

The second well-known woman from Norfolk is the anchoress Julian of Norwich, whom Kempe visited and to whom she spoke during her travels.[77] Julian was an educated religious woman whose *Showings* [*Revelations*] demonstrate a high degree of scholasticism. The critical question posed by Julian's works concerns how she gained her Biblical knowledge. Although her writings show use of scriptural text—for example her examination of 2 Corinthians and the "daily dying" motif[78]—her means of access to the Bible is unclear. Colledge and Walsh contend that, even though she described herself as "unlettered," she knew how to use the Vulgate

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[73]Lochrie, 39.

[74]Kempe, 22 ("Dowtyr, why hast þow forsakyn me, and I forsoke nevyr þe?").

[75]Although, *Ibid.*, 67, 116, Kempe does mention that she has remembered the story of the adulterous woman, and of Sodom and Gomorra or "þe cyteys".

[76]*Ibid.*, 92-93, 104-05. ("Behold, the foules of the ayer: for they sowe not, nether do they reape, nor carry into the barnes: and youre hevenly father fedeth the[m]. Are ye not moch better then they?")

[77]*Ibid.*, 42-43.

[78]E. Colledge and J. Walsh (eds.), Julian of Norwich: Showings (New York 1978), 68. See also R. Stone, Middle English Prose Style: Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich (The Hague 1970), 55, 57 for more examples.

Bible.[79] However, their argument on her use of the Vulgate seems to be based upon her alleged use of religious authors whose works had not yet been translated into English. They contend that her famous depiction of God as Mother is based on William of Thierry's works; yet several fifteenth-century English religious lyric writers also used the same motif, and Julian may have been influenced by them.[80] Sutherland has recently argued[81] that many factors, particularly the discrepancies between the older short text and the later long text of *Showings*, reveal that Julian used a vernacular Bible, and particularly the Wycliffe Bible. It is true that, in some cases, scriptural material from the short text is missing from the long text; Sutherland contends these were removed to deflect charges of unorthodoxy.[82] It should be noted that, like Kempe, Julian had certain books read aloud to her,[83] and this may perhaps explain some of her scriptural knowledge.

The final layperson is Robert Reynys, a carpenter's son from Acle who lived *c.* 1420-80. Except for the survival of his commonplace book, Reynys would have remained a faceless yeoman of the fifteenth century. However, because his book is extant, Reynys's life can tell us much about fifteenth-century lay religion.

Reynys was a leading figure in his community. He was at various times churchreeve, alderman, and churchwarden of Acle.[84] Louis believes that his education was practical, and that he was not trained at the grammar school in nearby Norwich.[85] However, he was able to understand some Latin, although it was not of a high standard: his commonplace book contains a number of obvious grammatical

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[79]Colledge and Walsh, 19.
[80]*Ibid.*, 20; Woolf, 189-90.
[81]A. Sutherland, "Biblical Citation and its Affective Contextualisation in Some English Mystical Texts of the Fourteenth Century," unpublished D.Phil thesis (Oxford 1999).
[82]Colledge and Walsh (eds.), 142, 206 for the case of Phillippians 2. See also Triggs, 38, for an example of Kempe's prosecution for Lollardy for the use of English scriptures.
[83]Including a *Life* of St. Cecilia; Colledge and Walsh (eds.), 127.
[84]C. Louis (ed.), The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes (New York and London 1980), 29.

errors, and in one section he included a list of numbers in Latin from one to 1000, presumably to jog his memory.[86] The book itself, more of a miscellany than a commonplace book *per se*, contains many sections which appear to be copied or transcribed from other works. Some of these borrowings are from educated sources, though the reasons for their inclusion in the manuscript are unclear.[87] Some of the transcriptions are hasty and inexact: his list of the Ten Commandments, for example, omits the Sixth.[88] The religious lists suggest that Reynys had some knowledge of the catechism, perhaps gained during his tenure as churchreeve, although, in Duffy's estimation, Reynys's catechism "may have been fairly elementary in his case."[89]

Throughout his book, Reynys demonstrates an orthodox Christianity which was often touched by superstition. He conspicuously records the major points of catholic worship, as well as a list of the hours of service. His written prayers are familiar invocations of the Blessed Virgin, of Christ's wounds and of SS Gregory, Sylvester and Leon.[90] At the same time, however, he credulously lists the dispositions of those born under certain signs of the zodiac, and his lists of charms for the cure of illness include the use of divinations and amulets. The editor of the text considers these a sign of the rural simplicity of Reynys, but they appear, as Thomas suggests, more like the mixture of "religion and magic" common elsewhere in

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[85]*Ibid.*, 34.

[86]Bodleian MS Tanner 407, fos. 13v-14. See also Louis, 34 ff., for an examination of some of the grammatical errors.

[87]For example, Bodleian MS Tanner 407, fos. 1-8 consist of "*statua panis et cerevisae*"; fos. 11v-18 are rules for bloodletting and "charms for the cure of fever," fos. 37-39 are geographical notes for cities in England, and of Rome and other foreign cities. C. L. S. Linnell, "The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynys, of Acle," Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Studies, vol. 32 (1958-61), 111-12, believes that fos. 1-8, listing weights and measures, were used by Reynys as a "ready reckoner" for any commerce he may have had. The information which Reynys includes appears to be from an educated source: how else would he have known, for example, that Norfolk consisted of 32 hundreds (fo. 41v) and that Iceland had two bishops (fo. 64)?

[88]*Ibid.*, fo. 35.

[89]Duffy, 72-73.

[90]Bodleian MS Tanner 407, fos. 35-v, 34v, 17v, 36.

fifteenth-century England.[91] His use of the scriptures is, perhaps unsurprisingly, subsidiary to his main concerns. Reynys refers to no scriptural scenes, and only mentions a handful of names from the Bible in passing. He includes a brief poem on the genealogy of Christ which may be taken from Matthew 1:1-16, but his longer sections upon the Blessed Virgin are almost wholly apocryphal.[92] Reynys' book therefore portrays a popular Christianity perhaps largely untouched by scriptural learning.

4. *The Wycliffite Bible and Lollardy in East Anglia.*

In the early 1490's, when Caxton's printing was gaining a foothold in England, the publisher produced a translation of the *Polychronicon* by John of Trevisa. In Caxton's own introduction to the work, he claimed that, among his other accomplishments, Trevisa had translated the scriptures into English.[93] Most historians have dismissed Caxton's comment as false.[94] Fowler has argued that Trevisa might have been involved in the translation of the First Wycliffite Bible, as he was at Queen's College, Oxford as a contemporary of Wycliffe and Hereford, and later wrote on the usefulness of the study of the vernacular scriptures.[95] A more pertinent question for this dissertation, however, might be why Caxton treated Trevisa's work as an asset. Why would the publisher boast about his author's heretical translation?

The answer lies in the conflicting ways in which the Wycliffite Bible was used

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[91]*Ibid.*, fos. 34, 11v-18; Louis, 112; K. V. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England (London 1971), 42-43. Duffy, 73, suggests that the magical formulas in the book would have been "disapproved" of by orthodox clergy, which seems something of an understatement.

[92]Bodleian MS Tanner 407, fos. 34v, 20-v, 21-32.

[93]J. R. Lumby and C. Babington (eds.), Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century (London 1865-86), vol. 5.

[94]N. F. Blake, Caxton, England's First Printer (London 1976), 175, does appear to take Caxton's claim at its word.

during this period. Much has been written upon its use by Lollard preachers and laymen, and its intellectual importance to the heretics.[96] However, there are two exceptions to the general view of the Lollard Bible as an important but heretical text. Firstly, many orthodox laymen and clergy were able to openly own and read the Wycliffite Bible without official censure. Secondly, most rank-and-file Lollards in East Anglia did not own or necessarily even use the Wycliffite Bible, and some openly doubted its value.

The deconsecrated church of St. Michael at the Tombland in Norwich, now a brass rubbing centre, owns a well-preserved, illustrated Wycliffite Bible. The Norfolk Record Office believes that this Bible was at one time owned by the Boleyn family of Norfolk. Apart from the interesting connection with the religious politics of the reign of Henry VIII, this book demonstrates the open ownership of Lollard Bibles by the wealthy. The illustrations and the superior production of the example indicate that this Bible was made for a rich family. The "Boleyn" Bible is not the only East Anglian example of a Wycliffite Bible in orthodox hands. In 1504 John Clopton of Long Melford in Suffolk bequeathed his English Bible to the Archdeacon of Suffolk.[97] Clopton's connections to the Archdeacon, as well as his standing in the community, bear witness to his orthodoxy.[98]

The orthodox lay ownership of Wycliffite and other English Bibles is well-documented in other areas of England. Deanesly notes that seventeen English Bibles were bequeathed in wills between 1384 and 1525.[99] In the diocese of York, two

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[95]Fowler, 157-59.
[96]Most notably, in Hudson, The Premature Reformation (Oxford 1988); Hudson, Lollards and their Books; M. Aston, Lollards and Reformers.
[97]J. J. Round (ed.), The Visitation of Suffolke made by William Hervey, Clarenceux King of Arms, 1561, with Additions from Family Documents, Original Wills, Jermyn, Davy and other Manuscripts (Lowestoft 1866), vol. 1, 38.
[98]Clopton was the primary patron of the new parish church building at Long Melford. Gibson, 29-30.
[99]Deanesly, 399.

specifically Wycliffite Bibles were bequeathed to laymen by priests.[100] The ownership of the Wycliffite Bible by orthodox priests is also not unusual. Religious institutions often owned vernacular scriptures as an aid to devotion, and some of these Bibles were, in Deanesly's word, "Lollard."[101] In the diocese of York, a number of vernacular Bibles were held in clerical libraries; when the monasteries were dissolved during the reign of Henry VIII, some books of the Bible in English were found among their books. A compilation of holdings in monastic libraries revealed three Gospels and two other New Testament books in the vernacular.[102] Considering that the easiest way for Lollards to identify themselves, and the surest grounds for their prosecution, was through their ownership of the vernacular Bible and other books in English,[103] the holding of the Wycliffite scriptures by orthodox clergy and laypersons may appear a paradox. Yet the ownership of English Bibles by the gentry, and the lack of prosecution for their doing so, is well-documented.[104] Indeed, without gentry and clerical holdings, most of the surviving copies of the Wycliffite Bible would have been destroyed by rough handling and overuse; wealthy families were able to take proper care of the manuscripts.[105]

One answer to this seeming paradox is that those who used vernacular scripture were treated differently by ecclesiastical authorities, depending upon whether they were rich or poor. Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions*, which were accepted by Convocation at Oxford in 1407, extended this attack to a more general rejection of vernacular scripture.[106] In Constitution VII, unambiguously entitled "*Ne*

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[100]Moran, 190.
[101]Swanson, 270; Deanesly, 399.
[102]Moran, 191-92.
[103]Hudson, The Premature Reformation, 166-68.
[104]M. Aston and J. Richmond (eds.), Lollardy and the Gentry in the Middle Ages (Oxford 1995), 19-21.
[105]Hudson, The Premature Reformation, 231, notes that 250 copies of the Wycliffite Bible survive, the largest number of any late-medieval work.
[106]*Ibid.*, 175.

quis texta S. scripturae transferat in linguam Anglicanum," Arundel cites St. Jerome that "*Periculosa quoque res est...textum sacrae scripturae de uno in aliud idioma transferre...*" Constitution VII decreed that anyone who read or disseminated the scriptures in the vernacular, "*in linguam Anglicanum, vel aliam transferat*", would be excommunicated.[107] Although the *Constitutions* banned the reading of the vernacular Bible by all laity in theory, in practice this was not the case. The Wycliffite Bible appeared only a few years after the Peasants' Rebellion, and the fear that Lollard ideas might spark off another revolt was confirmed for many by the Oldcastle Rebellion of 1414. As a result, one of the arguments against the vernacular scriptures was that its reading might incite the lower classes to insurrection. Reginald Pecock attacked the Wycliffite translation on these grounds, especially as the lower classes might not be able to understand the finer points of the text: translation in this context was "wel derk and perilos."[108]

The argument that vernacular scripture was not fit for those of lower rank was put succinctly in the *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*: borrowing from Matthew 7:6, the continuator of the chronicle wrote that the Wycliffite Bible put "pearls before swine" by its accessibility to poorer laypersons.[109] The story of Margery Kempe is illustrative of the differing ways in which those who used and recited vernacular scripture in the fifteenth century were treated. When Kempe was with clerics who knew her and were aware of her social status, priests and scholars of law were content to translate and debate Gospel texts with her. Only when she discussed the scriptures in English with clerics in places where she was unknown did Kempe face accusations

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[107]D. Wilkins (ed.), Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiens, A.D. 446 ad Londinemsum A.D. 1717, 4 vols. (London 1737), vol. 3, 317.
[108]Spencer, 149.
[109]J. R. Lumby (ed.), Chronicon Henrici Knighton, Rolls Series no. 92, pt. 2 (London 1895), vol. 2, 151-52.

of Lollardy.[110] Aston and Richmond have suggested that the Constitutions of Oxford implicitly banned the reading and use of the vernacular Bible by the lower classes in the same way as the 1543 Act for the Advancement of Religion banned it explicitly.[111]

The study of the Wycliffite Bible was, it has been argued, not merely an aid to Lollard devotion, but a necessity to the movement.[112] This belief was not apparently confined to the heterodox scholars, but was also held by less academic followers. A number of Lollards, particularly in the Midlands, believed that the scriptures held all that was necessary to Christian life, an incipient version of the Protestant *sola scriptura*.[113] The heretic Thomas Garenter of London confessed that "I helde noo scriptur catholyk ner holy, but oonly that ys conteined in the Bible."[114]

However, there are problems with the linking of all heretics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the reading of the vernacular Bible. In the first place, the Wycliffite Bible was not universally understandable. It has long been accepted that the "wretched" First Wycliffite version is at points impossible to understand, owing to its overly literal translation.[115] The Second Wycliffite version was also problematic. Its language, and more particularly its syntax, borrows heavily from Latin and Greek, and its classical borrowings are more frequent than those of the Tyndale or Great Bibles, versions attacked by some sixteenth-century Protestants such as Sir John

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[110]Triggs, 66, 38, 111.

[111]Aston and Richmond (eds.), 20-21. The 1543 Act barred all "below the rank of gentry" from the ownership, reading or use of the Bible. However, ironically, the Constitutions succeeded where the 1543 Act failed in prosecutions. In East Anglia during the reign of Henry VIII, only one case was prosecuted under the Act; hundreds were prosecuted under the Constitutions. See Norfolk RO, Norwich Mayoralty Court Book (1540-49), fo. 315.

[112]Hudson, The Premature Reformation, 276.

[113]J. Scattergood, "Pierce the Ploughman's Crede," in Aston and Richmond (eds.), 89-90.

[114]Spencer, 148.

[115]Cottle, 223. Hudson, in The Premature Reformation, 238, refers to the early version as a "very literal, stilted, and at times unintelligible rendering," which would probably only be of use to those who already understood Latin.

Cheke as too scholarly for many of their readers.[116] The cost of the Wycliffite Bible was often prohibitive as well: during the 1420's Nicholas Belward of Earsham purchased a Wycliffite New Testament for four marks 40 pence (£2 16s. 8d.), more than the annual income of an average labourer.[117]

More importantly, not every "Lollard" in England was wholly convinced of the necessity of vernacular scripture. While Lollards in some areas, notably in Coventry and the diocese of Salisbury, were particularly known for their reading of books and Bibles, even in these places there was dissent. The convicted Lollard John Brewer of Aldbourne contended that a cask of ale was of more good than the Evangelists.[118] Elsewhere, as in the diocese of York, there was an almost total lack of book-reading by Lollards.[119]

The main fifteenth-century conviction records which exist of East Anglian Lollards are the prosecution trials presided over by Bishop Alnwick of Norwich between 1428 and 1431. It has been suggested that Lollardy in East Anglia subsided after these trials until the 1520's, when the survivors of the sect merged with nascent Protestantism.[120] Yet Thomas Man, an infamous Chilterns heretic of the early-sixteenth century, claimed to have several followers in Norfolk and Suffolk *c.* 1518, and also helped prosecuted Lollards from the Chilterns to escape to East Anglia.[121] Some years earlier, William Sweeting and James Brewster of Essex were burnt for

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[116]G. Duke, "'Pure and Unmixt': John Cheke's English Bible of 1550," unpublished MA thesis, University of Toronto (1995), 21 ff.
[117]A and M, vol. 3, 597. Compare this with the 16d. price paid by Robert Necton in Norfolk for unbound copies of the Tyndale Bible in 1527. See Chapter 2.
[118]Hudson, The Premature Reformation, 187; A. D. Brown, Popular Piety in Late Medieval England (Oxford 1995), 216-17, 211.
[119]Moran, 193.
[120]E. Walsh, "Some Suffolk Lollards," Suffolk Review new series vol. 4 (1964), 154.
[121]J. A. F. Thomson, The Later Lollards, 1414-1510 (Oxford 1965), 170-71; C. Cross, "Great Reasoners in Scripture: the activities of women Lollards," in D. Baker (ed.), Medieval Women (Oxford 1978), 368. D. Plumb, "A Gathered Church? Lollards and their Society," in M. Spufford (ed.), The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725 (Cambridge 1995), 163, contends that Lollards in scattered areas

preaching against pilgrimages and images. Sweeting's case is of particular interest, as he admitted that he had spoken to William Man, perhaps a relation of Thomas Man, about a "certain little book of scripture in English."[122]

Two late fifteenth-century occurrences in the diocese of Norwich also suggest that authorities attempted less overt attacks against Lollardy, indicating that there were still forms of unorthodoxy prevalent. Fonts portraying depictions of the seven sacraments appeared in areas affected by in Norfolk and Suffolk from the 1450's. Nichols, who has studied the iconography of these fonts, believes that they were constructed as a silent defence against Lollard denial of the tenets of orthodox faith.[123] The Croxton miracle play is also believed by some to be an anti-Lollard text, as it preaches upon the importance of baptism, veneration of images, pilgrimage, and the authority of priests and bishops.[124] Lollard beliefs as uncovered by Alnwick's trials were to show a heavy reliance upon anti-sacramentarian doctrines.

The heresy trials of 1428-31 offer the clearest picture of Lollard doctrines in East Anglia. A small number of heretics in the area did in fact own and use the vernacular Bible. Richard Belward of Earsham, probably the brother of the aforementioned Nicholas, had books including the scriptures brought to him from London. William Baxter, a close associate of the Lollard leader Hugh Pye, admitted to owning an English New Testament lent him by Pye.[125] His wife Margery admitted to carrying books, including a New Testament, to another of the teachers, William White.[126] Thus the English Bible was not wholly absent from Lollard activity in East

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throughout the country were able to communicate with each other.

[122]A and M, vol. 4, 215-16.

[123]A. Nichols, Seeable Signs: the iconography of the seven sacraments, 1350-1544 (Woodbridge 1994), xv.

[124]Cutts, 48-50.

[125]A and M, vol. 3, 585, 597.

[126]N. Tanner (ed.), Norwich Heresy Trials, 1428-31, Camden Society Publications, fourth series vol. 20 (1984), 39.

Anglia.

These men and women were among the leaders of the Lollard movement uncovered in Alnwick's prosecution. Tanner has noted that among them existed strong similarities of opinion which he attributes to their reading of the Wycliffite Bible or other religious works in English.[127] Among the lesser members of the Lollard sect in Norwich, there was great doctrinal diversity.[128] Occasionally these "less-educated" doctrines degenerated into crudeness: John Burrell declared that the Mass remained "just a cake."[129]

Some have contended that almost all Lollards, regardless of their background or literacy, had contact with the Wycliffite Bible and with heretical books. The records of Alnwick's trials, however, do not confirm this belief in East Anglia. Only three of the sixty accused heretics, Pye, White and William Baxter,[130] mentioned scripture at all, and only three others were accused of owning other heretical books.[131] These figures cast some doubt on the belief that the vernacular scriptures were always paramount in Lollard concerns.[132] The prosecution records also suggest that not all of the East Anglian Lollards had contacts with the book-owning leaders. Only ten of the accused are said to have attended heretical schools, while another twenty-five were accused of fraternising with other heretics.[133] This leaves nineteen Lollards still unaccounted for, who apparently had no long-term contact with the leaders. Without literate leadership, illiterate Lollards often misinterpreted books, although it is clear that they regarded books and book-learning with the utmost respect. Some

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[127]*Ibid.*, 20.
[128]Aston, Lollards and Reformers, 90-91.
[129]Tanner, 73. For similar beliefs which were retained in East Anglia as late as the Marian reaction, see Chapter 6.
[130]Richard Belward obviously escaped prosecution here.
[131]Tanner, 11 (table).
[132]See Hudson, The Premature Reformation, 276 for an opposing view.
[133]Tanner, 11 (table).

lesser Lollards were so misguided in their esteem of manuscripts that they considered the *Ars Morienda* and certain saints' lives to be works of heresy.[134]

A number of the Lollard doctrines uncovered in the trials do not appear to have literary or scriptural antecedents, but are perhaps more rooted in local traditions. Wycliffe and his contemporaries wrote, as did Luther, against the sale of indulgences, yet only one of the sixty accused spoke out against this practice at the trials. On the other hand, of the forty-five accused who were asked about pilgrimages and the veneration of images, thirty-four rejected pilgrimages and thirty-seven rejected images. The level of rejection of these practices was perhaps not surprising considering the trials' proximity to the pilgrimage centres of Walsingham, mentioned specifically by four of the accused, and Woolpit, mentioned by one other subject.[135]

A final feature of the Alnwick trials which suggests that the East Anglian Lollards may not have treated scriptural authority as the exclusive basis of their belief is their stand upon the sacraments. Davis has called anti-sacramentarianism the "outstanding feature" of the trials.[136] Although the anti-sacramentarian views of the Lollard suspects must be viewed in the light of interrogation procedures which emphasized beliefs regarding to the sacraments, the statistics largely support his statement. Of the forty-five persons specifically asked about the value of the sacraments, thirty-four were against the Eucharist, twenty-nine against baptism, thirty-seven against confession, twenty-three against confirmation, and twenty-eight against the sacrament of matrimony.[137] The sacraments of baptism and Eucharist were rejected outright despite their inclusion in the scriptures, and not necessarily, as was later argued by the Protestants, because their form of use was unbiblical. Indeed,

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[134]S. McSheffrey, Gender and Heresy (Philadelphia 1995), 70.
[135]Tanner, 10.
[136]J. F. Davis, Heresy and Reformation in the South East of England, 1520-1559 (London 1983), 4.

baptism in particular was rejected on specifically anticlerical grounds, with the accused casting aspersions upon the motivation of those who used holy water and oil.

Prior to the publication of the Tyndale New Testament of 1525, there had been a long history of vernacular Bible versions. However, in practice pre-Wycliffite vernacular Bibles had only been available to the clergy or to wealthy laypersons. The implementation in practice of the 1407 *Constitutions* served to intensify this division: while wealthy laypersons were tacitly permitted to own the Lollard Bible, poorer persons were not. The advent of printing, and the subsequent placing of the English Bible into the parish churches, was to greatly change this situation.

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[137]Tanner, 10.

Chapter 2: The Bible between 1525 and its installation in the parish churches.

1. The advent of the Tyndale Bible and its appearance in East Anglia..

The publication of the first printed English Bible, by Tyndale in 1525, dramatically increased lay access to the words of scripture. Within two years the Continentally-produced Tyndale Bible not only appeared in East Anglia, but also was available in large quantities. Between 1527 and 1536, the year in which a vernacular Bible first received licence, various versions of the English scriptures made inroads into the region, and in some places the text of the Bible was preached by men such as Thomas Bilney and John Bale.

In the years between the first publication of Tyndale's New Testament and the licencing of the Great Bible, East Anglia played a crucial role in the importation of vernacular scripture. Strong trading links between the ports of the area and the ports of the Low Countries, forged from the regular trade of wool and cloth, made East Anglia a logical entry-point for English Bibles printed abroad. During the eleven years from 1525 to 1536, thirteen editions of Tyndale's New Testament, and five English translations of the Psalms or Old Testament books, were produced in Antwerp. Four New Testaments and an edition of the Pentateuch were produced in German cities; these scriptures also probably reached England through Low Country ports.[1] Those who imported illegal Bibles found their task relatively simple: books were rarely expected to appear on the ship's manifest, and could be easily hidden in legitimate cargo, as they were often concealed between other items in the hold.[2]

Although the clandestine nature of the trade made large shipments unwise, the volume of shipping between East Anglia and the Continent allowed large numbers of texts to reach English shores. The supply of books must have seemed nearly endless:

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[1] English Bibles, 1-11. For a brief discussion of the problems of the printing of the Great Bible in Paris, see below.
[2] N. J. Williams, The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590 (Oxford 1988), 180.

six thousand copies of the Tyndale Bible were produced in the first print run at Worms alone.[3] As early as 1530 there were at least two merchants in King's Lynn who claimed that their stocks of Bibles ran into three figures. Some idea of the volume of the East Anglian trade in Bibles can be gained from the low prices offered by Bible-traders: in 1527 Robert Necton was quoted a price of about 16d. apiece by a Dutch trader for unbound New Testaments, and obtained several at this price.[4] Since most East Anglian ports—for example, King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Southwold or Lowestoft—were not noted centres of religious radicalism, it is likely that most Bibles were moved on quickly from their port of entry, though Bibles may have been disseminated in Colchester and Ipswich. The journeys from most East Anglian ports to the two main markets for vernacular scripture, London and Cambridge, were relatively short and fairly trouble-free; Necton made the trip from King's Lynn to London more than once with dozens of volumes of illegal scripture.[5]

Oddly, however, the provenance of almost all Bibles detected in the area before 1536 was from the capital or Cambridge. The preacher Thomas Bilney carried Bibles from both places into Norfolk and Suffolk, in one well-known instance delivering printed scripture to an anchoress in Norwich.[6] On the other hand, as will be discussed below, a group of Colchester readers needed to travel to London to purchase the Tyndale Bible in 1527. Both examples suggest that there were few sellers of the Bible in East Anglia despite its presence in the region. They also suggest that the initiative and funding required to import illegal scripture lay elsewhere.

The Tyndale Bible quickly attracted interest in East Anglia, both from those

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[3]CHB, vol. 3, 142.
[4]Strype, vol. 1, 44-45.
[5]*Ibid.*, vol. 1, 44-45.
[6]A and M, vol. 4, 642.

who wished to read it and those who wished to halt its spread. The activities of a group of Colchester religious progressives, and the records of their subsequent detection by Bishop Tunstall, are illustrative of the struggle by those who desired to read scripture. In 1527 Tunstall captured a man named John Hacker of Colchester with a prohibited book, and he testified against nearly forty of his colleagues. One of the accused, John Pykas, a baker of St. Matthew's parish in Colchester, was later brought before Tunstall, and supplied further information upon several of the accused.[7]

Several of these accused persons were known to have owned some part of the New Testament in English. Pykas himself received the Epistles from his mother in 1522, and three years later bought a complete New Testament in Colchester from a Lombard. Christopher Ravyns and his servant Thomas Hills bought a New Testament in London, and William Raylond owned a book of the Apocalypse in English.[8] The version of these Bibles is unclear: while the Epistles of Pykas' mother must have been of a Wycliffe translation, the New Testaments owned by Pykas, Rayvns and Hills were probably of Tyndale's. Raylond's Apocalypse might have been a local product: John Stacy of Colemanstreet was said to be harbouring a scholar who was working on the text, along with John Sercot, also of Colemanstreet, who was paying the costs.[9] These sections of scripture were probably much prized, as they were circulated widely throughout the group. Hills gave a copy of Matthew's Gospel to a man named Cony, a clerk, after he purchased the New Testament. Hacker stated that Mother Bristow

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[7]BL MS Harleian 421, fos. 11-14v. C. D'Alton ("The Suppression of Heresy in Early Henrican England" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1999), 192, has argued that Pykas was singled out for interrogation because Hacker accused him of owning the scriptures in English. However, Christopher Ravyns, a tailor of Witham and another of the accused, was also said to have read and owned the English Bible, and he was not further mentioned in the deposition.
[8]BL MS Harleian 421, fos. 11v ff.
[9]BL MS Harleian 421, fo. 11v. Rayvns' book is identified as the Tyndale New Testament; Pykas purchased his book in 1525, the year of the publication of Tyndale, and the book is said to be new.

now owned his book of Luke, which he himself had borrowed from Thomas Blissed. Pykas said he lent his New Testament to Robert Best, having earlier claimed that he had given both the Epistles and the New Testament back to his mother. Such exchanges of books were accompanied by exchanges of ideas. Pykas confessed that he had visited the houses of several accused members to discuss scripture. He also told many about the sermon he had heard by Thomas Bilney which denounced images, pilgrimages and auricular confession. Many of the members, even those who were not said to have read or heard scripture, such as Katherine Swain and William Bocher, also held these beliefs.[10]

It is clear from the records that not all of those accused who had knowledge of the Bible were literate. Pykas identifies some of the members of the group, for example Robert Best, as "readers."[11] Yet others in the group were able to argue effectively from their knowledge of scripture. Many of the "readers" were said to have visited others' houses to speak about the Bible and discuss its contents. Pykas claimed that he had discussed Matthew 24 with John Gyrlyng and Matthew 5 with William Raylond and his son. Marion Matthew was not called a "reader," but Pykas stated that she knew the Gospels and Epistles, and drew her ideas from them.[12] Perhaps Matthew memorised large tracts of the Bible, as some women were to do during Mary's reign.[13]

Perhaps the most striking discovery of Tunstall's investigation is the widespread availability of the English scriptures. It seemed that everyone involved knew how to obtain a copy. The designation of the Colchester heretics as "known men" or "known women" is doubly apt: though the word certainly meant, as with

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[10]Strype, vol. 1, 86.
[11]BL MS Harleian 421, fo. 21.
[12]BL MS Harleian 421, fos. 22v-23.
[13]See Chapter 6.

Lollards, that the suspects were "known" for heresy, it may also have meant that the suspects were known to each other. In 1526, two Colchester heretics had known that they could purchase English New Testaments if they travelled to the Austin Friars in London. Robert Necton had little trouble in buying New Testaments "now v. and now x." and similarly little trouble in finding those who were willing to buy in East Anglia.[14]

Although Tunstall did his best to stem the tide of vernacular Bibles, his task was seemingly impossible, as the cases of Pykas and Necton showed. Every captured "known man," like Hacker and Pykas, appeared to know a dozen others. While the cases in Colchester were being investigated, Tunstall also had to deal with Sebastian Harris from London, who not only held "*Lutherana heresis*" but also owned copies of the Tyndale New Testament.[15] According to contemporary Protestant enemies, Tunstall was confused by the new technology of printing. In the late 1520's he purchased nearly 1,500 New Testaments in London and had them burnt. Though this was a temporary setback, the presses at Antwerp were soon able to make up for the loss. The bishop had allegedly not realised that, unlike the manuscript Wycliffite Bible, the printed Tyndale New Testament was easily reproduced.[16]

In later years ecclesiastical authorities appeared increasingly aware of the problems posed by the influx of vernacular scripture and about how to combat them. Even the old and blind Nyx realised the dangers by 1530, although he identified the books as the products of the student radicals of Gonville Hall, Cambridge.[17] In that

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[14]Strype, vol. 1, appendix p. 44.
[15]BL MS Harleian 421, fo. 15.
[16]D. M. Loades, "Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558," in J.-F. Gilmont (ed.; tr. K. Maag) The Reformation and the Book (Aldershot 1998), 268-70; A. W. Pollard, Records of the English Bible (Oxford 1911), 150-53.
[17]H. A. Doubleday and W. Page (eds.), The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk (London 1901-06), vol. 2, 252-23. For the Protestant activities of the students at Gonville Hall see R. A. Houlbrooke, "Persecution of Heresy and Protestantism in the Diocese of Norwich under Henry VIII," Norfolk and Norwich Archaeology, vol. 35 (1972), 313-14.

year, Thomas Hilton, probably an associate of Necton, was captured in King's Lynn with over one hundred Tyndale Bibles. Like Tunstall, Nyx had the books burnt—but also had Hilton burnt on the same pyre.[18] By contrast, when Tyndale's own brother John was captured in London and charged with the distribution of the text in the same year, he was only humiliated and fined.[19] Although most Bibles and their importers probably escaped detection, prosecution continued in East Anglia, a trend highlighted by the arrest and execution of Thomas Bilney in 1531.

Bilney's career is a familiar one, though little documented apart from the Acts and Monuments. The Cambridge divine was well-known to authorities for the distribution of the Tyndale Bible, occasionally reading it aloud in open fields in Norfolk,[20] so one might assume that he was utterly convinced of the merits of the vernacular gospel. Foxe's account of the scholar and his capture is obviously embellished,[21] but Bilney's deposition is unusually revealing. Under interrogation after an earlier arrest for heresy on 4 December 1526, he contended that the Mass, Gospel and divine service ought to be in the vernacular, referring to the text of 1 Corinthians 14[22] and the historical precedent of "Bede's" Anglo-Saxon gospels.[23] Yet even he "partly doubted" the value of translating the scriptures into English, and insisted that the "obscure places" of the text should be heavily annotated.[24] It is

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[18]Doubleday and Page (eds.), vol. 2, 254.
[19]BL MS Harleian 425, fo. 15.
[20]J. Y. Batley, On a Reformer's Latin Bible, being an Essay on the *Adversaria* in the Vulgate of Thomas Bilney (Cambridge 1940), 10-11.
[21]Many of the alleged details of Bilney's life seem more appropriate to medieval hagiography than to Protestant martyrology: Foxe claims that he subsisted on only one meal a day and slept only four hours a night. A and M, vol. 4, 619-21. Bilney, despite beliefs which were considered unorthodox under the Elizabethan Settlement, was clearly a candidate for Protestant "canonisation" by Foxe.
[22]It is in this chapter that Paul exhorts the Corinthians that it was better to speak five words in a comprehensible language "to the information of others, rather than ten thousand words with the tongue." Tyndale's annotations for the chapter also emphasise the principle of comprehensibility of the service and the Gospels: "Words that are not understood profit not." W. Tyndale, Tyndale's New Testament (ed. D. Daniell) (New Haven, CT and London 1989), 256.
[23]However, Bede is only known to have translated a section of the Gospel of John into Anglo-Saxon, not the whole of the Gospels. See Chapter 1.
[24]A and M, vol. 4, 619 ff.

remarkable that a man considered by Foxe and his contemporaries to be the foremost promoter of the Gospel of his day in East Anglia—and who was captured for the last time while smuggling scripture into Norwich—was almost as concerned about its potential impact on laymen as was Bishop Tunstall.

2. Henry VIII and the English Bible.

a. The king's change of policy on the vernacular Bible.

The heterodoxy and illegality of the vernacular Bible was re-emphasised after the appearance of the Tyndale version of the Scriptures in England. In 1530, soon after the arrival of the book from the Continent, a royal proclamation was published condemning its use, branding the text as "corruptly translated".[25] Those caught reading the Tyndale Bible, or other listed "heretical" works, were to be brought "to the King's highness and his most honorable council, where they shall be corrected and punished for their contempt and disobedience, to the terrible example of other like transgressors."[26] These actions, so soon before the eventual licencing, could hardly have convinced the public of the orthodoxy of the Bible in English.

In East Anglia, the English vernacular Bible was widely held to be a heretical work, from the mob who watched and cheered Hilton's burning in front of the Guildhall in Norwich[27], to the embittered Bishop Nyx, who in 1530 bemoaned the spread of "heretical" books, including Tyndale's Bible, from the Continent and Cambridge.[28] The popular belief that the Bible was unorthodox would have required time and patience to lift. Yet after the king's decision to licence the Bible, little was

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[25]TRP, vol. 1, no. 129.
[26]Doubleday and Page (eds.), vol. 2, 252-53.
[27]Doubleday and Page (eds.), vol. 2, 253, was uncertain as to where Hilton was burnt, or whether he had been burnt in the city at all. However, it is now accepted that he was consigned to the flames next to the Guildhall, which still stands in Norwich, on the opposite side of the market to the church of St. Peter Mancroft. A plaque was placed to Hilton's memory upon the side of the hall shortly after World War II.
[28]*Ibid.*, vol. 2, 252-54.

done to prepare the laity for its arrival.

In 1536, the year of Tyndale's execution in exile in the Netherlands, the English Bible had effectively been banned for 128 years. However, in that very year, the king took steps towards its licence in England. Within two months, the reading of vernacular scripture was actively encouraged by church and state. Two years later, the Great Bible, a text nearly identical, bar the annotations, to Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations, became the accepted scripture of the land. The most visible and far-reaching manifestation of the official promotion was the requirement that each of the approximately 9,000 parishes of England and Wales supply a Bible "of the greatest volume," to be placed in every church, and that priests not only allow its presence but also exhort their congregations to read it freely.

The decision by Henry VIII to grant a licence to the English Bible poses an interesting question. Why did the professedly Catholic Henry sanction the publication of vernacular scripture, and, furthermore, install the text in the parish churches? Contemporary Catholic clerical leaders were nearly unanimous in their condemnation of the text. In 1531 William Barlow had written in A Dyaloge Concerning these Lutheran Faccyons of the danger in allowing the vernacular scriptures to be read by the lay population.[29] Bishop Gardiner openly expressed concern about the effects of the publication of the text, and most specifically the Protestant translations then available, in the Convocation debate on vernacular scripture in 1542, and made attempts, however abortive, to produce a rival conservative translation.[30] Even Thomas More, who had prior to 1530 suggested that a vernacular Bible might be of use, by 1532 strongly condemned such translations in his Confutation of Tyndale's *Answer*, fearing religious strife if the Bible was translated before "menne better

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[29]W. Barlow, A Dyaloge descrbyng the orygynall grou[n]d of these Lutheran faccyons (RSTC 1461) [W. Rastell; London 1531], sigs. X1-X4v. See also Chapter 6.
[30]G. Redworth, In Defence of the Church Catholic (Oxford 1990), 158-64.

amende."[31]

b. Henry's advisors and the Bible.

Some historians have argued that the King's support for vernacular scripture was only a temporary measure, made during the brief period when the evangelicals were the most powerful royal advisors, support which Henry disavowed after 1540.[32] It is true that evangelical advisors, particularly Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell and Anne Boleyn, were instrumental in helping to secure the licence for and dissemination of the English Bible. To Cranmer, the free and open reading of the vernacular Bible was essential to the *ecclesia anglicana* that he desired to create, and his support is not in doubt.[33] The difficulties raised by the King's divorce and remarriage to Boleyn were also a factor in publishing the Bible. Throughout the negotiations with the papal legates over the legality of his annulment with Katherine of Aragón, the King appealed to scripture.[34] After the divorce had been secured through other means, and the English Bible had been licenced, some accused Henry of using the scriptural arguments that Rome had rejected as propaganda. The Imperial ambassador Chapuys wrote to Katherine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V, that "a Bible has been printed [in English]...in which the texts that favour [Boleyn]" had been changed. The passage that the ambassador identified as particularly flawed, Deuteronomy 25:5, had been one of Henry's main weapons in attempting to obtain the divorce through canonical law.[35] Boleyn's active role in the support of the Bible

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[31]P. Ackroyd, The Life of Thomas More (London 1999), 293; T. More, The Confutation of Tyndale's *Answer* (The Yale edition of the complete works of St. Thomas More, vol. 8; New Haven, CT 1973), 179.

[32]R. Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation," Historical Journal, vol. 39 no. 2 (1996), 865; C. Haigh, English Reformations (Oxford 1993), 160, notes that though the evangelicals were not destroyed by the conservatives, but the "importance of the Bible was played down" in the King's Book of 1543, the crown's statement of official theology, in favour of a renewed emphasis on traditional religion.

[33]D. N. J. MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer: a life (London and New Haven, CT 1997), 32, 617.

[34]J. J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (Berkeley, CA and London 1968), 220 ff.

[35]L and P, vol. 10, no. 352; Rex, The Tudors (Stroud 2002), 60.

is also known: she allegedly kept a Tyndale Bible in her chamber, and encouraged the ladies of her court to read the scriptures.[36]

However, it appears that, of the three, Thomas Cromwell contributed the most practical aid towards the production of the English Bible. The Great Bible has been referred to by Elton as Cromwell's "monument," and it has been suggested that this text, called by both contemporaries and later authors as "Cranmer's Bible," ought more appropriately to be dedicated to Cromwell.[37] As early as 1527 he corresponded with Miles Coverdale on the value of translation of scripture into the vernacular.[38] Cromwell chose Coverdale to translate the Great Bible, Grafton and Whitchurch to print it, and personally initiated the printing in Paris. When the French halted the presses, the vice-gerent stepped in to save the copies which had already been printed, and moved the operations to England.[39] He invested at least £400 of his own money into the printing, and was the main architect of the Injunctions of 1538 which ordered all parish churches to own a copy of the Great Bible.[40]

The king was undoubtedly influenced by these three, as well as others, in his pronouncements on the English Bible.[41] Yet Henry's own strongest official statement in support of the installation of the Great Bible, the royal proclamation which fined parishes that had failed to purchase the text 40s. *per* month,[42] was made in 1541, after the executions of Cromwell and Boleyn and the rise of the conservative faction, including Bishop Gardiner and other committed opponents of the currently-available

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[36]E. W. Ives, Anne Boleyn (Oxford 1986), 314-16; R. M. Warnicke, The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn (Cambridge 1989). See also Chapter 1 for the probable ownership of the Wycliffite Bible by the Boleyn family.
[37]G. R. Elton, Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Commonweal (Cambridge 1973), 34; MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer, 238.
[38]SP1/65, fo. 254.
[39]L and P, vol. 5, no. 221; vol. 13 (ii), no. 1163.
[40]J. F. Mozley, Coverdale and His Bibles (London 1953), 214 ff.; A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (2nd ed.) (University Park, PA 1991), 153.
[41]For the influence of conservative humanists such as Thomas More on Henry's stance on the vernacular Bible, see below.
[42]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

scriptures in the vernacular. Surely Henry's support for the English Bible cannot wholly be explained by the influence of his Protestant advisors.

c. " Obedience doctrine."

Recently the theory of "obedience doctrine" has been employed to explain Henry's continuing commitment to the use of the English Bible in the churches. Rex has noted the rise of the doctrine of "divine right kingship." This belief, he argues, led to a renewed emphasis upon the duty of all subjects to display their obedience to the crown, and the use of the "Word of God," in the form of both preaching and the vernacular scriptures, to bolster the royal supremacy. The Fourth Commandment ("Honour thy father and thy mother") was considered central to obedience doctrine, as both Lutheran and traditional Catholic theologians commonly extended the commandment to include obedience and honour to heads of state as well as to parents.[43] Rex contends that Henry ordered the installation of the Bible in the parishes to serve as a reminder to his subjects of their duty to the king.

The text of Henry's royal proclamations on the licencing and reading of the English Bible appear to support this argument. In 1539 Henry proclaimed that he was "desirous" that his subjects learn God's word so that they would both keep the divine law and "do their duties the better to us, being their prince and sovereign lord."[44] Likewise, the royal proclamation of 1541 contends that the Bible had been placed in the churches so that "every [one]...[may] learn thereby to receive God's Commandments, and to obey their sovereign lord and high powers, and to exercise godly charity." Rex also notes that The King's Primer of 1545, a work designed to supplement and interpret both the divine service and the Bible, was also used to foster

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[43]Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience," 864-67, 883.
[44]TRP, vol. 1, no. 192.

obedience to secular authority.[45]

However, the Great Bible was unlikely to have been licenced solely on the grounds of the doctrine of obedience. Firstly, the whole of the Bible was not required to enforce the doctrine, if only its central tenet—the Fourth Commandment—was of crucial importance. Greater emphasis on the Ten Commandments by themselves only appeared with the publication of The King's Primer of 1545, nine years after Henry had granted a licence to the English Bible. It was the Edwardian, not the Henrician, church that ordered the weekly reading of the decalogue and the painting of the Ten Commandments and the King's Arms on the parish church walls, perhaps the most transparent attempt to link scripture to obedience to the crown.[46] Furthermore, in the Great Bible text the Fourth Commandment merely reads "Honour thy father and thy mother," so, even if laypersons read Exodus 20:12 in their church Bibles, they would not necessarily have recognised that it pertained to magisterial as well as parental authority without further instruction.

Finally, and most importantly, the licence of the Great Bible was not withdrawn even after Henry appeared to realise that, far from enforcing authority, the availability of vernacular scripture was encouraging dispute and disagreement. Conservatives had argued that the principal danger of allowing the scripture to be read unchecked by all laypersons was that it might cause contention, and, by the latter stages of his reign, the king seemed to agree with their complaints. As early as April 1539, the king expressed concern that the provision of English Bibles had the potential to foster sedition or division, as well as the religious unorthodoxy feared by religious conservatives.[47] In 1543, in response to fear of the effects of unsupervised

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[45]Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience," 897; TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.
[46]TRP, vol. 1, no. 287; J. Parker (ed.), The First Prayer Book, as issued by the Authority of the Parliament of the Second Year of King Edward VI, 1549 (Oxford 1883), 21.
[47]TRP, vol. 1, no. 191.

Bible-reading, Henry persuaded Parliament to pass the Act for the Advancement of True Religion, which barred the private reading of vernacular scripture by all below the rank of yeoman.[48] In his famous last speech before Parliament in 1545, Henry complained that the Bibles were misused by ordinary laymen.[49] Had the purpose of the Great Bible been to enforce obedience, surely the king would have recalled the Bible from public reading, by withdrawing it from the churches.[50] In the 1539 proclamation Henry had strongly suggested that he would do so if dissension continued: "[H]is majesty was, nor is, compelled by God's word to set forth the scripture in English to all his lay subjects, but [rather] of his own liberality and goodness...."[51] Yet not only did the Bible remain, its presence in the parish, both physically and in the service, continued to be enforced.

d. Iconography and humanism.

There may be a more mundane explanation for the continued enforcement of the Bible in parish churches. Historians have noted the iconographic value of the frontispiece of the Great Bible, in which Henry VIII is depicted as the source and patron of the vernacular Word of God. The woodcut is an obvious derivative of the frontispiece of the Coverdale Bible of 1535, made by Hans Holbein the Younger, which also depicts Henry in this light.[52] In the woodcut in the Great Bible, the king is shown enthroned at the top of the page, directly beneath God, who encourages Henry to spread His Word. At the king's sides are his minister Cromwell and Archbishop

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[48]S. E. Lehmberg, The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547 (Cambridge 1977), 186-87. The nobility and gentry were allowed to read to members of their household. See also Chapter 5 for a description of the effects of the Act.

[49]L and P, vol. 20 (ii), no. 1031.

[50]The withdrawal of the English Bible might also have been an act of authority that demanded obedience. Dickens, 214, argues that the King did not wish to alienate the literate, "political" classes by removing the Bible from their hands. However, the removal of the Great Bible from the parish churches would not have resulted in the removal of scripture from private hands.

[51]TRP, vol. 1, no. 191.

[52]J. N. King, Tudor Royal Iconography: literature and art in an age of religious crisis (Princeton, NJ 1989), 54.

Cranmer; Henry hands a Bible to each of them. The rest of the page is devoted to images of the Bible being preached or distributed to a range of members of sixteenth-century society, from bishops and judges to gentlemen and commoners, who praise the king for his act: "Vivat Rex" / "God save the King."

The post-Holbein frontispiece of the Great Bible is a powerful image. In one sense the image depicts an idealised state of social control. J. N. King notes that the laypersons shown in the woodcut are given the scriptures only through the medium of the clergy: the laity only performs as "passive recipients" of the text. Elements of social control may also be seen in the physical construction of the page, from the large image of the king at the top of the page to the "tiny figures of the commoners" at the bottom.[53] In another sense, the frontispiece identifies Henry with Biblical leaders. There is, most obviously, an allusion to Moses's receipt of the Ten Commandments, especially in the king's distribution of the Bible to judges and magistrates. A second allusion is to David. Two of the verses depicted on the page refer to the words of David and to God's identification of David as a chosen leader of Israel. Such interpretation of King Henry was echoed in his successor's reign; Edward was depicted as a young Solomon, prepared to continue the reforms initiated by his father.[54] Contemporary propagandists also portrayed Edward as the young Josiah, and praised both kings for allowing the Word of God to be distributed among the people.[55]

The identification of Henry with Moses and David was to an important purpose: the advertisement of the royal supremacy. A crucial facet of the image is

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[53]*Ibid.*, 72; MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer, 238-40.
[54]King, English Reformation Literature: the Tudor origins of the Protestant tradition (Princeton, NJ 1982), 166.
[55]For example, by Richard Argentyne in the introduction to M. Luther (tr. and introduction by R. Argentyne), A ryght notable sermon...uppon the twentieth Chapter of Johan of absolution and the true use of the keyes (RSTC 16992) [A. Scoloker; Ipswich 1548], sig. A2v.

that it clearly depicts King Henry at the top of the hierarchy of the church: in other words, the image is a visual representation of the supremacy.[56] In the absence of such Edwardian innovations such as the painting of the King's Arms upon the walls of the churches,[57] the Bible was the only physical addition to the church fabric that helped to establish Henry's authority. To remove the Great Bible, with its significant title page, would be to remove the symbol of the royal supremacy most visible and available to the common parishioner. The King might have wanted to restrict the use of the Bible in private—and here it should be noted that not all of the English Bibles published for private use during the reign of Henry carried this woodcut[58]—but could not risk removing the public Bibles without damaging his authority.

If support for the royal supremacy was one reason for the installation of the Bible in the parish churches, there is also evidence that Henry's perceived duty as head of the English Church, as interpreted by humanist theology, led him to licence the vernacular Bible. As early as 1529 the king had been influenced by the humanist arguments of William Tyndale's The Obedience of a Christen Man, which contended that magistrates had a duty to provide the Word of God to their people in a form that they could understand.[59] Certainly by 1530 the king took very tentative steps towards the provision of vernacular scriptures. In May of that year he called a conference of clerical leaders to discuss how best to put down "erroneous" translations of scripture, and whether a lawful version of the Bible in English ought to be provided.[60] Although there is no indication that Henry was able to persuade the clerics of the necessity of vernacular scripture, Bishop Nyx complained that the king's inquiry had

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[56]Cf. MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer, 238-40.
[57]TRP, vol. 1, no. 287.
[58]English Bibles, 1-36 *passim*.
[59]Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience," 864; N. S. Tjernagel, Henry VIII and the Lutherans: a study in Anglo-Lutheran relations from 1521 to 1547 (St. Louis, MO 1965), 110-11; Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, 252; W. Tyndale, The Obedience of a Christen Man, 1528 ([reprinted Menston 1970]), fos. 51v-54.
[60]Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, 252-54.

led supporters of the English Bible in the diocese of Norwich to believe that an authorised translation was imminent.[61] Publicly Henry only stated that, should an accurate and "purely translated" edition of the English Bible be produced, he would consider allowing it.

Equally important, however, was the influence of Catholic humanists such as More and Colet on the king. Dowling has labelled the publication of the English Bible a "humanist achievement" rather than a Protestant success; she notes that Colet and More also supported the vernacular scripture on educational grounds.[62] The royal proclamation of 1530 against heretical books in English, which stated that if heresy was abandoned, a new translation of the Bible in English might be used to "the edification of [the people's] souls," used language simliar to More's arguments, and, according to Rex, may reflect More's influence on the drafting of the proclamation itself.[63] Even religiously conservative humanists such as Bishop Fisher of Rochester endorsed the educational value of vernacular scripture during the late 1520's.[64] If the support of the Bible in English by such humanists stemmed from, as Dowling puts it, "naïve" humanist attitudes to religious reform,[65] it is clear that during the late 1520's some conservative humanists were prepared to extol the use of the vernacular Bible as a means of religious education.

Among humanist arguments was the contention that the introduction of the English Bible would allow parents to teach God's laws to their children. In Tyndale's work this point is put most bluntly: "How can we whette gods word (that is to put it in practyse use and exercise) upon oure childerne & housholde whe[n] we are

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[61] L and P, vol. 4 (iii), no. 6385.
[62] M. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII (London 1986), 61.
[63] TRP, vol. 1, no. 129; Rex, Henry VIII and the English Reformation (Basingstoke and London 1993), 120; R. Marius, Thomas More: a biography (New York 1984), 347-49.
[64] Rex, Henry VIII, 119.
[65] Dowling, 37.

violently kept from it & know it not?"[66] Henry seems to have taken this message seriously. Of all the potential motivations for Henry's support of the English Bible, the humanist emphasis on education remained the strongest throughout the reign. References to the Bible as an educational tool abound in his pronouncements on the text, even after the fall of the Protestant defenders of the vernacular scriptures. In the 1541 proclamation which confirmed the place of the Bible in the parish church, the humanist doctrine of education featured prominently: "each man should humbly, meekly, and reverently read [the Bible] for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his life, according to God's holy word therein mentioned."[67] In a letter of 4 April 1543 to Ralph Sadler, the king suggested that the purpose of publishing the vernacular Bible in Scotland, as it had been in England, should be so that laypersons may "learn by it how they may direct their manners, living, and true worshipping of God...."[68] Most revealing was his address to Parliament on the subject in 1545, in which he claimed that he was "sorry to hear" that the Bible had become a source of dispute and opinion, for he "only intended" that the text was placed in the churches "for your own instruction, and that of your children."[69]

It would appear that intent to provide education as well as the intent to help to enforce authority motivated the king to support the Bible in English despite religious opposition. Furthermore, both of these motivations can help to explain why the English Bible continued to receive royal support during the crucial years between 1539 and 1547, when the king seemed rather isolated in his acceptance of the vernacular scriptures. Henry's long-standing acceptance of the value of the English Bible as a means of religious education reflects to some extent his acceptance of these

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[66]Tyndale, Obedience, fo. 13v.
[67]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.
[68]M. St. Clare Byrne (ed.), The Letters of King Henry VIII: a selection, with a few other documents (London 1936; reprinted 1968), 315.
[69]L and P, vol. 20 (ii), no. 1031.

humanist doctrines.

3. Preparing for the installation of the Bible into the parish churches.

Considering that the first official step to the introduction of the English Bible was the introduction of the Great Bible into the parish churches, the success or failure of this process would seem to be of the utmost importance to those who supported the reading of scripture in the vernacular. It would appear, at first sight, that the main obstacle to the dissemination of the Bible was its cost. Cromwell understood that many parishes would be unable to afford it, and to ensure maximum impact, fixed the price of the Great Bible at ten shillings, over the objections of its publishers Grafton and Whitchurch who wanted to price it at 13s. 4d.[70]

It is clear from church records that many churches could not afford even this expense. In Suffolk and Essex, two of the richest counties in the realm, a number of churches were in disrepair during the mid-1540's.[71] In these counties, and in Norfolk and Hertfordshire in 1547, many churches were dipping into the proceeds of their church plate sales for their share in funding long-overdue church repairs.[72] Other churches did not, or could not, keep a large stock of ready money on hand for specific purchases such as the Great Bible. Money could easily be stolen or embezzled, and, after 1542, the troubled economy of mid-Tudor England often forced its revaluation.[73] Churches were usually unable to keep more than £5 in ready money in their "current account" to provide for emergencies, and most kept much less. Thus while Cromwell

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[70]Dickens, The English Reformation, 156, for Cromwell's struggle to fix the price of the Bible at ten shillings. See also TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

[71]For example, in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, several churches were in disrepair. In 1540-42, the parish church of Witham was described as "not sufficient" for worship (Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 1, fo. 92). In the records for 1543-45, Fording (fo. 24v.) was "in great decay," and Bedowing (fo. 27) suffered from broken windows which had long gone unrepaired. Chelmsford RO, D/ACA 2.

[72]Some examples of parishes that were unable to fund all church repairs through normal means are Aldeburgh, Dallinghoo, Kirkley, and Pakefield, all from Suffolk. The great storm of 1547 may have affected these parishes. Appendices 3a and 5; also, see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the church-plate sales.

[73]C. E. Challis, The Tudor Coinage (Manchester 1978), 105-06, which describes the detrimental effects of the revaluation of the currency upon the realm. See also TRP, vol. 1, nos. 326 and 379.

hoped that a ten-shilling Bible would prove a medium between printers' profit[74] and political and religious benefit, some parishes would apparently be bound to be unable to afford it.

The church and government of Henry VIII would have been content to allow the English Bible to be available at ten shillings in every parish from Cumberland to Cornwall. It was not, however, to be. A Bible printed in London had to be borne to the far reaches of the realm, and the costs for this could be considerable. Whiting, writing about mid-Tudor Devon and Cornwall, has found that churches in Exeter paid up to 20 shillings for their copies of the Great Bible, a price that no doubt reflects its portage cost to the city.[75] Even after the Bible had reached market towns, the ordinary rural parish still had to pay its share of the costs of bringing it back to their church, a not insignificant sum when remote parishes were involved.

As well as the portage costs, the Great Bible also had a few other expenses. The government played some part in these: the Second Royal Injunctions that ordered the installation also ordered parishes to supply a lectern on which to place the Bible, and an iron chain to hold it fast to the reading place. Even though the lectern was supposed to be of "the humblest sort," these two requirements served as an extra burden for poor parishes to meet.[76] The iron chain was not only meant to keep the Bible stable upon the lectern, but also to prevent theft. However, it did not always succeed, as in the case of a theft from St. John's Bear Street in Norwich.[77] For this, or

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[74]Nine thousand parishes in England and Wales, multiplied by the 10s. base cost of the Great Bible, would make an intake of £4500. Small wonder, then, that Grafton and Whitchurch desired a price of 13 s. 4 d., which would make them a clear profit of £1500 had all the parishes complied, along with any private sales.

[75]R. Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People: popular religion and the Reformation (Cambridge 1989), 196-97. Perhaps the Bible purchased by Morebath in 1541 cost more: although Whiting records the figure for the cost as 13 s. 4 d., this might have only represented the share of the churchwardens.

[76]H. Gee and W. H. Hardy (eds.), Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London 1896), 275 ff.

[77]Appendix 3d. This theft had been made at some point before 1547, when the parish records that a

other reasons, churches might at times have had to replace the scriptures. Finally, the ten-shilling base price for the Great Bible was for the unbound version; a bound Bible would cost more. In 1541, when the prices for the Great Bible were generally fixed, the cost of a "well and sufficiently bound, trimmed, and clasped" copy was set at twelve shillings.[78] It is likely that most Bibles were sold in this form, as a covering obviously made the pages of the text much less susceptible to damage by water or dampness. Throughout England, the Bible had wide variations in cost, from 9 s. 6 d. in a Somerset case to up to 26 shillings in a London parish.[79] Such hidden costs of the Bible may well have pushed some parish churches over their financial limits.

In the years immediately following the first order, the government realised that far too few parishes had actually purchased a Bible. In 1541, the king, in a royal proclamation re-ordering that every parish own a Bible, noted with some exasperation that "notwithstanding the King's [earlier] most godly and gracious commandment. . .his royal majesty is informed that divers and many towns and parishes within this his realm have negligently omitted their duties in the accomplishment thereof; whereof his highness marveleth not a little."[80] His concern is reflected by extant churchwardens' accounts of these years: In East Anglia, only two out of twenty-two accounts, Boxford and Swaffham in Suffolk, registered a Bible purchase during the period between 1538 and 1540.[81] Yet despite the fall of the greatest supporters of vernacular scriptures, and the rise of conservative groupings in the church and

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replacement Bible was purchased.

[78]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

[79]During the reign of Henry VIII, in Yatton, Somerset, the Bible was purchased for 9 s. 6 d., and in St. Mary, Cambridge, the cost was 18 shillings. The Yatton total could be only half of the total, or the churchwardens' share, but it is difficult to tell from the records. After 1547, the Bible appears to have risen in price—the extremes of 13 s. 4 d. and 30 shillings in East Anglia are nearly matched by a second purchase for St. Mary's of Cambridge for 14 shillings, and a purchase for St. Alphege, London, for 26 shillings. J. C. Cox, Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Seventeenth Century (London 1913), 117-18.

[80]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

[81]Boxford CWA, year 1538, Swaffham CWA, year 1539.

government, the determination of the Henrician government to derive political and religious benefit from the Bible remained. In 1541, the Crown played its trump card against recalcitrant parishes: the threat of severe financial penalty.

The level of the threatened fines was unusually high. Forty shillings were to be levied against an offending parish for each month in which the English Bible was not on display in its church.[82] The threat of a £24 *per annum* fine moved many churches into action: according to churchwardens' accounts in the diocese of Norwich, seven of the previously scripture-less churches purchased a Bible in the years between 1541 and 1547.[83] Archidiaconal courts were ordered to seek out non-compliant churches, and, indeed, from the only three archidiaconal act books (*libri acta rose*) that are extant from East Anglia in this era, it is clear that at least four parishes from Suffolk and eight parishes from Essex were identified and prosecuted.[84]

4. Doubts about the success of the installation of the Bible.

The installation of the vernacular Bible in the parish churches might appear to have been virtually completed by the last years of Henry's reign. The logic seems obvious: the threatened fine of £24 *per annum* was far greater than even the 26 shillings that the Bible cost in the most expensive instance, and high enough for parishes to set aside any doubts about owning vernacular scripture.

However, the Edwardian visitations cast doubt on the likelihood of all churches owning a vernacular Bible. One of the questions asked of each parish by the royal visitors in 1547 was whether the parish church owned a Bible. In later

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[82]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.
[83]Shipdham CWA, year 1541; North Elmham CWA, year 1541; Bungay St. Mary CWA, year 1541; Walberswick CWA, year 1542; Tilney All Saints, year 1542; Dennington CWA, year 1544 (inventory); Cratfield CWA, year 1547-48.
[84]Suffolk RO, Bury St. Edmunds, IC 500/5/1, fo. 26 (Lavenham), 29v. (Bradfield Combust), 31 (Preston), 62 (Herringswell); Chelmsford RO, D/ACA 1, fo. 4v. (Little Horkesley), 6 (Great Braxted, Fairstead), 131 (Maldon), 136v. (Elsenham, Brightlingsea); Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 2, fo. 55v. (Mylond), 57 (West Mersea).

visitations the same question was put to the parishes again and again.[85] Obviously there was some doubt in the visitors' minds as to whether the Bible had been purchased by all of the churches. Also of interest is the number of parishes known to have purchased the Bible in 1547 or later. For example, the Cratfield churchwardens' account records such a purchase in 1547/48.[86] The church-plate certificates returned by East Anglian parishes in 1547-52 also suggest that several other churches did the same. Out of approximately 425 parishes represented in the certificates, no less than thirty-five recorded a Bible purchase during these years.[87] It is difficult to believe that these thirty-five parishes represented the only scripture-less churches, for as late as 1551 some churches in Norfolk were prosecuted for not owning the Great Bible.[88]

It has been argued that these purchases in 1547 were not the initial purchases of the English Bible for the respective parishes. Yaxley and Mozley have contended that churches often disposed of their scriptures in 1543, following the Injunction that it should not be read by those below the rank of gentry.[89] However, this contention is not borne out by evidence. There are no records of the sale of Bibles by churches during Henry VIII's reign, although there are voluminous accounts of sales of other books after 1547, especially mass books, antiphonies, and other volumes needed for the practice of the old religion.[90] Most importantly, however, the order that the Bible be openly displayed in the churches was not rescinded in 1543: by law, the Bible still had to be owned, and churches were still prosecuted if it was missing.[91] Consequently,

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[85]Strype, vol. 2, part 1, 74.
[86]Cratfield CWA, year 1547-48.
[87]Appendices 2 through 4b. Besides these thirty-five examples, there are a few examples of parishes purchasing Biblical accoutrements such as the lectern or the iron chain, which of course had been meant to be purchased during the reign of Henry VIII.
[88]Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the English People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570 (Oxford and New York 1979), 165-66.
[89]S. Yaxley, The Reformation in Norfolk Parish Churches (Guist Bottom 1990), 31; Mozley, 294.
[90]See, for example, Long Melford CWA, years 1547-52. Cratfield CWA, which records the purchase of a Bible in 1547/48, did not record the sale of scripture at any time before this.
[91]Lehmberg, 186-87; see also Suffolk RO, Bury St. Edmunds, IC 500/5/1; Essex RO, Chelmsford,

except in cases where the Bible was stolen or destroyed, the 1547 purchases of scripture should be assumed to be the first for each parish involved. It is true that St. Mary's, Cambridge purchased two Bibles, in 1540 and 1548, but the parish was so large and religiously progressive that it must be considered an exception. It could also be that the second purchase was the priest's copy.[92]

There are several reasons why parish churches may have failed to fulfil their obligation to provide the Great Bible by 1547. Obviously cost, as has been previously mentioned, would have prevented some parishes from purchasing the Bible. However, it must also be said that few parishes were so poor as to find it completely impossible to install vernacular scripture—even projects as important as church repair could have been delayed to purchase a Bible.[93] Another problem was that no official distribution network was established for the full distribution of the Bible. Some far-flung areas of England appear to have failed entirely to install the Bible before 1547, and perhaps for some years afterwards. Whiting indicates that there was a serious need for the text in southwest England, noting that some parishes were reluctant, or unable, to purchase scripture.[94] Similarly, in Yorkshire, where a few certificates of 1552 record the ownership of the Bible, only a handful of parishes in the East Riding seem to have acquired scripture by this year.[95]

A third concern was that, according to the Injunctions of 1538, and uniquely

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D/ACA 2.

[92]St. Mary's, Cambridge CWA, years 1540, 1548.

[93]Some parishes, especially in Suffolk, such as Freston (whitewashing of the walls) and Walberswick (removing stained glass), paid off more than their church plate sale to pay off some of the requirements of the Edwardian Injunctions. It is very likely that these parishes were putting off other necessities which their neighbours were completing in order to make these payments. A few churches did sell church plate before the end of the reign of Henry VIII, such as, surprisingly considering its great wealth, St. Peter Mancroft in Norwich.

[94]Whiting, Blind Devotion, 190-91.

[95]"Inventories of Church Goods, Plate, Jewels, Etc., for the counties of York, Durham and Northumberland," Surtees Society Publications, vol. 97 (ii), 97-109 *passim*. Only six parishes note in their inventory that they own a Bible, but, as the records are somewhat damaged, these inventories must be looked at with some suspicion.

as far as church goods are concerned, the costs of the Bible were to be split between the priest and the parish.[96] This division of funding for the scripture could cause problems, as failure on either side, or arguments between the clergy and the laity, would have imperiled the installation of the English Bible. The parishioners' share of the Bible was to be handled, as were all common expenditures,[97] by the churchwardens. However, as two cases from East Anglia suggest, some parishioners were not ready to allow the churchwardens to make financial decisions in their name. In Aylsham, during sporadic insurrections in the area of the reign of Henry VIII, four unnamed parishioners demanded that the churchwardens hand over the keys to the church chest, which kept the "ready money" for the parish, for safe keeping. Ostensibly this was done to prevent the King's visitors from plundering the church, but it also prevented the wardens from spending money without their consent.[98] In Essex, a similar event occurred in Fairstead, where a group of concerned laypersons demanded that the church chest be kept "by a loke to the same and to lock it from wormys tonyngs." As in Aylsham, the problems appear to have sprung from a fear that diocesan visitors would confiscate goods from the church; the petitioners also demanded that "the churche goodes" be delivered to them for safekeeping in their own homes.[99] The nature of these confrontations suggests that many parishioners believed they should have an active role in the spending of parish money. However, since both these events ended up in court, there was a limit to which "the whole parish" could complain about churchwardens' expenditures.

Churchwardens certainly had the easier task in paying for their half of the

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[96]Gee and Hardy (eds.), 275 ff.
[97]Cf. the introductions for each year of all churchwardens' accounts in the diocese, in which the churchwardens are permitted to lay on expenditures "by consent of the whole parish." Such a phrase also occurs in the introductions of the certificates for the sale of church plate, the formats of which I will discuss in the following chapter.
[98]L and P, vol. 12 (i), no. 1316.
[99]Chelmsford RO, D/ACA 1, fo. 24.

Bible. If they could not take their money from their "current account," which, in Boxford, perhaps the only East Anglian parish where this figure can be derived, appears to have been roughly £5[100], the churchwardens had other fund-raising powers, such as church-plate sales or taking out of rents. On the other hand, the priest had more difficulty in obtaining his share. Despite the charges of committed anti-clerical propagandists, many parish priests were far from wealthy. Heal has noted that the average annual income of the parish clergy during the 1530's, as obtained from the Valor Ecclesiasticus, was about £10-13. While this income is high by contemporary standards, it is also estimated that a priest needed about £10 to fulfill his annual obligations.[101] The income of some priests could be much less than this average: the Valor Ecclesiasticus records that, in Norfolk, approximately one-quarter of priests had incomes of under £5.[102] Many clergy in the city of Norwich were even poorer than their rural counterparts.[103] To these priests, their half of the Bible's cost, from seven to fifteen shillings, represented a significant portion of their annual income. Unlike churchwardens, priests would have had no stock of ready money to soften the impact of specific large expenditures.

Thus it is unsurprising that, in most of the cases where a party is blamed for the failure of a parish to install a Bible, the priest bears the accusation. In Maldon in

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[100]Kümin has obtained this figure by noticing a five-pound gain in church "ready money" in Boxford between the years 1550 and 1551. His assumption is that this gain had been taken from a sum held by the church. See B. Kümin, The Shaping of a Community: the rise and reformation of the English parish, c.1400-1560 (Aldershot 1996), 89. This £5 may have originated from the £47 in church plate that Boxford is known to have sold in 1547. See *Ibid.*, 211; and also Boxford CWA, years 1550-51, and P. Northeast (ed.), Boxford Churchwardens' Accounts, 1530-1561 (Bury St. Edmunds 1982), xiv.

[101]Heal, "Economic Problems of the Clergy," in Heal and O'Day (eds.), Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James VI (London 1977), 103-04; M. Zell, "Economic Problems of the Parochial Clergy," in O'Day and Heal (eds.), Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800 (Leicester 1981), 35.

[102]J. Caley and J. Hunter (eds.), Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus, vol. 5 *passim*. Although Zell, "Economic Problems," 20, considers that the Valor Eccesiasticus underestimates parochial income, the records from Valor Ecclesiasticus show that many East Anglian priests were by no means wealthy.

[103]Cross, "The Income of Provincial Urban Clergy, 1520-1645," in O'Day and Heal (eds.), Princes and Paupers, 66.

Essex during the reign of Henry VIII, the parishioners complained that their priest "doth distribute [nothing] according to the Kyngs iniunctions," including the purchase of scripture.[104] A similar complaint was made in West Mersea, also in Essex, where the vicar was faulted by his parishioners because he had "not shewede his parishioners the worde of god accordinge to the statute."[105] In the Archdeaconry of Norfolk in 1548, four parishes—Thornage, Toftrees, Great Ryburgh and Haveringland—the churchwardens alleged that their priest had failed to contribute his share of the cost of the vernacular Bible.[106] Such cases show that the relationship between priests and churchwardens, or more generally the elite of the parish, was often strained. In the case of Maldon, the parishioners clearly desired to own the Bible, while their priest, either slack or hostile to religious change, did not.[107] It would seem likely that, in an era when the relations between priests and parishioners were strained over less important issues, parish tensions often came to a head over the acquisition of vernacular scripture.

It has been asserted that since few churches were prosecuted for the crime of non-ownership of the Bible during the years 1538-47, most parishes possessed it. In the three counties in this study, which have over 1600 parishes between them, only twelve parishes are known to have been prosecuted for non-ownership of the Bible during the reign of Henry VIII. However, the archidiaconal records for the region, as for other areas of the country, are extremely fragmentary: no records survive for five

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[104]Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 1, fo. 131.
[105]Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 2, fo. 57.
[106]Norfolk RO, Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, years 1548-51; Houlbrooke, Church Courts, 157. See below for a further discussion of the failure of Norfolk parishes to purchase the Great Bible during the reign of Edward VI.
[107]The accused priest was also charged with failing to provide a sermon during the previous year; as this was not a specific requirement of the Second Religious Injunctions, it may have indicated a religiously-progressive laity within this parish. However, the priest was further charged with such neglect of duty as failing to pay his clerks regularly, and having "hantyde [the] taverne at unlawfull tymes," so it is open to question as to whether said curate was firmly opposed to change or merely incompetent. Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 1, fo. 131.

of the seven archdeaconries in East Anglia—Norfolk, Norwich, Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex—for the years 1538 to 1547. Only those for Sudbury and Colchester, the two smallest archdeaconries in the region, survive. For these two archdeaconries, only three books, covering three years for Sudbury and six for Colchester, remain, and three of the years covered in the Colchester book are almost illegible.[108] Furthermore, the twelve offending parishes are from very small areas. The eight Colchester parishes are close to each other, and, except for Herringswell, the Sudbury churches are within a few miles of each other. Detection in remote areas of the archdeaconries could have been poor: only Herringswell was of any great distance from the seat of its archdeaconry. It appears that the twelve parishes under prosecution were taken from a very small pool; it is unclear how many recorded instances have been lost to our knowledge.

At the same time, many other instances could have gone unrecorded, simply because they were undetected. Henrician statutes had, in Houlbrooke's words, "limit[ed] the competence of the church courts" to effectively detect offences.[109] Archdeacons and their officials rarely had the resources to engage in personal visitations, and often had to rely on informers, induced to act by a bounty[110], to supply them with information about offences. In at least two cases of the non-ownership of the Bible, the parishioners themselves alerted authorities to the failure of their parish.[111] Obviously, parishioners who did not want the Bible to be in their parish

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[108]Suffolk RO, Bury St. Edmunds, IC 500/5/1; Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 1-2. Both of the Archdeaconry of Colchester Act books have been badly water-damaged, but the 1543-45 Archdeaconry book has been so damaged that it is illegible in most places even under ultraviolet light.

[109]Houlbrooke, "Decline of Prosecutions during the Reformation," in R. O'Day and F. M. Heal (eds.), Continuity and Change: personnel and administration of the Church of England, 1500-1642 (Leicester 1976), 243-45.

[110]For example, in this case of the non-ownership of the Bible, the forty-shilling per month fine was to be split between the government and anyone who notified it of an offence. TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

[111]Essex RO, Chelmsford, D/ACA 1, fo. 131 (Maldon) and D/ACA 2, fo. 57 (West Mersea). The parishioners of Maldon had a lot more to say about the slackness of their priest, as shall be outlined below.

church would not have informed the authorities about its absence.

The extraordinarily high levels of the fines and the nature of their imposition paradoxically also raise some doubt as to the success of the installation of the scriptures. If a church could not afford a Bible, how could they afford a £24 *per annum* fine? That sum was so unusually high that it is impossible to believe that it was ever successfully collected. In the archdeaconry act books, there are no records of any fines actually collected; the involved churches appear to have received only a warning.[112] In order for the letter of the law to be enforced, forty shillings had to be collected only for every month that the Bible was not in place,[113] so the authorities would have had to check each parish monthly to gather their fines.

It therefore cannot be assumed that every parish in East Anglia purchased a Bible before 1547. Firstly, it is uncertain how many parishes were actually prosecuted for the non-ownership of the Bible; secondly, it is unclear how many churches which went without the Bible were detected. To exacerbate the situation, many churches must have realised that they could avoid purchasing scripture. They would have noted that detection was slack, and that most offending parishes were treated lightly, without a fine.

The most important potential evidence which would confirm that some parishes were late in purchasing the Great Bible, the records of prosecution from the reign of Edward VI, is also largely missing. In East Anglia, only one such act book remains: the 1548-51 book for the Archdeaconry of Norfolk. These records show that nine parishes had failed to purchase the scriptures by 1548. Two of those parishes had failed to obtain the Great Bible in 1549, even after they had been

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[112]This is especially true in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury; in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, a few cases (Maldon, West Mersea) involved mitigating circumstances, such as dereliction of duty by the priest, which required intervention.

[113]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

detected during the previous year.[114] As the Archdeaconry of Norfolk was perhaps the wealthiest of the seven archdeaconries in the three counties in this survey, one might expect that many more parishes in East Anglia also failed to own the Great Bible at some point during the reign of Edward VI.

Any records of ecclesiastical prosecution of any sort must be looked upon with suspicion in a survey that is concerned with total levels of offences.[115] Lack of prosecution is not the same as lack of offence: prosecutions for non-attendance at church services are but one example of the Tudor tendency to use prosecution as a deterrent rather than as punishment.[116] There are also examples of very low prosecution rates for "major" ecclesiastical crimes, such as the reading of the Bible by the non-gentry, proscribed by the 1543 Act for Advancement of Religion.[117] McClendon has noted the tendency of church officials in Norwich to overlook certain offences for the purposes of keeping order.[118]

Therefore court records, while helpful, are not able to furnish adequate answers to the question of the success of the installation of the Bible in the parishes. The problem is quite simply that there are too few of them, and those extant are often unrepresentative of the average parish. However, there is a another centrally-collected source that is of use for this study: the certificates resulting from the Edwardian plunder of church plate. Although the royal commissioners were more

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[114]Norfolk RO, Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, years 1548-49. The parishes are Thornage, Toftrees, Great Ryburgh, Haveringland, Thursford, Grimston, Barney, Terrington St. Clement's and Terrington St. James's. Terrington St. Clement's and Terrington St. James's failed to purchase a Bible by 1549.

[115]Houlbrooke has written of the difficulty of discovering the speed in which the Injunctions were fulfilled, for either the reigns of Henry VIII or Edward VI. Houlbrooke, Church Courts, 157-58, 164.

[116]In 1548, for example, only three in the Archdeaconry of Norwich were charged with failure to receive communion at the proper time; the next year, with the desire to enforce the strictures of the Prayer Book in full swing, forty-one were charged. Similarly, there was a significant increase in 1549 for presentments for non-attendance of church. Houlbrooke, Church Courts, 242-44.

[117]Houlbrooke, "Persecution of Heresy," 316.

[118]M. McClendon, "Religious Toleration and the Reformation: the case of Norwich in the sixteenth century," in N. Tyacke (ed.), England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800 (London 1998), 92-93, and *passim*.

interested in gold, silver and latten than the Word of God, as were those historians who first examined this source, a combination of overzealous bureaucracy, the foresight, or perhaps greed, of East Anglian churchwardens during the years 1547-52, and sheer luck of the survival of these obscure documents has made the detritus of the "stripping of the altars" of use for the study of vernacular scripture. In the following chapter these certificates will be examined in greater detail.

Chapter 3: A study of the church-plate certificates.

1. Advantages of the church-plate certificates.

The lack of evidence for the placing of the English Bible in the parish church is frustrating but understandable. Documentation of the speed and effectiveness of any form of the enforcement of religious change at the parish level is scant throughout the mid-Tudor period. The problem of documentation lies not merely in the paucity of extant and relevant court records, but also in that most surviving records were produced by higher church authority rather than at parish level. Records of prosecution for parish offences were not perfect, and even visitation records often failed to uncover key evidence of offences in the parishes. For this reason, some historians such as Houlbrooke have refused to uncritically accept the findings of such prosecutions in the examination of the success of Norfolk churches in fulfilling the Edwardian Injunctions.[1]

Therefore a parish-based form of documentation is necessary for the study of the installation of the Bible. Churchwardens' accounts, referred to in the previous chapter and to be examined in greater detail below, and in the following chapter, are useful in this respect as a direct source of information not only about the Bible but also about other religious changes undertaken by the parish. However, there is another, more extant, parish-based source which is of value for this study—the certificates resulting from the Edwardian plunder of church plate.

The church-plate certificates have four advantages over the other available sources. The first is their high rate of survival within England, and within East Anglia in particular. Most of those documents from the parish level during the mid-Tudor era only exist in a few examples, but the certificates pertaining to church plate survive in

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[1]R. A. Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570 (Oxford and New York 1979), 164.

large numbers. Every one of the 41 counties of England, save Rutland, has a return of some volume, and returns also exist for the City of London and seven of the counties of Wales.[2] The 1552 certificates, which were essentially the inventories of all church plate in the parishes, can be found for every county in England, and for most of the parishes of London.[3] While not all of the approximately 9,000 parishes in England and Wales are represented, about 4,500 of the certificates survive for 1552, a remarkable rate of survival. The number of extant certificates range from only five in Sussex[4] to approximately 750 in Norfolk, or about 90 *per cent* of its parishes.[5] Undoubtedly the high rate of survival is due to the great importance of the revenues of the church-plate collection to the government, and its need to maximise the income. Another reason is that, unlike the other sources for the parish level in mid-Tudor England, the certificates were administered and accumulated by the typically efficient central authorities and the local courts and law systems, rather than by more suspect local ecclesiastical record depositories.[6]

For the 1547 and 1550/51 surveys, which will be shown to be of great importance in understanding about the purchase of scripture, about 425 of the 1700 parishes in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex are extant. For a few hundreds in Norfolk, such as Holt and South Erpingham, the records are nearly complete, and of the approximately 300 parishes in the Archdeaconry of Suffolk, 141 returns exist. In

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[2]The Welsh counties which survive are Anglesey, Breconshire, Carmarthenshire, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire. Only the county of Carmarthenshire remains in any quantity, with about 75 of its parishes represented.

[3]Public Record Publications, Lists and Indexes, vols. 69 and 76, list the reference numbers to all of the certificates for 1547, 1550/51 and 1552. The mere fact that two large volumes are required to list all of them testify to the number of parishes documented. An entire document class in the Public Record Office, E117, comprising over two dozen large volumes, and a few of the records in E315, are devoted wholly to these documents.

[4]It appears that the commissioners for Sussex either failed to return the inventories for the parishes of the county (the five remaining certificates are for town guilds), or were confused about their orders and simply misplaced them. See APC, vol. 4, 270, for mention of the troubles which the Sussex commissioners had in completing their work.

[5]All of these certificates are indexed in Lists and Indexes, vol. 69 and 76.

[6]H. B. Walters, "Norfolk Church Goods, 1547-52," in Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Review, vol. 26 (1934), 246.

Essex, 127 out of 406 parishes are represented in the 1547 survey. Twenty-six of the twenty-nine parishes in the city of Norwich are similarly represented in 1552. This is a level of survival which other detailed parish records for mid-sixteenth century England cannot match.

The second advantage is that the certificates exist for a very broad range of parishes in East Anglia. In Norfolk alone, there are the city parishes of Norwich, the large towns of King's Lynn and Aylsham, the market towns of Holt and Castle Acre, coastal parishes rich (Wells-next-the-Sea) and poor (Weybourne), marshland areas such as Dersingham, and Broadland parishes such as Woodton. In Essex, the records are spread fairly evenly throughout the county, from the outskirts of London to Colchester and the coast. The range of wealth noted in the certificates, as measured by both church plate sales and subsidy returns, is far greater than that of the churchwardens' accounts. The sale of plate recorded in the certificates varies from St. Peter Mancroft in Norwich, which alienated £199 8s. 4d. by 1552, to Darsham in Suffolk, which alienated a paltry 2s. 4d. in 1549.[7] The subsidy rates paid by documented parishes include many over £50 *per annum* and many others under £4 *per annum*; the certificates can be said to cover rich and poor alike.

The third advantage is that the certificates are consistent in form. Churchwardens' accounts often differ greatly among parishes, and information which appears in one may be missing in others. Some parishes kept separate records, describing unusual or one-off payments and purchases, which have been lost from the main body of the account.[8] Prosecution records are by their very nature singular, and often inconsistent in the mid-Tudor era.[9] It has already been suggested that some

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[7]Appendices 3d and 2.
[8]B. Kümin, The Shaping of a Community: the rise and reformation of the English parish, c.1400-1560, (Aldershot 1996), 101. As I will argue below, certificates may have been among such separate records.
[9]Houlbrooke, "Persecution of Heresy and Protestantism in the Diocese of Norwich under Henry VIII,"

offending parishes were prosecuted while others went unnoticed. However, the church-plate certificates are largely the same for each of the parishes in England. All of the sets of instructions sent to the commissioners were the same; the visitors who went into the parishes were called upon to ask the same questions.[10] In two cases, the commissioners in Derbyshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire did misinterpret the questions, leading to slightly different certificates being produced in some parishes for 1552. Apart from these small oversights, the documents produced for parishes throughout the realm are similar, furnishing largely the same information. This allows for comparison of various regions of England.

The fourth and final advantage of the church-plate certificates is that, at least for the 1547 and 1550/51 certificates, they provide evidence for the significance that each parish attached to various expenditures. The sale of church plate during the reign of Edward VI represented an income of ready money far greater than what the parishes were used to having at hand. In Suffolk, where the Boxford churchwardens' accounts indicate that the normal amount of ready money was at most £5, the average plate sale was £14 3s. 10d.[11] Obviously, if a parish had business which had been long unattended, or had some important costs which had recently been placed upon it—a point of crucial importance in this study—the new ready money would be employed. As the records show, East Anglian parishes were willing to spend their new-found wealth on pressing necessary items.

Norfolk and Norwich Archeology, vol. 35 (1972), 243-47.

[10]"Inventories of Church Goods, Plate, Jewels, Etc., for the counties of York, Durham and Northumberland," Surtees Society Publications, vol. 97 (ii), 1-3, lists the questions that the commissioners were supposed to ask.

[11]P. Northeast (ed.), Boxford Churchwardens' Accounts 1530-1561 (Bury St. Edmunds 1982), xiv; Appendix 2.

2. Purpose and production of the certificates.

The certificates relevant to this study were ordered, written and collected for one reason alone: to facilitate the removal of church goods out of the parishes and the appropriation of the goods by the Exchequer. The text of the certificates was intended to detail the moveable wealth of every parish in England, as well as chapels and some town guilds[12], in an attempt to note the holding of plate in every parish. That the certificates were meant as aids to the collection, and not as an indicator of the total sums to be made through the removal of the church goods, is confirmed by the inexact description of the stated goods. Plates, handbells, chalices or other items made of precious metal were merely noted by name, and only rarely qualified by their composition or by such imprecise measurements as "small" or "large." Had the purpose of the certificates been wholly financial, estimations of weight or value surely would have been necessary. As in fact the certificates were written without these estimations, they were incapable of providing the Exchequer with an informed presumption at the amount of money to be gained from the appropriation of plate from each parish. Hence the documents must have been originally produced for the benefit of the church-plate commissioners, so that they would have been able to know what to collect from each individual parish. Such a register of plate was necessary to combat fraud, as some churches were understandably loath to surrender their valuables to a government whose religious policies could not have been universally admired. The inventories would have served as a convenient check list for church goods received against church goods known to be held by each parish.

The church-plate certificates were supposed to be produced by the churchwardens of each parish, and almost all of those certificates which survive bear

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[12]As in the Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire returns, for example, and to a smaller extent in Essex. In Sussex, where only five returns exist from the 1552 inventory, all five are from town guilds. See Lists and Indexes, vol. 76.

their names. Where there were more than the usual two wardens, as in the case of Aylsham, all of their names appear, indicating their full co-operation. The churchwardens' consent, by extension, spoke for the rest of the parish, as, in the preambles to the certificates, the churchwardens confirmed the veracity of their inventories "by consent of the whole parish."[13] In at least one case, in the town of King's Lynn, three parishes banded together to produce a joint certificate; this co-operation passed without notice, although it was technically contrary to the orders sent to the church-plate commissioners.[14] The churchwardens, or more likely the clerks or scribes responsible for the actual writing of the documents, were then required to deliver the papers to the commissioners, of whom there were between four and seven in each region. These regions were typically comprised of one archdeaconry, but in many cases special areas such as large cities or towns and their environs, or, in the case of Yorkshire, its ridings, formed a region.[15] Peculiars, which were in other respects outside of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archdeaconries, were included within archidiaconal regions for the purposes of this survey.[16]

The commissioners were drawn from throughout the lay elite, predominantly from the nobility and gentry. Many regions appear to have had one nobleman appointed as a nominal leader, who probably did not have any real function within the commission: as but one example, the Earl of Shrewsbury was appointed to four

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[13]Compare this formula with those of the churchwardens' accounts, whereby the churchwardens also record their receipts and purchases done by the "consent of the whole parish."

[14]Appendix 3a. The three parishes in King's Lynn which produced a joint certificate were Lynn St. Mary, Lynn St. Peter and Lynn St. Cuthbert.

[15]To give two examples of the regions within a specific county: Yorkshire was comprised of five regions—its three ridings and the City of York and the Town of Hull (Surtees Society Publications, vol. 97 (ii), 3). Norfolk also contained four regions: the City of Norwich, the East Flegg deanery (immediately surrounding Great Yarmouth), and the Archdeaconries of Norfolk (less East Flegg deanery) and Norwich [Walters, 251-52]. It appears from the combined cases of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire that the average number of regions for each county was about two-and-a-half (for example, Huntingdonshire probably consisted of one region, and Cheshire of two). With 41 counties and between four and seven commissioners *per* region, this made for a total of between 410 and 717 officials responsible for church plate throughout the realm.

[16]As but one example, the return of South Wooton in Norfolk, within the Castle Rising peculiar northeast of King's Lynn, is included in the return for the region of the Archdeaconry of Norfolk.

different regions in Yorkshire and Durham. Of the rest of the commissioners in the Earl's regions, none rated over the rank of knight, and a few had no title at all.[17] The certificates were sent from the commissioners to the Exchequer, and eventually were collected by the Court of Augmentations well after the collection of plate was halted in 1553. Some parts of the national inventory would be deposited in the Miscellaneous Papers of Queen Mary.[18]

The orders for the making of the inventories and collection of church plate sent to the commissioners appear to survive in only one copy for the 1552 certificates[19]; fortunately, the 1552 orders are believed to be the same in all instances. The text of the directive was clear and to the point:

> *"Whereas we have. . .commaunded that ther shuld be takyn and made a just. . .inventory of all manner goods, plate, juells, vestyments, bells, and other ornaments within every paryshe belongyng or in any wyse appertynyng to any churche, chapell, brothered, gylde, or fratyeryty within this our realme of England, and uppon the same inventory. . .our commandement was and hathe been that all the same. . .shuld be safely kept and appoyncted to the charge of such persons as shudd kepe the same safely and be ready to aunswere to the same at all tymes. . . ."*[20]

The inventories were intended to be sent on by the commissioners to "our conseill," or the Council of the Exchequer.[21] The commissioners were requested to compare the 1552 inventories with those of 1547 and 1550/51. They had to swear to be just in their dealings, and were given authority to imprison without "baill or maynprice"

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[17]In Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, thirteen of the 40 commissioners were without title. Surtees Society Publications, vol. 97, 3. In Suffolk, the commissioners of 1552 appear to be composed of five knights and three commoners. D. N. J. MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors: politics and religion in an English county (Oxford 1986), 167.

[18]The classification of these documents under the papers of Queen Mary strongly suggests that they reached the central government under her reign only. Those documents filed under "Miscellaneous" are the 1547 certificates of Norfolk; these certificates have a special significance, as will be explained below.

[19]These were the orders sent to Bedfordshire. PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fos. 11v, 12v. These orders are reprinted in Surtees Society Publications, vol. 97 (ii), 1-6.

[20]PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fo. 12v.

[21]As the certificates are placed in the relevant Exchequer and Court of Augmentations depositories for Queen Mary, they may have been delayed in their collection. See PRO sections E117 and E315.

anyone who resisted them in completing their duties, or who embezzled or stole plate or other ornaments. The plate itself was supposed to be sent by indenture to "thandes of the maister of our juell house for the tyme being."[22] The commissioners were given broad powers of imprisonment against those who attempted to prevent the removal or theft of church valuables; considering the contretemps in Cornwall which shall be discussed below, such powers proved necessary.

Because the orders for the production of the inventories were identical, the certificates of 1552 largely follow a precise pattern. With all but three very notable exceptions, the certificates consist merely of a list of those parish church goods considered saleable and conforming to the request for "plate, juells, vestyments, bells, and other ornaments." The goods are described only to identify them, not to estimate their value or distinguish any of their features other than, rarely, composition or, in the case of vestments, colour. Such descriptions were of benefit to the officials sent to confiscate the goods, and also interested Victorian archivists, who transcribed many of the bundles of certificates, but are too bare to be of much use to the modern historian. In two instances, in Derbyshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, the commissioners slightly misinterpreted the instructions, and included books in the inventories, although these of course were not to be confiscated.[23]

One section of the orders issued a stern warning to the commissioners in an attempt to rectify past mistakes. Under no circumstances was plate allowed to be removed from the churches, except through their own hands. The government remarked that "We are informed that somme part of the said goodes. . .be in some

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[22]PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fo. 11v. A second order [fo. 12v.], issued in October 1552, did permit the sale of plate by the parish churches, if it was inconvenient for the commissioners to handle the plate, only on the condition that the proceeds were immediately given to the commissioners.
[23]The relevant Derbyshire parishes can be found in the PRO, E117/2/5, fos. 25-46; those of Yorkshire are in E315/515, fos. 3-63.

places embeselled or removed, contrayre to our former expresse commaundments"[24]; that is, those which were issued first in 1547 and again in 1550/51.[25] Having laid claim to the whole of the parish moveable wealth, the Exchequer had no wish to allow individual parishes to benefit from the removal of plate.[26] In three separate incidents in 1547 and 1548, the Privy Council rebuked churches in Cornwall, Norfolk and Kent which had sold plate without its consent; the infraction in Penwith in Cornwall was considered serious enough to warrant the deployment of soldiers.[27] Yet, as will be described below, despite the admonition not to alienate church plate, hundreds of parishes in Norfolk and Essex did sell their valuables.

The collection of church plate by the government had obvious repercussions for the parish churches and the Edwardian Church as a whole. However, it is clear that the genesis of the seizure of plate stemmed not from the perceived iconoclastic theology of the Edwardian ecclesiastical hierarchy, but rather from a political short-term need for ready money, with little regard to the consequences of the economic devastation the removal of church valuables was to invoke in the localities. The uncontrolled spending of Henry VIII left the finances of the realm in a perilous state, so grievous that the Exchequer had been forced to debase the coinage more than once.[28] The expansion of the armed forces put a further strain on the English economy. Henry VIII had spent heavily on battles in France; Somerset's campaigns in

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[24]PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fo. 11v.
[25]APC, vol. 3, 228.
[26]Strangely, the orders did allow for the parishes to donate linen to the poor as bedclothes. However, as with the plate, the parishes were not allowed to *sell* this linen [PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fo. 11v.].
[27]See below for Cornwall and Norfolk; for Kent, see APC, vol. 2, 139-40, for the case of the selling of plate in Christ Church parish, Canterbury.
[28]TRP, vol. 1, nos. 197, 228, 326, 379 and 382. Henry VIII had earlier been forced to debase coinage in 1543 and 1545. R. C. Challis, The Tudor Coinage (Manchester 1978), 84-89, 97-99. D. C. Coleman believes that prices nearly doubled during the mid-sixteenth century (The Economy of England, 1450-1750 (London 1971), 23). J. D. Gould has argued that inflation resulted from not merely the debasement, but the repeated and sudden removals of precious metal from the coinage ("The Price Revolution Reconsidered," in P. H. Ramsey (ed.), The Price Revolution in Sixteenth-Century England (London 1971), 104-05).

Scotland required funds to raise and pay soldiers.[29] His successor, Northumberland, wanted to undertake a more general bolstering of military power, especially to strengthen the navy. Both considered parish church plate an important source of income. An influx of precious metals was therefore needed not only to enhance the money supply and restore confidence at home and abroad in the coinage but also to alleviate the Crown's debts, and church plate was a convenient source.[30] Indeed, after the final collection of plate in 1552, £20,000 was coined out of confiscated silver; however, this did little to ease the total debts of £220,000 accumulated by the Crown.[31] Northumberland's advisors estimated the assets of the church in moveable goods and lands to be worth approximately £3.5 million.[32] Although this total included detached parish lands and special taxes on benefices rated over £50 *per* year, it does indicate the high hopes of the government for converting what it considered superfluous church property into an economic salvation.

The economic necessity of the confiscation was not matched by a religious impulse. The Second Act of Uniformity of 1552 may well have made almost all church plate obsolete, but that in itself was not reason for it to be removed from the parishes, and, in any case, the groundwork for the confiscation had been laid long before the passing of this most Protestant legislation.[33] Alienation of the plate for the benefit of the poor would have better suited the spirit of the Edwardian reforms[34];

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[29]C. Cruickshank, Henry VIII and the Invasion of France (Stroud 1990), ch. 5 *passim*; M. L. Bush, The Government Policy of Protector Somerset (London 1975), 33.

[30]Challis, 98, 165; also see Walters, 255, on the belief that the confiscation of church plate would rebuild the metallic reserves of the Exchequer.

[31]CSPD (1547-53), no. 754; see also Challis, 165.

[32]D. M. Loades, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (Oxford 1996), 219.

[33]Under the restrictions of the Second Prayer Book, and as legislated by the Second Act of Uniformity, the only religiously "necessary" items as mentioned in the service were the chalices used for communion. Parishes were only permitted one, or two if the parish was large. Also see A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (2nd ed.) (University Park, PA 1992), 283.

[34]The poor box, as required by the Injunctions of 1547, was intended to be used to collect donations for the needy of the parish. It is known that some parishes in East Anglia placed a part of the proceeds of their illegal private sales of plate into their poor boxes; a national programme of such donations to the

those responsible for the confiscation, however, appeared in little spirit of charity. Cranmer and his fellow church leaders were under no illusion about the reasons for the confiscation of plate, and realised that the action would result in, as MacCulloch has put it, "large-scale losses for the Church and gains for the government." Ridley argued that the confiscations were "taken away only by commandment of the higher powers...without any request of consent of them to whom they did belong."[35]

There is no record in Convocation, or in any other official record of Church legislation, of any involvement in the government's actions. Indeed, the opposition of Cranmer and Ridley indicates that ecclesiastics had little if any effective control to oppose the collection. The commissioners were appointed by the order of the government, not the Church, as the 1552 order refers only to Northumberland and to no ecclesiastical leader.[36] Furthermore, none of the commissioners in 1552 were churchmen.[37] The only link the commissioners had to the church was that their regions usually corresponded to archidiaconal boundaries, but, as noted above, even that was not always the case.

It is thus obvious that the order to collect plate originated with the government, and particularly with the Privy Council. Although the first order to confiscate church valuables is missing from the records,[38] it is evident that during the reign the Council made orders to make three sets of inventories of goods owned by

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poor could have gone a long way towards the stated religious aim of giving alms to the needy rather than feeding a voracious church. TRP, vol. 1, no. 287.

[35]MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer: A life (Oxford 1997), 521.

[36]PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fo. 12v.

[37]It appears that, during the making of the first inventories in 1547, church officials, particularly archdeacons, were involved. However, some of these churchmen were understandably reluctant to cede church property to the government. One of these officials, Archdeacon Body in Cornwall, was charged with gross derelict of duty, and it was suggested that he protected some of those who were removing church plate; it is most likely that the government of Protector Northumberland wished to avoid such conflicts of interest. APC, vol. 2, 535-36.

[38]The records of the Privy Council for the opening months of Edward's reign are lacking in some areas. See APC, vol. 2 *passim*.

the parishes.[39] The 1547 order would probably have called for merely a reckoning of valuables; it did not, as they took pains to stress in December of that year, order the removal of church equipment. The 1550/51 call for the inventory of church plate could not have been more to the point, and made no apology for the government's motivation:

> *[On 3 March 1550/51] it was decred that forasmuche as the Kinges Majestie had need presently of a masse of money, therfore Commissions shulde be addressed into all shires of Englande to take into the kinges handes suche churche plate as remaigneth, to be employed unto his Highnes use.*[40]

The 1550/51 certificates stemmed from this decree; however, the proposed confiscation did not take place.

On 29 January 1551/52, the Duke of Northumberland's Council laid down the final plans for the confiscation of church plate. Letters were to be sent to the *custos rotulorum* of each county to be delivered to the commissioners, with the purpose of producing a new set of inventories, following which the removal of valuables from the parishes was to commence.[41] However, perhaps because there was some confusion by the commissioners about the exact details of how the inventories were to be made and how the confiscation was to take place,[42] the production of this set of certificates was delayed until October 1552. The delay forced the Council to issue a second set of orders to the commissioners, which it hoped would clarify its intentions about the production of the certificates. This second order survives in one copy from Bedfordshire. While the text of these orders for the most part reiterates the document

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[39]Guy believes that a further inventory was made in April 1552. However, as I will argue below, this order was actually not carried out until October of that year. J. Guy, Tudor England (Oxford 1990), 223.

[40]APC, vol. 3, 228.

[41]*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 467.

[42]The commissioners in Worcestershire, for example, were uncertain as to whether the certificates should be returned to their *custos rotulorum* or directly to the Privy Council [*Ibid.*, vol. 4, 117-18]. The confusion of the Sussex commissioners, which led to the loss of nearly every one of the 1552 certificates, is also of interest.

discussed earlier, in this document the Privy Council is named specifically as the authority ruling over the action.[43]

The first certificates, from 1547, must have been intended as an estimate of the amount of plate kept in the parishes, for the government had not yet decided—or so it claimed—to confiscate the church valuables. The 1547 certificates would have served a dual purpose: firstly to test the economic and political feasibility of the collection of plate, and secondly to serve as a record of the plate which the parishes owned in 1547, so that any sale or alienation of valuables could be easily detected. On the other hand, the 1550/51 and 1552 certificates were produced in the knowledge that parish valuables were to be collected and sent to London. Northumberland's belief that a new inventory of plate was required only three years after Somerset's last inventories to some extent illustrates the government's failure in preventing the unauthorised removal of plate from the parishes, and how little most localities feared the exaction of penalty for their crime.

The existence and form of the 1547 and 1550/51 certificates has had to be extrapolated from the Privy Council decrees and a skeleton of surviving documents.[44] There is compelling evidence to suggest that these inventories at one time did exist, but for thirty-six out of the forty-one counties they have vanished. Looking at the main segment of the certificates, one would not have assumed that they were ever produced: almost all of the documents in section E117 of the PRO, the main depository of these records, are of the 1552 certificates.[45] The fate of the other inventories of 1547 and 1550/51 is uncertain. Certainly the comprehensive survey of 1552 made them obsolete, although it is unlikely that they were summarily destroyed.

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[43]PRO, Patent Rolls 6 Edward VI, 7 fo. 11v.
[44]One certificate in the Essex return for 1550/51 has survived: Thorpe-le-Soken (PRO E117/12 48). This certificate is an inventory only.
[45]Lists and Indexes, vols. 69 and 76.

Perhaps some inventories were destroyed because of the widespread alienation of plate from the parishes between 1547 and 1552. Much material of value was removed from the parish churches, despite the stern warning that it remain there. In many places, as Fuller recorded contemporaries as saying, "private men's halls were hung with altar cloths; their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets." Some wondered why the government bothered to confiscate what remained in the churches after 1552—by then "much of the best church ornaments [were already] transported beyond the seas"; wealthy parishioners removed goods "as if first laying hands upon. . .them, seizing on them was generally the price they had paid for them."[46] The amount of money received by the Exchequer must have been sharply diminished by the actions of churchwardens concerned that their valuables were to be raided, just as the monasteries' lands and goods had been taken.[47]

Further alienations of church plate occurred through the marked increase in thefts of church goods during the reign of Edward VI. Theft had caused problems in the localities during the late Middle Ages and immediately following the split from Rome; however, after 1547 there seems to have been an explosion in the looting and vandalism of parish churches. In Essex, a number of parishes claimed thefts in their 1550/51 certificates, ranging in loss from the theft of a chalice from Little Wakering to Childerditch which had "c'teine goods stolne at sev'all tymes." South Weald had the misfortune to lose three vestments and even its parish Bible.[48] Not all of the unauthorised removals were anonymous: at Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire a leading citizen, Sir Thomas Joseylene, took a cope and vestment from the parish

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[46]T. Fuller, The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ untill the year M.DC.XLVIII (London 1655), vol. 2, 393-94.
[47]E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, CT and London 1992), 476.
[48]Appendices 4a and 4b. St. John's of Bear Street in Norwich also suffered the loss of its Bible, at some point before 1552. Appendix 3d.

church, claiming that his ancestors had donated them.[49] Men who were even closer to the parish may have been responsible for arranging the removal of church valuables. Duffy believes that the Norfolk returns of some large parishes were "cooked," with goods purposely left out of the inventories, by churchwardens intent on retaining plate. This could explain why some large parishes such as Aylsham or Salle claimed only to have a small amount of plate in 1552, comparable to a medium-sized parish such as Holt or Brisley.[50] Indeed, some of the "thefts" of church plate in Essex might actually have been the result of churchwardens intentionally hiding or excluding it from the inventories.

3. Sales of church plate recorded in the certificates.

In only five counties do the inventories of 1547 or 1550/51 survive in quantity: Cheshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. There is no obvious connection between the East Anglian counties and Cheshire and Huntingdonshire; their survival appears to be an accident of history. Not all of the regions of each county are represented in these certificates: Norfolk is represented only by the Archdeaconry of Norfolk and the City of Norwich, Suffolk by the Archdeaconry of Suffolk, and Cheshire by the section of the county outside of the town of Chester.[51] The distribution suggests that survival of the certificates was by region, and thus by sets of commissioners, except in Essex, where certificates from all parts of the county exist.[52]

These certificates are quite different from the 1552 inventories. Firstly, they

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[49]Duffy, 487-88.
[50]*Ibid.*, 491; Appendix 3a.
[51]Appendices 2, 3a, 3c, 3d, and 7. The regions missing in each county are as follows: Norfolk, Archdeaconry of Norwich and the Town of Great Yarmouth; Suffolk, Archdeaconry of Sudbury; and Cheshire, the Town of Chester.
[52]In Essex, the regions appear to have been those parts of the Archdeaconries of Essex, Middlesex and Colchester which were in the county. There is no delineation between the archdeaconries, so here the collection must have been county-wide. Huntingdonshire, being a small county, was probably covered by a single region. Appendices 5, 4a and 4b.

contain no inventory of church plate: there is no list of valuables owned by each parish in the certificate. More importantly, the certificates are a financial ledger rather than a list, and the sales noted on these certificates are sales of church plate. In the first half of the documents, alienations of all kinds of plate are registered: dishes, chalices, handbells, sauncers, spoons, and even crosses were sold. Also sold were vestments, towels, linens and bell metal; in short, every sort of valuable which the parishes were not allowed to alienate was sold by the churches. The second halves of these certificates are much like churchwardens' accounts: lists of purchases and payments for certain parish expenses are noted, with church repairs, the cost of providing soldiers, and the fulfilment of the Edwardian Injunctions predominating.

Since the certificates eventually returned to the Exchequer, the government owned a written document confirming the appropriations of the parishes. Yet in no case did any commissioner or Exchequer official appear to object that parish wealth was removed from the hands of the government. The only explanation can be that both the commissioners and the Exchequer accepted what on the face of it appeared to be fraud on a massive scale.

Here, then, is the paradox of the 1547 and 1550/51 certificates. While, according to the orders of the Privy Council, it was illegal to sell church plate, the certificates prove that parishes were selling their valuables with the full knowledge and tacit consent of the government. Yet in other cases, the Privy Council seemed willing to act against parishes which broke the law. In Penwith in Cornwall, the Council acted against what they considered the "embeseling" of church goods and plate, a "private salle" orchestrated by local churchwardens. The Privy Council was angered at both what it called the "mishandelinge" of property by the churchwardens and the misinformation of Archdeacon William Body, the commissioner of the 1547

reckoning in Cornwall, whose claims caused, as Whiting termed it, a "tumultuous assembly" only pacified by Sir William Godolphin with some armed help.[53] Body had taken "vpon him to call together and assemble a multitude of all the parishes in one daye whereas the letter purported that there should severall enserch be taken in every place apart."[54] But with anger came political caution, and the Council felt the need to re-state their intent. The Cornish miscreants were to be informed, contrary to the claims of Body, "howe greatly it as mistaken by them, the verie purpose [of the Commission was] to the preservac[i]on of the church jewells, and prohibitic[i]one of privat sales thereof, rather then otherwise. . . ."[55] It goes without saying that "otherwise" refers to the confiscation of plate, which the parishes feared but the government claimed was not to be undertaken.

A similar incident occurred in East Dereham in Norfolk. On 26 October 1550, a letter was sent to Sir Roger Townshend and Sir William Fermour urging them "to call thinhabitauntes of [the town], and to examyne then [sic] wheather thei have solde the plate, belles, and jewells of their churche. . . ." If the parishioners had done so, the aforesaid men were "to compell them to restore it, &c."[56] What measures were implied by the ominous "&c." are unknown, but can probably be deduced from the broad powers delegated to the commissioners in 1552. The order to not alienate church valuables was apparently one which the churchwardens and other parishioners could ignore only at their own risk.

Yet the 1547 and 1550/51 certificates clearly demonstrate that the sale of church plate occurred, not in merely a few parishes, but in over 500 parishes spread

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[53]R. Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People: popular religion and the Reformation (Cambridge 1989), 222.
[54]Body also allegedly intimated that church plate was about to be taken away by the government, but the Privy Council made no mention of this in their report. *Ibid.*, 34.
[55]APC, vol. 2, 535-36, also Whiting, 34.
[56]APC, vol. 3, 148.

over the five counties in which the certificates survive. As far as can be established, not one of these parishes faced censure for their actions. Not even Gressenhall, Scarning and Swanton Morley, all of which border East Dereham in Norfolk, and which could have been easily prevented from selling plate by Townsende and Fermour, suffered any form of punishment, even though these parishes had admitted the sale of plate in their 1547 and 1552 certificates, both before and after the incident in East Dereham.[57] The scale of the alienations was not minor: approximately £5500 worth of valuables was sold by the parishes as recorded by the certificates, an average of £11 *per* parish.

The unauthorised alienations did not stop with these sums. The 1552 certificates in Norfolk and Essex differ from those in the rest of the nation. These certificates are very much like those of the 1547 and 1550/51 records, except that, in Norfolk, the accounts of sales alone are extant, and that in both counties, a list of remaining church goods is appended to the document. Nearly every one of the approximately 800 parishes in Norfolk made a sale: at an average of nearly £16 *per* parish, total alienations were almost £12,800. A further £1,200 worth of plate was alienated from eighty parishes in Essex in 1552.[58] There is also evidence that sales occurred in other counties. The parish of Cambridge St. Mary's recorded an income of £160 from the sale of plate in 1548, and recorded a total of over £300 from this source during the reign of Edward in their churchwardens' accounts.[59] Hutton has also found that, in his sample of 90 churchwardens' accounts throughout England, 69 parishes recorded some form of private sale of vestments or ornaments.[60] If every county engaged in this practice—and Duffy's studies of churchwardens' accounts

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[57]Appendix 3a.
[58]Appendices 3a, 4a and 4b.
[59]Cambridge St. Mary's CWA, years 1547-52.
[60]R. Hutton, "The Local Impact of the Reformation," in C. Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised (Cambridge 1987), 126-27.

suggest that most did[61]—the loss to the Exchequer would have been staggering: even a conservative estimate of £12 in alienations *per* parish throughout the reign translates into a net loss of £100,000 for the government. Such a shortfall would have been noteworthy even if the government's estimate of parish wealth was accurate; but as this estimate was inflated, the sale of plate would have represented an even greater proportional loss to the Exchequer.

4. Sales and compliance with the 1547 Injunctions.

What justification did the parishes have for selling such a large amount of plate and valuables, and why did the Edwardian government permit the forfeit of this ready money? Part of the answer may be found in the purchases claimed by the parishes from the money they received from their alienation of goods. Most churches refrained from spending their church-plate revenues on unnecessary or superficial items. Instead most spent the money either on making emergency repairs to the parish buildings, or in fulfilling specific obligations imposed upon them by the government or church. The need for church repairs in most cases was obvious: money was not spent on erecting new buildings or other such construction, but instead in propping up old walls or re-leading church roofs. A few parishes spent money on repairing roads or bridges which they were required to maintain; in Norfolk and Suffolk, some coastal parishes also were charged with the maintenance of sea-walls, which were also paid for from this source. Most unusual of the payments by the parishes made through the process of the sale of plate was the provision of soldiers or *materiél* to the war effort in Scotland. In an attempt to burden the localities with supplying the manpower, Somerset had ordered the parishes to recruit one, or more

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[61] Duffy, 489.

for larger parishes, man to fight, or his equivalent cost in arms.[62] Only in Essex appear some of what might be termed unnecessary purchases, or, more precisely, items that were usually budgeted for in the main body of the churchwardens' accounts: candle wax, clerks' wages, or equipment for annual maintenance, such as bell ropes or lumber. In Alvethey, for example, payments for nails, washing of surplices and "towels," and even the writing of the certificate itself were recorded in the 1547 certificate.[63]

The records of most interest for this study in these certificates are those pertaining to the fulfilment of the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547. These payments are specifically for the whitewashing of the church walls, the painting of scripture texts—the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, as well as the King's Arms—on the walls, the provision of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, the installation of a "homely" pulpit, and the placement in the church of a box for donations to the poor.[64] These provisions were, of course, in addition to the requirement of the Great Bible carried over from the reign of Henry VIII.[65] Expenditures for these items are recorded in all three sets of the certificates, including the 1552 returns from Essex, and in four of the five counties from which the 1547 and 1550/51 certificates survive.[66]

The degree of compliance in the Protestant changes to the parish church during the early English Reformation, and by extension the rates of provision of the English Bible in the parishes, can to some extent be studied from the levels of these payments in the church-plate certificates. It is certain that the finances of almost all

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[62]Bush, 34-35. CSPD (1547-53), nos. 81-92 note eleven instances of such mustering in the parishes.
[63]Appendix 4a.
[64]See TRP, vol. 1, no. 287, for the text of these Injunctions.
[65]*Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 200.
[66]The county missing these purchases is Cheshire; however, very few parishes registered any form of purchase in that county.

parishes were put to unusual strain by the changes to the church fabric imposed by the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547. However, the sale of church plate would have allowed most parishes to comply. The average plate sale in East Anglia between 1547 and 1552 was over £15; therefore parishes which sold plate would usually have little trouble in complying—had they so desired. The parishes of East Anglia were therefore presented with a choice: they could retain the money, or implement the Injunctions, which, before 1552, were not universally enforced. A parish that had sold plate, and therefore contravened the letter of the 1547 legislation against the alienation of church valuables, would have been eager to justify their actions. The nature of the purchases detailed in the certificates of 1547 and 1550/51, especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, suggests that churchwardens sought to mollify the Crown by claiming that their plate sales were made for necessary reasons, or made essential by government fiat.[67] Indeed, the purchases in these two counties are so obviously devoted to "necessary expenditures" that it is likely that there was an agreement between the commissioners and the churchwardens in the diocese of Norwich which stipulated that church valuables could be sold, so long as they were accounted for in the certificates. Shagan has recently referred to this implicit agreement as a "loophole" by which "these communities made it difficult for the regime to complain" about the sale of plate.[68] For their part the churchwardens must have been grateful to prove their compliance upon an official document, and to demonstrate loyalty to the Crown while profiting from apparent disobedience to it.

Church-plate sales offered parishes in East Anglia the opportunity to obey with the 1547 Injunctions. But why would churchwardens have recorded this upon the certificates? Churchwardens appeared to find it more natural to place the

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[67] Appendices 3a and 2; Duffy, 492-93.
[68] E. H. Shagan, Popular Politics and the English Reformation (Cambridge 2003), 295-98.

payments made out of the receipts of plate sales on the certificates rather than their usual accounts. Without the sales, most parishes could not have afforded the sweeping changes to their fabric as imposed by the Injunctions. In East Anglia, the commissioners must have considered the illegal alienation of plate a lesser evil than the failure to implement the Protestant reforms.

If a parish was willing to spend its scarce resources upon the Injunctions, it would have been likely to spend money on the English Bible. It would also have demonstrated an acceptance of the advances of the early English Reformation. As Shagan contends, the certificates returned by compliant parishes "publicly established themselves as complicit with the Reformation...[the parishes] understood the priorities of a Protestant regime."[69] It is likely, though not certain, that the parishes which spent money on the 1547 Injunctions, especially before 1552, would have also owned a Bible. The converse would not be always true, but in many cases in East Anglia would be highly probable, especially in parishes which could have afforded the implementation of the 1547 changes but which failed to do so as measured by the church-plate certificates. Not that every parish which displayed compliance with the first Edwardian Religious Injunctions would have owned a Bible, nor would every one of those which did not comply have lacked a Bible. However, the information is of some use in determining the tendency of a parish to comply with the Reformation orders to acquire religious equipment.

There is a second use for the study of the certificates that illuminates the placement of scripture and other necessary items into the church. Their information partly explains critical gaps in the data contained in churchwardens' accounts about compliance with the Reformation injunctions. The interconnection between the

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[69] *Ibid.*, 298.

churchwardens' accounts and the church-plate certificates allows for a greater understanding of the success or failure of the Henrician and Edwardian authorities in placing the Bible in the parish church. Certain entries pertaining to items made necessary by the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547 are missing from many churchwardens' accounts.

The most notable omission concerns the whitewashing of the walls in the parish churches. Despite the potentially high cost of this action, only a few of the accounts in East Anglia record it.[70] However, in many parishes, there are signs elsewhere in the account that the parishes that fail to mention it had in fact successfully completed the whitewashing of the church walls. One such case appears in the parish of Boxford. Here, the accounts between the years 1547 and 1552 fail to record either the costs of whitewashing or any costs related to it. Yet during the first quarter of 1548, "scripture" was painted on the walls, as requested by the 1547 Injunction that the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments should be displayed in a place where they could be readily seen by all.[71] This implies that the church walls had been whitewashed prior to 1548. It would not have made logistical or financial sense to re-paint scripture upon newly-whited walls. While plastering could be undertaken by unskilled local parish help, the painting of text was a skilled task, one that could be just as or more expensive than whiting the entire interior of the church building.[72] Most parishes probably would have called on outside help to complete this requirement, and would not have desired to do this twice.

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[70]Examples include Bungay St. Mary CWA, year 1548; Shipdham CWA, year 1547; and Swaffham CWA, year 1547. There may well have been other cases, but many CWAs are lacking years between 1547 and 1552.

[71]Boxford CWA, years 1547-52; TRP, vol. 1, no. 287.

[72]Although most certificates, especially in Norfolk, combined the costs of the whitewashing of the walls and the painting of scripture upon them in the accounts, enough evidence remains to suggest that the painting of text on the walls was a costly procedure. At Boxford in 1548, the placing of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments on the walls was reckoned at 22 s., and in Beckingley in Surrey, this cost £6 15s. 2d. Boxford CWA, year 1548; Duffy, 485.

Boxford's accounts therefore omit a key element of the changes to the church fabric during the Edwardian Reformation, although apparently the parish did in fact comply. Other churchwardens' accounts also fail to record the whitewashing of their church walls in spite of their apparent success in doing so. In these cases, the parishes recorded the "putting out of scripture" on the walls during the reign of Mary, when the Edwardian changes to the church fabric were officially, but not always practically, reversed.[73] As with Boxford, the painting of scripture indicates that the plastering of walls had occurred at some point before 1552, and that this action was not recorded in the accounts.

Furthermore, the parish accounts also fail to record one of the largest sources of parish income during the reign of Edward—the sale of church plate. Certainly some parishes even in East Anglia went without selling plate: for example, a number of churches in Essex claimed to have sold no plate in 1547.[74] Other parishes delivered plate to those intent on buying it, but did not receive their money at once: accounts recording the receipt of money for plate for several years after the end of the reign of Edward VI suggests that many of those who purchased plate from the parishes were unable to immediately pay the churchwardens.[75]

Yet church-plate sales are almost completely missing from the East Anglian churchwardens' accounts. Since most of the parishes of East Anglia are known to have sold plate at some point during the period between 1547 and 1552, this is more than an isolated oversight. There is often lack of documentation even in accounts from parishes where such alienations are known to have been made, through the

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[73]For example, Shipdham CWA, year 1555; Snettisham CWA, year 1557.

[74]Out of 127 certificates surviving for the 1547 survey from Essex, forty-two recorded no sales of church plate. In four of these forty-two parishes, goods were recorded as having been stolen; as mentioned above, it may be the case that these valuables were sold privately. See Appendices 4a and 4b.

[75]As in Framlingham CWA, year 1557.

evidence of the certificates.[76] There are, as was the case with the whitewashing of the church walls, a few incidents of church-plate sales being recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, but there are usually sales of very small amounts, or of auxiliary church items such as vestments or handbells.[77] In none of these cases do these sales records purport to be the whole of the sales for the parish.

The churchwardens' accounts therefore do not reflect all of the transactions of the parish, and thus records may have been documented in other forms of account.[78] In the cases of the whitewashing of the walls and the sale of church plate, these other accounts appear to have been the certificates. The reasons for which the churchwardens did not repeat the records of the certificates for their own accounts are unclear. It may have been that the wardens did not wish to be repetitive in their accounts, perhaps from a desire to save money in clerks' wages.[79] It may also have been that, as the sale of church plate before 1552 was still technically a punishable offence, the churchwardens did not wish to record their act for posterity. However, the most likely reason is that, as the church-plate sales were unique, the churchwardens were unwilling to place the sales, and those actions financed by them, into the general run of accounts. Churchwardens' accounts often kept unusual payments separately, as with the construction of certain church buildings or roads and

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[76]Cratfield does not record a sale of church plate despite its appearance in the certificates. Boxford kept a separate record of its church plate sales, and East Dereham was one of the parishes noted above for the unauthorised sale of plate. Cratfield CWA, years 1547-52; Boxford CWA, years 1547-52; East Dereham CWA, years 1551-52.

[77]It is notable that many parishes outside of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, where it is unclear whether the certificates record these sales, recorded large sales of plate in their churchwardens' accounts. Cambridge St. Mary, which sold as much as £160 in a single year, and £310 during the reign of Edward VI. Cambridge St. Mary's, years 1547-52. Hutton also notes that 69 out of his sample of 90 churchwardens' accounts taken from outside East Anglia recorded private sales of plate. Hutton, 139-40.

[78]Kümin, 101.

[79]As previously discussed, the costs of writing the churchwardens' accounts could be as high as 8d., as in Bungay St. Mary; doubtless most clerks would have requested at least an equal sum for noting the sale of church plate into the account books as well. In North Elmham, the clerk charged 7s. 8d. for the writing of the 1552 certificate. Bungay St. Mary CWA, years 1543-onward (annual cost); North Elmham CWA, year 1553.

bridges.[80]

It is clear that parish authorities were informed of the unusual requirements necessitated by the sale of church plate. At least one churchwardens' account in East Anglia, that of North Elmham in Norfolk, makes a reference to the drawing up of the church-plate certificate in 1552. Although Alvethey in Essex noted the cost of their production under the certificate's own "payments" section, the churchwardens of North Elmham obviously considered the 7s. 8d. cost of writing out the certificate worthy of inclusion in their main accounts.[81] During the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, two other accounts in Norfolk mention sending representatives to the commissions organised to sort out the problems raised by the changes to the church fabric.[82] The churchwardens of Snettisham recorded the weighing or measuring of church items, which facilitated the private sale of plate.[83] Churchwardens in East Anglia therefore apparently accepted the organisation of church-plate sales as a necessary feature of the changes of the Edwardian Reformation.

One further question remains about the sale of plate and its effect on the churchwardens' accounts. After the plate had been sold, and after the purchases detailed in the certificates had been made, a significant sum of money often remained unspent: an average of £3 8s. in Essex, over £4 in Norfolk, and about £3 in Suffolk. In some cases this surplus could be substantial: Terrington St. Clement's in Norfolk had a surplus of £78.[84] What happened to these leftover sums? Smaller amounts could have been silently transferred to the "ready money" of the parish. Some of it could have been placed in the parish poor box: few churchwardens' accounts detail

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[80]Kümin, 101-02.
[81]Appendix 4b, North Elmham CWA, year 1553.
[82]Great Witchingham CWA, year 1556; Swaffham CWA, year 1561.
[83]Snettisham CWA, year 1552, records a three-shilling cost for "ye Indentures makyng and ye wayeng of ye chalyce. . . ."
[84]Appendix 3a.

payments to the poor during the reign of Edward, although parishes some placed part of their yearly surplus there.[85] However, little can be said about the larger surpluses. Terrington St. Clement's, for example, did not spend their money on the required changes to the church fabric, as they were reported in 1549 for lacking a Bible, pulpit and poor box.[86] One is left to wonder how the parish justified their failure to comply with the Injunctions to the authorities. Although Terrington is an unusual case, there are many other parishes which had surpluses of £10 or more which failed to record necessary purchases or repairs.[87]

The relationship between the church-plate certificates and the churchwardens' accounts is significant for the study of the installation of the Bible into the parish churches. Parishes chose to place the purchases and actions made necessary by the Edwardian Injunctions in the certificates, rather than in the churchwardens' accounts. The certificates, therefore, give an indication of the willingness of individual parish churches to purchase the necessary religious items during the Edwardian Reformation. The certificates do not furnish an exact record of which parishes did and did not purchase a Bible during the reigns of Henry or Edward; only perfect churchwardens' accounts and perfect records of prosecution could. However, considering the relative lack of other definitive records for the mid-sixteenth century parish, the church-plate certificates are useful as an indirect source.

The Edwardian certificates record a number of Bible purchases between the years 1547 and 1552—twenty-five in all. This represents approximately one of every seventeen certificates that are extent in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Of further interest are the records of prosecution for the Archdeaconry of Norfolk, in which nine

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[85]A few certificates scattered throughout East Anglia note that the remainder of the money had been placed in the poor box.
[86]Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, year 1549 (unpaginated section).
[87]Appendices 2 to 4b, *passim*.

parishes are cited for failure to possess scripture.[88] Again the true level for the lack of compliance can only be estimated, but at the very least it is certain that the success of the installation of the Bible was not total.

The prosecution records for the failure to purchase the *Paraphrases* also demonstrate that installation of religious items could often be slow, and, further, that the levels of purchase for some items could be low. Nearly 48 *per cent* of the parishes in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk were prosecuted at least once for failing to own the Erasmian expositions.[89] As records for a number of deaneries and a few parishes are lacking, even in the visitation year of 1548, the total number of parishes lacking the *Paraphrases* may well have been greater than this.[90] The leniency of church authorities in imposing fines for the slackness of parishes must certainly have served as a disincentive to purchase the book: only six parishes are known to have been charged a fine for not owning the *Paraphrases*, nominally twenty shillings, and these typically occurred only after repeated prosecutions.[91] Some parishes were allowed to have their fines waived on account of poverty.[92]

Houlbrooke has argued that the level of prosecution in this case for the failure to purchase the *Paraphrases* indicates vigilance on the part of church authorities in punishing the parishes which did not enforce the strictures of the 1547 Injunctions.[93] However, Houlbrooke's further statement that such prosecutions enforced compliance is not supported by the records. Of those parishes reported for failure to display the

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[88]In 1548, the parishes which were prosecuted were Thornage, Toftrees, Great Ryburgh, Haveringland, Thursford, Grimston, and Barney. Terrington St. Clement's and Terrington St. James's were prosecuted in 1549. Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, 1548-51.

[89]Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, years 1548-51. See also Houlbrooke, Church Courts, 163-67.

[90]Some deaneries are missing from the Archdeaconry of Norfolk court records between 1548 and 1551. See below for an explanation.

[91]The parishes so fined were: Gayton, Bylaugh, Stanfield, Thursford, Ingworth, and Field Dalling. Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, years 1548-50.

[92]For example, the parish of Ashby and Oby, which was prosecuted for lacking the *Paraphrases* in both 1548 and 1549, and which only received a pardon for a threatened twenty-shilling fine through a claim of poverty on behalf of the churchwardens. *Ibid.*, years 1548-49.

[93]Houlbrooke, Church Courts, 163-67.

Paraphrases, almost half were prosecuted more than once. Some churches were charged three or more times.[94] Prosecution, even repeated prosecution, was not always enough to enforce the Reformation at the parish level. It is possible that, as for the *Paraphrases*, the Tudor church may have been unable to compel the purchase and use of the Bible.

The churchwardens' accounts and archidiaconal court records thus demonstrate that some East Anglian parishes failed to purchase a Bible during the mid-Tudor years. It has already been noted that one account, Cratfield, lists a Bible purchase in 1547/48. Other churchwardens' accounts indirectly suggest that Bible purchases may not have occurred in their respective parishes by the end of the reign of Henry VIII; nine of the twenty-two accounts list no purchases of any religious kind throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. In most cases one would expect to find some indication that changes had been made to the church fabric; for example, a lectern or table could have required repairs, or re-plastering of walls where images had been fixed, and windows could have required re-glazing after the removal of stained glass.[95] The total absence of reference to the changes of the Reformation in these accounts casts some doubt on the efficacy or the willingness of the parishes, even considering the incompleteness of the records, to comply with the changes required by the Injunctions.

It has been noted that seven parishes were cited in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk for failing to display the Bible between the years 1548 and 1551. It is unfortunate that these records are the only extant local court documents for East

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[94]From the Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, years 1548-51.

[95]For example Bungay St. Mary, though it did not mention the purchase of a lectern, did indicate an ownership of one through records of its storage during the reign of Queen Mary (Bungay St. Mary CWA, year 1554). Narborough CWA records a payment for reglazing of its windows in 1549, although no other records exist for the removal of stained glass. Shipdham CWA is lacking years 1548-53, but in 1554 the reglazing of windows is noted, and, more importantly, in 1555 the clerk of the parish was paid 6 d. for "putting owte the scriptures" painted on the walls during the reign of Edward.

Anglia during the reign of Edward, and it leaves to conjecture how many prosecutions in the other six East Anglian archdeaconries have thus gone missing. The Archdeaconry of Norfolk included the four largest towns in the county, not including Norwich, which appears to have been reckoned at times outside of archidiaconal court control[96], as well as the towns of Holt, Castle Acre, and Breccles, and most of the good farmlands and ports in Norfolk.[97] The offences in other archdeaconries could potentially have been more widespread. Even if the average of seven prosecutions for the failure to display the Bible was repeated in the other six archdeaconries in East Anglia, it could not be assumed that fewer than fifty parishes were non-compliant. It was stressed in the previous chapter that prosecution levels ran far below the true levels of offences in the mid-Tudor church. The lack of records for certain deaneries in the court book for the Archdeaconry of Norfolk between 1548 and 1551 should sound a warning that all was not well.[98] More importantly, the archidiaconal court failed to effectively prosecute some offending parishes, for example Terrington St. Clements, which may have encouraged other parishes to delay compliance.[99] The number of parishes lacking a Bible even as late as the early 1550's may well have been significant. The records for churchwardens' accounts outside of East Anglia suggest that the lack of Bibles in parish churches may have been characteristic elsewhere in the realm. Cox has noted that many other parishes in England failed to

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[96]McClendon has noted that many of the ecclesiastical responsibilities intended for the archdiaconal court were taken up by the Mayor's Court in the City of Norwich. M. McClendon, The Quiet Reformation: magistrates and the emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich (Stanford, CA 1999), 126 ff. In the act book for the Archdeaconry of Norfolk, the City of Norwich only appears once (1551) during its four surviving years. The four largest towns apart from Norwich in Norfolk, by most reckonings of the sixteenth century, were King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Thetford and Aylsham.

[97]The main portion of the Archdeaconry of Norfolk included the rich market towns and farmlands of central Norfolk, the ports of Wells-next-the-Sea and Great Yarmouth, the large towns of King's Lynn and Aylsham, not to mention the city of Norfolk, while excluding much of the fens, marshes, and backward portions of the county. Two detached deaneries in the archdeaconry include the area around Thetford and Saham Toney (Breccles deanery).

[98]Flegg deanery had gone missing once, Toftrees twice and Thetford once. As previously mentioned, the City of Norwich is missing in three years, but this may have been an administrative choice rather than an unintentional omission. Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, years 1548-51.

[99]*Ibid.*, year 1549.

record the purchase of a Bible, and still more failed to mention Edwardian changes to the church fabric.[100]

The study of the installation of the English Bible, therefore, largely rests on the church-plate certificates and the churchwardens' accounts. The certificates provide the most complete depiction of compliance to Reformation changes at the parish level in East Anglia, and are of invaluable use in determining the relative success of the placement of scripture in the churches, and its geographic distribution within the region. The churchwardens' accounts supply detailed information about the timing, the cost, and other pertinent material about the purchase of the Bible by the parishes. The contents of both sources for East Anglia will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

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[100]J. C. Cox, Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Seventeenth Century (London 1913), 110-12, 181-85.

Chapter 4: An analysis of the church-plate certificates.

1. An introduction to the analysis.

a. The church-plate certificates, "compliance," and the English Bible.

The last chapter demonstrated that the certificates collected by the church-plate commissions in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex are of use in understanding the rates of parish compliance with the 1547 Injunctions, and indirectly with the installation of the English Bible. In order to understand the information conveyed by these documents and by churchwardens' accounts, these records must be rigorously examined. In this chapter, the results of the study of these certificates will be explained. Patterns of compliance with the Injunctions will also be tested against parish wealth and geographical distribution. This chapter will subsequently examine the correlation between compliance and other factors, such as proximity to trading and woollen and leather manufacturing, the effects of towns and cities, and patterns of agricultural practice. This chapter will also use the East Anglian churchwardens' accounts in the examination of the Edwardian purchases of the Bible.

Before this study can begin, a set of ground rules will be established for the church-plate certificates. Not all of the certificates which display sales of plate and purchases of "necessary items" have been used in this survey. Some of them have been rejected because they are damaged or incomplete, so that some records are missing. These certificates are excluded in all cases when any payments are missing, or when a significant part of the sales are missing.[1] These exclusions have been made

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[1]Obviously it is impossible to know for certain, if there are missing portions of a document, whether the bulk of parish sales have been retained. However, in both Norfolk and Suffolk, in which the bulk of the problems with incomplete documents occur, the listing of sales of plate follows a distinct and common pattern (first silver and jewels are listed, then latten, followed by bell metal, and lastly vestments and linen). In cases where a very small proportion of the sales have gone missing, and the bell metal (which often contributes more than half of the total sales) has been listed, the missing vestments and linen in all likelihood probably do not amount for a large sum. However, in an attempt to keep the accounts balanced, partially incomplete certificates have been included in this survey in only a few cases, notably the 1552 certificate for Aylsham in Norfolk. For Aylsham, only the last few

to prevent incomplete certificates from distorting averages. Other reasons for exclusion relate to county-specific cases. In Norfolk, certificates have been included only where a document exists for both the 1547 and 1552 returns. This condition, which has resulted in the exclusion of some certificates in both returns, has been made in an attempt to compare the levels of sales in these two sets of certificates. In Essex, eighteen of the certificates in the 1552 inventories have been excluded as they record no sales, and therefore no purchases.[2] In Cheshire, nearly 90 *per cent* of the surviving 1547 certificates also display no sales; these documents have been indexed in the Cheshire appendix.[3] The Huntingdonshire certificates, while recording more sales than those from Cheshire, record too few purchases to be of much help in determining compliance.[4] The appendices also tabulate the ownership of the Bible in the Northamptonshire and Derbyshire cases, which, while interesting, do not provide enough information to draw any clear conclusions, as it is unclear how many parishes which owned a Bible actually recorded it in their certificate.[5]

This survey aims to take a simple approach to the actual volume of church-plate alienation, and the purchases made with the money so gained, as claimed by

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entries appear to be missing from the document (PRO, E315/500/130).

[2]These certificates have been mentioned in the previous chapter. Instead of placing them in the general run of Essex certificates, they have been placed in a separate appendix (Appendix 4c). Fifteen of the nineteen parishes are from either Chafford or Ongar hundred, with Ongar alone supplying ten of them. It is possible that many of the parishes in these two counties misinterpreted the orders for the 1552 certificates, or that they did not understand the agreement outlined in Chapter 3 between authorities and churchwardens.

[3]The Cheshire certificates have largely been ignored in this chapter, as the returns offer no examples of compliance. However, for academic interest, the appendix for Cheshire with the records of its sales will be retained. See Appendix 7.

[4]The Huntingdonshire records are also indexed. Of the forty-nine certificates which exist for the county, six were compliant (12 *per cent* rate); however, this small total may be misleading, as eighteen of the certificates are damaged or incomplete. The total of sales for the county was very small: six of the parishes made no sale at all, and the average sale for the county was £2.94. The largest sale, £15.21 by Fenstanton, is in fact lower than the average for Norfolk.

[5]See Appendices 6a and 6b. It is worth mentioning that, out of the fourteen parishes listed in the hundred from which the Northamptonshire inventories are drawn, twelve claimed a Bible and eleven claimed the *Paraphrases* in 1552. E117/7/3 (Northamptonshire), E315/496 (Derbyshire), "Inventories of Church Goods, Plate, Jewels, Etc., for the counties of York, Durham and Northumberland," Surtees Society Documents, vol. 97 (ii) (Yorkshire).

each parish. "Sales," both in the appendices and in the main body of this chapter, will denote the total monies received by the parish from the alienation of plate, vestments, bell metal and all other goods as recorded in the certificates. In instances where the parish had alienated goods, but had not yet received payment for them, the unclaimed portion has not been included in the total, as in such cases the parish would not yet have had the money to use towards compliance. In no case has the value of goods been inferred where no figures are given in the documents; however, values have been calculated where a total weight of plate, and its value *per* ounce, are listed.

Similarly, this survey will define "purchases" as all those purchases which the churchwardens of the parish had recorded on the certificates. No purchases have been inferred or assumed; only those listings and sums which actually appear on the certificates are used. In many cases, most notably in Suffolk and Essex in 1552, it is clear that not all of the purchases were financed by the sales of plate, as a greater total of purchases are recorded than of sales. However, from some certificates in Ipswich where purchases alone are enumerated, it appears that the churchwardens expected to be allowed to make up their deficits through the alienation of church goods, so the listing of excess purchases is therefore both relevant and important for the purposes of this survey.[6]

More contentious in this study is the definition of compliance of a parish with the 1547 Injunctions as measured from the certificates. Compliance, for the purposes of this study, will mean the listing of payments for one or more of the following in the certificates: the whitewashing of the church walls; the painting of scripture upon the church walls; the replacement of stained-glass windows with plain glass, or the reglazing of such windows; or the provision of a pulpit, poor box or lectern; and, most

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[6]See Appendix 2.

importantly, the purchase of a Bible or the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus. In the appendices, these varied actions are tabulated into four columns: windows, books, whiting, and other necessities ("Other N."), in which the payments for pulpit, poor box or lectern are included.[7] If, and only if, the certificate specifically notes that the parish intended in the future to fulfill one or more of the above requirements, that parish will be recorded with the note "intent" in the relevant column.

The above principles appear to be clear-cut, but there are two situations in which the compliance of a parish remains uncertain from the documents. The first stems from the vague wording of a number of the certificates, particularly when the phrase "necessary reparac[i]ons" is used to describe changes made to the church walls. In these cases it is impossible to tell whether the churchwardens were referring to structurally necessary repairs to the fabric of the building, or the changes made necessary by the 1547 Injunctions.[8] The second is where a list of purchases was made separately from the certificate, and is no longer extant, as in the case of Woodbridge in Suffolk.[9] In all such instances, the parish has been recorded with "uncertain compliance" (or "UC") in the appendix.

As the returns of the certificates are in different forms in the five counties, the method of tabulation for each county will be explained here in detail. However, each of the appendices displays common features. In all of the appendices, the parishes are listed by total sales, ranging from the highest to the lowest amounts. For Norfolk, this

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[7]In the appendices, the payments confirming compliance have been listed, where a sum can be known, in the relevant column. If, in addition to whitewashing, the walls of the church were inscribed with the Ten Commandments, the costs of both have been added together and the total marked with an asterisk (*). When a total is listed under "Books," the type of book is identified in the last column. Where it has been impossible to derive a specific sum for compliance, the relevant column has been marked with a question mark (?). It is important to note that the question mark does not denote "compliance uncertain," which will be dealt with in the following paragraph, but rather an uncertain total. Owing to the importance of the Bible and *Paraphrases*, the costs of those items are listed in boldface.

[8]See, as examples, Burgh St. Margaret (PRO, E315/500/51) and Saxlingham (PRO, E315/500/106), both in Norfolk. Fortunately, there are few cases of such vague wording.

[9]See Appendix 2. The Woodbridge certificate is PRO, E315/509/35.

entails the addition of the sales noted in the 1547 and the 1552 returns. In Essex, however, owing to the nature of the 1552 return, the 1547 and 1552 documents have been tabulated in two separate appendices, and, where a parish has a certificate for both returns, its sales and purchases have been added for each return separately.[10]

Of the certificates of the three main counties in this survey, the returns for Suffolk are the least complex. The 135 certificates for Suffolk are all from the 1547 return.[11] The most unusual aspect of the return is the duplicate documents produced for ten Ipswich parishes, which are not technically records of church-plate sales at all, but rather requests by the churchwardens to sell extra plate to finance necessary repairs.[12] A first glance at the appendix shows that the level of compliance for Suffolk is relatively low, with approximately 20 *per cent* of the parishes recording some form of compliance. The relatively high ratio of purchases to sales (68 *per cent*) can perhaps be explained in part by the severe storms which damaged many church buildings in 1547, particularly in Ipswich, and also by the large expenditures made by many coastal parishes to repair sea-walls, which may also have been a consequence of these storms.[13] In total, the parishes of Suffolk spent a much greater proportion of their church-plate income on repairs than their counterparts in Norfolk and Essex.[14]

The Norfolk certificates for the 1547 and 1552 returns are combined in one appendix. As noted above, only those parishes for which a certificate exists for both

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[10]See Appendices 4a and 4b. In addition to the notation in the Appendix, a map (Map 3c) has been drawn up to illustrate which parishes have relevant certificates in the 1547 and 1552 returns.
[11]The 1552 returns for Suffolk merely list the remaining plate in each parish. See List and Index Society, vol. 76.
[12]These requests stem from the hailstorms, mentioned below, which damaged many southern Suffolk parishes in early 1547. In two instances in Ipswich, St. Margaret's and St. Stephen's, the churchwardens made a preliminary sale of plate to partially finance the replacement of windows, although this was not a major sale (£14 8s. and £3 19 s. respectively, whereas in the general run of 1547 certificates the parishes alienated £52 19 s. and £40 respectively
[13]PRO, E117/12/6; see also E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, CT and London 1992), 482. Five of the Ipswich parishes which submitted "secondary returns" in 1547 reported payments to repair windows which had been damaged by this storm.
[14]See Appendix 2.

years (109 in all) have been included. The sales and purchases for 1547 have been tabulated in the same way as those for Suffolk; however, as the 1552 return records sales alone, the information from this year has been condensed into one column. A separate column provides the ratio of sales for 1547, from which the purchases and therefore compliance is derived, to the combined sales for both years.[15] The county average, approximately 31 *per cent*, casts some doubt on the argument that parishes were in a hurry to alienate their church goods before the widely-feared governmental confiscation. The Norfolk returns are also notable for the vast disparities in the amounts of plate sold: the highest total, £312 for the combined three parishes of King's Lynn, is more than 65 times that of the lowest total, £4 14 s. for Holkham.

The church-plate certificates for the city of Norwich, which were somehow detached from the other certificates from Norfolk, are mostly from the 1552 return, although in this return, unlike in that of Norfolk, purchases are recorded. However, seven of the twenty surviving certificates are for the return of 1547, and these also display sales and purchases. The appendix for Norwich has therefore been divided into two sections, one for 1547 and one for 1552. These certificates display a higher average of sales, although not as high as might be expected, and greater levels of compliance, than those of parishes in Norfolk outside of the city.[16]

The Essex certificates display sales and purchases in both the 1547 and the 1552 returns. As the returns cover two groups of parishes which do not completely coincide, it has been necessary to produce two separate appendices for Essex. Those parishes which for which a certificate from both the 1547 and 1552 return survives are listed in the appendix for the 1547 certificates, with separate columns indicating the

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[15]The certificates have been carefully compared to check whether certain goods sold in 1547 were duplicated in the returns of 1552. In nearly all cases, the commissioners' orders that only plate sold since the previous certificate (1550/51) be recorded appear to have been followed.

[16]See Appendices 3c and 3d. As will be seen below, the greater level of compliance did not merely stem from wealth alone.

parish return for 1552. As might be expected, the 1552 return shows a higher level of compliance than the 1547 return, despite the greater sales totals of the parishes represented in the earlier return. The greater number of parishes showing compliance in 1552 demonstrates yet again the slowness of many churches in acting upon the 1547 Injunctions, as described in the previous chapter. A number of parishes in Essex purchased the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus; the significance of these purchases will be discussed below.[17]

b. The maps.

The results of the summation of the Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex certificates are recorded in a more visual form in the maps which follow the appendices. These maps are divided into three series: the first deals with parish compliance with the 1547 Injunctions, the second with the volume of plate sales in the parishes, and the third with the parishes which recorded the purchase of the Bible or related items. A conscious effort has been made to retain the colour pattern throughout the first two series of maps, so that comparisons can be easily made among the three counties.

In the first series of maps, red denotes known and certain compliance, while blue indicates "intent to comply," except in the Essex compliance map for 1547, in which blue denotes that the parish complied in its later 1552 return.[18] Grey in these maps indicates "uncertain compliance," as detailed above, and black, no known compliance. Where no certificate exists, the parish outline is left blank. There is one map each for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, while for Essex there are two maps, one for each return.[19] There is also, as previously stated, an extra map for Essex

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[17]The Essex returns may also indicate, from the same statistics, that the *Paraphrases* were largely unavailable in East Anglia at the time of the 1547 return. See Appendices 4a and 4b.

[18]Although this choice of colouring may seem counter-intuitive, I have used it to suggest that such parishes from the 1547 return had "intended" to comply in that year, but could only do so at a later date.

[19]See maps 3, 5, 9 and 10.

which demonstrates the distribution of the certificates for 1547 and 1552.[20]

The second series of maps not only includes two maps for Essex, but also two for Norfolk, one denoting the plate sales in 1547, and the other denoting total plate sales for 1547 and 1552.[21] Each map utilises the same range of colours, ranging from black for the lowest volume, through violet, blue, green, and orange for the highest volume. The range of colours is the same for each map, except for that of the Norfolk 1547-52 sales map. In other words, black always denotes less than £2 in sales, violet between £2 and £5 in sales, and so on. These ranges are only altered for the Norfolk 1547-52 sales map, as the sales depicted in that map are of a significantly higher level.

The last three maps list the parishes in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex which returned church-plate certificates or produced churchwardens' accounts that recorded the purchase of a Bible, the *Paraphrases*, or other items related to the display of the Bible. These maps will be used to illustrate the geographic distribution of the recorded purchase of the Bible, an analysis of which appears below.[22]

2. An analysis of the contents of the certificates and the churchwardens' accounts.

a. Compliance with the Injunctions.

Of the 109 parishes represented in the 1547 return for Norfolk, 46 displayed some form of compliance with the Injunctions, and a further fourteen indicated their intent to do so. The compliance of two parishes is unclear from the records. Thus 56 *per cent* of the Norfolk certificates show compliance or an intention to comply. On the other hand, in Suffolk, only thirty of the surviving 132 certificates note compliance and one intent, with two uncertain—so only 24 *per cent* of the parishes were compliant or intended to comply. When the statistics for the town of Ipswich

[20]See map 6.
[21]See maps 1, 2, 4, 7 and 8.
[22]See maps 11, 12 and 13.

are removed, the numbers fall to twenty-five out of 125 certificates, or 20 *per cent*. In the city of Norwich, the proportion is high— out of the twenty which are extant, fourteen certificates show compliance and one intent to comply, or 75 *per cent*. In Essex in 1547, nineteen show compliance, and two intent to comply, out of 99 parishes, with five of uncertain compliance, making the overall rate 22 *per cent*. Five years later, the Essex return shows a markedly different result: of 60 certificates, 33 demonstrated compliance—58 *per cent* in total. A similar pattern emerges for the twenty-two parishes which appear in both returns for Essex: three of the parishes record compliance in 1547; these same three are noted as compliant in 1552, but they are joined by nine others.

At first glance these figures seem far too low, but they mirror another set of statistics for compliance in East Anglia. As noted in the previous chapter, the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus were acquired in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk by only approximately 48 *per cent* of the parishes.[23] The figures from the church-plate certificates appear less surprising when the returns of parishes claiming no purchases are excluded. In Norfolk, the rate rises to 61 *per cent*; Suffolk, 26 *per cent*; Essex, 1547, 29 *per cent*; and Essex, 1552, 79 *per cent*.[24] It should not be assumed, however, that no record of purchase necessarily indicates an uncertain compliance. It may, instead, indicate a conscious decision by the churchwardens to keep the money for parish purposes.

The two returns for Essex demonstrate an important aspect of compliance rates in East Anglia. Between 1547 and 1552 the proportion of parishes recording compliance or intent rose from 22 *per cent* to 58 *per cent*. For those parishes which

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[23]See Chapter 3; also R. A. Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the English People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570 (Oxford and New York 1979), 165. Note that the Archdeaconry of Norfolk upon which this survey was based is the same area from which the 1547 certificates for Norfolk are drawn.

[24]There were no parishes in the city of Norwich which claim to have made no purchase.

appeared in both returns, the rate rose from 13 *per cent* to 55 *per cent*. The growing acceptance of the Injunctions through the reign of Edward VI is unsurprising: it mirrors the slow acceptance of the English Bible as recorded in the churchwardens' accounts in East Anglia during the reign of Henry VIII. There is a strong possibility that the installation of the Bible in East Anglia prefigured this pattern of acceptance of the 1547 Injunctions.

The most striking aspect of the statistics is the wide gap between the compliance rates of Norfolk and Suffolk. Despite being in the same diocese, and subject to the same episcopal authority, Norfolk parishes were on average twice as likely to comply. In the previous chapter, it was intimated that prosecution was not always successful in enforcing compliance.[25] Here Norfolk and Suffolk appear to demonstrate that the same authority, if not necessarily the same level of enforcement, could lead to greatly differing patterns of behaviour.

b. Amounts of plate sold by each parish.

A study of the certificates must take account of the average value of church plate sold, and how it may affect a more detailed analysis of parish compliance. Firstly, it should be noted that the average Norfolk and Suffolk sales are surprisingly close for 1547: £13 4s. for Norfolk compared with £13 10s. in Suffolk. The Norfolk returns do not include the statistics for Norwich, whose parishes averaged £36 16s. in sales for 1547 alone. On the other hand, parishes in Essex claimed only £10 13s. in average sales for the 1547 return. While all three of these totals were sufficient to fulfill the 1547 Injunctions and purchase a Bible,[26] a difference of a few pounds could have made an impact in parishes where urgent repairs of the church were necessary. It would seem obvious that the more a parish sold above the bare minimum needed

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[25]See Chapter 3, on the problem of the enforcement of the purchase and display of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus.

[26]See below for a study of the costs involved.

for the completion of the Injunctions, the more likely it was able both to recoup outstanding debts and to comply.

The average sales for the 1552 returns for Norfolk, Essex and Norwich are revealing. These three areas cannot of course be directly compared, since not all of the parishes in Essex appear in both returns, and no parish in the city of Norwich has a surviving certificate from both 1547 and 1552. The average sale in Norfolk in 1552 was nearly £29, and the total sale in both returns was £42 3s.; in Essex in 1552 the average was a little less than £14. The average total sales of those Essex parishes which appear in both returns were £30 10s. The Norwich sales for 1552 average £45 15s. The relatively low total for 1552 as compared with sales of Norwich parishes in 1547 may perhaps indicate that urban churchwardens were more likely to alienate their plate quickly. A comparison of the sales in Essex shows that the average proportion of sales in the 1547 returns was a little less than 40 *per cent* of total sales. The proportion of plate sales of 1547 in Norfolk was only 31 *per cent.* It is of some interest that the £42 average in church-plate alienation in Norfolk for the reign as a whole was almost four times the annual value of the average parish benefice for the parishes in this survey in Norfolk as measured by the Valor Ecclesiasticus, which was £11 12s.[27]

The above observations, however, do not provide an explanation to the pressing problem of compliance. Which sort of parish was most likely to undertake the necessary actions, and can any pattern be found for compliance in East Anglia? While it is impossible to say for certain whether or not a parish not covered in this survey would have complied with the 1547 Injunctions or the order to install English scripture, a more detailed analysis of the documents may suggest some answers.

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[27]See Appendix 3b.

One would expect a likely determinant to be the relative wealth of the parishes. Common sense alone would dictate that wealthier parishes would be more able to afford the sweeping changes to the church fabric required by the 1547 Injunctions. Yet, plausible as such an argument may appear, a study of the church-plate documents suggests it is false. A mere glance at the results for the county of Norfolk is enough to arouse suspicions: the entries for the different forms of compliance are scattered fairly evenly throughout the range of parishes. Of the wealthiest one-fourth of the Norfolk parishes, or twenty-seven in all as measured by the sale of church plate, twelve conformed to the Injunctions; of the second one-fourth, nine; the third, thirteen; and the fourth, twelve.[28] Further study reveals that, of the six best-represented hundreds in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk, the poorest, Holt, demonstrates compliance in eight of the fourteen parishes, and the second poorest, Wayland, shows compliance in six out of eight. In the wealthiest hundred, Eynsford, only two out of eight parishes confirm compliance, and in the next-wealthiest, Freebridge, eleven out of thirty record compliance.[29]

In the other two counties the trend is continued. In the Essex certificates of 1552, the wealthiest third of the parishes as measured by the sale of plate, twenty in all, displayed eleven cases of obedience; the middle third had twelve; and the poorest third had nine.[30] The situation in Suffolk in 1547 is slightly different, but explainable.

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[28]These figures are exclusive of those parishes which expressed an intent to comply or those from which compliance cannot be determined. These parishes supply a marked pattern when set against the ledger of plate sales. Of the wealthiest quarter, eight professed intent to comply; of the second, four; of the third, two; of the poorest, none. The willingness for the wealthiest parishes to claim intent is probably explained by their desire to demonstrate to the authorities that they were not wasting their money, and to assuage any fears that they were rejecting the policies of the church. It should be noted that the last quarter of the parishes actually contains twenty-eight, not twenty-seven, parishes, due to rounding.

[29]The average combined (both 1547 and 1552) plate sales for these hundreds was as follows: Holt, £28.39; Wayland, £30.64; Eynsford, £61.10; Freebridge, £52.61. Note that one of the parishes, Dersingham, has been omitted from the Freebridge total as its compliance cannot be adequately determined.

[30]See Appendix 4b.

Of the thirty-three parishes which make up the wealthiest quarter of the Suffolk parishes by sales, twelve complied, and another is uncertain. The other three quarters of the parishes display only six, seven and five respectively.[31] While these findings at first may appear to contradict the results of Norfolk and Essex, six of the parishes in the wealthiest quarter which complied are from the town of Ipswich. Without these, the results for Suffolk would be similar to its neighbours.

It could be argued that, although the study of the sale of church plate examines to some extent the level of cash in hand in each parish at the time of compliance, it is at best an idiosyncratic measure of parish wealth. Yet parish wealth as measured by subsidy return is also a poor measurement of obedience. In Norfolk, the wealthiest quarter of parishes as measured from the subsidy rolls, twenty in all, include ten cases of conforming or intending to conform, while the second wealthiest contains fourteen and the third wealthiest eleven. It is only in the poorest quarter in Norfolk that the pattern is broken, with only seven compliant parishes.[32] The reluctance of many extremely poor parishes in Norfolk to fulfill the Injunctions may stem from the precarious position of many small parishes in the county during the mid-sixteenth century. Perhaps many poor parishes had given up hope of survival in Norfolk, and therefore ignored the calls to alter their church fabric.

The records of parishes which claimed the purchase of the Bible, *Paraphrases* or other items related to the display of scripture, also suggest that high levels of plate sales had little positive effect on the tendency for a parish to comply. In Norfolk, parishes which recorded the purchase or intent to purchase the Bible sold an average of £6.19 in plate, far below the countywide average of £13.21. In Suffolk, only three

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[31]The poorest quarter displays one "compliance uncertain" (Blaxhall). The parish with uncertain compliance in the wealthiest quarter is Woodbridge. See Appendix 2.

[32]Out of the 109 relevant parishes in Norfolk, eighty-one could be identified in the subsidy rolls. This has necessitated that the poorest quarter contain one extra parish, due to rounding. See Appendix 8.

parishes recorded the purchase of the Great Bible: these averaged £10.67 in sales, as opposed to £14.03 for the county as a whole. One of the three parishes in Suffolk which purchased items related to the Bible also sold a less than average amount of plate. In Essex, parishes which purchased either the Bible or the *Paraphrases* sold more than the county average in both returns—in 1547 £16.96 against £14.45, in 1552 £18.35 against £13.44—but the two parishes which claimed the purchase of the Bible alone sold far below average. Indeed, especially in Norfolk, it appears that there exists an inverse correlation between plate sales and the purchase of the Bible. It is possible that many poorer parishes put off their acquisition of the Great Bible until the reign of Edward VI, when the sale of plate could fund its purchase.

It is possible that obedience depended markedly upon the timing of the sales of plate, and thus the receipt of money. If a parish had divested itself of the bulk of its church plate in 1547, it would have had more money with which to invest in compliance, and would have been more likely to act at this earlier date. When the church-plate entries in Norfolk are arranged by the percentage of sales in 1547 as a part of sales in total, compliant parishes are more prevalent at the top of the table. The quarter of parishes that had the highest ratio of sales in 1547, twenty-seven in all, includes sixteen which complied, and the second quarter thirteen. By contrast, the third quarter had only eight such parishes, and the last, all of which sold less than one-sixth of their total plate in 1547, nine. However, this reckoning does not include those parishes which expressed their intent to conform. When these are added, the totals of compliance and intent to comply ranked by quartile are eighteen, sixteen, fifteen and fourteen respectively. Parishes that sold less church plate in 1547, therefore, were no less willing to comply with the Injunctions, but may have been more cautious in sacrificing their assets, and this may have served to delay the fulfillment of the

decision.[33]

c. Levels of payment in purchasing the Bible and fulfilling the Injunctions.

The church-plate certificates, when combined with the churchwardens' accounts, demonstrate much about the costs of the Bible and other necessary costs related to its display and use. The first point of interest concerns the costs of the Great Bible itself. The certificates indicate that the costs of the "town's part" of the Bible varied widely, from a low of six shillings in Eastdonyland in Essex to eighteen shillings for the parish of St. Martin in Bear Street in Norwich, with a median cost of between eight and ten shillings. As these figures represent only half of the total costs of scripture, the true price of the Great Bible therefore ranged from twelve to 36 shillings—far higher than the twelve- to fifteen-shilling price set by royal proclamation.[34] Local churchwardens' accounts suggest that some wardens appeared to pay less for their share of scripture: 3s. 8d. in Shipdham, for example, and four shillings in North Elmham.[35] More typical were the 6s. 8d. paid by Walberswick, 13s. 4d. for Cratfield, and the total of 21 shillings for both town's and priest's parts of the Bible by Swaffham.[36]

Further adding to the cost of the Bible were items which facilitated its reading and use. Proclamations during the reigns of both Henry VIII and Edward VI required parishes to provide a lectern for the Bible to sit on and a chain to bind it there.[37] These requirements, however, did not prove very expensive, probably because parishes were able to use local materials and workmen. The church-plate certificates

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[33]A study of the timing of Bible purchases in Essex is impossible, as no parishes which returned a 1552 certificate recorded the purchase of a Bible. However, see below for a study of the differences between the 1547 and 1552 certificates with regard to the *Paraphrases*.

[34]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

[35]Shipdham CWA, year 1541; North Elmham CWA, year 1541.

[36]Walberswick CWA, year 1542; Cratfield CWA, unknown year in the 1540's; Swaffham CWA, year 1539. But note the earlier notation in the Cratfield CWA. Oddly, Cratfield previously recorded a payment of 5s. 2d. to "Mr. Vycar for the two bybls" in 1541.

[37]TRP, vol. 1, nos. 248 and 283.

record that Chediston in Suffolk spent 1s. on a lectern, and Colne Engaine in Essex 6d. on a chain. Churchwardens' accounts indicate that other parishes incurred similarly small expenses for these items: East Dereham paid 20d. on a lectern in 1539, and Tilney All Saints 2d. on a lectern and 4d. for a chain in 1541. Boxford's greater expense for a lectern in 1541 might that their resting-place for the Bible was something more than "of the simplest sort."[38]

A more specialised expense involved repairs to the Bible. While some repairs were minor, such as Shipdham's later costs of 1 1/2d. for "mendyng ye byble" in 1561, others were much more expensive. Swaffham had to spend 13s. 4d., close to what some parishes must have spent on the Great Bible itself, to "ye booke bynder" in 1540, only a year after it purchased its copy of scripture. In 1541 Shipdham paid ten shillings to John Barchaw "for a patte & a window & a cofer for the bybull."[39] Such expenses suggest that soon after the introduction of vernacular scripture, the parish Bible was being heavily used, or, to read it less optimistically, vandalised.

The 1547 requirement for parishes to acquire the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, to serve as an authorised lay explication of the Bible, was a further expense to parishes. Only two churchwardens' accounts record its purchase—five shillings by Great Dunmow and three shillings by Boxford for "half" of the *Paraphrases*—so the church-plate certificates' entries are of some interest. Eight parishes, all in Essex, record the purchase, at costs ranging from 5s. 6d. by Great Stambridge to 12s. 8d. in Rainham. Five of the parishes' purchases were recorded in 1552, and three of those by parishes which supplied certificates in both 1547 and 1552; it is likely that parishes had difficulty in securing a copy of the *Paraphrases* early in the reign.

Another Edwardian requirement, the painting of the Lord's Prayer, Ten

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[38]East Dereham CWA, year 1539; Tilney All Saints CWA, year 1541; Boxford CWA 1541.
[39]Swaffham CWA, year 1540; Shipdham CWA, years 1541, 1561.

Commandments, and King's Arms on the parish walls, was also a burden. It would be expected that this action would be expensive, as it had to be carried out by skilled craftsmen. In at least one case, in Boxford, it is known that the parish was forced to import a painter.[40] Unfortunately, the records are unhelpful in determining exactly how much this activity cost. Although twelve parishes which returned church-plate certificates recorded completing this requirement, in only two of them—Ipswich St. Lawrence and Kessingland in Suffolk—is it possible to infer how much money was spent on the painting of scripture alone. The gap between the two expenditures, 13s. 4d. in Kessingland to £2 13s. 4d. in Ipswich, suggests that costs could vary widely from parish to parish. None of the churchwardens' accounts indicate how much this action cost, and only the aforementioned Boxford alludes to any individual part of the process.[41] On the other hand, no fewer than four parishes—Boxford, Shipdham, Swaffham and Snettisham—recorded the "puttyng owte of the wrytyng" of scripture on the walls during Mary's reign.[42] These entries imply that many parishes were able to have the painting done, if at a later time during the reign of Edward VI than church authorities would have hoped.

Although the other religious requirements of the reign of Edward, the whitewashing of the church walls and related covering of images and the replacement of stained glass with plain, did not involve the scriptures, they did pose another expense on parishes already charged with acquiring the Great Bible and painting the scriptures on the walls. It is difficult to pinpoint an "average" expenditure for these actions, as their costs obviously depended on the physical size of the parish church and the number of windows it contained, and also because the compilers of the

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[40]Boxford CWA, year 1548. The account makes not of paying "Mr. Forsbye" 6d. to aid the "Wryghter" of scripture, apparently an outsider, in the church.
[41]See Chapter 3 for an explanation of why this apparent oversight may have occurred.
[42]Boxford CWA, year 1556; Shipdham CWA, year 1555; Swaffham CWA, year 1554; Snettisham CWA, year 1557.

certificates often lump unrelated activities in their account of the cost. The certificates record outlays for whiting and glazing ranging from eight shillings by Hornchurch to £6 by Walpole St. Peter's.[43] In general, the more a parish sold in church plate, the more it spent on whiting and glass, although this relationship is not absolute.

3. Comparison of compliance rates with other factors.

a. Geographical distribution.

Since absolute wealth does not appear to determine the compliance of individual parishes nor any patterns concerning the purchase of the Bible, other potential patterns must be explored. One of these is the geographical distribution of compliance. A closer study of the distribution of compliant and non-compliant parishes, and parishes which are known to have acquired scripture, reveals many interesting patterns. The first and most consistent of these is that parishes in cities and large towns were much more likely to conform than were others. In each of the largest towns in the three main counties, the rate is well above that of the outlying county as a whole. The twenty certificates in the city of Norwich include fifteen compliant parishes, and Colchester's six include three.[44] Most striking of all are the figures for Ipswich, where six of the seven extant certificates noted compliance, in comparison with an average of 20 *per cent* for the remainder of Suffolk. The trend continues in the smaller towns of East Anglia: Thetford, King's Lynn, Maldon, Wells, Bungay and Chelmsford all noted their acceptance of the Injunctions—Thetford and King's Lynn in more than one parish. Only Aylsham and Dunwich—the last undergoing depopulation at the time—appear to contradict this pattern.

Moreover, compliance is often positively affected by proximity to towns

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[43]Cawston spent £10, but an unknown portion of this was for the painting of scriptures.
[44]The Colchester parishes are all from the 1547 survey, in which only 22 *per cent* of parishes overall were compliant.

which include compliant parishes. Unfortunately there are no records for parishes immediately bordering the city of Norwich,[45] but enough evidence exists to confirm the trend. There were not many parishes which were compliant in Suffolk in 1547, but six of those which did comply are clustered around Ipswich.[46] Similarly, in Freebridge hundred in Norfolk, only eleven parishes out of thirty complied, but of these, five were in or very near to King's Lynn. Laxton hundred in Essex, which includes Colchester, had a significantly higher rate of compliance than others in the county.[47]

The reasons for the higher compliance rates of towns and their environs appear obvious. Town parishes were under closer scrutiny from church authorities, and therefore had a more pressing need to display orthodoxy.[48] Nearness to towns also allowed parishes greater access to skilled labourers, particularly glaziers and painters, who were charged with replacing windows and inscribing the Ten Commandments. However, it appears that the town parishes were not better-equipped to comply because of their greater wealth. It is true that King's Lynn and Wells are among the ten wealthiest parishes in Norfolk as measured by the sale of plate, but so too are Terrington St. Clement and Acle, which did not comply. Both parishes in Thetford were below the average of Norfolk in sales, yet both conformed to the Injunctions.[49] Two of the conforming parishes in Colchester in 1547 sold less than £1 in plate.[50]

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[45]See Map 1. The nearest parish with an extant certificate appears to be Acle.

[46]See Map 2. D. N. J. MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors: politics and religion in an English county, 1500-1600 (Oxford 1986), 169, also notes this occurrence.

[47]It may be possible that certain towns also influenced their neighbours to not comply with the Injunctions. For example, the parish of Aylsham, which did not comply, lies within the hundred of South Erpingham, which possessed a relatively high rate of compliance. All of the parishes which border Aylsham, save Burgh St. Margaret, however, declined compliance. This clustering of parishes is similar to that of King's Lynn, but to the opposite effect.

[48]In C. Haigh, English Reformations (Oxford 1993), 157, Haigh notes that London and the cathedral cities were among the first to acquire Bibles.

[49]Thetford St. Peter sold £28 11 s, and Thetford St. Cuthbert £23 5 s, as compared with a county average of £42 3 s.

[50]These being Colchester All Hallows and Colchester St. Giles's. See Appendix 4a.

Even some of the compliant parishes in the 1552 return for Norwich do not display very high levels of church-plate sales in comparison with the county as a whole.[51] Sales of plate of those conforming parishes very close to towns were no greater than elsewhere in their respective counties.

The rural areas of East Anglia appear to have their own geographical patterns of distribution. The most obvious occurs in Suffolk. Apart from two parishes, Stonham Aspal and Monewden, the central portion of the Archdeaconry of Suffolk is totally non-compliant. Compliance in the county is confined to two small sections: the first in northeast Suffolk, taking in the area stretching from Bungay to Southcove; and the second in south-central to eastern Suffolk, from East Bergholt to Ipswich, making up the Stour Valley region. Elsewhere in East Anglia other patterns can be found, though not as striking as those in Suffolk. In Norfolk, the western half of the county apart from the area centred on King's Lynn is generally non-compliant: only nine of twenty-six parishes in Freebridge hundred complied, apart from King's Lynn. However, north-central Norfolk, excepting Aylsham and its surrounding areas, had a relatively high level of compliance, and the same can be said of Wayland hundred in the south-central portion of the county, where six out of eight parishes complied. In Essex, the northwest quarter of the county is wealthy but largely non-compliant, while the northeast is poor yet conforming. Compliance can also be found in a band of parishes along the coast stretching roughly from Maldon southwards to the Thames.[52] The pattern of non-compliance in southwestern Essex is unusual; one might have expected its proximity to London to have influenced intent and capacity to act.

There also appears to be a geographical element to the distribution of parishes which recorded the purchase of the Bible and *Paraphrases*. While the arguments

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[51]Six of the Norwich parishes recorded sales of £20 or less, and five of these parishes complied. See Appendix 3c.
[52]See maps 7, 8, 9 and 10.

linking compliance with proximity to towns are also valid in the case of the required texts, there is another, more compelling reason as to why parishes near towns were better-equipped to purchase the books. Proximity to towns allowed parishes to pay less in portage costs and encounter fewer logistical problems; parishes were obligated to carry the Bible and the *Paraphrases* at their own expense, so costs were less in and near towns where booksellers could be found.

It may, however, be asked whether mere nearness to towns and cities necessarily meant that a parish was close to a bookseller. Which places in East Anglia during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI were known to harbour booksellers? Clearly London is to be included in the list; as the study of its short-lived yet prolific publishing industry below indicates, so should Ipswich. The churchwardens' accounts in the area make mention of three locations with respect to the purchase and relinquishing of books. In 1541, Boxford churchwardens wrote that they spent 6s. 5d. to purchase and carry its Great Bible from London. Ten years later, the Norfolk parish of North Elmham returned its "englyshe books" to Norwich. Finally, in 1560 Chelmsford paid 19s. 6d. for a Bible to "Goodman Sandhurst" in Mousam.[53] There is no evidence in as to whether Sandhurst worked as a bookseller in Mousam; he may merely have served as an itinerant merchant. In any event it is likely that Bibles were purchased more often in the larger cities and towns.

It was suggested earlier that parishes without adequate means might have delayed their purchase of the Bible until 1547, when they could devote a portion of their church plate revenues to it. The Suffolk parishes which recorded the purchase in 1547 imply that parishes which were forced to pay some portage costs may also have delayed their purchases. The three parishes which did so were an average of twenty-

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[53]Boxford CWA, year 1541; North Elmham CWA, year 1551; Chelmsford CWA, year 1560.

five miles from Ipswich. Unfortunately, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the Essex parishes, as only two recorded the purchase of the Bible—oddly, one of them, East Ham, lies only 4.7 miles from London.

The parishes in Norfolk which purchased the Bible in 1547 average 18.7 miles from Norwich, ranging from 7.8 miles for Buxton to 37.9 miles for Wiggenhall St. Peter. The actual mileages themselves are probably not of absolute importance: most of the parishes which returned church-plate certificates in Norfolk were some distance from the county seat. However, only three of the twenty-eight parishes which submitted a certificate and were within fifteen miles of Norwich purchased the Bible; only one of the twenty-nine parishes further than twenty-five miles away did so. The greatest proportion of parishes which recorded the purchase of the Bible was between fifteen and twenty-five miles—seven of 58 parishes. The distribution suggests that, while some parishes which were a long way from Norwich waited to acquire the Bible until the reign of Edward VI, parishes which were a very long distance from the nearest city could potentially have waited even longer.

It has been previously argued that parishes which were further away from bookselling centres were forced to spend more for their copies of the Great Bible, owing to costs for portage. A study of the parishes which recorded the purchase of scripture in the Norfolk certificates indicates that the argument is usually true, with some reservations. Parishes which were further away from Norwich paid more; for example, the Bible-purchasing parish closest to Norwich, Buxton at 7.8 miles away, paid only 6s. 8d.; Kelling, which paid fifteen shillings for its copy, was 22 miles away. There are exceptions to the rule: Great Snoring, nearly the same distance from Norwich as Kelling, spent only seven shillings, and Swanton Abbot at 10.1 miles

from the county seat spent 13s. 4d.[54]

The appearance of the *Paraphrases* in East Anglia was, as previously alluded to, confined to a relatively small area. Eight parishes in the certificates record its purchase, all in Essex. Two parishes recorded its purchase in the churchwardens' accounts: Great Dunmow, also in Essex, and Boxford, only a few miles north of the county border in Suffolk. It would be tempting, especially in light of Boxford's purchase of its Bible in London, to conclude that the *Paraphrases* were only available in London. While it is entirely possible that the text was not commonly in circulation far from the capital, the eight Essex parishes which recorded its purchase in the certificates allude to a potentially greater distribution. Only one of the eight, Upminster, is within twenty-five miles of London. Furthermore, all but one of the parishes recorded their purchase in 1552, so it is possible that the *Paraphrases* merely reached Norfolk and Suffolk too late for their parishes to record its purchase in the 1547 certificate returns.[55] Still, it would seem that the low rate of appearance of the *Paraphrases* in the records, combined with the high rate of prosecution of parishes which failed to purchase it,[56] confirms that the installation of the text was far from universal, and thus the Edwardian programme to shape lay interpretation of the Bible was blunted.

The geographical patterns found reveal much about the nature of compliance and noncompliance, and the installation of the Bible and *Paraphrases*, in East Anglia. This information can be elaborated through a brief study of the economic nature of the parishes and their social makeup during the reign of Edward: firstly, the correlation of parishes with markets and ports, and areas of tanning and weaving, to compliance;

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[54]In the case of one of the other anomalies, Wiggenhall St. Peter, which spent 8s. for its copy, it is possible that the parish purchased its copy from a seller in Cambridge.
[55]It is unfortunate that few churchwardens' accounts in East Anglia contain surviving records for the later years of Edward VI.
[56]Houlbrooke, 165.

and secondly, the effects of different forms of agricultural practice upon compliance.

b. Trade and Industry.

Many historians have contended that trade and mobility were key factors in the spread of Protestantism and religious change during the early English Reformation. There is a concordant theory that the rise of a literate and inquisitive middle or trading class also aided the dissemination and growth of new religious beliefs. If this were true, it would be expected that towns which held markets and fairs would be centres of progressive religion in the provinces and countryside. Market towns were not only places where itinerant merchants might meet and discuss ideas with the townspeople, but also areas in which this new trading class might, if not predominate, at least hold a controlling interest in the affairs of the parish. If chartered market towns were more likely than neighbouring country parishes to be influenced by Protestantism, one might expect their compliance rates to be relatively high.

The certificates, however, fail to confirm this. Compliance rates for market towns in Norfolk and Suffolk were no greater than those of their respective counties as a whole, and, in some cases, the rates were lower. In Suffolk, parishes which are known to have held fairs at least before 1500 have a compliance rate of 20 *per cent*; parishes which were permitted to hold markets at some point during the sixteenth century had a compliance rate of only 13 *per cent*, little more than half the rate for the rest of the county.[57] In Norfolk, towns and parishes which held a charter to have a market in the sixteenth century had a compliance rate of 68 *per cent*; if the city of Norwich is removed from the total, the total falls to 62 *per cent*, not much higher than

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[57]The compliance rate for Suffolk (outside of Ipswich) was 20 *per cent*. The statistics for the chartered market towns are taken from D. Aitkens, D. Dymond and E. A. Martin, An Historical Atlas of Suffolk (2nd ed.) (Ipswich 1989), map nos. 27 and 28 (edited by N. Scarfe).

the rate for the county as a whole.[58] Some towns that were allowed to hold a market did not do so, even annually, and as a result many of the charters fell into abeyance. While it is impossible to say with any certainty how many of the East Anglian chartered markets were active in the mid-sixteenth century, for those towns in Norfolk which were still holding markets by 1600, the compliance rate was 75 *per cent*.[59] Perhaps active and vibrant market towns were more inclined to Protestantism. On the other hand, some of the most important market towns in Suffolk, such as Wickham Market and Halesworth, both crucial to the trade of linens and woollens in East Anglia, failed to comply.[60] It is possible that the itinerant nature of traders and merchants, the very reason why they may have been carriers of the Protestant message to the provinces, prevented them from directly affecting parish policy, and hence causing compliance with the Edwardian Injunctions.

Another potential *entrepôt* for Protestantism, especially in East Anglia, was the port. Several ports in the area were permitted to trade with Protestant nations on the Continent, particularly the Low Countries and the German states, and foreign merchants are known to have settled in East Anglian ports. King's Lynn and Wells-next-the-Sea in Norfolk are particularly known to have been influenced by an influx of overseas traders,[61] who brought information about Continental religious beliefs. One would expect ports, like market towns, to be more responsive to the Edwardian religious changes than coastal parishes which did not trade. Indeed, King's Lynn, in

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[58]The compliance rate for Norfolk was 56 *per cent*, as previously stated. The statistics for the chartered market towns are taken from Everett *et al.* (eds.), map no. 33 (edited by D. Dymond).

[59]*Ibid.*, map no. 33. The city of Norwich has been removed from this figure.

[60]Unfortunately, the compliance of Woodbridge, another critical linen-trading town in eastern Suffolk, is uncertain.

[61]W. Cunningham, Alien Immigrants to England (2nd ed.) ([reprinted London 1969]), 106, 153-54 n. 11, notes that [King's] Lynn was being frequented by foreign merchants, usually from the Low Countries, as early as the fourteenth century. Richards identifies these traders as Flemings; he also reports that twenty Dutch and German families resided in Wells by 1566, and that there were 266 aliens from all countries in King's Lynn by 1571. P. Richards, King's Lynn (Chichester 1990) 59, 73. See Chapter 5 for a study of Low Country influence upon radical religion in East Anglia, particularly with regard to Anabaptism.

three of its parishes, and Wells, along with Maldon, Brightlingsea and Leigh in Essex, obeyed or intended to obey the 1547 Injunctions. On the other hand, a significant number of East Anglian ports did not. Dunwich, Southwold, Walberswick and Aldborough in Suffolk were non-compliant, as was Salthouse in Norfolk,[62] but the most intriguing case of noncompliance is that of Harwich in Essex. Not only did Harwich have strong links to the Low Countries and the Hanseatic League, as did Wells and King's Lynn, but it also had a large population of foreign merchants who had even played a role in parish life.[63] It is possible that foreign merchants were too itinerant to leave a lasting impression on the parish hierarchy, and that their views did not therefore influence compliance. In many places, foreigners were perceived as a threat and discouraged from settling with high taxation and restrictions on travel, which would have diminished their influence.[64]

The correlation between location on the coast and obedience to the Injunctions is more certain. Since only a few towns in each county were permitted to trade overseas, parishioners in other coastal parishes made their living through fishing or farming. The records from Suffolk and Essex suggest that such parishioners were resistant to implementing the Edwardian changes. Of twelve coastal parishes in Suffolk which were not ports, only one was compliant. In Essex, the figure is slightly

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[62]All of these ports are known to have traded corn, along with other goods, in the sixteenth century, although it is uncertain as to how many actually traded with the Continent. N. S. B. Gras, The Evolution of the English Corn Market from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, MA 1926), Appendix D. Wren notes these ports, as well as (those appearing in the certificates only) Blakeney and Cley-next-the-Sea in Norfolk; Gorleston, Covehithe, Snape, and Felixstowe in Suffolk; and Manningtree, Mistley, St. Osyth, Wivenhoe and Canewdon in Essex. Blythburgh and Orford Capella had ceased to trade as ports prior to 1500. W. J. Wren, Ports of the Eastern Counties (Lavenham 1976), 23, 178-95.

[63]Although no foreigner became churchwarden for Harwich, the churchwardens' accounts display that some "Dutchmen" played an active role in the daily life of the parish. Harwich was further the main port of entry for diplomatic couriers to the Continent between c.1510 and 1600, and supported some aliens in the commission of this purpose. Harwich CWA, *passim*; Cunningham, 153; Wren, 152.

[64]For example, all "aliens" were to be taxed at double the rate of natives in the 1523, 1547 and 1568 subsidy returns. A. Luders and J. Kaithby (eds.), The Statutes of the Realm (1235-1713) printed by the command of His Majesty King George the Third...from original records and manuscripts (London 1810-22), vol. 3, 230-31; vol. 4, part 1, 506-07.

less low—only two-thirds of coastal parishes were non-compliant—but this rate is still lower than the countywide average.[65]

If fishermen proved relatively conservative with respect to religious change, other professions might have been more radical. Some historians have suggested that the early English Reformation was one of "weavers and cobblers," and that these professions were critical to the spread of Protestantism. It also has been argued that those involved in such "light industry" tended to be more literate than their farming or labouring neighbours, and that they were more likely than others to hear about new theologies. Moreover, while merchants were rarely in one place for long, weavers, tanners, and cobblers worked at home and therefore retained active involvement in parish policy: many churchwardens were drawn from this social group.[66] One historian of this group has noted that weavers "enjoyed a reputation for radicalism in politics and religion" in early-modern England.[67] Another has noted that both foreign and domestic weavers were "well known" for religious disturbances, usually of a radical nature.[68]

Linen weavers have been particularly identified with religious radicalism in East Anglia. While it is true that the economy of Hadleigh and East Bergholt, two of the best-known centres of early Protestantism in the Stour Valley, was partially based upon linen weaving,[69] so too was the economy of other parishes throughout Norfolk and Suffolk. In Suffolk, for example, 56 of the 128 parishes outside of Ipswich for

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[65]For Suffolk: Gorleston, Corton, Kirkley, Pakefield, Covehithe, Leiston, Sudbourn, Orford Capella, Bawdsey, Felixstow, Walton-in-Colne non-compliant; Kessingland compliant. For Essex: Dovercourt, Beaumont, Great Holland, West Mersea, Tolleshunt D'Arcy, Goldhanger, Mayland, Steeple Bumstead, St. Lawrence, Southchurch, Prittlewell, Hadleigh non-compliant; Little Oakley, Great Clacton, Tollesbury, Mundon, Dengie, and Bradwell compliant.

[66]B. Kümin, The Shaping of a Community: the rise and reformation of the English parish, c.1400-1560 (Aldershot 1999), 31-38.

[67]N. Evans, The East Anglian Linen Industry: rural industry and local economy 1500-1850 (Aldershot 1985), 90.

[68]E. Kerridge, Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England (Manchester 1985), 226 ff.

[69]Evans, map 4 (introduction).

which a certificate exists, or almost half, had at least one linen weaver, and many had five or more. Far from being an economic force concentrated within a small area, linen weaving was present in nearly every part of the archdeaconries of Norwich and Suffolk: only in a small area to the east and northeast of Ipswich, mostly given over to pasture grazing, was linen weaving totally absent.[70] As a result, the compliance rates for parishes which supported at least one linen weaver are similar to the countywide rates: 24 *per cent* in Suffolk, and 57 *per cent* in Norfolk.[71]

However, figures comparing compliance and woollen-weaving on one hand and leather-tanning on the other provide a sharp contrast to the inconclusive correlation between compliance and linen-weaving. Of all the parishes with certificates in Suffolk, only six are known to have supported woollen-weavers, mostly in the broadcloth business: yet all six of those parishes complied. This 100 *per cent* rate obviously far exceeds the rate for Suffolk as a whole, and the six parishes represent almost one-quarter of all of the compliant Suffolk parishes.[72] In Norfolk, the area around Norwich, which has already been seen to have a higher rate of compliance, was most important in the realm for the manufacture of traditional worsted.[73] Langton has identified two other areas in East Anglia as particularly important for woollen-cloth manufacture in the early sixteenth century, and both coincide with areas of greater compliance: the hundreds of Holt and western South Erpingham in Norfolk for worsted, and central Essex, especially the area between

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[70]However, it must be noted that this area was almost completely devoid of compliance. See Map 5.
[71]Evans, maps 3 and 4 (introduction). The figure for Norfolk includes parishes which complied and which intended to comply.
[72]The parishes are Hadleigh, Reydon, Holton, Stratford St. Mary, Sproughton, and Bungay St. Mary. Woodbridge also was home to woollen-weavers, but its compliance is uncertain. Ipswich, again, has been removed from these statistics; but, of course, as six of its seven parishes with certificates were compliant, it could be used as further evidence. *Ibid.*, map 3 (introduction); P. J. Bowden, Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England (London 1962), 52.
[73]*Ibid.*, 45.

Maldon and Colchester, for broadcloths and kerseys.[74] Manufacture of woollens was critical to the economy of Colchester, Witham, Dunmow and Thaxted, all compliant parishes.[75] The statistics for leather-tanners may not be as spectacular, but they are significant: 40 *per cent* of the parishes which supported them in Suffolk were compliant, almost twice the rate of the county as a whole.[76]

c. Agricultural patterns.

Related to the correlation between compliance and artisan activity is the link between compliance and types of land usage. There were five major patterns of land use and soil type in East Anglia during the sixteenth century, two of which predominated. The three lesser types of land included the undrained fens in northwestern Norfolk or western Freebridge hundred.[77] In Essex, a thin strip of marshy land bordering the Thames and the southeast coast resembled the fens in its infertility. Sections of western Essex possessed a clay-based, fertile soil; these lands stretched approximately from Saffron Walden to Bishop's Stortford in the north and from Maldon to Chelmsford in mid-Essex. For the most part, however, East Anglia was split into two markedly different areas: sheep-corn and wood-pasture. Sheep-corn lands were characterised by a loamy, fairly fertile soil, providing grazing lands for sheep, and crops of hemp, flax, corn and hops. These lands comprised a broad arc stretching from northwest Essex through Bury St. Edmunds and King's Lynn and along the north coast of Norfolk, back down to almost directly south from Norwich to Ipswich. Wood-pasture consisted mainly of forest and grasslands, and provided

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[74]J. Langton, "Industry and Towns 1500-1730," in Dodgshon and Butlin (eds.), 177. Kerridge has also noted that these areas, and also a small region around the town of Bungay in Suffolk (which incidentally also displays an unusually high rate of compliance), were important in the manufacture of textiles in the early sixteenth century. Kerridge, xii.

[75]E. Lipson, The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries (London 1921), 220, 230.

[76]There were also tanners in Norfolk in the sixteenth century, but only three appear in parishes which supply certificates in the Archdeaconry of Norwich: King's Lynn, Ashill and Norwich. Aitkens *et al.* (eds.), map no. 73, edited by C. Barringer. Incidentally, all three of these parishes complied as well.

[77]H. C. Darby, The Draining of the Fens (2nd ed.) (Cambridge 1956), 4-7, 43. Hence the alternate name for the western portion of Freebridge hundred, Freebridge Marshland.

pasture for cattle and smaller-scale cash cropping. It comprised most of the rest of Norfolk and Suffolk, save a small area of breckland to the northeast of Thetford, and southern Essex away from the marshlands.[78] A study of the maps shows that wood-pasture land was much more likely to support compliant parishes, while sheep-corn and marsh lands were less compliant. The comparison is most striking in Suffolk, where the sheep-corn area north of Ipswich is almost devoid of compliance, while the wood-pasture Stour Valley area contains many compliant parishes. In Norfolk, the correlation is less obvious, although fewer parishes in the sheep-corn area nearer the coast complied than did parishes in the wood-pasture area further inland.

The connection between agricultural patterns and parishes which purchased the Bible, however, is unclear. In Norfolk, the only county in which sufficient evidence can be obtained, while seven of the eleven parishes which recorded the purchase of a Bible or related items lie in the wood-pasture lands, this proportion is similar to the proportion of all parishes which submitted a certificate. It is difficult to draw any conclusions, positive or negative, about such a correlation with such limited information.

The characteristic features of the communities formed as a result of the East Anglian landscape goes some way towards explaining these compliance patterns. Large-scale manorial farming and enclosure of lands characterised the sheep-corn lands,[79] and while the manorial structure restricted "domestic crafts" such as weaving and tanning, such activities were critical to the economic viability of wood-pasture parishes, as their poor soils would not permit them a steady annual income from

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[78]J. Thirsk, in J. Thirsk *et al.* (eds.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales (5 vols.) (Cambridge 1967), vol. 4, 41-54; Yelling, "Agriculture 1500-1750," in R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin, An Historical Geography of England and Wales (2nd ed.) (London 1990), 161. The differing patterns of land use in Essex are partially present to the present day; see N. Scarfe, The Land of Britain: the land utilization survey of Britain, part 82 (Essex) (London 1942), *passim*.

[79]Thirsk, 45; L. M. Cantor, The Changing English Countryside, 1400-1700 (London 1987), 29.

agriculture. A form of trading system emerged whereby the sheep-corn parishes provided their neighbours with grain and wool in exchange for finished goods.[80] During the early-sixteenth century, the economy of the sheep-corn lands stagnated, mostly because of farming practices which led to depopulation and poverty, while the wood-pasture lands took full advantage of enclosure laws and England's rapidly advancing trade with the Continent.[81] It is likely that the economic conservatism of sheep-corn lands corresponded to a religious conservatism, while wood-pasture lands appeared to be more willing to accept the Edwardian changes.

d. Conclusion of the comparisons.

The tests comparing wealth, population, geographical distribution, trading and small-scale industry and agricultural patterns with compliance can tell us much. However, there can be no perfect indicator of correlation. There are some parishes whose compliance cannot be explained by these means. Monewden, in central Suffolk, which was, as previously mentioned, one of only two parishes in the area to comply, was a wholly unremarkable parish in almost all respects. While the other compliant parish in central Suffolk, Stonham Aspal, was well-populated with some light industry, and was involved in resistance to the Marian reaction,[82] Monewden had only eighteen heads of household, no linen or woollen weavers, no tanners, and resided in an area which was more than 70 *per cent* pasture grazing land. Perhaps there was industry, or trading, in the parish about which nothing is now known. If Monewden is part of a pattern, it is at best an obscure one.

Nevertheless, what these tests reveal about compliance and the purchase of the Bible is valuable. It has been shown that parishes in towns and cities were most likely to comply, and that proximate parishes were often influenced by this compliance.

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[80]Thirsk, 41.
[81]Cantor, 32-35.
[82]MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors, 169.

The presence of tanners and woollen weavers in parishes predisposed compliance; on the other hand, parishes which were predominated by pasture grazing, which had relatively good soil and which were mainly corn-growing areas were more likely to be non-compliant. However, many factors which would at first glance appear important seem to have no influence upon compliance, particularly wealth, the presence of marketplaces and fairs, and the prevalence of linen-weavers. In the case of parishes which recorded the purchase of the Bible in the certificates, distance from towns and cities sometimes increased the final cost of the Bible and often led parishes to delay their purchase.

Chapter 5: The English Bible between 1536 and 1553.

1. The English Bible during the last years of the reign of Henry VIII.

From the point of view of the church-plate certificates and the churchwardens' accounts, the introduction of the English Bible into East Anglia may be concluded to be a partial failure. This conclusion is strengthened when some comments on the condition of Bibles which did reach the parish church are considered. Contemporaries such as Richard Tracy in A Supplycacion to our moste soveraigne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght in 1544 complained that throughout the realm many parishes hid their Bible under pews or in dark corners, rather than place it on open display, as they had been required to do.[1] Parishes which had purchased Bibles often failed to exhort their congregation to read; hence the dust which Thomas Becon claimed to find on several of the vestry Bibles: "Verely a man may come into some churches & se ye Byble so encloed and wrapped about with dust...that with his fynger he maye wryte upon the Byble this Epitaphe. *Ecce nunc in pulvere dormio.*"[2] Some contemporaries wondered whether the parish Bible was much read at all during the later stages of the reign of Henry VIII outside of London.[3] In at least one instance in Norwich the parish Bible was stolen and never recovered; to prevent such thefts the Injunctions of 1547 required that parishes provide not only a lectern for the Great Bible to rest upon but also a heavy iron chain to bind it fast there.[4]

Yet the placing of the English Bible in the parish churches was not, of course, the only way in which the influence of vernacular scripture in East Anglia was

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[1]J. F. Mozley, Coverdale and His Bibles (London 1953), 264.

[2]T. Becon, The Newes out of heven (RSTC 1739) [J. Mayler and J. Gough; London 1541], sigs. A6-v. Ryrie has recently argued that Becon's complaint about unused Bibles can be explained more by reformist pessimism than by contemporary disuse. A. Ryrie, "Counting Sheep, Counting Shepards: the problem of allegiance in the English Reformation," in P. Marshall and A. Ryrie (eds.), The Beginnings of English Protestantism (Cambridge 2002), 88.

[3]D. N. J. MacCulloch, Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the English Reformation, (London 1999), 149-50.

[4]St. John's of Bear Street, Norwich, reported their Bible stolen in their church-plate certificate of 1547, which had necessitated a purchase of a replacement. Appendix 3d. For the text of the Injunctions, see TRP, vol. 1, no. 287.

extended. The seed of the Gospel fell upon the unlikeliest of grounds: a rebel camp near Norwich, a public house in Colchester, a book-seller's street in Ipswich, a wedding celebration in Essex. Those who received the word did not always do so by reading the black-letter text of the Great Bible or by hearing it read out chapter by chapter during the service, but sometimes by memorising and reciting it in private houses, preaching it in open fields, chanting its message—even having it "rhymed, sung and jangled" in alehouses, as Henry VIII had it.[5] This chapter will attempt to provide an account of the Bible outside the official setting of the parish church during the reigns of Henry and Edward VI.

The early history of the English Bible in East Anglia had been marked by prosecutions of those who imported and read the text, and by clandestine sermons upon the use of the Bible by priests such as Thomas Bilney. Bilney's belief that vernacular scripture was of value was eventually adopted, for very different reasons, by Henry VIII. The First Religious Injunctions of 1536 called for the frequent reading in English of the Ten Commandments, *Pater Noster* and Apostles' Creed in English;[6] in the same year the interdict upon vernacular scripture was lifted for versions other than Tyndale. Two years later all parishes were exhorted to set up an official English Bible in their vestries and to allow all parishioners to read it at will.[7] Priests were also to read weekly at Matins one chapter of the New Testament.[8]

However, as has been discussed in the previous two chapters, the appearance of the English Bible was not immediate. The Great Bible was not printed until April 1539, and sales to parishes were slow until heavy fines were imposed in 1541 for non-possession of the text. Even then, lax enforcement prevented the installation from being totally successful. It is unsurprising, then, that some parishioners took matters

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[5]LP, vol. 20 (ii), no. 1031.
[6]H. Gee and W. J. Hardy (eds.), Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London 1896), 269-74.
[7]*Ibid.*, 275-81.
[8]Mozley, 269.

into their own hands. Some parishioners in Essex were said to have caused trouble "by reading the Bible in the Church, during the time of Service, with a loud Voice, to the Disturbance of the Priest and others."[9] So infuriated was Bishop Bonner by such activities that he apparently threatened in 1541 to recall the scripture from his diocese if the commotions did not cease.[10]

If the introduction of vernacular scripture into the parish church was not entirely successful, the effects of the licencing of the English Bible on private readership were immediate and dramatic. There was an explosion in the production of scripture: between 1535 and 1541 forty-four printings of the New Testament were made, including four new translations. For the first time, scripture was printed in England, although, as many printings still occurred on the Continent, East Anglia continued to serve as a point of entry for Bibles.[11] The size of the print runs for these new Bibles was often large: 1,500 copies of the "Matthew" Bible were produced at its first printing in 1537. Almost all of the new printing consisted of cheap quarto or octavo editions, designed for private purchase and use.[12] Although prices for the actual sales are impossible to obtain, the increased supply of scripture, coupled with the lower expenses of domestic printing, may have brought the cost of a New Testament in East Anglia lower even than the 16d. wholesale price of 1527.

William Malden of Chelmsford was one of those who bought and read the New Testament.[13] Malden, son of a grocer and haberdasher, wrote later about how he first observed the English Bible being read every week by poor men in the chancel of his parish church. Their reading attracted several curious onlookers, including Malden, who, being only semi-literate, was moved to buy a primer. The following

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[9]Strype, vol. 1, 354.
[10]LP, vol. 16, no. 641 (cf. Wyatt's letter).
[11]English Bibles, *passim*. With the Tyndale Bible still a prohibited work, all of its printings were made in Antwerp. The first printing of the "Matthew" Bible also took place in Antwerp.
[12]CHB, vol. 3, 151.
[13]A and M, vol. 8, 638-39.

May he and his father's apprentice pooled funds to purchase a New Testament, which Malden read diligently every night. Malden's own apprenticeship allowed him enough time away from his conservative parents to extend his library, which also came to include John Frith's treatise on the sacrament.[14] His affair with religious radicalism, however, resulted in violence when, after an argument with his mother over the virtue of the crucifix, his father found the books and violently attacked him.

Malden's story, fascinating as it is, poses more questions than it answers. Dickens has portrayed Malden as an example of the "youth movement" of the English Reformation, but that depiction perhaps trivialises his actions as a mere act of teenage rebellion.[15] The progression of Malden's reading is striking: beginning with the fairly innocuous English primer,[16] Malden continued with the more contentious vernacular New Testament, and ended with Frith's book, a work so Zwinglian that most Protestant contemporaries believed it to be extreme. A critical point is whether Malden was tempted into radicalism through his study of scripture, a question he himself leaves unanswered. What is certain is that he believed himself to have a greater understanding of the message of God through his readings, a belief undoubtedly shared by other laypersons who read printed scriptures and who were often eager to disseminate their new-found knowledge, however imperfect their understanding might be. Bishop Edward Foxe could by 1537 sarcastically comment that "the lay people do now know the holy scripture better than many of us."[17] Novice readers used the Bible as a cudgel to beat their enemies, "calling one another Papist and Heretick."[18] Cromwell, instrumental in the printing of vernacular scripture, was yet concerned about its effect on religious discourse, drafting the first

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[14]Probably J. Frith, A boke made by John Frith...answering vnto M. mores lettur (RSTC 11381) [C. Williams; Antwerp 1533].
[15]A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (2nd ed.) (University Park, PA 1992), 336-37.
[16]At the time of Malden's purchase (probably 1538), most vernacular primers were theologically conservative; indeed, even in 1545, under the terms of the Act for the Advancement of True Religion, the official primer was in English. See below for a more detailed discussion of primers.
[17]CHB, vol. 3, 149.
[18]Strype, vol. 1, 356.

of many bans on unlicenced preaching in 1538 and remarking in his final speech in the House of Lords that the message of the Bible had been perverted by "both sides."[19]

Priests were not slow to preach the gospel in order to promote their own reforming doctrines. One popular theme was iconoclasm. Aston believes that outbreaks of iconoclasm in East Anglia were seemingly unconnected to Lutheran or other Continental attacks upon images, but rather spurred by the reading and preaching of the English Bible by evangelical preachers such as Thomas Bilney. Bilney's sermons on the subject in particular seemed to be focused upon local images such as those at Walsingham and Ipswich, and some preachers such as Thomas Rose undoubtedly tried to gain support from old Lollard views upon images.[20] However, both Bilney and Rose emphasised that their iconoclastic doctrines were justified by scripture; namely, the Second Commandment, through an argument later to be used by Edwardian iconoclasts.[21] After attending a sermon by Rose in Hadleigh, Robert King and Nicholas Marsh of Dedham and Robert Debnam of East Bergholt crossed the border to Dovercourt in Essex and there burnt a famous image.[22] After hearing a sermon made by Bilney in Eye in Suffolk, a shoemaker claimed that he wanted to burn the image on the parish rood loft.[23]

Since few printed sermons exist for this period from East Anglia, it is difficult to judge how effective they may have been in the dissemination of the gospel. Some idea of the content of radical sermons may be gained from the case of John Bale, who

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[19]Gee and Hardy (eds.), 275-81; Journals of the House of Lords, beginning *anno primo Henrici octavi* (vol. 1), (London 1771), 12 April 1540. For Cromwell's work on the licencing and publication of the Bible, see Chapter 2.

[20]M. Aston, England's Iconoclasts, vol. 1 (Oxford 1988), 164-65, 167, 212; J. Phillips, The Reformation of Images: destruction of art in England, 1535-1660 (Los Angeles, CA and London 1973), 80.

[21]Aston, 167; Phillips, 86.

[22]A and M, vol. 4, 706-07; Aston, 213. J. Craig, Reformation, Politics and Polemic: the growth of Protestantism in East Anglian market towns, 1500-1610 (Aldershot 2001), 156-57, and MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors: politics and religion in an English county, 1500-1600, (Oxford 1986), 155, 161, 163, contend that their actions were also partly motivated by Bilney's martyrdom.

[23]Aston, 213.

preached at Thorndon in Suffolk in July 1536. Bale, banished to a small benefice in his home county after his separation from the Carmelites,[24] used his pulpit mainly to further his radical doctrines, much to the distress of the local elite. An alarmed William Kyrke, bailiff, informed Humphrey Wingfield that a great multitude descended daily upon Thorndon to hear Bale's "hygt prechynge," and listed seventeen contentious articles which Bale was alleged to hold.[25] In some respects Bale's preaching appeared orthodox: the priest was accused of exhorting his parishioners to learn the Ten Commandments and *Pater Noster* in English and to recite the vernacular creed, a charge to which he answered that he was only following the 1536 Injunctions. Bale claimed that his doctrine stemmed from the Bible alone, and that his only true fault was to preach the gospel, which the crowd longed to hear.[26]

One may surmise, at least from Bale's evidence, that even in the conservative parishes of western Suffolk, there was a great desire to hear the preaching of the Bible. But Bale brought more to the pulpit than merely the words of scripture. Some of his fire is evident in his *Answer* to Kyrke's articles.[27] Like Bilney and Rose, Bale assailed the use of images. He contended that he did not deny auricular confession, but argued that it was only of value when made to "lerned and wele dysposed" men, and not to an "unlerned or ydyott pryst," or those who were "co[m]mo[n] dro[n]kerds." He also alleged that he had not spoken of the "bodyly whordo[m]" of the majority of priests, but only of "ye spirituall whordo[m]" for which he claimed Biblical evidence.[28] Such obvious anticlericalism doubtless earned him some popularity among the disaffected, but it also earned him a prison cell, from which he was freed only by his connections in government.[29] Although Bale's preaching was,

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[24]J. W. Harris, John Bale: a study in the minor literature of the Reformation (Folcroft, PA 1973), 22-23.
[25]PRO SP 1/114, fo. 46.
[26]PRO SP 1/111, fo. 167v, 170, 170-71.
[27]L. P. Fairfield, John Bale: mythmaker for the English Reformation (West Lafayette, IN 1976), 42-48.
[28]PRO SP 1/111, fo. 167v, 169-v.
[29]On 20 January 1536/7 John Leland replied to Wingfield that Bale had "learning, iugement, modesty,

like the man, extreme, similar scenes must have been played out throughout the realm, as the message of the gospel co-existed with more unorthodox and antagonistic doctrines.

The passage of the Act of Six Articles of 1539 demonstrated the determination of the King and the conservatives in government to oppose such radical preaching.[30] This act of uniformity ended any hopes progressives may have had of establishing a truly Protestant state; it also forced radicals such as Bale into Continental exile.[31] However, the effect of the Act was paradoxically to increase the popularity of vernacular scripture.[32] The English Bible was not banned under the Act; this omission helped to distance its open reading from more radical doctrines such as clerical marriage and communion in both kinds. The continuation of its use at Matins and its open display in the parishes represented an official acceptance of the English scriptures. The 1541 proclamation which punished parishes which had not purchased scripture with a forty-shilling *per* month fine further indicated that Church and Crown remained committed to the English Bible.[33]

The Act of Six Articles also propelled Protestant writers into further defence of the value of vernacular scripture. While radicals such as Bale were outflanked by its restrictions, other, less single-minded, authors were able to moderate their doctrine to accommodate the Act. The Norfolk-born Thomas Becon provides an example of such moderation. Prior to the Act Becon had written two tracts not dissimilar to those

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w[i]t[h] many other good qualites," and that his brother had brought a certificate "subscribed by the most honest men[n]e of the paroch" stating his godliness. Leland promised Wingfield (the Speaker of the House of Commons) that Bale would behave properly in the future. SP 1/115, fo. 46. Perhaps Bale's benefactor was Cromwell, who at one point had used him as a propagandist for religious reform. Harris, 24.

[30]A. Luders and J. Kaithby (eds.) The Statutes of the Realm (1235-1713) printed by the command of His Majesty King George the Third...from original records and manuscripts, (London 1810-22), vol. 3, 739-43.

[31]Fairfield, 88-90.

[32]Ryrie has written extensively about the moderating influence of the Act of Six Articles on Henrician religion. A. Ryrie, The Gospel and Henry VIII: evangelicals in the early English Reformation (Cambridge 2003), 23-39.

[33]TRP, vol. 1, no. 200.

of Bale in tone,[34] but by 1541 had adopted a new line of attack, along with the *nom de plume* of Theodore Basille. In 1542 and 1543 Becon/Basille wrote no less than eleven volumes, all of which embraced a style far removed from the confrontational style typical of earlier Protestant writers. In place of accusations of clerical iniquity, Becon instead focused upon the sins of the laity, such as swearing, drunkenness and lewdness. His phrases "shameles dogges" and "ravening wolves" referred not to conservative Catholics, but to covetous laymen.[35] Becon limited his assaults to the safer topics of saints and images, those who did not accept Henry as Supreme Head, and to the defence of the doctrine of referring to Christ as the one perfect oblation.[36]

Becon was even prepared to defend penance, auricular confession and the Roman form of the sacrament; this last concession must have proven an embarrassment to him, or perhaps his Protestant readers, in later years: in the (Bodleian) Tanner copy of A Potacio[n] or dri[n]kynge for this holi time of le[n]t very co[m]fortable for all penitent synners the offending phrase "of the Altare" is blacked out in several places.[37] Becon was not, however, prepared to abandon the principle of the open reading of the vernacular Gospel, and reserved his strongest language in its defence. Those who failed to read scripture were "fylthy swyne & currish dogges"; he condemned those who had "laboure[d] to suppresse Christes mooste swete & comfortable Gospell." He praised the king for permitting the Bible to be published in the vernacular, "as we have plentie of prayers prepared for us in the Englysshe tonge" there.[38] Even in his most conservative work, A Potacio[n], he refused to reject English scripture, writing of the joy which came from the hearing the gospel in the

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[34]J. Ayre (ed.), The Early Works of Thomas Becon, being the treatises published by him in the reign of King Henry VIII (Cambridge 1843).
[35]Becon ("Theodore Basille"), The Newes, sigs. A4v, B4v.; Becon, A Christmas Bankette garnyshed with many pleasuant and daynty disshes (RSTC 1713) [J. Mayler and J. Gough; London 1542], sig. B1.
[36]Becon, The Newes, sigs. F6-G2; A newe pathway unto praier, ful of much godly frute and christe[n] knowledge (RSTC 1734) [J. Mayler and J. Gough; London 1542], sig. C8. Becon also refers to the "superstition of the Papists" in a number of places throughout his works.
[37]Becon, A Potacio[n] or dri[n]kynge for this holi time of le[n]t very co[m]fortable for all penitent synners (RSTC 1749) [J. Mayler and J. Gough; London 1542], sigs. A5v-6, B5v, E1v-2, I6-K3.
[38]Becon, The Newes, sig. A6v; A Newe pathway into praier, sigs. A5v, B1v.

churchyard. Becon vigorously defended his doctrines with Bible texts, quoting copious passages and challenging his critics to prove him wrong through scripture.[39] Moderate authors such as Becon thus sought to demonstrate that the English Bible was not necessarily the tool of radicalism its detractors had made it out to be.

Perhaps Becon and his contemporaries might have succeeded in establishing a more moderate Protestantism based upon the open reading of the English Bible. However, the passage of the reactionary Act for the Advancement of True Religion in mid-1543 ended these hopes. The Act dealt a double blow to those who supported the open reading of vernacular scripture. Firstly, it barred all of the rank of yeoman or below, perhaps 80 to 90 *per cent* of the population, from reading the text; secondly, it made all translations other than the Great Bible—in other words, precisely those Bibles which were mainly held in private hands—illegal.[40] Vernacular scripture had once more been branded a radical text, and moderate authors like Becon had been outflanked. Becon went into Continental exile, where he resumed his pre-1539 output of more extreme anti-Catholic thought.[41]

There was only one printing of the Great Bible between 1543 and the end of Henry's reign. Supplies of the permitted Great Bible may have run out: during the four years of the enforcement of the Act not a single churchwardens' account in East Anglia recorded a purchase of the Bible.[42] In a few cases, illegal vernacular scriptures were detected and removed, although there does not appear to have been any systematic attempt to confiscate unauthorised translations of the Bible. In 1544

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[39]Becon, A Potatio[n], sigs. 11-v, A3.
[40]S. E. Lehmberg, The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547 (Cambridge 1977), 186-87.
[41]C. H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles 1554-59 (Cambridge 1938), 84. Becon's anti-Catholicism continued into the reign of Edward, when in The Flower of Godly Prayer (RSTC 1719.5) [J. Day; London 1550(?)] he praised the removal of the Pope's "candles before stockes, hys purgatory, his Masses of Scalerely, his Bulles, hys Pardons, hys dispe[n]sacions, his Jubilies, his iustificatio[n] of works, his selling of merites...his blasphemous Masses...his earish co[n]fessio[n]," among other changes. Sig. +4.
[42]English Bibles, 35. There is only one copy of the 1546 Great Bible extant; this print run (in Antwerp) was probably not large. One also might note that after 1543, there was little incentive to purchase the scriptures, though the law forcing parishes to own them was still in force. However, although there were no printings of the Great Bible between 1547 and 1549, there are records of its purchase both in the CWAs (for example, Cratfield, year 1548) and in the church-plate certificates.

Thomas Norman in Clare near Sudbury was charged with possession of the Tyndale New Testament.[43] Two years later, Bishop Bonner managed to collect enough prohibited books from his diocese to feed a bonfire in London, though the material was limited and not wholly composed of scriptures.[44]

Harsh as the strictures of the Act were, its effect was probably muted. The law banning the lower orders from the reading of vernacular scripture proved practically unenforceable. The relative ease which Pykas and Necton were able to secure copies of the Tyndale translation in the 1520's, at a much less comfortable time, suggests that official detection of illegal gospels was relatively unusual. In the whole of East Anglia—indeed, in the whole of England, as Ryrie has recently noted—only one conviction was brought under the Act. Three men from East Bergholt in the Stour Valley in Suffolk, a noted centre of Protestantism, were charged with a breach of the Act in Norwich, over sixty miles away. Edward Breten was charged with reading the Great Bible aloud to Alen Gifford and William Allen. The court record suggests that the men, particularly the reader Breten, were considered to hold radical beliefs and were thought to be preaching in the city.[45] The three men had been charged with the open reading of the Bible in a parish church, which illustrates the one concession of the Act for those who supported the vernacular Bible. Despite censure of the text by conservative officials—which reached its most overt form in Bonner's alleged physical removal of what he considered offensive pages from many

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[43]Suffolk RO, Bury St. Edmunds, IC 500/5/1, fo. 12v.

[44]Mozley, 287-88. Richard Tracy in A supplycacion to our moste soveraigne lorde Kyng Henry the eyght (RSTC 24165) [Antwerp 1544] archly complained that a number of "whole" Tyndale and Coverdale Bibles were burnt in 1544, when the letter of the law had only banned the New Testaments. See also LP, vol. 21 (ii), no. 321.

[45]Norfolk RO, Mayoralty Court Book, 1540-49, fo. 315; McClendon, M., The Quiet Reformation: magistrates and the emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich (Stanford, CA 1999), 93-94; Ryrie, 49-50. McClendon notes that this case is also the only case of religious conflict in the Court Book between 1540 and 1547. See als R. A. Houlbrooke, "Persecution of Heresy and Protestantism in the Diocese of Norwich under Henry VIII," Norfolk and Norwich Archaeology, vol. 35 (1972), 316, on the lack of other prosecutions under the Act.

copies—the order for parish churches to display openly the Bible remained in place.[46] The retention of the parish Bible allowed a degree of continuity between the first years of the appearance of the printed English Bible in the realm and the first reign to fully embrace it.

2. The effect of the Bible on the laity during Edward's reign.

The vernacular scriptures once more received full acceptance in the reign of Edward VI. The very first royal proclamation of the reign rescinded the Act of 1543 which barred the reading of scripture by the lower orders, and permitted the "Matthew," Coverdale and Taverner New Testaments to be circulated once more. For the first time the Tyndale Bible was allowed to be published and read in England, and, in fact, was to be reprinted often during the reign.[47] Within two years the first Book of Common Prayer was to recommend that two chapters of the New Testament were to be read at morning and evening services, as well as the Lord's Prayer and Creed; the Second Prayer Book added the weekly reading of the Ten Commandments.[48] The English Bible was thus promoted more strongly than at any previous time.

Although the reign of Edward marked perhaps the high point of the English Bible in mid-Tudor England, the sources for its study are the least promising for any of the period. The tolerance of vernacular scripture largely rules out the use of prosecution records. Moreover, since religious works in English during this time were almost wholly Protestant,[49] there is little evidence of debate from the printing press. Nevertheless, enough indirect material exists for East Anglia during the reign to review the reading of the Bible.

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[46]Becon, A New Years Gift, fo. 322; Mozley, 295.
[47]TRP, vol. 1, no. 287; English Bibles, 36-59. The Tyndale Bible was reprinted nineteen times during the six years of the reign.
[48]J. Parker (ed.), The First Prayer Book, as issued by the Authority of the Parliament of the Second Year of King Edward VI, 1549 (Oxford 1883), 8-20, 25, 27-30; Parker (ed.) The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 1552 (Oxford 1883), 30.
[49]D. M. Loades, "Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558," in J.-F. Gilmont (ed.) The Reformation and the Book (tr. K. Maag; Aldershot 1998), 271-74.

a. Protestant Printing in Ipswich.

One such source of material is the volume of Protestant printing in the town of Ipswich. The history of printing in Ipswich during Edward's reign is brief but exciting. Although the presses in the parish of St. Nicholas ran for only one year between mid-1547 and mid-1548, almost a dozen separate works were printed under the auspices of Anthony Scoloker and John Oswen. The Ipswich material is striking in its subject matter as well as its volume: while other provincial centres of Edwardian printing such as Oxford, Bristol or Worcester produced mostly books of instruction or scholastic texts, the Ipswich presses provided almost wholly religious works.[50] Most of the texts consisted of translations of Continental tracts, and the names of their authors tell us something of the doctrine contained in them: Luther, Calvin, Bernardo Ochino, Zwingli, Hegendorff. Included in the catalogue of works are two anti-Catholic verse ballads by local authors, Peter Moone and John Ramsey. If the literate citizens of East Anglia were hungry for Protestant works, Scoloker and Oswen served them hearty fare indeed.

One should take caution, however, that the reading population of Ipswich may not have been as radical as the publishers believed them to be. The very brevity of the period of printing suggests that sales at the booksellers' stalls in the Fishmarket were not as good as Scoloker and Oswen had hoped. In presenting six of Ochino's sermons, Scoloker stated that "yf these shalbe thankefully receaved" he would print more sermons of Ochino; he did not, leaving one to draw the obvious conclusion.[51] Scoloker soon left Ipswich to return to the more lucrative pastures of London, to work

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[50]The only non-religious text is [Anonymous], An Invectyve Against Dronkenness (RSTC 14126) [J. Oswen; Ipswich 1548]. This text is notable for its references to classical authors to the exclusion of Biblical verses, save on the title page.

[51]P. Bishop, The History of Ipswich: 1500 years of triumph and disaster (London 1995), 46, fixes the bookmarket of Ipswich at the Fishmarket. Bishop also notes (59) that Ipswich was home to a wealthy mercantile population in the mid-sixteenh century; one would have expected this to be the right market for Scoloker and Oswen. A. Scoloker, "Anthony Scoloker to the Reader," in B. Ochino (tr. by H. Reginalde), Sermons of...clerke Master Bernardine Ochine borne within the famous universyte of Siena (RSTC 18765) [A. Scoloker; Ipswich 1548].

in partnership with William Seres. Oswen, his successor in East Anglia, left in mid-1548 for Worcester, where he published both the first Welsh-English dictionary and the only English Bible printed in the provinces before 1565.[52] Moreover, a few of the works that they printed are not as radical as they appear at first glance. While the materials from Luther, Calvin and Ochino are fervently Protestant in tone, other translations selected by Scoloker and Oswen were less so. Hegendorff's Domestycal or housholde Sermons, a book of religious instruction for the young and unlearned, not unlike an Edwardian primer in content, can be described as only moderately Protestant in tone.[53] More surprising was the choice of Zwingli's Certeyne preceptes, in which the Swiss reformer taught that spiritual wisdom could only be learned through slow and diligent study, preferably in Latin—perhaps not what the lay readers of Ipswich may have wished to read.[54]

Most of the works contain strong approval of the reading of vernacular scripture. To Luther, the Word was no less than "the keyes to heven." In A Ryght Notable Sermon Luther contended that the greatest sin of the Catholic church was to suppress the Bible in the vernacular; he argued that the whole of Christian understanding can be found through a reading of the Gospels.[55] The emotional call of Luther's text was balanced by the practical appeal of Hegendorff. In Domestycal or housholde Sermons fathers were encouraged to read the scriptures to their children, and particularly the Ten Commandments, for which Hegendorff provided a thorough exposition. Heads of household who were illiterate were recommended to find someone who could read to teach their children, and, failing that, "let hym marke the

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[52]W. K. Sessions, The First Printers at Ipswich in 1547-1548 and Worcester in 1549-1553 (York 1984), 47; English Bibles, 53.

[53]C. Hegendorff (trans, by H. Reginalde), Domestycal or housholde Sermons, for a godly housholder, to his children and famyly (RSTC 13021) [J. Oswen, Ipswich 1548].

[54]U. Zwingli (trans. by R. Argentyne), "The Aphorismes of the seconde preceptes," Certeyne preceptes...declaring howe the ingenious youth ought to be instructed and brought unto Christ (RSTC 26136) [A. Scoloker; Ipswich 1548].

[55]M. Luther (trans. by R. Argentyne), A ryght notable sermon made by Doctor Martyn Luther uppon the twentieth Chapter of Johan of absolution and the true use of the keyes (RSTC 16992) [A. Scoloker; Ipswich 1548].

sayenges of Publycke and open sermons, and let hym repete those saienges at home in his house." Hegendorff assured the reader that he himself regularly read out Biblical sermons to his own family, and that those who were well-learned in vernacular scripture became not "earnest lawers," who understood the letter but not the Law, but "godly men" who held the Gospel in their hearts. Few East Anglians who read and took these works to heart would have been left in doubt of the usefulness or the necessity of reading the English Bible.

However, other translations published by Scoloker and Oswen showed less certainty about the value of vernacular scripture. Although Ochino also condemned the Roman Church, which mocked those who preached scripture "as the Pharisees mocked Christ," and for suppressing the vernacular Bible, he was not certain of the absolute value of the study of scripture.[56] For Ochino, one could only approach the scriptures with the right spirit: the Bible confirmed the holy truths already in the hearts of the righteous. The right spirit could not be obtained through a reading of the Bible; those who read the scriptures with the wrong spirit might be fooled into following "the darkness", and using the scriptures as a source of evil: faith alone could permit a true reading of the scriptures.[57] In some respects, Ochino's concern about the potential effects of Bible-reading mirrored those of many Catholic leaders in England during the reign of Mary.[58]

Zwingli's work was even more doubtful about the value of vernacular scriptures. He believed that children should be drilled at an early age in Latin, as many godly men conversed in it. He conceded that reading the Bible in translation might be of some limited value, but that a scholar would do best to take up classical languages: "he shall do very well if he understande the hebrue and greke to[n]gues

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[56]Ochino, Sermons, Sermon 3, "If Phylosophie serve to true Theologie or divinite and in what maner."
[57]*Ibid.*, Sermons 4, "Howe we ought to use the holy scriptures in attaining the knowledge of God," and 5, "Of thinconveniences that are happened and dayly happe[n] by abuse of the holy Scryptures."
[58]See Chapter 6.

rightly because without the one of them the olde Testament and without the other the newe can not be without difficulte purely be knowen."[59]

Though the texts of the translations might not always have offered the same views on the use of vernacular scripture, the men who published and translated them were of one mind on the subject. Before he came to Ipswich, Scoloker translated and printed an apocalyptic summation of the Bible. After his return to London, he translated and published with William Seres a more mundane primer which he also called a "summe" of scripture.[60] Oswen was interested in translations of the Bible which were popular among private readers: his publication of Calvin's work includes verses taken directly from Coverdale's Bible, and, in 1549 in Worcester, he printed the "Matthew" Bible.[61] In their introductions to the works, Scoloker and Oswen, and the translators Richard Argentyne and Henry Reiginalde appear completely committed to the principle of the open reading of the English Bible. These introductions, more so than the actual texts, provide a clue as to what the publishers believed would be of interest to their typical readership. In his preface to Ochino's Sermons, Scoloker called the English Bible a "myracle." Through

> *translation the very Prophetes a[n]d Patriarkes a[n]d also the whole company that have been eve[n] fro[m] the beginning of the worlde are now familiar unto us a[n]d are become Inglishmen. Yea god hi[m] selfe of his great infinite mercye in our owne tongue speaketh unto us out of his moost sacred worde to our great joye and spirituall comforte.*

Scoloker concluded that the licencing of the English Bible would allow Christians to

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[59]Zwingli, "The Aphorismes of the seconde precepts," Certayne precepts.

[60]A. Scoloker (translator; original author unknown), The iust reckenyng or accompt of the whole number of the yeares from the beginnyng of the world unto this presente yere of 1547 (RSTC 20795) [A. Scoloker; London 1547]; P. Viret (tr. by A. Scoloker), A notable collection of divers and so[n]dry places of the sacred scriptures, which make to the declaration of the Lordes prayer (RSTC 24871) [A. Scoloker and W. Seres; London 1548].

[61]The verses in the introduction to J. Calvin (tr. J. Oswen), The Mynde of the Godly and excellent lerned man Calvyne, what a Faithfull man...ought to do, dwellinge amongest the Papistes (RSTC 4435) [J. Oswen; Ipswich 1548] were taken from the Coverdale Bible; English Bibles, 53.

see God as "in a clere mirrour."[62] The publisher emphasised his textual support for vernacular scripture with well-chosen illustrations. His translation of Luther included a woodcut of heaven replete with reading angels. His signature woodcut included a touchstone marked *Verbum Dei.*[63] Oswen called upon his readers not only to read his works carefully but also to follow up his references in the Bible. He injected local colour into his exhortations, remarking that the ungodly would rather resort to "ye ladie of Walsingham [and] some to the ladye of Grace [at Woolpit]" than to the scriptures.[64] One notable use of the English Bible as a selling-point appears upon the title pages of Scoloker's and Oswen's works: the books were invariably prefaced with verses from the scripture. Even in a book which had only a remote connection with religion—for example, in An Invectyve agaynst Dronkennes published by Oswen, the text of which refers to Terence and Horace but not to the scriptures—two Bible verses appeared upon the cover.[65]

The translators of the Continental texts were also keen to demonstrate commitment to the vernacular Bible. Richard Argentyne, who translated works by Luther, Ochino and Zwingli, praised King Edward as a "Josias" whose greatest achievement was to present the English Bible "frelie to be geve[n] unto all his lovinge subiectes...to be taught and redde every where the which is the very true keye wherby to enter into the kingdome of heaven."[66] Argentyne's apparently committed acceptance proved a somewhat temporary phase: during the reign of Mary he became

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[62]Ochino, Sermons, "Anthony Scoloker to the reader." The imagery of the last passage is strongly reminiscent of 1 Corinthians 13:12.

[63]Scoloker probably held both woodcuts in his private collection—he used the graphic of heaven, most notable for its devil which bears a striking resemblance to Munch's *The Scream*, once more in his London-published A breyfe summe of the whole Byble (sig. E4v). The woodcut is doubtless Continental in origin, as few woodcuts were being produced in England at this time (T. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1650 (Cambridge 1991), 147). J. N. King, Tudor Royal Iconography: literature and art in an age of religious crisis (Princeton, NJ 1989), 69-70, suggests that the motif of the keys, also predominant in the woodcut, could signify the unlocking of the secrets of the Bible through its translation into the vernacular.

[64]Calvin, The Mynde of the Godly and excellent lerned man, in Oswen's "The preface to the Reader."

[65][Anonymous], An Invectyve agaynst Dronkennes, sig. A1.

[66]Luther, A Ryght Notable Sermon, preface.

a notorious prosecutor of Protestants in Ipswich. Among the many he captured were two men whose works had also been printed in Ipswich during Edward's reign, Peter Moone and John Ramsey.[67]

The anti-Catholic ballads of Moone and Ramsey represent the less scholarly side of Edwardian East Anglian Protestantism.[68] Both men were of moderate wealth: Moone, a tailor, is listed in the Ipswich subsidy return of 1547 at £12, and Ramsey is believed to have been a shoemaker.[69] Their works contain crude humour and vulgar boasts, most notably in Ramsey's A Plaister for a Galled Horse: the author claims that priests wash their hands before Mass because the night before "he hath handled some whores tayle." Ramsey addresses priests with the insulting command "guppe," a popular term used locally to agitate horses.[70] Catholic "godmakers" are to submit to the new religion or be "tamed" in the "Castell of N."—the bishop's palace. While Moone is less coarse in A Short Treatise, his attacks upon the Catholics are no less pointed. He equates their "develysh doctrine" with St. John's apocalyptic vision of the whore of Babylon.[71] The teachings of the "Balamytes" were like the eggs of the cockatrice: "he that eateth...shal not escape but dye."[72]

Webb has contended that these two ballads represent the genuine voice of the Protestant man of the street, [73] or more likely of the alehouse. Although it is impossible to tell whether the works of Moone and Ramsey were actually sung in Ipswich alehouses, there is some evidence that the verses were written in a popular

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[67]A and M, vol. 8, 223-25; APC, vol. 5, 87-88.
[68]P. Moone, A Short Treatise of certayne thinges abused in the Popish Church, longe used (RSTC 18055) [J. Oswen; Ipswich 1548]; J. Ramsey, A Plaister for a galled horse (RSTC 20663) [J. Oswen; Ipswich 1548].
[69]J. Webb, "Peter Moone of Ipswich (d. 1601), a Tudor tailor, poet and gospeller and his circle," Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, vol. 38 (1993), 40.
[70]E. Partridge, in A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (8th ed.), (ed. by P. Beale) (London 1984), notes that *guppe* was also popularly followed by terms of abuse such as *drab*, *quean*, or *whore*, thus adding further insult to the use of the term.
[71]See also Revelation 17:5-6.
[72]Moone has conflated the legend somewhat here: the fable is that those who look upon the eggs of the cockatrice will be petrified, not those who eat them. A. Room (ed.), Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable (15th ed.) (London 1995), 233; see also "basilisk," 90. Perhaps Moone is also comparing "teaching" with "feeding," as in the "feeding" of the Gospel by a priest to his congregation.
[73]Webb, 37-38.

style. Both ballads conform to a strict eight-line rhyme scheme *ababbcbc*, with the last line or half-line repeated in every stanza.[74] Such repetition aided in memorisation, and was common in East Anglia, even in traditional works. In the Act book for the Archdeaconry of Norfolk for 1548, there is a brief morality poem that was apparently making the rounds in the city that year. The verses are reminiscent of a medieval mystery play: each of the Seven Deadly Sins is given a stanza, with a narrator providing a summation at the close. Though the rhyme scheme here is a somewhat confusing seven-line *ababbcc*, the structure is very similar to that of Moone and Ramsey, and the last line is always the same as well.[75]

Moone and Ramsey were as committed to the cause of the vernacular scriptures as were their more learned counterparts. Although Moone often referred to God's word as "the lyght of our salvacion," he may be alluding to Protestant doctrine here.[76] More telling was his exhortation to those who attack the Mass to "searche the Scriptures" for proof of their arguments; biblical references were helpfully provided. Ramsey was more succinct in his support of the vernacular Bible, assailing the Catholics for putting in "the epistell and gospell...to colour their falsehed, under holy pretence, and al in latyn, to cloke their synne." Ramsey also supported the reading of the English Bible in a more oblique manner in his London-printed pamphlet A Corosyfe. The subject of this brief treatise was a plea to those who read and preached the vernacular scriptures to hold the message of the gospel firmly in their hearts.[77]

The publishers and the translators of the Continental works and the authors of the anti-Catholic ballads therefore supported the reading of the English Bible. Their stance may indicate that the Bible received backing amongst their main audience, the

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[74]Moone's repeated line is "the light of our salvation"; Ramsey's is "But guppe ye godmakers, beware your galled backe."

[75]Archdeaconry of Norfolk Act Book, 1548-51, year 1548 (unpaginated section). The repeated last line is the pessimistic "Remember the man thou art but wormes mete."

[76]See also R. Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation," Historical Journal, vol. 39 no. 2 (1996), 887, and the discussion below in section b.

[77]Ramsey, A Corosyfe to be layed hard unto the hartes of all faythfull Professours of Christes Gospel (RSTC 20661) [W. Hill; London 1548(?)], fos. 3-4.

literate population of Ipswich. The content of their works also implies that their readers were familiar with the arguments regarding the licencing of English scripture, and that they were prepared to use the Bible to further Protestant doctrine.

b. Kett's Rebellion, Popular Protestantism, and the Bible.

What, however, of the illiterate public of the region? Though the literate population of East Anglia may have been significant,[78] most laypersons of the region could not have enjoyed the works published by Scoloker and Oswen. These people may have had means of access to the English scripture outside of the printed word, for example, through preaching; however, as these were by definition unprinted, little quantifiable evidence remains. One documented event from which some of the beliefs of the common layperson concerning the English Bible may be traced is Kett's Rebellion in Norwich in 1549.

In order to interpret the rebellion correctly, one must first understand the composition of those who took part in it. Were the rebels a truly representative cross-section of East Anglian society? An analysis of the causes of the rising would appear to indicate so. One contemporary account of the rebellion, the Latin account prepared by Alexander Neville and translated by Thomas Carbalo/Corbolde, blamed the troubles on the enclosure of fields, the corruption and arrogance of the nobility, and the poverty of the commons.[79] The other main sixteenth-century source, written by Nicholas Sotherton, for the most part agrees with this view. These documents,

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[78]Although the dioceses of Norwich and London had a higher proportion of literate during the mid-sixteenth century than did the rest of the realm, this portion was probably small. Cressy's statistics for those who were able to sign depositions in consistory court suggests that in 1530 20% of tradesmen in the area could sign, rising to 48% in c.1555. Literacy levels for husbandmen hovered between 5-12%, while that of yeomen was as high as 50%. On the other hand, as late as 1580, up to 79% of husbandmen, 85% of labourers, and 89% of women were unable to sign in the diocese of Norwich. Will-makers were not representative of the population at large, however: Sharpe estimates that only 20% of all men and 5% of all women could sign in c.1550. J. A. Sharpe, Early Modern England: a social history, 1550-1760 (London 1987), 270; D. Cressy, Society and Culture in Early Modern England (Aldershot 2003), II 4-5.

[79]T. Carbalo (trans. from A. Neville, De Furoribus Norfolcensium Ketto Duce (London 1575), Kettes Campe or commotion at Norwich, Bodleian MS Tanner 421, fos. 5v-7. MacCulloch, "Debate: Kett's Rebellion in Context," Past and Present, vol. 93 (1981), 172-73, notes that Neville's primary purpose was not to write "pure history" but rather to highlight the dangerous activities of rebellious commoners.

however, must not be taken as disinterested accounts. As MacCulloch has rightly argued, these two second-hand accounts were written well after the fact by authors intent on enforcing social harmony and keeping the lower orders of society in check. The attitudes of the authors are evident in the ways by which, at times in a heavy-handed fashion, they attack the activities of the rebels. Despite the shortcomings of the accounts of Sotherton and Neville, however, most modern historians have largely accepted their analysis of the combination of agrarian, social and economic factors as legitimate causes of the rising. Many have noted, as did Neville, that similar troubles occurred elsewhere in southern and eastern England in 1549, often sparked by similar concerns.[80]

From the time of the rebellion, many have also identified a religious element in the event. Sir Nicholas le Strange claimed that "papists from King's Lynn" were responsible for some of the trouble, but at the time he was being accused as a ringleader of the King's Lynn rebels, and was desperate for a scapegoat.[81] Most contemporaries came to the conclusion that the bulk of the rebels were, as far as they could determine, Protestant, though of a radical sort. Sir John Cheke, never one to ignore controversy, lamented the rebels as "brethren" in the evangelistic cause, though he chastised them for pursuing "their own Reformation," asserting that they should have looked to the Crown for religious change.[82] Others agreed with Cheke's depiction of the rebels as dangerously radical. Jean Calvin advised Somerset that he believed the rebellion was fed by "fantasticall men, which under the colour of the

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[80]Carbalo, fo. 11; R. B. Manning, Village Revolts (Oxford 1988), 37; A. Fletcher and D. N. J. MacCulloch, Tudor Rebellions (4th edition) (London 1997), 72 ff.; S. K. Land, Kett's Rebellion: the Norfolk rising of 1549 (Ipswich 1977), 66; S. T. Bindoff, Ket's Rebellion 1549 (London 1949 [reprinted 1968]), 9, among others.

[81]CSPD (1547-53), no. 359. In fact, so anti-Catholic were the rebels that they mistook the coat of the Earl of Warwick's herald for a papal cloak, which ended the Earl's attempts at compromise. Carbalo, fo. 53v.

[82]J. Cheke, The Hurt of Sedicion, howe greveous it is to a Commonwealth (written 1549; reprinted Menston 1971), sigs. A2v, F1.

gospell, would put all to confusyon."[83] Somerset's translation and publication of Calvin's letter would seem to indicate that he broadly agreed with this assertion, although he obviously had an interest in depicting the rebels as religiously unorthodox.

Despite contemporary attempts to pin the rebellion to radicalism, there is much to indicate that the religion of Kett's rebellion was largely conformist. Apart from the well-known article of Kett's demand for all men to be free, an article lifted almost verbatim from the demands of German Protestants in the Peasants' War of 1525, the requests of Kett and his men were moderate. One demand called for priests who were unable or unwilling to preach and "sett forth the woorde of god"[84] to be "putt from hys benyfice"; another, that priests should not serve as chaplains to the wealthy, but ought only to hold benefices "whereby ther parysheners may be enstructed with the lawes of god."[85] Both of these articles appear to indicate that the rebels were concerned for their clergy to perform the duties set forth by the Church, and to preach from their required material and from the Bible.

The rebels were anxious to display orthodoxy in their own religious services as well. Neville reported that "Thei receive[d] a Minister: him thei put in authoritie, everie day morninge & eveninge to say divine service & praiers." One of the priests at the camp was the vicar of St. Martin's of Norwich, Thomas Conyers.[86] In a rebel camp which had rejected all other authority save that of the Crown, an ordained priest was enjoined to say the Prayer Book service, in a powerful display of orthodoxy. Furthermore, "good men...renowned by everie mans good reporte both of religion & learninge" were invited to the camp to preach. One of these men was Robert Watson,

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[83]J. Calvin, (translated by Edward, Duke of Somerset), An Epistle both of goldy [sic] consolation and also of advertisement (RSTC 4407.5) [London, 1550(?)], sig. B5v.
[84]See Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience," 887, for an explanation of the Protestant use of the phrase "word of God," and see below.
[85]Fletcher and MacCulloch, 144-45; and see below for an analysis of the first of these two demands.
[86]Carbalo, fo. 9v, 13v; McClendon, 142.

who five years previously had been known in Norwich for his preaching on free will; Cromwell had recommended that he be given a position in the city government.[87] Another preacher, the future archbishop Matthew Parker, attempted to quell the rebellion, to the obvious anger of the rebels. His life was spared only by the intervention of the vicar, who sang the *Te Deum* in English with his clerks as a distraction.[88] The rebels' apparently reverent treatment of such an orthodox religious piece is of interest. The rebels attempted to raise support elsewhere in East Anglia but did not look to rural areas where anti-enclosure sentiments, and anger against landlords, would probably have been strong, but rather in the towns of Bury St. Edmunds, Hadleigh, and Colchester, all known Protestant strongholds. In Colchester a sympathiser managed to recruit a tailor, a weaver and two priests—these were not typical occupations of the rebels, but rather those of many early Protestants.[89]

While the apparent acceptance by the Kett rebels of the Edwardian Reformation is of interest, these alleged actions prove little by themselves. Some historians contend that the rebels' claims to orthodoxy were not necessarily indicative of their true beliefs.[90] Considering the biases of the contemporary chroniclers, much of what has been written about the religious activities of the rebels could be called into question. Perhaps only one document truly reflects the religious beliefs of the rebels, or at least of their leadership: the list of demands presented by Kett and the other leaders of the rebellion. Two of the articles, numbered 8 and 20 in the list, appear to offer some insight on the rebel leaders' beliefs about the Bible.

Demand 8 at first glance appears to demonstrate that Kett and his allies were keenly interested in ensuring that the Bible was disseminated to the laity. They demanded that any priest who was not able to "sett forth the woorde of god" should

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[87]McClendon, 126. Watson was by 1549 a priest in Archbishop Cranmer's household. MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer: a life (Oxford 1997), 433.
[88]Carbalo, fos. 12v, 15.
[89]Strype, vol. 2, 176.
[90]Cornwall, 149; Land, 67.

be "putt from hys benyfice."[91] Yet the phrase "word of God" did not necessarily refer to scripture. Spencer has argued that, prior to the Reformation, "preaching the word of God" was understood to simply refer to any kind of divine preaching, whether the subject was biblical or not.[92] After the Henry VIII's break with Rome, interpretation of the phrase "word of God" became less certain. Rex has contended that, in post-Reformation England, "word of God" came to have two meanings—it referred not only to the text of scripture, but also to divine law, the law of God, or the doctrines of "reformed religion." In particular, the phrase "word of God" became increasingly identified with support of the Royal Supremacy, and became a test of allegiance to the Crown and church.[93] Under this interpretation, the rebels' use of "word of God" might be considered another attempt to demonstrate loyalty with the King.

However, a closer look at the wording of the demand implies that in this instance "word of God" may indeed refer to the words of scripture. The use of the phrase "word of God" in this context was not uncommon in the era: Cromwell's Injunctions consciously linked it with the vernacular Bible, and the Henrician reformers intended the word of God, in the form of the English Bible, to reach the hands of the people.[94] The rebels demanded that priests who were "not able," not unwilling, to convey the word of God were to be removed. In this demand, the rebels therefore attacked priests who were deficient, not unorthodox. There is little doubt that many Edwardian priests were lacking knowledge of even the basic articles of faith, let alone of an understanding of scripture.[95] Although it is impossible to argue with certainty that the rebels desired priests who could preach from scripture, this interpretation is most consistent with the phrasing of the eighth demand.

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[91]Fletcher and MacCulloch, 144-45.
[92]H. L. Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford 1993), 146. Rex has claimed that the description of the Bible as the "word of God" is only current from the 1530's, but Spencer's examples predate Henry VIII's reign. Rex, The Tudors (Stroud 2002), 92-93.
[93]Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience," 881, 889-92.
[94]*Ibid.*, 892-93.
[95]R. O'Day, The English Clergy: the emergence and consolidation of a profession, 1558-1642 (Leicester 1979), 28.

The twentieth demand of the rebels also illustrates to some extent their beliefs about the vernacular Bible, and is also open to differing interpretations:

> *We pray that ev'ry propretorie parson or vicar havyng a benefice of £10 or more by yere shall eyther by themselves or by some other persone teche poor mens chyldren of ther paryshe the booke called the cathekysme and the prymer.*[96]

The qualifier "poor mens chyldren" is notable: the rebels obviously believed that the wealthy were capable of having their own children taught privately. However, of more interest is the referent to the desired articles of teaching, the "cathekysme and the prymer." What exactly did the rebels intend to have their children learn about the Bible from these texts?

It has been argued, as with the eighth demand, that the call for children to be catechised demonstrated the rebel leaders' "content" with the Edwardian Reformation.[97] The catechism referred to by the rebels is almost certainly the Prayer-Book Catechism, issued as part of the first Edwardian Prayer Book in the same year as the rebellion. An analysis of the contents of the catechism reveals relatively little in biblical content beyond the basic scriptural tenets of the Reformation—the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the articles of faith—and even these were only covered in a few sentences apiece. Most Protestant contemporaries considered the 1549 Prayer Book Catechism to be disappointingly brief; so brief, in fact, that it was it was likely that it was taught to be memorized, rather than be taught by learning its concepts.[98] The support of the rebels for the 1549 catechism appears related more to their support of the Edwardian church: the catechism, of course, served as the official entry-point for both children and adults to the communion.

The identity of the primer is less certain. An official primer had yet to be published during the reign, though the official primers of the previous reign probably

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[96]Fletcher and MacCulloch, 146.
[97]Cornwall, 149; Land, 67.
[98]Parker (ed.), The First Prayer Book, 320-25; Green, 69-71.

still circulated.[99] However, the contemporary private primers, as readily available to the East Anglian population, were relatively similar in content. The main subjects of the privately-printed texts were, as with the Prayer Book Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and the Articles of Faith, but the primers went into much greater detail on the points of scripture, and they were intended to serve as an introduction to the reading of the Bible.[100]

The desire of the rebels to have their children taught the fundamentals of faith, and for their priests to preach the "Word of God," were not contradictory demands. Although one may have called directly for education, through the preaching of the parish priest, in the words of scripture, both demands appear indicative of the rebels' apparent interest in the English Bible. Alliance with the Edwardian Reformation was necessarily an alliance with the English Bible as interpreted by the church. If, in the final analysis, it is impossible to judge the real religious beliefs of the rebels concerning the English Bible, it is at least obvious that there was some interest, whether feigned or honestly held, in learning about vernacular scripture.

c. Radical Protestant sects and the vernacular Bible.

Despite the rebels' claims to orthodoxy, some believed that they drew ideas from heterodox sources. Jean Veron, a Frenchman writing from Worcester, accused the rebels of holding radical religious ideas. Horst has suggested that Veron believed Kett's Rebellion to be fed by millenarian Anabaptism, not unlike that of the Peasants' Revolt of Münster in 1525.[101] At first glance a connection appears plausible; after all, the rebels' demand for "all men to be free" was taken almost verbatim from the Twelve Articles of Memmingen of the Peasants' Revolt. Packull contends that the

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[99]D. Siegenthaler, in J. D. Booty, D. Siegenthaler and J. N. Wall, Jr. (eds.), The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation (Wilton, CT 1981), 235-37. See below for an examination of primers.

[100]Two privately-printed primers with East Anglian connections are examined in greater detail in section d. below.

[101]I. B. Horst, The Radical Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558 (De Graaf, The Netherlands 1972), 103 ff.

camp appears an embodiment of communitarian living, with a minister "in authoritie"—the Hutterite ideal.[102] If Anabaptism had been present at the camp, however, it is likely that English contemporaries would have been more forward in their denunciation of what was throughout England considered a "monstrous" doctrine. Cheke did not use "Anabaptist" in referring to the rebels, nor did Calvin, who called them "fantasticall men," a term rarely used elsewhere as a euphemism for Anabaptists. Horst notes that Veron attacked those who "do seke nothynge else in the scriptures and gospell, but a carnall and fleshly lybertye," which most likely refers to the Anabaptists. However, Veron did not specifically connect the sect to Kett's Rebellion, but only to English rebellions in general.[103] Veron's claims must be taken in the context of his hatred of the Anabaptists: he translated four of Bullinger's tracts against them and declared himself "always readie" to produce more attacks upon the sect.[104] Furthermore, the known Anabaptists of this period in England were of the pacifist Melchiorite branch, not the more militaristic Hutterite sect largely responsible for Münster.[105]

It is difficult, however, to argue that the Anabaptists were wholly absent from the camp, as their doctrine was not unknown in East Anglia. As early as 1538, a man had been burnt in Colchester as a suspected member of the sect. Although their movements and strength in the region are difficult to measure, their presence suggests that more radical forms of Protestantism, which encouraged an even stronger dependence upon the vernacular Bible, were present in East Anglia.

While some ideas of the Anabaptists were undoubtedly radical, their true

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[102]W. O. Packull, Hutterite Beginnings: communitarian experiments during the Reformation (Baltimore, MD and London 1995), 58, 306-09. The quotation is from Carbalo, fo. 9v.
[103]Horst, 103 ff; H. Bullinger (tr. J. Veron), A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue, betwene ye seditious Libertin or rebel Anabaptist, & the true obedient christia[n]... (RSTC 4068) [J. Oswen; Worcester 1548], sigs. B4-v. The quotation is from Veron's introduction to the work.
[104]Bullinger (tr. J. Veron), An Holsome Antidotus or counterpoysen, agaynst the pestylent heresye and secte of the Anabaptistes (RSTC 4059) [H. Powell; London 1548], sig. B2. See RSTC 24680-1, 24684 for Elizabethan translations of Bullinger by Veron which attacked the Anabaptists.
[105]Horst, 92; see also Packull, 58, on the Hutterite origins of the revolt at Münster.

doctrine was far from what the scare-mongering propagandists claimed, and to a great extent based upon the study of the Bible. John Stow, writing during the reign of Elizabeth, summed up the beliefs of those captured in 1535: that Christ was not of two natures, that Christ took neither flesh nor blood of the virgin Mary, that children born of infidels would be saved, that the baptism of children was to no effect, that the sacrament of Christ's body was of bread only, and that he who wittingly sinned after his baptism sinned mortally and could not be saved.[106] Later Anabaptists introduced the concept of the communality of goods.[107] While such unorthodox doctrines distinguished Anabaptists from their Lutheran and Zwinglian counterparts, one tenet shared by all these Protestant groups was a devotion to vernacular scripture. Barlow contended that all three groups wished to have the scriptures in the vernacular so that they could twist its text to suit their heresies.[108] The Anabaptists, however, seized the doctrine of *sola scriptura* almost more vigorously than the Lutherans, a result of their specific reading of the New Testament in an attempt to build a primitive church. The distribution of clandestine copies of the vernacular New Testament was crucial in the formation of proto-Anabaptist groups on the Continent.[109] Even bitter enemies of the sect such as Veron admitted that Anabaptist ideas grew out of a reading of scripture, however selective their reading may have been.[110]

True Anabaptists in East Anglia are hard to detect, partly because Anabaptism was confused with "late Lollardy" by many,[111] and partly because the term "Anabaptism" was used pejoratively. Even before the revolt at Münster, "Anabaptism" was used almost as a synonym for diabolical behaviour. In 1531, William Barlow, the first Englishman to discuss the movement, characterised the

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[106]Horst, 61.
[107]LP, vol. 14 (i), no. 40.
[108]Barlow, sig. A3.
[109]Packull, 16-31; D. R. Sebrig, "Anabaptists and the Bible: from *sola scriptura* to *solus christus*," Mennonite Life, vol. 44, no. 3 (September 1989), 15.
[110]Veron, A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue, sig. B4.
[111]D. A. Penny, Freewill or Predestination: the battle over saving grace in Tudor England (Woodbridge 1990), 19.

Anabaptists as holders of evil doctrines: some believed in universal salvation, others that the snake which tempted Eve was Christ, some that all have two souls, and some that "lecherye be no synne, & yt one maye use a nother ma[n]nes wyfe withoute offence." Barlow also reported that a Swiss Anabaptist was pardoned for murder by his brethren after he claimed that God had told him to kill, a story repeated by Bullinger.[112] It is not surprising that the word "Anabaptist" quickly became a term of abuse for those with radical ideas, as Thomas More used it against Tyndale.[113] After the fall of Münster, the fear of Anabaptism in England reached alarming levels: reports reached England that six, perhaps twenty, perhaps sixty thousand of them were living in the Low Countries. An informant in Antwerp warned Cromwell that the defeated Münster rebels were headed for English shores.[114] Henry VIII immediately issued a decree that all Anabaptists were to leave the realm; in June 1535 twenty-five of the sect were apprehended in London. Fourteen were put to death and the rest exiled.[115]

During the reign of Henry VIII, almost all the Anabaptists detected in England were foreign-born. All of the twenty-five captured in London in 1535 were from the Low Countries; during the second Henrician persecution of Anabaptists in 1538 four from Holland and three from Flanders were arrested. Considering the links between East Anglia and the Low Countries, it is not surprising that Anabaptism had by this point reached the region: two of the apprehended, Peter Francke and his wife, resided

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[112]Barlow, sigs. G4v-H2v. Horst, 45, claims that "while he condemns [the Anabaptists] for certain excesses he is in places sympathetic" to their views; however, his citation (sig. G4v) is of a bare description of the Anabaptist movement. As such, Barlow's depiction of Anabaptism is not neutral, and hardly "sympathetic" in the context of his fervent attacks elsewhere in the text.

[113]J. T. Yoder, "Thomas More and the Anabaptists," Mennonite Quarterly Review (1992), 50. R. Pineas, Thomas More and Tudor Polemic (Bloomington, IN and London 1968), 113-15, notes that More uses "inconsistant" use of scripture and doctrines to suggest Tyndale was leading the country to anarchy, and feared a repeat of the Münster revolt if Tyndale's ideas gained currency, certainly an illusion to anabaptist ideas and actions.

[114]LP, vol. 7, nos. 317, 394, 397; vol. 8, nos. 192 and 982.

[115]TRP, vol. 1, no. 155; LP, vol. 7, no. 317.

in Colchester.[116] Two years later approximately twenty men from Flanders were put in the Tower on charges of Anabaptism.[117] There was an understandable fear that heretical doctrines might be passed on to the native population, and, to that end, a royal proclamation appeared in 1538 in an attempt to stem Anabaptist literature.[118] Anabaptist endeavours to influence the English were successful in the case of the native-born John Lambert, who was burnt for his extreme Protestant beliefs in Smithfield on 22 November 1538.[119]

The relative religious tolerance of the early years of Edward's reign allowed Anabaptism to thrive in. The general pardon of 1547 had included the Anabaptists, but the 1549 Act of Uniformity prohibited their doctrines; a second general pardon in 1550 did not include them.[120] By 1549 there was once more a fear of the sect. The noted heretic Joan Bocher of Kent, eventually executed in 1550, professed Melchiorite Anabaptist doctrine.[121] Latimer claimed that more than 500 of them resided in one town alone; Hooper wrote to Bullinger, a noted foe of the Anabaptists, that the sect was "strong" in England. Once again the perceived threat was uncertain in its nature: Latimer did not identify the heretic-plagued town, and Hooper could only attest that Anabaptists were known in London, Kent and Essex.[122] Veron also believed the heretics to be in Essex "running in hoker moker, amonge the symple and ignorante people."[123] However, no one arrested in Essex or elsewhere in East Anglia during Edward's reign was definitively identified as an Anabaptist, although some

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[116]Horst, 80-90.
[117]LP, vol. 15, no. 485.
[118]TRP, vol. 1, no. 186.
[119]LP, vol. 13 (ii), nos. 849, 851-52, 899. Although John Husee claimed that Lambert was an Anabaptist, Lambert's examination (no. 851) shows little that can be certainly adjuged to be Anabaptist doctrine. However, other heretics burned on the same day at Smithfield were likely Anabaptists.
[120]Horst, 100-01; Luders and Kaithby (eds.), vol. 4, 33-35, 128.
[121]J. F. Davis, "Joan of Kent, Lollardy and the English Reformation," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. 33 no. 2 (1982), 231.
[122]H. Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI, on Each Sunday in Lent, 1549, (ed. Edward Arber; Westminster 1895), 103-04; Horst, 103. H.C. White, Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century (New York 1940), 120, thinks the town with 500 Anabaptists is Colchester, though he has no proof to the matter.
[123]Bullinger (J. Veron's introduction), A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue, sig. C3v.

were accused of the heresy.[124]

Perhaps the Anabaptists merged with another sect, the Freewill-Men, which became more prevalent in Essex during the reign of Edward. By the late 1540's many Anabaptists in England, fearing prosecution, turned their attention to other areas of controversy, most notably man's relationship to salvation.[125] The debate between free will and predestination had troubled even the orthodox in East Anglia, although rarely in such an extreme form. As early as 1539 an alarmed Bishop Rugge wrote to Cranmer concerning the activities of a Norwich man, Robert Watson, who had openly debated Rugge in Norwich Cathedral on the doctrine of free will.[126] The need for the bishop to seek archiepiscopal advice underlines the complexity and danger of the debate. Most Protestants identified free will as an essentially Catholic tenet; Bradford in 1555 accused Protestants who held the doctrine as "plain Papists, yea, Pelagians."[127]

A certain group of Bible-readers in Essex earned the title of Freewill-Men for their stance upon this contentious subject, for which they became best known during the reign of Mary. Their leader, Henry Hart, affirmed free will as a "merciful" doctrine compatible with the loving God he believed to have found in scripture.[128] However, it is known that the group also debated several other issues, such as "wheather it were necessarie to stande or kneele, barehedde or covered, at prayer."[129] Despite the common criticism that the Freewill-Men pursued a simplistic and rigid Biblical literalism, many of its members disagreed with the tenets of the majority, some even espousing predestination.[130] Such arguments make it impossible to identify any commonly-held doctrines held by the group, or to pin down with

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[124]One should note that in other areas in south-east England, such as in Kent with the case of Joan Bocher, some Anabaptists were detected.
[125]H. J. Goetze, The Anabaptists (London 1996), 33-34.
[126]Norfolk RO, Mayoralty Court Book (1534-40), fo. 152; McClendon, 126-28.
[127]Penny, 27-35, 126.
[128]J. W. Martin, Religious Radicals in Tudor England (London 1989), 51-52.
[129]BL MS Harleian 421, fo. 133-34.
[130]Penny, 21-22; Martin, Religious Radicals, 23-24.

certainty those who were members of the sect.

The Freewill-Men might have entirely escaped detection during the reign of Edward had it not been for the discovery of a meeting of the sect in Bocking in Essex, in December 1550. The group was large, over sixty in number, and drawn from a wide area, with the majority of the members from Kent. At least seven were from Bocking, and at least five more were from elsewhere in Essex. Most of the arrested members were of the familiar "Protestant" professions of clothier and weaver, although one, John Barrett of nearby Sampford, was identified as a "cowherd."[131] The leaders of the group appear to have been the aforementioned Hart and Thomas Cole, a "sholemaster" of Maidstone. It is apparent, from the size of the group and the wide area from which the members were drawn, that the Bocking meeting was not their first.

By all accounts the intention of the Freewill-Men was to read the scriptures in English, and to discuss the implications of the text for religious practice. Seven of the Essex men brought before the Privy Council insisted that their purpose was "for talke of Scriptures."[132] In this regard the Freewill-Men were much like the Colchester group of the mid-1520's, but their reliance upon scripture extended beyond mere discussion. Hart had the year before published a book, A godlie exhortation to all such as professe the Gospell (RSTC 12887.3), which reads almost as a printed exposition of *sola scriptura*; some have wondered whether he read any other religious books at all.[133] Some members may have consciously used their debate to counter prevalent criticisms such as that held by John Proctor, who sarcastically wrote in 1549 that in Kent "everye man, everye woman pretendeth to be a gospeller."[134]

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[131] APC, vol. 3, 198-99, 206-07.
[132] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 206-07.
[133] A. G. Dickens and D. Carr, The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I (London 1987), ch. 5. However Penny, 80, believes that Hart's theology is too advanced to be a work written through the study of the Bible alone.
[134] J. Proctor, The fal of the late Arrian (RSTC 20406) [W. Powell; London 1549], fo. 84.

The group at Bocking was not afraid to engage in heterodox debate. Martin has contended that the Council saw little religious danger within the group, but this is not borne out by its actions. Several men were brought personally and individually before the Council to be questioned, and at least four more were brought back some days later to be questioned further upon their religious stance; five men, including Cole, were put in custody.[135] Most of the sect's members had already stopped attending their parish services; some admitted that "thei had refused the Communyon above ij yeres upon verie superstitiouse and erronyose purposes, withe divers other evill oppynyons worthie of great punyshement."[136] In his writings, Hart denied several key points of official Edwardian doctrine, including the omnipotence of God and the validity of excommunication. In 1553 Cole, who had by then left the sect, accused the Freewill-Men of several Anabaptist doctrines such as the rejection of infant baptism. Perhaps the Council was frightened that the Freewill-Men used readership of vernacular scriptures, which was promoted by the Church, to heretical ends.

The writings of Henry Hart can also tell us something about the methods in which the Freewill-Men viewed the English Bible. Hart sincerely believed, through his reading of scripture, that the omnipotence of God, combined with His love for all men, necessitated belief in the doctrine of universal salvation. Yet the prosecution records demonstrate that not all the Freewill-Men who read the Bible came to the same conclusion as Hart. Though Lawrence Ramsey professed to believe in universal salvation, and John Plume contended that all children of Adam were saved through his election, John Grey argued flatly that no man was saved unless he kept the commandments. William Greenland claimed that the playing of games was a sinful act and required absolution. At least one of the sect even claimed that only "learned

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[135]Martin, Religious Radicals, 49; C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (London 1912), vol. 2, 1-4; APC, vol. 3, 198-99, 206-07.
[136]APC, vol. 3, 206-07.

men" were fit to read the Bible.[137] The disagreements of the Freewill-Men demonstrate that, even among relatively like-minded readers, the study of the vernacular Bible could provoke dissension. It is therefore not surprising that the Edwardian government feared diversity of opinion from laymen. The Prayer Books and the *Paraphrases*, as well as the Act of Uniformity, were intended to foster consistency in the reading of scripture.[138] The example of the Freewill-Men shows the difficulty of the task.

Although Hart may have been extreme in his reading of scripture, the geographical spread of the Freewill-Men may indicate that others in East Anglia held similar views. During the reign of Mary several sects not unlike Hart's group were to be uncovered in the region, such as that in Harwich, which also debated the scriptures earnestly.[139] The Freewill-Men themselves disintegrated after 1554, after imprisonment of their leaders and difficulties in their disputes with "orthodox" Protestant theologians during their stay in the King's Bench prison.[140] Nevertheless, some of their following may have survived in East Anglia, although in no form of organisation.[141]

d. Direct and indirect lay access to the Bible.

The last section of this chapter will examine the various methods by which laypersons of the reign of Edward VI were able to access the scriptures. A distinction will be drawn between those activities which involved the direct reading or hearing of the text of the Bible and those which entailed indirect access to the contents of the

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[137]BL MS Harleian 421, fos. 133-134v; T. Freeman, "Dissenters from a Dissenting Church: the challenge of the Freewillers," in Marshall and Ryrie (eds.), 148.
[138]J. N. Wall, Jr., "Godly and Fruitful Lessons: The English Bible, Erasmus' Paraphrases and the Book of Homilies," in Booty *et al.*(eds.), 73 ff.
[139]APC, vol. 5, 334.
[140]Penny, 125-68.
[141]Martin, "The First that Made Separation from the Church of England," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 77 (1986), 301 n., notes that John Simson, a suspected Freewill-Man, wrote an open "exhortacion to the congregation dispersed in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Kent and elsewhere" in May 1555. However, there is no indication that the letter was received by any specific body (but one individual, John Dudley of Kent, apparently wrote a reply), although Simson's associate John Ardeley was arrested soon afterward. A and M, vol. 7, 86-90.

Bible, whether through the mediation of official doctrine, or through the filter of others' positions on the scriptures. This section will study three points of focus: firstly, the availability of the English Bible itself; secondly, the ways by which the Edwardian church attempted to filter the interpretation of the gospel to fit its doctrines; and lastly, the methods through which private individuals disseminated scriptural content. The section will conclude with a brief examination of private Edwardian primers, the forms of which transcend all three modes of scriptural communication: authorised primers served as an approved doctrinal filter of scripture, private primers demonstrated how private individuals could propagate biblical concepts, and all primers trained laypersons to read the text of the Bible itself.

Between 1547 and 1553, the opportunities for direct access to the Bible for the literate laity were many. The Great Bible lay in most East Anglian parish churches, and other Bibles and New Testaments were portable, widespread and well within the purchasing power of most. In July 1552 Cecil licenced Richard Jugge of Ipswich to print and sell the Tyndale New Testament for 22d.[142] The following year Edmund Whitchurch produced a New Testament in five parts, each part costing less than one shilling; John Day had previously published whole Bibles in sections.[143]

For the illiterate and semi-literate, direct access to the Bible would have been more difficult. One way for them to hear the unfiltered words of scripture was through attendance of divine service. Only one chapter of the Bible was read each week during the reign of Henry VIII, and that only at matins, but the First Prayer Book of 1549 greatly increased its reading. It decreed that one chapter of the Old Testament and one of the New was to be read during both Morning and Evening services every day. A determined listener could hear the Gospels read in their entirety three times, and the whole of the Epistles twice, during the course of the year.[144] In

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[142]PRO SP 10/14, no. 55 (CSPD (1547-53), no. 688).
[143]English Bibles, 45.
[144]Parker (ed.), First Prayer Book, 8-20; Parker (ed.), Second Prayer Book, 12-28. The Gospels and Acts were to be read in the morning, with the Epistles in the evening. Curiously only three chapters of Revelations (1, 19 and 22) were to be read, the only book of the Bible to be thus partially excluded.

addition, the Lord's Prayer was to be said during both services in the 1549 Book, and the 1552 Book ordered the reading of the Ten Commandments.[145]

Parishioners who listened to the reading of the scriptures did not, however, enjoy the same experience as those who were able to read it. One problem was that parishioners had to attend every single service, morning and evening, to hear the unbroken text of the scriptures. If, like most churchgoers, they attended only one service each week, they would hear only every fourteenth chapter, so that, as during Henry's reign, it would take them five years to hear the whole of the New Testament, with the disadvantage of hearing the text in an almost random order. Furthermore, the order to read the Bible offered no guarantee that it was done so regularly and audibly. When Cranmer's Homilies were ordered to be read, it was alleged that many priests either ignored the order or mumbled the words so that none could hear them; a similar problem may have occurred with the reading of the English Bible. Frequent inclusions of visitation articles which inquired whether the Bible was actually being read also suggest that the Church was concerned that the order to read vernacular scripture aloud was not universally followed.[146]

The Church met with greater success in disseminating the words of scripture through sung psalms. In many ways the psalm was a perfect vehicle for the Bible message: it was easily taught, provoked emotion, could be sung *en masse*, and carried the endowment of scriptural authority. Higman has recently commented upon the use of vernacular psalms in the formation of Hugenot identity in southern France.[147] While the psalm did not play such an important role in England, there are indications that psalms were very popular amongst the Protestant community. English psalms were sung at Kett's camp, as was the vernacular *Te Deum*.[148] During the Marian persecutions many victims sang psalms at their martyrdom, and often the crowds were

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[145]Parker (ed.), First Prayer Book, 25, 27; Parker (ed.), Second Prayer Book, 30.
[146]Strype, vol. 1, 31; W. H. Frere and W. Kennedy (ed.) Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation (London 1910), vol. 2 (1536-58), 194, 231-33.
[147]F. Higman, "Music," in A. Pettegree (ed.) The Reformation World (London 2000), 499.
[148]Carbalo, fos. 9v, 15.

said to have sung along with them. Between 1536 and 1553 seventeen editions of English psalms, all based on Coverdale's rendering of the Great Bible psalms, were published in more portable quarto and octavo formats. Unlike the official folio books of psalms printed in Elizabeth's reign, these works did not include musical notation. This, however, was not a serious problem: music stays in the popular mind for longer than words, as the early English Protestant psalmists were keenly aware.[149]

The Edwardian church was eager to exploit lay interest in the psalmody, as psalms were also to be sung during divine service. The First Prayer Book decreed that Psalm 95 be sung at every morning service, with at least one other psalm to be sung during the course of morning or evening service.[150] The familiarity of the songs would have made them a convenient vehicle for devotion. The psalms had of course been sung during services prior to Edward's reign, and more emphasis had sometimes been put on their use. Psalmody had previously been considered one of the critical reference points of religion. As late as 1545 the King's Primer asserted that the whole of biblical law could be found within the Psalms.[151] The Edwardian church, as evidenced in the official Primer of 1553, replaced the psalms as the summation of law with the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed.[152] The devaluation of the importance of the psalms was accompanied by a change in the nature of their use. Whereas Psalm 118 [119], which the King's Primer of 1545 considered the most important of all psalms,[153] is chiefly concerned with God's law, Psalm 95, which was to be sung regularly as part of the First Prayer Book, is dedicated to the praise of the Lord.

Direct access to the text of the Bible would not be unlimited during the reign of Edward VI. As Wall has argued, the Edwardian church was concerned about the

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[149]R. Zim, English Metrical Psalms: poetry as praise and prayer, 1535-1600 (Oxford 1987), 24-34.
[150]Parker (ed.), First Prayer Book, 22.
[151]Siegenthaler (ed.), The Primer set furth by the Kinges Majestie and his Clergie, (Delmar, NY 1974), sigs. I1v ff.
[152]A short Catechisme, or playne instruction, conteynynge the su[m]me of Christian learninge, sett fourth by the kings maiesties authoritie, for all Scholemaisters to teache, sigs. B4-C1. See also Siegenthaler, "Religious education for citizenship," in Booty *et al.* (eds.), 241.
[153]Siegenthaler (ed.), sig. L2.

completely unchecked reading of the Bible in English by a laity unfamiliar with its complex precepts. The church sought to mitigate the potentially damaging effect of the unrestricted reading of the Bible with authorised interpretations of scripture. Both Cranmer's Homilies, a set of sermons which was intended to be regularly read during the course of the year, and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, a biblical commentary which the Church ordered to be installed in the parish churches—albeit with limited success—were explications of the Bible intended to enforce official doctrine.[154]

Official sermons could potentially have served as a method for the clergy to teach the illiterate about the Bible; however, these were to be few and far between, as licenced preachers were not always available. In July 1547 only one priest in East Anglia, Christopher Thredden of Saffron Walden, was licenced to preach outside of his parish; in May 1549 he was joined by Dr. Henry King of Norwich.[155]

The Church appeared equally concerned about the lack of ability of its parish priests to preach the gospel, as the scriptural knowledge of priests often proved deficient. Although the First Religious Injunctions ordered that every parish priest should obtain a Great Bible of his own in addition to the parish Bible, this order may have been largely ignored, as few priests could have afforded to purchase the text.[156] The average priest of Edward's reign probably lacked knowledge of the Bible in any event. Latimer's order that priests in his diocese read one chapter of the Bible privately[157]—in Latin as well as English—was probably ignored by some priests. Bishop Hooper's visitation of Gloucester in 1551 is often cited in this regard: of 311 priests, ten did not know the Lord's Prayer in English and twenty-seven did not know its author.[158] Some historians have contended that it was inevitable that a rump of unlearned priests would remain, and that most priests did in fact have scriptural

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[154]J. N. Wall, "Godly and Fruitfull Lessons," in Booty *et al.*, 73 ff., 125-28.
[155]CSPD (1547-53), nos. 74 and 213.
[156]TRP, vol. 1, no. 287.
[157]J. E. Cox, Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Latimer (Cambridge 1846), 81.
[158]Frere and Kennedy (eds.), vol. 2, 196 ff. C. Litzenburger, "Responses of the laity to changes in official church policy in Gloucestershire 1541-80," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge 1984), 116, notes that only sixty-five of the priests were dubbed "learned" by Hooper.

knowledge.[159] Yet 171 of the priests, almost two-thirds of the total, could not recite the Ten Commandments, despite the fact that its text was supposed to be painted on the walls of the church, and that even during Henry's reign the Commandments were to be read out at least quarterly. It is possible that their ignorance was wilful: some contemporaries complained that priests refused to read aloud or support the Bible in any form.[160]

Perhaps as a result of the paucity of official preaching, unauthorised preaching both inside and outside the parish church became popular, and posed an increasing problem for a Church concerned with the control of lay access to the scriptures. Not only did the Church ban the practice, but by 1549 the situation was deemed so desperate that all extra-parochial preaching, licenced or not, was prohibited for a time.[161] Unlicenced preaching was particularly widespread in Essex, much to the concern of Bishop Ridley. Ridley was forced in 1549 to make increasingly restrictive measures upon preaching during the service, banning first week-day preaching, then preaching by churchwardens or other laypersons. By the time of his visitation in 1550 he insisted that all who were not licenced preachers should be barred from expounding the Gospel.[162] The bishop apparently feared radicalism: Ridley was obliged to inquire not only whether preachers held Catholic views, but also whether they held Anabaptist doctrines.[163]

The discussion of unauthorised preaching leads this study to its third point of focus: the dissemination of the message of the gospel by private individuals, whose own doctrines may or may not have coincided with Edwardian orthodoxy. Though the Edwardian church may have wished to mediate lay access to scripture through the clergy, there were to be other avenues to the understanding of the concepts of the

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[159]For example, see O'Day, 28.
[160]Litzenburger, 118; P. Marshall, The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation (Oxford 1994), 101-02.
[161]TRP, vol. 1, no. 313; Strype, vol. 2, 117-18.
[162]*Ibid.*, vol. 2, 218-19, 255-56; Frere and Kennedy (eds.), vol. 2, 245.
[163]Strype, vol. 2, 218-19; Frere and Kennedy (eds.), vol. 2, 233. Ridley inquired whether any preached "that Christ took no Flesh and Blood of the Blessed Virgin Mary," a common Anabaptist tenet. See Horst, 49 ff.

Bible for the interested layperson. Images, songs, alehouse debate and authorised and private primers contained varying amounts of scriptural material.

This section will begin with the least-promising source of scriptural information, Protestant images. Images of the reign of Edward were not the medieval depictions of biblical stories, which were excised from parish churches by Edwardian authorities, but illustrations placed in less sacred sites. One common place was the printed book. Both Scoloker and Oswen understood the power of the woodcut and included several examples in their works to depict scriptural passages or other key points. As previously mentioned, Scoloker seems to have owned many Continental woodcuts, including the striking depiction of heaven which he used in his translation of Luther's A ryght notable Sermon.[164] He also used a woodcut of children at study, certainly an appropriate image, for Hegendorff's didactic Domestycal or housholde Sermons. Oswen used a suitably unsubtle image in his publication of Ramsey's A plaister for a galled horse. Above a wood-cut of two men—not obviously distinguishable as priests—playing at tables is the mocking caption "The labor of ye popysshe prysts."[165]

However, few who were incapable of reading could have afforded the scholarly works published by Scoloker, or even Ramsey's chapbook ballad. None of the Ipswich works contained more than one woodcut, probably because of the prohibitive cost of producing them,[166] and not many illiterates would have spent money on books which, as was the case with almost all of the Ipswich books, contained only one image and dozens of pages of densely-packed text.[167] Without literacy and hence an understanding of the captions and explanatory material, the woodcuts often make little sense. Without its caption, the image in Ramsey's ballad becomes merely a depiction of two gamblers. Scoloker's woodcut in A ryght notable

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[164]Luther, sig. A1v.; King, 59-60.
[165]Ramsey, A plaister, sig. A1v.
[166]Watt, 147, on the expense of woodcuts.
[167]It is interesting to note that Scoloker, after his removal to Southwark, placed many more woodcuts into his printed works. See Scoloker, A bryefe summe of the whole Byble, which contains over forty woodcuts, for an example.

Sermon could be interpreted variably. St. Peter's offering of the key of heaven to a penitent man at the left might be seen as a rebuke, and the "light" shining upon the saints in the background might be seen as the flames of hell.[168] While the woodcuts would have enhanced the reading of contemporary religious tracts by an educated, literate audience, they would have been of no use on their own for the unlettered.

Attempts to place images of the Bible in locations where they could be seen by non-readers were less frequent. Seditious and probably heretical handbills were passed freely in Chelmsford and Colchester during the reign of Edward; it is impossible to tell whether these contained biblical images, although similar bills of the reign of Mary did.[169] Otherwise, there is little imagery of interest during the reign, although Protestants before and after Edward's time used it. During the reign of Henry VIII Robert Freese of Colchester was prosecuted for painting an anti-Catholic mural, which contained some Bible stories and some texts of scripture, on the walls of the Red Lion Inn.[170] Freese's work was to presage the biblical murals painted on alehouses during the early seventeenth century.[171] Perhaps the lack of Protestant images of the Bible is due to the official programme of iconoclasm during the Edwardian period, or to Protestant attacks on saintly images such as those sparked by Bilney during the previous reign.

Popular religious songs were another potential vehicle for scriptural understanding. The popularity of sung psalms has been previously discussed; these, however, did not comprise the whole of the Protestant song-book of East Anglia. Although Becon had hoped that nothing but godly songs of scripture should be sung,[172] many Protestant tunes of the time were of a distinctly vulgar nature. The ballads of Moone and Ramsey described above were probably by no means the worst offenders. One anti-Catholic song known as the "Maistres Mass" enjoyed long-

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[168]King, 68.
[169]APC, vol. 3, 138, 161.
[170]A and M, vol. 4, 694-95; P. Stephenson, The Book of Colchester (Chesham 1978), 55, identifies the house as the Red Lion Inn.
[171]Watt, 194.
[172]Zim, 24.

standing popularity in the region. In the 1530's a minstrel's apprentice was charged with singing the tune at a wedding in Witham near Colchester. Nearly twenty years later James Warton of East Winch in Norfolk was interrogated over a number of songs he and his apprentice minstrels had performed, one of which was the "Maistres Mass."[173] Warton claimed that he had learned his songs from a book given to him by another minstrel, Robert Gold; however, it is likely that most songs were passed on by word of mouth. Weddings appeared to be a popular venue for such music. At an argument in an alehouse in Braintree, Essex, during the previous reign, William Smyth criticised the itinerant minstrel William Hunte for singing a Protestant ballad at a wedding in Colchester.[174] Although no records of the contents of these songs survive, it is likely that the lyrics, even if they contained references to scripture as did the ballads of Moone and Ramsey, were intended to be provocative. Hunte was accused of singing against saints and images, while Gold was fined 3d. "for devysing of unfitting songes against the quenes majestie" in 1554.[175] It is more likely that the minstrels' songs were composed of some of the cruder elements of ballads such as that of Ramsey, and were designed for an audience of coarse tastes.

If images and songs proved unsuccessful to the illiterate layperson in his or her search for knowledge about the scriptures, there was always the alehouse. The alehouse played a role as the place both of the dissemination of religious understanding and of open, uninhibited debate on the Bible. Contemporary Protestants who considered the public house a den of iniquity were anxious to minimise its role. Foxe often amends the title of such meeting places to "victualling house" or "inn," as in the story of Freese. Even modern historians of the alehouse, such as Clark, have suggested that it served little religious purpose until its use by non-conformists in the later part of Elizabeth's reign, and that prior to this time

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[173]D. Galloway (ed.), Records of Early English Drama: Norwich (Toronto 1984), 34-35.
[174]LP, vol. 13 (i), no. 615.
[175]Galloway (ed.), 34, 36.

religious men had lamented the popularity of the alehouse over the house of prayer.[176]

Yet the alehouse had many attractions for those who wished to expound their version of the gospel, not the least of which was ale. Robert Ward of Thaxted, Essex, had in 1539 been forced to apologise in his parish church for his folly and lewd behaviour in words and deeds, and in particular for interpreting the scriptures while drunk, when he could barely understand them sober.[177] More generally the alehouse was a place in which ideas could be freely exchanged, and where those gospellers of every reign of mid-Tudor England who found themselves at odds with the current orthodoxy could find listeners. The minstrel Hunte travelled throughout northeastern Essex in 1537 and 1538 exhorting all to read the New Testament, while Thomas Skygges of Brentwood expounded scripture in many local public houses in 1546.[178] Other unorthodox opinions arose in Witham in 1550, where travellers from Suffolk visited a tavern "where they drynke all day and looke uppon bookes in the night."[179] During the reign of Mary, Henry Orinel travelled to Colchester, where he heard several men, including the Familist Christopher Vittels, earnestly discussing the Bible in a tavern.[180] The alehouse provided a place of relative refuge for the unorthodox, perhaps because it was considered shameful for men of standing to frequent it, and thus to search it, although Skygges was eventually apprehended and ordered to be burnt in 1546.[181] Perhaps it was as much through fear of unorthodoxy as concern over propriety that Bishop Ridley inquired in 1550 whether any priests in his diocese visited alehouses.[182]

One incident in a tavern setting during the reign of Henry would illustrate one of the problems for access to the Bible for the relatively unlearned of Edward's reign. While he was in Braintree, Hunte called upon a fellow drinker, John Tomkyns, a

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[176]P. Clark, The English Alehouse: a social history (London 1983), 157-58.
[177]J. E. Oxley, The Reformation in Essex to the Death of Mary (Manchester 1965), 143-44.
[178]LP, vol. 13 (i), no. 615; vol. 21 (i), nos. 836, 845.
[179]APC, vol. 2, 407.
[180]C. Marsh, The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630 (Cambridge 1994), 54.
[181]Clark, 123-24; APC, vol. 1, 418.
[182]Frere and Kennedy (eds.), vol. 2, 231.

saddler and resident of the town, to read the New Testament. Hunte praised the contents of the English Gospels and asserted that its reading was the only sure path to salvation, but Tomkyns was wary. He claimed that the New Testament was a scholarly work and, as he was unlearned, he would "not meddle with it."[183] Tomkyns did not say that he was illiterate, but rather that his mind was incapable of grasping the complex meanings of the Bible. Those who were literate, but not "Bible-literate," required a text which would explain the key points of the Gospel and provide an instruction upon how best to interpret the many points of the Bible. The popularity of primers, both private and authorised, during the reigns of Henry and Edward demonstrates the large number of such semi-literates who were interested in understanding the precepts, and eventually in reading the text, of vernacular scripture.

Although primers have been called "the children's ABC," such works had always been used by laypersons of all ages, as in several examples from the previous reign. The young William Maldon read an English primer before progressing on to the Tyndale New Testament. In 1534 two women in Langham, Essex complained that the aptly-named sidesman John Vigourous had prevented them from reading the primer during the service.[184] In 1527 "Cony" of Colchester and his wife were said to read an English "boke called the dayly," probably an early primer.[185] During the reign of Edward many primers were dedicated to "all Parsons yonge and olde."[186] Furthermore, primers were designed for persons of many social classes. In Byddell's primer of 1537, the author complained of the high cost of scripture, even though in that year the vernacular New Testament could be had for less than two shillings.[187]

The contents of English primers varied with the issuers. Most vernacular Catholic primers were similar to the official King's Primer of 1545, which discussed the form and the purpose of traditional rites: the Hours, the Seven Penitential Psalms,

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[183]LP, vol. 13 (i), no. 615.
[184]LP, vol. 7 no. 145.
[185]BL MS Harleian 421, fo. 11v.
[186]For example, Scoloker, A bryefe summe of the whole Byble, sig. A1v.
[187]C. C. Butterworth, The English Primers 1529-1545: their publication and connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England (Philadelphia, PA 1953), 155-56.

the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead and the Commendation. Unlike most other Catholic primers, the King's Primer also included the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments in English.[188] Catholic primers were obviously intended as an explication of the service. The Protestant primers of Edward's reign, however, were also envisaged as an introduction to the English Bible and the doctrines of Protestantism. The Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments were considered central texts.[189] Almost all of the Protestant primers devoted long sections to interpretation of these, and many carefully explained and expounded each phrase of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments for the purpose of religious instruction. Many primers took the form of a dialogue between "Master" and "Scholar," or similarly-drawn characters.[190] The works were not always strongly Protestant in doctrine, but most were.[191] There were also a handful of unusual teaching aids to the Bible: in 1551 William Samuel had printed a verse paraphrase of the Great Bible, and two years before Christopher Tye printed a metrical Acts of the Apostles.[192] Odd as these texts were, they demonstrate the primer's use as an educational tool.

The authorised primers may have been used by mid-Tudor regimes as a tool of propaganda as well as of education. Siegenthaler has argued that some sections of the separately-printed authorized primer of 1553 which contained the Prayer Book Catechism, particularly the prayers intended to praise certain positions in society, attempt to exert social control. On the other hand, private primers also contain such prayers, and indeed there is little in the authorised primer that does not appear in others.[193] It is also possible that the primers were used as a method of mediating

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[188]Siegenthaler (ed.), sigs. A2v-A3.
[189]I. M. Green, The Christian's ABC: catechism and catechising in England c. 1530-1740 (Oxford 1996), 93.
[190]*Ibid.*, 60-62.
[191]See Hegendorff above, for an example of a "non-radical" Protestant primer. The first half of the work is devoted to an explanation of the form of the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, typical features of Protestant catechisms. Green does not list this work as a primer.
[192]J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge 1966), 275.
[193]Siegenthaler, "Religious Education," in Booty *et al.* (ed.), 241; A Short Catechisme; E. Allen, A

debate on the Bible; however, mid-Tudor churches and governments appeared unaware of its power in this regard. Henry waited until 1545, after the publication of several similar vernacular primers, to publish an authorised primer; the Edwardian church did not publish its own authorised, separate primer containing the Prayer Book Catechism until one year after the production of the Second Prayer Book.[194]

What could the readers of Edwardian primers expect to learn about the Bible? The contents of two primers with East Anglian connections will be reviewed here: Anthony Scoloker's A bryefe summe of the whole Bible and Norfolk-born Edmund Allen's A Catechisme. Scoloker's primer begins with a fourteen-page summary of the whole Bible and it contains a fair number of woodcuts to illustrate each point.[195] The language of this primer is lively and easily understood in comparison to the ponderous, scholarly tone of Allen's primer, in which each word of the key doctrines of faith is exhaustively deconstructed and expounded. Both works, however, share a number of common features concerning scripture. Both identify the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments as critical texts. Both also summarise the tenets of Christian teaching in a few key texts. Scoloker's primer includes the Creed, while Allen's primer also includes "the xii articles of the holy christian fayth," "the woords and instituion of holy baptisme," and the Holy Supper.[196]

The authors were certain of the value of the reading of vernacular scripture itself and did their utmost to convey this belief. In Allen's work each argument is painstakingly annotated with a relevant Bible passage. The "scholar" of his dialogue holds an unstinting devotion to the words of scripture, even when they might challenge his own personal convictions. Although the "scholar" is uncertain of the merits of belief in the Trinity, he concedes that "whatsoever is written in the holy Scriptures...yt doe I beleve fyrmely and stedfastly to bee true...." Throughout the

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Cathechisme that is to say a christen instruccion of the principall pointes of Christes religion, (RSTC 360) [E. Whitchurch, London 1551].

[194]Siegenthaler, "Religious Education," in Booty *et. al.* (eds.), 235.

[195]Scoloker, A bryefe summe, sigs. A5v-B4. Obviously this would have been of use to semi-literates who read the text.

[196]*Ibid.*, sigs. B4v-B5; Allen, sigs. A6-v.

work Allen reveals where certain important texts are to be found: thus the form of baptism is from the ".xxviii. of Math, and .xvi. of Mark" and the form of the Eucharist from "Math, the xxvi. Mar.xiiii. Luke.xxii. and 1.Co.xi."[197] Scoloker uses similar devices, and includes several woodcuts to convey the scriptural message. He illustrates the command to follow Christ with "a cherefull harte" with an image of the Bible which has beneath it Christ's command to "Receavethe [sic] holyghoost." His section on "how the spyrituall Prelates ought to use them selves towardes the comme[n] people" uses the same woodcut, perhaps as an admonition.[198] Both primers can be seen as both instruction in the vernacular scriptures and as an exhortation towards its reading. In this, such primers can be seen as a useful link between contact with the precepts of the Bible and the reading of the text of the scriptures themselves.

By the end of the reign of Edward VI, laypersons who were interested in the English Bible in East Anglia and the rest of the realm could enjoy greater access to both the text and the concepts of the scriptures. The Bible could be read at the lectern in many parishes, and privately purchased cheaply, so being directly consumed by the reader. The Bible would have been read aloud chapter by chapter, at least in compliant parishes, and almost everywhere the psalms would have been sung in English. Primers, both authorised and privately-published, could provide an introduction to the vernacular scriptures, and gospel debate could be heard in alehouses. The reign thus saw an increase in access to both the content and the text of the Bible in English. On the other hand some chances for the dissemination of the scripture were lost. Although the message of the Bible was filtered through official doctrine in Cranmer's Homilies and the *Paraphrases*, the opportunity for the Church to do the same in parish sermons was largely lost, owing to a lack of licenced preachers, fear by the Edwardian Church of unorthodoxy, and general ignorance of the clergy concerning the Bible.

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[197]Allen, sigs. A5v, B1-v.
[198]Scoloker, A bryefe summe, sigs. B1, H7.

Chapter 6: The English Bible after 1553.

1. Marian propaganda about the English Bible.

a. The Marian stance on scriptures in the vernacular.

The revival of official Catholicism after the accession of Queen Mary posed the most acute threat to public access to the vernacular Bible since its licencing in 1538. The vernacular Bible was by no means accepted by all, even after seventeen years of official publication, and the conservative doctrines of the Marian Church imperilled its survival.[1] The reading of scripture in English was removed from the service, and the open reading of the text was again considered heretical. Many of those who had rejected, or at least appealed against, the published English Bibles during the reign of Henry VIII, such as Gardiner and Bonner, were now among the leaders of the Church. Many Protestant promoters of vernacular scripture were prosecuted, or forced into Continental exile.

The course of the rejection of the vernacular Bible by the Marian Church has been largely taken for granted. Some historians have believed that, as the regime wished to be seen as traditionalist and conforming in doctrine to the Roman Church, the banning of the English Bible was an obvious consequence. Others depict the act as an almost frivolous mistake. Martin, for example, contends that, if the Marian Church had been able to put aside their prejudice against vernacular scripture, their religious stance would have been more popular.[2] On the other hand, Protestant contemporaries such as Foxe regarded the banning of English scripture as a sure sign of the evil and anti-Christian nature of the regime.

Yet the ban on the English Bible after 1553 was neither immediate nor absolute. In 1555 Queen Mary instructed the Privy Council to ban all "evil books,"

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[1]C. Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (London 1994), 15.
[2]J. W. Martin, "The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing," Huntingdon Library Quarterly, v. 44 (1980-81), 240.

but she made no specific mention of English scripture.[3] Although in that year there was an interdict upon the works of a number of Protestant authors, including Tyndale, Coverdale and other Bible translators, the queen never proclaimed an outright ban upon the scriptures in the vernacular.[4] Her initial reluctance to do so is understandable: Mary depended upon some Protestant support during her accession campaign in East Anglia, and it is believed she herself had studied the vernacular Bible during the reign of Henry.[5] What is perhaps more surprising is that, well after the Marian Church was re-established in the realm, her ambivalence continued. While the Great Bible may have been banned in theory, if, as will be seen below, not necessarily in practice, the concept of the Bible in the vernacular was not totally rejected by the church hierarchy.

This view has not always been universally accepted, and, indeed, much evidence points against it. The translators of all of the existing Bible versions were declared heretical authors, and in 1554 Bishop Bonner sought to remove "schoolmasters" who taught the English scriptures.[6] During the reign, there were efforts to prevent the dissemination of the English Bible and punish its readers. Convocation ordered that the Great Bible was to be removed from all parish churches during the diocesan visitations early in the reign.[7] A number of vernacular Bibles were confiscated and burnt.[8] But these efforts focused on those versions of the vernacular Bible which were in current circulation, translations which the Marian Church considered dangerously corrupt. There is much to suggest that many Marian

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[3]CSPD (1553-58), ed. C. S. Knighton (London 1998), no. 140.
[4]TRP, vol. 2, no. 422; E. Duffy, "Mary," in P. Marshall (ed.), The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640 (London 1997), 197.
[5]J. F. Mozley, Coverdale and His Bibles (London 1953), 296.
[6]TRP, vol. 2, no. 422; W. H. Frere and W. Kennedy (eds.), Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation (London 1910), vol. 2, 356, 360-61, 371-72; E. Bonner, Homelies sette fourth by the righte reverende father in God, Edmunde Bishop of London (RSTC 3285.2) [J. Cawood, London 1555], *passim*.
[7]Duffy, in Marshall (ed.), 197.
[8]F. F. Bruce, The English Bible: a history of translations (London 1961), 84.

Catholics were supportive of the concept of Bible translation in English, and that, contrary to the arguments of many earlier historians,[9] there was a genuine Catholic interest in the English Bible. Neither Mary nor Cardinal Pole explicitly withdrew the English Bible, and there is evidence to contend that the text remained in parish churches as a result.[10]

Furthermore, there were notable attempts during Mary's reign, much as there had been during the reign of Henry VIII, by some Catholics to secure a new, conservative, translation. Gardiner, instrumental in the abortive Henrician Catholic effort to produce vernacular scriptures "without scandal and error,"[11] was once more at the forefront. The main supporter of the project, however, was Cardinal Pole, who initiated the preparation of a translation of the New Testament at the legatine synod of 1555.[12] As with Gardiner's attempt, the New Testament was to be sent in parts to conservative theologians for translation.

The motivation behind the Marian support of the English Bible was derived from a similar source as the support by Gardiner and More during the reign of Henry VIII: the humanist emphasis on scripture as a central element of doctrine and teaching. Many in the Marian church agreed with the humanist contention that ecclesiastical authority devolved from the scriptures as well as from the Church, though with the proviso that the Church of Rome was to provide their defining interpretation. In this doctrine they agreed with Thomas More's 1532 argument that "the chyrche [is] not aboue the scripture and holy wryt"; unlike More, however, there

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[9]See, for example, A. O. Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth (tr. by J. R. McKee, [Oxford 1967 edition]), 98, for an early version of the analysis of the Catholic church and the English Bible.
[10]D. M. Loades, Mary Tudor: a life (Oxford 1989), 244; see also section 2 below.
[11]G. Redworth, In Defence of the Church Catholic, (Oxford 1990), 161-63.
[12]T. F. Mayer, Reginald Pole: prince and prophet (Cambridge 2000), 242; L. E. C. Wooding, Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England (Oxford 2000), 136; Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, CT and London 1992), 530.

were some who believed that this renewed importance of scripture necessitated the availability of the Bible in English. Wooding has recently argued that the aim of the humanist elements of both the Henrician Catholic and Marian clerics was "to welcome vernacular scripture even while defending the Mass."[13] While it is doubtful that this doctrine was universally held, even among Marian humanists, the support of Cardinal Pole for a scriptural translation proves that it was held even at the highest ranks. There was certainly a concern that the Marian church would be outmanoeuvred by Protestants on the English Bible; even prior to the reign Pole had contended that the Catholic church faced problems in defending against vernacular scripture and questions of legitimacy and authority.[14] Heal has called attempts to provide an English Bible during Mary's reign a "riposte" to Protestant enemies.[15]

However, the theoretical support of the English Bible did not translate into practical support. Just as Gardiner's attempt to secure a new translation of the English Bible failed, so too did the cardinal's efforts. The project did not even leave the synodal council; it is clear that the provision of an English Bible was not a priority for the Marian church. Support for vernacular translation was not uniform among conservatives: most of the lower clergy continued to assault the lay reading of the English Bible, and some influential theologians continued to doubt the propriety of even scriptural prayers in the vernacular.[16]

Most importantly, serious concerns remained about the potential for unchecked study of the Bible to lead to heretical beliefs among its readers. While these concerns were partly shared by the Protestants, to the Marian church, these fears were open and ever-present, even among those who agreed with the concept of the

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[13]T. More, The Confutation of Tyndale's *Answer* (The Yale edition of the complete works of St. Thomas More, vol. 8; New Haven, CT 1973), 133; Wooding, 80, 120-21.
[14]Mayer, 151.
[15]F. M. Heal, Reformation in Britain and Ireland (Oxford 2003), 175.
[16]Marshall, 105-06.

availability of the Bible in English. Cardinal Pole worried that unsupervised reading would lead the unwary layman to understand the Bible "as his own wit leadeth him," not according to the doctrines of the church.[17] During the first Convocation of the reign Gardiner attacked the Edwardian Church for allowing the laity to read scripture "not according to the Consent of our Elders, but according to the Dreams of their own Brains." In a sermon to the Queen, Thomas Watson suggested that scripture was dangerous in the hands of the ignorant "for 'tis an hundred to one they lead you into Error and Heresy...and pull you from the Truth."[18] A royal proclamation against those who read the scriptures "after their brains and fancies" echoed Gardiner's words.[19] The Marian church contended that the English Bible, as then currently available, represented an attack upon uniformity of belief.

b. An examination of Marian propaganda on the Bible in English.

The Marian church faced a difficult task in delivering its apparently contradictory doctrine that the English Bible was acceptable in theory but not in practice, or in its then-available form. Many of the major works of propaganda issued during the reign reflect this difficulty. While Catholic propagandists attempted to balance their views on the English Bible to fit official doctrine, the overall perception is of an attack on the Bible and its wayward readers. Lacking official support that the vernacular scriptures were necessarily heretical by nature, the authors instead often concentrated on the religious and social discord invoked by the currently-available, Protestant, translations.

A precursor of the Marian propaganda concerning the vernacular Bible is A Dyaloge descrbyng the orygynall grou[n]d of these Lutheran faccyons, written by

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[17]Mayer, 247.
[18]Strype, vol. 3, 41, 76-77.
[19]TRP, vol. 2, no. 390.

William Barlow in 1531 and reprinted in 1553.[20] In his discussion of the possible effects of Lutheranism upon England, Barlow devotes a large portion of his argument to a refutation of the utility of the English scriptures, and the Tyndale Bible in particular. After rehearsing the familiar argument that the Tyndale version was filled with false glosses and false doctrine, Barlow turns his attention to the propriety of freely-available scripture. He contends that it is better for laymen to hear the gospel preached in church, and thus filtered through the teachings of the church, "than to have the scrypture ronne in every rasshe bodyes hande, yt wold abuse it to their awne harme and other men[n]ys to." "[I]n Almayn where they have the scripture translated all redy" the freedom to read the Bible had resulted in both spiritual and social discord, "to rayle and rest of other mennes fawtes wythout any correccio[n] of theyr own synfull lyves."[21] To conclude his argument Barlow, much as Henry VIII had done,[22] contends that if England were a peaceable realm, a realm which turned its back on heretical doctrine, the publication of the English Bible could be considered, but "for the tyme that nowe ys the peple beynge dysposed as they now be" it would not be wise. "[A]fter suche ensample as we see before owre iyen, with suche fruyte as we fyne growe[n] therof in Almayne all redy" of civil disturbances related to Lutheranism and the production of vernacular scriptures, the permission for laymen to read the English Bible was bound to cause further strife.[23] In this argument Barlow would be echoed by Thomas More, who would contend that the Bible should not be available in English "lest euyll folke by false drawyng of every good thyngs they rede in to the colour and mayntenauns of theyr owne fonde fantasyes" damage the nation's

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[20]Martin, "The Failure," 237 n.
[21]W. Barlow, A Dyaloge descrybing the orygynall grou[n]d of these Lutheran faccyons (RSTC 1361) [W. Rastell, London 1531], sigs. X1-X4v.
[22]TRP, vol. 1, no. 129.
[23]Barlow, sig. Z1v.

religious peace.[24]

During the reign of Mary, the works of the polemicist John Standish were to continue this theme. In his scholarly work A discourse wherin is debated whether it be expedient that the scripture should be in English for al men to reade that wyll, Standish contended that "if all men were good and catholike, then were it lawefull, yea, and verye profitable also, that the scripture shoulde be in Englishe...." Unfortunately Standish did not consider Englishmen "good and catholycke," nor the current Biblical translations "trewe and faythfull." Indeed, so dangerous were the texts of the Protestant Bibles that Standish feared for the religious orthodoxy of any who had heard or read them.[25] While Standish contended that his work was an attack on the Bibles translated by the Protestants, the majority of his arguments were applied to all vernacular Bibles.[26]

Standish questioned the motives of those who during previous reigns who had allowed the Bible to be installed in parish churches to be read by uneducated laypersons. He noted that the Bible was not a uniform text, and that all parts of it were not equally comprehensible: "Some men mighte be admitted to the reading of saynct Matthewes ghospell, whiche yet are not hable well to weye the ghospell of S. John."[27] He also mocked the alehouse gospellers: "when the ale is in the witte is out." In all Standish devoted over half of his work to proving that "The scripture is very harde to be understande." However, Standish's study of the difficulty in understanding scripture ought not to be taken as a disinterested concern: he accused the Protestant church leaders of Edward's reign of fermenting "obstinacie,

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[24]More, 179.
[25]J. Standish, A Discourse wherein is debated whether it be expedient that the scripture should be in English (RSTC 23208) [R. Caly, London 1555], sigs. A3-v.
[26]Wooding has characterised Standish's arguments as an "old-fashioned" view of Catholic doctrine. Wooding, 112.
[27]Standish, sigs. A4v-A5v.

disobedience, fleshely libertie, losse of devotion, swarmes of errours, and heresies, with damnation of thousande soules," aided in part by their support of vernacular scripture. He alleged that the Protestants introduced the English Bible for the sole purpose of causing conflict in the true church.[28]

Many of Standish's objections to the publication of the English Bible seem trivial in nature. In his list of the reasons why the scriptures are difficult to comprehend, there are several generalisations: "one worde oft doeth signifie divers thinges: or that one worde is ofte diverslye taken," or "oftetymes the person that speketh is not ever wel marked."[29] While these are problems which might occur in any text, elsewhere Standish displays a genuine concern that a misreading of the Bible would result in unorthodoxy. He argued that "sometimes texts meant to be spiritual are taken carnally, and sometimes vice versa," a charge often levelled at the Anabaptists. More pressingly, and perhaps more in line with official doctrine, he contended that "ther be so many tropes, figures & darke sayinges in scripture" that only the Church of Rome could interpret them.[30] For these reasons and others, the study of the vernacular Bible was at the time best left to theological experts.[31] He also suggested that many Bible-readers "searche above theyr reache in Gods mysteries" and referred to the text of the Gospels as "pearls" before the "swine" of the common laity.[32] He concluded that "we se & well perceave, that thousandes have ben brought from the true meaning of Gods woorde throughe the Englishe Byble: therefore it ought no le[n]ger to be permitted," and recommended that those Bibles

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[28]*Ibid.*, sigs. A2-v, A7v.
[29]Still, Gardiner had made similar arguments, though perhaps more intellectually sound, against the publication of the Great Bible during the reign of Henry. Redworth, 158-64.
[30]Standish, sigs. C6v-D3v.
[31]Notice how close to the doctrines of More and other Henrican Catholics this argument is. A. Fox, Thomas More: history and providence (Oxford 1992), 170.
[32]Standish, sigs. C2, E4. The scriptural passage is Matthew 7:6, used often by Catholic priests in the defence of the ban upon the vernacular Bible. Henry Gold, chaplain to Archbishop Warham, used the phrase against his enemies. S. Brigden, London and the Reformation (Oxford 1989), 59-60.

which were already in private hands should be burnt.[33]

Standish also included many arguments that suggested that he feared that social discord had resulted from the distribution of the vernacular scriptures. "Can it be chosen but so long...ther shal ever be same among [Bible-readers] readie ministers of the devyl to dispute, reason, and teache the residue, to the utter destruction of al devotion and good order?" Standish wondered. Moses committed the books of the law only to the priests and judges, but now "men wyl be judges them selves," a situation which could only lead to anarchy. The reading of the Bible would lead not only to heresy but also to "disobedience, and contempt of powers, with fleshelye libertie &c."[34] The concern is underscored by Standish's frequent references to the Anabaptists, a group which to many in sixteenth-century Europe was the embodiment of religiously-inspired civil disobedience.[35] It is clear that, while the primary intent of Standish was to highlight the difficulties of using the vernacular scriptures as a popular religious text, underlying these fears was a concern about the social disunity engendered by divergent readings of the English Bible.

Far removed in tone from Standish's studied and serious tract, but to some extent more forgiving on the subject of the vernacular Bible, is Miles Hogarde's The Displaying of the Protestantes of 1556. Hogarde wrote for a less learned audience than did Standish, as the style of his work shows: he claimed that in Protestant Saxony monstrous children had been born, a sure sign of the heretical behaviour of its people.[36] He also suggested that one could observe the disfavour with which God treated Protestant leaders by their ignominious fates during the reign of Mary—

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[33]Standish, sigs. E5-E6v; Brigden, London, 577.
[34]Standish, sigs. I4v-I8v, K1v, L4v-L5.
[35]H.-J. Goetze, The Anabaptists (London 1996), 32.
[36]M. Hogarde, The displaying of the Protestantes...with a description of divers their abuses (RSTC 13557) [R. Caly, London 1556], fos. 15-v.

shameful exile or the stake.[37]

Like Standish, Hogarde based many of his objections to the availability of the English Bible upon its potential to sow discord. He contended that in several areas of doctrine, such as fasting, communion, and the veneration of images, the Protestants had been misled through their study of the letter of the vernacular scripture.[38] The wide access to the English Bible had allowed many whom Hogarde regarded as unfit to discuss scriptural matters to read the text. High upon his list of those unworthy were women, especially the women of London, "whose talke is nothing but of religion, of Peter & Paul, and other places of scripture." As an example of the perceived danger to religion presented by female reading of the Bible, Hogarde made reference to the convicted radical Joan Bocher of Kent.[39] He also complained that many Protestants believed a layman who had read the vernacular scriptures was better qualified to preach than scholars with forty years' of learning behind them who had not read the Bible in English.[40] Hogarde depicted the Protestants as ravenous "wolves," cloaked in the "shepes apparell" of the vernacular Bible, who wished to wreck the religious unity of the pre-Reformation English Church.[41]

While Hogarde's work was, like that of Standish, chiefly concerned with religious non-conformity, the author expressed even more alarm about the violence which had resulted from the publication of the English Bible. He believed that the false sense of authority given to the Protestants through the reading of scripture had

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[37]*Ibid.*, fos. 108-09v.
[38]*Ibid.*, fo. 25-28, 80v-81.
[39]*Ibid.*, fo. 73v-78v. P. Crawford, Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720 (London 1993), 25, notes the concern which many Catholic writers expressed about women who read the scriptures. See also J. N. King, "Influence of Catherine Parr," in M. Hannay (ed.), Silent but for the Word: Tudor women as patrons, translators, and writers of religious works (Kent, OH 1985), 45-46, for an alleged Henrician Catholic view of women and the reading of the Bible.
[40]Indeed, many Protestants had taken such a line. Robert Baycock of Nayland, prosecuted during the reign, protested that "it is not contrary to the Scripture for a laye man to preache," if that person had read the Bible. BL MS Harleian 425, fo. 186.
[41]Hogarde, fo. 87-v, 35v. See Matthew 7:15, in which Christ warns His disciples against false leaders. Hogarde is obviously using the passage to allude to the Protestants as such "false doctrine."

made them over-bold: "What murmuring, grudging, slau[n]ders, rumors, lyes, bookes, tales, are in these daies caried abroad in the world against all sortes of magistrates...."[42] Several men were guilty of physical attacks upon the priesthood: at Paul's Cross a dagger had been thrown and a gun fired at one priest, and at Westminster in 1555 another had been "almost killed." Rifts within Protestantism had led to plots and conspiracies, not only against Catholics, but also against other Protestants. Hogarde accused them of abetting the Wyatt conspiracy, but also of aiding the fall of Thomas Cromwell. Differing readings of the English scriptures had led to dissent within Protestantism; here Hogarde noted that, so great were the arguments over doctrine in the previous reign that two Books of Common Prayer were required within the space of three years.[43]

Standish and Hogarde faced a paradox in their works. Both authors needed to use scripture as evidence in their reasoning, and, as both works were primarily intended for a lay audience, it had to be rendered in English. Standish, writing for a more learned readership, usually prefaced his biblical quotations with the Vulgate text, but Hogarde supplied the English alone throughout.[44] Yet there was an important difference between their uses of the Bible. While Standish appealed back to the church as the only source of authority—as his use of the Vulgate, the only accepted Bible of the Roman church, perhaps indicates—Hogarde also appealed to the

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[42]APC, vol. 5, 8-9, 89, 181, 211 note an increase in the circulation of sedition, chiefly in the form of handbills and books, which alarmed the Privy Council.

[43]Hogarde, fos. 13, 97, 99-102, 82v. The incident at Paul's Cross is probably that of Bourn, vicar of High Ongar, Essex, who twice gave sermons there attacking the religion of Edward's reign. Curiously, his second sermon was "well received." Strype, vol. 3, 21, 51.

[44]This of course leads one to inquire which version of the English Bible Standish and Hogarde used in their work. Considering the Catholic rejection of the Protestant translations, it is not surprising that neither author used them. Standish's English scriptural quotations appear to be a literal translation of the Vulgate. For example, Standish translates Proverbs 25:27 (in the Vulgate, *Scrutator maiestatis opprimetur a gloria*) as "the searcher to hyghe in hys mysteries shalbe thrust frome hys glorie." By comparison, the Great Bible text reads "he that will search out hye thynges, it shall be to hevy for hym." Standish, sig. E4v. However, it is less clear which texts Hogarde used; there are too few long biblical passages to ascertain whether he also used a rough translation of the Vulgate.

scriptures as a source of authority, and used it in a limited way in defence of his arguments.[45]

Barlow, Standish and Hogarde all insisted that the Bible was not to be seen as an independent work of Christian theology, but as a holy book which had to be read in the context of Church doctrine. Barlow considered that the vernacular gospel might be "fed" to laymen, so long as this was done through sanctioned preaching; for Standish this could only be accomplished "by dayly exercise searchyng, and asking the counsell and iudgement of...learned men" in the priesthood.[46] Hogarde put this point most forthrightly: while he depicted the Protestants as arguing that they "allege, preache, utter or talke of nothing but Scripture, whiche can not deceive us, whereby we [the Protestants] are the true churche," he answered that all knowledge depended ultimately upon the authority of the Church, "both for the knowledge of the scriptures, and also for the exposition of the same." For Hogarde, the true church alone possessed authority to interpret the scriptures, and was founded by Christ through His apostle Peter, not by men.[47] Those who interpreted the scriptures in a manner unacceptable to the Church, "after their own Brains" in the words of Gardiner and Mary, were therefore guilty of heresy. The currently-available versions of the English Bible, translated as they were by the Protestants, were considered too great an incitement to unorthodox preaching and heretical thought, and at worst violent anarchy.

A more explicit expression of this last concern can be found in John Christopherson's An Exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion

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[45]Wooding, 98, 107. Martin, Religious Radicals in Tudor England (London 1989), 90-91, 94, disagrees, noting the inherent contradictions of Hogarde's references to the Bible: while the author uses the text of scripture copiously in his marginal citations, he sneers at his enemies for doing the same!

[46]Barlow, sigs. X1-X4v; Standish, sigs. E5-E6v.

[47]Hogarde, fo. 13.

(1554), a work which mainly concentrates upon the damage caused by social disruption. Christopherson's exposition of the causes of contemporary insurrection include not only macropolitical issues such as the Marian succession and the Spanish match, which had led in his estimation to Wyatt's Rebellion, but also more mundane domestic disputes such as those between spouses and neighbours.[48] Although most of Christopherson's views on the causes of conflict are secular in origin, chief among the causes of recent altercations was the diversity of religious opinion in England, particularly the unorthodox doctrines of the Protestants, whose adherents Christopherson termed the "greate rable."[49] Arguments over religion were inflamed by their translation of the vernacular Bible: "for as sone as [the Protestants] had the scripture tra[n]slated into Englyshe...in a great number of places [they] then begon...to reason and dispute, & every man thought his owne iudgement best." "The libertye of the Gospell," rather than creating understanding, had instead been the cause of setting man against man. "Untrue" vernacular translations had led to preaching by unfit men, fermenting further trouble.[50]

In their concern about the threat of social disturbances related to the reading of English scripture, Catholic writers perhaps partially shared the apprehension of Cranmer and the Edwardian bishops. The prohibitions examined in the previous chapter against unlicenced preachers stemmed in part from a fear of unorthodox renderings of the Bible. The *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, essentially an authorised guidebook to the Bible, was installed in the parish churches as part of an attempt to unify public opinion about the scriptures, as were the Homilies and the two Books of

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[48]J. Christopherson, An Exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion (RSTC 5207) [J. Cawood, London 1554], sigs. B3v-B4. This theme is echoed by many contemporaries who contended that the key to social order lay in household and parish institutions of control. A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, Order and Disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge 1985), 31-32.
[49]Christopherson, sigs. C4v, H6, R3; T. Betteridge, Tudor Histories of the English Reformations, 1530-1583 (Aldershot 1999), 145.
[50]Christopherson, sigs. K2v-K3, R8, Y6v.

Common Prayer.[51] The main difference between the Roman and Protestant theological viewpoints was that, while the Edwardian divines considered the scripture to be the key to doctrine, necessitating the use of the English Bible in the liturgy and in the parish church, the Marian divines considered papal doctrine and Church interpretation of the Bible to be supreme, even if the Bible could be safely translated. The current versions of the English Bible, which the Marian church believed to be the "poysoned" bread of the Protestants, were to them a dangerous attack on the teachings of the true church.[52]

2. Availability of the English Bible during the reign of Mary.

Considering the official attacks upon the English Bible, it might be expected that its availability would be dramatically reduced. This ought to have been most apparent in the sphere over which the Church had most control, the parish church. Duffy argues that bishops were supposed to remove the Bible from the parishes during the first diocesan visitations of the reign.[53] The designation of Coverdale as a heretical author, and thus of the Great Bible of which Coverdale was a translator as unorthodox, should have been a clear sign to the parishes that this should be done.[54] It was typically the case that it proved easier for parish churches to remove items, such as images or church plate, from the church fabric than to add items, such as the pulpit or poor box. Yet in a number of parishes it appears that the Bible was retained by some point during the reign of Mary, and, in some cases, through the whole of the reign.

One example of the preservation of the Great Bible occurred in Brentwood in

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[51]J. N. Wall, "Godly and Fruitfull Lessons," in J. E. Booty, J. E., D. Siegenthaler and J. N. Wall, Jr. (eds.), The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: great books of the English Reformation, (Wilton, CT 1981), 125-28.
[52]Standish, sig. A3.
[53]Duffy, in Marshall (ed.), 197.
[54]Coverdale had been identified as a heretical author in TRP, vol. 2, no. 422.

Essex in 1554. Foxe relates the story of William Hunter, an apprentice living in London, who returned to his native parish to visit his family.[55] While in Brentwood, Hunter became engaged in a heated debate with the parish summoner, and the vicar of the parish, Father Atwell, over the interpretation of several passages of the scriptures. Afterwards the priest had Hunter sent to Bishop Bonner for prosecution for heresy. The Brentwood dispute was a minor one, not dissimilar to many that must have occurred during the early years of the Marian Reformation. However, Foxe adds one crucial detail to this story. Atwell first took notice of Hunter because he read aloud from a Bible. While the two argued, each made reference to passages within this Bible. According to Foxe, this copy of the scriptures was the parish Bible of Brentwood.

By 1554 the Marian Church had officially attacked those with heretical views of scripture, and the vicar of Brentwood, judging from his statements to Hunter, seems to have detested open reading of the vernacular scripture. Why was it, then, that the parish Bible had remained upon open display? Perhaps the survival of the Bible in a number of parishes was due to mere inertia or slackness. In other parishes the churchwardens may have been loath to alienate such an expensive item, or may have refused to pay even the trivial costs of its removal from the church. However, in the case of Brentwood, the Bible remained in full view of all, even though the priest demonstrated an active dislike of the book. There are clearly other forces at work here.

If good sources existed for the evidence of the removal of the parish Bible during the reign of Mary, some of these causes might be obvious. However, the only usable sources are churchwardens' accounts. In East Anglia, only two parishes out of

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[55] A and M, vol. 6, 722-27 (PRO C85/127, fo. 4).

twenty-two for which these documents survive record an alienation of any sort.[56] This figure cannot be accepted without reservation, as many of the accounts are missing entries for the years between 1553 and 1558.[57] The total lack of records of purchases in these accounts during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, after the Great Bible was once more officially required in the parish, may also suggest that the scripture was retained in many places.[58] However, although Edwardian copies of the Great Bible were probably in circulation after 1558, the first Elizabethan printing of the text was not until 1561; it is therefore not surprising that most parishes were unable to purchase the book soon after Elizabeth's succession.[59] In many cases, the churchwardens' accounts, far from enlightening the historian upon the presence of the Bible in the parishes during the reign of Mary, merely add to the confusion. For example, while Brockdish in Norfolk removed their Great Bible in 1555, nearby Loddon spent 2d. on the replacement of a clasp for their copy in the following year.[60]

The lack of information on the history of the parish Bible during Mary's reign has frustrated many. Mozley, in his otherwise informative account of the mid-Tudor parish Bible in Coverdale and His Bibles, admitted that he could not "produce a single case where the history of the church Bible between 1553 and 1560 can be fully traced"; in despair he appealed to his readers for an answer.[61] Although no definitive answer to this question can be written, the records of one East Anglian parish are of interest. The history of the scriptures in one parish, Bungay St. Mary in Suffolk, can

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[56]For example, Brockdish CWA, year 1555. Mozley, 300, notes that parishes in the north of England were more likely to record Bible alienations.
[57]It is possible that later churchwardens during the reign of Elizabeth excised the records for these years out of embarrassment over the Catholic stance of their parish. Considering the Elizabethan and general Protestant emphasis upon the vernacular Bible, one might expect that any records relating to the destruction of a Bible would be regarded with particular shame.
[58]For the Elizabethan orders for parishes to display the Great Bible, see TRP, vol. 2, no. 460.
[59]Mozley, 301; English Bibles, 67. The first English printing was by J. Cawood in London; the second printing, by Harrison in the following year, resulted in the arrest of the printer.
[60]Brockdish CWA, year 1555; Loddon CWA, year 1556.
[61]Mozley, 305.

be adequately reconstructed. Ironically, Mozley used the example of Bungay in demonstrating the slowness of parishes to purchase of the Great Bible after its 1561 publication.[62]

Bungay St. Mary's churchwardens' account,[63] one of the few in East Anglia to have an unbroken record through all six years of Mary's reign, recorded a purchase of the Great Bible in 1539. In 1548, a lectern upon which the scriptures were placed was purchased in accordance with the injunctions of the previous year. Throughout Mary's reign, no further reference was made to the Bible, although in 1554 there was a 20d. expense for the "storing [of] the lectorne and the pascall."[64] In 1559-60, after the accession of Elizabeth, a number of required books were purchased, including three Psalters, the Injunctions, the Homilies and the Book of the Ten Commandments, but no Great Bible. One should note that Bungay St. Mary was in most other respects quick to fulfil injunctions: in addition to its relatively early purchase of the Great Bible, the parish constructed an altar in 1553, the first year of Mary's reign, and tore it down with its images in 1559, the second of Elizabeth's. Yet it is not until 1561 that the Bible was mentioned, and then not in the context of a purchase. In the last quarter of the year 4d. was "p[ai]d to S[i]r Thom[a]s for mending ye byble." It is unlikely that the churchwardens neglected to record the removal of such an important part of the church's possessions, especially considering the exhaustive nature of the account, or failed to note the purchase of a new Bible.[65] It must be surmised that Bungay St. Mary kept its Bible throughout the reign of Mary. As the parish of Loddon, about thirty miles north of Bungay in Norfolk, also bought no Bible between the reign of

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[62]*Ibid.*, 302.
[63]See Bungay St. Mary CWA, years 1539-65.
[64]This is a separate charge from the storing of the "great lecthorne," from which sermons were made, also in 1554. Thus this lectern is probably the one upon which the Bible was displayed, which was built in Bungay in 1548.
[65]So exhaustive is the Bungay account that purchases and sales of as little as 1d. are recorded (for example, for nails for the lectern for the Bible in 1548).

Edward and their purchase of a clasp for the book in 1556, one may assume that it too retained its Bible during the reign of Mary.[66] Shipdham, also in Norfolk, has a record of the repair of a Bible in 1560, and has no record of the alienation or purchase of the Bible in previous years, other than that of their first Bible in 1541.[67]

Bungay St. Mary, Loddon and Shipdham are only three parishes among more than sixteen hundred in East Anglia; however, their retention of the Great Bible indicates that the practice at least existed in some areas. Other parishes, such as Brentwood, may have been slow to alienate their Bibles. Accounts from south-east England reveal that the Bible in Exeter Cathedral was retained and displayed in 1559-60, and that other Devon parishes also retrieved their Bibles from storage after the accession of Elizabeth.[68] Churchwardens who merely hid their Bibles may have done so out of expediency, as books could be hidden easily from church officials[69]; when the Great Bible was once more required in the churches they were able to reclaim their hidden Bibles. On the other hand, East Anglian parishes were slower to remove the text than were parishes in the north of England. Northern accounts state that Bibles were usually destroyed, whereas, in the few East Anglian accounts in which alienation is recorded, the Bibles were merely "carried away."[70]

Unfortunately, the history of the East Anglian parish Bible during the reign of Mary remains obscure. Without more detailed evidence little more can be said than that most Bibles were probably removed, while a few parishes retained the book, some even keeping them upon open display. Yet that statement alone is of

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[66]Loddon CWA, years 1554-62; though it must be admitted that some years are missing from the account.
[67]Shipdham CWA, years 1541-60.
[68]R. Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People: popular religion and the Reformation (Cambridge 1989), 192.
[69]For example, as in London: P. Tudor, "Protestant Books in London in Mary Tudor's Reign," London Journal, vol. 15 (1990), 20.
[70]As in Brockdish CWA, year 1555; Mozley, 303.

importance. At a time when vernacular scripture was being confiscated, and its owners and readers punished, the English Bible could still be found in a handful of official places.

3. Evidence from the Marian prosecutions.

If the vernacular scriptures could survive in some churches despite its official rejection, it could have circulated clandestinely in private Protestant hands, just as the Tyndale Bible in East Anglia had before 1536. After seventeen years of licence, the English Bible had gained a foothold in the area which could not easily be loosened. Although there were some attempts to confiscate and burn copies of the vernacular scriptures, these were few and inconsistent.[71]

During the time when the English Bible was a banned text, the sources for its private ownership and reading stem mainly from records of prosecution. Protestants in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex suffered greatly during the Marian Reformation: out of the 282 known executions for heresy, fifty were in Essex, twenty-two were in Suffolk, and ten in Norfolk. Only two other counties, Middlesex and Kent, had more than Essex, and the only other county with more than ten was Sussex.[72] East Anglia also endured many prosecutions that did not result in executions: mass arrests of Protestants were made in Ipswich and Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk, and in Colchester in Essex.[73] The threat of prosecution was so great that many Protestants left the region for their safety. Garrett lists forty-four Protestant exiles known to have come from Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex: this figure is nearly 10

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[71]H. W. Robinson (ed.), The Bible in its Ancient Versions (Oxford 1940 [reprinted 1954]), 182; Bruce, 84.

[72]F. H. Hansford-Miller, The 282 Protestant Martyrs of England and Wales, 1555-1558 (London 1970), 31. Middlesex had 58, Kent 55, Sussex 41. Gloucestershire had nine and Warwickshire six, but no other county had more than three, a statistic which illustrates that the Marian prosecutions were not national but limited in geographical scope.

[73]A and M, vol. 8, 598-600; vol. 8, 556-57.

per cent of the total exile population.[74] Not all East Anglian Protestants could afford to flee to the Continent, however, and many merely left the area: in 1556 church officials ordered the confiscation of the lands and goods of forty absentee Protestant families in northern Essex, twenty-eight of whom came from Hinckford and Colchester hundreds.[75]

The bulk of information about the Marian prosecutions must perforce come from Foxe's Acts and Monuments and the Foxe documents, which of course leads to the question of bias. Can the compiler dubbed the "father of lyes" by Elizabethan Catholics[76] be trusted on the subject of the use of the English Bible? That Foxe, as Collinson has suggested, was merely guilty of a different interpretation of the existing evidence, not "full-scale forgery" is not reassuring.[77] Foxe often manipulated his documents to construct a theological unity in the Marian Protestant underground church which was in reality lacking, and this supposed unity often hinged on interpretation of the Bible. He suppressed evidence that some Kentish martyrs denied Trinitarian doctrine; one of the men, Robert King, had even doubted whether it could be proved through scripture that Christ was God.[78] Foxe was determined to present the Bible as the essential unifying element of faith upon which the English Protestant Church could be rebuilt.[79] The similarities in the Biblical knowledge and interpretation by Protestants in their depositions must therefore not be over-

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[74]C. H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles 1554-59 (Cambridge 1938), 67-349.
[75]Loades, "The Essex Visitation of 1556," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. 35 (1962), 91-97. Only a couple of these "exiles" went abroad; most only travelled elsewhere in the realm.
[76]As he was so called by Robert Persons in Three Conversions of England. G. Davies, "John Foxe, 'Father of Lyes,' and the Papists," in Loades (ed.), John Foxe and the English Reformation (Aldershot 1997), 295-96.
[77]P. Collinson, "Truth and Lyes: the veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs," in Collinson (ed.), Elizabethan Essays (London 1994), 156.
[78]W. Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London 1963), 51-53; Collinson, 166-67; MS Harleian 421, fos. 94-95; J. F. Davis, Heresy and Reformation in the South East of England, 1520-1559 (London 1983), 130.
[79]Haller, 51-53.

emphasised. Foxe's tendency to standardise the scriptural quotations of the accused, and to supply Biblical references where none exist in the deposition documents, should also be noted. Foxe was often more interested in providing didactic Protestant material than in supplying a verbatim transcript of prosecutions. Lastly, his attempt to portray Catholic prosecutors as ignorant of scripture should not be taken seriously.[80]

The remainder of Foxe's claims about the Biblical knowledge of the Marian Protestants, however, on examination might be regarded as sound. Although he may have altered the emphasis of conversations, Foxe did not invent large tracts of dialogue. If he did not possess evidence, written or oral, of a martyrdom, he dealt with the incident only in passing; in fact, most of the East Anglian martyrdoms are represented by Foxe with two paragraphs or less. Furthermore, in the depositions where primary documentation is extant, such as the Harleian Manuscripts deposited in the Public Record Office, the defendants often demonstrate scriptural knowledge at least equivalent to that with which Foxe credited them. Hence the general nature of the Biblical understanding of the Marian Protestants, if not the actual words, suggested by Acts and Monuments may well be accurate. This section will examine Foxe's claims as written, though remaining mindful of circumstances in which he might be biased.

Many volumes have been written about the depiction of the Marian martyrs and other prosecuted Protestants by Foxe. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to reiterate all of the details of the East Anglian martyrdoms and to rehearse the implications of the prosecutions for the course of Protestantism and the reading of the

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[80]For example, Dr. Chedsey's claim, during the prosecution of Hawkes, that "Christ never spake in English" (A and M, vol. 7, 107), or his comment during the prosection of William Tyms that his accusers spoke with "no great authorities" (*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 105-21). Bonner is often referred to as the "Romish fox" in A and M. See also the criticisms of the priest John Bury of Aylsham (*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 465), a priest charged by Foxe with a great deal of evil, apparently because of his active attempts to restore the parish to Catholicism.

Bible during the reign of Elizabeth. What this dissertation will consider to be of importance is only that material which provides information about the reading and understanding of the English Bible among East Anglian Protestant laity, and which sheds light upon the nature of underground Protestant congregations and their use of scripture or authorised Edwardian divine service.

The most notable feature of the prosecutions, from the standpoint of the English Bible, is that very few of the accused are positively identified as having read the scriptures. There are 208 individuals and couples in the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex whose cases are examined by Foxe; of these, only about five *per cent* are specifically said to have owned or read the scripture. One possible explanation for the dearth of the mention of scripture-reading in the depositions might be that the prosecutors were uninterested in the actual reading of the scripture. However, the interest which prosecutors such as Bonner took in those cases where the reading of the Bible does appear makes this unlikely.

The examples of Bible-reading in Foxe sometimes suggest that the practice was regarded as unusual not only by the authorities but also by parish leaders and other parishioners as well. When William Hunter read the parish Bible aloud in Brentwood, Father Atwell immediately questioned his motives for the activity. Atwell's hostility towards Hunter's Bible-reading, which was greater than his anger over Hunter's denial of the real presence, may suggest that the open reading of the Bible was infrequent in the Brentwood parish church.[81] Two accused men of Thundersby in Essex boasted during their depositions that they held divergent opinions from the others in their parish because "they had read more Scripture,"

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[81] A and M, vol. 6, 722-75.

implying that fellow parishioners were ignorant of it.[82]

Although in many cases there is no indication of how the Protestants gained access to the scriptures, there is evidence that some read their parish Bible, as Hunter had. The "Godly Supplication" of various Norfolk men of *c.* 1556 attempted to warn churchmen of the "terror" many felt about the possible recall of the scripture from the parish churches.[83] Other accused heretics owned a personal copy of all or a part of the Bible. Gregory Crow owned a vernacular New Testament, and apparently carried it with him at all times. William Pikes owned a Matthew Bible which he often read at home.[84] John Noyes of Laxfield had first read his parish Bible, and then, while in prison, read his own copy of the New Testament.[85] The reading of the Bible in detention seems to have been relatively common. Rowland Taylor, the priest of Hadleigh, was able to study the scripture during his imprisonment, but Alice Driver had her New Testament taken away, perhaps after her first examination.[86] Many of the accused preached the words of scripture to others. Ralph Allerton did not deny that he preached from the scriptures at Much Bentley, and Richard Gibson, who wrote an attack upon the authority of Bonner which showed him to be well-learned in the text of the New Testament, was also said to have spoken publicly against the Mass using the Bible. Both Allerton and John Cornet were said to have sung scripture-songs in public.[87]

A feature of a few of the accounts of scriptural study is the appearance of magical signs and miracles related to the volumes of the Bibles themselves. When Pikes was reading his copy of the Bible in his garden, he observed drops of blood

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[82] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, 729-37.
[83] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 125-27.
[84] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 148; vol. 8, 481.
[85] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 424-47.
[86] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, 684.; vol. 8, 495.
[87] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 405-14 (PRO C85/127, fo. 25); vol. 8, 436-39 (MS Harleian 425, fo. 122); vol. 8, 578.

falling onto the pages. This he took as a sign of his impending martyrdom, which was in fact to occur within the year.[88] A tale with a happier ending involved the "miraculous" rescue of Gregory Crow from a ship off the coast of Essex. In one of his more heavy-handed attempts at Protestant hagiography, Foxe relates how Crow was "saved" by a copy of the English New Testament which he clutched during a sudden storm. The story of Crow's rescue might have been more gripping if the ship actually had been sinking rather than merely storm-tossed.[89] The use of the New Testament by Crow to ward off danger would be familiar in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, when it was popular in East Anglia to keep a copy of the Bible to frighten away the Devil.[90]

One familiar aspect of the examples of Bible-reading in Acts and Monuments is the tendency for scripture to be read in groups, as was the case during the Lollard period. Group readings of the Bible took a number of forms. In the case of Thundersby, Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed read the scriptures together, perhaps out of a sense of alienation from the rest of their community, as the two were keenly aware that their doctrines were considered unorthodox.[91] In some cases, the Bible was read within a small community separate from the parish church, such as the group related to Allerton. Two other groups, those led by the foreigner Lyon Cawch at Stratford-le-Bow[92] and by William Tyms of Hockley, appear to have served as alternative groups of worship. However, the nature of the evidence about scripture reading implies that not all of the incidents which included Bible-reading were detected. Individuals were less likely to be caught reading scripture than were groups,

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[88]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 481.
[89]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 148.
[90]K. V. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England (London 1971), 494.
[91]A and M, vol. 6, 729-37 (PRO C85/127, fo. 5).
[92]For Cawch, see PRO C85/127, fo. 21. According to the bill of excommunication, Cawch was excommunicated along with fifteen of his followers.

and perhaps the greater number of accusations against groups of readers reflects the difficulty in apprehending lone readers. Interestingly, incidents in which individuals are detected in reading scripture often involved persons of low social status: for example, John Fortune, a blacksmith, and John Noyes, a shoemaker.[93] Evidently the Marian prosecutors did not always attempt to capture the most well-known of offenders.

Although Foxe's evidence for the reading of the Bible is limited, the depositions do prove that many of the accused Protestants at least knew much about the text. Of the 208 East Anglian individuals and families mentioned in Acts and Monuments, the depositions of 78 of them appear in sufficient detail to obtain some understanding of the nature of their Biblical knowledge. In 44, or 57 *per cent*, of these cases scripture is either quoted or referred to directly. Even in the remaining thirty-four cases, one should not assume that the accused had no scriptural understanding whatsoever; some of the depositions suggest that the defendant had at least some contact with scripture. These figures imply that knowledge of the precepts of the Bible, if not of the words of the Bible itself, was somewhat extensive among Marian Protestants. There is an implication in the depositions that not all of this scriptural knowledge came from reading. In at least one instance, in the case of the old and blind Hugh Laverock, reading was impossible,[94] and, considering the low social status of many who quoted from the Bible and the likelihood that they were illiterate, in other cases it was improbable. As previously mentioned, understanding of the Bible by the illiterate was possible: it may have been derived from listening to sermons, attendance at Edwardian divine service, or even the hearing of Bonner's

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[93]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 160-63 (MS Harleian 421, fos. 161-163v.; PRO C85/141, fo. 20); vol. 8, 424-27 (PRO C85/141, fo. 19).
[94]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 140-41 (PRO C85/127, fo. 20).

Homelies.[95]

What are the characteristics of the Biblical knowledge of the Protestant accused? The beliefs of the accused appear fairly wide-ranging. At first glance it appears that, unlike the Lollards, the Marian Protestants appeared to hold, as Bishop Christopherson gleefully remarked, a hodge-podge of ideas.[96] The Marian prosecutions appear to indicate that East Anglian Protestants held a diversity of unorthodox views. Some spoke against the Mass, others did not. Some denied the authority of the Pope, while others "spoke against the sacraments." A few wanted the reintroduction of the Book of Common Prayer to be read by the resident priests, while many others voiced their distrust of the priesthood itself. More than one simply registered his or her complaint with the Marian Church through non-attendance.

However, this apparent diversity may instead have been the result of the nature of the questions asked by the prosecutors—during the Lollard trials Bishop Alnwick asked each defendant more or less specifically about his or her views upon each of the sacraments.[97] The Marian prosecutors were less consistent in their questioning of Protestants, and were not all interested in the same types of offences.[98] On the other hand, in many cases the prosecutors asked the same questions of different Protestant defendants, each of whom held some Biblical knowledge, and received different answers. There is great variance in the parts of the Bible which were cited by the accused in their defence. Where scripture is quoted or alluded to,

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[95]Although Bonner distrusted the current vernacular versions of the Bible, he had himself put much scriptural text in his orthodox Catholic Homelies. Bonner was to no doubt find, as with his introduction to Gardiner's De Vera Obedentia, that his words would be twisted against him. See A and M, vol. 7, 585; also J.A. Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction (London 1926), 243.

[96]Christopherson, sig. R8.

[97]N. Tanner (ed.), Norwich Heresy Trials, 1428-31, Camden Society Publications, fourth series vol. 20 (1984), 10.

[98]However, it is clear that at least some of the prosecuted were asked specifically about the scriptures. For example, Peter Watts was asked whether the "worde of god" affirmed or denied transubstantiation or papal supremacy. Unfortunately we do not have his answers to this question. MS Harleian 421, fo. 194.

the New Testament appears much more frequently than the Old, and, surprisingly, quotations from the Epistles far outnumber those from the Gospels. There are few instances where certain texts are repeated. Even in cases where Protestants make similar arguments, such as upon the form of the Eucharist, different texts are often cited. Thomas Hawkes cited Acts to try to prove his point upon transubstantiation, but Alice Driver used 1 Corinthians 11, and John Fortune attempted, with limited success, to employ Galatians 4, Matthew 15 and Hebrews 10 in a denial of real presence.[99] It is possible that this is a didactic intervention of Foxe, in an attempt to show that there was a multiplicity of scriptural passages which confirmed Protestant doctrine. Foxe did try at times to supply his martyrs with some scriptural backing when they had none of their own; he also denounced their accusers as lacking in Biblical knowledge.[100] However, it is difficult to believe that Foxe's intervention can account for all of the differences in the scriptural knowledge of the accused, although Foxe sometimes leaves one to wonder about the accuracy of the Biblical quotations which he attributes to the martyrs. The compiler contends that Hawkes learned about scripture from the books he owned, which comprised of the New Testament, the Psalter, and A Boke of Solomon; how, then, did Hawkes learn the texts of Ezekiel 14 and 2 Kings 2 which he allegedly quoted to Bonner?[101]

One interesting element of the scriptural knowledge of the accused is their awareness about the apocalyptic books of the Bible. John Hallingdale used the eighteenth chapter of Revelation in referring to the Pope as the "Babylonical head" of

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[99]A and M, vol. 7, 97-114 (PRO C85/127, fo. 4); vol. 8, 493-97; vol. 8, 160-63 (MS Harleian 421, fos. 161-63v.).

[100]For example, in the case of William Tyms, Foxe comments that "the bishop's [of London] chaplains began to reason with [his followers], but with no great authorities either of the scriptures, or of the ancient fathers, ye may be sure...." *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 105-21.

[101]*Ibid.*, vol. 7, 103-04. A Boke of Solomon (RSTC 2754-56) contained a summary of a number of the historical books of the Old Testament, but did not contain the text of the book of Ezekiel, a prophet.

the Roman church.[102] Likewise Ralph Allerton spoke of the prophecies contained in the Apocryphal book 2 Esdras 7:31: "The heat of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you...."[103] Neither text appeared in the scriptural readings prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer service, which omitted Revelation and the Apocrypha.[104] Hallingdale and Allerton must have learned their texts through reading the Bible, or from hearing Protestant sermons. The use of 2 Esdras, a text prophesying the deliverance of the Jews from the Roman occupation, obviously had resonance for Marian Protestants, and Hallingdale's equation with Rome as Babylon was a common theme for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century anti-Catholic propagandists. Marian underground preaching was often apocalyptic and millenarian in tone, as one might expect from a church which perceived itself to be under persecution.[105] Foxe may have highlighted such uses of apocalyptic texts for the purposes of his own story and authorship, in his attempt to depict the Marian Protestants as a church under siege.[106] As an aside, the only other example of Apocryphal scripture mentioned in East Anglia in Acts and Monuments is Rowland Taylor's quotation from the first chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon.[107]

What did those who did not openly refer to scripture believe? The doctrines of these defendants appear to fall roughly into four categories. Some of the accused held crude anticlerical doctrines somewhat akin to those expressed at the Lollard trials of

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[102] A and M, vol. 8, 436-39 (MS Harleian 425, fos. 99v, 122v.).
[103] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 407.
[104] J. Parker (ed.), The First Prayer Book, as issued by the Authority of the Parliament of the Second Year of King Edward VI, 1549 (Oxford 1883), 8-20; Parker (ed.), The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1552 (Oxford 1883), 12-28.
[105] The years of Marian prosecution were important for fomenting apocalyptic traditions in Elizabethan Protestantism, but mainly in the context of its effect upon later authors such as Foxe. Perhaps Foxe's inclusion of the scriptural quotations of Hallingdale and Allerton reflects his own millenarian doctrine and not those of East Anglian Marian Protestants. K. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645 (Oxford 1979), 64, 82-83., on Foxe's "interest in the apocalyptic tradition."
[106] D. J. Keep, "John Foxe's Last Word," in Loades (ed.), John Foxe: an historical perspective (Aldershot 1999), 97.
[107] "The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul." A and M, vol. 6, 682.

the 14th century. When Roger Barnard was asked by his parish priest if he saw the pix at the altar, he replied that he saw "nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap." Thomas Hudson of Aylsham called the sacrament "worm's meat" and a "patched monster," and Katherine Hut referred to it as a "dumb God."[108] The followers of William Mount of Much Bentley in Essex rebuked those who attended the Roman service as "church-owls" and their priests as "knaves."[109] A second group held what might be considered to be orthodox Protestant doctrines. The exiled parishioners of Winston and Mendlesham in Suffolk denied the authority of the Pope and the free will of humanity, supported married clergy, and rejected the Mass.[110] Likewise Thomas Wats of Billericay was in agreement with all of these opinions, and also argued against auricular confession and the value of fasting and prayers to the saints, although he specifically denied holding the ideas of Luther, whose theology he claimed not to understand.[111] The accused Thomas Spicer, John Denny and Edmund Poole exhibited recognisably Protestant tendencies when they referred to the bread and wine of communion as a "remembrance" of Christ.[112] A third category of defendants appeared to hold merely confused doctrines. Margaret Ellis, also of Billercay, said that she had heard that there was one sacrament, but she did not know what it was. James Harris of Essex told his parish priest that "his [own] sins were too many too be numbered," a statement which does not seem to comfortably fit either contemporarily orthodox Protestantism or Catholicism.[113]

However, the largest group of those accused who did not cite scripture in their

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[108]A and M, vol. 8, 158; vol. 8, 464; vol. 8, 143 (PRO C85/127, fos. 18, 20). Davis, 122, notes that Hudson is referred to as "Hodgesham" in Foxe's account.
[109]A and M, vol. 8, 382.
[110]One should note that the diocese of Norwich held the largest proportion of married clergy during the reign of Edward; approximately one-fifth to one-quarter of the priesthood were investigated for marriage during the reign of Mary. See Norfolk RO; William Mortimer's Register.
[111]A and M, vol. 8, 147-48; vol. 7, 121.
[112]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 146.
[113]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 142 (PRO C85/127, fos. 18, 20); vol. 8, 526.

defence desired most of all a return to the Book of Common Prayer service.[114] In this they shared the opinion of many known Bible readers, such as the Freewill-Men John Ardeley and John Simson.[115] Wats expressed this wish along with other statements, but many others stated that the return of Edwardian service was their only aim. Richard Spurge said he had not attended his parish since the re-introduction of Latin liturgy and that he "misliked" the new form of service. The parishioners at Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk vigorously lobbied their vicar, Father Cotes, to resume the Common Prayer service, but did not express any other belief other than that they detested the Roman service.[116] Simon Miller, a merchant of King's Lynn, found trouble on a trip to Norwich when he openly sought an Edwardian service there—perhaps he believed that the new liturgy was not enforced uniformly throughout the realm.[117] Joan Horns of Bocking in Essex stated that she had first heard the English liturgy at the age of eleven during Edward's reign, and wanted to continue to hear it; Lady Knevet, a woman "of more than one hundred years of age," would only have the Book of Common Prayer and no other.[118]

Indeed, the driving force behind many who desired a revival of the Edwardian service appeared to be not a genuine belief in Protestantism or rejection of Catholicism but sheer confusion resulting from the sudden changes in doctrine. This bewilderment at divergent official beliefs is best illustrated by the statement of John

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[114]B. R. White, The English Separatist Tradition (London 1971), 5, believes that because of the appreciation for the Book of Common Prayer service, the majority of martyrs were in his words "Edwardian Anglicans." Davis, 140-47, however, contends that many East Anglian martyrs held anti-Trinitarian beliefs which stemmed from more separatist backgrounds. However, many of those prosecuted who appear in A and M, even among those who were relatively radical, appear to have supported the Book of Common Prayer, including the Freewill-Men mentioned here.

[115]A and M, vol. 7, 86-90. Ardeley and Simpson, like many others who supported the Book of Common Prayer, did in fact use the Bible in their defence, in their case to attack the Mass (*Ibid.*, vol. 7, 87).

[116]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 106; vol. 8, 556-57.

[117]MS Harleian 421, fos. 155-v.; PRO C85/141, fo. 30. Miller also argued against transubstantiation, and contended that communion should be of both kinds, but gave no source for his beliefs.

[118]A and M, vol. 8, 143 (PRO C85/127, fos. 18-19); vol. 8, 554.

Cavel, a weaver of Essex, who refused to attend church any further, as, during Edward's reign, the priest had exhorted his listeners to read and believe the Bible, but now claimed that the English New Testament was "false in forty places."[119] The fictitious vicar of Bray might have been able to pretend to ignore the several and sweeping changes to the English church during the mid-sixteenth century, but the reality for contemporary parishioners was quite different.

This section will now examine the social composition of the accused Protestants of East Anglia, and especially of those who read or quoted the Bible in their defence. Unfortunately there is only a very small sample available. Foxe mentions the professional title of thirty-one of the forty-four defendants who cited scripture: twenty-eight were men and three were women whose husband's occupation is noted by Foxe. Ten of the men were labourers, servants or other manual workers; nine were tanners, weavers or drapers; five were clergymen; two, the printer Peter Moone and the apothecary John Mace, were of the professional class; and another two, the blind Laverock and the lame John Apprice, can be assumed to be of the impotent poor. The three women were married to a printer [Moone], a cleric and a merchant. In comparison, of the fourteen who did not cite scripture whose occupation is given by Foxe, four were labourers, nine tanners or weavers, and one was a cleric.[120] Of the thirty-four who did not cite scripture, thirteen were women. The ages of those who had knowledge of scripture are also of note. It has been said that during the mid-sixteenth century Bible-reading was the preserve of "the youthful generation,"[121] and six of those with scriptural knowledge are said by Foxe to be

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[119]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 106.

[120]William Browne, the cleric, must have had some knowledge of the Bible; however, it did not appear in the deposition. Indeed, Browne appears never to actually have been prosecuted. *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 535-36.

[121]The phrase is from A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (2nd ed.) (University Park, PA 1991), 334-38; see also Brigden, "Youth and the English Reformation," Past and Present, vol. 95 (May 1982),

thirty or younger, the youngest being William Hunter who was nineteen. However, of the four other men whose age is supplied by Foxe, three are over fifty, including Laverock who was said to be 68; Richard Yeoman, curate of Hadleigh, who was over 70 but still "well seen in the scriptures"; and Thomas Rose, also a priest, aged 76.[122] It is true that Foxe may have ignored the ages of those in between, and inflated the ages of the more elderly Protestants.[123] However, the known cases of older readers of the Bible suggest that not all of those brought up under pre-Reformation religion rejected the English scriptures.

The substantial proportion of the labouring classes among those who cited the scripture in defence is surprising, as is the high proportion of tanners and weavers who did not. It is clear that Foxe attempted to portray the martyrs as persons of decency, if not necessarily high social status. The followers of William Mount were depicted as godly in the Acts and Monuments, but their actions, including verbal abuse of fellow parishioners and delivering contentious sermons in local alehouses, appear more those of an uncouth mob.[124]

On the other hand, the Marian prosecutors tried to portray their quarry as the dregs of Tudor society. An example is their treatment of the wandering preacher George Eagles, otherwise known as "Trudgeover." To Foxe, Eagles was something like a living martyr, who roamed East Anglia preaching the gospel under constant threat of capture, usually sleeping rough and rarely well-fed. There is no doubt that Eagles's preaching was effective: Ralph Allerton, leader of the Protestant group of Much Bentley in Essex, admitted to hearing his preaching and to being influenced by

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[122]A and M, vol. 8, 487 (PRO C85/141, fo. 39); vol. 8, 581.

[123]Most notably the aforementioned Lady Knevet, whose age of "more than a hundred years" would be remarkable even in present days! *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 553.

[124]However, see Chapter 5 for an alternative view of alehouse sermonising. *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 381-93.

it.[125] The Marian church, however, attempted to portray Eagles as an outcast of society. According to Foxe, the Privy Council alerted the sheriffs of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Kent to his activities and placed the substantial reward of £20 on his head.[126] After his capture, the assault upon Eagles's character took two forms. Firstly, the preacher was portrayed as an alcoholic. When Allerton mentioned Eagles to the Bishop of Rochester, the divine stated that he "had him once, and then he was drunk as an Ape." Allerton somewhat feebly replied that Eagles had not had a drink for at least three months before. The implication that Eagles haunted alehouses can be regarded as an attack on his social character, and on the character of Protestantism in general. Secondly, Eagles was not convicted of heresy but of treason, according to Foxe, upon the flimsy grounds that he had preached that "God should turn Queen Mary's heart [on religion], or else take her away."[127] The Council's decision to convict Eagles of treason suggests that they were anxious not to make him a martyr. Instead, the charge attempted to make him a "low-born" traitor.[128]

Another point of interest of the prosecutions was the reading of the Bible by women. Foxe often regarded female Protestants less seriously than men, portraying them as either faithful followers or stubborn believers rather than as leaders or scholars. However, as during the reign of Henry, women were known to have memorised long sections of scripture, thus keeping the text within public domain.[129] Some women stood up to male prosecutors who attempted to repress their knowledge. When Alice Driver of Ipswich was challenged by the Chancellor of the diocese of

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[125]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 410-11; vol. 8, 386.
[126]APC, vol. 4, 310, 312, says that Eagles was only sought in Essex, where he was captured near Harwich.
[127]A and M, vol. 8, 395.
[128]Incidentally, J. Bellamy, The Tudor Law of Treason (London 1979), 58-59, argues that execution was the punishment (under the Second Law of Treason passed in 1555) for a *second* offence of spoken treason; had Trudgeover passed written material to the effect claimed by the bishop, a single offence would have been sufficient.
[129]Crawford, 26.

Norwich, she asserted that she had read "God's Book," the New Testament, and quoted 1 Corinthians 11:23-28 from memory upon the meaning of the communion. Driver stated that she had her own copy of the New Testament, but that her examiners had taken it away.[130] Other women proved to be the leaders of dissident Protestant communities. In Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk, many parishioners, "especially the women," refused the Mass and tried to convince their priest that he should say the service according to the Book of Common Prayer. Foxe lists seven women and three men, the "chiefest doers" of Protestantism in the parish, who met with their priest, Father Cotes, upon the matter. Cotes announced he was to continue to say the Latin service, whereupon two men but none of the women decided to follow him. The women maintained their stance, and one of the men, the unrelated John Foxe, was "recovered again to the truth by prayer" by his wife Elizabeth.[131] In the exiled Protestant communities from Winston and Mendlesham, also in Suffolk, fifteen of the twenty-seven exiles were women.[132] The prosecutors were also concerned about the role of women with respect to the religion of children. It was alleged that three midwives in Ipswich, Mother Fenkel and Joan Ward [Bentley] of St. Peter's parish, and Mother Beriff of St. Stephen's parish, "refused [their] charges baptism in the font."[133] At first glance this might appear a small matter—after all, midwives had no authority to prevent baptism. However, in an era of plague, high infant mortality and religious polemic, the role of midwives was of great importance. Many Catholics and Protestants alike feared that infants who died unbaptised were damned.[134] Even a

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[130]"Do this in remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come." A and M, vol. 8, 494.
[131]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 556-57. Wabuda has recently written about the struggles of Protestant-leaning women with Catholic husbands during the reign of Mary. S. Wabuda, "Sanctified by the Believing Spouse: women, men, and the marital yoke in the early Reformation," in P. Marshall and A. Ryrie (eds.), The Beginnings of English Protestantism (Cambridge 2002), 124.
[132]A and M, vol. 8, 147-48.
[133]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 599.
[134]Thomas, 55.

slight delay in baptism might have condemned more than one child.

Foxe's examples show that Bible-reading and Protestantism seem to be spread fairly evenly throughout East Anglia. If the locations of the burnings alone are examined, one might assume that Protestantism was confined to a handful of towns. In Colchester, twenty-three were martyred, and in Stratford-le-Bow, seventeen. Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich also witnessed between five and ten burnings during the reign of Mary.[135] However, burnings were not always carried out in the parish or even the area where the victim resided, for two reasons. Firstly, there was a concern that friends or relatives of the convicted might rally for the martyr or attempt to prevent the burning.[136] Secondly, especially in the later years of the reign, there was a conscious attempt to treat the burnings as cautionary lessons, and hence they were made in large population centres. In 1555, before the centralisation of punishments for heresy, martyrdoms occurred in such geographically diverse parishes as Walsingham and Thetford in Norfolk; Chelmsford, Saffron Walden, Rayleigh and Harwich in Essex; and Laxfield, Yoxford and Hadleigh in Suffolk. When those parishes from which later martyred Protestants resided, and also those parishes from which many Protestants were detected but not prosecuted, such as Winston, Mendlesham and Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk are included, it is clear that Protestantism was present in almost every area of East Anglia. Even when small areas within the region are examined, Protestantism seems widespread: of the 47 persons in northern Essex who fled the county in fear of the prosecution of Bonner, no more than four were from any one parish.[137] Protestant ideas were also widespread within individual

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[135]Hansford-Miller, 15.
[136]Pettegree, Marian Protestantism: six studies (Aldershot 1996), 162, notes that during the martyrdom of Noyes of Laxfield there was a concerted effort by townspeople to prevent the burning. See also Hogarde, fo. 49, for a contemporary Catholic view of this practice.
[137]Loades, "The Essex Visitation," 91-97.

towns: heretics were detected in ten of the fifteen parishes of Ipswich.[138]

This appears to be a great change from the prosecutions which East Anglia experienced during the reign of Henry VIII. Between 1525 and 1538 detected Protestants were either detected in Colchester or its environs or Ipswich, or became acquainted with their faith outside of the region, as had Thomas Bilney. Yet by the 1550's, the dispersal of the new doctrine was evident. This may have been due in part to the greater access during the reign of Edward to the English Bible, and also due to the effect of the Book of Common Prayer service. Whereas before 1538 Protestant doctrines were usually spread by word of mouth, and hence relatively slowly and over a small geographic region, the installation of the vernacular scripture in most of the parish churches in East Anglia allowed such ideas to be more quickly spread. The introduction of the Great Bible into the parish church at Laxfield enabled the shoemaker John Noyes to read and preach the Bible in his town.[139] The introduction of the Prayer Book service nine years later reinforced this process. Considering that an aim of many prosecuted heretics was the retention of the Prayer Book service, this introduction must have had a lasting effect. Centres of Protestantism still appear to occur during the reign of Mary; the difference is that there were now more of them. In addition to Colchester and Ipswich, groups of Protestants were detected in Coggeshall and Stratford-le-Bow in Essex, and Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, as well as Stoke, Winston, Mendlesham and Hadleigh. The Privy Council also detected groups of heretics in Harwich and Dovercourt in 1556, though Foxe fails to mention them.[140] The accused "communities" were often fairly large: in Coggeshall seven Protestants were found and burned, while in Mendlesham twenty-two, including the

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[138] A and M, vol. 8, 598-600.
[139] A and M, vol. 8, 425. See also Laxfield in the church-plate certificates, Appendix 2, and also D. N. J. MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors: politics and religion in an English county, 1500-1600 (Oxford 1986), 169.
[140] APC, vol. 5, 334.

martyr William Seaman, were detected.[141] In the "older" centres of Protestantism, the number of heretics was alleged to be great: in Ipswich it was said that forty-three had fled the town in fear of prosecution, twenty-three refused to accept the Catholic Mass, and thirteen rejected one or more of the sacraments.[142]

Of the 209 individuals and couples listed by Foxe, over two-thirds form part of a larger group of accused heretics or a community of Protestants. Martin has argued that these groups, which he calls "underground congregations," were of two types.[143] The first were those groups which used the Prayer Book service and were led by a priest, or those who were attempting to procure a co-operative cleric: these groups one might call orthodox congregations. The second were those who, like the Freewill Men, debated various readings, particularly the scriptures, in an informal meeting-place: these groups might be called radical congregations. It could be said that the orthodox used scripture passively, in the form of the Prayer Book and preaching by orthodox priests or lay leaders, while the radicals used the Bible actively, as a means of theological discussion. By Martin's reckoning the community at Stoke-by-Clare was an orthodox congregation which attempted to recruit their parish priest. George Aynsworth, who was questioned by the Bishop of Norwich, also appeared to lead such an orthodox congregation, although he was not in holy orders. The group at Harwich, accused of meeting in secret and attending readings of scripture, was a radical congregation.[144]

If the detected congregations could be separated into these two categories, we might understand more about the uses of scripture by Marian Protestants. However, the surviving evidence supplied by Foxe is not sufficient for us to draw conclusions.

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[141] A and M, vol. 7, 139-42; vol. 8, 147-48.
[142] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 598-600.
[143] Martin, Religious Radicals, 128-30.
[144] A and M, vol. 8, 556-57; MS Harleian 421, fo. 173; PRO C85/141, fo. 16; APC, vol. 5, 334.

For example, no records survive of the Ipswich group other than the list of names and professions prepared by the prosecutors at Beccles; indeed, had it not been for the Council's detection of the circle around Moone and Ramsey, one might conclude that the Protestant audience for Scoloker's and Oswen's books disappeared entirely during the reign of Mary.[145] It is also unclear whether the "congregations" actually acted as such. Martin identifies Allerton as the leader of a radical group in Colchester, but the three captured with him at Much Bentley did not say that they knew him.[146] The prosecutors sometimes also claimed that accused individuals were part of a larger group, perhaps in an attempt to find more heretics. When the wheelwright Alexander Lane omitted the name of the Virgin Mary in the Creed, his accuser Sir Edward Walgrave charged that he had learned his doctrine from John Cooke, a sawyer who was also at the deposition, although there is no proof that the two knew each other.[147] Most remarkable is the case of William Tyms, a curate of Hockley in Essex who was burnt with five others in 1556 in London. Bishop Bonner accused Tyms as the ringleader of the group, yet Tyms contended that he did not know any of the other five before his arrest. Considering the divergent views which the six held on the Mass, Tyms' defence might have been correct.[148]

The groups disseminated scripture in a number of ways. The Harwich group held readings of scripture, and listened to itinerant preachers such as Trudgeover.[149] In Much Bentley, Ralph Allerton read chapters of the New Testament aloud to his

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[145]A and M, vol. 8, 598-600; APC, vol. 5, 65, 70; J. Webb, "Peter Moone of Ipswich (d. 1601), a Tudor tailor, poet and gospeller and his circle," Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archeology and History, vol. 38 (1993), 36-40.

[146]Martin, Religious Radicals, 130; A and M, vol. 8, 405-20.

[147]PRO C85/141, fos. 25-26. Cooke was in fact excommunicated along with Lane. Davis argues that Lane's omission of the Virgin Mary in the Creed was actually an example of anti-Trinitarian belief. If so, it is likely that Lane was more influenced by radical preaching than by the text of the scripture. Davis, 147.

[148]A and M, vol. 8, 492-93; vol. 8, 107-21 (PRO C85/127, fo. 17).

[149]APC, vol. 5, 334, 110, 312. Trudgeover did not necessarily preach from the Bible, however; Foxe has no mention of him using any other book but a Psalm-Book. A and M, vol. 8, 393-97.

Protestant group during church services until he was rebuked by the churchwardens; he then took to preaching in secret outside of the town. He was so successful that his accuser Thomas Tye could claim that so many came to hear him speak that regular parish services in Much Bentley were nearly empty.[150] From the account of Henry Orinel it can be assumed that those attached to Christopher Vittels in Colchester were also familiar with the regular reading and debate of the vernacular Bible, most of it taking place in an alehouse.[151] Lastly, in Hadleigh the priest Rowland Taylor and his successor Richard Yeoman preached the scriptures from the pulpit.[152]

In many other cases the form of the propagation of scriptural knowledge is unknown. When thirteen Protestants were captured in Colchester and burnt at Stratford-le-Bow in 1555, all of them stated in "A Letter or Apology" from prison that they believed in only the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist because they had scriptural precedent. However, during individual depositions prior to their imprisonment, only a few mentioned scripture in defence of their beliefs; others refused to state their position "because of their simplicity."[153] Apparently the relevant text of the Bible had not been fully taught to some members of the group until their enforced stay together.[154] In many other cases it is simply unclear how the congregations came to learn about their Bible text. All six of the Colchester martyrs of 28 April 1556 agreed that they abhorred the Pope for putting down "the book of God, the Bible," but, as none of them discussed passages from the scriptures in their depositions, it is unclear whether the six read the Bible together. Perhaps the

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[150]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, 405-10; Martin, Religious Radicals, 130.
[151]C. Marsh, The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630 (Cambridge 1994), 54-55. Orinel noted that all the members of Vittels' congregation were well-informed with the passages of scripture that the two discussed, and with the theological background of the debate.
[152]A and M, vol. 6, 676-68; vol. 8, 486-89.
[153]Compare this defence with the case of John Tomkyns, who refused to read the New Testament as he feared that he was not learned enough to understand it. L and P, vol. 13 (i), no. 615.
[154]A and M, vol. 8, 151-56.

depositions of the "congregations" may actually demonstrate that some of the groups of accused Protestants were not really congregations at all, or not at least in the sense that Martin contends. Some group arrests may have resulted in church authorities arresting one well-known Protestant, and, within the course of their investigation, uncovering another, completely unrelated, heretic. This occurred during the course of the arrest of Rowland Taylor, when his accusers Foster and Clerk also captured the parishioner John Alcock, who had "failed to attend a procession."[155] This phenomenon may also account for the diversity of opinions within groups of martyrs.

If any general conclusion can be drawn about the English Bible and the Marian martyrdoms, then, it may seem that, while examples of determined Bible-reading do exist in Foxe's study of East Anglia, the level of specific scriptural knowledge, even among committed Protestants, was surprisingly limited. The great majority of accused expressed a rather slender understanding of the scriptures. Furthermore, a large number of the accused did not use the scripture in the defence of their beliefs, or, if they did cite scripture, used it in a general sense only. Few were able, for example, to cite in chapter and verse the scriptural arguments used by Protestants against the Mass, though most had a general perception that the scripture did not uphold the Catholic view of the Eucharist. Such ideas were as strongly felt in Laxfield, in rural Suffolk, by Noyes,[156] as they were by the several martyrs of Colchester.

The superficial similarities between the Laxfield and Colchester cases illustrate another aspect of the impact of the English Bible in the years following 1538. Previously, knowledge of the vernacular scriptures had been dependent upon knowing someone in the radical Protestant community with access to contraband

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[155] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, 676 ff.; vol. 8, 489. One would assume that Alcock's crimes were greater than those stated by Foxe.
[156] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 424-27.

Bibles from the Continent. After the placing of the Great Bible in most of the parish churches, any literate person could read them. As the cost of scriptures decreased, more were able to purchase them privately. With the use of the Prayer-Book service during the reign of Edward, every churchgoer, literate or non-literate, could gain at least some understanding of what the Bible contained.

However, even if Biblical knowledge was open to East Anglian society, it appears that not everyone was willing to grasp it. Wilful ignorance or lack of interest in the scriptures kept common understanding of the Bible low. The church leaders of the reign of Elizabeth were to discover this to their peril.

4. The slow revival of the English Bible under Elizabeth.

The return of the English Bible after Mary's death was a foregone conclusion. With the inclusion of many exiles who had worked on translations of the Bible in the Elizabethan church hierarchy, the reintroduction of the Bible in religious life was assured. Yet the revival of the English scripture in the parish church was to prove slow. The Elizabethan church rejected the Calvinistic Geneva translation in favour of the old Great Bible, and once again commanded that it be installed in the churches.[157] However, the government failed to secure a new printing of the Great Bible until as late as 1561. Although, as previously suggested, some parishes had been able to retain their copies from the reign of Edward, and churchwardens' accounts from elsewhere in the realm suggest that older Great Bibles existed on the open market,[158] many parishes would not have been able to acquire a Bible for at least the first three years of the reign. An opportunity to immediately identify the church of Elizabeth with the vernacular scriptures was thus lost.

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[157] TRP, vol. 2, no. 460.

[158] J. C. Cox, Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Seventeenth Century (London 1913), 117; Mozley, 303. See also Chelmsford CWA, year 1560, which notes the purchase of a Bible for the expensive price of 19 s. 4 d. The high cost probably alludes to the scarcity of the text during these years.

It is likely that the English Bible was once again installed slowly in the parish churches. Though there are no sets of documents comparable to the church-plate certificates for the period between 1559 and 1565, circumstantial evidence suggests that parishes were no faster to react to the Elizabethan changes to the church fabric than they were to the Edwardian injunctions. For example, by 1562 it was found that a significant number of churches in the Archdeaconry of Norwich, and perhaps one-quarter of rural parishes, had not yet torn down their rood loft.[159] If parishes had failed to carry out this removal, it is unlikely that they had acquired the Great Bible, an even more expensive undertaking.[160]

The early years of the reign of Elizabeth did see some positive steps towards the education of the laity in the scriptures. As but one example, the use of the psalm-book became more widespread. During the reign of Edward, official books of psalms were without musical notation, and were chiefly written in prose. However, after 1559, most psalters were set in metre, and all of these psalms included musical notation. Many of these psalters were in octavo or even 16mo, so that they could be more easily carried about in the church or in the open.[161] The early government of Elizabeth actively encouraged the translations of psalms, a process which eventually resulted in the durable Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, a foundation of the service for centuries.[162]

More importantly, the first years of Elizabeth's reign saw a determined effort to teach the laity of the message of the scriptures. The Protestant catechism

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[159]Norfolk RO, Archdeaconry of Norwich Act Book, years 1560-62.
[160]For example, Shipdham (CWA, year 1561) spent only 12d. on "takynge downe ye rode lofte," compared with Chelmsford's expenditure of 19 s. 4 d. on the Great Bible in the previous year. However, some parishes may have been reluctant to destroy the rood loft, only a few years after many parishes had spent large sums in building one. Framlingham CWA, year 1558, records that the total of £1 5/8 went to the construction of a new loft.
[161]RSTC, "Psalters," nos. 2370-2384.7, 2420-2437.5.
[162]R. Zim, English Metrical Psalms: poetry as praise and prayer, 1535-1600 (Cambridge 1987), ch. 4 *passim*.

experienced a revival. Some of the Edwardian catechisms, including the official primer, were revised and republished.[163] Others, such as the Allen primer, were reprinted.[164] Within a couple of decades over fifty new primers and books of education about the scripture reached the printing presses.[165] Secular schoolmasters were also ordered to teach their pupils in the English scriptures. So successful was this order that by 1570 many teachers complained that instruction in the English Bible was taking valuable time away from Latin lessons.[166]

There was also an effort by the church to compel its clergy to teach the English scriptures. This practice had vanished during the reign of Mary, and, after the reading of chapters of the Bible during the service was stopped, most laypersons, both children and adults, would have heard little of the words of the Bible. Considering the poor record of priestly understanding of the critical texts of the Bible during the reign of Edward, and that no effort was made during the reign of Mary to educate the clergy about the scripture, few priests would have been able to teach children or adults in any case.

The church of Elizabeth tried to combat ignorance of the scriptures on two fronts. The first measure was long-term: the rejection of incoming ignorant priests. In the dioceses of Ely and Lichfield between the years 1560 and 1580, the cause of the majority of the rejections of priests was lack of scriptural knowledge. Priests were considered to have insufficient understanding of the Bible even if they were lacking in the knowledge of as little as one book.[167] This should be compared with Hooper's

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[163]D. Siegenthaler, "Religious Education for Citizenship," in Booty *et al.* (eds.), 237.
[164]See Chapter 5; E. Allen, A Cathechisme (RSTC 360.7) [T. Marsh: London 1562], as an example of reprinted Edwardian catechisms.
[165]I. Green, The Christian's ABC: catechism and catechising in England c. 1530-1740 (Oxford 1996), 204 ff.
[166]H. M. Jewell, Education in Early Modern England (Basingstoke and London 1998), 26-27; R. O'Day, Education and Society 1500-1800: the social foundations of education in early modern Britain (London 1982), 50-51.
[167]O'Day, The English Clergy: the emergence and consolidation of a profession, 1558-1642 (Leicester

visitation of priests in the diocese of Gloucester, as discussed previously, in which the majority could not correctly cite even the Ten Commandments.

The second measure to instruct the laity in scripture was the demand that priests teach the catechism. The articles of the reformer Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich in 1561 and 1569 are similar to others published throughout the realm. The differences between the two sets of articles illustrate the difficulties which faced the catechisers. In 1561 Parkhurst expected a high level of scriptural knowledge to be taught by his clergy and to be absorbed by the laity. He requested that the clergy, as required by the new Book of Common Prayer, read two chapters of the New Testament every week; and, further, that in the city of Norwich, "and other like places where [there] be divers parish churches in one town" where weekly sermons were held, that service end by nine in the morning so that "all the people after Common Prayers be done in their parish churches may resort thither to hear the sermon."[168] On every Sunday and Holy Day before the evening service the parish priest was to teach the catechism for one hour, and clergy were also to "warn" parents and schoolmasters that their children were to be catechised. The punishment for failing to attend this catechism was potentially high: Parkhurst ordered that no-one was to be married, act as a godparent, or receive communion unless they could recite the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in English.[169]

Yet even in the 1561 visitations a note of caution had been sounded upon the willingness of the laity to learn the scriptures. In his Interrogatories Parkhurst asked not only whether the priests and churchwardens of each parish had provided the Great Bible and the *Paraphrases*, but also "whether any man hath burned or caused the holy

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1979), 51-57. As an example, Thomas Michel was accepted only on the understanding that he be "bound alsoe for his further diligence to learne withowte booke the Epistle to the Romans...."

[168]Frere and Kennedy, vol. 3, 99, 97.

[169]*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 99-100, 98-99.

Bible to be burned, torn, or defaced; or hath conveyed it out of the church that it should not be read of the people."[170] The questions Parkhurst asks do not always seem appropriate for a laity or a clergy which received the scriptures joyously. This concern is more graphically depicted in the 1569 visitation articles. Again, Parkhurst asks whether parishes own a Great Bible and a copy of the *Paraphrases*—ten years after churches were required to do so; and also whether any "superstitious books" were still used in the service. Schoolmasters and priests are once more asked whether they catechised the youth.[171] The fear that many laypersons still disliked the teaching of scripture lingered: priests were asked if any of their parishioners hindered "God's word."[172] Most surprising of all was that the requirement of scriptural knowledge for the laity to be allowed to participate in parish activities had been completely scrapped. The ignorant portion of the laity was re-admitted to the fold, perhaps because the knowledgeable were so few in number.

In conclusion, the scriptural knowledge of the laity during the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, and for many years to come, was probably small. During the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, when "godly" preachers bemoaned the ignorance of their contemporaries about the Bible, many looked upon the England of the years of the Marian martyrdoms and the writing of Acts and Monuments as a period of great interest in the vernacular scriptures and religion in general.[173] They were sadly mistaken. Indeed, the real peak of lay interest in the English Bible—the era when Biblical references in popular literature and stage performance were readily understood by a wide audience—occurred when many of those very preachers were

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[170]*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 101, 105.
[171]*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 210, 211, 214.
[172]*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 212.
[173]Haller, 227-28, 237, 242, mentions how the Puritans of the 1630's and 1640's looked upon the Marian exiles and the Protestants of the first years of Elizabeth's reign as people of "true reformation" who deeply held the message of the Bible.

active. References to the Bible abounded in the most unusual of places, such as in science texts, or in books of herbals, and the authors of such works could be certain that their audience would comprehend their meaning.[174] Even in the late-sixteenth century, however, ignorance remained widespread. As late as 1598, an Essex clergyman wearying of attempts to catechise his parish wrote that, after years of trying, the "poor people [in my parish] do not understand as much as the Lord's Prayer."[175] This, perhaps, was a fitting epitaph for a century which produced the first English Bible yet whose people at times failed to take notice.

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[174]Hill, 3-27.
[175]Thomas, 164.

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding scattered pockets of rural ignorance, the English Bible had by the turn of the seventeenth century attained a position of primacy in religious and social discourse. The text was almost universally recognised as the foundation of the English Church. An understanding of the Bible in English was a requirement not only for an understanding of the tenets of the Church but also for an understanding of political thought, literature and even science. If a household owned but one book, it would inevitably be the Bible; many persons learned to read solely in order to read the Bible. In brief, by 1600 the Bible had become by far the most important text in English that had ever been produced.

This was by no means a certain outcome, judging by the events of the mid-sixteenth century. Between 1525, the year of the publication of the first Tyndale New Testament, and the first licencing of the Bible in 1536, many Bibles were confiscated and burned, and there were consistent attacks on both those who distributed the book and those who read it. Even after the English Bible was made legal, its opponents remained strong, and laws such as the Act for Advancement of True Religion of 1543 restricted its readership. Although the vernacular scriptures enjoyed royal and clerical protection during the reign of Edward VI, this was merely a brief interlude before the Church under Mary made the English Bible illegal again, striking it from the service and eventually burning both the Bible and some of its readers. The fortunes of the vernacular scriptures were slow to recover under Elizabeth; it was not until 1561 that the English Bible went into print again.

The most notable achievement for the supporters of the English Bible was the installation of the text into the parish churches of England. Yet even this did not

prove a total success. Although parishes were ordered to acquire the Bible in 1538, churchwardens' accounts indicate that, taking East Anglia as an example, most churches did not purchase Bibles until 1541 at the earliest, and 1547/48 at the latest. Archidiaconal records prove that some East Anglian churches lacked the scriptures as late as 1552. Lastly, the church-plate certificates show that many parishes were slack in completing government injunctions to acquire religious items. The installation of the Bible in East Anglian parishes was thus less than complete even by the end of the reign of Edward, and therefore it is possible that some persons in the area may have had no contact with the Bible until the reign of Elizabeth.

Yet despite these setbacks there were some indications that the English Bible might succeed. Even by 1527 the Tyndale Bible was a familiar book in post-Lollard underground sects. Although access to the Bible in English was hindered during the later years of the reign of Henry, Protestant authors and preachers began to formulate a defence of the text. During the brief reign of Edward, additional propaganda was written in defence of the English Bible, and the Church integrated the scriptures into the service and official primer. This was to prove crucial during the Marian Reaction, when, although few at least in East Anglia specifically demanded the return of the English Bible, many of the prosecuted demanded a return to the Edwardian service.

Such optimism for the future of the English Bible must even extend to the parish churches. Even though this dissertation must argue that the Bible failed to reach all of the parishes in East Anglia during the reigns of Henry and Edward, one must also conclude that this failure affected a relatively small portion of the laity. The church-plate certificates seem to demonstrate that parishes that failed to comply with the Injunctions were mostly in rural, thinly-populated areas. Churches in the city of Norwich and the large towns of East Anglia, as well as parishes in relatively well-

populated areas, generally complied with the orders. It goes without saying that the bulk of the literate population lived in the latter sort of parishes. The certificates also suggest that parishes in areas dependent upon weaving and tanning, growing industries in East Anglia, also tended to comply with the Injunctions.

While most laypersons probably only encountered the English Bible passively—that is, through hearing it read at services, or by attending sermons—during this period, small but determined groups of active Bible readers prepared the way for later students of the text. The Colchester heretics detected in 1527, and their like-minded contemporaries in King's Lynn, largely succeeded in establishing a network of illicit Bible sales. Henrician radicals such as Bale drew the curious to the Gospel, while moderates such as Becon attempted to place the vernacular scriptures within the context of mainstream religion. During the reign of Edward, the Ipswich publishers Scoloker and Oswen incorporated the reading of the Bible into popular theology, while the rebels at Kett's camp made a fervent, albeit unsuccessful, call for the universal teaching of the English Bible. The scripture-studying of the Freewill-Men, radical in the early 1550's, would have raised little concern fifty years later. Lastly, the readers of the English Bible who were detected during the Marian Reaction, assisted by the propaganda of John Foxe, served as heroic examples to their Protestant successors.

With hindsight one might claim that the success of the English Bible by 1600 was an inevitability. After all, the Bible was installed in a majority, most likely a large majority, of the parishes by the end of the reign of Edward. However, the installation of the Great Bible was not the last step for the acceptance of vernacular scripture, but rather the first. A Bible that, as Becon lamented, lay in dust in the parish church did nothing on its own: it had to be read, preached and understood by

the clergy and the laity to have an impact. If even that first step, the introduction of the Bible into the church, did not occur in some parishes, in how many more did reading and understanding fail to occur? It may well be that both the active supporters of vernacular scripture and the active opponents of the text were outnumbered by a silent majority who allowed the dust to settle on the English Bible between 1525 and 1560.

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Lothingland hundred (PRO E179 180/141 and 180/157).
Sampford hundred (PRO E179 180/150).
Dunwich hundred (PRO E179 180/155).
Blithing and Wangford hundreds (PRO E179 180/171).
Hoxne hundred (PRO E179 180/172).
Bosmere and Claydon hundreds (PRO E179 180/173).
Mutford hundred (PRO E179 180/157 and 180/160).

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SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the impact of the English Bible upon the people and parishes of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex between 1525 and 1560. It examines two major themes of this impact: firstly, the level of success of the installation of the Great Bible in the parish churches; secondly, the effects of the publication and open reading of the scriptures in the vernacular upon the laity of East Anglia. The first theme explains the reasons for the order to install English scripture in the churches, and the information on the success of this installation provided by prosecution records and churchwardens' accounts. It then introduces an obscure document set, the church-plate certificates produced during the reign of Edward VI, and using these examines the level of installation of the Bible and of the religious injunctions of 1547. The results of the study of the church-plate certificates and churchwardens' accounts are compared with a number of factors, including parish wealth, proximity to towns and agricultural patterns, to determine which types of parishes were more likely to comply. The second theme examines the various responses of laypersons to the appearance of the English Bible in East Anglia. Although much of this section has been derived from records of prosecution, it also studies the effects of the English Bible on diverse events such as Kett's Rebellion of 1549, popular printing in Ipswich and the production of educational primers. This section also looks at the level of scriptural knowledge of laypersons ranging from that of Robert Reynys, a churchreeve of Acle, of the 1430's, to that of the prosecuted Marian Protestants during the 1550's.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses two major issues concerning the impact of the English vernacular Bible in East Anglia during the period between 1525, the year of the publication of the first Tyndale New Testament, and 1558, the death of Queen Mary and the end of the Marian Counter-Reformation. The first is the impact of the availability of the scriptures upon the lay population of the area. The second is the success or failure of the attempt by the Henrician and Edwardian Church to install the Great Bible in the parish churches, concentrating upon the installation in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Throughout this dissertation, I will chiefly examine these three counties; however, in some sections, either through of a lack of evidence or a necessity to examine the national situation, I will need to look at other areas in England and Wales.

Chapter 1 examines vernacular Bibles and their reception during the period before 1525. In the first section of the chapter, the national history of pre-Conquest vernacular Bibles written in Anglo-Saxon or Irish is studied. The next section deals with the decline in the production of vernacular Bibles in England, as contrasted with the situation in Continental Europe, and discusses how this decline affected Lollard and Reformation views of the English Bible. It also examines two late-medieval East Anglian translations of small sections of the scriptures. The third section focuses upon lay knowledge of the Bible in late-medieval East Anglia, and in particular the methods by which laypersons might be able to access the text of the scriptures. I also discuss the cases of three persons of fifteenth-century Norfolk—Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe and Robert Reynys—and comment upon the scriptural knowledge of each as depicted in their writings. In the final section the impact of the Wycliffite Bible is examined. The ownership of the Wycliffite Bible by orthodox laypersons and

clerics is studied alongside the opposition to the text. Finally, the use of the Wycliffite Bible by detected Lollards in Norfolk and Suffolk during Bishop Alnwick's prosecutions is studied.

Chapter 2 first examines the reaction of the Henrician church to the publication of Tyndale's New Testament, and the forms in which this reaction took place. The distribution and reading of the Tyndale Bible in East Anglia is studied, as well as the main arguments made by church leaders against the production of English scriptures. Henry VIII's change in attitude towards the English Bible, and the reasons why he decided to licence the Bible and to install it into the parish churches, will then be discussed. The mechanics of the installation of the Great Bible are also studied, in addition to the difficulties faced by church authorities in ensuring that the installation would be uniformly enforced. The final section of the chapter examines the records (apart from the church-plate certificates) which contain evidence about the success or failure of the distribution of the Bible, in particular archidiaconal court records and churchwardens' accounts. This argues that, although these records display only a very fragmentary picture of the state of the Bible in parish churches, they suggest that the introduction of the Bible was far from universal.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus upon the installation of the Bible in the parish churches, and particularly upon how church-plate certificates, the records of parish alienation of valuables made between 1547 and 1552, in combination with the churchwardens' accounts can help to identify trends in the fulfilment of the obligations outlined in the 1538 and 1547 religious injunctions. Chapter 3 describes the differing forms of the church-plate certificates in East Anglia as opposed to the nation as a whole, and also attempts to explain why the certificates take their three distinctive forms dating from 1548, 1550/51 and 1552. It also addresses the question

of churchwardens' accounts, how these records relate to the certificates, and how the accounts can be used in tandem with the certificates in examining the level of scriptural installation in the parishes. Lastly the question of whether the church-plate certificates can be used to identify parishes which did and did not possess the Bible before 1547 and, if so, how the information of the certificates can be correctly used, is addressed.

Chapter 4 first examines how previous authors have viewed and used the certificates. It then moves on to a detailed analysis of the data contained in the church-plate certificates in each county. This analysis identifies a number of key factors in the study of the data: namely the amount of plate and valuables sold by each parish; the amount of money gained by each parish spent upon "necessary" changes and repairs to the church fabric; and whether any of these expenditures involved fulfillment of any part of the requirements of the 1547 Injunctions, or, most importantly, whether a Bible was purchased with this money. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a series of tests made from this data, to examine whether any trends can be found within it, and to identify whether these trends can be explained by social, economic or religious factors. The chapter concludes with a summary of the analysis and a cautionary note that the conclusions are mostly drawn from extrapolations of indirect data.

Chapter 5 returns to the study of the impact of the printed English Bible upon the laypersons of East Anglia, focusing upon the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII and the reign of Edward VI. The first half of the chapter examines the indifference of many persons to the installation of the Great Bible, and the effects of Henry's policies towards the reading of scripture after 1541. This study also examines the handful of prosecutions which occurred in East Anglia for offences

relating to the Bible between 1541 and 1547, and attempts to explain how the apparently reactionary Act of Six Articles in 1541 actually strengthened the position of the English Bible by allowing evangelicals to continue to use the text. The second half of the chapter examines the impact of the Bible in East Anglia during the reign of Edward, by looking at three separate facets of the text. The first studies patterns of printing in the town of Ipswich, which proved not only to be strong in its Protestant tone, but also very protective of the English Bible. The second looks at the place of Christian teaching, including the Bible, in Kett's Rebellion of 1549. Finally, two radical Protestant sects active in the region, the Free-will men and the Anabaptists, and their connection to vernacular scripture, are examined. A final section examines various avenues which illiterate person might use towards the understanding of the English Bible, including primers, sermons, painting, singing and listening to ale-house gospellers.

The sixth and final chapter deals with the history of the English Bible during the reign of Mary and the first few years of the reign of Elizabeth. The first part of the section is an overview of the Marian reaction to the vernacular Bible, the assumptions behind its rejection, and the motivations of those Marian Catholics who supported the vernacular Bible. This section chiefly examines proclamations and printed works attacking the English Bible, and connects these works with other orthodox Catholic writings and doctrinal comments made both about the Wycliffite Bible and the Tyndale Bible during the reign of Henry VIII. The fate of East Anglian parish Bibles during the reign of Mary is examined. The use of churchwardens' accounts and prosecution records shows that many parishes were able to retain their Bibles throughout the reign, and to display these texts again at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The bulk of the chapter is concerned with the Marian prosecutions

of East Anglian Protestants, and the role played by the English Bible in these cases. It first examines the cases in which the vernacular scriptures are central, and studies how the Bible was used by the defendants, whether as a work of devotion, or, as in some cases, as a symbol of true religion. It then moves on to those cases in which the text of the Bible was quoted or alluded to by the prosecuted, and examines how scripture was used in their defence. The cases in which scripture is neither quoted nor explicitly mentioned are then studied, and the motivation of the defendants in each of these cases is considered. Throughout this section various themes concerning the English Bible are examined, such as the role of women in the dissemination of scripture, the tendency towards reading the Bible in groups, and the activities of separatist Protestant religious communities. In the final section of the chapter, the situation of the English Bible during the early years of Elizabeth's reign is briefly studied. In particular the relatively slow process of the return of vernacular scriptures is considered, and the use of Biblical knowledge as a test for laypersons is addressed.

Appendix 1. An explanation of the church-plate appendices.

The church-plate appendices, numbered Appendices 2 to 7 here, are for the most part self-explanatory; however, there are some notes to consider in studying these tables.

"Landscape" orientation for Appendices 2, 3a, 4a and 4b. Because these four appendices contain a great deal of information, they have been produced in landscape orientation, in preference to the alternative of a much smaller font size.

Asterisk (*) next to the name of a parish. In Appendices 5 (Huntingdonshire) and 7 (Cheshire), this denotes an incomplete or damaged certificate.

Values rendered. In all except Appendix 7 (Cheshire), Sales and Purchases, and "Value in *VE* (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*)" are in pounds. The columns for Windows, Whiting, Books and Other N. are in shillings.

In Appendix 7 (Cheshire) all of the stated values are in shillings.

Windows, Whiting, Books and Other N. Columns. In all of the Appendices: where the cost of whiting includes the painting of the Ten Commandments and the King's Arms on the walls, this is noted by an asterisk (*). The "Books" column is in boldface; where not otherwise noted, this figure is for the purchase of a Bible. A question mark (?) indicates that the money was spent on the item, but the amount is unknown. "Intent" indicates that, according to the certificate, the parish intended to spend money on the item. "UC" denotes "uncertain compliance."

In Appendices 4a and 4b (Essex): where a figure is in italics, this denotes that the purchase was made in 1552. This is of particular note in Appendix 4a, which contains the parishes which furnished both a 1547 and a 1552 certificate.

Abbreviations. "T. '47-'52." In both Appendix 3a (Norfolk) and Appendices 4a and 4b (Essex), this indicates the total sales made in 1547/8 and 1552.
"Folio 1547" and "Folio 1552." In Appendix 3a (Norfolk), this is the reference number for the respective certificates. The PRO number E315 is omitted.
"% 1547." In Appendices 3a (Norfolk) and 4a (Essex), the percentage of total sales that were made in 1547.

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"% 1547." In Appendices 3a (Norfolk) and 4a (Essex), the percentage of total sales that were made in 1547.

Appendix 2: Suffolk Church-plate certificates, 1547

Parish	Deanery	Plate Sold	Money Spent	Percentage	Windows	Whiting	Books	Other N.	Value in *VE*
Aldeburgh	Orford	2.00	2.25	112.50%					34.24
Alderton	Wilford	6.00	6.00	100.00%					15.63
Aldringham with Thorpe	Dunwich	3.33	3.33	100.00%					7.47
Ashfield	Claydon	2.00	2.00	100.00%					4.69
Badingham	Hoxne	3.85	0.00	0.00%					24.66
Barking	Bosmere	63.50	37.33	58.79%					
Bawdsey	Wilford	5.00	5.00	100.00%					27.52
Beccles	Wangford	99.00	99.00	100.00%					28
Bedingfield	Hoxne	5.33	5.33	100.00%					8
Benhall	Orford	4.00	4.00	100.00%					
Blaxhall	Orford	2.00	1.67	83.33%					20.53
Blundeston	Lothingland	1.33	1.05	78.75%					13.78
Blythburgh	Dunwich	27.00	10.00	37.04%					
Bodley	Bosmere	0.50	0.00	0.00%					
Bramfield	Dunwich	13.38	8.67	64.76%					8
Brandeston	Loes	10.83	7.17	66.15%					9.98
Bredfield	Wilford	15.00	20.00	133.33%					1.89
Bromeswell	Wilford	4.00	0.00	0.00%					
Bruisyard	Orford	2.00	1.15	57.50%					2.52
Bungay	Wangford	52.00	54.33	104.49%	26.67				10.8
Butley	Wilford	1.50	1.50	100.00%					
Campsey Ash	Loes	2.00	1.33	66.67%					14.87
Carlton Colville	Lothingland	5.33	4.80	90.00%					
Charsfield	Loes	1.33	1.33	100.00%					5.13
Chediston	Dunwich	3.80	2.76	72.59%	11	**1 (for a lectern)**		1.83	17.14
Chelmondiston	Samford	2.33	2.17	92.86%					6.33
Clopton	Carlford	2.00	2.00	100.00%					
Cookley	Dunwich	0.80	0.70	87.50%			?		9.94
Copdock	Samford	2.05	0.00	0.00%					
Corton	Lothingland	0.50	0.33	66.67%					5.83
Covehithe	Dunwich	70.00	109.00	155.71%					5.81
Cratfield	Dunwich	20.00	17.00	85.00%		**10**			
Cretingham	Loes	3.00	3.00	100.00%					
Dallinghoo	Wilford	2.17	3.00	138.46%					7.33

Darsham	Dunwich	0.12	0.00	0.00%					
Debach and Boulge	Loes	2.60	1.55	59.62%					4.13
Dunwich	Dunwich	6.00	1.75	29.17%					
Dunwich St. John's	Dunwich	44.00	44.00	100.00%					
Dunwich St. Peter's	Dunwich	38.03	20.00	52.59%					
Earl Soham	Loes	4.00	4.00	100.00%					
East Bergholt	Samford	38.17	35.00	91.70%	? ?				
Easton	Loes	29.27	12.60	43.07%					
Falkenham	Colneis	6.00	1.17	19.44%					8.06
Flixton	Lothingland	4.00	1.00	25.00%					1.67
Framlingham	Loes	60.00	60.00	100.00%					
Framsden	Claydon	13.25	2.00	15.09%					11.15
Fressingfield	Hoxne	34.00	35.20	103.53%					
Freston	Samford	1.60	2.00	125.00%	? 40 (w/windows)				
Frostenden	Dunwich	2.00	2.17	108.33%		3.33	6.67		12.48
Gorleston	Lothingland	14.00	14.00	100.00%					
Farnham	Orford	3.47	2.99	86.30%	12.00	16			13.33
Great Glemham	Orford	9.98	9.98	100.00%					10.6
Gt. Wenham	Samford	1.00	1.00	100.00%					9.06
Hacheston	Loes	5.26	1.65	31.35%					
Halesworth	Dunwich	21.40	21 40	100.00%					
Hasketon	Carlford	1.00	0.50	50.00%					
Hemley	Colneis	2.33	1.00	42.86%					5.15
Heveningham	Dunwich	5.20	4.75	91.35%		10		2	12.81
Holbrook	Samford	21.00	5.33	25.40%					12.31
Holton	Dunwich	1.00	1.00	100.00%		6.67		13.33	
Hoo	Loes	2.17	1.33	61.54%					6.67
Hopton-on-Sea	Lothingland	1.67	5.62	337.00%		20			
Huntingfield	Dunwich	3.17	3.17	100.00%					14.51
Iken	Orford	7.50	5.43	72.44%					
Ilketshall	Wangford	4.46	4.86	108.97%					
Ipswich St. Lawrence	Ipswich	60.25	18.75	31.12%	55.67 (w/others) + 53.33 for scriptures				
Ipswich St. Margaret's	Ipswich	52.69	9.25	17.56%	100*				
Ipswich St. Mary in Elms	Ipswich	15.80	8.00	50.63%	40 (w/mending)				
Ipswich St. Matthew	Ipswich	55.00	9.00	16.36%					
Ipswich St. Nicholas	Ipswich	36.40	8.00	21.98%	60*				
Ipswich St. Stephen	Ipswich	40.00	6.09	15.22%	100*				
Ipswich Turrym	Ipswich	18.00	8.00	44.47%		60			

Kelsale	Dunwich	5.00	5.00	100.00%				1.91
Kessingland	Lothingland	43.50	19.83	45.59%		13.33 (scriptures)		10.69
Kirkley	Lothingland	7.00	10.00	142.86%				
Kirton	Colneis	2.60	2.60	100.00%				
Laxfield	Hoxne	39.67	39.67	100.00%				14.31
Leiston	Dunwich	12.00	19.00	158.33%				
Little Bealings	Carlford	4.97	4.61	92.79%			12.17 (w/other)	6.56
Little Belstead	Samford	1.50	1.50	100.00%				7.55
Little Glemham	Orford	3.67	4.00	109.09%				6.5
Lounde	Lothingland	5.67	5.83	102.94%				
Lowestoft	Lothingland	15.54	2.00	12.87%				
Marlesford	Loes	3.92	6.00	153.19%				10.48
Martlesham	Carlford	8.54	4.00	46.83%		80*		
Melton	Wilford	14.00	14.00	100.00%				10.34
Metfield	Hoxne	5.67	5.67	100.00%				2.1
Mickfield	Bosmere	1.50	1.35	90.00%				
Middleton with Fordeley	Dunwich	14.40	19.00	131.94%				4.98
Monewden	Loes	2.00	2.33	116.67%	13.33	20		
Monk Soham	Hoxne	1.67	1.67	100.00%				
Newbourn	Colneis	3.83	1.73	45.22%				
Orford	Orford	7.83	7.83	100.00%				34.36
Pakefield	Lothingland	3.33	6.67	200.00%				7.21
Parham	Loes	9.00	0.00	0.00%				
Peasenhall	Dunwich	8.00	4.00	50.00%				
Pettistree	Wilford	3.00	3.00	100.00%				
Pettaugh	Claydon	2.00	2.00	100.00%				12.1
Rendham	Orford	2.33	2.33	100.00%				25.06
Rendlesham	Loes	8.75	8.75	100.00%				25.16
Reydon	Dunwich	13.41	13.41	100.00%				
Rushmere	Lothingland	5.00	5.00	100.00%			16.67	
Saxmundham	Orford	5.00	2.33	46.67%				9.23
Shelley	Samford	3.40	3.00	88.24%				1.4
Shotley	Samford	26.00	28.00	107.69%				20.47
Sibton	Dunwich	3.47	3.47	100.00%				2.33
Snape	Orford	3.40	0.00	0.00%				5.28
Sotterley	Wangford	5.41	0.00	0.00%				10.42
South Elmham St. James	South Elmham	5.67	0.00	0.00%				8

South Cove	Dunwich	10.33	8.00	77.42%				6.43
Southwold	Dunwich	70.00	70.00	100.00%				13.67
Sproughton	Samford	3.10	1.50	48.39%	10 (w/others)			21.41
Sternfield	Orford	5.00	15.33	306.67%	106.67 (w/others)			9.15
Stonham Aspal	Bosmere	31.30	22.03	70.39%	26.67*	80 (w/other)		61.36
Stradbroke	Hoxne	27.33	27.00	98.78%				10.44
Stratford St. Mary	Samford	30.00	22.67	75.56%	? 133.33 (w/windows)			6.3
Sudbourne	Orford	6.50	2.50	38.46%				
Sutton	Wilford	6.00	7.52	125.28%				8.7
Tannington	Hoxne	2.67	2.67	100.00%				
Tattingstone	Samford	2.33	2.33	100.00%				
Thorington	Dunwich	6.68	6.68	100.00%		?		
Trimley St. Mary	Colneis	4.75	5.00	105.26%				17.19
Ufford	Wilford	68.60	17.00	24.78%				9.75
Walberswick	Dunwich	30.00	33.67	112.22%	100 (w/others)			12
Walton	Colneis	18.00	18.00	100.00%				4.72
Wangford	Dunwich	16.00	16.00	100.00%	140*			8
Wenhaston	Dunwich	12.00	11.00	91.67%		**13.33**	6.67	11.17
Whitton cum Thurleston	Claydon	1.38	0.00	0.00%			Intent	
Wickham Market	Wilford	30.00	20.00	66.67%				5.4
Winston	Claydon	2.00	1.40	70.00%				
Wissett	Dunwich	4.00	5.00	125.00%				
Woodbridge	Wilford	26.38	26.38	100.00%			UC	8
Worlingham	Wangford	8.00	3.00	37.50%				0.67
Wrentham	Dunwich	30.00	26.77	89.22%				21.81
Yoxford	Dunwich	25.00	11.50	46.00%	100 (w/others)			
Average for Suffolk:		14.03	10.62	75.69%				

Appendix 3a: Norfolk Church-plate Certificates, 1547 and 1552

Parish	Hundred	Total Sales	Total Purchases	Percent Sold	Windows	**Books**	Whiting	Other	N.	Total '52	% 1547	T.'47-'52	Folio 1547	Folio 1552
Acle	Walsham	24.00	2.00	8.33%						55.03	30.37%	79.03	500-45	499-31
Alby	S. Erpingham	1.33	0.00	0.00%						13.32	9.08%	14.65	500-121	505-37
Ashill	Wayland	39.30	13.20	33.59%					20	31.58	55.45%	70.88	500-36	E.117 6/17 1
Aylsham	S. Erpingham	102.67	60.00	58.44%						182.57	35.99%	285.24	500-130	505-44
Baconsthorpe	S. Erpingham	4.67	3.17	67.88%			33.33		10	25.38	15.54%	30.05	500-117	505-66
Banningham	S. Erpingham	19.27	5.20	26.98%			UC			50.01	27.81%	69.28	500-128	505-53
Barney	Freebridge	6.20	1.00	16.13%						20.64	23.10%	26.84	500-25	E.117 6/13 11
Beeston	Launditch	23.57	13.50	57.28%	?					44.03	34.87%	67.60	500-16	503-79
Beetley	Launditch	3.68	2.17	58.97%			25			22.30	14.16%	25.98	500-10	503-104
Beigton	Walsham	9.10	8.10	89.01%						18.72	32.71%	27.82	500-46	499-17
Blakeney	Holt	23.15	20.00	86.39%			Intent			42.65	35.18%	65.80	500-94	503-57
Blickling	S. Erpingham	23.00	7.35	31.96%	?		26.67			46.18	33.25%	69.18	500-113	505-49
Blofield	Blofield	4.00	4.00	100.00%						49.84	7.43%	53.84	500-44	499-5
Bodham	Holt	6.00	9.00	150.00%	?		20			10.98	35.34%	16.98	500-102	503-74
Breccles	Wayland	2.22	1.10	49.55%		12			10	7.97	21.79%	10.19	500-29	E.117 6/17 2
Brisley	Launditch	30.10	24.33	80.83%						23.64	56.01%	53.74	500-12	503-82
Briston	Holt	7.43	7.33	98.65%			UC			26.61	21.83%	34.04	500-92	503-73
Burgh St. Margaret	W. Flegg	1.80	1.00	55.56%			UC			26.58	6.34%	28.38	500-51	502-121
Buxton	S. Erpingham	6.50	5.75	88.46%	?	6.67	15	13.33		27.78	18.96%	34.28	500-116	505-30
Calthorpe	S. Erpingham	6.00	12.00	200.00%						13.28	31.12%	19.28	500-122	505-36
Carbrooke	Wayland	24.09	22.09	91.70%			40*	?		35.83	40.20%	59.92	500-31	E.117 6/17 3
Castle Acre	Freebridge	10.00	9.00	90.00%	?		?			51.01	16.39%	61.01	500-82	501-24
Caston	Wayland	2.50	1.42	56.80%		6.67		10		30.82	7.50%	33.32	500-34	E.117 6/17 4
Cawston	S. Erpingham	44.11	44.00	99.75%			200*			50.77	46.49%	94.88	500-129	505-61
Colby	S. Erpingham	12.00	4.00	33.33%						17.81	40.25%	29.81	500-110	505-57
Colkirk	Launditch	1.20	1.20	100.00%		?	?			14.92	7.44%	16.12	500-7	503-91
Coltishall	S. Erpingham	8.00	6.33	79.13%			Intent			28.93	21.66%	36.93	500-123	503-63
Congham St. Andrew	Freebridge	5.50	4.00	72.73%			20			7.17	43.41%	12.67	500-71	501-13
Corpusty	S. Erpingham	2.38	2.02	84.87%			13.33	5		15.94	12.99%	18.32	500-114	503-33
Croxton	Grimshoe	1.00	0.12	12.00%						14.08	6.63%	15.08	503-37	503-38
Dersingham	Freebridge	11.00	11.00	100.00%			UC			34.44	24.21%	45.44	500-83	501-7
Edgefield	Holt	4.60	6.35	138.04%		7	26.67			21.50	17.62%	26.10	500-89	503-56
Filby	E. Flegg	5.00	4.00	80.00%			Intent			49.51	9.17%	54.51	500-52	502-78
Foulsham	Eynsford	40.00	13.32	33.30%			Intent			72.64	35.51%	112.64	500-56	501-X
Freethorpe	Blofield	0.17	0.17	100.00%						12.18	1.38%	12.35	500-42	499-19
Gressenhall	Launditch	8.00	0.00	0.00%						31.10	20.46%	39.10	500-3	503-101

Griston	Wayland	2.82	2.82	100.00%					14.29	16.48%	17.11	500-30	E.117 6/17 6
Gt. Hautbois	S. Erpingham	7.58	0.33	4.35%					5.93	56.11%	13.51	500-111	505-62
Gt. Langham	Holt	4.33	3.00	69.28%			Intent		32.27	11.83%	36.60	500-98	503-69
Gt. Massingham	Freebridge	2.70	2.67	98.89%					26.50	9.25%	29.20	500-82	501-2
Gt. Snoring	Freebridge	12.93	12.35	95.51%	60	7			11.60	52.71%	24.53	500-19	E.117 6/13 4
Gt. Walsingham	Freebridge	7.00	4.50	64.29%			20		17.44	28.64%	24.44	500-95	E.117 6/13 13
Guist	Eynsford	8.00	8.00	100.00%					7.70	50.96%	15.70	500-53	501-43
Hackford/Whitwell	Eynsford	20.00	16.00	80.00%			?	?	32.95	37.77%	52.95	500-58	501-42
Hainford	Taverham	1.67	0.75	44.91%					15.11	9.95%	16.78	500-40	499-7
Harpley	Freebridge	6.10	4.67	76.56%	Intent		Intent		35.57	14.64%	41.67	500-66	501-5
Haveringland	Eynsford	1.67	1.67	100.00%					23.94	6.52%	25.61	500-57	E.117,6/15 5
Hempstead	Holt	3.60	2.12	58.89%		Intent	Intent		18.52	16.27%	22.12	500-90	503-75
Hevingham	S. Erpingham	8.35	8.35	100.00%			?		37.63	18.16%	45.98	500-108	503-52
Heydon	S. Erpingham	27.00	5.17	19.15%			Intent		35.83	42.97%	62.83	500-127	505-38
Hindolveston	Eynsford	18.17	16.00	88.06%					34.10	34.76%	52.27	500-54	501-39
Holkham	Freebridge	0.08	0.00	0.00%					4.66	1.69%	4.74	500-17	E.117 6/13 12
Holt	Holt	13.00	5.70	43.85%	?		?		12.35	51.28%	25.35	500-107	503-68
Horsham St. Faith	Taverham	6.67	5.00	74.96%					18.74	26.25%	25.41	500-41	499-12
Houghton-in-the-Dale	Freebridge	6.17	0.00	0.00%					15.11	28.99%	21.28	500-22	E.117 6/13 6
Hunworth	Holt	5.87	2.32	39.52%				6.67	10.13	36.69%	16.00	500-101	503-53
Ingworth	S. Erpingham	2.00	2.00	100.00%					7.64	20.75%	9.64	500-125	503-41
Kelling	Holt	3.68	6.72	182.61%	13.33	15	10	10	5.98	38.10%	9.66	500-87	503-66
King's Lynn (all three)	Freebridge	119.23	100.00	83.87%	?		?		192.87	38.20%	312.10	500-85	501-55,57,58
Letheringsett	Holt	3.73	1.67	44.77%			20		10.25	26.68%	13.98	500-86	503-55
Lt. Dunham	Launditch	3.50	3.00	85.71%			?	?	9.07	27.84%	12.57	500-9	503-97
Lt. Walsingham	Freebridge	79.53	79.53	100.00%			?		74.90	51.50%	154.43	500-23	E.117 6/13 1
Marsham	S. Erpingham	6.40	1.67	26.09%			Intent		23.36	21.51%	29.76	500-120	505-58
Martham	W. Flegg	12.00	8.00	66.67%				Intent	51.25	18.97%	63.25	500-48	502-116
Merton	Wayland	2.17	2.17	100.00%			?		16.57	11.58%	18.74	500-32	E.117 6/17 7
Morston	Holt	4.00	4.00	100.00%					18.04	18.15%	22.04	500-103	503-62
N. Elmham	Launditch	14.59	10.27	70.39%	13.33		80*		41.99	25.79%	56.58	500-2	503-94
N. Runcton	Freebridge	1.60	1.60	100.00%					19.47	7.59%	21.07	500-74	501-30
Oulton	S. Erpingham	3.50	2.33	66.57%			40		13.11	21.07%	16.61	500-124	505-51
Repps-cum-Bastwick	W. Flegg	1.33	1.33	100.00%					10.84	10.93%	12.17	500-49	502-117
Ringland	Taverham	6.30	4.00	63.49%					31.48	16.68%	37.78	500-62	E.117 6/15 1
S. Burlingham, St. Peter	Blofield	14.00	14.00	100.00%					12.65	52.53%	26.65	500-43	499-12

S. Lynn All Saints	Freebridge	30.66	24.00	78.28%									
S. Wootton	Freebridge	2.05	0.67	32.68%		40		47.43	39.26%	78.09	500-69	501-56	
Salle	Eynsford	22.67	15.00	66.17%				5.31	27.85%	7.36	500-65	501-32	
Salthouse	Holt	20.20	19.13	94.70%		Intent		143.83	13.62%	166.50	500-60	501-49	
Saxlingham	Holt	2.00	1.00	50.00%		?		21.03	48.99%	41.23	500-97	503-52	
Saxthorpe	S. Erpingham	12.17	9.45	77.65%		Nec		5.67	26.08%	7.67	500-106	503-54	
Skeyton	S. Erpingham	2.18	2.18	100.00%	**10**	60	6.67	24.90	32.83%	37.07	500-112	505-35	
Sparham	Eynsford	11.50	6.57	57.13%				7.93	21.56%	10.11	500-126	505-34	
Swannington	Eynsford	2.60	2.60	100.00%		?		32.05	26.41%	43.55	500-59	501-41	
Swanton Abbots	S. Erpingham	10.83	10.22	94.37%				16.99	13.27%	19.59	500-61	E.117,6/15 2	
Swanton Morley	Launditch	19.70	10.45	53.05%	**13.33**	53.33*	6.67	11.38	48.76%	22.21	500-115	505-40	
Terrington St. Clement	Freebridge	56.00	0.00	0.00%				17.09	53.55%	36.79	500-14	503-89	
								78.08	41.77%	134.08	500-77	499-37	
Thetford St. Cuthbert	Shropham	11.33	11.33	100.00%									
Thetford St. Peter	Shropham	4.48	9.02	201.34%		26.67		11.94	48.69%	23.27	500-38	500-71	
Thompson	Wayland	13.37	12.33	92.22%		40		24.07	15.69%	28.55	500-39	500-72	
Threxton	Wayland	1.45	1.45	100.00%		40		9.67	58.03%	23.04	500-28	E.117 6/17 12	
Thursford	Freebridge	3.00	3.00	100.00%				10.44	12.20%	11.89	500-33	E.117 6/17 13	
Tilney All Saints	Freebridge	12.07	12.07	100.00%				12.79	19.00%	15.79	500-24	E.117 6/13 5	
Tittleshall	Launditch	1.33	1.33	100.00%				39.51	23.40%	51.58	500-79	499-40	
Tuttington	S. Erpingham	2.20	2.20	100.00%		?	?	24.21	5.21%	25.54	500-15	503-96	
W. Acre	Freebridge	2.74	1.55	56.57%				16.09	12.03%	18.29	500-109	505-50	
W. Beckham	S. Erpingham	3.90	3.90	100.00%		31		18.30	13.02%	21.04	500-75	501-23	
W. Lynn	Freebridge	4.00	5.63	140.75%				8.66	31.05%	12.56	500-118	505-39	
W. Walton	Freebridge	8.67	0.00	0.00%				35.33	10.17%	39.33	500-72	499-44	
Walpole St. Andrew	Freebridge	18.40	4.00	21.74%				45.20	16.09%	53.87	500-81	499-46	
Walpole St. Peter	Freebridge	35.00	16.00	45.71%		80		21.98	45.57%	40.38	500-73	499-45	
Walsoken	Freebridge	14.00	8.00	57.14%		120		31.57	52.58%	66.57	500-70	499-35	
Waybourne	Holt	11.60	5.42	46.72%	40			35.65	28.20%	49.65	500-76	499-43	
Weasenham All Saints	Launditch	8.16	0.00	0.00%		30	5	18.78	38.18%	30.38	500-93	503-63	
								23.13	26.08%	31.29	500-6	503-102	
Wells	Freebridge	62.00	56.00	90.32%									
Whissonsett	Launditch	10.00	1.83	18.30%		Intent		19.70	75.89%	81.70	500-21	E.117 6/13 7	
Wickmere	S. Erpingham	10.00	13.63	136.30%				19.72	33.65%	29.72	500-100	503-85	
Wiggenhall St. German's	Freebridge	20.67	20.50	99.18%		?		18.91	34.59%	28.91	500-119	505-48	
								23.93	46.35%	44.60	500-67	499-38	
Wiggenhall St. MM	Freebridge	1.08	0.00	0.00%									
Wiggenhall St. MV	Freebridge	6.40	6.40	100.00%				35.44	2.96%	36.52	500-64	499-49	
Wiggenhall St. Peter	Freebridge	6.03	6.03	100.00%				22.08	22.47%	28.48	500-80	499-39	
					8	12.67		6.39	48.55%	12.42	500-68	499-48	

Wighton	Freebridge	12.50	12.50	100.00%			32.27	27.92%	44.77	500-26	E.117 6/13 14
Wiveton	Holt	22.50	11.53	51.24%			35.43	38.84%	57.93	500-99	503-71
Woodton	Loddon	8.00	1.17	14.63%		10	13.63	36.99%	21.63	X	X
Wolferton	Freebridge	7.00	7.00	100.00%			38.36	15.43%	45.36	500-63	501-35
	Averages:	13.21	9.00	68.14%			28.95	31.33%	42.16		

Appendix 3b: Norfolk parishes with *Valor Ecclesiasticus* valuation

Parish	Hundred	
Acle	Walsham	20.43
Alby	S. Erpingham	7.88
Ashill	Wayland	20.75
Aylsham	S. Erpingham	36.81
Baconsthorpe	S. Erpingham	9.42
Banningham	S. Erpingham	11.19
Barney	Freebridge	8.41
Beeston	Launditch	13.45
Beetley	Launditch	9.38
Beigton	Walsham	13.37
Blakeney	Holt	X
Blickling	S. Erpingham	11.09
Blofield	Blofield	23.89
Bodham	Holt	9.45
Breccles	Wayland	7.98
Brisley	Launditch	8.79
Briston	Holt	4.98
Burgh St. Margaret	W. Flegg	X
Buxton	S. Erpingham	5.99
Calthorpe	S. Erpingham	3.07
Carbrooke	Wayland	7.63
Castle Acre	Freebridge	5.33
Caston	Wayland	12.28
Cawston	S. Erpingham	16.15
Colby	S. Erpingham	9.01
Colkirk	Launditch	X
Coltishall	S. Erpingham	7.43
Congham St. Andrew	Freebridge	6.65
Corpusty	S. Erpingham	4.78
Croxton	Grimshoe	6.67
Dersingham	Freebridge	5.78
Edgefield	Holt	13.99
Filby	E. Flegg	X
Foulsham	Eynsford	27.20
Freethorpe	Blofield	3.70
Gressenhall	Launditch	17.42
Griston	Wayland	7.53
Gt. Hautbois	S. Erpingham	4.56
Gt. Langham	Holt	4.58
Gt. Massingham	Freebridge	33.65
Gt. Snoring	Freebridge	23.52
Gt. Walsingham	Freebridge	X
Guist	Eynsford	6.22
Hackford/Whitwell	Eynsford	7.61
Hainford	Taverham	X
Harpley	Freebridge	22.49
Haveringland	Eynsford	3.67
Hempstead	Holt	9.76
Hevingham	S. Erpingham	11.23
Heydon	S. Erpingham	10.29
Hindolveston	Eynsford	6.11
Holkham	Freebridge	9.14
Holt	Holt	11.23
Horsham St. Faith	Taverham	X
Houghton-in-the-Dale	Freebridge	8.00
Hunworth	Holt	X
Ingworth	S. Erpingham	5.23

Kelling	Holt	12.66
King's Lynn (all three)	Freebridge	X
Letheringsett	Holt	12.42
Lt. Dunham	Launditch	10.06
Lt. Walsingham	Freebridge	X
Marsham	S. Erpingham	11.56
Martham	W. Flegg	7.09
Merton	Wayland	7.58
Morston	Holt	18.08
N. Elmham	Launditch	13.74
N. Runcton	Freebridge	X
Oulton	S. Erpingham	2.00
Repps-cum-Bastwick	W. Flegg	11.22
Ringland	Taverham	3.35
S. Burlingham, St. Peter	Blofield	X
S. Lynn All Saints	Freebridge	18.76
S. Wootton	Freebridge	8.43
Salle	Eynsford	12.94
Salthouse	Holt	X
Saxlingham	Holt	13.33
Saxthorpe	S. Erpingham	5.24
Skeyton	S. Erpingham	9.99
Sparham	Eynsford	10.37
Swannington	Eynsford	7.03
Swanton Abbots	S. Erpingham	7.70
Swanton Morley	Launditch	16.03
Terrington St. Clement	Freebridge	36.81
Thetford St. Cuthbert	Shropham	5.17
Thetford St. Peter	Shropham	X
Thompson	Wayland	7.00
Threxton	Wayland	8.32
Thursford	Freebridge	8.43
Tilney All Saints	Freebridge	X
Tittleshall	Launditch	12.78
Tuttington	S. Erpingham	8.02
W. Acre	Freebridge	6.00
W. Beckham	S. Erpingham	X
W. Lynn	Freebridge	12.00
W. Walton	Freebridge	X
Walpole St. Andrew	Freebridge	27.13
Walpole St. Peter	Freebridge	X
Walsoken	Freebridge	40.04
Waybourne	Holt	X
Weasenham All Saints	Launditch	X
Wells	Freebridge	27.63
Whissonsett	Launditch	12.59
Wickmere	S. Erpingham	9.53
Wiggenhall St. German's	Freebridge	7.10
Wiggenhall St. MM	Freebridge	12.93
Wiggenhall St. MV	Freebridge	14.76
Wiggenhall St. Peter	Freebridge	2.00
Wighton	Freebridge	13.33
Wiveton	Holt	X
Woodton	Loddon	22.84
Wolferton	Freebridge	X
	Averages:	11.88

Appendix 3c: Norwich City church-plate certificates, 1547

	Plate Sold	Goods Purchased	Percent Paid	Whiting	Bibles	Other N.
St. Michael of Coslany	100.00	30.00	30.00%			
St. Margaret's	50.00	25.05	50.10%			
St. Peter Permontgate	44.00	10.00	22.73%			
St. Bartholomew	33.65	10.47	31.11%	Intent		Intent
St. Martin in Bear Street	17.33	3.20	18.47%		18	10
St. John Sepulchre	8.78	0.58	6.61%	8.33		11.5
St. Michael's in Bear St.	4.00	1.66	41.50%	Intent	Intent	2.17
Averages:	36.82	11.57	31.41%			

Appendix 3d: Norwich City church-plate certificates, 1552

St. Peter Mancroft	199.97	0.00	0.00%			
St. Mary of Coslany	75.30	66.62	88.47%	3.33		
St. Steven's	71.25	71.25	100.00%			
St. Michael of Mustow	55.59	44.67	80.36%			26.33
St. George of Colgate	45.04	33.00	73.27%			
St. Martin's of Yates	38.30	12.83	33.50%		10	6.67
St. Clement	37.53	17.98	47.91%	?		?
St. John of Bear Street	35.90	14.68	40.89%		15	10
St. George of Tombland	30.97	25.50	82.34%		?	?
St. John's Matermas	24.87	10.00	40.21%	120 w/other		
St. Benet's	24.33	0.00	0.00%			
St. Austin	23.98	14.00	58.38%			13.33
St. Powle	18.67	23.00	123.19%			20
St. Giles	14.67	7.00	47.72%			
All Saints of Bear Street	14.00	2.10	15.00%	23		23.67
Averages:	47.36	22.84	48.23%			

Appendices 4a and 4b: Inventories for Essex Churches, 1547/8-52

Appendix 4a: Essex parishes which supplied a certificate for 1547/8

Parish	Deanery	Sales 1547/8	Money Spent	Pounds Left	Percent Paid	Whiting	Books	Other N.	Sales 1552	Purchases 1552	T. '47-'52	% 1547
Aldham	Lexden	1.12	0.75	0.37	66.96%	9					1.12	100.00%
Alresford	Tendring	12.98	1.65	11.33	12.71%			?			12.98	100.00%
Ardleigh	Tendring	38.21	20.21	18.00	52.89%				38.88		77.09	49.57%
Bardfield Saling	Freshwell	3.00	3.00	0.00	100.00%						3.00	100.00%
Bardwell-juxta-Coggeshall	Witham	3.44	2.00	1.44	58.14%						3.44	100.00%
Bardwell-juxta-Mare	Dengie	0.53	0.00	0.53	0.00%	*31.5*		*6*	45.93		46.46	1.14%
Basildon	Barstable	2.33	2.33	0.00	100.00%						2.33	100.00%
Bircharger	Uttesford	7.00	4.00	3.00	57.14%						7.00	100.00%
Braintree	Hinckford	42.81	13.81	29.00	32.26%						42.81	100.00%
Brightlingsea	Tendring	55.32	55.32	0.00	100.00%		*6.5 (Para)*		59.66		114.98	48.11%
Canewdon	Rochford	21.82	21.82	0.00	100.00%				26.78		48.60	44.90%
Chelmsford	Chelmsford	2.46	2.46	0.00	100.00%	?					2.46	100.00%
Chigwell	Ongar	0.90	0.90	0.00	100.00%				0.00		0.90	100.00%
Clavering	Clavering	6.67	4.33	2.34	64.92%						6.67	100.00%
Colchester St. Botolph's	Lexden	4.92	4.92	0.00	100.00%						4.92	100.00%
Colchester St. Giles	Lexden	0.45	0.45	0.00	100.00%	9?					0.45	100.00%
Colchester St. James'	Lexden	1.59	1.59	0.00	100.00%	?					1.59	100.00%
Colchester St. Leonard's	Lexden	3.38	0.00	3.38	0.00%						3.38	100.00%
Colchester St. Mary's	Lexden	30.56	7.77	22.79	25.43%	60					30.56	100.00%
Colchester St. Nicholas	Lexden	3.00	3.00	0.00	100.00%						3.00	100.00%
Colchester St. Peter's	Lexden	8.75	8.75	0.00	100.00%						8.75	100.00%
Colchester St. Runwald	Lexden	12.80	12.80	0.00	100.00%	?					12.80	100.00%
Creeksea	Dengie	4.00	4.00	0.00	100.00%						4.00	100.00%
Danbury	Chelmsford	10.04	10.04	0.00	100.00%						10.04	100.00%
Dedham	Lexden	31.45	29.56	1.89	93.99%			6.67			31.45	100.00%
Dovercourt	Tendring	22.25	22.25	0.00	100.00%						22.25	100.00%
Earl's Colne	Lexden	11.65	8.50	3.15	72.96%	?					11.65	100.00%
East Ham	Becontree	0.43	1.00	-0.57	232.56%		*?*	*?*	7.02	9.61	7.45	5.77%
Eastdonyland	Lexden	5.75	1.81	3.94	31.48%	15	**6 +6 (Para)**				5.75	100.00%
Eastwood	Rochford	2.10	1.52	0.58	72.38%				2.60		4.70	44.68%
Elmstead	Tendring	0.50	0.50	0.00	100.00%			10			0.50	100.00%
Elsenham	Uttesford	0.14	0.00	0.14	0.00%						0.14	100.00%
Feering	Lexden	17.33	1.28	16.05	7.39%	25.5	**11(Para)**				17.33	100.00%
Fordham	Lexden	0.60	0.38	0.22	63.33%						0.60	100.00%
Frating	Tendring	0.50	0.50	0.00	100.00%			10			0.50	100.00%
Gt. Baddow	Chelmsford	18.17	17.70	0.47	97.41%						18.17	100.00%
Gt. Bardfield	Freshwell	15.33	15.33	0.00	100.00%						15.33	100.00%
Gt. Bentley	Tendring	43.70	8.90	34.80	20.37%						43.70	100.00%
Gt. Bromley	Tendring	20.00	8.00	12.00	40.00%				0.00		20.00	100.00%
Gt. Burstead	Barstable	12.67	9.67	3.00	76.32%						12.67	100.00%
Gt. Chesterford	Uttesford	1.20	1.20	0.00	100.00%						1.20	100.00%
Gt. Chishall	Uttesford	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00%						1.00	100.00%
Gt. Clacton	Tendring	14.50	6.40	8.10	44.14%			32	0.00		14.50	100.00%

Gt. Dunmow	Dunmow	54.12	23.80	30.32	43.98%						54.12	100.00%
Gt. Leighs	Chelmsford	0.23	0.23	0.00	100.00%			4.5			0.23	100.00%
Gt. Oakley	Tendring	0.50	0.50	0.00	100.00%	*55.3*			6.83		7.33	6.82%
Gt. Sampford	Freshwell	0.88	0.88	0.00	100.00%						0.88	100.00%
Gt. Stambridge	Rochford	4.33	4.33	0.00	100.00%	*80*	*5.5 (Para)*	*9*	8.73		13.06	33.15%
Gt. Totham	Thurstable	1.33	1.33	0.00	100.00%				0.95		2.28	58.33%
Gt. Warley	Chafford	1.46	0.00	1.46	0.00%	*31.67**			7.18		8.64	16.90%
Gt. Yeldham	Hinckford	7.90	0.00	7.90	0.00%						7.90	100.00%
Hadleigh	Rochford	1.67	1.67	0.00	100.00%				12.67		14.34	11.65%
Halstead	Hinckford	7.00	7.00	0.00	100.00%						7.00	100.00%
Harwich	Tendring	22.32	13.00	9.32	58.24%						22.32	100.00%
Hazeleigh	Dengie	0.08	0.08	0.00	100.00%				0.00		0.08	100.00%
Hedingham	Hinckford	5.33	5.33	0.00	100.00%						5.33	100.00%
Henham	Uttesford	0.50	0.50	0.00	100.00%						0.50	100.00%
Heydon	Uttesford	2.67	2.67	0.00	100.00%						2.67	100.00%
High Easter	Dunmow	18.91	0.00	18.91	0.00%						18.91	100.00%
Hornchurch	Havering	30.71	30.71	0.00	100.00%				28.86	9.25	59.57	51.55%
Inworth	Lexden	5.65	6.13	-0.48	108.50%	8					5.65	100.00%
Langford	Thurstable	1.75	1.52	0.23	86.86%						1.75	100.00%
Lawford	Tendring	0.95	0.95	0.00	100.00%			?			0.95	100.00%
Leigh	Rochford	4.83	4.83	0.00	100.00%	*66.6*		*?*	25.75		30.58	15.79%
Lt. Bardfield	Freshwell	0.68	0.53	0.15	77.94%						0.68	100.00%
Lt. Burstead	Barstable	3.49	2.83	0.66	81.09%						3.49	100.00%
Lt. Clacton	Tendring	8.57	2.53	6.04	29.52%						8.57	100.00%
Maldon St. Peter's	Dengie	6.52	0.00	6.52	0.00%				10.17		16.69	39.07%
Manningtree	Tendring	0.48	0.33	0.15	68.75%						0.48	100.00%
Mashbury	Chelmsford	2.20	2.20	0.00	100.00%						2.20	100.00%
Margaretting	Chelmsford	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00%						0.20	100.00%
Mark's Tay	Lexden	4.00	4.00	0.00	100.00%						4.00	100.00%
Mistley	Tendring	2.27	1.52	0.75	66.96%						2.27	100.00%
Moreton	Ongar	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.00%				0.00		0.05	100.00%
N. Benfleet	Barstable	2.20	2.20	0.00	100.00%						2.20	100.00%
N. Fambridge	Dengie	0.50	0.50	0.00	100.00%						0.50	100.00%
Nevendon	Barstable	2.50	2.50	0.00	100.00%						2.50	100.00%
Newport	Uttesford	28.18	28.18	0.00	100.00%						28.18	100.00%
Orsett	Barstable	19.67	19.67	0.00	100.00%						19.67	100.00%
Peldon	Winstree	15.17	12.67	2.50	83.52%						15.17	100.00%
Pentlow	Hinckford	10.00	0.00	10.00	0.00%						10.00	100.00%
Prittlewell	Rochford	44.85	44.85	0.00	100.00%				8.73		53.58	83.71%
Ramsey	Tendring	9.00	9.00	0.00	100.00%						9.00	100.00%
Rayleigh	Rochford	9.13	0.00	9.13	0.00%				12.05		21.18	43.11%
Rochford	Rochford	0.60	0.60	0.00	100.00%	*?*			34.65		35.25	1.70%
S. Benfleet	Barstable	3.33	3.33	0.00	100.00%						3.33	100.00%
Shellow Bowells	Dunmow	1.87	1.87	0.00	100.00%						1.87	100.00%
Shopland	Rochford	3.00	1.50	1.50	50.00%	*8.75*			1.00		4.00	75.00%
Stebbing	Hinckford	10.00	0.00	10.00	0.00%						10.00	100.00%
Steeple Bumstead	Hinckford	9.00	0.00	9.00	0.00%				0.92		9.92	90.73%
Takeley	Uttesford	2.25	2.25	0.00	100.00%	45					2.25	100.00%
Tendring	Tendring	0.43	0.43	0.00	100.00%			8.58	4.75		5.18	8.30%

Thaxted	Dunmow	43.78	33.39	10.39	76.27%					43.78	100.00%
Thorrington	Tendring	30.43	30.43	0.00	100.00%	*41.1*	*9 (Para)*	*5.67*	31.57	62.00	49.08%
W. Mersea	Winstree	4.33	4.33	0.00	100.00%					4.33	100.00%
Waltham Holy Cross	Waltham	0.67	0.00	0.67	0.00%					0.67	100.00%
Wendon Lofts	Uttesford	0.07	0.07	0.00	100.00%					0.07	100.00%
West Ham	Becontree	10.66	10.66	0.00	100.00%					10.66	100.00%
White Colne	Lexden	54.28	3.20	51.08	5.90%		**10(Para)**			54.28	100.00%
White Notley	Witham	4.36	0.00	4.36	0.00%					4.36	100.00%
Witham	Witham	15.85	15.85	0.00	100.00%					15.85	100.00%
Wix	Tendring	0.33	0.00	0.33	0.00%	*46.6*				13.55	2.44%
Woodham Ferrers	Dengie	20.00	20.00	-0.00	100.00%				13.22	20.00	100.00%
Wormingford	Lexden	0.20	0.32	-0.12	160.00%					0.20	100.00%
Averages for Essex:		10.25	6.61	3.64	71.88%				14.45	24.70	41.49%

Appendix 4b: 1552 only

		Whiting	Bible	Other N.	Sales 1552	Purchases		
Aveley	Chafford	*36*		*?*	23.01	30.15		
Barling	Rochford				5.33	0.00		
Beaumont	Tendring				5.65	0.00		
Colne Engaine	Lexden	*8.5*	*.5 (acc)*	*15.5*	2.29	3.07		
Cranham	Chafford				1.01	1.01		
Dengie	Dengie	*32*			1.48	2.68		
Goldhanger	Thurstable				3.79	0.00		
Grays Thurrock	Chafford				9.82	8.21		
Gt. Holland	Tendring				2.28	0.00		
Gt. Horksley	Lexden	*11.5*	*6.5 (Para)*	*1.08*	2.45	1.88		
Gt. Tey	Lexden	*10.33*			4.47	1.27		
Gt. Wakering	Rochford	*82*			20.12	12.98		
Havering	Havering		*15*		1.88	1.85		
Lt. Oakley	Tendring	*20*			7.83	6.17		
Lt. Stambridge	Rochford				4.23	0.00		
Lt. Wakering	Rochford	*66.67*			22.67	5.25		
Lt. Warley	Chafford	33.33			4.93	1.93		
Maldon St. Mary's	Dengie	*66.67*			23.62	17.05		
Mayland	Dengie				5.00	4.18		
Moze	Tendring	*?*			0.65	0.48		
Mundon	Dengie	*8*			2.03	1.62		
Pagelsham	Rochford	*66.33*		*15*	6.90	8.67		
Purleigh	Dengie				21.92	0.00		
Rainham	Chafford	*18.87*	*12.67 (Para)*	*50*	8.60	7.78		
Romford	Havering				30.34	16.66		
S. Fambridge	Rochford				3.80	3.08		
S. Ockenden	Chafford				3.87	6.19		
Saffron Waldon	Uttesford				160.34 ?			
Southchurch	Rochford				6.03	0.00		
St. Lawrence	Dengie				13.40 ?			
Stanford Rivers	Ongar				2.33	2.33		
Thurstable	Thurstable				2.50	2.50		
Tollesbury	Thurstable		*10*	*12.87*	5.79	5.79		
Tolleshunt Darcy	Thurstable				0.83	0.00		
Upminster	Chafford		*?*	*?*	22.00 ?			
Wivenhoe	Lexden				34.65 ?			
Woodham Mortimer	Dengie				4.26 ?			
Wrabness	Tendring				2.13	0.00		
Averages for 1552 Churches:					12.74			
Averages for all churches:		10.25	6.61	3.64	13.44	4.63	23.68	43.27%

Appendix 4c. Essex church-plate certificates with a sales value of nil. (1552) [SP 10/3, no. 4]

Rochford hundred: Great Sutton.

Tendring hundred: Weeley.

Chafford hundred: Childerditch, West Thurrock, Wennington.

Ongar hundred: High Laver, Magdalen Laver, Rarton, Bobbingworth, Keldon, Little Laver, Shelley, Chigwell, Lambourne, Theydon Bois, Greensted.

Dunmow hundred: Lindsell, Chickney.

Appendix 5: Huntingdonshire church-plate certificates, 1547/8

Parish	Amount Sold	Amount Paid	Percent Paid	Whiting	Other N.
Abbots Ripton*	7.00	7.00	100.00%		
Alconbury*	6.86	5.02	73.18%	100.5	
Alwalton*	2.01	1.41	70.15%	26.33	
Bluntisham*	4.32	4.32	100.00%		
Botolph Bridge	0.08	0.08	100.00%		
Buckden	14.50	6.00	41.38%		
Bythorn	0.20	0.00	0.00%		
Easton	0.17	0.17	100.00%		
Ellington	0.11	0.11	100.00%		
Fen Stanton	15.21	15.06	99.01%		
Glatton	0.86	0.86	100.00%		
Gt. Catworth	4.42	2.92	66.06%		
Gt. Staughton	0.60	0.60	100.00%		
Hail Weston	0.46	0.00	0.00%		
Hamerton*	1.50	1.50	100.00%		
Hemingford Grey	1.00	1.00	100.00%		
Hilton	1.33	1.33	100.00%		
Holme	3.00	0.00	0.00%		
Huntingdon All Hallows	2.03	2.03	100.00%	40.67	
Huntingdon St. Bennet's	0.05	0.00	0.00%		
Huntingdon St. John's	0.40	0.40	100.00%		
Huntingdon St. Mary's	1.83	1.83	100.00%		
Keyston*	0.83	0.00	0.00%		
Kimbolton	12.48	12.48	100.00%		
Lt. Stuckley	0.21	0.21	100.00%		
Molesworth*	0.20	0.20	100.00%		4
Orton Longueville	0.25	0.25	100.00%		
Orton Waterville	6.00	2.78	46.33%		
Ramsey	0.55	0.55	100.00%	11	
Somersham*	6.32	6.32	100.00%		
Southoe	0.61	0.61	100.00%		
Spaldwick	9.66	8.66	89.65% ?		
St. Ives*	0.40	0.00	0.00%		
St. Neots	10.00	10.00	100.00%		
Stanground	6.00	6.00	100.00%		
Upwood	11.00	11.00	100.00%		
Warboys	5.33	5.33	100.00%		
Water Newton	1.01	1.01	100.00%		
Wistow*	2.75	2.75	100.00%		
Woodstone	0.23	0.23	100.00%		
Woolley*	0.33	0.33	100.00%		
Yaxley	2.00	2.00	100.00%		
Averages:	3.43	2.91	84.91%		

Note: the parishes of Old Weston*, Lt. Gidding*, Brington*, Upton*, Wood Walton*, Covington* and Elton* recorded no sales or purchases.

Appendix 6a: Derbyshire church-plate certificates, 1552, E315/496/26: (parishes which owned a Bible or the *Paraphrases* only).

(* denotes owned *Paraphrases*)

Horsley, Pentrich*, West Hallam*, Ilkeston, Sandiacre, Crich*, Barrs.

Appendix 6b: Northamptonshire church-plate certificates, 1552, E117/7/3.

Parishes which owned the Bible and the *Paraphrases*: Colleyweston, Woodnewton, Apethorpe, Nassington, Luton, Easton on the Hill, King's Cliffe, Fothringhay, Tansor, Cotterstock, Clapton.

Parishes which owned the Bible only: Yarwell.

Parishes which owned neither the Bible nor the *Paraphrases*: Duddington, Southwick.

Appendix 7: Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmoreland parishes in 1547: church-plate documents (as written 12 January 1547/8)

Parish	Deanery	Sales (s)	What for
Ainderby Steeple	Richmond		
Alderley	M, M, and B		
Aldford	Malpas		
Aldingham	Furness		
Arlecdon	Copeland		
Astbury	M, M, and B		
Audlem	Nantwich	135.33	135.33 lead for the church
Aysgarth	Catterick		
Backford	Wirral		
Bangor	M, M, and B		
Barningham	Richmond		
Barton	Richmond		
Bebington	Wirral		
Beckermet St. Bridget	Copeland		
Bedale	Catterick	40.00	40 for repair of the church
Beetham	Kendal		
Bentham	Lonsdale		
Bidston	Wirral		
Bolton le Sands	Kendal		
Boostrey	M, M, and B		
Bootle	Copeland		
Bowes	Richmond		
Brereton	M, M, and B		
Brigham	Copeland		
Brignall	Richmond		
Bromborough	Wirral		
Broughton	Amounderness	80.00	80 for building the rood loft
Burneston	Catterick		
Burton	Kendal		
Burton	Wirral		
Cartmel	Furness		
Cattal	Lonsdale	66.67	66.67 for building a schoolhouse
Catterick	Richmond		
Cheadle	M, M, and B		
Chester St. Michael's	Chester	410	410 for coverings and other church repairs
Chester St. Peter's	Chester	92.5	92.5 for a side aisle
Childwall	Warrington	40	40 for bell repair
Chipping	Amounderness	?	? To maintain a suit against the parson
Church Lawton	M, M, and B		
Church Minshull	Nantwich	133.33	0
Clapham	Lonsdale		
Clayton	Lonsdale		
Cleator	Copeland		
Cockermouth	Copeland		
Coddington	Malpas		
Corney	Copeland		
Coverham	Catterick		
Croft	Richmond		
Crudall	Copeland		
Dalton in Furness	Furness		
Danby Wiske	Richmond		
Davenham	M, M, and B		
Dean	Copeland		
Drigg	Copeland		
E. Cowton	Richmond		
Easby	Richmond		

Eastham	Wirral		
Egremont	Copeland		
Fingall	Catterick		
Kirby Fleetham	Catterick		
Forcett	Richmond		
Gawesworth	M, M, and B		
Gosforth	Copeland		
Grinton	Richmond		
Gt. Langton	Richmond		
Gt. Smeaton	Richmond		
Hale	Copeland		
Handley	Malpas		
Hamiton	M, M, and B		
Harrington	Copeland		
Heswall	Wirral		
Heversham	Kendal	180.00	180 for church repairs
Heysham	Kendal		
Holmes Chapel and Swettenham	M, M, and B		
Hornby	Catterick		
Hunton	Richmond		
Ingleton	Lonsdale		
Irton	Copeland		
Kendal	Kendal	?	? Unknown
Kirkby Ireleth	Furness		
Kirkby Lonsdale	Lonsdale		
Kirkby Ravensworth	Richmond		
Kirkby Wiske	Richmond		
Kirkham	Amounderness	400.00	400 for repair of rood loft
Lamplugh	Copeland		
Lancaster	Amounderness	100.00	0 (kept for payment of debts)
Lorton	Copeland		
Macclesfield	M, M, and B		
Malpas	Malpas		
Manfield St. John	Richmond		
Marrick	Richmond		
Marske	Richmond		
Masham	Catterick		
Melling	Lonsdale		
Melsonby	Richmond		
Middleham	Catterick		
Middleton Tyas	Richmond		
Middlewich	M, M, and B		
Millom	Copeland		
Mobberley	M, M, and B		
Mottram	M, M, and B		
Neston	Wirral		
Northenden	M, M, and B		
Patrick Brompton	Catterick		
Pennington	Furness		
Pickhill	Catterick		
Posonby	Copeland		
Pott Shrigley	M, M, and B		
Poulton le Fylde	Amounderness	33.33	33.33 for church repairs
Prestbury	M, M, and B		
Preston on the Hill	Amounderness	66.67	66.67 for church repairs
Ribchester	Amounderness		
Richmond	Richmond		
Roxby	Richmond		
Romaldkirk	Richmond		

Rostherne	Frodsham	43.33	43.33	for church maintenance
S. Cowton	Richmond			
Sandbach	M, M, and B			
Scruton	Catterick			
Sedburgh	Lonsdale	?	?	Unknown
Shotwick	Wirral			
Singham	Lonsdale			
Spennithorne	Catterick			
St. Bees	Copeland			
St. Michael's on Wyre	Amounderness	?	?	For church and bell repairs
Startforth	Richmond			
Stockport	M, M, and B			
Stoke	Wirral			
Tatham	Lonsdale			
Tattenhall	Malpas			
Taxal	M, M, and B			
Thornton	Lonsdale			
Thornton Steward	Catterick			
Thornton Watlass	Catterick			
Tilston	Malpas			
Tunstall	Lonsdale			
Ulverston	Furness			
Upton	Wirral			
W. Gilling	Richmond			
W. Kirkby	Wirral			
W. Tanfeld	Catterick			
Wallasey	Wirral			
Warrington	Warrington			
Wath	Catterick			
Well	Catterick	?	?	
Whittington	Lonsdale			
Wicliff	Copeland			
Wigan	Warrington	198.75	198.75	for bell repair
Wilmslow	M, M, and B			
Woodchurch	Wirral			
Wybunbury	Nantwich	380	380	for church repairs
Wycliffe	Richmond			

Appendix 3: Norfolk subsidy rolls

Parish	Hundred	Whiting	Bibles	Other N.	Total
Burlingham S., St. Edmund	Blofield				17.26
Blofield	Blofield				3.49
Freethorpe	Blofield				1.54
Hackford and Whitwell	Eynsford	33.33		13.33	5.59
Salle	Eynsford	Intent		Intent	6.27
Hindolveston	Eynsford				1.92
Foulsham	Eynsford	?			7.00
Guist	Eynsford				2.67
Sparham	Eynsford	(w/other) 80			2.50
Swannington	Eynsford				4.16
Haveringland	Eynsford				1.14
King's Lynn (all three parishes)	Freebridge	?		?	
King's Lynn South (All Saints)	Freebridge	(w/other) 40			
Wiggenhall St. German	Freebridge				
Castellacre	Freebridge	(w/windows) 100			
Wolferton	Freebridge				2.08
Wiggenhall St. Peter's	Freebridge	12.67		8	
Dersingham	Freebridge				6.20
Harpley	Freebridge	Intent			6.00
Congham St. Andrew	Freebridge	20			
Gayton Thorpe	Freebridge				23.69
Great Massingham	Freebridge				5.50
Westacre	Freebridge				
Runcton North	Freebridge				4.20
Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdelene	Freebridge				
South Wootton	Freebridge	(w/other) 31			2.47
Terrington St. Clements	Freebridge				14.88
Walpole St. Andrew	Freebridge				8.77
Walsoken	Freebridge				
Wiggenhall St. Mary Virgin	Freebridge				
West Lynn	Freebridge				
Croxton	Grimshoe				1.17
Bodham	Holt	20			1.93
Briston	Holt				4.03
Kelling	Holt	20	15 (w/others)	25	2.13
Edgefield	Holt	26.66		7	2.38
Holt	Holt	(w/other) 113			5.83
Wayborne	Holt	30		18.33	2.13
Morston	Holt				6.65
Great Langham	Holt	Intent			2.38
Hempstead	Holt		Intent	Intent	1.61
Letheringsett	Holt	20			2.71
Saxlingham	Holt				2.03
Brisley	Launditch				7.59
Swanton Morley	Launditch				
Beston	Launditch				
North Elmham	Launditch	(w/other) 80*			
Little Dunham	Launditch	?		?	
Beetley	Launditch	25			2.32
Whissonsett	Launditch				
Wellingham	Launditch			?	
Tittleshall	Launditch	(w/pulpit) 26.67			
Colkirk	Launditch	?	?		1.41
Scarning	Launditch			12	
Worthing	Launditch				3.58
Gressenhall	Launditch				
Weasham All Saints	Launditch				
Wodeton	Loddon		("half") 10		2.11
Little Walsingham	N. Greenhoe	?			57.18
Wells	N. Greenhoe	Intent			11.11
Wighton	N. Greenhoe				10.41
Great Snoring	N. Greenhoe	Intent		7	2.18
Hindringham	N. Greenhoe				
Barney	N. Greenhoe				2.21
Walsingham St. Peter's	N. Greenhoe	20			
Houghton	N. Greenhoe				2.85
Thursford	N. Greenhoe				2.65
Holkham	N. Greenhoe				
Aylesham	S. Erpingham				
Cawston	S. Erpingham	(w/other) 200*			5.02
Saxthorpe	S. Erpingham	60		10 6.67	2.96
Swanton Abbots	S. Erpingham	53.33		13.33 6.67	4.91
Hevingham	S. Erpingham	?			6.60

Bickling	S. Erpingham	26.67				3.71
Wickmere	S. Erpingham	(w/other) 136.33				4.98
Coltishall	S. Erpingham	Intent			Intent	3.94
Banningham	S. Erpingham					2.24
Heydon	S. Erpingham	Intent				1.94
Calthorpe	S. Erpingham					0.69
Buxton	S. Erpingham	15		6.67	13.33	7.33
Colby	S. Erpingham					1.26
Baconsthorpe	S. Erpingham	33.333			10	0.88
Oulton	S. Erpingham	40				3.99
Tuttington	S. Erpingham					1.16
Skeyton	S. Erpingham					0.99
Corpusty	S. Erpingham	13.33			5.	0.86
Ingworth	S. Erpingham					0.78
Marsham	S. Erpingham	Intent				5.12
Alby	S. Erpingham					1.63
Great Hautbois	S. Erpingham					1.72
West Beckham	S. Erpingham					0.78
Holme Hale	S. Greenhoe					9.58
Thetford St. Peter	Shropham	40				
Thetford St. Cuthbert's	Shropham	26.66				
Horsham St. Faith	Taverham	40				4.28
Ringland	Taverham					1.48
Hainford	Taverham					1.98
Martham	W. Flegg				Intent	5.68
Repps	W. Flegg					2.53
Beighton	Walsham	?	?			2.00
Acle	Walsham	?				7.79
Carbrooke	Wayland	(w/hutch) 40*				12.52
Ashill	Wayland				20	5.37
Thompston	Wayland	40				1.88
Saham Toney	Wayland					4.64
Griston	Wayland					3.38
Merton	Wayland	(w/repairs) 43.33				0.84
Caston	Wayland			6.67	10	10.35
Breccles	Wayland		12 ("certain books")		10	
Threxton	Wayland					0.43