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Sir Thomas White's Dream: St. John's College, Oxford,
the Merchant Taylors' Company, London, and the Reformation

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

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in

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
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This dissertation is a dual case study of two institutions, St. John's College, Oxford and the Merchant Taylors' Company, London. It considers how these two groups navigated the later Reformation in England, from the accession of Elizabeth I until the beginnings of the English Civil Wars. Although separate corporations, they were tied together by Sir Thomas White, a Merchant Taylor who founded St. John's College, Oxford. He joined the two establishments in his will, granting the Merchant Taylors' Company the right to elect up to forty-two of the College's fifty fellows. This arrangement ultimately resulted in power struggles between the two groups, as each side attempted to press its own interests. These tensions were exacerbated by confessional differences between the two groups. Sir Thomas White originally founded St. John's College as a training college for Catholic priests during the re-establishment of traditional religion during the reign of Mary Tudor. Following the establishment of the

Elizabethan Protestant settlement, it became a haven for crypto-papists and conforming Catholics. St. John's College remained a religiously conservative institution until the 1580's, when it became a breeding ground for avant-garde conformity, and later the birth place of Laudianism. Conversely, godly Protestants from the 1570's onward increasingly populated the leadership of the Merchant Taylors' Company. Godly members of the London community governed the Company from the turn of the seventeenth century onwards, but more moderate Calvinists who supported the Jacobean and Carolinian courts tempered them. These religious differences led to friction between St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company that exploded regularly at the elections of scholars held on St. Barnabas' day each year. Previous historians have highlighted the financial context of these rows, but have largely ignored the religious and social foundations of tensions between the two groups.

This dissertation seeks to rectify this oversight and contributes to the work of early modern English history, Reformation history, social history, and local history. My primary sources include correspondence, official registers, election ballots, state papers, college accounts, company court records, common place books, printed materials, wills, tombs, and material culture.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>Add MS</i>	Additional MSS Collection, British Library, London
<i>BL</i>	The British Library, London
<i>DNB</i>	Dictionary of National Biography
<i>HMC</i>	Historical Manuscript Commission
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives, Kew
<i>OED</i>	Oxford English Dictionary
<i>SJCA</i>	St. John's College Archives, Oxford
<i>SJCL</i>	St. John's College Library, Oxford
<i>SPD</i>	State Papers: Domestic
<i>TRHS</i>	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Days and months are old style but all years are taken to begin on January 1. The spelling and grammar from early modern sources have been kept in their original forms, but punctuation has been added to enhance clarity.

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Introduction

I. Introduction

On February 12, 1567, Sir Thomas White died in his bed in London.¹ During his life, White had been an influential man; a prominent member of the Merchant Taylors' Company of London, Mayor of London during the reign of Queen Mary I, and rumored to be the wealthiest man in England.² Yet, following his death he was lauded most frequently as a philanthropist, his copious acts of charity and benefaction earning him the reputation of "Benefactor to most of the Cities and Corporations in England" a century later.³

His most generous, and enduring investment was the foundation of St. John's College, Oxford in 1555, a highly ambitious project intended to bolster the Counter Reformation in England during the restoration of traditional religion that accompanied Mary Tudor's reign. A deeply pious Catholic, White personally oversaw the establishment of St. John's College during the final decade of his life. This enterprise drained his wealth and required the assistance

¹ W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford* (OHS, 1939), p. 389.

² A. Daly Briscoe, "A Marian lord mayor: Sir Thomas White," *East Anglian Magazine*, 41 (1982). See also R. Johnson, *The nine worthies of London* (1592); R. Tittler, "Sir Thomas White of London: civic philanthropy and the making of the merchant-hero," *Townspeople and nation: English urban experiences, 1540-1640* (2001).

³ Andrew Hegarty, ed. *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford, 1555-1660* (OHS, 2011), p. xvii ; SJCL "The Legend" ([1669?]).

of powerful friends who shared his conservative religious outlook. In particular, he enlisted the help of Sir William Cordell, executor to Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole in 1558 and Master of the Rolls for Elizabeth I.⁴

Therefore fittingly, on the occasion of Sir Thomas White's death, his body was transported to Oxford to be buried in the College that he had established. White maintained the beliefs and practice of the late medieval church his whole life, but he conformed outwardly to the religious settlements of each Tudor monarch. Therefore, his funeral included a requiem mass and sermon in the College Chapel. Following his Catholic burial, there was a feast to celebrate his life in the College Hall. During this feast, the Jesuit Edmund Campion stood to deliver an oration on the life, virtues, and accomplishments of Sir Thomas White.

Edmund Campion was a fellow of St. John's and friend of the founder, but he is best remembered as a Jesuit martyr, executed in 1581 by the Elizabethan authorities for treason.⁵ Campion had attended White at his deathbed in London a few weeks prior. At that time, the ailing merchant related to Campion how he chose the site of St. John's College. Campion chose to share this story at Sir Thomas White's funeral feast. Apparently, Sir Thomas White dreamt of a row of

⁴ For more on Sir William Cordell see W.J. Jones, *The Elizabethan court of chancery* (1967), pp. 57-60; J.H. Baker, "Cordell, Sir William (1522-1581)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, online edn. 2004; Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage, and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 154-5; Alan Cromartie, "The Mind of William Laud," *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*, Charles W.A. Prior and Glenn Bruggess, eds (Ashgate, 2011), p. 77.

⁵ Edmund Campion's Latin funeral oration for Sir Thomas White is found in four manuscripts. One is in Westminster Cathedral, and the other three are in Rawlinson MS. D. 272; Rawlinson MS. D. 373; and Auct. F.5.13. The oration is also reprinted in Stevenson and Salter, pp. 406-411.

trees, next to a wall. During a trip to Oxford, he had come across the same row of trees that he saw in his dreams. They were part of the former site of St. Bernard's College, a Cistercian institution dissolved during the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas White believed that providence had led him there, and so did Edmund Campion, who stated that White was "led by dreams." This story leaves the impression that Heaven itself smiled upon White's endeavor to found St. John's College.

The tale of Sir Thomas White's dreams, as told by Campion, quickly engrained itself as a college myth, possibly in part to support the idea that St. John's was founded to fulfill God's will for the English Church. Fellows with beliefs that ran counter to the 'Calvinist consensus' of Elizabethan Protestantism, particularly Catholics and anti-Calvinists, kept the story alive. Perhaps they hoped that it confirmed God's approval of their unpopular beliefs.

Chroniclers of the Merchant Taylors' Company also co-opted the story of Sir Thomas White's dream, but altered its substance to suit their own purposes. In 1624, the playwright John Webster depicted a different report of the dream for the mayoral pageant, *Monuments of Honour*.⁶ The play was commissioned by the Merchant Taylors' Company for festivities surrounding the installation of Sir John Gore, a member of their company, as the new Lord Mayor of London.

⁶ John Webster, *Monuments of honor Deriued from remarkable antiquity, and celebrated in the honorable city of London* (London, 1624).

Webster wrote that White dreamed of an elm tree with two or three trunks, springing from a single root.⁷

Although the Merchant Taylors' account is divergent from Campion's rendering, it does maintain that White was guided and supported by divine providence in the establishment of St. John's College. Yet, the differences between the two accounts are important. The original story mentions a row of trees, while Webster's version describes two or three trunks, sprung from a single root. This imagery was most likely pointing to the connection between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College: two foundations bound to one another by Sir Thomas White's benefaction. Furthermore, a look at the differing motive behind the two versions is telling. Edmund Campion declared that Sir Thomas White was led by God to found St. John's College. Campion's audience was the fellowship of St. John's, and at that time the College was stocked with crypto-Catholics, handpicked by White to be part of his conservative foundation. In essence, Campion was stating that God condoned the beliefs and practices that the Elizabethan State had asserted were subversive. By contrast, the Merchant Taylors' version of Sir Thomas White's dream glossed over his personal beliefs. Instead, it emphasized the charity extended by a London merchant toward the provinces. This was a common practice of godly

⁷ The dreams were recounted in a number of early chroniclers' accounts including Anthony Mundy's *A Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of Times* (1611), a reprint of John Stowe's, *Survey of London* (1618), and Thomas Fuller's *Church History* (1656).

London traders who as Joseph Ward has recently shown, “converted their commercial success into cultural power by establishing what amounted to metropolitan-based, godly missions to communities across the nation.”⁸ This play co-opted Sir Thomas White as one of the Merchant Taylors’ own.

Whichever set of trees did in fact appear in Sir Thomas White’s sleep is not important. Ultimately the dreams served to establish an educational foundation at Oxford that was tied to White’s fraternity, the Merchant Taylors’ of London. In this, he was religiously motivated, both by his impetus to do charitable works for the good of his soul, as well as to establish a seminary for Catholic priests to counter-act the Reformation in England. He founded St. John’s hoping that his educational foundation would assist the Counter-Reformation in England. He stated this in his College Statutes, writing that St. John’s was founded to assist “the increase of the orthodox faith and of the Christian profession in so far as it is weakened by the damage of time and the malice of men” as theology had been “much afflicted of late as we see with sorrow and grief.”⁹ St. John’s College was one of two Oxford foundations established by

⁸ Joseph Ward, *Culture Faith and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), p. 2. See also W.K. Jordan, *The Charities of London 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960); Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Valerie Pearl, “Puritans and Poor Relief: The London Workhouse, 1649-1660,” in D. Pennington and K. Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); J.P. Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England. From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁹ Stevenson and Salter, p. 146; James McConica, ed. *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. III, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

catholic laymen to counter-act the spread of Protestantism, the other being Trinity College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas Pope.¹⁰ Both men purchased former monastic colleges, dissolved by the Henrician regime, and repurposed them to educate secular, catholic clergy.

Sir Thomas White sought to connect this college to his beloved company of Merchant Taylors', even naming his foundation after the company's patron saint, John the Baptist. He bound the two institutions together through the College Statutes, which granted the Merchant Taylors' the right to elect forty-two of the fifty scholars admitted to St. John's College. Their candidates came from the Merchant Taylors' School in London, which White helped establish in 1561. Fellowships to St. John's College were awarded every year on St. Barnabas' Day, when the President and two fellows of St. John's College travelled to London in order to assist in the election of a scholar (or scholars) by the Merchant Taylors' Company. While the Merchant Taylors' Company chose the candidates, their choice was contingent on the confirmation and acceptance of three members present from St. John's College (typically the President and two fellows). This seems like a rather straightforward arrangement, but changing religious and political contexts throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods created a backdrop of tension between the two institutions.

¹⁰ McConica, p. 42.

Ethan Shagan notes that the English Reformation was a movement of “strange bedfellows and nitty-gritty practicalities, negotiated and finessed rather than won”.¹¹ This post-Revisionist assessment of the Reformation can be aptly applied to the relationship between the Merchant Taylors’ Company of London and St. John’s College, Oxford. St. John’s College was founded as a Catholic institution, but when the restoration of traditional religion in England died along with Queen Mary in 1558, the College was forced to navigate the Protestant reforms of Elizabeth I’s government. It did so with a particular flair for evasion, producing the largest number of recusant priests of any Oxford college as well as the main translator of the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible, Gregory Martin. Last, but certainly not least, Edmund Campion, who provided White’s funeral oration, died a Roman Catholic martyr at the hands of the Elizabethan authorities in 1581, and was canonized in 1970 by Pope Paul VI.¹² During this time, the leadership of the Merchant Taylors’ Company became increasingly Calvinist, particularly in the 1570’s, after a number of its more conservative members passed away.¹³

As the two foundations polarized in their religious views, a number of disputes began to characterize their relationship, particularly at the end of the

¹¹ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 303.

¹² Andrew Hegarty, “Introduction,” *Biographical Register of St. John’s College, Oxford: 1555-1660* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 2011), p. xxviii.

¹³ Ann Saunders and Matthew Davies, *The History of the Merchant Taylors Company* (Leeds: Maney, 2004), pp. 93-127

sixteenth century.¹⁴ After this, relations improved, but why? Historians have credited William Laud with the increasingly friendly interactions between the two groups, but there seems to be more to the story – and there is. While most Merchant Taylors’ remained Calvinist in belief and practice, increasing connections between the leadership of the Merchant Taylors’ Company (the Livery) and the Crown led to improved relations with St. John’s College, particularly because the College was favored by the Carolinian Court and Episcopacy due to its heavily “Laudian” fellowship. In other words, it was good business for the Merchant Taylors’ to remain friendly with William Laud’s pet institution. This is only one example demonstrating the political, commercial, and religious layers that made up the relationship between the Merchant Taylors’ Company and St. John’s College.

The relationship between these two institutions begs a more detailed understanding, because it illustrates how those of divergent confessional values negotiated a working relationship with one another over the course of what has become known as the “Long Reformation.” This period encompasses all of the Tudor reforms of the sixteenth century, as well as the religious controversies of the Stuart period, up until the English Civil Wars. The awkward relationship has

¹⁴Ibid. p. 124.

been noted by historians of both the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College, but has never been explored in depth.¹⁵

II. Historiography

There is little doubt among historians that the religious upheavals of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties had far-reaching consequences for the religious practice, government, society, economy, and culture of the British Isles. Yet, the exact course of the Reformation, from the reign of Henry VIII to the English Civil Wars, remains controversial.

Plotting the course of the Protestant Reformation in England is a delicate and complex undertaking. In the past half-century, historians have explored a number of interpretations. In the middle of the twentieth century, Geoffrey Elton asserted that the Reformation was an extension of the Tudor Revolution in government. Therefore, it was a religious movement imposed on a people willing to obey political authority.¹⁶ A.G Dickens' book, *The English Reformation*, appeared in the 1960's and depicted the Protestant Reformation as a popular

¹⁵ See M.J. Simmonds, *Merchant Taylors' Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford* (1930); Andrew Hegarty, *Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford: 1555-1660* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 2011); Ann Saunders and Matthew Davies, *The History of the Merchant Taylors Company* (Leeds: Maney, 2004); Stevenson and Salter, *The Early History of St. John's college, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939).

¹⁶ Geoffrey Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII*, Cambridge University Press, 1953; Geoffrey Elton, *The Reformation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958; Geoffrey Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

movement that spread quickly following the reforming measures of Henry VIII's government. In Dickens' view, the Reformation was a triumph of evangelical belief and practice over late medieval theology and traditions. Dickens viewed the success of the Reformation as confirmation that late medieval piety was decayed and unpopular.¹⁷ In his model, Dickens asserts that the reign of Mary Tudor was a throwback to an antiquated and unpopular form of religion, which was forced on the English people against their will. Unsurprisingly, this has become known as the "Protestant triumphalist" school of Reformation studies.

Beginning with J.J. Scarisbrick's publication of *The Reformation and the English People*, Christopher Haigh's *English Reformations*, and highlighted most potently in Eamon Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars*, historians began to consider a different interpretation of the Tudor reforms. Theses, monographs, and articles have been written that have demonstrated that traditional religion in late medieval England was a cherished part of English life. In this view, the Protestant Reformation was not a welcome change, but rather a movement resisted by most of the common people.¹⁸ Mary Tudor's reign was, therefore, a reprieve from the oppression of Protestantism, which suppressed church ales, the veneration of saints, and stripped parish churches of ornamentation. Post-revisionists have modified this model, demonstrating that the demolition of late medieval piety was a complex

¹⁷ A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).

¹⁸ J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*. New York-Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c.1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

process that was negotiated between the government and the people. Furthermore, the Reformation was more drawn out than previously thought. Post-revisionist scholars such as Ethan Shagan, Caroline Litzenberger, and Robert Whiting have shown that the laity was more involved in the cutting down of traditional religion than revisionists claimed, albeit at a much slower rate than A.G. Dickens asserted. In his book, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, Shagan demonstrates that the Reformation was state-sponsored, but also required “active, popular engagement and collaboration” from the English people.¹⁹

Amidst the turmoil of the Reformation period, economic and political changes were also taking place. In particular, the gentry bought church land—the most important commodity for wielding political power and economic influence. The effects of this power shift—from land holding aristocrats to the *nouveau riche* gentry fueled “the storm over the gentry.” The result of this debate can be summed up in Lawrence Stone’s statement that between 1580 and 1620 foreign trade had provided a London alderman the ability to be “the financial equal of a baron.” These men became the movers and shakers in London society, and through their landholdings and charitable acts, influenced the counties as well.²⁰

¹⁹ Shagan, p. 303.

²⁰ See Ward, p. 3 for more on this debate.

This dissertation links with a number of other paths already forged, particularly by revisionist and post-revisionist scholars. The central purpose of this work is to deepen our understanding of institutional relationships during the Long Reformation in England, from the Marian Restoration of traditional Religion to the English Civil Wars. Therefore, it is presented as a dual case study, considering the confessional paths of St. John's College, Oxford and the Merchant Taylors' Company, London on their own before looking at their interactions with one another. In this way, it is possible to view how each group responded to the Tudor and Stuart religious reforms, as well as consider the complexities involved in the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College navigating one another.

As a result, this study contributes to a recently establish body of literature that considers the relationship between London charities and their provincial recipients. In particular, this growing body of work considers how wealthy Londoners in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century attempted to take the Reformation into their own hands, in order to act as "a potential counterweight to the continuing influence of Catholicism in the 'dark corners' of provincial England."²¹ The reforming efforts of these Protestant merchants

²¹ Ward, p. 7. See also Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c. 1550-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Ian Archer, "The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Guilds, Society, and*

resulted in resistance by the rural communities against the influence of the metropolis. The relationship between St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company fits perfectly into this interpretation, as the College resisted the influence and authority of the Merchant Taylors' Company, even though the College was happy to take the Taylors' money.

The stories of both institutions are well understood. In particular two long established texts, *The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford* by W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter and C.M. Clode's *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist*, as well as two more recent texts, Andrew Hegarty's *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford (1555-1660)* and Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders' *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, elucidate in detail the history of each institution from Henry VIII's reign until the English Civil Wars in the mid-seventeenth century. What is not known, however, are the subtleties of how each institution navigated the various reforms from the reign of Mary Tudor until the English Civil Wars. Even more scarce is information regarding how these two bodies navigated their statutory obligations to one another. For example, Ann Saunders and Matthew Davies recent study on the Merchant Taylors' Company notes "occasional disputes"

Economy in London 1400-1800, eds. Ian A. Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002); Claire S. Schen, *Charity and Lay Piety in Reformation London, 1500-1600* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

regarding the company's election of scholars, but does not describe or analyze these points of contention.²²

Such an analysis could reveal a great deal regarding professional interactions between those of contrasting religious views; it would elucidate how different confessional groups co-operated and resisted one another in their daily interactions. This dissertation culminates in a chapter that describes the tension, arguments, and insults that accompanied the yearly elections of boys from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St. John's College, in which both institutions were forced to work together in order to elect a candidate. The heart of this dissertation is an exploration of the way that members of St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company navigated their mutual responsibilities to one another, while attempting to maintain their individual confessional identities and ambitions, in the context of the reform movements of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The studies mentioned here consider interactions between the university, colleges, and government; but they do little in the way of discussing how the Reformation affected the relationship between university institutions and their benefactors. Hopefully, this dissertation will shed some light on the topic.

A great deal has been published on the history of St. John's College. The three most influential works were written in the past century. William Holden

²² Davies and Saunders, p. 124.

Hutton, a fellow, tutor, precentor, and librarian of St. John's College, wrote the first comprehensive history of the College in 1898.²³ In his preface, Hutton frames his work as an "ecclesiastical history" as the College was founded "at the very crisis of the reforming movement in England."²⁴ He compiled his book from rare printed sources, as well as the Tanner, Rawlinson, and Holmes Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. While his book covers the history of the College from its foundation to the end of the nineteenth century, he spends two thirds of the text on the first hundred years of the College's history, including chapters on the origin, foundation, early presidents, as well as social and economic life of St. John's.

By far, the greatest problem with Hutton's work is his assertion that Sir Thomas White was a dedicated Protestant. He states that the enduring legacy of St. John's College is as "a perpetual memorial of the continuity of the National Church" and that during "its most critical period of change, the founder was a pious and consistent member."²⁵ As this quote demonstrates, his study seems to overlook the more subversive aspects of Sir Thomas White's religiosity. While White was, indeed, a conformist, he was by no means a champion of the Elizabethan religious settlement. On the contrary, his outward conformity merely hid his financial and collegial support for Roman Catholics in England.

²³ William Holden Hutton, *St. John Baptist College* (London: Ballantyne Press, 1898), pp. 17-34.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ix.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p 17.

Hutton's theories may have been influenced by his vocation. Besides his duties at St. John's, William Holden Hutton was also the examining chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Ely, and was known in his time as a "Laudian" who was as "heartily sick of the ritual changes of the Protestant party" as the founders of St. John's that he lauds for their "piety" and "consistency."²⁶ Therefore, it comes as little surprise that his history of St. John's College provides a great deal of information on William Laud, as well as a sympathetic rendering of the future Archbishop of Canterbury's presidency of the College. He dedicates a chapter to the institution's most famous Arminian fellows: Laud, Juxon and Buckeridge. He even includes a transcription of papers relating to the election of William Laud as President of the College. Hutton's admiration for Laud, unfortunately gets the best of him. He uses High Church Anglicanism as a consistent, recurring thread throughout the history of the College, losing the nuances, which permeate each period of the College's history in their own turn.

The most comprehensive history of the early years of St. John's College was published in 1939, and written by W.H. Stevenson, and finished by H.E. Salter after Stevenson's death. This book covers the first fifty years of the College's history, and includes an extensive set of appendices with transcriptions of early college documents that have been useful for this study; including the College statutes, Edmund Campion's funeral oration for Thomas White, letters of

²⁶ Ibid. p. 12.; Anonymous, "Review: Two Colleges," *The Speaker*, Vol. 18 (Nov. 26, 1898), p. 635.

the College Visitors, and surveys of the lands owned by the College. The book is a very straightforward history, which provides a tremendous amount of detail, and very little analysis. With that said, it relies almost wholly on the St. John's College Archive, acting as a beginner's guide to the papers available.

A twentieth century President of St. John's College, W.C. Costin, wrote the most recent history of St. John's College in 1958. For his work, Costin draws from similar manuscript sources as Hutton, as well as the registers compiled by Victorian antiquaries, including the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Computus Annuus*, and the *Alumni Oxonienses*. He dedicates a little over one hundred pages of his text to the first hundred years of St. John's, which includes a short biographical register of prominent members from 1598-1648. Costin's account is a good rendering of the College's history, but it makes little attempt to analyze the history of the College in the context of the religious and political tumult of the period. While it provides an extensive amount of detail regarding college life, it does little to add to an understanding of St. John's in any context outside of itself.

In 2011 the Oxford Historical Society published a historical register of the College from 1555-1660.²⁷ The register was compiled by Andrew Hegarty, and contains invaluable research on the history of all those academically connected

²⁷ Andrew Hegarty, *Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford: 1555-1660* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 2011).

with the College, as well as some miscellaneous persons, such as the college cooks and gardeners. The publication also contains a forty one-page introduction, which surveys the early history of St. John's College, particularly in regard to the religious loyalties of its founders and fellows, as well as the role of college members in academic drama during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Hegarty's introduction supports the view of St. John's as a haven for Catholic and religiously conservative scholars, well after the Protestant Elizabethan Settlement came into effect. This dissertation owes a great deal to Hegarty's work, utilizing his research for the compilation of statistics and as a reference for providing the identification of fellows previously stashed in stacks of archival material.

The historiography of the Merchant Taylors' Company begins with the sixteenth century diarists Henry Machyn and John Stow, both Merchant Taylors, who chronicled London life in painstaking detail.²⁸ They described the life of the Company, including biographies of prominent members, as well as recounting events held by the Merchant Taylors' Company, including their feasts and the pageants of those members who became Lord Mayor of London. Later, in 1668, William Winstanley wrote a history of the Merchant Taylors' Company that praised the "noble acts" and "heroic performances of Merchant-Taylors in

²⁸ John Gough Nichols, ed. *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (London: Camden Society, 1968); Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (eds): *John Stow (1525-1605) and the making of the English past: studies in early modern culture and the history of the book*. London: British Library, 2004.

Former Ages.”²⁹ In the last century, historians have paid a significant amount of attention to the role played by London Livery companies in the society, economy, religious life, and government of the metropolis.³⁰ Much has been written regarding the Merchant Taylors’, but the most comprehensive work was written by a former master of the company, C.M. Clode, and published in 1888.³¹ Clode’s history of the company begins at its foundation in 1331, and runs through the early years of James Stuart’s reign. It is a massive work, consisting of two volumes, written in voluminous detail and includes extensive appendices. The early modern period is dealt with in the second volume, and there is tremendous amount of information regarding the philanthropy of the Merchant Taylors’ members. One of the largest endowments bestowed up on the College was given by Walter Fish, a member of the godly in London, who set up a scholarship for “five poor scholars of St. John’s, Oxford, which should be most like to bend their studies to divinity.” Fish chose these scholars in his lifetime,

²⁹ William Winstanley, *The Honour of Merchan-Taylors, wherein is Set Forth the Noble Acts...and Heroick Performances of Merchant-Taylors in Former Ages* (London, 1668).

³⁰ See also Ian Archer, “The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in I.A. Gadd and P. Wallis (eds), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (2002), pp.15-28; I.G. Doolittle, *The City of London and its Livery Companies* (Dorchester, 1982); Julia Merritt, *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001); G. Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, 4th ed. (1963).

³¹ See also T. Girtin, *The Golden Ram: A Narrative History of the Clothworker’s Company, 1528-1958* (1958); N.V. Sleight-Johnson, “The Merchant Taylors’ Company of London, 1580-1645” (unpublished PhD thesis, London University, 1989); R.T.D. Sayle, *A Brief History of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors* (1945); R.T.D. Sayle, *The Barges of the Merchant Taylors’ Company* (1933); M.J. Simmonds, *Merchant Taylors’ Fellows of St. John’s College, Oxford* (1930), T.G. Wooley, “The Arms and Badges of the Merchant Taylors Company,” *Coat of Arms*, Vol. 7 (1962-63), pp. 181-88;

and gave the Merchant Taylors' the ability to select them after his death.³² Clode presents his history empirically, avoiding analysis. Therefore, while the reader is regaled with extensive detail on Walter Fish's benefaction, there is little said of its potential impact on the religious life of St. John's College, or the Merchant Taylors' Company.

To commemorate the 500th anniversary of the charter granted the company by Henry VII, Ann Saunders and Matthew Davies wrote the most important history of the Merchant Taylors' Company in recent times. Their work describes the history of the Company from its foundation to the present day, but half of its chapters focus on the history of the Merchant Taylors' during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. There is a chapter dedicated to the "Merchant Taylors' Company and the Reformation" which convincingly rejects a dualist view of the company as split between Protestant and Catholic factions, but alludes to the increasing Calvinist tendencies of its members throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean period.³³

There is also a chapter dedicated to "The Company and Education in the Sixteenth Century," which discusses the educational institutions founded by members of the Merchant Taylors' Company, including Wolverhampton Grammar School, Cuckfield Grammar School, Bedford Grammar School, the

³² C.M. Clode, *The early history of the Guild of Merchant Taylor's of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist* (London: Harrisons and Sons, 1888), p. 240.

³³ Davies and Saunders, p. 107.

Merchant Taylors' School in London, and St. John's College, Oxford. This chapter places Sir Thomas White's foundation in the context of other educational endowments by his colleagues, and provides a brief discussion on charitable giving during the period. Unfortunately, it says very little regarding the links between the St. John's College and the company, only making occasional mentions of their connection.

Sir Thomas White and his Livery Company were immersed in the religious life of London. Over the past twenty years, a number of important studies regarding the religious life of the capital city have appeared. The most important are Steven Rappaport's *Worlds Within Worlds*, Ian Archer's *The Pursuit of Stability*, and Susan Brigden's monumental study, *London and the Reformation*.³⁴ Both Rappaport and Archer depict London as reasonably stable politically, economically, and socially. Archer demonstrates that London experienced few disturbances during the early modern period, compared to other European cities such as Rome and Paris. He notes that disgruntled apprentices, fueled to violence by xenophobia, initiated most disturbances. Rappaport's work shows that Londoners experienced the City from "village" of their parish. They identified themselves with their neighborhoods, and created kinship and economic connections within the vicinity of their homes. Central to both of these works is the understanding that London's livery companies were a world unto

³⁴ Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: OUP, 1989).

themselves. These associations provided economic, social, and religious support for their members, as well as giving them influence in London's government. This concept is central to this dissertation, as this work attempts to view the religious life and activities of a London institution as a community within the larger context of the City of London.

The most important of these three studies for this dissertation is Susan Brigden's examination of the Tudor reforms in London. Brigden follows the course of the Reformation in London from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the accession of Elizabeth I. This is a classic revisionist work, which demonstrates the resistance and negotiation necessary in order to enact changes to religious belief and practice. With a wealth of archival material, she demonstrates the difficulty of implementing religious reform in the City during the reign of Henry VIII. She illustrates this point by establishing the unpopularity of Henry's Royal Supremacy of the Church, as well as of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, in the city of London. There was greater support in the capital for Protestantism during the reign of Edward VI, but enough wistfulness for traditional religion remained among its citizens for a rousing welcome to Mary Tudors' restoration of traditional religion.

Susan Brigden gives ample attention to the role played by livery companies in the religious, social, and economic life of the City. She demonstrates the Catholic piety of the Merchant Taylors' prior to the Reformation. As a guild they

attended twenty-seven obits a year, compared to twenty-five by the Goldsmiths', and sixteen by the Mercers'. Yet, as a result of the Reformation, the Merchant Taylors' became a stronghold of Protestantism. During the reign of Henry VIII one of the first Protestant martyrs, Richard Hunne, was a Merchant Taylor, and Thomas Cromwell called those in the company "Right well beloved friends".³⁵ Brigden also emphasizes the importance of the Livery companies in the civic life of the capital, stating, "London was controlled by a political and mercantile cartel. All power was in the hands of those who governed the City companies."³⁶ Members of the city government were chosen from these fraternities, granting them political influence. Therefore, Sir Thomas White was no ordinary merchant; as a member of one of the most influential livery companies in London, and an active participant in the government of the capital city, he was a man of wealth and power to be reckoned with.

There is an extensive historiography that charts the course of the Reformation in Oxford, most of which dates to the 1980s. The most important recent work is found in the third and fourth editions of the multi volume *History of the University of Oxford*. In the third volume, Jennifer Loach and Penry Williams discuss the impact of the 16th century Reformation and the role that the university itself played in the movement. They demonstrate the conservatism of Oxford throughout the reform movements, stating that Oxford had been

³⁵Ibid.p. 239.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 141.

reluctant to accept the Henrician and Edwardian reforms, in spite of the presence of the Italian Protestant Peter Martyr on the divinity faculty. When Mary Tudor came to the throne, Catholicism quickly regained a strong foothold in Oxford; so strong that after the reign of Mary Tudor, "Catholicism was...to prove more difficult to eradicate than Protestantism had been."³⁷This view is corroborated in the works of C.M. Dent and Alan Davidson.³⁸ Mary was so confident of the loyalty of the City and University of Oxford that she had the prominent English reformers Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer held, tried, and executed there. Thus, it is not surprising that as a deeply pious Catholic, Sir Thomas White chose to establish his foundation at the University of Oxford, rather than the more reform-minded University of Cambridge.

III. Purpose

My work builds on the studies of Revisionist and post-Revisionist scholars who view the Reformation as a lengthy and complex process which began in the 1520s when Martin Luther's works began to illegally filter into England, and was only nominally settled by the 1689 Toleration Act, which gave freedoms to Non-Conformists, but not to Catholics. The English Church saw a parade of different

³⁷ Loach, p. 381.

³⁸ CM Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford: OUP, 1983); Alan Davidson, "Roman Catholicism in Oxfordshire, 1580--1640" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol, 1970).

religious laws and settlements under Henry VIII and his children, with the matter only legally settled with the national establishment of Protestantism following the Act of Supremacy in 1558 and the Act of Uniformity in 1559. Yet, England remained religiously fractured, with Calvinists in the sixteenth century and their Puritan successors in the seventeenth century claiming to be the sole inheritors of Biblical truth and practice, while conforming conservatives and dissenting Catholics found ways to practice traditional religion quietly. These “crypto-Catholics” as Alexandra Walsham has termed them, only came into the spotlight when their aversion to Protestant services was flagrant, or they participated in treasonous acts against the state.³⁹ It is worth noting that evangelism by Roman Catholics was considered treasonous, as it encouraged fidelity to a foreign power, the Papacy. Therefore, the success of the Elizabethan Protestant Settlement relied on navigating complicated relationships between those of divergent confessional values. The conversion of England was not easily executed; it necessitated negotiation between the government, institutions, and individuals.⁴⁰

While I support David Hickman’s assertion that it was possible for “a range of religious positions to exist within a common complex of shared civic values and attitudes, preventing serious divisions along religious lines” this project

³⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1993).

⁴⁰Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003); Alec Ryrie and Luc Racaut, ed., *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (London: Ashgate, 2005); Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580*; Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

acknowledges that religious lines did create tension, and sometimes outright division, particularly between Catholics and Protestants in the later Elizabethan period (1570's onward). These tensions continued between Arminians and Puritans during the Stuart period.⁴¹ This study recognizes the presence of religious lines, as well as the occurrence of tension as a result of those delineations. While this work accepts that it was possible for those from different confessional backgrounds to work with one another, religious disparities could (and did) lead to manipulative behaviors, insults, and underhanded dealings between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College.

A study of St. John's College acts as an important case study of the Reformation because contemporaries viewed the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as potentially potent instruments of religious reform or heresy.⁴² As Kenneth Fincham noted the universities were not "a community of introspective scholars," but rather "a national institution in the public gaze."⁴³ There were concerns that if these institutions were to "contend over Christian doctrine" that "the common people would stagger in their faith."⁴⁴ As Penry Williams has stated, "the privy council watched carefully over the religious life of the

⁴¹ D. Hickman, "The Religious Allegiance of London's Ruling Elite, 1520-1603" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1996) pp.17-19.

⁴² See Kenneth Fincham, "Early Stuart Polity" found in Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 4. (Oxford: OUP, 1997) and Jennifer Loach, "Reformation Controversies" found in James McConica, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 3, (Oxford: OUP, 1986).

⁴³ Fincham, p. 180.

⁴⁴Ibd. p. 180.

university and kept a steady pressure on the authorities to ensure conformity.”⁴⁵

The universities were expected to support the religious settlement of each monarch, which included enforcing the oath of allegiance, as well as producing conformist ministers for the Church of England and loyal subjects and servants to the crown.⁴⁶

The universities were composed of a number of smaller foundations, mostly halls and colleges. The majority of scholars and students experienced the university in the more intimate atmosphere of these establishments. The colleges were considered purveyors of religious discipline and therefore expected to enforce religious policy on behalf of the university.⁴⁷ The governing bodies of the university recognized the importance of these smaller institutions in enforcing conformity to religious policy. When in 1602 the vice-chancellor of Oxford University, Lord Buckhurst, wished to enforce compliance to religious policy more rigorously, he focused his addresses “especially” on “the proctors and heads of houses” as students would “more easily subscribe, and be conformed unto all good orders” by their urging and example.⁴⁸ Therefore, in order to fully understand how Reformation and religious controversy affected and was dealt with in the University of Oxford, the University itself must not be regarded as a

⁴⁵ Penry Williams, “State, Church and University: 1558-1603” in *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. III, James McConica, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 404.

⁴⁶ Fincham, p. 181.

⁴⁷ Williams, p. 404.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Tyacke, “Religious Controversy” found in *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. IV (Oxford, OUP), p. 572.

single entity. Rather, it requires that colleges and halls be considered individually, as well as in the wider context of the University and the State.

Articles and monographs that attempt to understand how the Reformation impacted the universities of Oxford and Cambridge typically take a holistic approach, studying the University as a sum of its constituent parts. This is a methodology that is born out of necessity when approaching such a large topic as the history of the University of Oxford. As a result, instances from colleges are used as examples in order to exemplify what was happening in the University at large.⁴⁹ In essence, the unique character of the colleges is typically noted, but still absorbed into the whole. With a few exceptions, histories of colleges have typically been chronological renderings of happenings within the college, or biographical registers of scholars, although in the last two decades there has been an increase in studies that acknowledge the essential character of the college as individual foundations, typically founded, funded, and visited by individuals and institutions outside the university.⁵⁰ St. John's College makes for an excellent case study of how an Oxford College interacted with individuals and institutions inside and outside of the university, particularly as regards religion, because of the timing of its foundation during the brief Catholic restoration of Mary Tudor's reign, its complicated relationship with the

⁴⁹ See Loach, Fincham, and Williams above.

⁵⁰ See CSL Davies article on Wadham College, "A Woman in the Public Sphere; Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford," *English Historical Review* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), pp. 883-911; John Buxton and Penry Williams, eds., *New College, 1379-1979* (Oxford: OUP, 1979).

Merchant Taylors' Company, and the unusually high number of members who were notable participants in the religious events of the later Reformation.

The College was also deeply involved in religious controversies of the Stuart period. During this period, various members of St. John's were influential participants in the Church of England, allowing for the College to act as an extended case study that includes Stuart religious reforms. During the early Stuart period, St. John's would be home to some of the most important members of the Arminian movement, including William Juxon, John Buckeridge, and the most influential Arminian of his time and future Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. It was as President of St. John's College that Laud was first noticed by King James I. Laud later used the architecture of St. John's College to pay homage to his sovereign in the erection of the ornate Canterbury Quadrangle, which depicted and praised James' valor as a prince.⁵¹ He also began to exercise his high church tendencies, stacking the St. John's library with medieval religious literature, as well as erecting altar rails and installing an organ in the chapel.⁵² Margaret Stieg has recently asserted that Laud's installation of high church practices at St. John's, as well as in his diocese of Bath and Wells, was an experimental implementation of what would become known

⁵¹ Howard Colvin, *The Canterbury Quadrangle: St. John's College Oxford* (Oxford: OUP, 1988).

⁵² Ralph Hanna and Jeremy Griffiths, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's College Oxford* (Oxford: OUP, 2002).

as “Laudianism,” a concept explored in this dissertation.⁵³ I would also like to explore Laud’s relationship with the Merchant Taylor’s Company. The son of a Reading cloth merchant, Laud came up to St. John’s on a Sir Thomas White scholarship, and as President of St. John’s he provided the Company a great deal of “good will.”⁵⁴

As mentioned above, the Merchant Taylors’ Company is also an appropriate case study due to their influence on London society as one of the “Twelve Great Livery Companies” in Early Modern London. My work supports that of Nigel Sleight-Johnson, who asserts that the Merchant Taylors’ underwent a transformation during the 1570’s and 80’s into an institution whose government (the Livery) were predominantly Calvinist. Some even belonged to that stricter set of Calvinism, known as “Puritans” or “The Godly.” This trend in the Livery’s religious affiliation continued until the early seventeenth century. During the reigns of James I and his son, Charles, those liverymen who were Calvinist did not allow their religious views to affect their relationship with the Stuart monarchs and their agents (such as William Laud). Meanwhile, regular members of the Merchant Taylors,’ known as “The Bachelors’ Company” remained strongly Calvinist and became increasingly radical just prior to the English Civil War, many even participating in the Levellers’ campaign, while the

⁵³ Margaret F. Stieg, *Laud’s Laboratory, The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Bucknell: Bucknell University Press, 1982).

⁵⁴ Davies and Saunders, p. 169.

rest sided with Parliament in the quarrels of the 1640's. As a result, this dissertation is also an attempt to show how religion may have affected political allegiances during this time, but also how economic considerations were just as powerful as religion.

IV. Primary Sources

This dissertation is organized around four institutions: St. John's College, Oxford; the Merchant Taylors' Company, London; the Corporation of the City of London; and the University of Oxford. For all of the four institutions considered, the *State Papers Online*, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *English Short Title Catalogue* are an invaluable source. Furthermore, entries from *Early English Books Online* as well as the *Clergy of the Church of England Database* were useful.

Most of the information regarding St. John's College, Oxford was taken from manuscripts found in the St. John's College Archive. In particular, I consulted the College Register, which recounts (chronologically) the business of the College President and the ten senior fellows at regular meetings (typically once a month). It contains some letters from the founder and visitors, as well as presentations to college livings. Resignations, punishments, and confessions of guilt are also listed here. There are college registers available for the periods

1557-91, 1591-1624, 1624-67, and 1667-91. Besides the College Registers, I also consulted the Benefactor's Book, Account Books, Miscellaneous Correspondence (usually between the President and friends outside the College), as well as material culture at the College, including chalices, vestments, buildings, and portraits. The "Private Papers of the President and Fellows" also contain a great deal of useful information. These include a significant number of letters written by Richard Baylie, President of the College prior to the Civil Wars. A staunch royalist, his letters contain gossip regarding national politics, as well as college news, and his personal opinions regarding both.

The most useful set of manuscripts I consulted, particularly for the first chapter, was the letters of Sir William Cordell, Visitor to St. John's College from 1567 until his death in 1581. As Penry Williams has noted, the College Visitor had a "critical function" within the college.⁵⁵ He had the power to "interpret statutes, to issue injunctions, to deprive heads and fellows, to settle disputes among the members and to carry out formal visitations, investigating the conduct of secular and spiritual business."⁵⁶ The St. John's statutes of 1562 originally assigned the office of Visitor to the Bishop of Winchester, in the same manner as Corpus Christi, from whose statutes Sir Thomas White borrowed a great deal.⁵⁷ It is likely that the original statutes of the College, drawn up in 1557

⁵⁵ Williams, p. 404.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Stevenson and Salter, p. 156.

and of which no copy has survived, also reserved the office of Visitor for the Bishop of Winchester. At that time, John White held the Seat of Winchester. Following the accession of Elizabeth I, Bishop John White was a friend of the founder who was deprived in June 1559 as a catholic recusant. He died the following January in Sir Thomas White's home.⁵⁸ Robert Horne, a staunch Protestant who vigorously enforced the Elizabethan Settlement at the four Oxford colleges where he was a Visitor, succeeded him.⁵⁹ His most extensive purges of Catholics occurred at New College; within ten years of Elizabeth's accession, twenty-nine fellows either resigned or were removed.⁶⁰

While St. John's was unable to avoid the purges, White's will of 1566 elected Cordell as Visitor, allowing more confessional leeway within the College. While Cordell was a conformist who served Elizabeth I as Master of the Rolls, his sympathies were most certainly Catholic; during the reign of Queen Mary, he had served as a member of her Privy Council, as well as Master of the Rolls and Solicitor General, and was executor to her and Cardinal Pole upon their deaths. Cordell's nomination to the office of Visitor of St. John's College did not come easily; he had to plead his right to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took his case to the Privy Council, which ultimately upheld his appointment.⁶¹

⁵⁸ John Gough Nichols, ed. *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (London: Camden Society Press, 1968), p. 223

⁵⁹ He was also Visitor of New College, Trinity, Magdalene, and Corpus Christi.

⁶⁰Williams, p. 407.

⁶¹ Stevenson and Salter, p. 157.

This incident has been mentioned in a number of texts discussing the religious history of St. John's, but the actual *implications* that the placement of Cordell in the position of Visitor would have on the religious tone and tenor of the College has been largely ignored. This is an important point that begs a more thorough understanding. There is a cache of largely unexplored letters housed in the archive of St. John's College, between Cordell and fellows of the College. A careful study of these letters has yielded a more precise understanding of religious politics within the College, as well as between the College itself and other authorities, including those in the university, government, and the Merchant Taylors' Company.

For the second chapter on Laudians at St. John's College, I utilized the College Archives as well as the Tanner and Rawlinson Papers in the Bodleian Library. Furthermore, Laud's papers at Lambeth Palace Library were useful, as were the printed versions of Laud's diary, letters, sermons, and the history of his trial.

For information regarding the Merchant Taylors' Company, I relied mostly on documents from the Company's papers held in the Guildhall Library, London. Of these, the Minutes from the Court of Assistants were particularly useful, as were the records of the Merchant Taylors' School in London. For the final chapter on the election of scholars from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St. John's College, Oxford, I relied on letters between both institutions

found in the records mentioned above, but also a large scrapbook of election documents, found in the Guildhall Library.⁶² This scrapbook contains tally sheets for the elections, as well as letters between the two institutions, internal memoranda of the Merchant Taylors' Company regarding their frustrations with St. John's, and other ephemera.

V. The Content

This study is organized into four chapters. The first chapter focuses on the circumstances surrounding the founding and establishment of St. John's College, Oxford. The focus of the chapter is the religious character of the College during its first three decades of existence, particularly the original purpose of the College as an institution of Counter-Reform. Important aspects of this are the study of the religious leanings of scholars whom Sir Thomas White handpicked as fellows for his fledgling institution, and what became of those scholars following the establishment of the Protestant Elizabethan settlement of religion. This chapter considers the challenges and choices that its members were forced to make, as approximately 38% of the fellows admitted to St. John's College between 1555 and 1658 (the year after Sir Thomas White died) were either confirmed recusants or "greatly suspect" in religion. That left them with few choices. Some elected to stay in England, choosing a path of outward conformity

⁶² Guildhall MS 34281.

and quiet resistance, while others fled to English Catholic seminaries in Rome, Douai, and Valladolid in order to practice their religion openly. Some of these men came back to England, attempting to re-catholicize their homeland. Among them are Edmund Campion, Gregory Martin, Cuthbert Tunstall, and William Hartely. All but Gregory Martin was executed by the Elizabethan regime for treason.

The second chapter considers the personal rule of William Laud both during and after his time as President of St. John's College from 1611-1621. Laud claimed that he was "bred up" at St. John's; as his high church practices and theology mirrored that of his tutor, John Buckeridge, his claims appears legitimate. Besides his theological development, he also fostered a series of friendships at St. John's College with men who actively supported his brand of churchmanship (aptly termed "Laudianism") during his tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury. In turn, he promoted and helped these men into prominent positions in academia, church and state. Meanwhile, he kept his hand in the politics of St. John's College, acting as its greatest patron and advising his immediate predecessors, William Juxon and William Baylie, making the College a breeding ground for young, ambitious Arminians.

Chapter three focuses on the Merchant Taylors' Company, and its efforts to redefine itself in philanthropic terms suitable to the Protestant moral economy of London from the reign of Mary Tudor to the English Civil War. Special

attention is paid to the religious allegiances of its more prominent members, particularly its masters and wardens, as well as to the charitable activities of the Company. For the purposes of this dissertation, the most important philanthropic establishment of the Merchant Taylors' was their school in London.

The final chapter focuses on difficulties that arose between St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company regarding the elections from Merchant Taylors' School in London to fellowships at St. John's. A number of historians have noted disagreements between the College and the Company, but they have not elucidated why there was so much strife between them. Therefore, this chapter focuses on understanding the underlying causes of these difficulties, and whether or not confessional differences played an important role.

The dissertation concludes with a brief study of varying allegiances of both institutions during the English Civil Wars, and an open ended discussion regarding whether or not confessional differences should be reconsidered in the constantly expanding scholarship of the Wars.

Chapter 1: “*In Animo Catholicus*”: The Foundation and Early Years of St. John’s College, Oxford (1555-1581)

I. Introduction

On January 27, 1567, Sir Thomas White knew he was dying. That day, in the midst of his final illness, he wrote to his foundation of St. John’s College, Oxford, declaring this to be “the last letter, that ever I shall send unto you.”¹ According to this missive the force and gravity of his last words, he dedicated most of its contents to urging his foundation to live in harmony with one another, pressing them to “love one another as brethren.” He continued that if any disagreements arose “to pacify it as soon as you can.” Emphasizing brotherhood and unity within their ranks, he ended his letter asking them “all to pray unto God for me, that I may end my life with patience, and that He may take me to His mercy.”² His request was not premature; he died sixteen days later.³

It is easy to brush aside White’s call to unity and fraternity as mere sentimentalism during his dying days, but on careful examination of his life, his statement is a bold one; a prescription for survival from a dedicated Catholic who not only endured the religious turmoil of every Tudor monarch from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I, but also managed to thrive – becoming one of the wealthiest

¹ SJCA Munim. I, f. 15, “Sir Thomas White to St. John’s College,” January 27, 1567. An eighteenth century copy of this letter is also available in SJCA Munim. LII, f.15.

² Ibid.

³W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John’s College, Oxford* (OHS, 1939), p. 389.

and most celebrated men in England during his lifetime.⁴ It was the fraternity that existed between Sir Thomas White and his network of friends, colleagues, and allies that helped him to found St. John's College in Oxford. Members of that network also worked tirelessly to protect the foundation's conservative character after the establishment of the Protestant Elizabethan settlement, particularly after the founder's death. In this context, White's appeal to brotherhood is a cry for faith in action – a call to band together in order to preserve an institution dedicated to continuing the practice of traditional religion in England. Although the early Elizabethan polity portrayed an air of tolerance toward conforming Catholics, it did not support the practice of Catholicism, making White's plea for unity wise counsel.⁵ Historians of the past century have demonstrated that themes of fraternity and unity were a common strain among English recusants, banding together and struggling to maintain a sense of community while sustaining a form of religious belief and practice that was quickly falling out of favor with government authorities.⁶

⁴ Robert Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540-1640* (Stanford, 2002), pp.103-120.

⁵ Roger Manning, "Elizabethan Recusancy Commissions," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 15, no. 1 (CUP, March 1972), pp. 22-36.

⁶ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1976); Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in late sixteenth century Paris* (Boydell, 2011); Brian Magee, *The English Recusants: a study of the post-Reformation Catholic survival and the operation of the recusancy laws* (London, 1938); David Mathew, *Catholicism in England: the portrait of a minority: its culture and tradition* (London, 1948); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (CUP, 2006); A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582* (London-Glasgow, 1950); W.R. Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England 1558-1603* (Cambridge, Mass, 1964); John Vidmar, *English Catholic historians and the English Reformation, 1585-1954* (Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

Although White would pen two more letters to the College prior to his death on February 12, 1567, this letter became his epitaph among college members: evidence suggests that it circulated in manuscript throughout the fellowship following his death, and beginning in 1734 it was printed for distribution among all new members.⁷ White's words did not fall on deaf ears, as this chapter demonstrates. The virtues of unity and fraternity became instrumental in the early years of Elizabeth's reign as the institution struggled to remain a haven for conservative scholars while navigating the Protestant religious settlement. This process was assisted, in large part, by the wide network of Sir Thomas White's friends, colleagues, and patrons. This extended family, as it were, helped St. John's establish itself as a permanent institution at the University of Oxford. As well as outside support, fraternity within the College was also vital: connections made at St. John's later aided those fellows that left, not only the College, but also Protestant England to seek training as Catholic priests. As this chapter will show, the friendships formed by these men while at St. John's shaped their personal beliefs, affecting and inspiring their participation in wider religious debates.

Ultimately, this chapter considers how St. John's College navigated the Elizabethan religious settlement, from the College's foundation in 1555, in the midst of the Marian Restoration of traditional religion, until the death of its first

⁷ W.C. Costin, *The History of St. John's College, Oxford, 1598-1860* (Clarendon, 1958), pp. 193-194.

Visitor, Sir William Cordell, who had been installed by the founder in that position partly to protect the College's conservative character.⁸ The purpose of this section is to better understand the religious makeup of the College during its early years, when it was notorious as a haven for Romanists and crypto-Catholics, and ultimately to locate it within the context of the later Reformation in England.⁹ In that sense, it is intended as a case study of the transition between the short lived restoration of Catholic belief and practice that occurred during the reign of Mary Tudor, and the implementation and growth of Protestantism effected by the Elizabethan regime. To this end, this chapter will begin with a brief study of the life of the founder of St. John's College and give an overview of its original purpose, as well as detail how it adapted to the religious currents of its first three decades.

II. The Life of the Founder

Sir Thomas White was a pious and wealthy Merchant Taylor of London, who was also childless. Both contemporary and future commentators agree that his piety, wealth, and infertility provided impetus for his philanthropy later in

⁸ Andrew Hegarty, ed. *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford, 1555-1660* (OHS, 2011), p. xxv.

⁹ James McConica, ed. *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. III: The Collegiate University* (Clarendon, 1986), p. 411.

life.¹⁰ Born during the reign of Henry VII in the town of Reading to William White, a clothier of Rickmansworth, White was apprenticed in 1504 to Hugh Acton, a prominent member of the Merchant Taylors' Company of London, one of the twelve great companies of that city. His entry into the Merchant Taylors' Company of London was life defining, providing the conduit through which he would arrive at professional and civic success, as well as engage in large-scale charitable endeavors with other members of his fraternity. White set up business in the London cloth trade in 1523, assisted by an inheritance from his father and a loan of £100 by his late master. Alexandra Shephard speculates that this charitable act provided inspiration for White years later when he established similar loan trusts for young men aspiring to launch a career in the cloth trade.¹¹

White gained prominence quickly in the Merchant Taylors' Company, serving as the Company's first renter's warden in 1530, and senior warden in 1533, before becoming Master of the Company as early as 1535.¹² Outside of his company, he also became involved in opening up trade with Russia, acting as a founding member of the Muscovy Company, which gained its first charter in 1555.¹³ During this time, White became increasingly involved in the civic life of London, elected alderman for his parish of St. Michael Cornhill from 1544, Sheriff

¹⁰ Hegarty, p. xv.

¹¹ Alexandra Shepard, "White, Sir Thomas (1495?-1567)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29272>, accessed 27 Jan 2015].

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Guildhall MS 11894, "Transcript of the Charter of the Muscovy Company," February 26, 1554/55.

for the City of London in 1547, and chosen as Lord Mayor during the first year of Queen Mary Tudor's reign in 1553, the same year that he was knighted.¹⁴

Through his business pursuits and real estate investments, White amassed a great deal of wealth. Yet, he lacked an heir. His first wife, one Avice or Avicia, was a widow with three children, but did not produce further children during her marriage to White. Evidence suggests that she was related to the Roper family, and that Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, William Roper, participated in her funeral in February 1558.¹⁵ This may offer some insight to White's connection with Roper, whom he appointed as one of the Visitors for life (along with Sir William Cordell) to St. John's College upon his own death in 1567. Shortly after the death of his first wife, White married Joan, widow of the late Sir Ralph Warren, with whom she had produced a son and heir, Richard Warren, but this second marriage did not result in further children.

Without children to inherit his wealth, Sir Thomas White expressed his piety through numerous charitable activities and endowments. White's began his philanthropic efforts by 1542, when he commenced what Andrew Hegarty terms a "well-ordered campaign of charitable endowment" by donating £1,400 toward the revival of Coventry's economy, which had turned to "Great Ruine and

¹⁴ Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Maney, 2004), p. 119.

¹⁵ C.M. Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist* (Privately printed, 1888), Vol. II. p. 147.

decay” partially through the decline of the city’s broadcloth industry.¹⁶ The money provided both alms for the city’s destitute, as well as funding a loan scheme to assist freemen with business start up costs in their chosen trade. This would be the first of many such schemes, whose influence would spread to twenty-nine cities throughout the realm. The loan trusts were wildly successful and sustainable, as demonstrated by their continued existence to this day as The Sir Thomas White Loan Charity.¹⁷ He also dedicated a portion of his wealth and energy to London’s hospitals, abused and nearly eliminated by the dissolution of the monasteries, acting as Treasurer and later President of St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, and was appointed the Surveyor-General of all London City Hospitals in 1562, and was acting as their Controller-General at the time of his death. White’s philanthropy was part of a growing participation of London merchants in the moral economy of London, exercised by both staunchly Protestant members of the community, as well as those (like White) with a more conservative outlook.¹⁸

Throughout these pursuits, White worked within the confessionally diverse community of the Merchant Taylors’ Company in London. Within his fraternity, he collaborated with men with a wide range of religious ideas. This is

¹⁶ Hegarty, p. xvi

¹⁷ The current foundation derived from White’s original endowment, The Sir Thomas White Loan Charity (UK Company Registration 06328658) offers up to £15,000 for small business start up loans and £6,000 for education to eligible candidates, in keeping with its original intent as outlined in the sixteenth century.

¹⁸ Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, p.149-198. Also see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

best illustrated in the establishment of the Merchant Taylors' School in 1561 – an institution that White played a significant role in founding. The Merchant Taylors' School was founded by a group of men from various confessional backgrounds. The project was instigated and primarily financed by Richard Hilles, a dedicated Protestant influenced by Heinrich Bullinger, whom he visited in Zurich in 1542.¹⁹ The second was Thomas Offley, who the Company historian, C.M. Clode maintained was “an advocate of the new learning,” but like White was a conformist who flourished during the reigns of all the Tudor monarchs.²⁰ Two other contributors were Emmanuel Lucar and Stephen Hayles, both of whom exhibited Protestant sympathies. White not only assisted the foundation of the school, he also provided an opportunity for it to thrive by attaching it to his personal pet project: the College of St. John the Baptist in the University of Oxford.

III. The Foundation and Early Years of St. John's College (1555-1567)

White's civic prominence and philanthropic adventures peaked during the reign of Mary I, whose dedication to traditional religion complimented his

¹⁹ David Loades, “Hilles, Richard (c.1514–1587),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47402>, accessed 6 Feb 2015].

²⁰ Elizabeth Lane Furdell, “Offley, Sir Thomas (c.1505–1582),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20568>, accessed 6 Feb 2015].

own spiritual sensibilities.²¹ White fully expressed his religious beliefs during Mary's reign through his extensive support of the Counter-Reformation in England and the reconstruction of the Catholic religion implemented by her regime. In the midst of Mary's struggle for the throne in July 1553, White was one of a group of prominent Londoners who met the Queen at the Palace of Beaulieu and presented 500 marks to her in the name of goodwill and support for her claim from the Corporation of the City of London.²² The day after Mary's coronation, White was one of the men knighted before the Queen in her presence chamber, and was elected Lord Mayor of London one month after meeting her at Beaulieu. White's mayoral pageant demonstrated a return to traditional religion; as described by his fellow Merchant Taylor, Henry Machyn, who portrayed the celebration as an elaborate affair that included a spectacle venerating the life of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of their company, which was produced, "gorgyusly, with goodly speeches."²³ During White's term as mayor, he acted as an avid supporter of the Marian regime, assisting in the reception of Prince Phillip (later Phillip II) of Spain when he arrived in England to marry the Queen, suppressing Wyatt's rebellion, and sitting on the Guildhall commissions for the

²¹ Hegarty, p. xviii.

²² John Gough Nichols, ed. *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (Camden, 1848), p. 4.

²³ MS. Coll. Arm. I. 7. f. 74. as found in Nichols, p. 48.

trials of state prisoners, including Lady Jane Grey and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.²⁴

It was during Mary's reign that White began his most ambitious charitable venture by founding St. John the Baptist's College at the University of Oxford. The first evidence of his intent to establish an educational institution at Oxford comes from July 1554, when he purchased estates in Oxfordshire as a provision for his endowment worth £1,908 16s, including the estates of Fyfield and Long Wittenham.²⁵ In December 1554 he secured an "article of agreement" with the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church that granted White the premises of St. Bernard's College, and in May 1555 they followed through with this agreement by arranging to rent White the property at 20s a year.²⁶ St. Bernard's College was originally a house of the Cistercian Order that Henry VIII's authorities dissolved by the year 1540, but rather than attempt to resurrect a monastic institution there, White founded an undergraduate college, a secular institution with antecedents in the late medieval period that flourished after the closure of the English monasteries.²⁷ It is possible that White conferred with his friend and fellow layman, Sir Thomas Pope, who was in the process of establishing a College dedicated to The Holy and Undivided Trinity on the site of the former Benedictine foundation of Durham College. On May 1, 1555 a Letter patent from

²⁴ Arnold Daly Briscoe, *A Marian Lord Mayor: Sir Thomas White* (East Anglian Magazine, 1982).

²⁵ Stevenson and Salter, p. 113.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 114.

²⁷ McConica, pp. 42-48.

Prince Philip and Queen Mary established the College, making it eligible as a place suitable to study Arts, Philosophy, and Theology with a President and thirty members which could hold lands to the value of £600 a year.²⁸ White timed the establishment of his foundation carefully – the closures of monasteries and chantries during Henry and especially Edward’s reigns led to rumors that educational foundations were also at risk, but Queen Mary made it clear that she intended to patronize both Oxford and Cambridge, writing them an injunction in August 1553 to revert to their ancient statutes while discarding those enacted during the reign of Edward VI, particularly those that supported evangelical theology and practice.²⁹ Royal support for the College is memorialized at St. John’s in a fair copy of the statutes drawn up by John Bearblocke in 1562, which bears an emblem of the sovereigns in their regal finery on its first page.³⁰

Sir Thomas White clearly intended his College to be an institution of Counter Reform, dedicating it in the first foundation deed to “the Everlasting God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Mother, and Saint John the Baptist,” the patron of his company.³¹ St. John the Baptist’s College was officially opened on June 24, 1557, the feast of its namesake.³² The foundation was designed to celebrate and embolden the re-institution of traditional religion, as reflected in statute sixteen, which states that the purpose of the College is to encourage the

²⁸ Hegarty, p. xix.

²⁹ Ibid. p. xviii.

³⁰ SJCA Munim. I. f. 1, “Foundation Deed of St. John the Baptist’s College, Oxford,” May 29, 1555.

³¹ SJCA Munim. I. f. 5, “Foundation Deed of St. John the Baptist’s College, Oxford,” May 29, 1555.

³² Hegarty, p. xix.

return of traditional religion by educating secular, Catholic clergy, for “the increase of the orthodox faith and of the Christian profession in so far as it is weakened by the damage of time and the malice of men” and to aid in the improvement of theology, “much afflicted of late as we see with sorrow and grief.”³³ As such, all fellows were expected to be ordained within three years of their appointment, with few exceptions. White lifted most of St. John’s Statutes from those of Corpus Christi College, but this statute is unique and original to his foundation.³⁴ It is interesting to note that this directive, as well as provisions mandating auricular confession and attendance at religious services, remained in the revised statutes of 1562 and 1566, eight years after the accession of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth. Their retention lends credence to the idea that contemporaries viewed the early Elizabethan state as religiously tolerant and malleable, to a certain degree, as long as one did not side too eagerly with either the papist or puritan factions.³⁵ It is also possible that White hoped that the Elizabethan settlement would not be permanent, having lived through the religious to-and-fro of England’s rulers during the previous three decades.

St. John’s College was Marian in both timing and intent. White’s statutes coincided with the desire of the Marian church to “reeducate the nation in the fundamentals of Catholicism” through “the regular participation of the people in

³³ Stevenson and Salter, p. 146; McConica, p. 46.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Peter Lake, “A Tale of Two Episcopal Surveys: The Strange Fates of Edmund Grindal and Cuthbert Mayne Revisited: The Prothero Lecture,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 18 (2008), pp. 129-163.

the sacraments, and to underpin it by a regular and solidly grounded pattern of parochial instruction.”³⁶ Queen Mary recognized that this required an educated secular clergy, and entreated the Universities to support her religious settlement “by there preachyng instruct and confirm the rest of our subiects.”³⁷ Therefore, Mary had no intention that parishes in her church were to be led by the proverbial “dumb dogs” of the late medieval period, but rather educated clergy in the tradition of John Fisher and Stephen Gardiner. In this way, the foundation of St. John’s College (as well as Trinity College, Oxford by Sir Thomas Pope) can be seen as part of a larger effort to encourage the development of an educated Catholic priesthood, an endeavor also evident in the printing of catechisms, devotionals, sermons, and Catholic polemic during Mary’s reign.³⁸ Yet, St. John’s College offered more than an education in theology, philosophy, and the arts; the second foundation charter of March 5, 1558 also allocated places for the study of canon and civil law, as well as a place for a medical scholar.³⁹

Sir Thomas White’s interest in sculpting the religious tone and character of his College is demonstrated by the items he purchased for the College Chapel. White stocked his College with the ephemera of the old religion, including ornaments for celebrating the Mass. A memorandum dated April 14, 1602

³⁶ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (Yale, 2005), pp. 525, 530.

³⁷ Hegarty, p. xviii

³⁸ William Wizeman, “The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor’s Church” (Ashgate, 2006), p. 25.

³⁹ SJCA Munim. I. f. 5, “The Second Foundation Deed of St. John the Baptist’s College, Oxford,” March 5, 1558.

describes some of the “old superstitious church ornaments” furnishing the College chapel in its early years. For the chapel, an assortment of vestments, a “great brazen crucifixe,” altar cloths, and two banners, one donated by a “Campion,” presumably a relative of the fellow, Edmund Campion. Much of this remains the property of the College, making it possible to assess the items more thoroughly. The surviving vestments were made in Flanders in the late 15th century out of costly velvet worked with gold and silver thread. True relics of the late medieval church, they are covered in symbols eschewed by Protestants: saints, bells, poppies, and a crucifix. It is easy to see why fellows in 1602 viewed them as “old” and “superstitious.”⁴⁰

There is also evidence that Sir Thomas White donated a triptych, decorated with the painting *St. Catherine and the Philosophers*, attributed to Goosen van der Weyden, a Dutch Renaissance Master, dated from the 1510's.⁴¹ The triptych, which now resides in the Southampton City Art Gallery, depicts St. Catherine's conversion of fifty pagan philosophers to Christianity – an appropriate theme for St. John's, endowed to hold fifty Foundationers' places. During the course of Elizabeth I's reign, the vestments and the triptych were hidden for safe keeping: the vestments were kept by the founder's niece, Amy Leech, until she returned them to the College in 1602, while the triptych fell into

⁴⁰ SJCA Munim. LX, p. 141, “A Note of Such Old and Superstitious Church Ornaments,” April 14, 1602.

⁴¹ Rachel Billinge and Lorne Campbell, “The Triptych of *St. Catherine and the Philosophers* attributed to Goosen van der Weyden in the Southampton City Art Gallery,” *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Vol. 24 (Yale University Press, 2003).

the hands of John Herne, a student at St. John's who matriculated on July 24, 1635 and notably accompanied Archbishop William Laud to the scaffold in 1645. A later owner painted over the reverse of the triptych, which displayed a coat of arms connecting it to the University of Oxford, Sir Thomas White, and the Herne-Flatman families. These are now only visible using infrared technology.⁴²

St. John's College also offered students a library well stocked with books by the Patristic Fathers and scholastic theologians, yet the foundation did not possess any writings by a Protestant reformer until 1600.⁴³ This is probably because White relied on donations of prominent Catholic friends and former monks of St. Bernard's College, Oxford, eager to donate to their *alma mater*. Following a donation of 500 books from Southwick Priory, four Catholic clergymen stocked the early library: Thomas Paynell, Gabriel Dunne, Henry Cole, and Richard Eden.⁴⁴ Gabriel Dunne and Richard Eden were former monks educated at St. Bernard's, and were eager to leave books to "the late Bernard Colledge."⁴⁵ Thomas Paynell and Henry Cole avidly supported the Marian restoration of traditional religion as prominent churchmen. Henry Cole, former Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, gave sixty-three books to St. John's College shortly before his death. It is possible that he was connected to Sir Thomas White

⁴² Hegarty, p. 311-312.

⁴³ Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Ashgate, 2005), p. 42.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Originally quoted in J.F. Fuggles, "A History of the Library of S. John's College, Oxford from the Foundation of the College to 1660" (Dissertation for Oxford University, 1975), p. 17, as found in Kilroy, p. 42.

through a mutual friend, John Feckenham (Cole's predecessor as Dean of St. Paul's), and also maintained ties with White's friends, Sir William Cordell and William Roper, who were appointed by the founder on his deathbed as Visitors for life to the College.⁴⁶ Within a few years of its creation, the new foundation boasted a library supplying scholars with Greek and Latin works of the Fathers, including Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas, as well as works of classical literature by Virgil, Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Thucydides, and others.⁴⁷ In short, the College library provided all of the primary texts needed for an education in scholastic theology.⁴⁸

Sir Thomas White maintained direct control of his foundation until his death. He appointed and deprived fellows, managed finances, and revised the College Statutes multiple times.⁴⁹ His personal rule over St. John's extended to the fellowship; during his lifetime he retained full control of the composition of the fellowship and the revision of statutes. He states this clearly in a thundering letter to the President and fellows of St. John's on December 1566,

I, the sayd Sir Thomas White, knight, Alderman of London and Founder of St. John's College aforesaid, have authoritye to me by the Statutes of my College reserved, to admytte and expel, to place and displace all and

⁴⁶ Henry Cole acted as executor for Cardinal Pole with Cordell and he tutored William Roper's children as found in John Guy, *A Daughter's Love: Thomas More and his Dearest Meg*, (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2008), p. 269.

⁴⁷ N.R. Ker, "Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century," *Bodleian Library Record*, Vol. 6 (January 1959), pp. 459-515.

⁴⁸ Anthony Kenny and Jan Pinborg, "Medieval Philosophical Literature," found in Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg, eds. *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (CUP, 1982) pp.1 1-43.

⁴⁹ McConica, p. 45.

every the Presydenes, Felowes and Scolers of my said College during my lyfe.⁵⁰

Even though White inextricably connected his College to his fraternity of Merchant Taylors' in London by giving them the ability to select thirty-seven scholars to his foundation from their newly formed school in London, not one Merchant Taylor scholar came up to St. John's until 1572, making it possible for him to exert complete control over the composition of the College.⁵¹

As long as White held the power of election and deprivation he stocked St. John's with scholars deeply committed to the old religion. The first foundation deed, dated May 29, 1555, records five scholars as members: Alexander Belsyre, Edward Chambers, John James, Ralph Wyndon, and Henry Daubney.⁵² Within three years the fellowship had grown significantly. The second foundation charter, drawn up on March 5, 1558, lists the President (Alexander Belsyre) and eighteen scholars resident at St. John's: John Bavant, John James, William Ely, Ralph Wyndon, Thomas Presse, Thomas Palmer, William Smallwood, Leonard Stopes, Gregory Martin, William Bridgeman, William Brigham, Thomas Culpepper, Henry Russell, John Halsey, John Phillips, Anthony Harris, Lewis Powell, Edmund Campion, and Francis Willis.⁵³ This gives us a picture of the fellowship less than a year before the accession of Queen Elizabeth. With the

⁵⁰SJCA Munim. I. f. 14, "Sir Thomas White to the College of St. John the Baptist in Oxford," December 12, 1566.

⁵¹ For more information about this, see chapter 4.

⁵² SJCA Munim. I. f. 5, "Foundation Deed of St. John the Baptist's College, Oxford," May 29, 1555.

⁵³ Stevenson and Salter state that the charter lists the President and sixteen scholars, but that is an error.

exception of Bridgeman, Powell, Phillips, Culpepper, Harris, Brigham, and Presse, the rest rejected the Elizabethan settlement and defected to the continent to practice Roman Catholicism openly, or lived under the suspicion of recusancy until their deaths.⁵⁴ These was the core group of scholars who shaped St. John's during the first decade of its existence and were forced to navigate the Elizabethan settlement.

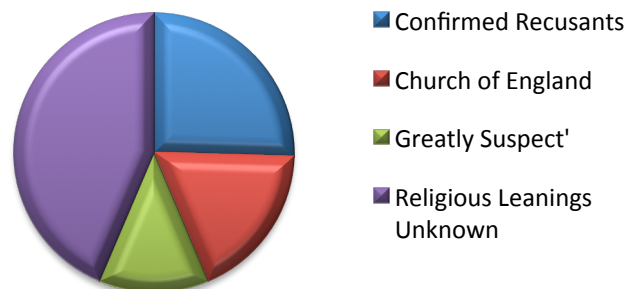
Following the establishment of the Elizabethan religious settlement, many fellows and scholars at St. John's chose to remain openly Catholic until they were forced to leave the University, others conformed initially to the authorities, but later turned to Rome, and a few (like Henry Russell and Francis Willis) submitted to the authorities, but were known supporters of recusants. From the initial admission of foundationers in 1555, until the death of the founder in 1567, fifty-six foundationers were elected to St. John's College. Of these, 14 openly defected to the Roman Church, while seven were considered greatly suspect in religion, in spite of their outward conformity (see figure 1.1). Seven of the fifteen members who turned to Rome matriculated at St. John's after Elizabeth I's accession, demonstrating that the College served as a haven for conservative scholars throughout the 1560's.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The exceptions are elusive characters. William Bridgeman was the nephew of the founder who died before he made a name for himself, as did Lewis Powell. There are no other records relating to Culpepper, Phillips, Harris, and Brigham. Besides his conformity, Thomas Presse's religious beliefs are unknown, but we do know that he was Rector of Ufton Nervet, Berkshire (1566-71) and South Cadbury, Somerset (1571-1587), and Vicar of South Brent, Somerset (1577).

⁵⁵ These numbers were formulated using information found in Hegarty.

These numbers only represent foundationers, men elected and supported by the foundation, and do not include numerous scholars who discreetly remained Catholic while at St. John's by entering as non-foundationers, also known as "commoners" or "gentlemen-commoners." Non-foundationer scholars ate, studied, and roomed with foundationers, but did not take degrees – an attractive option for conservative families desiring to educate their sons without it being necessary for them to take the Oath of Supremacy (which was only required on a young man's sixteenth birthday or when he supplicated for a degree). Many commoners and gentlemen-commoners remain undocumented, but there are a few stunning examples of recusants lying low at St. John's as non-foundationers, such as Justinian Stubbs, William Hartely, and Thomas Tresham, who all ran into trouble with the law for recusant activities.

Fig. 1.1 SJC Foundationers Admitted Between 1555-1568



The head of the fellowship at St. John's was the President. During its first decade as an established foundation the College cycled through three Presidents in quick succession. All were committed Catholics; Alexander Belsyre (1557-59), the first incumbent of that office, was deprived by the founder for fraud before he could be discharged for his open sympathies to the Roman Church,⁵⁶ while the second, William Ely (1559-60), resigned most likely to avoid the recently instituted Oath of Supremacy.⁵⁷ William Stocke (1560-64), the third president of St. John's who Anthony Wood called "*in animo Catholicus*," or "Catholic at heart," resigned under shadowy circumstances and became Principal of Gloucester Hall, also owned by Sir Thomas White. Gloucester, similar to other halls at Oxford, was further out of the reach of authorities and known as a haven for Romanists (see below).⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that even though both quietly resigned from St. John's, Sir Thomas White still took care of his two friends: he installed both Stocke and Ely to the parish of Freckenham, Suffolk, an advowson that he likely obtained on his marriage to Sir Ralph Warren's widow, Joan.⁵⁹

William Stocke eventually ended his days as a resident of Gloucester Hall. Formerly known as Gloucester College when it was an institution run by the Benedictine Order, Gloucester Hall was purchased by Sir Thomas White from the

⁵⁶SJCA Munim. I. f. 14, "Sir Thomas White to St. John's College, Oxford," December 12, 1566.

⁵⁷Hegarty, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁸Jennifer Loach, "Reformation Controversies," found in James McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. III* (Clarendon, 1986), pp. 381-382.

⁵⁹Freckenham (CCEd Location ID 433) *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835* <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, accessed 29 Apr. 2015.

Crown in 1560 and granted to St. John's College on April 13, 1560, as an annex to the College.⁶⁰ Scholars regularly crossed back and forth between Gloucester Hall and St. John's, which is probably why Gloucester is called "St. John's Hall" in some records. St. John's had the right of election to Gloucester Hall, and Presidents of Gloucester were always former fellows of St. John's – typically members suspect in religion who may have been seeking to keep their head down, including its first five Presidents: William Stocke, Richard Eden, Thomas Palmer, Henry Russell, and Christopher Bagshawe.

John Robinson (1564-1572) was the final President installed at St. John's College during the lifetime of Sir Thomas White. His election provides a good case study of the way in which Sir Thomas White utilized his connections to carefully evade the Elizabethan authorities, while maintaining the conservative tone of his College. While the first three Presidents were thinly veiled Catholics, Robinson was a professed Protestant and former fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, an establishment known for the Protestant leanings of its fellows. Robinson was no exception and had matriculated at Pembroke in 1550, at the height of Edwardian Protestantism, when the College lay under the Mastership of Nicholas Ridley, future Marian martyr, and the Presidency of Edmund Grindal, later Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth I.⁶¹ Yet, Robinson was not made of martyr's metal, and during Mary's reign he conformed and thrived,

⁶⁰ Stevenson and Salter, p. 435

⁶¹ Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-83: Struggle for a Reformed Church* (UCP, 1979).

graduating BA in January 1554. That same year he was elected to the fellowship of Pembroke, ordained a deacon and priest, and became acolyte, which made him instrumental in the re-establishment of the Mass at Ridley's former college.⁶² Following Elizabeth's accession, he was accepted back into the Protestant fold, and was unsuccessfully nominated by William Cecil in 1561 for the Mastership of Pembroke, which was given to Matthew Hutton instead.

Following this disappointment, Robinson went to Oxford, where he was incorporated MA on May 19, 1563. A little over a year later, William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, wrote to his old friend Sir Thomas White, with whom he had defended London during Wyatt's Rebellion, asking that the Presidency of St. John's, "being now in your disposition and grief" be given to "my friend Master Robinson." In return, Pembroke promised White his appreciation and continued support, "what pleasure you shall do him [Robinson] herein, I shall think is done to my self," and he infers that White will also receive the goodwill of his brother-in-law, George Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury.⁶³ Although old and infirm, the Earl of Pembroke remained a powerful player at court, allying himself with the Earl of Leicester, therefore, it would have been unwise to ignore his request. The Fellows of St. John's duly elected Robinson five days later, based on the

⁶² Leonard W. Cowie, "Robinson, John (d. 1598)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23846>, accessed 4 Feb 2015].

⁶³ SJCA Munim. LX. f. 1, "The Earl of Pembroke to Sir Thomas White," August 31, 1564.

recommendation of the Founder, and the Earl of Shrewsbury sent both his sons to study at St. John's as gentlemen-commoners.⁶⁴

Leonard Cowie asserts that Robinson's election to the Presidency of St. John's was an attempt by Sir Thomas White to give his College the appearance of conformity, which may be true, but Robinson's compliance and participation in the Marian restoration demonstrated his malleability in matters of religion, making him an attractive prospect to a conservative college.⁶⁵ Therefore, Robinson's election can be seen as an attempt to have an appearance of conformity, while maintaining the conservative character of the College. Unfortunately, this did not necessarily work out in practice, as discussed later in this chapter.

A letter from the founder in 1566 demonstrates that a deep sense of community had formed among conservative fellows at St. John's, who were willing to break the statutes to support one another. Four fellows, Thomas Neale, John Bavant, Thomas Palmer, and William Smallwood, had all been discharged from their fellowships as a result of absenteeism or outside funding. All but Thomas Palmer (whose beliefs are unknown) were semi-conforming Catholics at the time: Neale was a Marian priest and former chaplain who resided in Oxford, John Bavant was a Marian priest who left England in 1570 in order to join the

⁶⁴ Both Francis and Gilbert Talbot are listed in the first St. John's College matriculation register. See Hegarty, p. 450.

⁶⁵ Leonard W. Cowie, "Robinson, John (d. 1598)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23846>, accessed 3 Feb 2015].

Roman Church on the Continent, and William Smallwood described himself in a Latin psalter as “y^e popes owne derlynge.”⁶⁶ In 1566, the founder discovered that all four were receiving an annuity of ten pounds as fellows of the College, even though “I dyd never grant nor geve anye suche annuite or letters patentes to any of the above named.” He chastises the fellowship, saying that he “justelye removyd, diplacid and discharged the sayd.”⁶⁷ The culprit here is unknown, the College Register does not mention the incident and the accounts for this period do not survive, but it does demonstrate a certain collegiality between the fellows and their flagrantly Catholic former members.

During his time at St. John’s, Bavant tutored two exceptional students: Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion.⁶⁸ The second foundation deed recorded Martin and Campion as freshmen in 1557/8, but they rose through the ranks quickly.⁶⁹ Martin replaced Bavant as Greek reader in 1564 and Campion became Dean of Arts a year later.⁷⁰ Sir Thomas White favored the pair, both as scholars and as friends. This is demonstrated in a letter addressed specifically to the President and the two of them by name – an unusual practice for White who

⁶⁶ Hegarty, p.134.

⁶⁷ SJCA Munim. I. f. 14, “Sir Thomas White to St. John’s College, Oxford,” December 12, 1566.

⁶⁸ Thompson Cooper, “Bavant, John (*fl.* 1550–1598),” rev. Sarah Elizabeth Wall, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1725, accessed 4 Feb 2015].

⁶⁹ SJCA Munim. I. f. 5, “The Second Foundation Deed of St. John the Baptist’s College, Oxford,” March 5, 1558.

⁷⁰ Hegarty, p. 28-9.

typically addressed his letters to the entire fellowship.⁷¹ Furthermore, in 1563, Sir Thomas White wrote that the key to the College tower was to be entrusted to “Sir Marten.”⁷² When Sir Thomas White was dying, Edmund Campion was called to his bedside to attend him. After the founder’s death, Campion provided his funeral oration, and was remembered in Sir Thomas White’s will with the gift of a black gown.⁷³

Martin was a steadfast Roman Catholic, encouraging the conversions of two St. John’s men: Cuthbert Mayne and Edmund Campion. During his time as a student, Campion waivered between his Catholic views and the temporal benefits of belonging to the Church of England. Robert Persons, a contemporary at Oxford who later served with Campion in the Society of Jesus, suggested that Campion vacillated because he was star struck by the possibilities for patronage and preferment offered by the Church of England.⁷⁴ A shooting star academically, Campion’s education was supported by wealthy patrons⁷⁵ and most of his funding was dependent on an exhibition from the Grocers’ Company that provided him a generous 6li.13s4d. per annum, but required him to preach a

⁷¹ SJCA Munim. I. f. 12, “Sir Thomas White to the President and Master Campion and Martin,” July 10 (year unknown).

⁷² SJCA Munim. I. f. 2, “Sir Thomas White to Mr. Yaxley and the Fellows of St. John’s College, Oxford,” November 1563.

⁷³ “A Copy of Sir Thomas White’s Final Will and Testament,” the original is dated November 8, 1566 but the copy in the SJCA is in an eighteenth century hand, Munim. I. 21. The original will is found at TNA: PROB 11/49/37, “Will of Sir Thomas White of South Warborough, Hampshire,” February 1, 1567.

⁷⁴ Michael A. R. Graves, “Campion, Edmund [St Edmund Campion] (1540–1581),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4539>, accessed 5 Feb 2015].

⁷⁵ Most notably Sir William Chester and Sir Anthony Hussey, see Hegarty, p. 28.

sermon at Paul's Cross, which may have required ordination in the Church of England.⁷⁶ He was offered further carrots in 1566 after he gave an eloquent disputation before the Queen during her visit to Oxford in 1566. His performance was so impressive that the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil both offered to patron him.

Campion managed to avoid ordination and when he failed to preach a sermon for the Grocers' Company he was duly released from his exhibition on October 14, 1568. In December of that year his roommate, Gregory Martin resigned his fellowship in order to tutor Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey, allowing him the opportunity to practice Roman Catholicism privately.⁷⁷ Without Martin to encourage him in the old faith, Campion fell under the influence of the conservative Bishop of Gloucester, Richard Cheyney who ordained him in March 1569, the same month he was elected University Proctor.⁷⁸ Although he was ordained there is evidence that he still held sympathy with the Catholic faith. As a Proctor, he attempted to help Robert Persons gain his BA without having to swear the Oath of Supremacy. Although another Proctor thwarted their plan, it is possible that Campion assisted other Catholic students attempt evasion.⁷⁹ By the time he left Oxford for Ireland, Campion was reestablished in the Catholic

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Hegarty, p.98.

⁷⁸ Hegarty, p.29.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

faith – but was still being financially assisted by St. John’s College, most likely through the influence of the new Visitor, Sir William Cordell.

IV. Sir William Cordell as Visitor (1567-1581)

During the course of White’s final illness, he realized that his death would end his personal rule over the College, so he appointed two close friends, Sir William Cordell and William Roper (son-in-law to Sir Thomas More), as Visitors for life to St. John’s. Unlike other Visitors to the University of Oxford, they not were appointed because of a political or episcopal office. Rather, they were chosen for the position of Visitor as a result of their friendship and shared religious outlook with the College’s founder. This made their appointment controversial, however, since it usurped the Statutes of the College, which had appointed the Bishop of Winchester as Visitor.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, this was a necessary evil if the College was to retain its conservative nature after the death of its founder, as the first Elizabethan Bishop of Winchester was Robert Horne (1560-1579), a vigorous Protestant. He eagerly rooted out romish practice and belief at the other Oxford colleges where he acted as Visitor: New College, Trinity, Corpus, and Magdalen. At New College alone, twenty-nine fellows

⁸⁰ Sir Thomas White inserted a proviso in to the statutes of 1566 (statute 55) that appointed Sir William Cordell and William Roper Visitors for life.

resigned or were expelled within ten years of Elizabeth's accession, and the other colleges under Horne's Visitorship experienced similar deprivations.⁸¹

Furthermore, the founder had a personal bone to pick with Horne because of his treatment of John Feckenham, former Abbot of Westminster Abbey, a fellow Catholic and close personal friend of Sir Thomas White. In 1560, the aging Marian churchman was imprisoned for his obstinate refusal of the Oath of Supremacy and open unwillingness to submit to the Elizabethan settlement. Bishop Horne acted as one of his gaolers, keeping Feckenham under house arrest in an attempt to convert him to Protestantism. Unsuccessful, Horne discharged him to the Tower in 1565, and added additional insult to injury when he published a pamphlet against him in 1566.⁸² On September of that year, White wrote to the President of his College to provide the aging "Master Fecknam" his "dear frende; whose Request I may not deny him" an allowance to aide his comfort while imprisoned, as well as to continue to pay Thomas Bramston, a former monk of Westminster and fellow of St. John's, leave and allowance to attend to the needs of his former abbot.⁸³ The College complied and Bramston

⁸¹ "The Bishop of Winchester to Lord Burghley," August 5, 1576, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Ed. S.R. Scargill-Bird. Vol. 2: 1572-1582 (Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, 1888), p. 137.

⁸² Robert Horne, *An answeare made by Rob. Bishoppe of VVynchester, to a booke entituled, The declaration of suche scruples, and staies of conscience, touchinge the Othe of the Supremacy, as M. Iohn Fekenham, by vvytyng did deliuer vnto the L. Bishop of VVynchester vvith his resolutions made thereunto* (London, 1566).

⁸³ SJCA Munim. LXII, 2, f. 90, "Sir Thomas White to the President of SJC," An eighteenth century copy of the original is also found in SJCA Munim. LII, L.6.

stayed with Feckenham for nearly two years.⁸⁴ After Horne's dealings with his friend, it is little wonder that Sir Thomas White was unwilling to hand the reins of his beloved institution over to the zealous Bishop and turned instead to his friends, Sir William Cordell and William Roper.

Unlike Bishop Horne, Sir William Cordell and William Roper were both dedicated Catholics. Cordell grew up practicing the rituals and adornments of Holy Trinity Church in Long Melford, Suffolk. The lavish late medieval piety of this parish is described by Cordell's near contemporary, Roger Martyn.⁸⁵ Much like his friend, Sir Thomas White, Cordell flourished during Mary Tudor's reign. Initially a bencher, he was elevated to Solicitor-General by Queen Mary in 1553, a position he maintained until 1557 when appointed Master of the Rolls and a Privy Councilor. In 1558 he became Speaker of the House of Commons and was knighted that same year.⁸⁶ It was at this time that he purchased the former monastic lands and buildings of Melford Manor from the crown, which included the advowson to Cordell's childhood parish. During Mary's reign, two churchwardens, William Clopton and Roger Martyn, restored the parish church to its pre-Reformation glory, under Cordell's careful gaze.⁸⁷ On Mary's death he

⁸⁴ Hegarty, p. 22.

⁸⁵ Roger Martyn, "The state of Melford Church and of our Lady's Chapel at the east end, as I, Roger Martin, did know it" as found in Robert S. Miola, ed. *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (OUP, 2007), pp. 309-312.

⁸⁶ J. H. Baker, "Cordell, Sir William (1522-1581)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6306>, accessed 26 Jan 2015].

⁸⁷ Sir William Parker, *The History of Long Melford* (London, 1873), p. 319.

executed her will, also performing that office for the papal legate, Cardinal Pole, who died of natural causes on the same day as the monarch.⁸⁸

After Elizabeth's accession, the politically savvy Cordell kept his post as Master of the Rolls until his death, but was removed from the Privy Council. Yet, he remained in the Queen's favor. Cardinal Dandino reported to Cardinal Como that Cordell made the short list when the Queen considered placing up to four Catholics on her council during the Anjou marriage negotiations, and Elizabeth visited Cordell's manor at Long Melford during her progress through Suffolk in 1572.⁸⁹ Unlike other Catholic families who were shamed for their confessional preference, Cordell's religious leanings were not mentioned.⁹⁰ Little did the Queen know that she was lodging in a house that may have contained a priest hole. Melford Hall retains a small hiding place dating from this period that is built into the wall by the chimney, accessible only through a trap door.⁹¹ Therefore, the nineteenth century antiquarian Sir William Parker was wholly misguided when he declared Cordell "a Protestant at heart."⁹² Rather, Cordell would be more accurately considered as one of Alexandra Walsham's "church

⁸⁸ TNA: PRO, SP 12/1/32-33.

⁸⁹ Thomas McCoog, S.J., "The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579-1581," *Catholic Historical Review*, 85 (2001), 185-213 (pp.189-91); for a brief account of the Queen's progress see John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II.* (1823) pp. 116-117.

⁹⁰ Z. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 42-43.

⁹¹ Parker, p. 322.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 320.

papists” or at the least a Catholic conformist.⁹³ His conformity was well recognized: he subscribed to the Oath of Supremacy in 1569 during an investigation of his kinsman, Francis Yaxley, and when his parish in Long Melford was ordered by royal authorities to expulse all popish relics from the Church of the Holy Trinity, it was Cordell’s bailiff, John King, who helped carried out the purge.⁹⁴

Although tempted by Protestantism in his youth, William Roper was encouraged back to the Catholic fold by his father-in-law, Sir Thomas More, who was loathe to see the husband of his favorite daughter, Margaret, go astray. Roper remained a dedicated Catholic, surviving the various Tudor reforms by conforming outwardly to the different religious settlements. Yet, he privately supported Catholics both at home and abroad, including members of More’s circle in Louvain, as well as Catholic scholars there and at Douai.⁹⁵ Although he denied these activities to the Privy Council in 1568, his will mentions “goods, cattells and stock beyond the seas” that may have funded his dissenting friends and family.⁹⁶ He is best remembered as a key contributor to Nicholas

⁹³ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Boydell, 1993).

⁹⁴ TNA: PRO, SP 12/21/55 f. 105r. as found in Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (CUP, 2006), pp. 154-155. For the purge of Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford see Miola, p. 311.

⁹⁵ Trevor-Roper, “Roper, William (1495x8-1578,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn., May 2005, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24074>, accessed 8 Jan 2015].

⁹⁶ TNA: PROB 11/60/365, “Will of William Roper of Eltham, Kent,” June 21, 1578.

Harpsfield's biography of his father-in-law, and the publication of his own intimate memoir of the former Lord Chancellor and Roman Catholic martyr.⁹⁷

Sir William Cordell and William Roper suited Sir Thomas White's purposes perfectly. They were both conforming Catholics, but they were also well trained in law, politics, and property customs. Both men were wealthy landowners, members of parliament, and respected lawyers at the Inns of Court, enabling them to provide the fledgling College with the financial and legal advice that it so desperately needed during its early years. Therefore, White sidestepped his own statutes and wrote a proviso that appointed them Visitors for life to St. John's due to their "frendsheepe travayle and advise to his contentacion in his sundrie affaires."⁹⁸ He also made Sir William Cordell one of three executors of his will, along with his wife, Joan and his brother-in-law, William Gifford, having "committed unto" Cordell matters touching the government and order of the College.⁹⁹

Sir William Cordell was called to begin his duties shortly after his friend's death when Ralph White, Sir Thomas White's brother, and Joan White sued St. John's College in separate claims, asserting ownership of College lands and endowments as their inheritance. If successful, either suit would have crushed

⁹⁷ William Roper, *The mirrour of oertue in worldly greatnes. Or The life of Syr Thomas More Knight, sometime Lo. Chancellour of England* (St. Omer, 1626); N. Harpsfield, *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, EETS, original ser., 186 (1932), clxxv-ccxiv

⁹⁸ SJCA Munim. LII. L. 20, "The controversy between the Bishop of Winchester and Sir William Cordell" (undated).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; SJCA Munim. I. 21. "The Final Will of Sir Thomas White" (18th century copy in the SJC archives), November 8, 1566.

the College in its infancy. The President and fellows entreated Cordell to mediate on their behalf, which he did successfully in both cases, thereby saving St. John's from financial ruin and possible extinction.¹⁰⁰

Cordell acted unimpeded in both instances. It was not until he fell out with the College President, John Robinson, that the Bishop of Winchester complained to the Privy Council that Cordell had usurped his authority as Visitor.¹⁰¹ The Privy Council launched an investigation into the matter, which is detailed in two letters, one written by each party. For his part, the Bishop of Winchester wrote an itemized list questioning Cordell's right and ability to act as Visitor of the College, asking whether he was a person "qualefied by Lawe" to act in such a capacitie and stating that "The said reverend father dothe finde himself greved for that Sir William Cordell knight Master of the Rolles hath intermedled therein, Wherefore he requireth to knowe what auctorite the said Master of the Rolles hath so to doe."¹⁰² He called the appointment of Roper and Cordell to the Visitorship "pretended" and declared that their installation in the position was null and void unless the Statutes were changed and ratified by ten seniors of the College. He ended by stating that no authority could be taken from him without his consent and approval.

¹⁰⁰ Information on Cordell's role in the suit between the College and Lady Joan White is found in his letters to St. John's College, Oxford, specifically SJCA Munim. LII, L. 21, "Sir William Cordell to St. John's College Oxford," June 19, 1570.

¹⁰¹ TNA: SP 12/80 f.28 "Legal Arguments delivered by the Counsel of Sir William Cordell," July 1571; SJCA Munim. LII. L. 20, "The controversy between the Bishop of Winchester and Sir William Cordell," (undated).

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 19.

Unwilling to relinquish his authority, Cordell responded that Sir Thomas White appointed him and William Roper Visitors of St. John's College on his deathbed, negating all previous statutes, a declaration taken down before witnesses.¹⁰³ Cordell also addressed Horne's attack on his qualifications for the position, stating "no lacke of capacitie is to be presumed in either of them" and that the Bishop of Winchester would have to make up a fault of character in order to disqualify them. The case dragged on until 1571, when the Privy Council determined the matter in Cordell and Roper's favor, although two letters from Cordell to the College from June 1570 suggest that he was already acting in that capacity, assisting with land deals and advancing Roger White as a scholar of St. John's.¹⁰⁴ Yet, this would not be the last conflict between Cordell and Horne. Rather, Horne would remain a thorn in Cordell's side until the Bishop of Winchester's death in 1579 (see below).

While Cordell created a fairly airtight case, the Bishop of Winchester did level one charge that rang true: William Roper never acted formally in his capacity as Visitor. Horne complained to the Privy Council that, "wheras by the said presented Proviso the Master of the Rolles and Master Roper should be authorised anely to visite, the Master of the Rolles alone hath proceded."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 20.

¹⁰⁴TNA: SP 12/80, f. 23, "Declaration of Robert Earl of Leicester and William Lord Burghley," July 1571; SJCA Munim. LII. L. 21, "Sir William Cordell to the President and Fellows of SJC," June 19, 1570; SJCA Munim. LII. L. 22, "Sir William Cordell to the President of SJC," June 22, 1570.

¹⁰⁵ SJCA Munim. LII. L. 19, "The controversy between the Bishop of Winchester and Sir William Cordell," (undated).

Cordell indicated that Roper was hindered in his duties by poor health, but that he intended to play an advisory role behind the scenes. In this manner, Roper handed the reigns to Cordell, who claimed that Roper “doth geve alsoe his consent to the onelie proceeding of the Master of the Rolles and promised to ratyfie the same as indeede he dothe all which thinge in lawe cowntervaile his consent present.”¹⁰⁶ Although Roper’s illness, and possibly his overt Catholicism, kept him from engaging in affairs of SJC to the same extent as Cordell, there is evidence that he remained intimately connected with both the Master of the Rolls and the College. In his will, dated January 10, 1577, he left Cordell an expensive gold ring, calling him one of his “Right Worshipfull frendes.”¹⁰⁷ Roper also financially supported exiles at the English College at Douai through his contact there, Thomas Stapleton, including former SJC men who had defected to the Catholic seminary when Oxford became less friendly to Romanists.¹⁰⁸ When Roper died in 1578, the College celebrated a requiem mass for him, lamenting the loss to Catholics “both here and in England.”¹⁰⁹

Roper’s relative inactivity was little missed as a result of Cordell’s vigorous support and dedication to St. John’s College. Despite his numerous

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ TNA: PROB 11/60/365, “Will of William Roper of Eltham Kent,” June 21, 1578. The will notes that the ring is worth three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence.

¹⁰⁸ John Guy, *A Daughter’s Love: Thomas More and his Dearest Meg* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt: 2009), chpt. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, “Roper, William (1495x8–1578),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, May 2005, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24074>, accessed 5 Feb 2015].

obligations, Cordell took special care in his role as Visitor of St. John's College. He acted as an intermediary in disputes between individuals within the College, as well as advocating on the College's behalf with outside individuals and institutions. During his fourteen-year tenure as Visitor, Cordell wrote a copious amount of correspondence to the President and Fellows, providing financial, legal, and personal advice. Eighty-two of these letters to the College survive and are contained within a single volume in the St. John's College Archive, Muniment LII. The letters were bound in 1752, and are peppered with notes and marginalia in a hand from that period, most likely that of William Derham, President of the College from 1748 to 1757.¹¹⁰ Some of Cordell's letters are also found in the Guildhall Library, London. Here, there are copies of two letters from Cordell to the Merchant Taylors' Company, London, which relate to disputes over the election of scholars from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St. John's College, Oxford and asking for monetary support for Sir Thomas White's widow, Joan. The letters are copied into two volumes of the Court Minute books of the Merchant Taylors' Company in a hand contemporary with the letters' production (1573 and 1575).¹¹¹ There are also a number of entries in both volumes which detail Cordell's mediation between the Merchant Taylors' Company, London and

¹¹⁰ Robin Darwall-Smith & Michael Riordan, "Archives for Administrators or Archives for Antiquarians? A History of Archive Cataloguing in Four Oxford Colleges," *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. 30, no. 1, (2009), pp. 93-115.

¹¹¹ Guildhall MS 34010, Vol. 1, pp. 288, 289, 481-484, 513, 560, 575, 581, 582, 654, 655, 668, 696; Vol. 2, f.58v.

St. John's College, Oxford.¹¹² The quantity and detailed content of the letters is unique for a college Visitor, giving weight to H.E. Salter's claim that "there has never been a Visitor of any college that showed such diligence, care and patience."¹¹³

Sir William Cordell's diligence and patience would be tested shortly after his installation as Visitor for life. A series of events threatened the conservative character of the College, specifically the right of election claimed by the Merchant Taylors' in 1572 and the election of Tobie Matthew, a staunch Protestant, as President of St. John's College. Yet, Cordell's shrewdness and connections made it possible for him to protect a number of conservative fellows; at least for a time. He utilized friends and colleagues well versed in law to assist him. Foremost among these was Edmund Plowden, a famous Catholic lawyer, who was called upon numerous times to act as legal counsel for the College, particularly during land disputes. The first time occurred in June 1570, when Cordell sent Francis Willis (see below) to consult with "Master Plowden" regarding the unseemly suit between Joan White and St. John's College.¹¹⁴ In 1578, Plowden acted again (unsuccessfully) as mediator between St. John's and Lord Norris regarding the

¹¹² See n. 7.

¹¹³ H.E. Salter, *VCH Oxon*, Vol. 3, p. 254.

¹¹⁴ SJCA Munim. LII. L.21, "Sir William Cordell to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford," June 19, 1570.

advowson of Cumnor parish; Cordell stated that due to Norris' obstinence, the matter was "to be then decyded by the sayd Master Plowden and me."¹¹⁵

Although the College statutes of 1566 declared that thirty-seven scholars were to be elected from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St. John's, the's financial state could not support the Founder's intentions. In 1572, the Merchant Taylors' Company claimed their right of election, even though St. John's remained in dire financial straits. Sir William Cordell mediated between the two institutions, paying the tuition for the first two Merchant Taylor scholars, John Rixman and William Lee.¹¹⁶ The matriculation of these two students was a turning point for the College; it was the first time that a scholar was chosen by someone other than a member of the intimate circle that had made up the College to that point, including Sir Thomas White, his wife Joan, Sir William Cordell, or the fellowship. The College was no longer under the personal rule of Sir Thomas White. It was now an institution vulnerable to influence from outside, although that influence would not be felt for a few more decades because of those conservative fellows who remained and the support Cordell offered them.

¹¹⁵ SJCA Munim. LII. L.59, "Sir William Cordell to the President of St. John's College, Oxford," September 15, 1578; See also Geoffrey de C Parmiter, *Edmund Plowden: An Elizabethan recusant lawyer* (Catholic Record Society, 1987).

¹¹⁶ Hegarty, p. 123, 93; Further discussion of the tensions between the College and Company is detailed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

V. The Presidency of Tobie Matthew (1572-1577)

On July 10, 1572, the ten senior fellows of St. John's College assembled in the Chapel to sign the register acknowledging that John Robinson had resigned his office, and that a new president needed to be elected within a week.¹¹⁷ They duly elected Tobie Matthew, a canon of Christ Church Cathedral as their new President on July 17 of that year.¹¹⁸ Matthew was elected under less than welcoming circumstances; his election was due to a lack of candidates of suitable age, and possibly his connection with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Chancellor of Oxford University.¹¹⁹ An ardent Protestant, Matthew was influenced by the Scottish evangelicalism of James Calhill, his cousin and early mentor, and the strong Calvinist influence present at Christ Church College, headed by the former Marian exile Thomas Sampson.¹²⁰ Although Anthony Wood describes Matthew's reputation at Oxford as a young man "much respected for his great learning, eloquence, sweet conversation, friendly disposition and the sharpness of wit" his fervent Protestantism did not win him friends among the conservative fellowship at St. John's College.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ SJCA, Reg. Coll. I, f. 91, July 10, 1572.

¹¹⁸ SJCA Reg. Coll. I. f. 94v-95r, July 17, 1572.

¹¹⁹ Stevenson and Salter, p. 192

¹²⁰ William Joseph Sheils, "Matthew, Tobie (1544?-1628)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Sept 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18342>, accessed 20 March 2013].

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

Matthew was entering a lions' den stocked with men who listed Edmund Campion as one of their close friends, and with whom he had already established a hostile relationship. This was demonstrated years later, when Campion cited Matthew in *Rationes Decem* as one of the "learned academians" who "without all faith and integritie have thus dishonoured the Word."¹²²

St. John's College was not only uncomfortable for Tobie Matthew during this time; it was also an awkward and potentially unsafe place for Catholic fellows. In November 1572, the College was searched after a packet of letters from Edmund Campion addressed to his former pupil and roommate, Cuthbert Mayne (for wider distribution among St. John's men) was intercepted and brought to the attention of the Privy Council.¹²³ Some fellows of St. John's were arrested, but Cuthbert Mayne had already escaped after Thomas Ford, a fellow of Trinity, alerted him of danger.¹²⁴ There was soon a diaspora of Catholic fellows from St. John's. Within a year of Tobie Matthew's election to the Presidency, five of the College's twenty-one fellows vacated their fellowships, many of whom immigrated to the Continent in order to join the Roman Catholic Church. Edmund Campion had been on a travel fellowship (most likely

¹²² Campion, Edmund, *Campion Englished. Or A translation of the Ten reasons in which Edmund Campian (of the Societie of Iesus) priest, insisted in his challenge, to the Vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge Made by a priest of the Catholike and Roman Church*, translated by Lawrence Anderton (Rouen (?), 1632), p. 108 as found on *Early English Books Online* [accessed Feb. 2, 2015]. Matthew underlined these attacks on his character and intellectual ability in his personal copy of *Rationes Decem*, and replied in a Latin sermon that year preached at St. Mary's on October 9 which was later published as *Concio apologetica aduersus Campianum* in 1638.

¹²³BL Landsdowne MS 15, f. 46. "Archbishop Parker to Lord Burghley," November 1572.

¹²⁴ Kilroy, p. 55.

supported by Cordell) from late summer 1570, but there is no record of his receiving a stipend after Michaelmas 1572; by 1573 he was a member of the Society of Jesus. Henry Holland, Henry Shaw, Humphrey Ely, and Thomas Bramston defected to the English College at Douai by July 1573, where they were reunited with Gregory Martin and Cuthbert Mayne. After bolting from Oxford in 1572, Mayne had fled to the continent to become a Catholic priest. He was later sent on a mission to his home counties of Devon and Cornwall, but he was caught wearing the waxen Agnus Dei and carrying a papal bull. He was executed in 1577 as a traitor for his recusant activities and unwillingness to swear the Oath of Supremacy.¹²⁵ Pope Paul VI canonized him in 1970 as a Roman Catholic saint.¹²⁶

Toby Matthew also expelled the College Chaplain, William Hartley. The reason for his expulsion is unknown, but it is likely that Hartley's sympathy for the Roman Catholic Church played a role. Hartley is listed in the matriculation register for 1575-77, but he was quickly ejected, being entered as a student at the English College in Rheims as early as August 23, 1579. He was ordained a priest the following year and eventually returned on a mission to England, where he was hanged by the Elizabethan authorities in Shoreditch on October 5, 1588 for

¹²⁵ Raymond Francis Trudgian, "Mayne, Cuthbert [St Cuthbert Mayne] (*bap.* 1544, *d.* 1577)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18440>, accessed 26 Jan 2015]; Hegarty, p. 364.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

high treason and was later beatified by the Roman Catholic Church as a martyr.¹²⁷

Evidence suggests that Sir William Cordell was not pleased with Matthew's appointment to St. John's, and that he was "pressured to condone" his selection, most likely by the Earl of Leicester.¹²⁸ Acting as Visitor, his letters to President Matthew are few and scattered, only ten are extant for this period, and they address the President in a hortatory and accusatory tone, wholly different from the affection and careful correction found in his correspondence with Matthew's conservative successor, Francis Willis.¹²⁹ In 1574, Cordell called for a visitation, executed by his commissaries, Dr. Yale and Dr. White focusing on financial and moral issues, citing the "present want and decaye of your Colledge, tending to the particular detriment of you alle and the note of infamy to your whole howse."¹³⁰ Francis Willis, a conservative fellow who was angry following his deprivation from the office of Bursar, reported the financial difficulties to Cordell, while the "moral" issues were related to the Visitor by John Reade, a Calvinist fellow of St. John's who would prove himself contemptible and prone to foment faction within the Colledge.¹³¹ Cordell cited a number of fellows, including John Case for inappropriate romantic dealings with a widow, Henry

¹²⁷ Hegarty, p. 304.

¹²⁸ Hegarty, p. xxv.

¹²⁹ SJCA Munim. LII. L.23-32

¹³⁰ SJCA Munim. LII.L.29, "Sir William Cordell to the President and Fellows of St. John's Colledge, Oxford," February 18, 1574/5

¹³¹ For Willis' report see Stevenson and Salter, p. 202; For information on Reade as an informer see, SJCA Munim.LII.L.29.

Russell for frequenting the homes of known Romanists, and the Vice-President, John James for holding an unorthodox view of the sacrament. Cordell also corrected the President, citing him for not upholding the statutes and being absent too frequently.¹³² On another occasion in 1577, Cordell called for a reformation of the College finances, which were in dire straits as a result of mismanagement. Cordell did not mince words and wrote that he was, “Blamyng your Master President very moche that you did not in all this tyme, seeke some meanes by Statute or some other lawfull waies, to recover the said debte, but suffer your Colledge to endure the burden of yt to the common mystery of you all and specially to them of the poorer sorte.”¹³³

VI. Francis Willis’ Presidency (1577-1590)

In late 1576 Tobie Matthew was made Dean of Christ Church, making him head of both that college and the cathedral chapter, forcing him to resign his post at St. John’s on May 8, 1577. In spite of the struggles that had occurred between him and the College Visitor, Cordell wrote and thanked Matthew “for his resignacion and manner of doynge of yt.”¹³⁴ While Cordell was gracious in victory, he was not going to take any chances with the next Presidential election

¹³² SJCA Munim. LII.L.27. “The Visitation of the College,” Aug. 2-6, 1574.

¹³³ SJCA Munim. LII.L.32, “Sir William Cordell to the President and Fellows of St. John’s College, Oxford,” March 29, 1577.

¹³⁴ SJCA Munim. LII. L.33, “Sir William Cordell to Henry Russell and Francis Willis,” May 12, 1577.

and arranged it so that his friend, Francis Willis, acceded to the position. Four days after Matthew resigned, Cordell wrote to both Henry Russell (current Vice-President) and Willis, informing them that he had written a letter to the fellowship of the College to inform them that Willis should be elected President, having “wrytten my letter to the whole Company ther to proceade to the eleccion of a newe President and to make choise of your Master Wyllys for that purpose wich I trust shalbe performed accordingly.”¹³⁵ Not only that, but Cordell also sent a second letter to John Reade, the leader of the Protestant faction at the College and the only other eligible candidate for the post, ensuring his friendship and patronage if he allowed Willis’ election,

[I] haue lykewise wrytten a private letter unto Master Reade to putt him in remembraunce of his promise made unto me, that he and his frendes shall give their voyces wit you the sayd Master Wyllys in this eleccion, as I hope he and they will. ffor thereuppon I have also promised, to shewe unto the sayd Master Reade suche favour and frendshippe, as I maye from tyme to tyme, with out preiudice or offence to the Statutes of that howse.

Cordell then makes it clear that he has every intention of keeping his promise to Reade, and warns Willis to keep the peace. Much like Sir Thomas White, he prescribes fraternity and amity for the prosperity of Willis’ presidency,

And I doubt not Master Wyllys but you will (in all respecte) beare your self towered them as they shall have no iust cawse of excepcion against you my former advyse unto you and your promise unto me, I trust shall suffice, to perswade you to doe that, wich shall apperteine, to that place, and so to behave yourself in all your doinges, as I maye have cawse to be

¹³⁵ Ibid.

gladd of your preferrment, and your other frendes not to repent their choise of you.¹³⁶

Francis Willis was duly elected by the fellowship, and he remained in that post until 1590, when he resigned. Willis' presidency is well documented in the Cordell letters; eighty-two letters from the Visitor survive from this time, compared to a paltry twelve letters to the previous two presidents. In these letters, Cordell guided Willis, sometimes with a firm hand, in assisting the College become financially solvent and in good standing with the authorities.

One of the most important duties Cordell performed during the Francis Willis presidency was as a mediator with outside persons and institutions. For example, shortly after Willis was elected, Cordell mediated with the Merchant Taylors' Company to understand that St. John's College was too poor to take on the statutory number of scholars (43) from their school, and entreated them to assist St. John's financially. He wrote to Willis,

I have also ymparted to the sayd Company what present mysery you endure for want of money, and they of their owne goodnes (and uppon my motyon) are contented to furnishe you with one hundreth poundes for the payment of your debtes and provision of victuals.¹³⁷

Cordell was particularly instrumental in dealings with members of the Court, as he wielded considerable power as Master of the Rolls. He mediated between the College and Sir John Arundell, Lord Burghley, and the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley. The instance involving Leicester is the most telling.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ SJCA Munim. LII. L. 38, "Sir William Cordell to the President and Fellows," June 25, 1577.

Apparently, Willis had ignored Leicester (who was Chancellor of Oxford University at the time) when he forwarded a candidate for the office of President of Gloucester Hall, which was in the gift of St. John's College. Leicester wrote to Cordell that, even though "you haue often spoken to me for him [Willis], I haue thought good befor I deale any further with him to advertise you this much of him: prainge you from hencfourthe to move me no mor one way or other for him."¹³⁸ Losing the good esteem of the University Chancellor was an unwise move, and Cordell advised Willis to inform Leicester that his part in the election was not what the Chancellor believed it to be and "being so honest (as I trust yt wyllfall owt) his *Lordship* wyll not be so much greved with you as yt appereth." He also advises Willis to use Sir Henry Ley (possibly Henry Lee – the Queen's Champion) as an intermediary who was in the good graces of Leicester to deliver his apologies and explanation.¹³⁹ The College would need the good graces of the authorities the next year when a number of its fellows became suspected of participating and assisting in the Jesuit mission of Edmund Campion.

VII. Conclusion: The Campion Affair and the Death of Sir William Cordell

Although White's foundation failed in his original endeavor to educate conservative clergy that would counteract Protestantism from within the

¹³⁸ SJCA Munim. LII. L. 96, "The Early of Leicester to Sir William Cordell," August 12, 1580.

¹³⁹ SJCA Munim. LII. L. 97, "Sir William Cordell to Francis Willis," August 27, 1580.

established Church of England, his institution did succeed in educating plenty of first generation Elizabethan Catholics, many of whom actively worked to effect the return of the English flock to the Roman fold, including Edmund Campion, Gregory Martin, Henry Russell, John Halsey, Cuthbert Mayne, William Hartley, Justinian Stubbs, and others. With the protection of powerful patrons and a fellowship stocked with men sympathetic to the Old Religion, St. John's College in the 1560's provided a supportive environment for the creation of a network of Catholic scholars, who remained in contact and supported one another's Counter-Reformation efforts for the rest of their lives. Although open sympathy with the Catholic Church was impossible, there was a place for conservative fellows in Oxford throughout the 1570's and 80's, particularly during the Presidency of Francis Willis.

A letter from Edmund Campion to Gregory Martin dated 1577, references the bonds formed at St. John's, "for so many years we had in common our college, our meals, our studies, our opinions, our fortune, our degrees, our tutors, our friends, and our enemies..."¹⁴⁰ The friends that Campion mentions here were most likely a group of conservative scholars from St. John's and Gloucester Hall that he relied on when he began his mission to England a decade after he left Oxford. Campion had returned to England a year before, sent on a

¹⁴⁰ Simpson, 126 as found in Thomas M. McCoog, "Martin, Gregory (1542?-1582)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18183, accessed 2 Feb 2015]

secret mission by the Society of Jesus, along with Robert Persons. During this time, Campion utilized many of his SJC contacts. He stayed with, and said Mass for Henry Sacheverell, who had been a commoner at St. John's during Campion's tenure there. Sir William Catesby, a former member of Gloucester Hall, allegedly harbored Campion during his stay in England.¹⁴¹ A former chaplain of St. John's, William Hartley, who was running a recusant press outside of Oxford, placed copies of Campion's *Rationes Decem* on the pews of St. Mary the Virgin church prior to the graduation ceremony for those supplicating for a degree on June 27, 1581, which caused uproar. Campion even invoked the special assistance of the College's patron saint throughout his mission. On July 17, 1581, the day Campion was captured, he knelt to pray with two other priests in the house of the Catholic laymen Edward Yates. They entreated the special graces of St. John the Baptist, "which blessed Saint they principally praied vnto, for that the said Father Campion...his special patrone."¹⁴² A few months earlier, a letter allegedly from Campion to William Allen stated that he set sail on "the feast of St. John Baptiste my peculiar patron to whom I had before often commended my cause."¹⁴³ As Campion prayed to the namesake of his former college, the authorities burst through the door, arresting the three priests and seven laymen in the house. One of the laymen arrested with Campion was Henry Russell, former Vice-President

¹⁴¹ Hodgson and Hodgetts, eds., *Little Malvern Letters, I: 1482-1737* (Boydell, 2011), p. xiv

¹⁴² William Allen, *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of XII. reuerend priests* (Rheims (?), 1582), p.55 as found on *Early English Books Online* [accessed Feb. 2, 2015]

¹⁴³ TNA: SP 15/27/2, f. 117. E[dmund] C[ampion] to [Dr. Allen?], Nov. 1580.

and Bursar of St. John's College. Also present was Justinian Stubbs, a non-founder of SJC. There was also a "Yate" present, who may have been Robert Yate, a contemporary of Henry Russell at Gloucester Hall. Following Campion's execution, Gregory Martin, his former roommate at St. John's, wrote a eulogy that described his friend at Oxford as "eloquent and agreeable to one as to all."¹⁴⁴

Naturally, St. John's College was drawn into the aftermath of Campion's execution. The Privy Council wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford,

That whereas their Lordships are informed that three Masters of Arts, namesly one Russell, Stubbs and Yate, at the time of the apprehending of Campion the Jesuit at the house of one Yate of Lyford in that shire, were then in the said house: Foreasmuch as their Lordships find by experience that most of the seminary priests which at this present disturb this Church have been heretofore scholars of that University...cause diligent search and enquiry to be made in all the colleges and houses of learning within that University after such suspected persons in religion, and to certifiye their names unto their Lordships...¹⁴⁵

It is likely that St. John's College and Gloucester Hall would have been on the list of "houses of learning" to be searched, if not placed at the top of it. The College remained suspect throughout the Presidency of Francis Willis, as demonstrated in a letter to Henry Russell, dated August 23, 1585. Russell was involved in a lawsuit that began in 1583 over Lowches Farm, Long Wittenham, a property rented to him by St. John's College. The College had dismissed a troublesome tenant; a widow named Maud Sawyer, and then leased the property

¹⁴⁴ Allen, p. 92. Martin's exact words are *facundus et as gratissimus unus omnibus*. Translation mine.

¹⁴⁵ "The Privy Council to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford," 14 August 1581, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, n.s. XII: 1580-1581, ed. John Roche Dasent (London, 1896), p. 170.

to the former fellow. The widow sued, and amid the legal clamor arose rumors that Russell had intended to use the farm to house Campion. In the midst of the lawsuit, Russell received a letter from W. Weste, supposedly his cousin, who warned that if he did not treat the Widow Sawyer and her agents well that trouble would befall him and his cohort at St. John's, stating that there were those at St. John's who did not wish him or Master Willis well, "you have a Judas that keeps both you and Mr. Willis company."¹⁴⁶ He also states that there is a rumor that the College is filled with Papists, and an investigation into the matter would root them out,

Some are and hath been of your College, that says, if they be put unto their oaths, they will tell a truth of your base dealings of your charter...alleging if you, two of the Paynters and three more be put into close several prisons and well examined, ye will bring forth a nest of secret Papists and where they long time have been succoured &c.¹⁴⁷

By this time, the Privy Council and Star Chamber had referred the matter to Tobie Matthew, the Dean of Durham Cathedral and former President of St. John's College.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that one of those willing to speak against Russell and Willis to Dean Matthew was their old antagonist, John Reade, who maintained his fellowship at St. John's until his death in 1587. Whoever it was, the suit ended well for the College; Russell was forced to pay Maud Sawyer damages in 1592 and the legal proceedings were dropped.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ "W. Weste to Henry Russell," August 23, 1585, printed in Hodgson and Hodgetts, p. 52.

¹⁴⁷ Hodgson and Hodgetts, p. 51.

¹⁴⁸ "Henry Russell to Sir Christopher Hatton," 1587, printed in Hodgson and Hodgetts, p.55.

¹⁴⁹ Hodgson and Hodgetts, xvi.

Russell remained a touch point for conservative fellows and former members of St. John's until his death in 1608. He was a regular correspondent of Francis Willis until the latter died in 1596, and then corresponded with his wife, Katherine, who addressed him as "Brother Russell."¹⁵⁰ Henry Sacheverell married Russell's brother-in-law and John Halsey, now a popular physician in the recusant community, treated Russell's wife regularly. Russell also hired Justinian Stubbs to tutor his two sons, and Elizabeth Russell enlisted him in an attempt to marry her son, John to the daughter of a local recusant family.¹⁵¹ Russell died in his old age and his will was proved on May 16, 1609. He was a Catholic who had learned to play the game well, retaining a priest in his home, but conforming outwardly, and making friends and connections both in and outside of the recusant community. He evaded well, similar to the man who once claimed to "like and love" Henry Russell "verie well": Sir William Cordell.¹⁵²

During his time at Oxford, Sir William Cordell had held this community together. Prior to his death on May 17, 1581, he left a token of his affection to the scholars of St. John's, "the great Byble in ix volumes and the v tongues usuallie called (Philippica Biblia)."¹⁵³ This edition was the creation of Catholic scholars

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p.61.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. xxvi.

¹⁵² SJCA Munim. LII, L.95, "Sir William Cordell to Francis Willis, President of St. John's College," August 5, 1580.

¹⁵³ SJCA Munim. XC, f. 2. More information for the volumes is found on the database for all Oxford libraries at: http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=OXVU1&docId=oxfaleph012270638.

Cordell's death died Sir Thomas White's dream, and a new vision for the role of the College in the religious life of England sprang up in its place. Eight years after Cordell passed from this life, a young scholar from Reading matriculated at St. John's who would leave an even greater mark on the College than any one previous. Indeed, he was arguably the most influential alumnus of St. John's, past or present. His name was William Laud.

Chapter 2: “God’s everlasting blessing be upon that place and that society for ever”: The Laudian Era at St. John’s College, Oxford

I. Introduction

On September 26, 1617, a fire broke out under the staircase in the chaplain’s chamber of St. John’s College, Oxford. The fire was contained, but it caused considerable damage.¹ The College President, William Laud, penned a Latin prayer the next day, in which he named his sins as the cause of the fire; a sign of divine retribution. The fire originated near his room, and “fire pounced on the roof above me.” He wrote that his own sins brought calamity on the foundation that nurtured him, “the fire was kindled against Jacob, and wrath came up against Israel...Oh, my repentance has never been more necessary!” This was a divine judgment, “Thy judgments are unfortunate, O Lord, and they follow me.” He concludes by asking God to give him “the fire of charity and devotion” and “in Thy love, kindle the hatred of sin.” William Laud was deeply affected by the incident, and as this chapter will demonstrate, his affection and connection to the fate of the College was an important aspect of his life, beliefs, and career.

If Julia Merritt’s assertion is true that historians are typically attracted to “divisive and controversial figures” then William Laud can aptly be styled the

¹ William Laud, “Diary,” *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D. Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*, John Henry Parker, ed. (Oxford, 1853), Vol. III, p. 82.

most appealing historical figure from seventeenth century England.² Viewed contemporaneously as a hero of the prelacy by his allies and a crypto-papist by his detractors, his contribution to the theology of the Church of England and his involvement in the tensions leading up to the British Civil Wars have led Nicholas Tyacke to call him “among the greatest archbishops of Canterbury since the,” quickly adding, “but to say this does not necessarily imply approval.”³

He impacted the Church of England during the first half of the seventeenth century with the assistance of a cohort of churchmen termed “Arminian” by modern historians. Many prominent Arminians within the English Church and government were introduced to one another and educated at St. John’s College, Oxford, including John Buckeridge, Francis Windebank, Thomas Turner, William Juxon, and Richard Baylie, and chief among them, Laud himself. Therefore, it is little wonder that St. John’s did not have a Calvinist president until Parliamentary Visitors forcibly installed the Puritan Thankful Owen in 1648.⁴

While the men and culture of St. John’s College nurtured William Laud during the final decades of Elizabeth’s reign, Laud and his allies defined the religious culture of the College during the first half of the seventeenth century.

² Julia F. Merritt, “The pastoral tightrope: a puritan pedagogue in Jacobean London” in Thomas Cogswell et al. (eds.), *Poitics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 60.

³ Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530-1700* (MUP, 2001), p. 203.

⁴ Tanner MS 338/76, “Order of the Visitors to Dr. Baylie, president of St. John’s college to remove,” March 17, 1647/8.

This chapter is a case study of the development of Laudianism at St. John's, particularly the establishment of a community of Arminian churchmen encouraged by William Laud and his supporters. This study considers a number of factors involved in this process, including the backgrounds of Laud's closest relationships, the honing of his governing style, as well as the development of the College as a breeding ground for Laudian churchmen from 1611 onwards.

The first thirty years of William Laud's education and career were spent in connection with St. John's College, where he claimed on a number of occasions he "was bred up," notably in his will.⁵ As Hugh Trevor-Roper, Nicholas Tyacke, Kenneth Fincham, Anthony Milton, and Alan Cromartie have shown, Laud's years at St. John's College (particularly under the tutelage of John Buckeridge) impacted his religious beliefs. Furthermore, he forged strong connections with classmates and colleagues, who later formed the core of his network of confidants, allies, and friends that served him during his time at Oxford, and later during his episcopacy. This chapter focuses on primarily on the development of these connections, as discussions of his theological development abound.⁶

⁵ William Laud, "History of Troubles and Trial," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 442

⁶ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud* (Phoenix, 2001); Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1990); Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Clarendon, 1990); Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (OUP, 2008); Anthony Milton, "Laud, William (1573-1645)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16112>, accessed 15 Nov 2015], Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: the Career and*

Through William Laud's efforts to cajole or demolish anti-Laudian opposition within St. John's College during his time as President from 1611-1621, and the continuation of those efforts by his allies William Juxon and Richard Baylie, his successors in that office, he was able to shape St. John's into a center for avant-garde conformity. These efforts became increasingly effective following his rise to power after the accession of Charles I. After his election to the Chancellorship of Oxford University in 1630, and his appointment to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633, educational foundations, individual scholars, churchmen, and courtiers aggressively sought his backing. St. John's College received the highest proportion of his support. He donated buildings, increased land holding, courted donations, supported fellowships, expanded and stocked the library, and promoted and placed its scholars in prominent positions within the church and government. This was not a one-way street, but rather a symbiotic relationship. Laud's friends within St. John's promoted his ideals, supported his self-aggrandizing projects, and cultivated his reputation, both before and after his death. The College became a stage on which he fashioned his legacy through building projects and the careers of many of its scholars. The reputations of the College and the man became intertwined.

Writings of Peter Heylyn (MUP, 2007); Alan Cromartie, "The Mind of William Laud," *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*, Charles W.A. Prior and Glenn Burgess, eds. (Ashgate, 2011).

II. The Cradle of Laudianism

The influence of St. John's College on the young William Laud came years prior to his matriculation. During his formative education he attended Reading School, headed by John Smith, a former scholar of St. John's who was appointed a place by Sir Thomas White in 1563. Considering the religious culture of St. John's College during its first decade (as discussed in the previous chapter) it is highly unlikely that Laud's schoolmaster was a strong Calvinist.⁷

William Laud began his university studies at St. John's in 1589, coming up as a commoner from Reading, but awarded the place of the Reading Scholar a year later. He was evidently a brilliant student, a point even his detractors noted; Prynne wrote that while at Oxford, Laud was "an ingenious disputant" implying more about his abilities than his orthodoxy or character.⁸ He was admitted a fellow in 1593 and earned his BA in June 1594, two months after his father's death. His mother died the year he became a deacon (1600), and John Young, Bishop of Rochester, ordained him a priest on April 5, 1601. With the death of his parents and his initiation into the priesthood, the Church of England became his home, and the fellows of St. John's College his dear kin.

By the time Laud came up to Oxford in 1589, St. John's College was a conforming college, but retained many conservative fellows and connections,

⁷ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁸ William Prynne, *Rome for Canterbury*, p. 3

although these were waning. Francis Willis remained President until June 2, 1590, even though he was suspected to be “a privy succourer of seminary papists.”⁹ The same day Willis resigned as President, the College gave Henry Russell, a former fellow who was arrested for harboring Edmund Campion, the “license and libertye” to alienate the estate of Lowches, Long Wittenham, a holding of St. John’s, leased to Henry Russell.¹⁰ John Case, a suspected Catholic, remained connected with the College, tutoring some of its medical fellows, and acted as the liason (along with another fellow, Matthew Gwinne), between St. John’s and the recusant Sir Thomas Tresham when he wished to donate books to the College.¹¹

Both contemporaries and modern scholars have considered the religious atmosphere of St. John’s College as instrumental in the development of William Laud’s Arminianism. The central figure in Laud’s education was his tutor, John Buckeridge. There is little doubt John Buckeridge influenced the development of Laud’s theology and assisted his career developments more than any other fellow at St. John’s, “confirming in Laud his reverence for patristic learning, liturgical ceremonialism, anti-Calvinist views on grace, and a hatred of

⁹ “W. Weste to Henry Russell,” Worcester Record Office, Berington Collection, 705:24/29 (1-3), as found in Aileen Hodgson and Michael Hogdetts, eds., *Little Malvern Letters*, Vol. I (Boydell and Brewer, 2011).

¹⁰ SJCA, Coll. Reg. 1, f. 277v.

¹¹ Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John’s College, Oxford, 1555-1660* (Boydell for OHS, 2011), p. 32

puritanism.”¹² Buckeridge instilled a love of the Greek Fathers in his protégé, introducing him to the work of John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil the Great. Buckeridge was unique in this respect, as “in most of Oxford Calvinism was dominant and patristics at a discount.”¹³ In later years, Laud became an avid collector of Greek manuscripts, and he even attempted to establish a Greek press at Oxford.¹⁴ While Buckeridge’s direct impact was important, the network he introduced to the young Laud was of equal importance. This network included Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Neile, and John Young, who ordained William Laud a deacon and priest, both in 1601. These men, particularly Richard Neile, assisted Laud’s rise to power, as well as influenced his doctrine.

Peter Heylyn credited Buckeridge with Laud’s rejection of both Catholicism and Puritanism, encouraging him toward a “via media” close to the worship practiced by Queen Elizabeth in her Chapel Royal,

It proved no ordinary happiness to the scholar [Laud] to be principled under such a tutor [Buckeridge], who knew as well as any other of his time how to employ the two-edged sword of Holy Scripture, of which he made good proof in the times succeeding, brandishing it on the one side

¹² P. E. McCullough, “Buckeridge, John (d. 1631),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3854>, accessed 31 Aug 2015]].

¹³ Judith Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox: Unity and Subversion, 1559-1725*, p. 41, n. 7.

¹⁴ William Laud donated most of these manuscripts to the Bodleian Library and they are currently found in Laudian MSS, Auct. C.

against the Papists and on the other against the Puritans or Nonconformists.¹⁵

This refrain was Laud's main defense against accusations of "innovation" in theology and church practice during the years to come, and he harkened back to the Elizabethan Church numerous times during his career. While his religious beliefs and practices did not precisely follow the Elizabethan religious settlement, he experienced at St. John's the varying shades of orthodoxy and conformity that defined the "via media" of the Elizabethan communion to later generations. For example, one of his contemporaries was Henry Bearblock, an anti-Calvinist that brought action against the Puritan lecturer William Bradshaw.¹⁶ Yet, another contemporary was John Childerley, who was patroned by the Calvinist Chancellor of Oxford, Lord Buckhurst, and worked as chaplain for Archbishops Bancroft and Abbot.¹⁷ Yet, as mentioned above, the men that tutored these scholars retained conservative beliefs, or were avant-garde conformists, rather than staunch Calvinists.

Most scholars at St. John's College were drawn from the Merchant Taylors' School in London. While electors were taken from the Merchant Taylors' Company, with elections confirmed by the President and two fellows of the College, a few invited dignitaries were also invited to weigh in on the process.

¹⁵ Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), p. 48; See also Calvin Lane, *The Laudians and the Elizabethan Church* (Routledge, 2015), p. 108.

¹⁶ Hegarty, p. 12

¹⁷ Hegarty, p. 34

From 1589 until 1598, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster Cathedral attended the elections every year (except 1596) as just such a guest.¹⁸ Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, and Thomas Overall also attended the elections on occasion.¹⁹ All four of these clerics supported high church practices, and eschewed Puritanism.²⁰ All four were prominent avant-garde conformists, who leaned away from Calvinist concepts of predestination and preferred the ceremonial of the Chapel Royal, with its music, crucifix, and candlesticks, over the austerity of Puritan forms of worship. Whether the Merchant Taylors' Company invited them or St. John's College solicited their presence is unknown.²¹ Their attendance indicates their potential importance in the lives of Merchant Taylors' scholars, due to their involvement with the school. This extended to providing other opportunities to the scholars as well. For example, Lancelot Andrewes gave Matthew Wren a place at Pembroke College, Cambridge (where Andrewes was Master), when he failed to win a place at St. John's.²²

¹⁸ Guildhall MS 34281.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Peter Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I," in L.L. Peck, ed. *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 113-33; See also Nicholas Tyacke, "Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism," in Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 5-33.

²¹ This idea is considered in greater depth in chapters 3 & 4.

²² Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, "Wren, Matthew (1585-1667)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [online edn, Oct 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30021>, accessed 15 Nov 2015].

Some of William Laud's early experiences and interactions at Oxford tainted his reputation for the rest of his life, cementing his enemies' opinions against him. For example, his chamber fellow, John Jones, defected to the Roman Catholic Church to become a Benedictine monk, renamed Leander à Sancto Martino.²³ Although Laud protested during his trial that he did not have any significant contact with his former roommate, he and Francis Windebank (another former fellow of St. John's) most likely provided the monk permission to enter England in 1634 on personal and Benedictine business.²⁴ Besides this unfortunate connection, he also delivered a number of controversial lectures and sermons that led many to question his orthodoxy and accuse him of popery. The first came when he read the Divinity lecture at St. John's in 1602 maintained by Mrs. Maye, the mother of Laud's dear friend. The point of controversy was Laud's assertion that "the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ through the Church of Rome, rather than obscure sects, which brought him the opposition of Abbot."²⁵ This alienated the foreign churches in London and gave a measure of legitimacy to the late medieval Catholic church. Although he raised Abbot's ire, he was popular enough to be made proctor on May 4, 1603. The University Councils chose two proctors annually from Oxford University MAs. These proctors were "the principal administrative officials" of the

²³ Hegarty, p. 81.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 82.

²⁵ William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 132, see also Heylin, p. 49.

University who organized public lectures, ceremonies, and examinations. They also maintained discipline among students. In short, the office of proctor was a place of power in the University that was reserved for scholars with a worthy reputation.²⁶ Later, he was appointed Chaplain to the Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Devon on September 3, 1603, during which time he presided at the wedding ceremony joining the Earl to Penelope Rich, recently divorced from Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. The marriage caused a scandal in Elizabethan society. Lady Rich and the Earl of Devon were engaged in an extramarital affair for fifteen years that produced six children. On November 14, 1605, Lady Rich's marriage to the Earl of Warwick was ended in a legal separation, but remarriage was not allowed while one of the spouses remained alive. A month later, William Laud married the couple, an act that later required him to answer to King James I. Although he defended himself to the King, Laud later repented of his part in the marriage the rest of his life, saying prayers of penitence of the anniversary of his sin, which he called "his cross."²⁷

Sir William Paddy, the King's physician and patron of St. John's College, quelled another fire Laud set in a sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford on October 21, 1606. Laud notes in his diary that there was a "quarrell Dr. Ayry picked with me about my Sermon at St. Mary's."²⁸ During his sermon, Laud supported the act of

²⁶ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe, Vol. II* (CUP, 1996), p. 172.

²⁷ William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 132; Johanna Rickman, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (Ashgate, 2008), p. 128

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 133.

bowing at the name of Jesus, a contentious issue in years to come between

Calvinists and Laudians. Anthony Wood recounts that,

The business being bandied to and fro several week, Mr. Laud cleared himself so much, that he avoided a public recantation in the Convocation, which most of the Heads of Houses and Doctors intended to be done; yet such was the report that they raised upon him, as if he was a Papist, or at least very popishly affected, that it was a scandal for any person to be seen in his company, or to give him the usual compliment or the time of day.

Sir William Paddy, a friend to Laud, approached Thomas, Earl of Dorset, Chancellor of the University, and convinced him to persuade his Vice Chancellor, Dr. Airay to stand down. This is the last controversy surrounding Laud in Oxford until his election as President of St. John's College, Oxford.²⁹

III. William Laud's Election as President

The controversy surrounding Laud's election as President has caused a stir among historians, as Nicholas Tyacke and Kenneth Fincham have used it as an example of growing factionalism between Calvinist and Anti-Calvinist parties at Oxford.³⁰ While there is strong evidence to suggest that Archbishop Abbot's mobilization against William Laud's bid to become President of St. John's was inspired by Abbot's distaste for Laud's theology, there has been little written

²⁹ Anthony Wood, *Annals, ad an. 1606*, pp. 289-290; the Earl of Dorset's original letter is found in Rawlinson MS. A. 289, pp. 78-80.

³⁰ Fincham, "Early Stuart Polity," *The History of The University of Oxford, Seventeenth Century Oxford*, Nicholas Tyacke, ed., pp. 188-89; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 68-9.

regarding the religious politics surrounding the election within the College itself. Both Tyacke and Fincham have focused on the Court politics that influenced some of the scheming prior to and after the election, but there has been little discussion regarding internal College politics and religious factions that may have contributed to the controversy surrounding William Laud's election as President of St. John's College.³¹ The following section seeks to consider how internal and external loyalties, confessional allegiances, and personality conflicts played a much larger role within the College than previously considered. Such a study gives a glimpse into the back room deals and maneuverings of religious politics in the College and at the University, the influence of the court at Oxford, the power of patronage, and personal loyalties within the College.

The St. John's College statutes outlined the format for Presidential elections. The outgoing President was required to submit a formal letter of resignation, and within ten days the graduate fellows of St. John's College elected a new President. A fellow must be a graduate with a bachelor's degree in order to vote. The new President must be a fellow or ex-fellow of St. John's, or a canon of Christ Church. On the election day, all members of the College gathered to take communion with one another, and then those members of the foundation who were eligible held the election. This constituted the ideal – the reality was that as soon as fellows became aware that the current President was resigning,

³¹ Ibid.

factions formed within the College in order to promote candidates, and many times back room deals decided the election. An excellent example of this was the election of Francis Willis under the auspices of the College Visitor, Sir William Cordell, as discussed in chapter one.³²

The election itself was not held until May 11, 1611, but maneuvering for the position began the previous November, following notice of John Buckeridge's impending translation to the See of Rochester. Laud noted in his diary that after catching a "Kentish ague" on November 5, 1610 that "the suit about the Presidentship of St. John's began."³³ Although he was an avid chronicler of his ailments, this entry is particularly detailed. This is not surprising, as this illness was his alibi against accusations of corruption.³⁴ Even years later, when William Prynne cited "great towsing" over "the suite about the Presidentship of Saint John's," Laud fired back, "not by me, for I lay sick at London."³⁵ Yet, his sickness did not keep others from campaigning on his behalf, or his detractors performing "a notable peece of knaverie" against him, as one fellow described it.³⁶

³² Stevenson and Salter, p. 192.

³³ William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, Vol. III, p.134.

³⁴ Tanner MS. 356, 'Letter from the King to the Bishop of Winchester, confirming the election,' Sept. 25, 1611.

³⁵ This is found in a copy of William Prynne's *A Breviate of the Prelates Intolerable Usurpations* (1637) that is annotated in William Laud's hand and printed in William Laud, *Works*, Vol. III, p. 263.

³⁶ Tanner MS. 335, "Deposition of Richard Williams."

Laud was not the only one given advance notice. On November 30, five junior fellows of St. John's College met at the Cross Inn off Market Street in Oxford to discuss the upcoming election. The ringleader was William Juxon, who floated the idea of a pact requiring those present to vote in a block at the upcoming Presidential election.³⁷

Intrigue at court began over Christmas, when George Abbot, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, urged Lord Ellesmere, Chancellor of Oxford, to incite the King against Laud because of his "popish inclinations."³⁸ John Rawlinson, one of Ellesmere's chaplains, rivaled Laud for the position. Rawlinson was a Calvinist who supported absolute predestination, as demonstrated later when he chastised Gabriel Bridges for preaching against it in 1623.³⁹ He was an able candidate, a near contemporary of Laud, who matriculated at St. John's as Merchant Taylor Scholar in 1591. Since that time he made connections with formidable Calvinist churchmen, for example in 1599, he was given permission to leave college for six months on the insistence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, who granted him numerous lucrative livings.⁴⁰ By the time

³⁷ Tanner MS. 336. "The Depositions of William Juxon and Theophilus Tuer."

³⁸ Fincham, "Early Stuart Polity," in Tyacke, p. 188.

³⁹ Louis A. Knafla, "Rawlinson, John (1576-1631)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23191>, accessed 13 Nov 2015]

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Rawlinson became a Presidential candidate for St. John's, he had already served as Master of Reading School and Principal of St. Edmund's Hall.⁴¹

Anxious to fix the election in Rawlinson's favor, Lord Ellesmere solicited the Vice Chancellor, Sebastien Benfeild (who was also a staunch Calvinist), to keep four St. John's undergraduates from receiving their bachelors' degree, as only graduate students in college were eligible to vote according to the College Statutes. In order to be considered fully graduated, students must be "given their graces" or be declared a graduate in University Congregation by the Vice-Chancellor. If these students did not graduate, they could not vote, and the election would be fixed. Lord Ellesmere urged his Vice-Chancellor to stay the graces of four undergraduates, three of whom had declared that they would vote for Laud if given the opportunity.⁴² Embarrassingly, the students pleaded their graces three times before congregation, but were rejected each time by Sebastien Benfeild, the Calvinist Vice Chancellor of Oxford University.⁴³ Benfeild acted on Ellesmere's behalf, basing his claim against the students "uppon a letter of your Lordshipps written by informacion of Mr. Dr. Rawlinson."⁴⁴ Rawlinson told Lord Ellesmere that the students had not been at University for a full four years, which was true, but he also said that the Statutes of St. John's College did not allow students to take their bachelors' degree until they were resident at the University

⁴¹ Hegarty, pp. 121-22.

⁴² Tanner MS 338/370, "Petition of Chris Ryly and others to the King [by Laud]."

⁴³ Tanner MS. 338/327, "Decree of the college touching procedures without consent of the president, etc.," April 16, 1611.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

for four years, which was not true. According to the College Statutes, undergraduate scholars were eligible to take their graces before the four years of their undergraduate studies ended if they had completed the requirements for their degree.

Rawlinson knew better, because *he graduated in less than four years with his undergraduate degree*. Those undergraduates who were slighted noted this in a petition to the King, stating “himsel[e] [Rawlinson] heretofore had the same benefitte of Statute.”⁴⁵ Fellows from St. John’s collected evidence that St. John’s scholars regularly graduated in less than four years and sent their findings to the Chancellor.⁴⁶ Also, Nicholas Cliffe, Francis Hudson, and Thomas Loveden confronted Benfeild asking him outright if he would continue to stay the scholars’ graces. In reply, Benfeild taunted, “the congregation house is open you can propose them if you will.”⁴⁷ According to John Towse, a fellow whose loyalties transferred from Rawlinson to Laud at the last moment, John Rawlinson and “frendes” were full of “malice,” bragging that they participated in the “deniall of some graces,” even threatening Towse that his Master’s degree would not be awarded if he did not vote for Rawlinson.⁴⁸ Graces were finally given to

⁴⁵ Tanner MS 338/370, “Petition of Christ Ryly and others to the King [by Laud].”

⁴⁶ Tanner MS 338/358, “Extracts from the university registers, made with reference to the dispute about the graces.”

⁴⁷ Tanner MS 338/365, “Letter from Nicholas Cliffe, giving an account of his conference with Dr. Benfeild about the staying of the grace,” May 5, 1611.

⁴⁸ Tanner MS 338/330, “Depositions of John Towse and other fellows, relative to Laud's election,” August 22, 1611.

three of the boys concerned on June 28, 1611, almost a month and a half after Laud's election.⁴⁹

Although both parties began scheming before Christmas, John Buckeridge did not present his notarized letter of resignation to St. John's College until May 1, 1611.⁵⁰ His letter notes that he must resign due to his status as "episcopus electus," in accordance with the College Statutes. A successor was elected ten days later, and another notarized letter, sealed by the College, declared William Laud the new College President as of May 11.⁵¹

The election day was a debacle for all parties involved. Prior to the day, members of the anti-Laudian party refused to receive communion with William Laud's supporters, throwing fraternity to the wind and "by disputing and arguing against it, shewde their willingness to refuse it [communion] if they might."⁵² On the day of the election, before casting ballots, the Vice President, Richard Andrewes, suggested that scrutators be elected in equal numbers from Laud and Rawlinson's factions. The scrutators tallied the votes; therefore, this was a suggestion made in the interest of fairness. Andrewes openly supported Laud, and suggested this as "a peaceable offer to the adverse parte." Rawlinson's party refused. Their ire against Laud also caused them to "practice to make a

⁴⁹ Hegarty, pp. 67, 123, 129.

⁵⁰ SJCA Munim. LIII, A.136, "Instrument of resignation of John Buckeridge of the office of President of St. John's College, Oxford," May 1, 1611; SJCA ADM 1.A2 f.484v.

⁵¹ SJCA Munim. LIII.A.11. "Instrument of election of William Laud as President of the College," May 11, 1611.

⁵² Tanner MS 338/364, "Notes concerning the form of electing a president, together with the oath taken by the fellows, (In Laud's handwriting)."

nullitie of noe election at all” and was unwilling to yield “to any peacable offer” and “other like violent carriadges.”

Going against College Statutes, Richard Andrewes then allowed the undergraduates present to vote for scrutators. After this, the undergraduates left before the votes were cast for the Presidential election. Some documents contend that “the party against Laud” told them that they must leave, while a letter from a group of non-graduates states that they left voluntarily.⁵³ Either way, it is clear that Richard Andrewes encouraged the seven undergraduates to vote in the Presidential election, even though it went against the College Statutes. Four of those undergraduates later signed an affidavit claiming that they left voluntarily, because they (rightly) believed that they could not vote, “but if they could have voted would have voted for Laud” tipping the election even further in Laud’s favor.⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, three of them were the same scholars whose graces had been stayed by the Vice Chancellor.⁵⁵

With the undergraduates gone, Rawlinson’s party held hope of either victory or a draw, seemingly unaware that one of their group, John Towse, had crossed lines to vote for Laud. His testimony has been preserved, and it demonstrates the lengths that both sides went in order to gain his vote. John Sone originally won Towse’s vote, but when Sone rescinded his candidacy, he

⁵³ Tanner MS 338/360, “Copy of the instrument of Laud's admission to the presidentship,” May 14, 1611; Tanner MS 338/363, “Relation of the undergraduate fellows concerning the election.”

⁵⁴ Tanner MS 338/333. The four undergraduates were Christopher Ryley, William Rippin, Humphrey Justice, and William Harris.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

asked Towse to vote for John Rawlinson. To lure Towse further, Rawlinson invited Towse to dine in his rooms, citing “mainie invectives” against Laud, and then sat with the scholar and his mother, pressing him to promise her that he would “give his voice to the most deserving.” After Towse realized that Rawlinson’s party had been responsible for staying the graces of his fellow scholars, he went to Laud, pledging his vote to him. Laud took him to the Richard Neile, then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who told him to vote his conscience, “without anye respect or hopes of preferment whatsoever.” The last statement was a direct response to accusations that Towse was enticed to vote for Laud by a promise of preferment. He vowed “before God” and a notary public that this was not true.⁵⁶

The College Register notes that William Laud won the election by two votes, a tally made later as Richard Baylie “seeing which way the business was like to go, snatch’d up the [election] paper, and tore it suddenly in pieces.”⁵⁷ Fourteen graduate fellows voted for William Laud and twelve for John Rawlinson. Later that same day, the Vice President, Richard Andrewes, tried to smooth the tension by inviting all fellows to a meeting in his rooms. He sent the College Sexton, Thomas Bowyar, to summon everyone, but three fellows who supported Rawlinson made flimsy excuses or evaded the summons altogether.

⁵⁶ Tanner MS 338/330, August 22, 1611.

⁵⁷ SJCA Coll. Reg. Vol. II, p. 486; Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 61

The meeting did not have the desired effect on the fellowship that Andrewes's hoped, and tensions continued to run high in the College.⁵⁸

Due to the controversy surrounding the election, John Rawlinson was able to appeal to the College Visitor, Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester.⁵⁹ Bilson undertook a detailed investigation, which included deposing fellows in the presence of a notary. Many of these documents survive, detailing the accusations against Laud and his supporters. Fascinatingly, none of the depositions cite Laud's religious beliefs as reason to oppose his election. Rather, the most common criticism against him regarded "his severitie in government."⁶⁰

Further allegations hint that tension within the College regarding the election had more to do with long established allegiances to tutors than religious differences. John Sone, the eldest member of Laud's opposition, originally planned to run for the office. It is possible Sone gained the loyalty or ire of a number of St. John's scholars during their time at Merchant Taylors' School, where he taught them as an Usher from 1595 until 1606. Eight fellows that supported Laud had studied under John Sone at Merchant Taylors' School. Obviously, he did not win enough of his students' affection to win a vote against Laud. Either way, when John Rawlinson became a candidate, Sone stepped aside

⁵⁸ Tanner MS 338/360, May 14, 1611.

⁵⁹ Manuscripts relating to the election are found in Lambeth Palace Library MS 943, "Papers relating to the disputed election of William Laud as President of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1611" pp. 55-60; SJCA Coll Reg. Vol. II, and Tanner MS 338.

⁶⁰ Tanner MS 338/330, August 22, 1611.

and asked his supporters to transfer their votes to the younger fellow. Most of his scholars complied.

Those who voted for Laud were more closely connected with John Buckeridge than the candidate himself, and many who voted against Laud carried resentment against his former tutor. Depositions allege that Buckeridge may have resorted to Machiavellian tactics to secure his protégé's election. Thomas Tucker wrote that after "being grudged" by Buckeridge with a "fowle cryme which deserved more than expulsion," the President blackmailed Tucker, giving him the option to vote for Laud or resign.⁶¹ Tucker did as he was told. Thomas Grice told Edmund Jackson that he would "respect his second Father" (John Sone), rather than William Laud because "the L.B. of Rochester then President, and a friend of Dr. Lauds, had used the sayd Sr. Grice hardbye." Grice claimed that Buckeridge turned a blind eye when Grice claimed that two of his students were papists.⁶² This evidence supports Peter Heylyn's assertion that "the younger fry inclining to the same side which had been taken by their Tutors."⁶³

Both sides recruited the parents of scholars to influence their children's vote. As mentioned previously, John Towse's mother was encouraged by John Rawlinson to make John swear that he would vote for the most able candidate.

⁶¹ Tanner MS 338/328, "Various paper relating to the election of Dr. Laud to the presidentship of St. John's College."

⁶² Tanner MS 338/340, "Depositions."

⁶³ Peter Heylyn, *Cyrianus Anglicus*, p. 62.

Richard Baylie claimed that his father was urged by “such Gentlemen and others” to push his son to vote for Laud (the young Baylie did not comply).⁶⁴

John Williamson wished to vote for Rawlinson, but “his father was labored rather wholly to take him away from the Colledg than he should hinder Dr. Laudes eleccion.” Williamsons’ father was good to his promise, retrieving young William from University, making him unable to vote in the election.⁶⁵

After gathering evidence, Bishop Bilson annulled the election. Laud “refused to obeye” Bilson’s declaration, claiming that the Visitor overstepped his authority in the matter.⁶⁶ Two signet letters to Bilson from Laud’s supporters called for further investigation. Richard Andrewes and other supporters of Laud addressed a petition to King James to settle the matter.⁶⁷ This was not the first, or the last, time the crown intervened in a college election. Rather, the King intervened in four other elections to Oxford headships between 1608 and 1620.⁶⁸ The crown’s mediation and declarations on these matters are one way that James I tightened his grip on University politics, as well as increased its reliance on his royal prerogative and patronage.⁶⁹ In this case, the King took a personal interest in the man as well as the matter, interviewing Laud for three hours at Tichbourne on August 29, 1611. His letter to the Bishop of Winchester following

⁶⁴ Tanner MS 338/328.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Tanner MS 338/334.

⁶⁷ Tanner MS 338/348, 349, “Petition of the fellows and scholars to the King, praying him to confirm the election,” July 23, 1611.

⁶⁸ Fincham, “Early Stuart Polity,” in Tyacke, p. 193.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 179.

the meeting confirms his admiration for Laud, stating that even though “there hath bin practice and corruption in the election on both partes” Laud was not part of it, as he was sick in London, and that since “the whole acte, beinge in itself good” the election ought to stand.⁷⁰ According to Heylyn, the King’s decision was most likely influence by Bishop Neile, Laud’s patron and one of James’ chaplains, who “acquainted his Majesty with the Abilities of the man and the old grudge which Abbot had concerned against him.”⁷¹

The most significant outcome of the controversy was the solidification of Laud’s place at Court. He was appointed the King’s Chaplain in November 1611, less than three months after his meeting with James. Although his relationship with Bishop Neile offered him the opportunity to preach before the King in 1608, Laud did not receive the King’s support until after his audience with him regarding the election. His trials became a blessing when he gained the royal support and patronage as a result of them. Fourteen years later he remembered the occasion as he consecrated his chapel at Aberguilly House in Wales as Bishop of St. David’s,

I was pleased that I should perform that solemn consecration at lest on the eve of that festival. For upon that day, his Majesty King James heard my case about the election to the Presidentship of St. John’s College in Oxford, for three hours at least; and with great justice delivered me out of the hands of my powerful enemies.⁷²

⁷⁰ Tanner MS 338/356, ‘Letter from the King to the Bishop of Winchester, confirming the election,’ September 25, 1611.

⁷¹ Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 61.

⁷² William Laud, “Diary,” *Works*, Vol. III, p. 172.

In this passage Laud celebrates the dual outcome of his meeting with James: the attainment of royal favor and increased animosity with Abbot and his supporters. Both of these consequences were influential on the rest of his career. Laud certainly believed that the efforts against him were organized and fueled by the strongly Calvinist Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, writing in his diary that the latter was “the original cause of all my troubles.”⁷³

IV. William Laud as President

William Laud’s election to the Presidentship of St. John’s College caused a scandal that resonated throughout the seventeenth century in Oxford. Anthony Wood wrote in 1691 that the oldest living woman in Oxford dated her age by it, telling him that “shee was 30 yeares of age when Dr. Laud became president of S. John’s.”⁷⁴ As the storm over Laud’s election continued to rage, the new President attempted to begin work in his new post. The first few months were particularly difficult. He later wrote that after “his Majesty approved my election” that the “faction in the Colledge finding such props above, as they had, continued very eager and bitter against me.” The College Register supports this claim: the majority of the ten fellows who governed the Colledge’s day to day affairs had

⁷³ Ibid. p. 135.

⁷⁴ Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, described by himself*, Andrew Clark, ed. Oxford: Clarendon (1894), p. 367.

opposed Laud in the election.⁷⁵ According to William Laud, this continued for the first year until the choice of new officers in November 1612 allowed him the opportunity to make “all quiet in the College.” While Laud claimed that “God blessed me with patience and moderation in the choice of all offices,” Peter Heylyn astutely ascribed Laud’s success more to bribery than blessing, “to such other of the Fellows as had opposed him in his Election...if he found any of them to be untractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would finde some handsom way or other to remove them out of the College.”⁷⁶ Laud acted shrewdly towards those who opposed him. The most famous example is Richard Baylie. Baylie openly opposed Laud’s election as President, and ripped up the election sheet on the day of the election to destroy evidence of a majority vote. Once President, William Laud took Baylie under his wing and “knowing him [Baylie] for a man of hopeful parts, industrious in his studies, and of a courage not to be disliked, he not only released him from the censure under which he lay, but took him into special favour.”⁷⁷ Following Baylie’s restoration to the fellowship by the College Visitor, Laud encouraged him to be ordained in 1613. Laud then assisted him in a successful bid to become University Proctor in 1615.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ SJCA Coll Reg. Vol II, p. 350/464.

⁷⁶ Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 62.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 61.

⁷⁸ A. J. Hegarty, “Baylie, Richard (1585/6?-1667),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65650>, accessed 31 Aug 2015].

A year after his election, Laud seized the opportunity to buy his greatest opponent at College. In October 1612, the College received a reversion of the advowson for Northmoor Parish, held by William Moore from his installation there in 1559 by Sir Thomas White.⁷⁹ Moore lived until the summer of 1612; his death provided an opening for another fellow to take up his living. Laud grasped this chance to dangle a carrot in front of John Sone, the most senior and influential member of the anti-Laudian party. Letters written by fellows in support of Laud's election named Sone specifically as one of the anti-Laudian party that opposed any compromise in the election process.⁸⁰ The new President offered Sone the Rectory of Northmoor, Oxford, raising the stipend from 12 to 30 pounds, as well as use of the vicarage and the garden, for which "much was layd out in the reparation of."⁸¹ He justified the raise by transferring funds set aside for a St. John's man to give twelve sermons in parish churches per year to Sone, requiring him to preach those sermons at his new living, as well as offering him an extra forty shillings per year to preach there at Christmas and Easter. Interestingly, just after Laud's election, Sone had submitted an accusation against Laud's allies to the Bishop of Winchester, stating that Laud's men had offered him "a benefice of fower score pounds by three yeare and above...to give his voice with Dr. Laud."⁸² This time Sone took the offer presented to him.

⁷⁹ SJCA Munim. XV, p. 1.

⁸⁰ SJCA, Coll. Reg. Vol. II, p. 354 /468.

⁸¹ Tanner MS 373, "The Estate of St. John's College in Oxford Ann. 1611 and 1621."

⁸² Tanner MS 338/330.

The living arrangements and preaching requirements reduced Sone's participation in college life, although he remained a fellow. He still signed the register, but was now indebted to Laud for a lucrative living. Besides gaining another country parish in 1625, Sone received no further preferment in this lifetime, nor did he make any significant impact on the Church of England. He was suitably subdued. This was not the last time that Laud used this tactic; in 1635, he secured two livings for John Lufton, in order to "secure his removal as one at odds with President Richard Baylie."⁸³

While Laud did not destroy the careers of those who opposed his election, he did neutralize their influence in the College. It is telling that nine of the twelve fellows who voted against Laud led relatively obscure lives following the election, which is the main reason why it is impossible to make a definite statement regarding whether or not religious belief played a role in their choice of candidate.⁸⁴ These men lived out their days as uncontroversial fellows or serving in small parishes, giving no indication through print or archival record of any greater impact on the English Church. Thomas Downer, Joseph Fletcher, Thomas Grice, Richard Holbrooke, Anthony Steevens, Thomas Salterne, John Sone, George Blagrove, and William Blagrove's careers all fit the above description. John English died a year after the election, leaving a large collection of Calvinist works to the College. Besides Richard Baylie, who reconciled with

⁸³ Hegarty, p. 96.

⁸⁴ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 68-9.

Laud, the only fellow that received preferment was Michael Boyle, through his kin, the Earl of Cork.⁸⁵ Laud's ability to neutralize the opposition gives credence to his claim that "I governed that College in peace, without so much as the show of a faction, all my time, which was near upon eleven years." By September 1614 the balance within the College tipped, with eight fellows loyal to him signing the College Register, and only two of his former opponents remaining.

Laud's position became significantly more comfortable in 1616, when James Montague became Bishop of Winchester, and thereby, Visitor of St. John's College. Montague was a friend of Laud, and they shared similar views regarding religious ceremonialism and the "beauty of holiness," as demonstrated during Montague's tenure as Dean of the Chapel Royal from 1603 until his death in 1618. In that year, Lancelot Andrewes was made Bishop of Winchester, continuing to make Laud's position at College comfortable. It is interesting to note that Laud did not renovate the College Chapel in what would become known as the "Laudian" style until 1619, possibly because by that time he had strong support from the College Visitor, as well as the fellowship. This is treated in detail below.

The relative peace experienced by St. John's College during Laud's tenure as President does not imply that he did not have critics within the College. On the contrary, Thomas Grice, who voted against Laud, remained a fellow until

⁸⁵ Hegarty, pp. 20-21.

1617, and never warmed to the new President. Grice went on to marry the daughter of the Puritan clergyman Edward Topsell, and their son (also named Thomas) assisted William Prynne in prosecuting William Laud. Thomas Grice, Senior, committed suicide in 1637, but his son continued to carry the family torch against Laud. While imprisoned in the Tower, Laud wrote of the elder Thomas Grice, "I know not what the matter was, but I could never get his love...and now his son succeeds, and it seems he inherits his father's disposition towards me; for I hear his tongue walks liberally over me in all places."⁸⁶

While Laud cajoled, ignored, or paid off those who voted against him, he also promoted and preferred his supporters. While Richard Andrewes, Martin Okines, and Thomas Loveden resigned from College within months of Laud's election, those fellows who remained experienced careers that ranged from good to stellar, mostly on the preferment of Laud and his allies.⁸⁷ William Juxon and Christopher Wren rose to high levels within the Church, thanks in large part to Laud's influence. Christopher Wren later became Dean of Windsor (1635) and William Juxon was appointed Bishop of London (1633) and Lord Treasurer (1636), all by Laud's recommendation.⁸⁸ Both were prominent Arminians. Following the Restoration Juxon was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁸⁶ William Laud, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 48.

⁸⁷ Okines and Loveden were aged and wished to retire, while Andrewes pursued a career in medicine in the City of London, See Hegarty, pp. 3-4, 95-6, 107.

⁸⁸ Regarding Juxon, Laud wrote in his diary, "Tuesday, Doctor Juxon, the Dean of Worcester, at my suit sworn Clerk of his Majesty's Closet. That I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty..." William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, Vol. III, pp. 215-216; Christopher Wren's appointment as Dean of Windsor is discussed in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 262.

Others, although not as impressive, were comfortable. Francis Hudson was beneficed contentedly in Pembrokeshire by Laud through his influence as Bishop of St. David's, Owen Virtue was placed in the service of the high churchman Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough, and Thomas Tucker served Richard Neile. John Towse and Nicholas Cliffe were the only two who lived out quiet lives as fellows of St. John's. A number of Laud's supporters also received preferment through John Buckeridge, adding further weight to the possibility that he was the main influence on those who voted for Laud at the election. Edmund Jackson, Richard Tillesley, and Theophilus Tuer all served John Buckeridge as Chaplains in later years. Tillesley even married Buckeridge's niece, Elizabeth, leading Anthony Wood to claim that he owed his preferment to kinship connections, a probable claim.⁸⁹ While many of these appointments did not come until Laud had attained greater position and influence in the Church, they do demonstrate his beneficence to those loyal to him, a point used vehemently against Laud during his trial.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the High Church leanings of all these men lend credence to the possibility that those who voted for Laud shared similar religious beliefs, most likely due to the influence of John Buckeridge.

⁸⁹ E. I. Carlyle, "Tillesley, Richard (1582-1624)," rev. D. R. Woolf, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27445>, accessed 26 Aug 2015].

⁹⁰ William Laud, "History of the Trials and Trouble," *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 84, 86, 273, 276, 377; See also D. Alan Orr, *Treason and the State: Law, Politics and Ideology in the English Civil War*, (CUP, 2002), Chpt. 4.

Further evidence that Wren, Juxon, Tucker, and Tillesley shared similar religious beliefs comes from their later careers. All of these men became staunch supporters of William Laud during his time as Archbishop of Canterbury, putting their shared belief into practice in their respective positions. For example, Christopher Wren encouraged the consecration of the communion table as an altar at the collegiate church of Wolverhampton in 1635, and William Juxon encouraged bowing before the altar in his Eleven Articles drawn up in 1635 to be “propounded” to “ministers and lecturers in and about London.”⁹¹ William Juxon also ordered that the communion table at All Hallows Barking be placed altarwise, on an ascent of one step.⁹² Turning communion tables altarwise and bowing before them were cornerstones of Laudian reforms.

Outside of the College, the factions that worked against William Laud during his election continued to gnaw at him during his time as President. His relationship with Lord Ellesmere remained particularly sour, to the detriment of the College. In 1613, Laud wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State, asking Lake to assist him in obtaining Ellesmere’s seal for the College mortmain. Ellesmere played his part well, having already received letters from St. John’s, and reassuring them that “he would absolutely stay our mortmain, but only for a time, because there was a large mortmain to pass for the University.” Laud believed that he was stalling, writing to Lake, “What his Lordship’s meaning was

⁹¹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 240, 252.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 267.

by this latter clause I know not, but our mortmain sticks still, though we have made the best means we can put his Lordship in mind of us.”⁹³

Other tensions lessened. Laud remained on moderately good terms with John Rawlinson, even though he joked about him privately with William Juxon. Juxon wrote to Laud in 1627 that Rawlinson had just built a large house on the Oxford High Street, in anticipation that he [Rawlinson] would be named Bishop of either Worcester or Oxford. Juxon wrote to “the Bishop [Laud] with these particulars that he may read the good conceit we have of ourselves at Oxford,” balking at the idea that Rawlinson would possibly receive the appointment.⁹⁴ Alternatively, he wrote to his friend, Christopher Potter, Master of Queen’s College, Oxford that “I am sorry to hear that Dr. Rawlinson is so ill, as it seems by you he is...I pray God comfort him according to his extremities what’er they be.”⁹⁵ He also wrote of Henry Airay (who caused difficulties over Laud’s sermon years prior) that “I so far tender the memory of Dr. Ayry.” Whether or not the hatchet had truly been buried along with these men is uncertain, but his willingness to speak well of their memory was not necessary in either of these instances.⁹⁶

⁹³ “William Laud to Sir Thomas Lake,” March 16, 1613, *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 2-3.

⁹⁴ “William Juxon to William Laud,” December 26, 1627, *CSP dom.*, 1627-8, 479, Louis A. Knafla, “Rawlinson, John (1576-1631),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23191>, accessed 14 Nov 2015].

⁹⁵ “William Laud to Christopher Potter,” October 15, 1630, *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 291.

⁹⁶ “William Laud to Christopher Potter,” February 11, 1630, *Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 294-295.

Although Laud could be “tactless and irritable” with his peers, he gained the favor of his students with his fatherly affection.⁹⁷ A poignant example is that of Bulstrode Whitlocke. The son of Laud’s close friend, an Oxford county judge, James Whitlocke, young Bulstrode came up to St. John’s in 1619. He entered as a commoner, studying under Laud, who “took the charge and care of his education...who commended him for a true friend.” He describes Laud as “kind,” and maintained a relationship with him throughout his life, even though Whitlocke became a non-Conformist and supported Parliament during the English Civil Wars. Laud even encouraged Whitlocke to take up the law, ironic considering that Parliament later asked him to aid in the prosecution of the fallen Archbishop. Whitlocke’s reply belies his enduring affection for his former tutor,

Wh[itelocke] acquainted the house, that when he was in Oxford the ArchB[isho]P Laud tooke care of his Education, and was very kind to him...and now for him personally to prosecute that man for his life, to whom he had bin beholding for his education, he appealed to the house whither it were fit for him to doe so, and prayed their excuse in this.⁹⁸

Laud also impressed the Heyricke family, who were related to Mrs. May, the woman that funded Laud’s post as Divinity Lecturer in 1603. They sent two sons to St. John’s, William the younger in 1613 and Robert in 1616. Both boys sent letters home from University that demonstrate Laud’s role in wooing patrons.

Laud assigned both boys to two of his supporters. Christopher Wren taught

⁹⁷ Anthony Milton, “Laud, William (1573–1645),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [online edn, May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16112>, accessed 5 Oct 2015].

⁹⁸ Ruth Spaulding, ed. *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitlocke, 1605-1675* (OUP, 1990), p. 148.

William and John Towse taught Robert. As wealthy commoners (their father was the royal jeweller) they dined at High Table and were assigned to comfortable rooms. William Heyricke described the comfort of his accommodations as follows, "I thincke it be not possible to live more secure or quiet, free from care and citty trobells."⁹⁹ Christopher Wren courted the Heyricke family for funds, as well as utilized their connections with wealthy men. Christopher Wren and William Laud asked Robert and William's father, the elder William Heyricke, to court one Master Henshawe, Thomas May (Laud's friend and Heyricke's brother-in-law), and Hugh May (another relative) for funds. These men did eventually donate the funds necessary to completely restore the crumbling battlements of the College.¹⁰⁰

A large part of Laud's popularity among his students and colleagues no doubt came from his reforms of the College finances, which expanded the funds available and aided in the refurbishment of its decaying medieval buildings. The aforementioned William Heyricke bragged to his father that £40 was bestowed on the College in books during his time.¹⁰¹ Improvements to the College increased its reputation, which in turn lured the sons of the wealthy. The College Register demonstrates that Laud was an energetic administrator to this end, enacting a personal rule over College matters. For example, shortly after taking

⁹⁹ "Christopher Wren to William Heyricke (Senior)," April 26, 1613 as found in John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, Vol. III, Part 1* (London, 1800), p. 161.

¹⁰⁰ SJCA Coll. Acc., 1619.

¹⁰¹ "William Heyricke to William Heyricke (Senior)," April 26, 1613 as found in John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, Vol. III, Part 1* (London, 1800), p. 161.

up office he revised the holdings of the College Library, selling second copies of books in order to make way for others.¹⁰²

A manuscript in the Tanner Collection outlines how William Laud improved the finances of St. John's College, Oxford. It includes a rendering of the first audit following William Laud's election in 1611, as well as an account by Laud of "howe I left it [St. John's College]" dated November 17, 1621, the day he formally resigned as President of St. John's. The audit demonstrates that the College had 268li 7s 10d when Laud was elected President in 1611. It then lists various fundraising projects that occurred during his time in office, including a donation from three Merchant Taylors, "Mr. Dove, Henry Price, and Mr. Jones, and Mr. Adams" totally 93 li 6 s 8 d. A number of building projects are also mentioned, including improvements to the Chapel (see below), renovations to the kitchen, and the establishment of a choir. Next to these projects are listed donations received in order to pay for them. In the end, Laud left the College 127 li 7 s 2 d better than when he arrived, along with all of the structural improvements, as well as the establishment of a choir and the installation of a new organ. The bottom of the document is signed "All this money was gotten to the Colledge bye Dr. Lauds procurement without anye counsel, helpe, or asistaunce of anye of the Fellowes" with a tally of 1436 li 13 s. While Laud was definitely instrumental, the fundraising efforts of Christopher Wren with the

¹⁰² SJCA Coll. Reg. Vol. II, f. 512.

Heyricke family mentioned above proves that Laud was a little too eager to take all the credit.¹⁰³

During his time as President, Laud met with religious controversy, but all of it occurred outside of the College. In one instance, Laud wrote to Richard Neile on April 18, 1615, asking for his patron's assistance. Apparently, Laud had preached a sermon against Presbyterians on Shrove Tuesday. In return, Dr. Robert Abbot, brother of George and Vice-Chancellor of the University, attacked Laud in a sermon at St. Mary's in Oxford on Easter. Laud missed the original sermon, but sat in for the repeat the following Sunday. His note to Neile describes it thus,

I came time enough to be at the rehearsal of this Sermon, upon much persuasion, where I was fain to sit patiently, and hear myself abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as I sat. For this present abuse, I would have taken no notice of it, but that the whole University apply it to me, and my own friends tell me, I shall sink my credit, if I answer not Dr. Abbot in his own.¹⁰⁴

Apparently, Abbot accused him of crypto-popery, a charge that landed Laud before the King. Heavily influenced by Neile, Laud was sent back to Oxford with the King's blessing, as well as a spoken apology from Abbot.¹⁰⁵ In spite of controversy, Laud continued to rise, obtaining the Deanery of Gloucester in 1617, and then the Bishopric of St. David's.

¹⁰³ Tanner MS 373, 381.

¹⁰⁴ "William Laud to Richard Neile," April 18, 1615, *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony Milton, "Laud, William (1573-1645)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16112>, accessed 5 Oct 2015].

V. The Presidencies of William Juxon and Richard Baylie

In 1621, William Laud was elevated to the Bishopric of St. David's. Contrary to the College Statutes, the King granted him permission to continue as President of St. John's after taking up his new position. Laud turned down the offer and resigned the Presidency of his college, "by reason of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it."¹⁰⁶ True to his word, Laud resigned the Presidency of St. John's on Nov. 17 and was consecrated the Bishop of St. David's on Nov. 18.

While records indicate that peace was generally kept during Laud's presidency, anti-Laudian sentiment is demonstrated by the aftermath of William Juxon's election to succeed Laud as President of St. John's. Although Laud and Juxon were close, Laud found it to the nominee's advantage to avoid any campaigning on his protégés behalf.¹⁰⁷ Laud's discretion did not save him from being accused of having "some hand in the business for him [Juxon] that obtained" the Presidency of St. John's.¹⁰⁸ For years following Juxon's election, Laud's detractors emphasized this point as demonstrated by a letter from Laud

¹⁰⁶William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, June 29, 1621, p. 137.

¹⁰⁷ Brian Quintrell, "Juxon, William (bap. 1582, d. 1663)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/15179>, accessed 26 June 2015].

¹⁰⁸Cotton MS. Julius C. III. Fol. 152 as found in *Works*, Vol. VI. Parts 1 & 2, pp. 242-243.

to Sir Robert Cotton in November 1623. Laud writes that in the aftermath of Juxon's election,

The heat that was then struck is not yet quenched in the losing party' and that the opposing side 'have been so angry with me, that they have not only been content to forget all the service I did that College...but have picked all the occasions they could to detract from me.¹⁰⁹

The fomentations against Laud and Juxon's enemies became so petty that they justified their ire on the loss of "an ancient volume of Beda" that Laud lent to Sir Robert from the College Library. Laud had lent the volume to Cotton during his Presidency of St. John's College because Sir William Paddy (a patron of St. John's College and the King's physician) had asked Laud if the book could be lent to his friend. Cotton failed to return the volume, therefore Laud goes on to plead him for the return of the book, promising his good will and benefaction in return for the favor, "Sir if it please you to think me worth having, you have now an opportunity to bind me to you."¹¹⁰

Those fellows concerned with William Laud's continued influence at the College through Juxon were justified in their fears. Laud remained present in College life after his resignation. In a letter dated January 26, 1628, he wrote to the President and fellows of St. John's College asking that a fellow, Dr. Philip Parsons, receive leave for six months to tend to some ill friends in

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ MSS Cotton. Julius C. III. Fol. 152 as found in *Works*, Vol. VI. Parts 1 & 2, pp. 242-243.

Warwickshire.¹¹¹ He invoked a statute allowing a bishop to ask for the absence of a fellow, an act typically used by bishop's needing the scholar's immediate assistance. Although this request was irregular, it was granted. He also visited St. John's regularly, staying with the President, as noted in his diary for August 1, 1625 when he records that he fell down "in the parlour of the President's lodging at St. John's College," injuring his shoulder and hip.¹¹² Laud was in Oxford in order to attend Parliament, which had moved to Oxford for the summer while the plague spread across London.¹¹³

In 1626, during his tenure as President of St. John's, William Juxon accepted the role of Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, which he held for two consecutive years. According to Nicholas Tyacke, he took up this position at a difficult time for anti-Calvinists at Oxford. The Chancellor, the third Earl of Pembroke, was an overt Calvinist and friend of the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot—Laud's old enemy. While he fought a losing war to end the mudslinging against "Arminiansim" in Convocation, the position gave him an opportunity at the brass ring of royal patronage. In 1627, he welcomed King Charles to Woodstock with a Latin oration, and by the next year he was sworn in

¹¹¹ "William Laud to the President and Fellows of St. John's," *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 20.

¹¹² William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 168

¹¹³ Christopher Thompson, "Court Politics and Parliamentary Conflict in 1625," as found in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Routledge, 1989) p. 169

as a royal chaplain and nominated to the See of Worcester.¹¹⁴ In 1628, the King resolved the tension in the University acts by issuing a ban on debating all points of controversy between Calvinists and their detractors, potentially included upon the urging of Juxon.¹¹⁵ This pronouncement, along with the suspension of Archbishop Abbot, turned the tide for anti-Calvinists in Oxford. By this time, George Abbot was subdued, and the new King was less sympathetic to Calvinist prelates than his father had been. Furthermore, shortly after Charles ascended the throne, there was a “triumph of the anti-Calvinist or Laudian interest at court,” much to the benefit of St. John’s.¹¹⁶

In 1633, on the suit of William Laud, William Juxon was appointed Clerk of His Majesty’s Closet, in succession to Richard Neile. Laud wrote that he encouraged the appointment so that ‘I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm; as I must have a time.’¹¹⁷ Laud’s chaplain, Richard Baylie was then elected President of St. John’s College. His prolific correspondence with Laud demonstrates their closeness, particularly relating to matters of College life. Their amiable relationship is seen in the jaunty, even slightly sarcastic tone of their letters.

¹¹⁴ Brian Quintrell, “Juxon, William (*bap.* 1582, *d.* 1663),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15179>, accessed 14 Aug 2015.]

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 77

¹¹⁶ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 177.

¹¹⁷ William Laud, “Diary,” *Works*, Vol. III, p. 216.

Throughout the 1630's, until Laud's death in 1644, they maintained a good relationship that benefited both men as well as their college. The two men shared a religious outlook and supported one another in their respective roles. Shortly before his election to the presidency of St. John's, Baylie acted in his capacity as Archdeacon of Nottingham to declare that ministers under his charge must preach "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" as well as "obedience to authority, even for conscience," a concept not likely to sit well with Puritans and non-conformists.¹¹⁸ Baylie's loyalty to Laudian churchmanship is also demonstrated in a letter from Laud from March 15, 1638/9. Laud was in the midst of a conflict with the Calvinist Bishop of Winchester, John Thornborough, over the right to present to the parish of Newington. Thornborough had a caustic relationship with the Laudian Dean of Worcester, Christopher Potter. Baylie was up in arms on the matter, and Laud wrote to him, "But I shall take a time to dispose of Newington in my own way. I am glad your wife and you are so well and so marry; but you should do better to conquer your ague before you think of soldiers for another war."¹¹⁹

It is little wonder that William Laud appointed Richard Baylie Vice-Chancellor in 1636, a brilliant move that assured the constant presence and support of an ally in Oxford. Shortly after Baylie's selection, Laud wrote him a letter outlining instructions for the Convocation service at Oxford. In his letter,

¹¹⁸ Rawlinson MS C. 421, f. 27; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 183.

¹¹⁹ "William Laud to Richard Baylie," March 15, 1638/9, *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 545.

Laud notes that services at the university were noticed at the national level and that the recent services at the University Church of St. Mary's for the start of the Michaelmas term "were wont to be not so orderly as they should, nor with so good example to other places at large in the kingdom, as such a university should give." One of his greatest complaints was the celebration of communion, "in the body of the church, and not in the chancel, which though it be permitted in the Church of England...yet very indecent it is." He goes on, mandating that "both the sermon and prayers be in Latin and that the vice-chancellor and whoever helps him execute the services wear surplices."¹²⁰

William Laud supported St. John's College heartily during this period (as noted in the next section), and was not timid to provide favors in return. In 1639, Laud sent up young Sir Henry Sidley, the grandson of Sir Henry Saville, and his tutor with a bit of money and letter addressed to Baylie asking "I heartily pray you to take such care both for chamber of anything else that you conceive fitting, that his mother may see he is entertained there with more than ordinary respect." He also asked Baylie to assist in the translation of his *Conference with Fisher* for publication, requesting Baylie to send him an able fellow to assist in the translation to Latin. Baylie duly sent up George Gisby.¹²¹

Laud also acted as a counselor to Baylie, giving him advice regarding the purchase and sale of lands for the College, even pulling in William Juxon to

¹²⁰ "William Laud to Richard Baylie," November 26, 1636, *Works*, Vol. V, pp. 157-158.

¹²¹ "William Laud to Richard Baylie," April 17, 1639, *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 558.

assist in College matters. Regarding the College's obtain acquisition of the parsonage at Chadlington, he wrote to Baylie,

I would have you draw up your Decrees, or your Acts (call them what you will) as you would have them pass, the one for Chadlington and the other for your kitchen-book, and send them up hither; and the my Lord Treasurer [Juxon] and I may both of us consider of them and send you word what we think.¹²²

Laud also provided counsel on more sensitive matters, particularly the presence (or rumored presence) of Catholics at the College. Although other colleges (particularly Brasenose) dealt with the threat of Puritanism, St. John's was ripe for accusations of popery. Laud encouraged Baylie to protect the College from any taint of Romanism. In August 1637 a letter from Oxford to a Mr. Fish in Clerkenwell, London asked for "one or two, who for religion sake are desirous to be entered into some order beyond the seas." Mr. Fish responded with the name of Richard Pully, "in St. John's College in Oxon." Laud received this correspondence on August 29, 1637, and wrote the same day to Richard Baylie, "I send you this inclosed, which came to my hands this present afternoon, I pray examine the business with all the care and industry you possibly can, as well for the discharge of your own duty and credit, as mine, in the government of that place."¹²³ Baylie duly interrogated the boy and his chamber mates. He also searched his room and his trunk, but found nothing. Young Pully was

¹²² "William Laud to Richard Baylie," April 5, 1639, *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 553.

¹²³ "William Laud to Richard Baylie," August 29, 1637, *Works*, Vol. V, pp. 180-181.

placed under house arrest at the College and told not to speak to any strangers, “upon the pain of expulsion.”¹²⁴

Another scare came the following year when Robert Lugg, College organist from 1635 ran away to become a priest. In 1637, Robert’s father, John Lugg wrote to Richard Baylie, pleading with him to grant his son’s request for a BA in Music. He wrote that he was worried for him, knowing “him to be a very passionate and tender of disposition that if not humor’d in this his project, I feare it will both breed his discontent, and a worse passion yt commonly follows.” It appears his father was worried for his mental health, but it also could have been a concern regarding the lure of the Roman Church as Robert’s brother was already a Catholic priest. Although Robert did receive his BMus in July 1638, this grace did not prevent him from slipping away to join the Catholic church later that year. College accounts from 1638-9 note payments made to retrieve him, but to no avail. Laud wrote,

You had need be very careful of the university...the Jesuits and their instruments are busy thereabout...they have seduced a young youth of Exeter college...and the young organist of St. John’s, who slipt away, now whilst the president was at Sarum.¹²⁵

By April 5, 1639, the College lost hope of his return, as demonstrated in a letter from Laud to Baylie which advised him, “Lugg you shall not entertain to

¹²⁴ “Richard Baylie to William Laud,” September 4, 1637, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 183.

¹²⁵ “William Laud to Richard Baylie,” February 7, 1638/9, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 215.

hazard the reputation of the College any more.”¹²⁶ Laud had a right to be wary — the most common accusation lobbed against himself and his supporters was the insult of popery, as his trial would later attest.

VI. William Laud as College Patron

As noted above, William Laud’s connections at court played a significant role in his election in 1611. The fact that his detractors accused his party of bribing fellows with potential preferment demonstrates that his associations were established enough to make the allegation a viable one. He began improving the fortunes of St. John’s College and its scholars during his presidency, engaging in fund-raising, building projects, and positioning its scholars for preferment. As Laud advanced within the Church of England and at Court, his ability to promote clergymen grew exponentially. Following the accession of Charles I to the throne, avant-garde conformists rose in prominence, and at their head sat William Laud, appointed Chancellor of Oxford University in 1630 and elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633.

The scholars of St. John’s College profited most from the new Chancellor’s beneficence. Under Laud’s patronage, the College itself was expanded and beautified, scholarships increased, and its men preferred to some of the highest offices in the land. In short, the prestige of St. John’s rose along with its patron,

¹²⁶ “William Laud to Richard Baylie,” April 5, 1639, *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 553.

the “chief patronage broker under the crown.”¹²⁷ Laud’s preference for patronizing men from his college was satirized in a popular university skit in 1636. The comedy suggested names for ships, representative of each College’s fortunes under the Archbishop. St. John’s ship was *The Triumph or Speed-Well*, signifying its primacy at the University, as well as the surest (or speediest) path to preferment. This compared to Oxford colleges with anti-Laudian leanings, such as Exeter, headed by the puritan divine John Prideaux, which was called *The Repulse* because of his inability to gain preferment, and the ship of the infamously anti-Arminian Brasenose College was titled *The Despair*.¹²⁸

During his lifetime, William Laud acted as patron to at least thirty-eight members of St. John’s College, vastly more than any other patron besides Sir Thomas White, earning him the title of the “Second Founder.”¹²⁹ The vast majority of scholars benefitting from his patronage were foundationers, who were more likely to be in need of assistance, whereas commoners typically came from wealthy families more capable to set them up in life. Laud’s patronage came in a variety of forms. The most prevalent support he provided by Laud was the grant of a living or appointment to a position. At Oxford University, he placed a number of St. John’s men in important positions, the most prominent of which was the selection of Richard Baylie as Vice-Chancellor, choosing him to

¹²⁷ Fincham, “Early Stuart Polity,” in Tyacke, p. 191.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 209 and Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 79-82.

¹²⁹ Hegarty, pp. 88-91.

serve in the role from 1636 until 1638. Three members of St. John's served as university proctors on Laud's recommendation, including his chaplain, styled "Mr. Alsop," as well as Thomas Atkinson and John Edwardes. He also nominated Philip Parsons as Principal of Hart Hall, shortly after his installation as Chancellor. In the City of Oxford, he nominated James Penne, the manciple of St. John's College, Toll Gatherer of Oxford as a "very fit person for that place."¹³⁰

Richard Tillesley (who was also supported by John Buckeridge), was given the rectory of Llandogo during Laud's tenure as Bishop of St. David's, staying there until his death in 1624.¹³¹ He also wrote letters of introduction or support for positions. He recommended headmasters to the two main "feeder" schools to St. John's College: The Merchant Taylors' School in London and The Reading School. He also assisted in lawsuits. In June 1637 he wrote on behalf of James Belgrave, a former commoner of St. John's, to Sir John Lambe in order to end the delay of a lawsuit the young man filed against Sir John Bale.¹³²

He drew a number of his chaplains from St. John's, most notably Thomas Turner, who held a plethora of positions (including Chaplain-in-Ordinary to King Charles) before he rose to become Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. Turner paid homage to his former patrons in his epitaph, writing "Here lies Thomas Turner...whom Charles the first and Archbishop Laud, glorious and holy

¹³⁰ William Laud, "History of His Chancellorship," *Works*, Vol. V, p. 287.

¹³¹ Hegarty, p. 147.

¹³² *Ibid.* pp. 198-199.

Martyrs, retained as chaplain.”¹³³ He also made Richard Baylie and William Haywood his chaplains. Shortly before his death, Laud requested permission from Parliament for William Haywood to attend him on the scaffold; his entreaty was denied. He also provided a number of his servants with an education at the College. Adam Torless, William Dell, and John Wright all earned degrees, the latter two attaining MA degrees during their time of service to Laud.

During Laud’s tenure as President, he began a series of building works that continued through the terms of his two immediate successors, William Juxon and Richard Baylie. These improvements touched every part of the College and included practical improvements including reinforced battlements, expanding the Library, and upgrading the President’s lodgings. Along with these necessities, he also left his signature in the renovation and ornamentation of the Chapel and the donation of the Canterbury Quadrangle. These works were different from the rest because they were meant to boldly declare Laud as College patron and imprint his personal, political, and religious agenda onto the very stonework of his College. The personal nature of his motivation is stated clearly in a memorandum regarding his building works at the College, “the injurious tongues of some men drove me to particularize for my own contentment.”¹³⁴ With these sentiments in mind, it seems appropriate that Laud’s

¹³³ J. Hackett, ed. “Select and remarkable epitaphs on illustrious and other persons in several parts of Europe, with Tr. and accounts of the deceased,” Vol. 1 (London, 1757), p. 264.

¹³⁴ Tanner MS 338, ff. 374-380.

first building project at St. John's that went beyond practical necessities was the repair and beautification of the Chapel.

Laud paid careful attention to the details of the Chapel renovation, keeping all aspects of its ornamentation congruent with his emphasis on "the beauty of holiness" in worship, which included "religious imagery in church decoration, and emphasized the sanctity of churches and churchyards and more particularly the chancel."¹³⁵ Laud wrote that worship should be conducted with "as much decency and uniformity as might be" in a beautiful setting, as "neglect of God's service in the outward face of it...cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God."¹³⁶ St. John the Baptist's Chapel was certainly in a state of disrepair, damaged by time and flooding, its wooden beams were rotting.

Beginning in 1619, the College Chapel underwent restoration intended to repair the damage, but more importantly to enhance every aspect of liturgical worship, particularly the Eucharist. During that year, a collection circulated the College, resulting in seventy pounds "given by the Fellows and commoners toward the chappell."¹³⁷ The chapel was altered in a style later considered the hallmark of Laudians, and a particular bugbear of Puritans. During Laud's trial, he was accused of using, "organs, candlesticks, a picture at the back of the altar,

¹³⁵ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 4 See also Peter Lake in Fincham, *Church*, pp.161-185; Lake in B.Y. Kunze and D.D. Brautigam, *Court, Country and Culture* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 149-175; Anthony Milton, in Thomas Cogswell et al. (eds.), *Politics, Religion, and Popularity* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 162-184.

¹³⁶ William Laud, "History of Troubles and Trial," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 60.

¹³⁷ Tanner MS 373/374.

and copes at communions and consecrations” in his private chapel at Lambeth, a charge that the Archbishop did not deny.¹³⁸ These symbols of a “Laudian” setting for worship, along with roods, altar rails, and raised chancels, featured prominently in the renovation of St. John’s College Chapel.

The integration of music was a top priority, and a new organ loft was built to hold the “great organ” donated by Sir William Paddy in 1618. Although Sir Thomas White included a choral foundation of six choristers and four singing men in his Statutes of 1562, this was the first time that music was incorporated in chapel services since 1577, when the College choir was dissolved, due to lack of funds.¹³⁹ This may be why Laud took steps in the 1630’s to assure the financial integrity of the new choral foundation in the College, so that “the substance might be kept entire and continue useful but not burthensome to the College.”¹⁴⁰ This was part of a wider movement at the turn of the century to integrate music into the liturgy. St. John’s joined Christ Church, Magdalen, and New College as the only colleges at Oxford to have choral foundations. The College commissioned two anthems for the new choral foundation that paid homage to St. John the Baptist, patron saint of the College. The new organ was inaugurated in 1620, most likely with, “As they departed,” an anthem commissioned that year for the College by Michael East, organist of Lichfield Cathedral. The text of the

¹³⁸ William Holden Hutton, *William Laud* (Methuen, 1896), p. 81.

¹³⁹ Stevenson and Salter, pp. 148, 169.

¹⁴⁰ William Laud to St. John’s College, Oxford, May 24, 1638, *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 434-435.

song comes from Matthew 11. In that chapter, Jesus Christ declared that John the Baptist's coarse clothes were fit for his duty. As Laud was friends with the recently departed Bishop of Lichfield, John Overall, and corresponded with the incumbent, Thomas Morton, it is probable that he personally charged the composer with the task.¹⁴¹ Laud also hired Orlando Gibbons, senior organist of the Chapel Royal, to compose "This is the Record of John" specifically for St. John's College, before the musician's death in 1625. The organ accompanies multiple choral parts, and the lyrics are drawn from the first chapter of the Gospel of John, in which John the Baptist declares himself a servant assigned the task of preparing the way for the Lord.¹⁴²

Organ music was a key component of the Laudian worship style. Four months after Laud's execution, Parliament declared an "Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Supersition," calling for "all organs, and the frames or cases wherein they stand in all Churches or Chappels aforesaid, shall be taken away, and utterly defaced."¹⁴³ William Paddy's organ did not escape this fate; it was removed in 1651.

¹⁴¹ Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, "Overall, John (*bap.* 1561, *d.* 1619)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20964>, accessed 18 Nov 2015]; Brian Quintrell, "Morton, Thomas (*bap.* 1564, *d.* 1659)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19373>, accessed 18 Nov 2015].

¹⁴² Graham Perry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Boydell, 2006), p. 160.

¹⁴³ "An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition," May 6, 1644, in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C.H. First and R.S. Rait (London, 1911), Vol. I, pp. 425-426.

Organs were not the only religious ornaments that Laud installed in the St. John's College Chapel. The ordinance of 1644 also called for "raised chancels and altars to be leveled, vestments destroyed, no Roods, or Roodlofts, or Holy-water fonts shall be, or be, any more used in any Church or Chapel."¹⁴⁴

Consistent with Laud's belief that the altar was "the greatest place of God's residence upon earth. I say the greatest, yea greater than the pulpit," he placed the communion table altarwise at the east end of the sanctuary and covered it with "clothes of crimson and purple velvet," which may have come from the collection of pre-Reformation vestments and ornaments returned to the College by the Founder's niece. There is also a curious note crossed out from the accounts of 1620 stating that there was a new "table of stone made near the East window" of the chapel.¹⁴⁵ Next to it is written "Paid for Tho. Clarke for the lease of chamber by the hall, 40li.," most likely the College cook who paid for a new building attached to the kitchen in 1612.¹⁴⁶ It is possible that this was a stone altar; if so it would have been one of the first to replace the wooden communion tables favored by Protestant reformers in the sixteenth century.

William Laud also commissioned stained glass to be placed in the window behind the altar that depicted the life of St. John the Baptist and painted the ceiling above. The Laudian chancel at St. John's pre-dates a nation-wide

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Tanner MS. 377.

¹⁴⁶ Hegarty, xxxvii.

movement to turn communion tables altarwise by nearly a decade, when parishes and college chapels began the transition either as the result of “voluntary action, and occasionally in response to official pressure.”¹⁴⁷ By the late 1620’s, Thomas Barlow of Queen’s College was complaining that,

Arminianisme came in favour and soe in fashion; when communion-table became a dull word (though in the text) and sacrifice and altar, and bowing to it (though noe law of God or man for it) were untimely urged, and too fiercely opposed.¹⁴⁸

Following his elevation to Canterbury, Laud continued to ornament St. John’s Chapel with features distinct to the Laudian style that gained popularity following the suspension of Archbishop Abbot in 1627-8. He wrote a memorandum outlining his intention to “sett the East window farther out. Set forward again the partition within...Mend the glass of the East window.” These improvements allowed for added seating, the integration of a rood screen, and altar rails at the front of the chapel, as well as provided the opportunity to incorporate the stained glass mentioned above, beautifying the setting for the Eucharist. The altar rails still exist, although they have been moved to the church of St. Denys’ in Northmoor, Oxfordshire, a living formerly in the gift of the College. They are constructed of white stone, carved with swags of fruit and flowers, topped with bows, and are strikingly similar to the carved communion rails in the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court, also made in the 1630’s. These

¹⁴⁷ Fincham and Tyacke, pp. 117, 189

¹⁴⁸ Annotation by Barlow in his copy of Heylyn, *Cyprianus* (Bodl. Shelfmark NN Th 118), 126 (see also 79), as found in Fincham and Tyacke, p. 184.

additions at St. John's were part of an upsurge of chapel renovations in Oxford and Cambridge, with the support of Laud and his associates.¹⁴⁹ Matthew Wren renovated the chapel of Peterhouse at Cambridge, making it "the acme of Laudian perfection," while in Oxford Christopher Potter made similar changes at Queen's College and Accepted Frewen undertook the same at Magdalen.¹⁵⁰

Many members and former members of St. John's College implemented these changes in their own parishes and benefices. Christopher Wren consecrated the communion table as an altar following his promotion to Dean of Windsor, a ceremony mocked by Prynne in satire.¹⁵¹ As Bishop of London, William Juxon encouraged ministers and lecturers to bow before the altar in his eleven "articles" outlining the form of worship to be used in his diocese.¹⁵² Edward Layfield worked in conjunction with William Juxon to install a communion table, altar wise on an ascent at his London parish of All Hallows Barking.

A year before his death, Laud provided for his final gift to the chapel of St. John's College. In his will, he donated "all my chapel place, gilt or parcel gilt; all my chapel furniture."¹⁵³ It is difficult to know how much of his gift survived the Interregnum, but there is an ornate chalice in the College with a potential link to the Archbishop. Known as "The Good Shepherd" chalice, there is an etching of

¹⁴⁹ John Newman, "The Architectural Setting," in Tyacke, *A History of the University of Oxford*, p. 137.

¹⁵⁰ Fincham and Tyacke, p. 135 & pp. 230-231, also see Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 48-53.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 240.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 252.

¹⁵³ William Laud, "History of Troubles and Trial," *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 442-443.

Christ as the good shepherd with a lamb over his shoulder on the outer bowl of the cup. There is also a matching cover with a starburst at its center. Chalices were systematically destroyed and replaced with communion cups during Elizabeth's reign, but were reintroduced by Laudians.¹⁵⁴ According to Nicholas Tyacke, this is one of the earliest examples of a "gothic revival" in communion chalices from the time of Laud.¹⁵⁵ Records from 1613 and 1618 indicate that St. John's College owned a number of communion cups, including a white communion cup from "Mr. Adams" procured for the College by a member of the May family, William Laud's dear friends, as well as a large goblet that was a gift from the founder.¹⁵⁶

While the ornamentation of the chapel promoted Laudian style worship, the Canterbury quadrangle pronounced the Archbishop's status in the Church and State, emphasizing his devotion and close association to the King, who donated building materials to the project.¹⁵⁷ Statues of King Charles and his queen, Henrietta Maria, face each other from above the east and west entrances. Above the King is the royal crest, and just below his feet is the Archbishop of Canterbury's mitre, along with Laud's own arms. The building took nearly five years to build and cost the Archbishop £5,553, a tremendous sum for a

¹⁵⁴ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ SJCA MUN. XC. f. 67, 88.

¹⁵⁷ William Laud, "Diary," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 214.

churchmen, as noted by the fellows who presumed his funds “were rather drained by domestic necessities than running over.”¹⁵⁸

As Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud attempted to re-instate the ceremony and ephemera of the pre-Reformation Church. As the architectural historian Howard Colvin notes, the donation of the Canterbury Quadrangle hearkened back to the charitable donations of medieval Archbishops to the University of Oxford, rather than their Protestant counterparts. Wykeham Wykeham founded New College in 1379, and one of its members, Archbishop Henry Chichele founded All Souls in 1438. A little over a century later, Cardinal Wolsey (also Archbishop of York), founded Christ Church. Although Laud lacked the funds to endow a College, he was able to afford an impressive and imposing donation to his alma mater. Besides his connection with pre-Reformation prelates (in the words of Colvin) his building would also ‘proclaim to the world that the clothier’s son from Readings had risen to be Chancellor of the University and one of the greatest men in the land after the King himself.’¹⁵⁹

Five months following the completion of the Canterbury Quadrangle, the King and Queen came up to Oxford on August 29, 1636 in order to celebrate “the reforms and benefaction for which [Laud] had been responsible as Chancellor of the University,” particularly the new “Laudian” Statutes, in effect as of that year,

¹⁵⁸ PRO, SP 16/188, no. 66, also quoted in Howard Colvin, *The Canterbury Quadrangle, St. John’s College, Oxford* (OUP, 1988), p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ Colvin, p. 3.

as well as the Archbishop's building at St. John's College¹⁶⁰ Laud orchestrated every aspect of the three day visit, which he seized upon as an opportunity to herald his agenda for the English Church, state, and his beloved university. Furthermore, he promoted St. John's College and its fellows at every opportunity.

The King and Queen came up to Oxford on Monday, and Laud entertained them at St. John's College on Tuesday. The King and Queen viewed the new quadrangle before dinner, which was held in the new library. George Garrard, Chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland wrote that it was "a mightye feast, equall to any I have heard of...I do wonder where there cold be found mouthes to eate it, for without consideration of presents, his Grace had provided at his own charge." Some of these present included a gift of venison, fish, and poultry from Walter Curle, the Arminian Bishop of Winchester, and Visitor of St. John's College.¹⁶¹ William Laud paid for this amazing feast (and the play that followed it) from his own pocket. The evenings fare and entertainment cost him £2,666, nearly half of the cost to build the Canterbury Quadrangle.¹⁶² The most expensive item on the menu was a marzipan model of the "entire hierarchy of the university," rendered by 'Mr. Sergeant Walthewe the King's Confectioner for the Banquet' for £540. Doctors, professors, canons, and masters, proctors, and so

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. pp. 12, 13.

¹⁶¹ George Garrard to Lord Conway, September 4, 1636, as found in A.J. Taylor, "A Royal Visit to Oxford," *Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, (1936).

¹⁶² Colvin, p. 13.

forth, were modeled in sugar paste. Edmund Gayton, a fellow of St. John's College, wrote a ballad commemorating the elaborate confection, writing,

At the Exhibit of a Banquet brought
Where all our Gown-men, were in Marchpane wrought.

The Ladies waterd ('bout the Mouth) to see
And tast so sweet an Universitie.¹⁶³

Afterwards, the confection gained a dangerous reputation. A Scottish courtier wrote to a relative that,

I doubt not but you have heard...of the extraordinary entertainment and feasting made by the Bishop of Canterburie to the King and Queen at Oxford, where amongst many strange passages, the most remarkable was an invention of pyes walking, the one half representing England Bishops, with my lord's grace of Canterbury conducting them, th'other half foreign Cardinalls, with the Pope leading them, and both came to the King at table, one on his right hand and t'other on his left and were both received and made friends.

No other accounts survive that support this account, but the rumor does tell of Laud's growing reputation as a "crypto-papist" eager to reunite with Rome – an accusation flung at him numerous times in William Prynne's pamphlets.¹⁶⁴

Following the Royal visit, Laud donated the Canterbury Quadrangle entirely to St. John's College. Laud intended for the building to be a boon to

¹⁶³ Edmund Gayton, *Epulae Oxonienses. Or a jocular relation of a banquet presented to the best of Kings, by the best of prelates, in the year 1636, in the mathematick library at St. John Baptists Colledge* (Oxford: W. Hall, ca. 1661).

¹⁶⁴ Sir David Cunningham of Auchenharvie to Sir David Cunningham of Robertland, SRO, GD237/221/4/1/54 as found in Colvin, p. 14. Also found in Urusla Aylmer, *Oxford Food: An Anthology* (Oxford, 1995), p. 64.

college revenue and prestige, purposes achieved by the clauses in his letter of donation, which he asked to be given the force of a statute. This was achieved by his desire that the scholars' rooms be rented out only to commoners. Commoners did not require financial aid, and typical came from wealthy, genteel families eager to send their sons to Oxford for a cursory education. The money from rent was used to purchase land, providing income that was to be "divided amongst the Fellows and Scholars of the foundation equally, without respect to degree or seniority." Laud's scheme proved effective, generating enough revenue to pay the librarian's salary and provide fellowships for the entire College.

Furthermore, Laud reserved the right to choose which scholars were appointed accommodation in the quadrangle, giving him the opportunity to gain favor with gentlemen, as well as increase the social status of his college. Unfortunately, the College did not benefit from this for long – Civil War and the downfall of their great patron waited around the corner.

VII. Conclusion: Laud's Fall

Following Laud's imprisonment in the Tower of London, the College wrote to him and asked if they could use some of the funds generated by the Canterbury Quadrangle to furnish their library with Mathematical books. Laud's reply demonstrates his love for the foundation, "I assure you if God had not laid

this affliction upon me, your library should soon have been furnished, and yet you should not have needed to have thought of the way which [in] your letters you propose to me." His embarrassment is palpable. He agrees to their plan for the duration of his lifetime, but asks them to return to the original agreement after his death. He signs, "Your very loving, but most Unfortunate Friend."¹⁶⁵

On January 10, 1645 William Laud was executed on Tower Hill according to a Parliamentary Act of Attainder. John Heron, the younger, attended him on the scaffold. The son of his defense attorney, John was a budding lawyer and a former commoner at St. John's, tutored by the Laudian, Joseph Crowther in the late 1630's.¹⁶⁶ For his pains the Archbishop offered him 26 gold coins that his son struck into a medallion commemorating Laud.¹⁶⁷ Following the execution, St. John's men executed his final wishes. He was laid to rest at the London Parish of All Hallows Barking, where Edward Layfeild, his nephew and a former founder of St. John's College, Oxford, acted as perpetual vicar. Layfeild made sure that one of Laud's final wishes was granted. Laud wrote in his will "should I be so unhappy as to die a prisoner; yet my earnest desire is, I may not be buried in the Tower."¹⁶⁸ William Dell, his former servant who studied as a

¹⁶⁵ "William Laud to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford," November 29, 1641, *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 613.

¹⁶⁶ Lambeth Palace Library MS. 943, pp. 1-8; see also Hegarty, p. 331, 332

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ "Edward Layfeild (CCED Person ID 10412)," *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835* <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>, accessed August 2, 2015; *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 442.

commoner at St. John's, provided a plaque to mark his body, styling himself Laud's "most grieving servant."¹⁶⁹

In his will, William Laud left both his body and his legacy in the hands of St. John's College and its fellows, bequeathing his papers to the care of Richard Baylie, his sole executor. He also left gifts of money, land, and jewelry to fellows, as well as "all my chapel plate, gilt or parcel-gilt; all my chapel furniture; all such books as I have in my study at the time of my death, which they have not in their library; and 500l. in money, to be laid out upon land. God's everlasting blessing be upon that place and that society for ever."

As a result of the political situation, Richard Baylie was unable to execute many of Laud's final requests until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Reinstated as President of St. John's College in 1660 and nominated Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1661, Baylie petitioned with the Fellows of St. John's to fulfill the Archbishop's desire to be buried "in the Chapel of St. John Baptist College, in Oxford, under the altar or communion-table there."¹⁷⁰ Their request was duly granted and on July 24, 1663, two weeks after the funeral of William Juxon, the body William Laud was transported to St. John's to be buried.¹⁷¹ Subsequent to Laud's request for a funeral that is "private, that it may not waste any of the poor means which I leave behind me to better uses," his bones were

¹⁶⁹ Hegarty, p. 254.

¹⁷⁰ William Laud, "History of the Trial and Troubles," *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 442.

¹⁷¹ Anthony Wood, *Wood's Annals*, Gutch, ed. book ii, p. 873.

transported to Oxford on a horse carriage. The President and Fellows of St. John's met his coffin in Wheatley and preceded his pall into town that night, arriving at the University at 10 o'clock. Entering the College at its backgate, the small gathering of mourners, joined by a few scholars from other colleges, listened to George Gisbey, Laud's former assistant and now Vice-President of St. John's, give a short speech before they placed him in "a little vault at the upper end of the chancel, between the founder's and Archbishop Juxon," befitting his life long emphasis on the sacred character of the altar.¹⁷² Finally, he was laid to rest where he was bred up.

When William Laud came up to St. John's College in 1589, he entered an educational institution stocked with religiously conservative fellows and scholars. With the assistance of his tutor, John Buckeridge, Laud was elected President of St. John's College, and from thenceforth actively steered the foundation away from Calvinism by supporting Arminian fellows, and finding ways to neutralize his opposition. He administered St. John's with an eye to improving the College's infrastructure and finances. Through the efforts of William Laud and his allies William Juxon and Richard Baylie who succeeded him in the office of President, St. John's College gained a reputation as a "Laudian" institution, complete with a chapel stocked with the ephemera of Arminian church practice: an organ, altar, and stained glass. In the end, they

¹⁷² Ibid.

created a breeding ground for young Laudians, anxious to be preferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues and ready to support Arminian theology and church practice.

Chapter 3: “*Concordia Parvae Res Crescunt*” (In harmony small things grow): The Merchant Taylors' Company, 1502-1648

I. Introduction

All hayle faire London, to behold thy Towers,
After our voyage long and dangerous:
Is Seamens comfort, thanks unto those powers,
Our Royall Exchange hath made a rich return,
Laden with Spices, Silkes, and Indico,
Our wives that for our absence long did mourne,
Now find release from all their former woe.¹

Thus began the Lord Mayor of London’s pageant on October 29, 1605, an address celebrating the City’s commerce, particularly its new Royal Exchange. The point is clear: London was filled to the brim with exotic products for purchase. By the seventeenth century, London was not only the heart of commerce in England, but also a vibrant center for international trade.² This was not a subsistence economy, but rather a grand market fueled by the consumption of its booming populace that had nearly quadrupled in the span of one hundred

¹ Anthony Munday, *The Triumphs of Reunited Britainia* (London, 1605), p. 5; Munday was the most prolific author of London Mayoral pageants in his time. See also David M. Bergeron, “Anthony Munday: Pageant Poet to the City of London,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (August, 1967), pp. 345-368; Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History, and Power in early modern London, 1580-1633* (MUP, 2004); Anthony Munday, *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday: A Critical Edition*, David Bergeron, ed. (New York, 1985).

² F.J. Fisher, “The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 30 (1948), pp. 37-50; See also Mark Jenner and Paul Griffiths, eds. *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern England* (MUP, 2000); Karen Newman, *Culture Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (PUP, 2007), pp. 34-60; Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (CUP 2005); Lena Cowen Orlin, *Material London, c. 1600* (UPenn, 2000).

years.³ The increase in population was largely due to migration, as the Counties of England drained into its capitol City. Many of them were young apprentices, eager to better their life, drawn to the big city by the prospect of fortune.⁴ London was a mercantile community, and at its heart were its merchants.

This speech opened the celebrations accompanying the inauguration of Leonard Halliday, a member of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors', who hired Anthony Munday, a playwright in the same literary circle as Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare, to devise and script a series of spectacles for the Mayor's Pageant that celebrated commerce in the City of London, and their Company in particular. Yet, merchants and the mercantile community were not always represented in such a glowing manner on the London stage, rather they were skewered in satire by the likes of Christopher Marlow in *The Jew of Malta* and William Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice*. Although these two plays focused mainly on the anti-Semitic trope of grasping Jewish money lenders, Ben Jonson ripped apart greedy Christian merchants in his play *Volpone*, whose miserly protagonist wakes up to say his morning prayers to "my Gold" coaxing his servant to "open the shrine, that I may see my Saint."⁵ Ministers also warned merchants to flee from greed and avarice, reminding them that money would not

³ Ian Archer, "Material London?," in *Material London, ca. 1600*, Lena Cowen Orlin, ed. (UPenn, 2012), p. 176

⁴ Tracey Hill, p. 149-150.

⁵ Ben Jonson, *Volpone or the Fox* (London, 1607) p. 10.

fill the coffers of their soul.⁶ For example, Henry Smith of St. Clement Danes called covetousness “the Londoners sin” and criticized Londoners’ obsession with consumption, saying that “the riches of the lands of aldermen and merchants and others in London do not last so long nor endure so well as the riches and lands of others in the country.”⁷ As merchants were seen as facilitating the insatiable monster of the market, they were forced to withstand “generalized denunciations of covetousness which had characterized the mid-Tudor commonwealth.”⁸

For merchants and their detractors, the antidote to greed was charity, a religious and social act of generosity and self-sacrifice for the betterment of their fellow man. And while these criticisms come from late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century sources, the connection between a merchant’s soul and his purse goes back centuries. The spiritual and the economic realms were not separate, but rather intertwined in both pre and post Reformation England, with some adjustments, particularly in the guilds that both regulated trade as well as provided a spiritual and social community for the City’s merchants.⁹ Of the trade guilds, twelve companies, known as the “Twelve Great Livery Companies” of

⁶ Linda Levy Peck, p. 74.

⁷ Henry Smith, *Sermons* (1591) as found in Ian Archer, “Material London?,” in *Material London, ca. 1600*, p. 178.

⁸ Archer, p. 179.

⁹ Matthew Davies, “The Tailors of London: Corporate Charity in the Late Medieval Town,” in *Crown, Government and People*, ed. By R.E. Archer, pp. 168-70; Susan Brigden, “Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London,” *Past and Present* 103 (1984); Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (CUP, 1991); W.K. Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660: The Aspirations and Achievements of the Urban Society* (1960).

London dominated both trade and local politics. As a consequence, they were also at the forefront of charity and philanthropy in the City. This chapter considers one of these great companies--the Merchant Taylors' of London, particularly because of its connection with St. John's College. Sir Thomas White was a prominent member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and was at the forefront of its charitable endeavors during his lifetime. His foundation of St. John's College was one of many philanthropic projects he participated in during the course of his life. Most of those projects were connected somehow with his Livery Company, especially St. John's College.

This chapter provides a brief study of the Merchant Taylors' Company as both a mercantile and a religious community from its establishment as a company by a charter in 1502 by Henry VII, through the upheavals of Tudor Reform and the rise of the godly community within its ranks during the Stuart Period up until the Civil Wars. The Merchant Taylors' Company was a significant guild, one of the "Twelve Great Livery Companies" of London, whose members were eligible to hold public office in the capitol. It was also one of London's largest guilds. Matthew Davies estimates that between 1560 and 1620 more than 23,000 apprentices were admitted and 9,800 freemen (those who completed their apprenticeship and became citizens of London). This meant that in the late fifteenth century there were approximately 1000 members of the Merchant Taylors' Company as a whole, a number that increased to upwards of

3000 during the Stuart Era. Much of this is due to the rapid population growth of the City of London during this time, as London grew from a city of 80,000 inhabitants in 1550 to a metropolis of 200,000 in 1600. For the Merchant Taylors' Company, the precipitous growth rate provided the opportunity to grow financially – collecting fees and accepting bequests from its large membership.¹⁰

This chapter is separated into three sections. The first section considers aspects of continuity and change as the Company transitioned from a late medieval fraternity, active in the rites and rituals of pre-Reformation London, through the tumult of the early Tudor reforms in religion. In particular, it considers the religious practices of the late medieval company, as well as its charitable endeavors, many (but not all) of which were abandoned as a result of the Reformation. It ends with a consideration of the participation of the Company and its members in the Marian Restoration of traditional religion. The second section looks at the Company during Elizabeth's reign, highlighting the multi confessional composition within its ranks, and the harmony that existed among them. Although the modern organization known as the Merchant Taylors' Company in London was a far cry from its fourteenth century antecedent, the binding element of fraternity, most potently expressed through acts of charity, remained a consistent component of the organization throughout

¹⁰ Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Maney, 2004), p. 36, see also Valerie Pearl, "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London," *London Journal*, 5 (1979), pp. 13-14, 30-31; Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. chapters 7 and 8.

all of its transitions, particularly its transition during the early years of Elizabeth's reign.

A significant portion of the second section focuses on the establishment of the Merchant Taylors' School in 1561, as well as providing a brief history of its early years, up until the English Civil Wars. Men from various confessional backgrounds, including Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's College, established the Merchant Taylors' School in London. Therefore, a significant portion of this chapter is dedicated to understanding the purpose of the Merchant Taylors' School at the time of its establishment, as well as better understanding the private motivations of its various founders. In particular, it seeks to rectify the idea that collaboration between those of differing confessional views was a result of religious compromise. Rather, the foundation of the Merchant Taylors' School demonstrated that those from different confessional viewpoints were able to work together toward shared goals. In this instance, every man shared a philanthropic impulse to provide education for poor boys. Charitable works carried religious motivation for early modern merchants, whether Catholic or Protestant. Therefore, the willingness of the Merchant Taylors' to work harmoniously on a charitable project was not a compromise of religious values, but is rather an expression of their individual faith in practice.

This section also provides a chronological narrative of the religious bend of the school's masters, and the potential impact these men had on the spiritual

bend of their pupils. This chapter pays a great deal of attention to the establishment and religious temperament of Merchant Taylors' School because St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' School were inextricably intertwined, as mentioned previously. Therefore its history is vital to understanding relations between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College, Oxford.

The final section considers the changing religious demographic of the Merchant Taylors' Company during the Stuart period, and the roles played in the Company by a growing godly faction. Particular attention is paid to growing tensions between godly and more moderate members in the years leading up to the Civil Wars. While this chapter considers change over time through the actions of the Merchant Taylors' Company as a body, it also includes studies of prominent members within the Company, in order to provide a picture of the personalities and religious leanings of its leaders. It is not intended as a comprehensive prosopography, but rather acts as an introduction of the movers and shakers within the brotherhood of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

II. The Late Medieval Merchant Taylors' Company

Prior to the Protestant Reformation, the merchants of London belonged to fraternities that allowed them access to spiritual, as well as financial and political

benefits.¹¹ The Fraternity of St. John the Baptist of Tailors and Linen Armorers in London (later the Merchant Taylors' Company) was one such foundation. Established by a Royal Charter of King Edward III in 1327, the Fraternity regulated the quality and output of the tailor's trade in medieval London. The tailor's trade included the production of clothing, tents, and bed-hangings, as well as the acquisition, production, and trade of cloth. Furthermore, the Merchant Taylors' were closely connected with the Linen Armorers. As the wool trade in England boomed from the fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, the Merchant Taylors' prospered, and during that time, Sir Thomas White was thought to be the richest man in England.

The Merchant Taylors' Company provided other benefits outside of trade. The Company was also a community of spiritual brothers and sisters to pray for the souls of other members after their death. Furthermore, acceptance into a London guild also offered "the freedom of the City" or citizenship to the City of London, which gave one the right to establish a business in the largest markets in England. The fraternities also provided opportunities to participate in charitable deeds, an important aspect of the sacrament of penance within late medieval Christianity, making it possible for even a merchant to enter the kingdom of Heaven.¹²

¹¹ Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (OUP, 1989), pp. 137-138.

¹² Marie-Helene Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200-1548* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

The spiritual benefits of belonging to the Guild and Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in London is summarized in a series of bound manuscripts compiled around 1510.¹³ The opening pages are manuscripts illuminated with detailed, colorful script in the late medieval style, and they describe the “goostly tresoure” collected and stored by the Merchant Taylors’ Company. The treasure mentioned includes indulgences and remissions of sin, available only to members of the fraternity, and granted to them by numerous popes, bishops, and other prelates.¹⁴ The book demonstrates that members of London’s Livery Companies were just as interested in spiritual gain as material and that the advantages of joining a fraternity lasted longer than their mortal state. Reading the book is somewhat difficult because of the lines drawn through several sections that contain prayers that were deleted for their “superstitious” nature during the Reformation. Fortunately for historians, the clerk who drew the lines did not do a thorough job, perhaps as a result of residual conservative beliefs, so we are still able to see some of the words shining through the iconoclasm.

The same book also details other “spiritual assets,” as Matthew Davies terms them that were more palatable to later, Protestant authorities. These include the charitable activities and institutions the Merchant Taylors’ were (and in many cases still are) connected to, including provisions for the poor and needy. Although these charities began prior to the Reformation, they continued

¹³ Guildhall MS 34004

¹⁴ Ibid. f. 10-11v; 12r; 17-20r.

as the Company and the country became increasingly Protestant. These charities provide a starting point for understanding both continuity and change in the midst of the Tudor revolutions in both church and state.¹⁵ The story of the fraternity's transition begins before the Protestant Reformation, with its establishment as a livery company during the reign of England's first Tudor monarch, Henry VII.

In 1502 the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist was refashioned by a royal grant of King Henry VII into The Merchant Taylors' Company of London.¹⁶ At this point, the Company developed the structure and government that it has largely maintained until the present day. The Master conducted the everyday business of the Company with the assistance of four Wardens (two senior Wardens and two Assistant Wardens). They represented the Company to the civic authorities. If members of their company conducted themselves in an unruly manner, the Mayor of London called the Master and Wardens to the Guildhall to answer for the guilty party's actions. They also presented requests and petitions to the Lord Mayor on the Company's behalf. Finally, they were responsible for keeping the Company's accounts. For internal affairs, a Court of Assistants sat at least once a month where complaints against members were "heard and judicially determined the causes or complaints of those who were

¹⁵ Davies and Saunders, Chpt. 2.

¹⁶ Guildhall MS 34004, fos. 24v-31v.

subject to their special jurisdiction.”¹⁷ In other words, if a member of their Company acted grievously against another member, or if a member misbehaved publicly, they were liable to trial. The Royal Charter of 1502 endowed the Merchant Taylors’ Court of Assistants with the ability to fine its members or throw them into jail, and its surviving records demonstrate that it was an active body, meeting at least once a month.¹⁸

By the time Henry VII’s charter was put into effect, the Merchant Taylors’ Company was comprised of two distinct bodies, the livery and the yeomanry. Both the livery and the yeomanry were members of the Company, but they represented two separate classes within the same institution. The livery consisted of the most wealthy and prominent members of the Company, an elite group socially, politically, and economically. The Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants were chosen from members of the livery, and a member had to be a liveryman in order to be eligible for civic office in London. The yeomanry consisted of the freemen: mostly merchants in the early stages of their career. Many of the yeomanry existed on little income, but a number of them supported by the Company in their almshouses as a result of their poverty (see below). The yeomanry formed their own company within the Merchant Taylors’ Company called the ‘Bachelors’ Company that was run by a committee of sixteen elected

¹⁷ C.M. Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London and of its associated Charities and Institutions* (London, 1875), p. 7.

¹⁸ Guildhall MS 34010

officials, and they celebrated the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, the same patron saint as their mother company. A yeoman could become a liveryman after establishing himself in trade, but there was no guarantee as the livery was a significantly smaller group: the livery represented approximately ten percent of the Merchant Taylors' Company as a whole.¹⁹

While the Company regulated the quality and business practices of tailors in the City of London, it also allowed members of other companies and tradesmen into its ranks, although their oath did not include promises to keep the rules and regulations pertinent to the tailors' trade. No matter whether a man traded as a merchant Taylor or not, membership in a London livery company meant entrance into the freedom of the City – the legal status of a citizen of London. Following the acceptance of the Royal Charter of 1502, grocers, mercers, and other liverymen joined the Merchant Taylors' Company in order to receive commercial, political, and spiritual benefits. As one of the twelve great livery companies of London, the Merchant Taylors' were a powerful corporation closely associated with the Crown, having counted Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII in its membership rolls. Therefore, membership in the Company was an entrance point to the upper echelons of civic government, as well as provided a convenient network for business contacts.

¹⁹Davies and Saunders, p. 36

As noted by Matthew Davies, “for those from ‘lesser’ crafts, membership of a more high-profile fraternity would have carried status value, and was perhaps a way of establishing vital social and business relationships.”²⁰ Following the establishment of the Merchant Taylors’ School in 1561, membership also provided the sons of tradesmen an education, as well as a chance to earn one of the scholarships available to Taylorians at St. John’s College, Oxford or Pembroke College, Cambridge. In turn, the Merchant Taylors’ benefited from increased numbers, as it provided a broad base from which to extract fees.²¹ Furthermore, as the Company grew, it gained greater influence in London’s civic government. The Company also grew wealthier as it became the beneficiary of bequests of money, property, and goods from a wide variety of London merchants. Prior to the Reformation, a substantial number of these bequests were intended to increase the benefactors’ chances of a pleasant afterlife through the establishment of chantries and the celebration of obits.

The London livery companies participated vigorously in the spiritual culture, benevolent undertakings, and religious activities of the City. They also acted as important lay religious fraternities for the individual.²² Many London fraternities based themselves at a parish church: the Skinners’ at St. John’s Walbrook, the Grocers’ at St. Antholin’s, and the Drapers’ at St. Mary of

²⁰ Ibid. p. 23.

²¹ Ibid. p. 23.

²² Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (OUP, 2004), pp. 297-300.

Bethlehem before moving to St Mary le Bow.²³ The Merchant Taylors' did not need to meet in a parish church, as they occupied the site of their current hall on Broad Street (now Threadneedle Street) beginning in 1347. On June 7, 1455, Pope Calixtus III issued a Papal Bull that gave the Merchant Taylors' a license to have a chapel in their hall. Yet, their dedication to other worldly matters was assisted by the grant of a Papal Bull by Pope Calixtus III on June 7, 1455 that gave them license to have a chapel in their hall.²⁴ Although the Merchant Taylors' were never formally attached to a particular parish, the Company became associated to the nearby church of St. Martin Outwich, thanks to a bequest by John Churchmen in 1405. He donated the advowson of St. Martin's to the Merchant Taylors', as well as left the property that lay between it and the Merchant Taylors' Hall (about a block) to the Company, asking them to build an almshouse on the land for poor members. They promptly complied. The almshouse housed seven poor members and their wives, providing them with shelter, food, and clothing from the Company's common box. But this was a reciprocal relationship, as the almoners performed a meaningful spiritual duty for the Merchant Taylors' Company. They were required to attend Mass weekly, and to daily pray for the soul of Henry VII, as well as "for the good estate of the

²³ Davies and Saunders, p. 14.

²⁴Guildhall MS 34004, f. 84v-86r.

Maister, Wardens, brethren, sisters, and of all the benefactors of the same fraternitie.”²⁵

The proximity of the parish church to Merchant Taylors’ Hall, and the mutual interest in the almshouse that lay between them, strengthened the Company’s connection with St. Martin’s parish. As a result, a number of Merchant Taylors chose to be buried at St. Martin’s Outwich, and members of that fraternity established three chantries and ten obits there.²⁶ While many Merchant Taylors’ called St. Martin’s home, members of the Company lay scattered about London, worshipping in numerous parishes. As the tailors’ trade did not require large or expensive equipment (unlike the Goldsmiths), or particular geographic provisions (unlike the Fishmongers), and it was a clean trade (unlike the Tanners), tailors were not restricted to a particular section of the City, but prominent members lived close enough to the Company Hall on Threadneedle Street to attend Court every three weeks or so.

During the late medieval period, the Merchant Taylors’ Company provided various avenues for the provision of the soul. Members were encouraged to participate in the regular sacrifice of the Mass at the chapel in the Merchant Taylors’ Hall on Threadneedle Street, or in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in St. Paul’s Cathedral, granted to them in the 1360’s by Simon Sudbury,

²⁵ Clode, *Monuments*, p. 48.

²⁶ Davies and Saunders p. 25.

Bishop of London.²⁷ Members also attended the annual banquet, held on the feast day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24). The banquet was a grand occasion, and on that day the new Master and Wardens were chosen. Celebration of the Company's patron saint was a central part of the festivities, which included a Mass held in his honor, and a large statue of John the Baptist was set up in the Hall for the occasion. An elaborate dinner was also served that included a variety of meat, fowl, and fish, held after the solemnities of the Mass. Another occasion for assembly was the funeral of a brother or sister. Funerals for the wealthy and influential in the Company were both civic and religious in nature, and members of the Merchant Taylors were expected to participate in the funeral procession, wearing the hood of their livery company. Two pre-Reformation hearse cloths used by the Company that depict the life of St. John the Baptist and include the Arms of the Company are still in its possession, demonstrating the spiritual bond of members in both life and death through their fraternity. It was also common practice, both before and after the Reformation, for a brother to leave money for a dinner celebrating their memory in the Merchant Taylors' Hall after their funeral service.²⁸

A member of the Merchant Taylors' Company was assured that their brothers and sisters in the Company would pray for their soul to find a hasty release from purgatory, as Susan Brigden states "one of the more rigorously

²⁷ Guildhall MS 3400, fos.17-24r.

²⁸ Clode, *Memorials*, p. 132

enforced duties of the guildsmen of early Tudor London was to attend memorial masses for dead members of their fraternity."²⁹ By the time of the Reformation, the Merchant Taylors' retained the services of nine priests in three separate chantries to conduct services and pray for the souls of their members.³⁰ This particular benefit "was the single most important reason for the dramatic expansion of the company's income in the fifteenth century."³¹ It also helped when they were courting royal assistance. Following a row with the City of London over the Merchant Taylors' new charter, issued in 1502, the Merchant Taylors' offered spiritual support to Henry VII in exchange for his backing. The Merchant Taylors' promised the King that in the exchange, the Company would sponsor an obit for his soul at St. Martin Outwich on the anniversary of his death. He complied, and true to their word, the Merchant Taylors' carried out this service every year until 1548, when the Edwardian Reformation called for the abolition of chantries.³²

Further social and spiritual support was accessible through the Company's charitable endowments. Each member of the Merchant Taylors' Company was required to contribute a minimum of one shilling to the "common box." The common box provided alms for the poor, some of who lived in the Company almshouse in the parish of St. Martin's Outwich. Livery men and

²⁹ Brigden, p. 388.

³⁰ Davies and Saunders, p. 26.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Guildhall MS 34004, fos 32-34r; Davies, p. 87

women were further compelled to support company charities during their induction oath, which asked them to “geve and bequethe in your testament to the almesse of Saynt John Baptist more or lesse after your estate and devocion in supportacion and contynuams of the preestes and poure...of the said crafte.”³³

The tumult created by the Protestant Reformation in the 1540’s in England permanently altered the religious activities of the London livery companies. The Merchant Taylors’ Company was particularly vulnerable because most of the Company’s income was tied to bequests requiring prayer for dead benefactor(s). The majority of the Company’s benefactors donated property, with the provision that an anniversary Mass (obit) would be said from the property’s profits. The Merchant Taylors’ typically rented out the property, and then after their obligation to the deceased member was complete, they used any available excess for one of their charities. Therefore, the Chantry Acts of 1545 and 1547 endangered both the wealth and survival of the Merchant Taylors’ Company. While the Act of 1545 focused on abuses of administration of chantries, it also demanded that the Company pay the Crown revenues previously dedicated to the saying of obits. The legislation of 1547 went even further, and directly attacked the theology underlying the chantries, denying even the existence of purgatory and thereby calling for the abolition of any institution that provided prayers for the dead. Furthermore, companies were forced to buy back their

³³ Guildhall MS 34007, fol. 2, as found in Davies, p. 29; see also W.K. Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660* (London, 1960), 135-39.

rents from the Crown that was previously dedicated to funding chantries. The Merchant Taylors' Company was forced to draw up accounts of all "payments for superstitious uses" in 1547, so that their income could be assessed accordingly. In that year the Merchant Taylors' were slapped with a bill of £2006 2s 6d, the third highest sum required of a London guild.³⁴ In order to pay this unforeseen debt, the Company was forced to sell land, most of which was bought by wealthy Merchant Taylors', including Thomas White and Thomas Offley. Their generosity saved the Company from potential ruin, as well as provided them the opportunity to purchase prime London real estate.³⁵

As evangelical ideas began to permeate England in the early 1520's, most Merchant Taylors' clung to traditional belief and practice. Assessments of wills reveal that none of the Merchant Taylors' who became Aldermen between 1520-1547 demonstrated evangelical leanings, and only three common councilmen did (Ralph Davenant, Stephen Kirton, and Emmanuel Lucar).³⁶ But, a small group of members of the Company developed inclinations toward the new learning. Although too early for the Protestant Reformation, Richard Hunne was famously prosecuted posthumously as a suspected Lollard. He was charged for missing worship services and owning a Wycliffite Bible in 1514. Shortly before his trial he was thrown into the "Lollards' tower" in St. Paul's Cathedral, where he was

³⁴ Davies and Saunders, p. 97.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 99.

murdered by hanging.³⁷ In spite of his death (originally ruled a suicide) he was found guilty of heresy and his body burnt.³⁸ The truth of his murder soon came out and the story became a scandal. John Foxe later included Hunne's story in his famous *Book of Martyrs*.³⁹ George Heton was made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1538, and by 1551 he was both a prominent businessman and citizen of London, as well as a Protestant. His father-in-law, Sir Martin Bowes, Lord Mayor of London in 1545, was also a Protestant and may have influenced George in this direction. George and his brother Thomas were "among the principal 'sustainers' of London protestants under Mary," even though George conformed enough to the Marian regime to become Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1556.⁴⁰ His son was the popular Elizabethan Bishop of Ely, Martin Heton.⁴¹

The two most prominent Merchant Taylors' to become Protestants during this time were Thomas Offley and Richard Hilles. Thomas Offley was born at Stafford, the eldest of twenty-six children. When he was twelve he came to London and studied under the Renaissance Humanist, William Lily, at St. Paul's school, and was later apprenticed to Lily's friend John Nichols, a Merchant

³⁷ Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Clarendon, 1989), pp. 98-103

³⁸ John Fines, "Hunne, Richard (d. 1514)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14185>, accessed 4 Nov 2015]

³⁹ John Foxe, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs or A History of the Lives, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths of the Primitive Protestants Martyrs* (London, 1563)

⁴⁰ Brett Usher, "Heton, George (b. c.1515, d. in or after 1598)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68277>, accessed 27 Oct 2015]

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Taylor.⁴² He rose through the ranks of the Merchant Taylors' Company, becoming Master in 1547. During Mary's reign, he conformed and served as Lord Mayor from 1556-1557, arranging festivities in London for a visit from Phillip of Spain to see his wife. Unlike Richard Hilles, discussed below, Offley was fairly discreet regarding his beliefs, although he was known to be an "advocate for the new learning" and is suspected of being an Erastian.⁴³ He was a friend of Hilles, and together they were members of a mysterious London archery society in the 1580's along with other London Protestants, including Richard Mulcaster and Thomas Smith.⁴⁴ As discussed later, Offley was an active and peaceable member of the Merchant Taylors' Company throughout both Mary and Elizabeth's reign.

Richard Hilles was the son of a Merchant Taylor, also called Richard Hilles, who served as the Company's master in 1504. The younger Richard was exposed to Protestantism during his apprenticeship, falling out with his Master, Nicholas Cosyn, over differing views on justification. Then in 1536 he drew the attention of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester when he refused to support a fund raising campaign to place a light before the rood in his parish church of St. Margaret Bridge Street. When the conservative Act of Six Articles were passed

⁴² Elizabeth Lane Furdell, "Offley, Sir Thomas (c.1505–1582)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20568>, accessed 4 Nov 2015]

⁴³ Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist*, London, Vol. II (London, 1888), p. 172; Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist*, London, Vol. I (London, 1888), p. 150.

⁴⁴ Richard Robinson, "Auncient Order," as found in R. C. L. Sgroi, "Robinson, Richard (1544/5–1603)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23866>, accessed 8 Nov 2015]

in 1539, Hilles left for the Continent, settling in Protestant Strasbourg from 1541-1548, writing that “when I perceived that there was no place left for me in England...I chose to become a traitor both to God and man; I forthwith left the country.”⁴⁵ He continued to deal successfully in the cloth trade while abroad, and kept a hand in the trade at home in England, “for I still have an establishment in that country.”⁴⁶ In August 1540 he began to correspond with the Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger, exchanging opinions on the political and religious situation in England, exchanging theological tracts, and sharing news about their families. Thirty-one letters from Hilles to Bullinger survive, spanning the years 1541 to 1572.⁴⁷ His letters written during his years of exile in Strasbourg criticize the religious policies of the Henrician regime, rationalizing the persecution of evangelicals during that reign as divine punishment for Englishmen’s initial apathy toward the new learning,

Our sins have doubtless deserved this change in our affairs, because, when God sent forth His Word amongst us, it was not regarded by us as the Word of God, nor were we sufficiently thankful to its author...⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Robinson Hastings, *Original Letters*, p. 198

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 217.

⁴⁷ Erich Rummer and Milton Kooistra, ed., *Heinrich Bullinger’s Correspondance* (Toronto, 2007), pp. 138-44; Robinson Hastings, ed. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*. (2 vols. (CUP, 1846-47); *Epistolae Tigurinae de rebus potissimum ad ecclesiae Anglicanae reformationem pertinentibus conscriptae A.D. 1531-1558. Ex schedis manuscriptis in bibliotheca Tigurina aliisque seroatis Parkerianae societatis auspiciis editae* (CUP, 1848); Robinson Hastings, ed., *The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others, With Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* 2 vols. (CUP, 1842-1845)

⁴⁸ Robinson Hastings, *Original Letters*, p. 203.

During that time, Hilles also became acquainted with Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bishop's Bible. The two became friends. Following the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in 1559, Coverdale was invited as a special guest, along with Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, to an examination of the boys at Merchant Taylors' School on November 13, 1564.⁴⁹ During Elizabeth's reign, Coverdale was a rector of St. Magnus the Martyr by London Bridge, leasing a house from the Merchant Taylors' Company in St. Benet Fink, and he also applied (successfully) for his son, William, to be accepted into the Merchant Taylors' Company by redemption, which allowed prominent young men to join the Company by petition and a donation. It is possible that his friend Hilles assisted in these connections with the Company.

In 1549, Richard Hilles returned to London. He was likely encouraged by the accession of the Protestant Edward VI's regime. Hilles was called to the livery on his return, most likely by his former Master, Nicholas Cosyn (with whom he had reconciled).⁵⁰ Shortly after reestablishing himself in the London cloth trade, Hilles became embroiled in political scandal. When Edward VI became ill during the summer of 1553, he attempted to bypass the Third Succession Act of 1544, that would grant the English throne to his Catholic half-sister Mary on his death, by creating his own will that declared the royal

⁴⁹ Harry Bristow Wilson, *The History of Merchant Taylors' School, From its Foundation to the Present Time*, (London, 1812), pp.26-27.

⁵⁰ David Loades, "Hilles, Richard (c.1514-1587)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47402>, accessed 20 Oct 2015]

succession through Frances Brandon and her daughters. The heir imminent was therefore Edward's Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey. He issued letters patent to this effect on June 21. One hundred and two prominent politicians, merchants, and citizens of London signed the letters, including three Merchant Taylors: Richard Hilles, Thomas Offley, and Emmanuel Lucar.⁵¹ They added their signatures on July 8, when the Privy Council summoned the Lord Mayor of London, along with prominent men of the City to Greenwich in order to declare "secretly the death of the Kinges Maiestie."⁵² Hilles wrote to Bullinger on July 9, "Praise to God" in response to the news that Mary "ill-disposed to the pure doctrine of the gospel" was to be over looked in favor of Lady Jane Grey, with whom Bullinger also shared a correspondence. Hilles signed off, "Farewell and happily!"⁵³

His jubilation would not last long. Queen Jane only reigned nineteen days. She was deposed in favor of Mary Tudor on July 19, 1553, who was welcomed with rejoicing by the majority of London's citizens. The three Merchant Taylors who signed Edward's letters patent were not punished, probably because they immediately conformed to the new regime. On July 23, the Lord Mayor "chose in his house at dinner Mr. Thomas Offley, alderman, sheriff of London for the yeare

⁵¹ Harleian MS 35, f. 364; Dale Hoak, "Edward VI (1537-1553)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn. May 2014 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8522, accessed 20 Oct 2015]

⁵² Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I*, (Yale, 2008), pp. 57-58; Wriothesly, *Chronicles*, Vol. II, p. 85

⁵³ Hastings, *Original Letters*, p. 273

ensueinge.”⁵⁴ Offley accepted, and was duly elected by the City Commission in Guildhall on August 1 to that office.⁵⁵ He later served as Lord Mayor under Mary from 1556-57. By November 1554, Richard Hilles demonstrated his loyalty to the Marian regime by attending Mass, and later was placed in charge of painting and decorating London Bridge for the entrance of Mary’s new husband, Philip of Spain, to the City. He also continued trading in England and abroad, and was elected warden of the Merchant Taylors’ Company in 1555. Emmanuel Lucar received no punishment for his role in the Lady Jane Grey affair, but was in trouble with Mary’s government again a few years later, as detailed below.⁵⁶

Historians have wrongly placed the Protestants of the Merchant Taylors’ Company in direct opposition to Catholic members, such as Sir Thomas White, during Mary’s reign, the two supposedly heading religious factions within the Merchant Taylors’ Company. Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders deny this claim, citing a lack of evidence to support it.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Hilles and other Protestants have been criticized for their willingness to adapt to the changing religious and political situation in England under Mary. David Loades’ statement that Richard Hilles “gave his career precedence over his religious opinions’ is a harsh assessment of Hilles” conformity during this time. While a wealth of

⁵⁴ Wriothesly, Vol. II, p. 90.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 93

⁵⁶ Anita McConnell, “Lucar, Cyprian (1544–1611?),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17121, accessed 21 Oct 2015]

⁵⁷ Davies, pp. 101-103.

scholarship is dedicated to the understanding of Catholics who conformed to the Elizabethan settlement, there is little regarding Protestants who remained in England during the reign of Mary I; rather more attention is paid to those Protestants who fled to the Continent. Hilles was one of many Protestants outwardly conforming to the religion of the state while secretly supporting other Protestants during this difficult time.⁵⁸

During Mary's reign, Hilles continued his trading ventures with the Continent, which allowed him the ability to fund English Protestants both at home and abroad. He was certainly interested in maintaining his wealth and property, as well as his life, but that does not necessarily mean that his faith played second fiddle to his fiscal interests. Rather, Hilles was part of a wider community of committed Protestants who stayed in England and lay low, managing to prosper during a difficult period. Another Merchant Taylor, John York, followed a similar path. Although he did not sign Edward's letters patent, he was a firm supporter of Lady Jane Grey through his close connection with the Duke of Northumberland. When Lady Mary Tudor was proclaimed Queen on July 19, York attempted to escape London, but was taken into the custody of the Sherriff William Garrard. He conformed under Mary, but focused his attention on his commercial interests in Germany and the Netherlands.⁵⁹ Many prominent

⁵⁸ See n. 60

⁵⁹ J.G. Elzinga, "York, Sir John (d. 1569)," *Oxford English Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2015 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30233>, accessed 9 Oct 2015]

Protestants who did not belong to the Merchant Taylors' Company also followed this course during Mary's reign, including William Cecil, John Day, Roger Ascham, and Sir Nicholas Bacon.

While evangelical Merchant Taylors found avenues to both survive and thrive throughout the Marian religious settlement, the Merchant Taylor who rose to the greatest prominence during this time was a dedicated Catholic, Sir Thomas White. As mentioned in chapter one, his conservative piety lent itself to full-fledged support of the Marian regime. Yet, he was also a serial conformist of all the Tudor religious reforms. White had suffered his own brush with Crown authorities during Henry's reign, due to his brief association with Elizabeth Barton, the notorious "Maid of Kent."⁶⁰ White submitted to the authorities, but retained his conservative views, in a similar manner to his Protestant brothers in the Merchant Taylors' Company who yielded to the Marian establishment. While preservation of self and wealth were certainly a factor, a sense of civic duty and responsibility is equally as likely to have played a role. Events surrounding Wyatt's rebellion provide a telling example.

During the first year of Mary's reign, the Queen sought to return the English Church to its Catholic roots, as well as strengthen England's relationship with Spain (the birth place of her mother) through marriage to Prince Philip (later Philip II of Spain). Feeling the press of Romanism upon England, Sir

⁶⁰ Robert Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540-1640* (Stanford, 2001), p. 104.

Thomas Wyatt raised a force in Kent against the Catholic Queen in January 1554. As the rebels approached London, the City's livery companies raised 600 troops in defense of the capitol. The Merchant Taylors' alone contributed £14 17s. 1d. towards the protection of the City. However, some of these soldiers proved useless, defecting to Wyatt's camp at Rochester Bridge, yelling "A Wyatt! A Wyatt!"⁶¹

Desperate, Mary assembled London's companies at the Guildhall and called them to action, declaring "I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow."⁶² She then shared a glass of wine with London's Mayor, none other than Sir Thomas White, and left the City by Three Cranes Wharf, which was owned by the Merchant Taylors Company. White prepared London for the coming assault, raising 1,200 men through the livery companies. The rebels were unable to enter the City through London Bridge, as 300 men guarded it. Sixty of these men were equipped with money from the Merchant Taylors' coffers. Forced to enter the City through the Fleet, they were repelled by London's assembled bands, and defeated at Charing Cross shortly after. During this battle, Richard Hilles and Thomas Offley were most certainly involved: Hilles was present on London Bridge (decorating it "against the coming of the King of Spayne") on the approach of Wyatt's troops and Offley was the Sheriff of

⁶¹ Davies and Saunders, p. 104.

⁶² John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. VI, pp. 414-15.

London at the time. Although they were both Protestants, they still served the Queen.⁶³

Thomas Offley played a crucial role in the execution of justice following Wyatt's Rebellion, which saw forty-six men hang, according to the diarist Henry Machyn (also a Merchant Taylor). As one of London's Sheriffs from 1553-54, Offley assisted in organizing the trials and executions of many of the rebels; most famously he assisted with the legal proceedings against Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.⁶⁴ As one of the signatories of Edward's letters patent declaring Lady Jane Grey rightful Queen, and a vocal opponent of the Queen's marriage to Phillip of Spain, Throckmorton was considered suspicious and brought to trial. He was charged with assisting Wyatt's rebellion, and with plotting to capture the Tower of London and depose Queen Mary.⁶⁵ While Stanford Lehmberg asserts that Throckmorton's eloquence of argument ultimately won his acquittal, the composition of the jury was also advantageous. Offley held sway in the selection of jurors, who included Simon Lowe, Emmanuel Lucar, and Walter Young, all fellow evangelicals in the Merchant Taylors' Company. Later, rumors circulated that Offley, "saved many who should have died" including his brother, Hugh

⁶³ Davies and Saunders, p. 104.

⁶⁴ Davies and Saunders, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁵ Stanford Lehmberg, "Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515/16-1571)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27394, accessed 8 Nov 2015]; Davies and Saunders, pp. 104-105.

(also a Merchant Taylor).⁶⁶ Protestants later lauded Offley as a hero, and he was elected Lord Mayor for the year 1557 to 1558, the last year of Queen Mary's reign.

II. The Elizabethan Settlement and the Company

The Merchant Taylors' Company during the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign was already a society of mixed religious confessions and creeds, but all the liverymen were required to conform, at least outwardly, to the new Protestant Settlement of Religion. While men such as Sir Thomas White maintained conservative views, Protestants such as Richard Hilles, Sir Thomas Offley, and Emmanuel Lucar were able to fully exercise their religious beliefs. Other prominent liverymen, such as Sir Thomas Rowe and Sir William Harper, were willing conformists, who did not demonstrate strong tendencies toward either evangelical or Catholic belief and practice. The willingness of the Company's leadership to conform to the various religious settlements created an atmosphere that valued fraternity above all else – rather than factions built along confessional lines. Those who lived through the tumult of the Tudor religious reforms continued to cooperate and collaborate. It was in the midst of this climate that the Merchant Taylors' Company adopted a new motto in 1586,

⁶⁶ Davies and Saunders, p. 105, Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 551-53; Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England* (Cheshire, 1662), p. 291.

“Concordia Parvae Res Crescunt” a phrase coined by the Roman Historian Sallust meaning, “In harmony shall small things grow.”⁶⁷

Yet, as the dust settled on the Elizabethan religious settlement in the 1580’s and 90’s, a new generation of Protestants, many with Puritan views, began to rise up the ranks of the livery, which defined the Company at the turn of the seventeenth century as a (mostly) godly community. The shifts in the religious composition of the Company were made easier by the rapid increase of its membership. Between 1560 and 1620 the Merchant Taylors’ Company admitted more than 23,000 apprentices and 9,800 freemen, a record number.⁶⁸ The “new men” were Elizabethans, born and bred in the environment of Protestant England. Yet, another shift took place during the early decades of the seventeenth century, leading up to the English Civil Wars. As Nigel Sleight-Johnson has demonstrated, the members of the Livery that governed the Company became increasingly supportive of the Stuart monarchs. Their loyalty constituted good business practice: Merchant Taylors such as Sir John Swinnerton made fortunes through their dealings with the Royal Court. Meanwhile, the yeomanry became increasingly radicalized, both religiously and politically. As this section will demonstrate, the lower orders of the Merchant

⁶⁷ Davies and Saunders, p. 149.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 35

Taylors' Company included well-known Puritans, Baptists, Levellers, and Parliamentarians.⁶⁹

i. Charity and the Establishment of the Merchant Taylors' School

Following the accession of Elizabeth I, men and women attached to traditional religious beliefs and practice continued to exercise their piety through charitable giving, particularly those who outwardly conformed to the new religious settlement. The story of charitable contributions following the Protestant Reformation is one of both continuity and change. Conservative liverymen and women who chose to conform continued the practice of piety through charity, although they redirected their funds and energies from chantries to educational foundations and alms to the poor and sick. In this, they were joined by Protestants, equally compelled to good works in gratitude for Christ's sacrifice, and for Calvinist's, as a sign of their election.⁷⁰

A point of continuity can be seen in the donation of land for almshouses. As noted earlier, John Churchmen donated land to the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1405 specifically for the establishment of an almshouse. In 1593, Richard Hilles, a firm Protestant and co-founder of the Merchant Taylors' School

⁶⁹ Nigel Sleight-Johnson, "The Merchant Taylors' Company of London, 1580-1645," (PhD diss., University College London, 1989).

⁷⁰ Ward, "Introduction."

in London, left land on Tower Hill for a second almshouse to be built. Following the Reformation, company members also continued to leave substantial donations to the Company. The Company's "Benefactors Book" details gifts given to the Company for poor relief, as loan trusts for apprentices, or bequests of land whose rents were intended for charitable uses.⁷¹ The purpose of the book was to record donations starting in 1566 with Sir Thomas White, but after his bequests are recorded, donations by Hugh Acton (White's Master), Sir John Percyvale, Sir Steven Jenyns, and other early sixteenth century contributions are added, highlighting the continuance of the Company's tradition of charitable giving, both before and after the Protestant Reformation. With the exception of chantry endowments, both pre-Reformation and Protestant charitable bequests carefully followed the teachings of Jesus Christ in Matthew, chapter twenty-five:

For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me...

An excellent example of this are the bequests left in the will of the Marian Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Offley. As mentioned earlier, he was a wealthy Merchant Taylor who served as Master of his Company in 1547, Offley become mayor of London on October 28, 1556. Like Sir Thomas White, he flourished financially, as well as rose to the ranks of high civic office under Queen Mary, yet

⁷¹ Guildhall MS 34131. A transcription of this text is also available in Guildhall MS 34132.

unlike White, he favored the new learning. His fellow Merchant Taylor, Henry Machyn, noted that he lived a simple life, as demonstrated in a popular verse:

Offley three dishes had of daily roast,
an egg, an apple, and (the third) a toast.⁷²

His thrift allowed him to leave extensive charitable requests, even though a son survived him. Following his death, his bequests included donations to the poor of his parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, to poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge, to the infirm at London hospitals, as well as impoverished prisoners throughout London.⁷³ Many of the evangelical Protestants who defined the Company during the early years of Elizabeth's reign lived long and prosperous lives, contributing to the religious culture of their Company, particularly through the establishment of the Merchant Taylors' School, in conjunction with more conservative and moderate members.

Following the accession of Elizabeth I, the charitable role of the Merchant Taylors' Company in London extended primarily to the provision of alms and education for the poor. By the time The Merchant Taylors' established their school in Suffolk Lane, London in 1561, a number of educational institutions had been established by prominent members of the Company, including schools at Macclesfield and Week St. Mary by Sir John and Lady Percyvale in 1502 and 1506 respectively, Wolverhampton Grammar School by Sir Stephen Jenyns in 1512,

⁷² Elizabeth Lane Furdell, "Offley, Sir Thomas (c.1505-1582)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20568, accessed 9 Oct 2015]

⁷³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/64, sig. 39; details discussed in Elizabeth Land Furdell.

Cuckfield Grammar School by Edmund Flower sometime before 1521, Bedford Grammar School by Sir William Harper in 1552, and St. John the Baptist's College, Oxford by Sir Thomas White in 1555.⁷⁴

The role of the Company in these institutions varied in degree. Neither Sir John nor Lady Thomasine Percyvale involved the Company in their respective endowments, but rather provided bequests that were overseen by trustees with connections close to the schools. Sir Stephen Jenyns founded Wolverhampton School with the support and assistance of the Merchant Taylors' Company in London. At Jenyns' urging, the Merchant Taylors' procured a license from the Crown to obtain property valued up to £20 per annum for the maintenance of a school; Jenyns, in turn, granted to the Company the manor of Rushcock in Worcestershire, providing £15 per annum for sustaining the Master and one Usher.⁷⁵ Yet, the Company did not fully own or run its own educational institution until 1561, when the Merchant Taylors' School, London was founded.

⁷⁴ For information on the Macclesfield School see G.E. Wilson, "A History of the Macclesfield Grammar School in the County of Chesire from 1503-c.1890" (unpublished MEd thesis, University of Leeds, 1952), information on the endowment of Week St. Mary can be found in "The Endowment and Foundation of a Grammar School at Week St Mary by Dame Thomasine Percyvale," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, New Series, Vol. 7 (1973), pp.43-48. On the lives and charity of Lord and Lady Percyvale see Matthew Davies, "Dame Thomasine Percyvale, 'the Maide of Week' (d.1512)," in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. by C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton (1994), pp. 185-207 and M. Davies entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on both Lady Thomasine and Sir John Percyvale. On Cuckfield Grammar School, whose endowment was transferred to the maintenance of the National School in Cuckfield in 1846, see VCH, *Sussex*, Vol. 2. For information on Harpers career and endowments see Clode, *Early History*, Vol. 2, pp. 240-270; J.G. Nichols, "The Biography of Sir William Harper, Alderman of London, Founder of the Bedford School Charities," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 4, (1875), pp. 70-93; VCH *Bedfordshire*, Vol. 2; J. Wyatt, *The Bedford Schools and Charities of Sir William Harper* (Bedford, 1856).

⁷⁵ Davies and Saunders, p. 116

Although the Merchant Taylors' Company ran a small, informal educational foundation in Cornhill prior to the Reformation, they did not have a major educational foundation in London to provide for the education of young men. The foundation of the Merchant Taylors' School in London was a corporate undertaking, under the careful direction and discretion of Richard Hilles. A number of factors fell into place in order for the school to be established. The first was the mastership of Richard Hilles, who "actively promoted" the project.⁷⁶ Hilles' interest in education may have been inspired by his lack of academic training, as there is no record of him having received a formal education, and his letters to Heinrich Bullinger demonstrate his limited and problematic Latin, or as he put it, "slenderly I am furnished with materials for writing in Latin."⁷⁷

The second factor was that a site for the institution was found: The Manor of the Rose on Suffolk Lane in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, which contained a hall and chapel on its premises. Richard Hettie, a London Merchant, recently purchased it from the Earl of Sussex. He was willing to sell all or part of the property to the right buyer for £566 13s. 4d. The Company was unable to afford the purchase price, so Hilles (now Master of the Merchant Taylors') stepped in and offered to donate £500, and Sir Thomas Offley, Emmanuel Lucar, and Stephen Hayles contributed the rest.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 122

⁷⁷ Robinson Hastings, *Original Letters*, p. 196

⁷⁸ Charles Mathew Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. II (London, 1888), p. 162.

The third reason is that Hilles had the support of a number of colleagues, including Sir Thomas White, William Harper, and Emmanuel Lucar (see below). Sir Thomas White's contribution of places at his own educational foundation in Oxford added an extra element of attraction for potential students to the Merchant Taylors' fledgling school. William Harper may have assisted from the political end, as he was elected Lord Mayor of London from 1561-1562. Emmanuel Lucar succeeded Hilles as Master of the Company in 1562, continuing to support the new school in that capacity.

A preamble to the Statute book for the Merchant Taylors' School states that on September 24, 1561 fourteen members of the Company met to establish the statutes of the new educational institution. These included Sir Thomas White, William Harper, Emmanuel Lucar, Richard Waddington, Edward Ley, Robert Rose, William Merick, John God, John Ollyff, Thomas Browne, William Sulyerd, Thomas Tomlinson, and Jerrard Gore. The confessional make up of the group is a mixed bag – but it demonstrates the accord and oneness of purpose shared by members of the Company in the pursuit of charitable activities. Hilles was wise to include both White and Harper, as they were both experienced in the establishment of educational institutions. Harper was in the midst of establishing his own school in Bedford (which became the Bedford School for Boys) for which he obtained letters patent in August 1552. Sir Thomas White established St. John's College at Oxford in 1555 and was anxious to attach his new institution to

a “feeder” school in a similar fashion as Eton to King’s College, Cambridge and Winchester College to New College, Oxford. Furthermore, he was a dedicated member of his fraternity, who wished for his institution to benefit his Company, and vice versa.

The Merchant Taylors’ Company chose Richard Mulcaster as the first schoolmaster of their new school in September 1561. Originally from Carlisle, Mulcaster attended Eton College before going up to King’s College, Cambridge in August 1548. During his time at King’s, John Cheke taught him, leaving a lasting impression as Mulcaster later wrote, “My selfe am to honour the memoirie of that learned knight, being partaker my selfe of his liberall distributions...”⁷⁹ He later transferred to Peterhouse, where he earned his BA in 1554.⁸⁰ It is possible that at this point he fell out with his supervisor, Dr. John Caius, motivating him to apply to Christ Church, Oxford for his MA. He duly received his degree there in December 1556. He then moved to London, where he earned 40s by assisting with the pageant given on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth coming into the City of London in 1559. His appointment to the Merchant Taylors’ School is his first recorded teaching position, but he claimed in 1581 that he had been teaching for “two and twentie yeares.”⁸¹ There is no

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions vvhetherin those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training vp of children* (London, 1581), p. 244.

⁸¹ In his first book he wrote that he had “taught in publike without interrupting my course, now two and twentie yeares” after he had been at Merchant Taylors’ School for twenty years, but there is no record of any appointments previous to Merchant Taylors’ School. See Richard

record where those years were spent, but he was probably in London taking up contract teaching work.

What little we know of Mulcaster comes from his own writings and the Court Minutes of the Merchant Taylors' Company. The text that reveals the most about his time at the Merchant Taylors' School is his *Position*, a textbook on the art of teaching that he wrote in 1581, during his time as Master of the Merchant Taylors' School, that describes his philosophy of education. The book is dedicated to Elizabeth I, most likely because Mulcaster claimed in the introduction and conclusion that his purpose was to establish his method as a universal rule for education in England. Mulcaster encouraged traditional subjects, such as Latin, reading, writing, and mathematics, but he also encouraged grounding in Greek and Hebrew. Furthermore, he coupled these subjects with creative activities (such as music and drawing) as well as physical education. In particular, he used drama to "breed in them better confidence, elocution and behavior."⁸² This was not unusual, as other contemporary headmasters and instructors like Nicholas Udall, Alexander Nowell, and Lambert Osbaldestan also encouraged the practice at Westminster School.⁸³ Mulcaster was particularly effective in teaching the dramatic arts, writing and adapting plays for his boys, and arranging opportunities for them to perform in

Mulcaster, *Positions voherin those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training vp of children* (London, 1581), p. 2.

⁸² *Diary of Bulstrode Whitlock*, pp. 46-47

⁸³ Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Ashgate, 2009), p. 215.

public and at Court.⁸⁴ His legacy lived on in the careers of his more famous students, including the playwrights Edmund Spenser, Thomas Kyd, and Thomas Lodge. In short, he offered a true renaissance humanist education.

There is little known regarding Mulcaster's spiritual beliefs, although he was certainly a Protestant.⁸⁵ Most historians describe him as a "Christian Humanist," which, according to his writings is the safest guess. In his *Position* he avoided controversy, and steered clear of specific statements regarding religion, with the exception of a few routine ideas, such as encouraging children to love the written word because it teaches us "in religion to love and feare God."⁸⁶ He does not quote Scripture and the only reference to a Protestant reformer was Philip Melanchton, "a great learned man in our dayes," whom he chastised for writing about "the miseries of maisters."⁸⁷ Rather, Mulcaster built his *gravitas* by quoting classical sources, such as Socrates, Cicero, and Aristotle; looking to the ancients rather than his contemporaries. There are hints in the text of his *Position* that he disagreed with "sterne people," (most likely the stricter sort of godly) who were adverse to dancing and music.⁸⁸ For example, he wrote that music is a "medicine from heaven, against our sorowes upon earth," and that although "some men thinke it to be too sweete, and that it may be either quite forborne

⁸⁴ Richard Demolen, "Richard Mulcaster and the Elizabethan Theatre" *THS*/3 (May): pp. 28-41.

⁸⁵ William Barker, "Mulcaster, Richard (1531/2-1611)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19509>, accessed 26 Oct 2015].

⁸⁶ Mulcaster, *Positions*, p. 25

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 165.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 71

[forbidden]" that "mans faulte makes the thing seeme filthie, applie though it to the best, and the choice is before thee."⁸⁹ The Protestant Nicholas White made a similar argument in a published ballad of 1563, adding that scripture supports the celebration of music and dancing, as King David danced before the Ark of the Covenant.⁹⁰ While metrical psalms were popular in the Elizabethan worship service, there is evidence that "Precisians" (as Matthew Parker termed early Puritans) were adverse to it, as demonstrated in an apology for music written by John Case in 1586.⁹¹

Another access point for assessing Mulcaster's religious bend is through his network of friends and colleagues. Unfortunately, this also produces vague results. Mulcaster surrounded himself with a wide variety of friends, including the conservative court composers Thomas Tallis and William Byrd. Mulcaster contributed verses to the preface of their music publication, *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*, a series of Latin motets to be used during divine service.⁹² Mulcaster was also friends with prominent Calvinists, such as John Foxe, and Robert and Alexander Nowell. Andrew Hadfield recently stated the possibility that due to Mulcaster's connection to Hendrik Niclaes that he was a

⁸⁹ Mulcaster, *Positions*, pp. 36-39.

⁹⁰ Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013), p. 88.

⁹¹ For the popularity of psalm signing see John Case, *The praise of musicke wherein besides the antiquitie, dignitie, delectation, & vse thereof in ciuill matters, is also declared the sober and lawfull vse of the same in the congregation and church of God* (Oxford, 1586).

⁹² John Milsom, "Tallis, Thomas (c.1505–1585)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26954>, accessed 26 Oct 2015]

member of the Family of Love, but notes that ascribing religious belief based solely on his network is awkward,

Mulcaster's religious affiliation is not easy to determine, and he existed within at least two extensive circles, one a rather straightforward mainstream Calvinist group, the other, an Anglo-Dutch network...But exactly how we assess such influences and how we think through the question of the impact of networks remains problematic.⁹³

While his work does not fall outside of the traditions of Continental Protestantism (Calvin, Zwingli, Melancthon, and Bullinger all counted themselves as humanists) his work seems more in line with Desiderius Erasmus than John Calvin. This may be due to the influence of John Cheke, who supported and advertised Erasmus' work, particularly his Greek New Testament. Furthermore, his willingness to conform under Mary and his lack of interest in engaging in controversial theology, all point to the probability that he was a "prayer book Protestant."⁹⁴

Mulcaster believed that the best evidence for the success of his teaching method was how his students responded to him, "[I] have alwaie had a very great charge vnder my hand, which how I haue discharged, they can best iudge of me, which will iudge without me."⁹⁵ If we use the same measuring stick as Mulcaster did himself, the depth and breadth of his accomplishment as an educator becomes immediately evident. Of his students at the Merchant Taylors'

⁹³ Andrew Hadfield, "Religious Affiliation in Elizabethan London: Richard Mulcaster, Edmund Spenser and the Family of Love," *Essays in Memory of Richard Helgerson*, Roze hentshell and Kathy Lavesso, eds. (UDP, 2012).

⁹⁴ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (CUP, 2000).

⁹⁵ Mulcaster, *Positions*, p. 2

School seven became bishops in the Church of England, six worked as translators on the King James Bible (Thomas Harrison, John Hutchinson, and Lancelot Andrewes), and John Speed provided illustrated maps for a new edition. Numerous students became prominent merchants and citizens, including Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir John Swinnerton. Mulcaster also taught a number of academics, such as Lancelot Andrewes, later President of Pembroke College, Cambridge and Bishop of Ely, John Spenser, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, John Peyrn, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, and the scholar George Cranmer. His emphasis on literature and theatre inspired some of the great authors of the age, including Edmund Spenser, Thomas Lodge, Thomas Kyd, and to a lesser extent, Matthew Gwinne. While he certainly left an impression on his pupils, he was also an easy target for jest – Richard Demolen recently suggested that Mulcaster was the inspiration for Shakespeare’s pedantic schoolmaster Holofernes in *Love’s Labour Lost*.⁹⁶ For others, his influence was both positive and lasting. One of his most famous pupils, Lancelot Andrewes, was so impressed by him that John Buckeridge later wrote of Andrewes that “he had made *Master Mulcaster* his Tutor or supervisor, he placed his picture over the doore of his Studie: whereas in all the rest of the house, you could scantly see a picture.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Richard Demolen, “Richard Mulcaster and the Elizabethan Theatre” *Ths/3* (May): pp. 28-41.

⁹⁷ J. Buckeridge, “A funerall sermon,” in L. Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, ed. W. Laud and J. Buckeridge (1629) [also printed in L. Andrewes, *Works*, ed. J. P. Wilson and J. Bliss (1841–54), vol. 5] as found in P. E. McCullough, “Andrewes, Lancelot (1555–1626),” *Oxford Dictionary of National*

The religious attitudes of his students may also give insight into his own sensibilities, or at least the confessional attitudes he encouraged (or did not). This is obviously an imperfect measure, as numerous factors played a role in each student's confessionalization, but the limited number of hotheaded Calvinists among Mulcaster's alumni is telling. During Mulcaster's time as headmaster two strong Calvinists were educated at the Merchant Taylors' School during this time (Thomas Harrison and Thomas Hutton), and a few moderate Calvinists (such as Sir James Whitelocke and John Davenant), but the majority of former students subscribed to mainstream Protestantism within the Church of England. A number of those students became early "anti-Calvinists," including John Dove, Richard Latewar, and Lancelot Andrewes. It has also been suggested that John Buckeridge attended Merchant Taylors' School during this time, but there is no solid evidence. Edwin Sandys (son of the Archbishop of York) and his friend George Cranmer even studied with Richard Hooker at Corpus Christi College, Oxford after completing their studies at Merchant Taylors' in 1576.⁹⁸ Many students also harbored Roman Catholic sympathies, or converted later in life, although this may have been more a signifier of the time than anything else. William Laud's roommate, John Jones (later the Benedictine Leander a Sancto Martino) studied at Merchant Taylors' school from 1584 to 1591. Others included

Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/520>, accessed 25 Oct 2015].

⁹⁸ Theodore K. Rabb, "Sandys, Sir Edwin (1561-1629)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24650>, accessed 26 Oct 2015]

Nicholas Hill (who converted to Roman Catholicism while a scholar at St. John's College, Oxford), Ralph Buckland (who converted during his time at the Inns of Court), Walter Marsh (who later recanted his Catholicism and was burned to death in Rome for attacking the host), and both Thomas Lodge and Thomas Kyd were suspected Romanists. All totaled, it is much more likely that Richard Mulcaster provided a religious education that was thoroughly Elizabethan, but did not encourage strict adherence to Calvinist ideals.⁹⁹

While Richard Mulcaster inspired his students, his connection with the Merchant Taylors' Company was not as positive. A number of disputes, most relating to his paltry pay, led to his resignation from the Mastership of Merchant Taylors' School in 1586. Following Mulcaster's exit, Francis Willis, President of St. John's College attempted to persuade the Merchant Taylors' Company to hire one of their fellows, Ralph Ravens to the post. As noted by F.W.M Draper, early twentieth century historian of Merchant Taylors' School, 'Some other aspirants were supported by the Lord Chancellor and by the Queen's chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, it is clear that the reputation of the School had been greatly enhanced during the twenty-five years of Mulcaster's headmastership.'¹⁰⁰ The Company ignored all of these suggestions and hired Henry Wilkinson, chief usher at Merchant Taylors' School since 1573 as its new headmaster. With the

⁹⁹ F.W.M.Draper, *Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School, 1561-1961* (OUP, 1962), p. 36; See also articles in Hegarty for John Jones (alias Leander a Sancto Martino) and Nicholas Hill.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

exception of numerous arguments with St. John's College (detailed in Chapter 4) Wilkinson's tenure was short (six years) and uneventful, as was that of his successor, Edmund Smith. Wilkinson quit, and after a series of scuffles with St. John's College, Smith left teaching altogether to serve the Church of England.¹⁰¹ During their time as headmasters the school turned out Michael Boyle, future Bishop of Lismore and Waterford, Francis Dee, Bishop of Peterborough, as well as William Juxon and Matthew and Christopher Wren, the latter four becoming prominent Laudians. It should be noted that both Wilkinson and Smith were former boys' of the school (under Mulcaster), and thereafter it became an unspoken tradition to hire alumni to the position of headmaster. This rang true from this time until the end of the nineteenth century, with only four exceptions (Gray, Dugard, Hartcliffe, and Shortyng).¹⁰² When Smith resigned in 1599, William Hayne, replaced him.

Hayne's installation began a new era at the Merchant Taylors' School, as he acted as Master for "24 [years] 10 [months] 8 [days]."¹⁰³ A former student of Merchant Taylors' School, Hayne went on to study at Christ's College, Cambridge, and an institution known for its Calvinist leanings. Remaining there as a fellow and lecturer in grammar, Hayne's religious beliefs fit in well with the other fellows at Christ's. He demonstrated his strong Calvinism in his edition of

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 37.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 37.

¹⁰³ Guildhall MS 34282, f.2v.

John Bradford's *Meditations*. Bradford was a Marian martyr who followed the teachings of Bucer and Calvin. Hayne dedicated his only religious publication (his other two editions were grammar texts) to the Merchant Taylors' Company "the most kinde nurse and mercifull patroness of learning and pietie" during his time as Headmaster of their school. Yet, most of his famous pupils are Laudian churchmen, including Matthew Wren and his brother Christopher, Francis Dee, George Wilde, and James Shirley. However, he also nurtured a young Bulstrode Whitelocke, and the Puritan clergyman Edmund Calamy. Hayne was recommended for the position at Merchant Taylors' School by the anti-Calvinist, Gabriel Goodman, and his former classmate at Christ's College, Cambridge with Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester whose lax administration of his diocese allowed Puritanism to flourish in Sussex. Hayne's varied associations and his edition of John Bradford's *Holy Meditations* hint that he was a Calvinist, but not likely a firebrand.

As the leadership of the Merchant Taylors' Company became increasingly connected to the Stuart court (see below), they began to hire schoolmasters with Laudian leanings, and loyalty to the Crown. In 1624, the Court of Assistants of the Merchants Taylors' Company pushed Hayne out of the Mastership in favor of the Arminian, Nicholas Gray, who was later sequestered from his livings by Parliament and published an edition of Hugo Grotius' catechism, *Baptizatorum puerorum*. Gray served at the Merchant Taylors' School until 1632, when he

preceded with a Doctorate from Cambridge and took up a new post at Saffron Walden, Essex. The next two masters, John Edwards and William Staples, came as direct recommendations from William Laud. Staples was Headmaster during the Civil War, and resigned from his post in 1644 in fear that Parliamentary authorities would oust him. As mentioned above, the religious leanings of the Merchant Taylors' School's headmasters mirrored the tendencies of the Livery.

ii. The Rise of Calvinism within the Merchant Taylors' Company

As the Merchant Taylors' school became established during the 1560's and 70's, the religious composition of the Company began to shift, as conservative and moderate members passed away, and deeply dedicated Protestants outlived them, supported by a number of up-and-coming Calvinists. The Merchant Taylors' Company strongly supported the new religious settlement, and increasingly exhibited a growing Calvinist identity. In 1578, the Company acquired a copy of the Geneva Bible, an English translation overseen by William Whittingham, a Marian exile to Geneva who married John Calvin's sister. The translation, marginalia, and study notes were firmly Calvinist in nature, and the Geneva Bible was the favored translation of Puritans.¹⁰⁴ It was the most popular

¹⁰⁴ See also Maurice Betteridge, "The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and its Annotations," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14:1 (Spring 1983), pp. 41-62; David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (Yale, 2003); Dan Danner, "The Contribution of the Geneva Bible of 1560 to the English Protestant Tradition," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12:3 (1981), pp. 5-18.

translation of the English Bible for a century after its publication, going through over 150 editions until 1644. The Merchant Taylors' purchased a new edition, issued in 1578 by Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer. It was set up in the "Common Hall" (most likely the room where the Court of Assistants was held), so that in that "convenient place" for "such as resort unto the said Hall, may occupy themselves at Court days while they attend for the hearing of their cause."¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, in 1586 the Company erased emblems of the old religion from its coat of arms, deleting images of the Virgin and Child and St. John the Baptist. Instead, the new coat of arms consisted of images from its craft (a tent and two robes) and a lion *passant guardant*, all supported by camels and mounted with a knight's helmet and the Holy Lamb, a religious symbol acceptable to Protestants.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, they also adopted a phrase from the ancient Roman historian, Sallust, as their new motto, "Concordia Parvae Res Crescunt," or "In harmony small things grow." While the motto demonstrates a sense of solidarity and fraternity, it also demands a degree of conformity from all participants – a message representative of the Company during the Elizabethan age.

Further evidence of increasing Calvinism in the Merchant Taylors' Company can be seen in their presentations to livings at the parish church of St.

¹⁰⁵ See court minutes from Oct. 30, 1578. Clode, See also, *The King James Bible After Four Hundred Years*, p. 83, and Nigel Sleight-Johnson, p. 150.

¹⁰⁶ Davies and Saunders, p. 149.

Martin Outwich. In 1571 the Company presented George Gardiner to the rectory of St. Martin's. The previous year, during his tenure as a minor canon of Norwich Cathedral, Gardiner was part of a gang that broke down the organ of that Cathedral, and committed other acts of vandalism and iconoclasm. A vehement opponent of church music, he later "abandoned many of his radical views," but they were fresh on record at his appointment to St. Martin's. He remained until 1574, when he was offered a living in Morley, Norfolk. The Company also appointed Edward Kyffin, a Welsh minister, to the curacy of St. Martin's, most likely in the late 1590's. Kyffin was a translator, setting the Psalms into metrical rhyme in Welsh "according to the tune customary in the Church of England." Metrical psalm singing was one of the only acceptable forms of church music to Puritans, following John Calvin's example in the matter. Kyffin undertook the project in order to "bring the Reformation to the Welsh in their own tongue" with the assistance of his brother, Maurice, who had translated John Jewel's *Apologia* into the Welsh language. Unfortunately, no other clergymen of St. Martin's Outwich are recorded until 1634.¹⁰⁷

The growing influence of godly Protestants in the Company is also demonstrated in the Company's policies toward play-acting and bowling at its school. London's Puritans regularly denounced both of these activities as

¹⁰⁷ "St. Martin Outwich (CCed 11621)," *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, accessed 16 March 2016.

potentially immoral and possibly dangerous.¹⁰⁸ As mentioned previously, Richard Mulcaster successfully produced plays with the boys at the Merchant Taylors' School. He encouraged both acting and playwriting at the school, and his boys were well known (and well paid) for their performances. In the 1570's the Merchant Taylors' Company called a halt to this practice. A unanimous vote by the Court of Assistants banned the school's dramatic activities, calling plays "impudent familiarities" towards "Masters, Parentes and Maiestrates." Furthermore, the bowling green next to the School was converted into a park.¹⁰⁹

The increasing Protestant identity of the Company was likely assisted by the deaths of those members of the Company who lived through the parade of Tudor religious reforms, who had provided a gentler evangelical character to the Company's religious makeup. For example, Sir Thomas White passed away in 1567, Henry Machyn, a Merchant Taylor, religious conservative, and diarist died in 1563. Sir Thomas Rowe died in 1570 (months after he finished his tenure as Mayor of London) and Sir William Harper in 1574. All three remained prominent members of the Livery, serving regularly on the Court of Assistants, and Sir William Harper was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1561 and Sir Thomas Rowe to the same office in 1568. When they passed away, it left a power vacuum that was quickly filled by a number of dedicated Protestants.

¹⁰⁸ R. Ashton, "Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London," *The London Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1. pp. 3-19.

¹⁰⁹ Nigel Sleight Johnson, p. 150; Guildhall MS 34010, Vol. 3, f. 36v.; Guildhall MS 34010, p. 699.

While many of the more conservative members died off, a number of prominent Protestants in the Company lived exceptionally long lives – therefore, continuing their influence in the Company until the early seventeenth century. For example, Richard Hilles (d. 1587) continued to maintain a prominent place in the livery. Hilles became an increasingly radical Protestant during the 1560's and 70's. His letters to Heinrich Bullinger during this time are littered with references to Calvinist interpretations of predestination. Also, Robert Dowe (or Dove) became increasingly important in Company matters. Born around 1523, Dowe became free of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1550. During Mary's reign he focused on business pursuits, and was one of the founder's of the Muscovy Company in 1555, along with Sir Thomas White and other Merchant Taylors.¹¹⁰ He rose to prominence within the Merchant Taylors' Company when elected warden in 1571 and 1575, and then Master in 1578. He remained a consistent member of the Court of Assistants until his final meeting on March 30, 1612. He died a little over a month later at the age of 98.

Although Ian Archer stated that it is "hard to pin down his religious sentiments," Dowe was certainly a Protestant and "there are indications of associations with clergy on the godly wing."¹¹¹ Another indication of his potential association with the godly community comes from a memorial written

¹¹⁰ See also S. Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555* (1953)

¹¹¹ Ian W. Archer, "Dowe, Robert (c.1523–1612)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2006; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66929, accessed 7 Nov 2015].

on his death by Anthony Nixon, an anti-Catholic pamphleteer. Nixon praises Dowe's "godly life" that included his "fervent zeale which he bare unto Gods word" and his dedication to "carrie his aged bodie to frequent Sermons." His regular attendance at sermons and dedication to Bible reading certainly point to Puritan leanings.¹¹² Furthermore, his elaborate provisions for charity had a certain godly tone. In his benefaction for sixty poor parishioners of St. Botolph, Aldgate, he required the poor to assemble behind the locked doors of the church, where they received their alms, heard a sermon on the importance of attending religious services, said the Lord's prayer, and declared a blessing on the Merchant Taylors' Company.¹¹³

Walter Fish was also an influential Protestant in the Company from the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, when he became her clothier, until his death 1585. Fish dressed the Queen, but was also active at court as the yeoman of the revels, providing costumes for court dramas and revels. These positions made him both famous and fabulously wealthy, as members of the Court clamored for his wears. He was also a leading member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, serving as Warden in 1569 and Master in 1576. He served in London's government, elected MP for the City in 1584-5. Wealthy and influential, he was also a Puritan who lived and worshiped in the godly parish of St. Antholin's, where he was buried

¹¹² Anthony Nixon, *London's Doue: or A memoriall of the life and death of Maister Robert Doue, citizen and marchant-taylor of London* (London, 1612), p. 8.

¹¹³ Ian W. Archer, "Dowe, Robert (c.1523-1612)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

in 1585. His will specified that he did not wish for “vayne pompe” at his funeral as it “doe rather agree with poperie and paganism then with the rule of the ghospell of God.”¹¹⁴

The Wright brothers were also prominent Calvinists in the Merchant Taylors’ Company. Sir Robert Wright was the clerk of the Merchant Taylors’ Company until January 1595, when he won the common packership of the city of London by royal appointment, most likely through his former pupil, Robert Devereux, Earl Essex. His brother Richard became Master of the Merchant Taylors’ Company in 1611. Both brothers were noted for their Calvinist piety.¹¹⁵ Other notable Protestants during the latter years of Elizabeth’s reign include William Fleetwood, who was a freeman by patrimony (through his father) of the Company that represented the Merchant Taylors’ in a dispute with the Clothworkers in 1565, he was also a key prosecutor of Jesuit priests in 1588 and became a member of the ecclesiastical court of high commission.¹¹⁶ Also, the zealous Protestant pamphleteer William Averell was a member of the Merchant

¹¹⁴ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/68, fols. 421v-422 as found in Ian W. Archer, “Fish, Walter (d. 1585),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2006; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/93685, accessed 1 Dec 2015].

¹¹⁵ Paul E. J. Hammer, “Wright, Sir Robert (c.1549-1608x10),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30053, accessed 1 Dec 2015].

¹¹⁶ Christopher W. Brooks, “Fleetwood, William (c.1525-1594),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9690, accessed 1 Dec 2015].

Taylors' Company, as well as the parish clerk and schoolmaster of St. Peter's Cornhill.¹¹⁷

III. The Stuart Era and Rising Royalism in the Merchant Taylors' Company

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, the religious make-up of the Merchant Taylors' Company in London was transformed. As prominent conservatives such as Sir Thomas White, Sir Thomas Rowe, and Sir William Harper passed from this life, and early Protestants who learned how to conform and compromise grew old, a new generation of Merchant Taylors began to rise in the Company. The changing composition of the Company is demonstrated in a comparative study of Elizabethan Masters of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and those men elected into that office during the early years of James I's reign. From Elizabeth's accession until 1595, only three men served as Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company who were inducted after the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion went into effect. In other words, all but three of the first thirty-seven masters of Elizabeth's reign experienced the tumult of the Tudor religious reforms while members of the Merchant Taylors' Company. After 1595, all but one of the masters was a product of the Protestant Elizabethan Age.¹¹⁸ Scholars

¹¹⁷ William E. Burns, "Averell, William (bap. 1556, d. 1605)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40543>, accessed 9 Oct 2015].

¹¹⁸ Compiled based on information found in C.M. Clode, *The Early History*, Vol. II, pp. 341-344.

have noted that during the late sixteenth century “many of the leaders of the [Merchant Taylors’] company were religious radicals.”¹¹⁹ This section affirms that view, as well as considers how the Company “reversed its orientation” towards a more conformist position during the course of the Stuart Period.

As the Merchant Taylors’ Company admitted the sons of their members by patrimony, a number of powerful families gained footholds. The Juxon’s were one such family. The most famous member of the Juxon family was William Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury (1660-1663). William attended the Merchant Taylors’ School and then won a scholarship to St. John’s College in 1600. While at St. John’s he became a friend and supporter of William Laud (see chapter two), and remained a dedicated Laudian and Royalist for the rest of his life. After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, he was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury. But William did not come from a family supportive of High-Church practices. Rather, the Juxon family observed a strict form of Calvinism that earned the derogatory name of “Puritan” in the late sixteen century. His uncle Thomas Juxon was the most involved member of the family in Company politics, rising through the ranks quickly after joining the Company in 1595. His father was a Merchant Taylor; therefore he was allowed to join by patrimony. He rose quickly within the Company, appointed warden in 1599 and Master in 1605. He also served on the Court of Assistants on a regular basis, allowing him to be present

¹¹⁹ Valeri, p. 35.

at the elections of both his nephews (Rowland and William) from the Merchant Taylors' School to St. John's College in 1598 and 1600. As discussed in chapter four, both of those elections were heavily contested by the fellows of St. John's College, and Thomas Juxon's prominence in the Company likely played a role in the insistence of the Merchant Taylors' on the boys' elections. It is also possible that the reputation of the family as strong Calvinists influenced the concern of the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford towards the boys during the election as well. Thomas Juxon displayed his predestinarian views prominently in his will dated December 5, 1620. The will has a strong Calvinist preamble, stating a settled assurance in his election, declaring "I faithfully believe to be saved after this life ended."¹²⁰ By this time, both of his nephews were firmly entrenched Laudians, and it is interesting to note that their Calvinist uncle left them nothing.

Another prominent member of the Juxon family in the Merchant Taylors' Company was Thomas' brother John Juxon and his wife, Elizabeth. While John did not participate in Company governance, he was a wealthy member, earning his fortune as a sugar baker. He and his wife Elizabeth were prominent Puritans, who were benefactors of the recalcitrant Puritan pastor of St. Katherine Cree, Stephen Denison, even inviting him to live in their home for nearly twelve

¹²⁰ PROB 11/136/549; for the Puritan doctrine of "settled assurance" see Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 18-19.

years.¹²¹ Denison preached at both John's and Elizabeth's funeral sermons, painting them both as ideal Puritans in what Peter Lake has termed,

A godly *fête*, a demonstration both of connections with the leading lights of London clerical puritanism and of the city-wide links and solidarities that bound the London puritan community together.¹²²

Denison wrote in the printed copy of John Juxon's funeral sermon that John was "zealously affected to God's word, very carefull of the sanctifying of Gods Sabbaths, very conscionable in his personal performance of holy duties in his familie." He also stressed that both Elizabeth and John Juxon were certain of their salvation, a sign of their election in Puritan theology.¹²³

Further evidence of John's puritan inclinations are found in his will dated August 17, 1626. On his death, John left large bequests to Denison and other godly clergy, as well as establishing lectureships in All Hallows, Lombard Street, St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, All Hallows the Great, and St. Mildred's Bread Street, and St. Antholin's, the godly parish of the Grocers' Company.¹²⁴ He also, notably, did not leave a bequest for St. John's College, Oxford, opting instead to donate £12 for a poor scholar to buy books. The scholar was to be chosen by The Merchant Taylors' Company each year alternating between an Oxford scholar

¹²¹ Stephen Denison, *Another tombestone; or, A sermon preached at Laurance Pountneys-Church London, vpon the last day of August, in the yeere, 1626* (London, 1626), p. 40. See also Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 11; Anna Bayman, "Denison, Stephen (d. 1649)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2005; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65829>, accessed 4 Nov 2015].

¹²² Lake, pp. 59-60.

¹²³ *Ibid.* pp. 18-19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* p.59.

and a Cambridge scholar, in perpetuity. John Juxon died when both of his sons were young, and his brother Arthur, also a Merchant Taylor, raised them. They both became steadfast Puritans, and during the Civil Wars, soldiers for Parliament. His son Thomas became prominent in the Merchant Taylors' Company during the Civil Wars, when he fought for Parliament. John Juxon's other son, also named John, also fought for Parliament and was killed at the first battle of Newbury.¹²⁵

Another example of increasing Calvinist influence in the Company is seen in a set prayer devised in 1610 for the funerals of livery men and women. Robert Dowe, an Elizabethan with Calvinist leanings mentioned in the previous section, donated an annuity of 5s. a year on April 14, 1610 to the Company clerk for reading it. The prayer was already in use in the Company by 1608, therefore Dowe's donation was for the sake of continuing a tradition he participated in and approved of.¹²⁶ The prayer focuses on the blessing of wealth, but also the responsibility that attends it, particularly when members make their own wills,

And whensoever it shall please thee to call us out of this transitory life, guide us to by thy grace that wee may according to the measure of they temporall blessing wherewith it shall please thee to blesse us, shewe our kindness, with upright harte not for desire of vaine glory, or for fashion sake, but to make known thy bountie towarde us in the blessing of this life

¹²⁵ Keith Lindley, "Juxon, Thomas (1614–1672)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67255>, accessed 4 Nov 2015]; See also *The journal of Thomas Juxon*, ed. K. Lindley and D. Scott, CS, 5th ser., 13 (1999), TNA: PRO, PROB 11/340, sig. 147.

¹²⁶ It was first used on November 3, 1608 according to MS 34010, Vol. 4, p. 331. See also Stephen Freeth, *Merchant Taylors' Company Catalogue*, Revised (2007), p. 4.

to the praise of they name, and to withnes our thanckfulnes to this worshipful company.¹²⁷

The idea of material wealth as a sign of divine favor is consistent with studies of Puritan connections between economic success and election. The classic “Weber Thesis” states that the hotter sort of Protestants viewed wealth as a blessing, and conversely, poverty as a symbol of spiritual or moral degradation. R.H. Tawney and Christopher Hill ascribed to this model, viewing Puritans as proto-capitalists.¹²⁸ Later historians noted that while Puritans certainly viewed wealth as a sign of divine favor, they also considered it a religious responsibility to be both productive and generous, using “their wealth to the glory of god.”¹²⁹ The idea that the purpose of wealth is not “for vaine glory” or “fashion sake” but rather so that others can see what God can accomplish and provide for the elect makes wealth a witness to God’s glory, as well as election. This provides room for godliness in poverty as well; because it does not condemn the poor, but rather gives them both hope, as well as economic assistance through Christian generosity of heart and hand. Therefore, this prayer easily fits in with the Puritan polemic of both wealth as a blessing and a responsibility.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Guildhall MS 34004, f. 14r, 15v, “A commorable grace at the funeral dynner in the Hall for a good brother, deceased.”

¹²⁸ R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1998); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upsidedown: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (New York, Penguin, 1984).

¹²⁹ Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (CUP, 1987), p. 149

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 120.

Success in commerce was considered both a divine blessing, as well as a royal one. During the Stuart period, the Merchant Taylors' Company became increasingly connected to the Crown, particularly in its business interests. The Mayor's Pageant quoted at the start of this chapter was written by Anthony Munday, a member of the Draper's Company, for Leonard Holliday's assumption of his mayoral duties. Yet, the play was also intended to cater to the Crown as well. Holliday was the first Merchant Taylor appointed to that office since James' accession in 1603. Munday's work paid homage to the newly unified Britain, calling it "The Triumphs of re-united Britania." The play affirms James Stuart's right to the English throne through his Tudor relatives, as "Scotland yielded out of Teudors race, a true borne bud, to fit in Teudors place."¹³¹ The play also informs James that "Seaven Kings have honored this Society," joining the Company and wearing the clothes they prepared.¹³²

Two years later, the Merchant Taylors' invited King James, Queen Anne, and their son, Henry, to dine with the Company on the evening of their election on July 16, 1607. William Hayne, Headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, offered to train some of the schoolboys to entertain the King, but the Company Master, John Swinnerton, suggested that the scholars lacked the ability necessary to properly entertain the King. Instead, he suggested that the Merchant Taylors' Company hire Ben Jonson to devise the entertainment. Swinnerton asked his son

¹³¹ Munday, p. 11.

¹³² Anthony Munday, *The Triumphs of re-united Britania* (London, 1605).

(also named John) who walked in London's literary circles, to approach his friend Jonson.¹³³ While William Hayne was well meaning, the Swinnerton's were right to be concerned regarding the quality of the entertainment his boys' could provide. Unlike Mulcaster, Hayne was no dramatist, and lacked the personality or presence for the occasion. His life-long physical disabilities turned him to scholarship, where he excelled at Latin grammar. Furthermore, his later writings suggest a solemn religiosity, particularly *The Equall Wayes of God*, a tract supporting predestination and *The Life and Death of Martin Luther*.¹³⁴ The Swinnerton family had a powerbase in the court and government through their business dealings with the Earl of Northampton over customs farming, and did not exhibit any tendencies toward the godly community, either during their life or in their wills. Therefore, they were more likely to hold a tighter grip on the tastes of the Jacobean court than Hayne.

In the end, the entertainment chosen for the festivities of July 16, 1607 was decidedly conformist and devoid of godly belief or practice. It began with a sermon preached at St. Helen's Bishopsgate by the avant-garde conformist, John Buckeridge, kinsman of Sir Thomas White and newly elected President of St. John's College, Oxford. Buckeridge was also experienced at preaching before

¹³³ Ian W. Archer, "Swinnerton, Sir John (*bap.* 1564, *d.* 1616)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2013 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/105466, accessed 7 Nov 2015].

¹³⁴ *The Equall Wayes of God* (1632); *Of the Article of our Creed: Christ Descended to Hades* (1642); *The Life and Death of Dr Martin Luther* (1641).

James, listed as a preacher “fitt to preach” to the King by Archbishop Whitgift.¹³⁵ A recent sermon by Buckeridge to the King at Hampton Court a year before went through two editions in 1606. Afterward, the King, Prince Henry, members of their courts, and prominent Merchant Taylors’ processed back to Merchant Taylors’ Hall, where they dined to music played and sung. Following the feast, the King was offered the freedom of the Company, which he declined because he was a member of another, so Prince Henry was inducted in the livery.

While not recorded in official records of the occasion, it is also possible that a new prayer was composed for the occasion. The prayer was composed the same year the King visited the Company, and it has a decidedly different air than supplication written for funerals. It begins by asking for the health and welfare of the King, Queen, and their son the “noble prince.” It goes on to depict of vision of grace and salvation that lacks the surety of a staunchly Calvinist view of conditional election,

Most mighty and most glorious God which art great and fearefull yet llyving and mercifull to all such as call upon thee in sincerity and truth...Humbly beseeching thee (for his [Christ’s] sake) to cast all our offences behind thee; and to bury them in his grave, who died for our synnes, and rose agayne to bring us both in body and soule unto thee.¹³⁶

The prayer also asks for protection for the City of London, particularly asking that God “defend it from grievous plague,” hinting that this prayer may

¹³⁵ P. E. McCullough, “Buckeridge, John (d. 1631),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3854>, accessed 7 Nov 2015].

¹³⁶ Guildhall MS 34004, f.6, “Prayers for the Company early 17th C.”

have been written for the King's coming because a bout of plague near St. Martin Outwich Church caused Buckeridge's sermon to be moved to St. Helen's Bishopsgate. Finally, it ends with the Lord's Prayer.

Many of those Merchant Taylors' who catered to the Royal Closet did not exhibit the hotter sort of Protestantism demonstrated by many of their brothers and sisters in the Company. As these men gained power in the Merchant Taylors' Company, the religious leanings of the Company reversed course and into line with a gentler conformity and as Mark Valeri notes "the Merchant Taylors became known not only as patrons of the Crown but also as strong supporters of the archenemy of puritans, Archbishop William Laud." He goes on to note that this was due to "economic pragmatism" that "trumped previous religious affiliation." While Valeri places this shift in the 1620's, it began much earlier, as demonstrated by John Swinnerton's entertainment of King James in 1607.¹³⁷ Yet, Valeri's assertion is correct that early efforts did not come to fruition until the 1620's. During the 1620's a number of influential liverymen of the Merchant Taylors' Company also worked for the Crown. George Johnson was Woollen Draper to both King James I and his son, Charles. Johnson became a member of the Merchant Taylors' Livery in 1610, elected to the Court of Assistants in 1625, and chosen Master of the Company in 1630. Michael Griggs

¹³⁷ Valeri, pp. 35-36.

and Thomas Brandwood worked together as cloth suppliers to the Crown, both joining the Merchant Taylors' Livery in the 1620's.¹³⁸

During the 1620's the Company shifted from "a strong tendency to support Puritanism" to "support or at least tolerance for the views of the Arminian school."¹³⁹ They even replaced the Geneva Bible in their Hall with the Authorized King James Version in 1627. The Company voted to replace the Calvinist translation with the King James' edition, as "Bishop Andrews, and other divines, some of whom had been educated in the Company's School, were engaged."¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, in 1624, the Merchant Taylors' Company turned down a £2000 endowment from the godly Londoner, Lady Mary Weld. Lady Weld left the donation to the Merchant Taylors' Company in her will, instructing the Company to use it to buy up impropriations, and elect only godly ministers to the benefices purchased.¹⁴¹ The Merchant Taylors' knew about the bequest as early as November 1623, but delayed discussion regarding whether or not to accept the gift until the following June. When the Court of Assistants finally did discuss Lady Weld's bequest, it resulted in a heated series of arguments that the records do not detail. The Court took a secret ballot, which was not their usual voting practice. The ballot reveals that the majority of the Company did not want

¹³⁸ Griggs joined in 1624 and Brandwood in 1627.

¹³⁹ Johnson, p. 147

¹⁴⁰ Clode, *Memorials*, p. 127

¹⁴¹ Ian W. Archer, "Weld, Mary, Lady Weld (bap. 1560?, d. 1623)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2005; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66941, accessed 22 Feb 2016]

to accept the endowment. The Haberdashers' Company took the donation instead.¹⁴² The impropriations were a Puritan scheme vehemently opposed by the Arminian faction, and the rejection of this donation was "undoubtedly a blow to Puritan [Merchant Taylor] assistants."¹⁴³ As mentioned above, this was the same year that William Hayne was pushed out of the Mastership of the Merchant Taylors' School, London, and replaced with an Arminian, Nicholas Gray.

It is important to note that over the course of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the government of the Merchant Taylors' Company decreased in size. By 1635, the Company was governed by twenty-three men. This small, privileged group remained allied with the Crown throughout the difficulties of the 1630's, and during the period of 1640 until 1642, the Merchant Taylors' Company "stood as a bulwark of support for the government of Charles I...and as a centre of resistance to Parliament's demands."¹⁴⁴ Yet, the majority of the Company were not members of this elite caste of businessmen. Rather, the yeomen, who made up the majority of the Company, were becoming increasingly radicalized, both religiously and politically, during the first three decades of the seventeenth century. When the English Civil Wars broke out, this split between the government of the Merchant Taylors' Company and its workers

¹⁴² Ward, p. 78.

¹⁴³ Johnson, p. 161.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 147; This is dealt with in detail in the Conclusion.

became increasingly more pronounced. The Company elite continued to support the Crown, while the godly majority of Merchant Taylors' yeomanry supported Parliament.¹⁴⁵

IV. Conclusion

The Company's shift from a conservative institution to a Calvinist one in the 1570's and 1580's created an environment that bred a Puritan tone among its elite in the early seventeenth century. Yet, as the business interests of the Livery became more intertwined with the Crown, godly interests were no longer prioritized. Rather, the Company's Livery became friendlier with Arminian bishops who were popular with the King and Court. As demonstrated in the next chapter, these shifts also impacted the relationship between the Company and St. John's College, Oxford.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, pp. 144-235.

**Chapter 4: “If it be a faulte in us, it exceedeth from yourselves”:
The Election of Scholars from the Merchant Taylors’ School
To St. John’s College, Oxford**

I. Introduction

In late summer 1601, Samson West, a poor scholar of St. John’s College, Oxford, journeyed to London bearing two letters. One letter was composed by West himself, and the other by the Master and Senior Fellows of his college. Both letters were addressed to the Merchant Taylors’ Company of London. The letters entreated the Merchant Taylors’ to provide extraordinary financial support to cover the fees necessary for West to graduate with a Bachelor’s degree from Oxford. West was an orphan, and unable to pay his graduation fee, and St. John’s College was not able to provide him with any more money. West’s letter bore the usual earmarks of an impoverished student’s plea for additional financial support. In the letter he stated that completing his degree was a “cause...extraordinary” and “the charge great.” As it was too expensive for him to pay his fees, and his scholarship was too meager to cover his costs, he needed additional assistance from the Company.¹

The President and Fellows of St. John’s College sent a letter along with Samson West’s request. While the College’s letter supported West’s appeal, it

¹ “Samson West to the Merchant Taylors’ Company, London,” Guildhall MS 34281, f. 22. Undated.

also addressed a broader agenda. In particular, the President and Fellows were upset that the Merchant Taylors' Company continued to elect poor scholars from the Merchant Taylors' School for scholarships at St. John's College. According to Sir Thomas White's will, the Merchant Taylors' maintained the right to elect forty-two scholars, on a scholarship provided for by the College. Only fifty scholarships existed at St. John's, which meant that the Merchant Taylors' held tremendous power over that College's admissions. In their letter, the College used West's predicament to rebuke the Merchant Taylors' Company for regularly choosing to elect penniless young men for university studies. In essence, the College fellows were using West in an ongoing tussle with the Company regarding their choice of scholars. The President and Fellows of St. John's wrote to the Merchant Taylors' Company:

If it be a faulte in us, it exceedeth from yourselves, for if you woulde not at first infoarce upon us such Schollers; whose parents are not able to beare the surchardge (besides our good founders small allowance) of their Childrens maintenance, neyther should you be burdened with any after contributions towards their relief nor would so many toward Schollers for wante therof so soone forsake their studies, whereof as you have felte the burden of the former: So have we had ill of the later.²

The Merchant Taylors' had certainly been aware of West's poverty. His late father, Richard West, was a Clerk to the Yeomanry of the Merchant Taylors' Company, who died prior to his son's election to St. John's College. In 1597,

² "St. John's College to the Merchant Taylors' Company, London," Guildhall MS 34281, f. 22. August 30, 1601.

Samson was elected with four other boys as Foundationers to St. John's, having received the second highest number of votes at the election.³ While West was able to complete the necessary academic requirements for his degree, the letter written by the Master and Fellows of St. John's demonstrated the futility of sending poor scholars to Oxford who could not even afford to graduate.

The tension created by Samson West's financial difficulties highlights the fiscal disagreements between St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company of London. The tensions between these two organizations tended to explode each year on St. Barnabas' Day, the day assigned for the Merchant Taylors' Company and the Master and Fellows of St. John's College to choose new scholars from the Merchant Taylors' School to come up to Oxford. A number of these occasions erupted into name-calling and underhanded dealings. Understandably, historians have interpreted the arguments between the Merchant Taylors' and St. John's as either frustration over finances or petty squabbles over who controlled the right to elect students to a Sir Thomas White Scholarship at St. John's.⁴ Yet, as much as financial issues and power struggles contributed to disagreements between the two institutions, historians have largely ignored other factors that added to the tensions as well. Religious differences, social expectations, and personal preferences also played significant roles in the problems between them. As this chapter will demonstrate, the

³ Guildhall MS. 34281, p. 13.

⁴ Saunders and Davies, p. 124.

conflicts between the two groups had as much to do with religion as it did with money.

Sir Thomas White did not anticipate these complications when he tied his foundation of St. John's College, Oxford to the Merchant Taylors' School in 1563. Initially, the arrangement seemed ideal as it encouraged a relationship of mutual benefaction. St. John's gained one of the wealthiest guilds in London as a potential benefactor, and the Merchant Taylors' were able to advertise their school in London as a possible entry point to a full scholarship to an Oxford College. Yet, following White's death in 1567, the relationship between the two institutions became problematic. St. John's remained a religiously conservative college, and after the turn of the seventeenth century, it became a hotbed of Arminian belief and practice, as discussed in chapter two. Meanwhile, the Merchant Taylors' Company became increasingly Calvinist, its leadership frequenting London parishes led by prominent Puritan ministers. Furthermore, the two institutions were at cross-purposes regarding the outcome of the elections. The Merchant Taylors' Company wished to assist poor boys that showed promise, or orphans with few opportunities. As demonstrated in Joseph Ward's recent work, assisting the poor and needy allowed wealthy merchants to gain clout and recognition in London's moral economy.⁵ Furthermore, it provided the Merchant Taylors' the opportunity to demonstrate the wealth that

⁵ Joseph Ward, *Culture Faith and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), pp. 2-10.

many Calvinists believed was a sign of election.⁶ Finally, it allowed the Merchant Taylors' the opportunity to use their riches in a socially acceptable manner. Doing so combatted the popular trope of the "greedy merchant," as discussed in chapter three. Meanwhile, St. John's College sought to elect the best scholars from the Merchant Taylors' School. They wanted the School's most intelligent scholars who demonstrated the greatest academic prowess. Furthermore, they preferred scholars from wealthy families who could assist their sons financially, and potentially donate to the College as well. Finally, they sought scholars from religiously conservative and moderate families whose beliefs and practices would not clash with their own.

This chapter examines arguments between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College, especially those disagreements that erupted during the election process. In particular, it analyzes the elections from the first one in 1572, until the outbreak of the English Civil Wars. The chapter is broken up into three sections. The first begins by outlining the statutory relationship between the College and the Company and considers the relationship between the two foundations immediately following Sir Thomas White's death. In particular, it examines Sir William Cordell's role as mediator in disputes between the two groups. As College Visitor he was well suited to intervene in College matters and promote their interests. Furthermore, as Master of the Rolls, his legal expertise

⁶ Todd, p. 127.

and politic helped smooth relations between St. John's and the Merchant Taylors.'

The second section examines the arguments that erupted between the two organizations during Ralph Hutchinson's Presidency of St. John's College. Hutchinson led the College during the turn of the seventeenth century (1590-1606), when the two institutions were at loggerheads. This section considers how religious differences partially fueled the fire between them. The final section considers the relative peace between the two groups during the Presidencies of William Laud, William Juxon, and Richard Baylie, up until the start of the Civil Wars, when dissension broke out between the Merchant Taylors' and St. John's College once again. During the Presidencies of Buckeridge, Laud, Juxon, and Baylie, the College increased the admission of non-Foundations from the Merchant Taylors' School. This brought in tuition money that was then used to improve the College buildings and pay for the scholarships of those Merchant Taylors' scholars who had won full fellowships at the elections on St. Barnabas' Day. Even though the majority of the Merchant Taylor's Company remained Calvinist, the blatant Arminianism of the St. Johns fellows did not seem to taint relations between the two groups. This is probably because the Crown favored the Arminian prelates that ran St. John's College. As many members of the Merchant Taylors' Livery did business with the King and Court, they were happy to oblige the monarch's favored churchmen.

While the earlier chapters of this dissertation considered these two institutions separately, this chapter considers the relationship between them. The purpose of this study is to examine how the Long Reformation in England did and did not affect relations between institutions on divergent sides of the evangelical coin. In particular, this chapter considers the role religious tensions played in escalating problems between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College. Furthermore, it considers how social, legal and financial considerations also contributed to tensions between the two groups. This chapter will consider the reasons that the College rejected or complained of scholars elected to St. John's by the Merchant Taylors' based on their economic deficiencies, spiritual beliefs, family backgrounds, and even physical disabilities.

Documents relating to the election of scholars from the Merchant Taylors' School to St. John's College, Oxford are predominately found in two archives. The first is in the papers of the Merchant Taylors' Company, preserved at the Guildhall Library in London. Of particular interest are the minutes of the Court of Assistants, the Register of the Merchant Taylors' School, and a scrapbook of documents relating to the election of scholars to St. John's College from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.⁷ The second sets of documents are found in the St. John's College archives, including correspondence and the College

⁷ Guildhall MS 34010, 34282, and 34281 respectively.

Register.⁸ Previous studies of the election process have studied the elections by assessing either the papers of the Merchant Taylors' Company or St. John's College, but no previous scholar has cross-referenced documents from both institutions.⁹

Harry Wilson is the only scholar to give a detailed account of the Merchant Taylors' elections to St. John's College. Yet, Wilson wrote his two-volume history of the Merchant Taylors' School in 1814, during his tenure as Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company. Over two centuries have passed since Wilson wrote his tome; during which time historical methodology and criticism have created new tools for reading history. While Wilson's study provides a detailed, chronological rendering of the difficulties surrounding the elections, he relied mostly on the Court Minutes of the Merchant Taylors' Company as his primary source. The result is a one sided narrative that dismisses the tensions between the two institutions as misunderstandings, petty squabbles, power struggles, and financial frustrations. While these factors certainly played a role in the difficulties between the two groups, his assessment is oversimplified as it completely ignores the religious and social complexities that contributed to the arguments. Scholars from the past century have fared little better, waving aside the problems between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College as

⁸ Special thanks to the Archivist, Michael Riordan for his assistance in locating pertinent documents.

⁹ Harry Bristow Wilson, *The History of Merchant Taylors' School, From its Foundation to the Present Time*, (London, 1812), pp.26-27; W.C. Costin, *The History of St. John's College, Oxford, 1598-1860* (Clarendon, 1958).

“tiresome.” William Draper wrote in his history of the Merchant Taylors’ School that “the record of painful and continued misunderstandings” between the Merchant Taylors’ Company and St. John’s College was tedious and “may be omitted without harm to the narrative.”¹⁰ Even Ann Saunders recent study of the Merchant Taylors’ Company points to financial frustrations that conveniently settled down in the early seventeenth century, just in time for William Laud to create a robust relationship between the College and Company.¹¹ Part of the purpose of this chapter is to flesh out the underlying tensions between these two institutions. This study intends to provide a deeper understanding of the context and content of these disagreements.

II. Early Tensions

From the foundation of St. John’s College in the 1550’s until Sir Thomas White’s death in 1567, the Statutes of St. John’s College went through a number of revisions, particularly in regards to the admission of scholars. A final revision of the College Statutes in December 1566 allowed for a foundation of fifty scholars, one from Tonbridge School, two each from Reading, Bristol, and Coventry, six founder’s kin, and thirty-seven from the Merchant Taylors’ School in London. Over time, the number of founder’s kin decreased to the point that

¹⁰ F.W.M. Draper, *Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors’ School, 1561-1961* (OUP, 1962), p. 39

¹¹ Saunders and Davies, p. 124.

the six places allotted for them also went to the Merchant Taylors' School, making the grand total forty-two places on the foundation. All foundationers received full scholarships to the institution.¹² The only power of election given to the President and Fellows of St. John's was for founder's kin, all other fellows were to be elected by governing bodies outside of the University. Therefore, the institution with the most influence on the composition of the College was the Merchant Taylors' Company, London. According to this arrangement, the composition of the College fellowship was not of its' own making, a major factor in the frustration of the fellowship with its Statutes.¹³ As Andrew Hegarty notes, the concept of connecting a college with a "feeder" school was not unusual, as New College, Oxford was linked with Winchester and King's College, Cambridge with Eaton. Hegarty continues on to say that it was "a novel and peculiar feature of St. John's College that the election to the vast majority of places was to be made essentially by external corporations."¹⁴

A letter written by Sir Thomas White, dated May 14, 1562, to the Merchant Taylors' Company, states that the size of his foundation was an ideal for the future, rather than a reality at the time of its inception. At the time, St. John's College was not financially stable enough to support the thirty-seven scholarships originally allotted to the Merchant Taylors' Company in London.

¹² Hegarty, Introduction, pp. xxi

¹³ Ibid. pp. xxii.

¹⁴ Ibid.

He states that elections from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St.

John's should not be held until

Their [St. John's College's] yearly revenues do amount to the Summe, which may be sufficient for maintaining of the foresaid whole number, and for bearing of other necessarie expenses and charges.¹⁵

In other words, Sir Thomas White recognized that St. John's College could not afford to provide the forty-two scholarships offered to Merchant Taylors' scholars in his College Statutes. He did not want the Merchant Taylors' to press legal charges or pressure St. John's College to provide the places promised because the College was not solvent at this point. Therefore, he begged his Company to wait on electing scholars to St. John's until the College was in a better financial position.

A decade later, the sense and purpose of this letter remained applicable; the finances of the College continued to be in a deplorable state and there was no possibility of filling the statutory number of places in the near future.¹⁶ Yet, the Merchant Taylors' Company began to pressure St. John's College to provide scholarships to their students shortly after Sir Thomas White's death in 1567. The College claimed that they were not financially able to fill any places for the Merchant Taylors' scholars, and in turn, the Merchant Taylors' threatened legal action. These difficulties are documented extensively in the letters of Sir William

¹⁵ Sir Thomas White to the Merchant Taylors' Company, May 14, 1562. Guildhall MS 34281, f. 3v and 3r.

¹⁶ Stevenson and Salter, p. 192-206.

Cordell, Visitor to St. John's until his death in 1581.¹⁷ The first election of scholars from Merchant Taylor's School to St. John's occurred in 1572, only because Sir William Cordell offered to pay the fees of the two scholars admitted, because the College did not have the funds necessary to support them.¹⁸

The first election, held on June 9, 1572, is detailed in the Company's Court Minutes Book. The proceedings lasted from eight in the morning until five in the evening and were attended by an impressive group of prominent churchmen. These included Robert Horne, the Bishop of Winchester, Alexander Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's, Gabriel Goodman, the Dean of Westminster, Thomas Watts, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, "Master Dr. Yonge, Parson of St. Magnus," who would become the future Bishop of Rochester, as well as John Robinson, President of St. John's College (the day before his resignation), and two fellows of St. John's College. The two fellows who accompanied Dr. Robinson were Henry Russell and John Case. Furthermore, the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors' Company, as well as "dyvers other lerned men" were in attendance.¹⁹ The Dean of St. Paul's, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of Westminster examined the scholars in front of the assembly. Following the examinations everyone, excluding the students, retired to dine together, where Sir William Cordell joined them. Following dinner, Dean

¹⁷ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 26.

¹⁸ Hegarty, p. 124, 93.

¹⁹ Guildhall MS. 34010, Vol. 1, f. 581/259

Watts, Dean Nowell, the President of St. John's College and Henry Russell examined four of the best students.

Future elections proceeded in a similar fashion. The boys who were eligible for a fellowship to St. John's College were brought to the Chapel of the Merchant Taylors' School, where they were lined up in front of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Merchant Taylors' Company, the President and two senior Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, and various prominent churchmen invited to attend the event. Typically, the churchmen who attended quizzed the boys on their skills in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. They typically used Bible texts and selections from ancient authors, such as Seneca and Tacitus, in their examinations. Afterwards, the boys were asked to leave and all of the electors retired to dinner, at the expense of the Company. The electors, the representatives from the Merchant Taylors' Company, then took a vote for the election. The President and fellows were then given the opportunity to confirm or veto their choice.²⁰

At the election of 1572, the Company chose two students who were "meteste aswell for learning personage poverty and yeares."²¹ This statement demonstrates the criteria considered most important by the Merchant Taylors' Company for a scholarship to St. John's College. As mentioned above, the Merchant Taylors' emphasized assisting poor scholars. Yet, the Master and

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

Fellows of St. John's desired the most accomplished students. In 1581, Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School from its inception until 1586, wrote about this issue in his *Positions*.²² Although he did not name the institutions in question, by this time he had experienced nine years of tense negotiation between the Merchant Taylors' and St. John's over elections. Interestingly, he faults his employers, rather than the Oxford dons. He writes that although many see scholarships to university for "the poorer sort onely" he notes that the bursaries are often insufficient, as "that small helpe could never suffice." Furthermore, he believed that scholarships should be given to the best students, and that fellowships are "simply preferments for learning, and avauncements." In short, he believed that there ought to be "equitie of choice."²³ Mulcaster's view supported the health (and even wealth) of St. John's, but it would not have been popular with his employers. The Merchant Taylors' were eager to assist the poorest scholars in order to maximize their participation in the London's moral economy. This was a point noted by the President and Fellows of St. John's in a letter to the Company written in 1600, discussed in detail below.²⁴

The election of 1572 proved to be a stopgap measure, as demonstrated by a letter dated May 6, 1574 from Sir William Cordell to both institutions. In the

²² For more on this work, see chapter 3.

²³ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions vvhetherin those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training vp of children* (London, 1581), pp. 156-157.

²⁴ Guildhall MS. 34281, p. 25.

letter he offers to act as arbiter between the two foundations, with the assistance of his friend, David Lewis, judge of the High Court of Admiralty and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.²⁵ The letter is an indenture, drawn up by Cordell and Lewes. Apparently, both the College and the Company “submytted them selffe to my order Arbitramente rule and Judgemente” after the Merchant Taylors’ Company brought a suit against St. John’s. The Merchant Taylors’ argued that even though the Statutes of St. John’s College gave them the right to elect up to forty-two scholars, they had thus far only elected two. At the time, St. John’s was strapped for cash and lacked the proper financial infrastructure to support the number of scholars prescribed by their founder. William Cordell wrote to both institutions, stating that the Statutes were a fine ideal, but did not reflect the financial reality of St. John’s at the time. Therefore, the College

Shall not be bounde by force of words of the said Statute to electe and receve into their Colledge any scholers about the number of so many as from tyme to tyme they shalbe able to mainteigne according to the good will, purpose, true intente, and meaning of the saide founder.²⁶

In other words, due to the financial difficulties of the College, St. Johns was given the right to limit the number of scholars elected to the College at any given time. Therefore, from that moment on, St. John’s College had the right to decide how many scholars could be elected each year, according to the state of their finances. This was in keeping with Sir Thomas White’s sentiments

²⁵ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 26.

²⁶ SJCA Munim. LII, f.25.

expressed above. Furthermore, at each election, the scholars chosen by the Merchant Taylors' Company were to be chosen "by the assente and consente of the saide Master Wardens and Assistantes of Merchaunttailors together *with* the Presidente or vicepresidente and 2 senior ffellowes."²⁷ While both parties accepted this arrangement as a sensible compromise, over time it generated a series of power struggles between the two institutions. Essentially, it allowed the Master and Fellows of St. John's College to interfere with the elections. The first was the ability to choose the number of places available each year. The second was requiring the "assente and consente" of the Master and Fellows in order for a scholar to be admitted. As demonstrated below, the representatives from St. John's utilized both of these privileges to their advantage, particularly during the Presidency of Ralph Hutchinson.

The next election was held in 1577. Sir William Cordell wrote on May 29, 1577 to Francis Willis, then President of St. John's College, that the Merchant Taylors' Company desired another election. Furthermore, he informed Willis that Merchant Taylors' were willing to pay the scholar's fees for a year.²⁸ The election was duly held at the Merchant Taylors' School on St. Barnabas' Day, with the President, Vice-President, and a fellow ("Master Reade") of St. John's College in attendance.²⁹ A scholar was chosen, but the Merchant Taylors' also

²⁷ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 26, p. 4. Emphasis mine.

²⁸ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 36, p. 2. "Sir William Cordell to Francis Willis," May 29, 1577.

²⁹ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 38, p. 1. "Sir William Cordell to Francis Willis," June 15, 1577.

requested the admission of two orphans to St. John's that year.³⁰ The Company offered to cover the expenses of these boys as well. Cordell wrote to the College that he had given his consent to the election of the extra two students, stating that the decision was supported by the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean of Westminster, and "other learned men."³¹

Cordell mediated wisely in this instance. He knew that the Merchant Taylors' were eager to send more scholars to Oxford, and that they were willing to do so at their own expense. Therefore, the College lost nothing by admitting these two scholars. Furthermore, Cordell negotiated a donation to the College fellowship. The Merchant Taylors' happily obliged, pledging £100 to relieve the College's debts and to provide food and supplies for fellows of St. John's. When Cordell wrote to the President and Fellows of St. John's to inform them of the Merchant Taylors' pledge, he reminded them that the Merchant Taylors' could be excellent patrons. Therefore, the College should treat them with the deference one gives to a benefactor. Cordell hoped that this would encourage the Merchant Taylors' to be more generous with the College in the future.³²

In 1581, Sir William Cordell died. The full Court of Assistants, as well as ten other members of the Company's Livery, assembled at St. Bride's Church on June 18, 1581. From there they walked to William Cordell's house in Charing

³⁰ The three candidates were John Faucet, Edmund Allen, and Henry Bearblocke.

³¹ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 38, p. 1.

³² Ibid.

Lane, and escorted his body to Christ's Church in London 'in good and cleanly apparel' without their livery hoods. This was a significant gesture, as the practice was typically reserved for the death of a prominent member of the Company.³³ There was good reason to mourn: the Victorian antiquary of the Merchant Taylors' Company C.M. Clode wrote that when Cordell died, that both the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College lost "their surviving mutual friend."³⁴ This proved all too true as tensions between the two institutions worsened following Cordell's death.

III. The Presidency of Ralph Hutchinson (1590-1605)

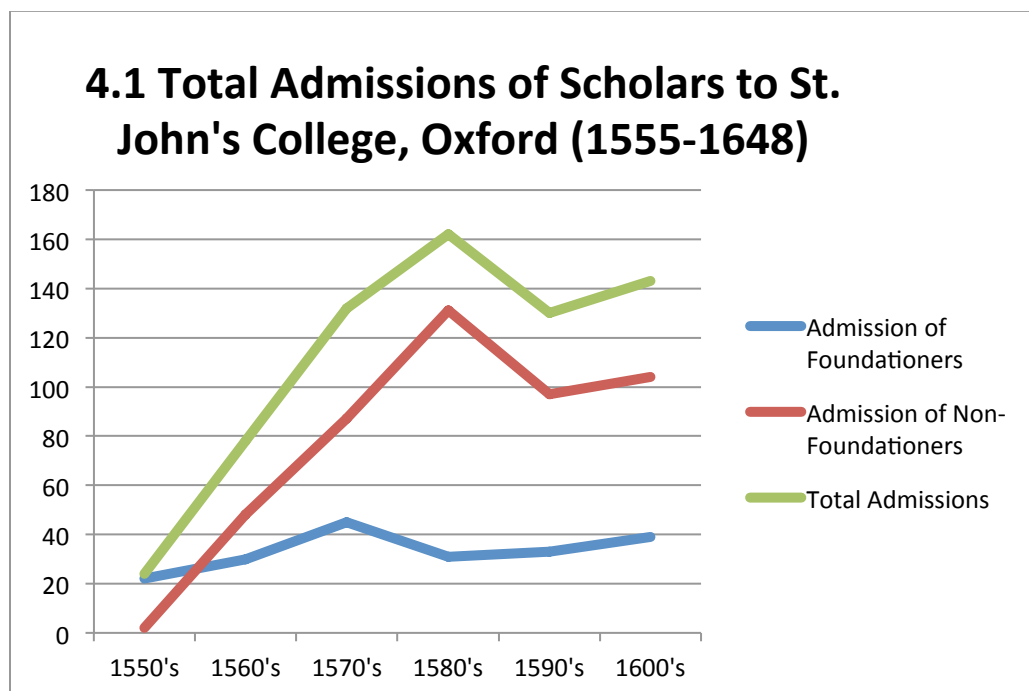
During the Presidency of Ralph Hutchinson, relations between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College deteriorated into a series of power struggles and petty squabbles. Difficulties occurred as a result of three tensions that worsened over the course of Hutchinson's tenure in office. The first issue regarded the number of scholarships available each year for Merchant Taylor scholars. Secondly, the College was frustrated that the Merchant Taylors' did not provide enough monetary support (in their opinion). Thirdly, relations were strained between the two institutions as a result of religious differences. All

³³ A similar procession was carried out in 1570 during the funeral for Sir Thomas Rowe, former Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company and Lord Mayor of London.

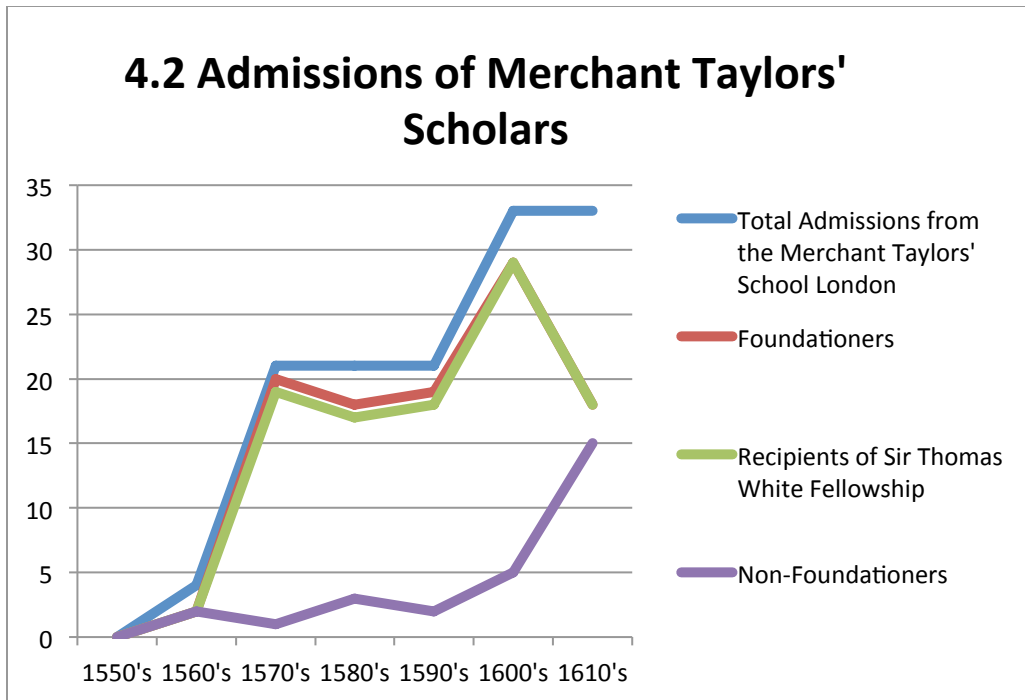
³⁴ C.M. Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, London*, Vol. II, (London, 1888), p. 226.

of these arguments were exacerbated by the actions of the leadership of both institutions, particularly Hutchinson.

This was a time of growth at St. John's College, as demonstrated in figure 5.1. After a slump in the 1580's, the foundation accepted thirty-three foundationers during the 1590's, and ninety-seven non-foundationers, a total of one hundred and three new scholars over the course of a decade. As figure 5.2 demonstrates, the number of students from the Merchant Taylors' School also increased. This increase included both foundationers and non-foundationers. Yet, problems continued during this time. This section considers why arguments between the Merchant Taylors' and St. John's continued, even after an increase in admissions from the Merchant Taylors' School.



4.2 Admissions of Merchant Taylors' Scholars



Ralph Hutchinson's role in the troubles between St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company is difficult to deduce, but the tapering off of difficulties between the College and the Company following his death in 1606 is telling.³⁵ Yet, he spent his early years at the Merchant Taylors' School, and received a scholarship to St. John's College as a poor scholar. Ralph Hutchinson was the son of John Hutchinson, the Clerk of the Merchant Taylors' Company. He was educated, along with his siblings, at the Merchant Taylors' School under the mastership of Richard Mulcaster. In 1568, Joan White (wife of Sir Thomas White) wrote to St. John's College asking that Ralph receive a fellowship as his father is "greatly charged with a greate number of children and some of them

³⁵ See below.

very towards in learning.”³⁶ Her request was granted and Ralph was made a founder of St. John’s two years later. He enjoyed a fruitful academic career, becoming rhetoric reader in 1579, a position he held until 1581, when he became medical fellow. He married Mary, the stepdaughter of Francis Willis in 1583. Seven years later he was elected President of St. John’s College in 1590, when his father-in-law resigned the position.

Ralph Hutchinson’s religious beliefs are difficult to pin down. He studied under Richard Mulcaster who (as mentioned in chapter three) was most likely not a Puritan. Furthermore, he married Francis Willis’ stepdaughter. As discussed in chapter one, Francis Willis maintained conservative religious beliefs, and was rumored to be a secret papist (even though he outwardly conformed to the Elizabethan Church). Yet, Hutchinson was also a translator of the King James’ Bible. He was a member of the Second Westminster Group, led by William Barlow, a religious moderate. Furthermore, during Hutchinson’s Presidency, St. John’s College retained its reputation as an institution on the conservative end of the confessional spectrum, a haven for anti-Calvinists and avant-garde conformists such as John Buckeridge. After all, it was during his time as President that William Laud received his education at St. John’s.³⁷ Therefore, it is safe to say that Hutchinson was a conformist, with little to no interest in Puritanism. It is little wonder that tension flared with the Merchant

³⁶ SJCA Munim. LII, f. 16, “Joan White to St. John’s College, Oxford,” August 27, 1568.

³⁷ See chapter 2

Taylors' Company who were increasingly led by godly members of the London community.

The difficulties between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College are carefully recorded in a series of manuscripts pasted into a nineteenth century scrapbook. The scrapbook is housed in the Merchant Taylors' documents in the Guildhall Library, London. The records in the volume begin in 1589, a year before the beginning of Ralph Hutchinson's Presidency. The documents are arranged in a roughly chronological order and date from 1589 until 1715. Little is known regarding the edition's origins or assembly, but it is likely that this book is the one described by H.L. Hopkinson in his *Ancient Records of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (1915),

There has long been in existence a large scrapbook in which have been pasted sundry old papers relating to the School. Many others have been recently found, which have been placed with them. They include letters from the President and Fellows of St John's College, with the signatures of Archbishop Laud, Archbishop Juxon and other distinguished persons attached.³⁸

The bulk of the volume is made up of certificates of the examination and election of scholars, produced annually on the day of election, typically St. Barnabas' Day (11 June). There are annual certificates of election from 1597 until 1660, when the records become fragmentary. The certificates were signed by all

³⁸ H L Hopkinson, Report on the Ancient Records in the Possession of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John Baptist in the City of London (Waterlow, 1915), p. 29. My thanks go to Stephen Freeth, Archivist for the Merchant Taylors' Company, for this reference.

present at the elections including representatives from the Merchant Taylors' Company, St. John's College, as well as miscellaneous persons invited to take part in the proceedings. Also included are supporting documents relating to the election of scholars, such as the tally cards that record the number of votes cast for each candidate, letters from the President and Fellows of St. John's College to the Merchant Taylors' Company, copies of letters from the Company to the College, extracts from College Statutes, receipts for exhibition money, internal memoranda drawn up by the Company regarding the elections, as well as letters from students requesting help for extenuating charges while at University.³⁹ In short, this scrapbook details each election and its aftermath—allowing a glimpse into the proceedings of each election as well as its outcome. The documents assembled demonstrate that the relationship between the College and the Company deteriorated during between 1590 and 1606.

The election of 1591 unfortunately set the tone for relations between the two institutions over the course of the next fourteen years. Originally, the election sheet stated that “onley twoe” places were available at St. John’s, but this is scratched out and replaced with the number three.⁴⁰ Election sheets were formulaic, and the hand that filled in names of elected scholars was typically different from the form itself. Therefore, the correction seems odd, and it suggests that prior to the election that the College was not transparent regarding

³⁹ See Stephen Freeth, *Merchant Taylor Catalogue* (2007), “MS 34281,” pp. 111-112.

⁴⁰ Guildhall MS 34281. p. 4. June 11, 1591.

the true number of places available. Further evidence of this is found in regular complaints by the Merchant Taylors' that the representatives from St. John's were not forthright or consistent regarding the quantity of places vacant each year. The Company's frustration is not surprising. In 1593 the College told them that four scholarships were free for Michaelmas Term, only to change that number to three on the day of the election.⁴¹

While St. John's leadership continued to exasperate the Merchant Taylors' with their duplicity, religious tensions began to crop up. In 1592, a disagreement over Sabbath observance between the College and the Company led to the intervention of the Bishop of Winchester. Prior to St. Barnabas' Day, the President and Fellows of St. John's informed the Merchant Taylors' Company that there would not be any places available at the College. Accordingly, the Company cancelled the election that year. Shortly before the election date, George Wright resigned his fellowship at St. John's, and the College sent a delegation to London for an election. They arrived, without warning, at the Merchant Taylors' School on St. Barnabas' Day, which happened to be a Sunday. It being Sabbath, all of the students were dispersed, making it impossible to hold an election. Furthermore, the Merchant Taylors' were bothered that the St. John's delegates wished to hold an election on a holy day.⁴² The men from St. John's declared that holding the election on any other day was a violation of their

⁴¹ Guildhall MS 34281, p. 8.

⁴² Guildhall MS 34281, p. 6.

Statutes. As a result, the Merchant Taylors' consulted the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bilson, in the matter. Bilson declared that the election should be held on the following Wednesday. Furthermore, he stated that all future elections falling on a Sunday should be held on Monday instead.

The tension regarding the Sabbath reveals religious differences between the two institutions. As discussed above, by this time the Liverymen who ran the Merchant Taylors' was mostly Calvinist, while St. John's College retained its conservative undertones. Strict Sabbath observance was essential to the godly community.⁴³ A preacher at Blackfriars remarked a few years later that "The spending of the afternoons on Sundays either idly or about temporal affairs, is like clipping the Queen's coin; this treason to the Prince, that profanation, and robbing God of his own."⁴⁴ On the other hand, the St. John's delegation was more concerned with following the instructions of their Statutes than observing Sunday. A letter written by President and Fellows of St. John's states that the situation had the potential to "growe to some mislike betweene the Colledge and the Companie had not the Question been overruled by the Aucthorety [the

⁴³ Contemporary writings on Puritan Sabbatarianism includes John Hooper, *Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments* (1548); Nicholas Bounde, *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595); John Stockwood, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse on Barthelmew day* (1578); Zacharias Ursinus, *A verie profitable and necessarie discourse concerning the obseruation and keeping of the Sabboth day* (1584); See also David S. Katz, *Sabbath and Sectarianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York, E.J. Brill), 1988; Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath* (New York: Cambridge University Press) 1988.

⁴⁴ The sermon was given at Blackfriars in either 1602 or 1603 by an unknown cleric and is noted in the Puritan John Manningsham's commonplace book, as found in Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships* (Stanford, 1970), pp. 63, 64.

Bishop of Winchester].”⁴⁵ In 1598, when the election again fell on a Sunday, the Merchant Taylors’ preemptively addressed the situation by writing to the President and Fellows of St. John’s, requesting that they “take notice that it [the election] falleth out this yere upon the Sunday yet (according to our accustomed manner) we have thought good to putt you in remembrance of the tyme.”⁴⁶ The President and Fellows of St. John’s duly complied and the election was held on the Monday following St. Barnabas’ Day without complaint.

Religious tensions also played a role in the election of scholars at the election of 1598. Four boys were elected, Edward Jackson (17 votes), Edward Groome (10 votes), John Wicksted (15 votes), and William Juxon (13 votes). A tie had occurred between Juxon and Theophilus Tuer (13 votes), Juxon only winning by “our Masters doble prick.” In other words, the Master broke the tie with a second vote for Juxon. It is possible that the Company was eager to give Juxon the place. His uncle, Thomas Juxon, was a prominent member of the Company, and was a voting member of the Merchant Taylors’ Company present at the election. As mentioned above Thomas Juxon was a prominent Puritan in London. It is possible that the College preferred Theophilus Tuer, who later became a prominent Arminian, even serving as John Buckeridge’s chaplain. Furthermore, Hutchinson must have liked him, because he acted as Tuer’s patron in the years to come. As the Merchant Taylors’ Master acted as the

⁴⁵ SJCA Munim. LIII, B.4, p. 1, June 24, 1592.

⁴⁶ Guildhall MS 34281, p. 15

tiebreaker, William Juxon won the scholarship. Theophilus Tuer was given a scholarship later that year when a place fell vacant at St. John's College.⁴⁷

Something about the election did not sit well with either party. In the following months, a flurry of letters passed between the Company and the College. St. John's claimed that too many young men were elected, and that their collective poverty increased as a result. They declared that the election of 1598 left them over budget, and as a result, they cancelled the election the following year.

Difficulties continued in 1600, when the President and Fellows of St. John's College wrote an aggressive response to the Merchant Taylors' routine request for the number of places available for the election. The letter begins by informing the Company that "we have received your letter puttinge us in minde of St. Barnabas day, wherof (as you well noate) our founders statute is the best remembrancer."⁴⁸ They complained about the Company's desire to "encourage the poor Schollers of your Schole," stating that the College ultimately paid for the Company's charitable spirit at the elections. The College wrote that they were "become poorer, for the advancement of your schollers, and schole." The College then chastised the Company as insufficient benefactors, living in "hope that God in tyme will raise up some good men" who will contribute to the expenses of the Merchant Taylor scholars. As far as places available, they assert "we doubt not

⁴⁷ Hegarty, p. 150.

⁴⁸ Guildhall MS 34281, p. 25.

but you knowe what places are voide.” They then stated that they would announce the number of places available on the day of the election and state that they will only give the number of places available on the day of the election, “then and there.”⁴⁹

Not surprisingly, the election that year was a mess. The tally sheet for the 1600 election shows that Thomas Downer (20 votes), Rowland Juxon (20 votes), Joseph Billing (13 votes), and Joseph Fletcher (15 votes) received the highest number of votes. Thomas Downer and Rowland Juxon tied for first place, with twenty votes apiece. Yet, a note at the bottom of the page notes that “a generall assent” that Lewis Paddy (9 votes) would be awarded a scholarship instead of Juxon, who was given a provisional place “if a place be voide.”⁵⁰ This does not seem right as Lewis Paddy only received nine votes. It is likely that the President and Fellows of St. John’s College preferred to elect Lewis, the nephew of Sir William Paddy. Paddy was a member of St. John’s, as well as a wealthy benefactor. He was also Lord Burghley’s physician. He owned an expansive library and he had promised its contents to St. John’s on his death. The College was currently building a new library, and was in need of more medical books. Furthermore, Sir William Paddy was an anti-Calvinist. Therefore, the religious background of Lewis Paddy’s family was attractive to the St. John’s representatives. The College was wise to push for Lewis Paddy’s election.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Guildhall MS 34281, p. 19.

Rowland Juxon, on the other hand, was another nephew of Thomas Juxon, a prominent Puritan and a member of the Merchant Taylors' Livery (as mentioned above). Furthermore, Rowland was an orphan. Both his Puritan connections and his lack of outside income would have made him an unattractive candidate to the College delegates.⁵¹

Representatives of the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College, Oxford were not the only attendees at the St. Barnabas' Day elections. Illustrious persons from outside the Company and College were invited yearly to attend the elections. These men regularly acted as examiners during the elections, and sometimes they mediated when altercations occurred. The official election sheets record the names of everyone present. Therefore, we know that Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and John Yonge, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge [now Pembroke College] and later Bishop of Rochester, were regular attendees. As Dean of Westminster and Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, Lancelot Andrewes attended on a semi-regular basis, and Richard Hooker and Alexander Nowell are both recorded as attending once.⁵² Many of these dignitaries became patrons of the School, creating scholarships for Merchant Taylor boys outside of the fellowships established at St. John's. Most of this funding was allocated for places at Pembroke College, Cambridge by Alexander Nowell, which eased the burden on St. John's College. A number of academically

⁵¹ Hegarty, p. 83.

⁵² Guildhall MS. 34281, p. 2.

talented Taylorians attended Pembroke Hall, including Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Dove, the future Bishop of Peterborough, Edmund Spencer, and Matthew Wren.⁵³ Matthew Wren was originally chosen by the Merchant Taylors' Company to attend St. John's College, but he had "lost out due to maneuvers practiced...by the St. John's representatives." During that election in 1601, Wren was originally voted as one of two scholars to attend St. John's College. The delegates from St. John's called for another vote. Unfortunately, the reason behind the request for another vote is not recorded.⁵⁴ This time, Wren lost out to Thomas Tucker. Lancelot Andrewes was present at that election and offered Matthew Wren a place at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.⁵⁵

The apex of the power struggles between St. John's College and the Merchant Taylors' Company occurred in 1605, at the last election Ralph Hutchinson attended as President of St. John's. On that occasion, the election sheet reads, "This yere greate unkindness passes betweene the Colledge and Company." The records for this election leave a number of questions. Besides the vague statement of "greate unkindness," the tally sheet demonstrates that of the six scholars presented, two were elected definitely and two were elected provisionally. The two scholars, Bryan Naylor (19 votes) and Thomas Grice (10 votes), with the highest number of votes were granted admission to St. John's.

⁵³ Andrew Hegarty, p. xxiii

⁵⁴ Guildhall MS 43281, p. 31.

⁵⁵ Hegarty, p. 171.

This is straightforward enough. Yet, the two scholars who received provisional places (Christopher Wren [five votes] and John Williamson [no votes]) received the two lowest marks. Charles Flood should have been given the place, as he received six votes, while John Williamson earned “nil.” No evidence regarding Charles Flood’s life has survived, so it is difficult to understand St. John’s College disapproval of him. Yet, the election demonstrates that the representatives from St. John’s continued to interfere with the election process.

Following this election, an entry in the St. John’s College Register dated July 1, 1605 states that the College’s Visitor, the Bishop of Winchester, would mediate all future elections.⁵⁶ Relations between the two institutions improved drastically following this decision, although it is difficult to discern whether this was due to the boundaries that it created, or the fact that prior to the next election Ralph Hutchinson died, and John Buckeridge was installed as President of St. John’s College.

IV. The Arminian Presidents and Elections to St. John’s College, Oxford

On January 18, 1606 John Buckeridge was elected President of St. John’s College, Oxford. His presidency established an improved relationship with the Merchant Taylors’ Company, but it had suffered a rocky start. During John

⁵⁶ SJCA Coll. Reg. Vol. II, f. 302.

Buckeridge's first term as President of St. John's College, a scholar with a physical disability was accidentally elected. The College representatives did not discover John Cooper's lame leg until he arrived at St. John's on July 2 of that year. According to the College Statutes students "must be free from all spott of mynde and all deformities of body."⁵⁷ The President and Fellows of St. John's wrote a letter to the Merchant Taylors' Company. In it, they cried foul, saying that Cooper's injury was hidden from them "by reason of the confused standing of your schollars in an heape." Yet, feeling sorry for "the poore man in his grief" they sent the boy with two fellows to be examined by the College Visitor, the Bishop of Winchester.⁵⁸ The Merchant Taylors' responded, stating that they were ignorant of Cooper's infirmity. They then accused Buckeridge of speaking with Cooper "alone over night." The allegation that President Buckeridge had a liason with a student prompted an immediate reply from the senior fellows of the College. They wrote in Buckeridge's defense,

And for that credible informacion you say you receaved that Master President saw the boy alone over night, wee wish the informacion had ben spared, till it might have ben as credible as it seemed, for many of us heard Master President protest the contrary while he was with us, of which yf it please you, you may take further informacion from himself being by this tyme at his lyving in London.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Guildhall MS 34010, Vol. IV, p. 223 July 2, 1606

⁵⁸ Ibid; SJCA Munim. LIII, B.10, 1606; SJCA Coll. Reg. Vol. II, July 1, 1606, p. 324.

⁵⁹ SJCA Munim. LIII, B. 10, 1606.

The Bishop of Winchester wrote that the boy ought to stay at the College, which he did, and the entire matter (including the accusation against Buckeridge) was dropped. Interestingly, the Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company that year was Thomas Juxon, the Puritan uncle of William and Rowland Juxon. His distaste for Arminianism may have fueled his lack of discretion in this matter.⁶⁰

Juxon had already proved himself unwilling to support scholars at St. John's College in any capacity. Earlier that year, Thomas Juxon led a Court of Assistants that rejected his nephew Rowland's request for more funds at St. John's College "for his better mayntenaunce" as an orphan. It was decided (in vague terms) that if an exhibition fell void that "the Company be put in mynde of the said suite." No assistance was given young Juxon until the next Master came to power.⁶¹

Following this initial unrest, Buckeridge fostered good interactions with the Merchant Taylors' Company through transparency regarding the number of places vacant prior to each year's election. It might have helped that John Swinnerton, a Calvinist with good relations with the Crown, became Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1607. It was under Swinnerton's auspices that the Company invited John Buckeridge to preach before the King prior to his

⁶⁰ Keith Lindley, "Juxon, Thomas (1614–1672)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67255>, accessed 16 March 2016].

⁶¹ Guildhall MS 34010, Vol. IV, p. 207.

entertainment at the Merchant Taylors' Hall – perhaps as an attempt at reconciliation. Relations did improve, and during the 1600's, St. John's College offered twenty-nine places to Merchant Taylors' scholars, a 35% increase from the previous decade. He could thank good timing. The 1580's and 90's saw a surge in requests for places reserved for Founder's kin. These requests dwindled at the turn of the century, and therefore St. John's was able to offer those places to scholars from the Merchant Taylor's School.⁶²

The Merchant Taylors' also aided improved relations by providing more transparency regarding the abilities of its scholars. In 1606, Robert Dowe called for a revision of the Merchant Taylors' School's Statutes, and the Merchant Taylors' Court of Assistants assembled a committee to draw up a report.⁶³ The committee was comprised of a number of prominent scholars and divines: John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, John Dove, Rector of St. Mary Aldermary, John Spencer, a chaplain-in-ordinary to King James and later President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Nicholas Felton, also a royal chaplain and rector of St. Antholin's in London, as well as John Childerley, a former student of the Merchant Taylors' School who now held the rectorships of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Dunstan-in-the-East, both London parishes.⁶⁴

⁶² See Figure 4.1 and 4.2.

⁶³ F.W.M. Draper, *Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School, 1561-1961* (OUP, 1962), p. 40.

⁶⁴ Guildhall MS 34282.

Interestingly, none of these men were Puritans; most of them leaned more toward the theology and practice of Arminianism. John Overall spoke against double predestination at the Hampton Court Conference and refused to subscribe to the Lambeth Articles. John Dove supported the Calvinist theology of predestination, but he also wrote in support of the episcopacy and utilizing the sign of the cross (as did John Buckeridge and William Laud). John Spencer edited an edition of Hooker's work, and Nicholas Felton was a friend and colleague of Lancelot Andrewes at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Although rector of St. Antholin's, he once rebuked his Puritan and separatist parishioners to "enduer and suffer scandales in the Church and not make rents and divisions for them." While John Childerley served both Archbishops Bancroft and Abbot as chaplains, he was later sequestered by Parliament in his old age. In short, none of these men were "hot" Protestants.⁶⁵

The committee found that the Merchant Taylors' School would benefit from tri-annual examinations by its Master, Ushers, and some prominent scholars. A statement regarding the committee's reasoning for the exams points to the tensions with St. John's College,

The Company from the exercise done on the probacion dayes shall trewly be informed, when and how often soever they please which schollers of the highest forme bee absolutely the best and which simply bee the worst, whereby the Marchauntaylors at the eleccion day shall the better knowe

⁶⁵ Kenneth Fincham, "Felton, Nicholas (1556–1626)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9274, accessed 26 Jan 2016].

which of the schollers is most fytt to bee preferred to St John Baptist Colledge in Oxford and not depend so much upon others.⁶⁶

In other words, these examinations gave academic gravitas to the Merchant Taylors' choices on election day. Furthermore, it demonstrates a different attitude to the election. Previously, the Merchant Taylors were concerned with choosing able scholars who were also poor. This allowed them the opportunity to provide greater charity and therefore increase their stature in the moral economy of London. Yet, this letter called for electing only the most learned scholars. This shift benefitted St. John's College, as it potentially raised the standards of its incoming pupils.

The relationship between St. John's and the Merchant Taylors' was improved even further with the accession of William Laud to the Presidency of St. John's in 1611. He was well aware of the delicate relationship between the Merchant Taylors' Company and his college. He was one of the ten senior fellows who signed the item in the College Register in 1605 (mentioned above) that referred all future difficulties regarding elections to the Bishop of Winchester as the College Visitor. He also attended the election at the Merchant Taylors' School in 1606. As a result of his early experiences, Laud understood both the tensions as well as the opportunities available as a result of the College's connection with a powerful and wealthy company in London. After all, his father had been a successful merchant Taylor in Reading. Therefore, it is unsurprising

⁶⁶ Guildhall MS 34282.

that his first letter as President to the Merchant Taylors' Company sets a tone of peace and harmony by stating directly how many places are void at St. John's, as well as how they came to be available.⁶⁷ With this letter he demonstrates an impressive political prowess by displaying a willingness to be transparent, calming the anxiety and frustration of the Merchant Taylors.' Contrary to the aggressive letters written during Hutchinson's time as President, Laud is gracious and courteous, assuring the Company that "[we] will not faile to be present att your Schoole, whear we shall be glad to meet you, to performe the trust that is layde upon us."⁶⁸

William Laud knew how to speak the Merchant Taylors' language. On May 11, 1612, he wrote to the Merchant Taylors' Company framing the purpose of their philanthropy in a completely different light. Previously, the Merchant Taylors' strove to elect the poorest scholars, as an act of charity. Laud states that choosing "the best and fittest Schollers" would not only do great honor to both of their institutions, but it would also be best for "the good both of the Church and Common-Wealth."⁶⁹ He then extends gratitude to them as benefactors, promising them complete openness regarding the College's finances and thanking them for their "former love." In this way, he conveys gratitude rather than entitlement. He further emphasized both of these points the following year

⁶⁷ Guildhall MS 34281, p.56.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Guildhall MS 34281, p. 58.

in a letter, saying that “the best will bee best able to doe God service in his Church and to credit the College and your schoole which bredd them.”⁷⁰

The silence in the archives during this period points to a relatively peaceful period of relations between the two institutions during Laud’s tenure as President. The Merchant Taylors’ eagerness to put forth its best scholars, and the College’s practice of forwarding both the number of places available a month prior to the election built trust between the two institutions. Furthermore, beginning in 1614, the Merchant Taylors began having the President and two fellows sign the tally sheet, in order to ensure that everyone was in accordance regarding the scholar chosen.⁷¹ In 1617, a sticky situation arose when there were no spaces available. Laud wrote the Company and stated politely that the College would be pleased to elect a scholar or scholar, but that they were unable to do so at this time. He offered the Merchant Taylors’ an opportunity to remedy the matter by explaining that limited preferment of College Fellows made further admissions impossible, “as the Colledge wantes meanes, soe you see the ffellowes want preferment.”⁷² He gave the Merchant Taylors’ an opportunity to fix the situation without insult or injury,

Our wish is that some well minded amonge you would followe your most worthy Brother Sir William Cravens example and procure some Benefices

⁷⁰ Guildhall MS 34281, “The President and Fellows of St. John’s College, Oxford to the Merchant Taylors’, London,” May 17, 1613, p. 60.

⁷¹ Guildhall MS 34281, p. 63.

⁷² Guildhall MS 34281, “The President and Fellows of St. John’s College, Oxford to the Merchant Taylors’, London,” May 17, 1619, p. 72.

for the Colledge. That would in tyme make waye for ffellowes preferments and places for your school.⁷³

During his time as President of St. John's, Laud not only improved relations with the Merchant Taylors' Company, he also increased the income of the College through a new admissions scheme. As demonstrated in figures 5.1 and 5.2, Laud increased the number of non-foundationer admissions by 20%, drastically increasing the income of the College. Non-foundationers paid to study at the College. Therefore, the College received payment for room and board, and poorer scholars who relied on scholarships earned money teaching non-foundationers. Furthermore, most of these students came from gentrified families in the counties, many of whom Laud tapped for donations (see chapter 2). Another benefit of increasing the number of non-foundationers is that (unlike foundationers) the President and Fellows maintained full control regarding the choice of admission. As mentioned in chapter 2, Laud took this opportunity to stack the College with the children of his friends. Through strategic diplomacy, Laud recruited 84% more commoners (non-foundationers) from Merchant Taylors' School than his predecessor. While Laud admitted fewer foundationers from the Merchant Taylors' School during this time period (eighteen compared to twenty-nine in the 1590's) than any previous decade, he admitted more students total than before.⁷⁴ In this way, Laud placed the power of admissions in

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ These numbers were calculated based on information in Hegarty (2011).

the hands of the College without breaking the Statutes. Furthermore, this admissions scheme allowed for economic growth that funded building projects and larger scholarships for foundationers.⁷⁵

The relative peace experienced during this time period can also be attributed to the shift in the Merchant Taylors' leadership during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. As discussed in chapter 3, the Liverymen who governed the Merchant Taylors' Company became less interested in promoting the interests of its godly members, and more focused on developing good relations with the Crown. This included positive dealings with William Laud and his Arminian successors, William Juxon and Richard Baylie. The first move in this direction occurred in 1614, when the Merchant Taylors' appointed Rowland Juxon, Laud's young protégé at the time, to the living of St. Martin Outwich.⁷⁶

William Juxon's Presidency was equally smooth. Evidence of good will between the two foundations during this time includes an invitation to Richard Andrews, former Vice President of St. John's College, Oxford as a dignitary to the elections from 1628 until 1633. Furthermore, the Merchant Taylors' Company began consulting St. John's College in their choice of schoolmaster. During the Presidencies of William Laud, William Juxon, and Richard Baylie, all of the masters of the Merchant Taylors' School were former members of St. John's

⁷⁵ See chapter 2

⁷⁶ Johnson, p. 158.

College. The archives reveal no tension between the two institutions until the Civil War. Richard Baylie continued good relations with the Company as well, and was relatively hands off, not attending most elections, but sending his Vice President instead.

V. The Civil Wars

Over the course of this period studied, arguments between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College over elections from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St. John's College in Oxford demonstrate that complex financial, religious, and social contexts were at play. Although previous historians have boiled these down to financial concerns and power plays, they have not considered the religious causes of these tussles. Religiously, the two institutions were at cross-purposes. The Merchant Taylors' Company was eager to support poor students, as assisting the needy was a meaningful way for them to participate in the moral economy of London. London's merchants participated in the moral economy through charity and philanthropic pursuits. This movement was religiously motivated, particularly for the godly members of the Company. Puritans were eager to demonstrate their divine blessings, but also to disburse them in a way that demonstrated their election. Meanwhile, the President and Fellows of St. John's College cared more about the elections'

impact on their educational society. In particular, they preferred boys from wealthy families that did not require extra assistance from the College. Furthermore, they wanted the best-educated boys who were able to excel at the university. Finally, they shied away from boys who came from prominent godly families, such as Rowland and William Juxon, most likely to preserve the conservative nature of their institution.

Over the course of the early seventeenth century, the Company and College came to a truce, particularly during the presidencies of William Laud, William Juxon, and Richard Baylie. A truce was facilitated by the Merchant Taylors' Company's growing connection with the Royal Court. St. John's was a stronghold of royalism, mostly through its connection with William Laud, who was favored by both James I and his son, Charles I. During the tumultuous years of the 1640's, however, the two institutions found themselves on opposite ends of the Civil Wars—St. John's College joining with the Royalist cause, and the Merchant Taylors' supporting Parliament.

i. The Civil Wars: St. John's College, Oxford

As Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart have noted, at the time of the Civil Wars, the University of Oxford was "firmly in the hands of old Laudians, and

equally closely tied to the emerging royalist cause."⁷⁷ Among Oxford's colleges, St. John's was steeped in the cause of both Archbishop Laud and the King. Richard Baylie was President, who remained Laud's supporter until the latter's death, and was a chaplain and advisor to King Charles I. The Fellows of St. John's were equally married to the Royalist cause. As a result, the Civil Wars took a significant toll on St. John's College, a stronghold for the Royalist cause. The records for the "Canterbury Chest" detail some of the economic troubles of the College during this time. The Canterbury Chest held the revenues from the rents of commoners living in the Canterbury Quadrangle. Prior to the Civil Wars, the rooms brought in a substantial income. In 1637, the accounts noted that the buildings brought in £34 3s 8d. In 1638 and 1639, a little over £35 came in both years. The Royal Army occupied Oxford during winter 1642, and the account for the following summer reads as follows,

This sum appeareth at the foote of the Account in the yeare booke but was not paid into the Chest in regard the Colledge was disturbed by the Warr, their Tennants failing to pay their rent and soe could not paye the summe, but retorneth it as a debt to the Chest. Richard Baylie, President.⁷⁸

The Royal army occupied Oxford for four years, until it was finally overtaken in 1646 by Parliamentary forces. Following the third siege of 1646, Parliamentarian troops entered Oxford. The President of St. John's College, Richard Baylie was ordered by the Committee of Lords and Commons to leave

⁷⁷ Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars," found in Tyacke, Nicholas, ed. *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. IV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. p. 695

⁷⁸ SJCA Munim. LXXXV.H.2. "Canterbury Chest Account." In the hand of Richard Baylie.

the President's lodgings in 1648, as he had been "ajudged guilty of high Contempt and denial of Authority of Parliament."⁷⁹ Baylie was the head of a staunchly Royalist college; an institution with statues of the hated King and his Catholic Queen placed in the stonework. To make it worse, the equally despised former Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, placed those statues there. Therefore, Richard Baylie's expulsion came as no surprise. St. John's College was depleted of its fellowship, by the time the Parliamentary Commission examined its members, only twenty-three foundationers remained, and five non foundationers. Of these, the Parliamentary Commission expelled sixteen foundationers and two non-foundationers. In total, the Commission expelled sixty-four percent of St. John's scholars. A note in the Canterbury Chest account book states that in "the yeare 1648 the President and Fellows were by violence driven out of the College until 1660."⁸⁰

ii. The Civil Wars: The Merchant Taylors' Company

During the Civil War years, members of the Merchant Taylors' Company walked a fine line between loyalty to the Crown and Parliament. Important members of the Livery remained royalists, but laid low in London – a

⁷⁹ Tanner MS 338/76, "Order of the Visitors to Dr. Baylie, president of St. John's college, to remove, March 17, 1647/8."

⁸⁰ SJCA Munim. LXXXV.H.2, "Canterbury Chest Account." In the hand of Richard Baylie.

Parliamentary stronghold. Other members of the Livery, such as John Venn, played significant roles in the overthrow of the King and the high church practices of his bishops. Although privately a house divided, the Company as a whole chose to side with Parliament, and acted accordingly.

In 1640, the Company elected Sir Abraham Reynardson Master.

Reynardson was a devout member of St. Martin Outwich, donating expensive items for the communion table there and asking to be buried within its walls.

Wealthy and prominent in his company, as well as the Levant and East Indies Companies, he later became President of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Lord

Mayor of London. During his tenure as Master of the Merchant Taylors'

Company, he avoided involvement in the rapidly developing political crisis. He did not sign any of the London petitions of 1641-42, nor did he protest pro-

parliamentary activities within London.⁸¹ Although he tried to lay low, activities surrounding the trial and execution of Charles I revealed him to be a royalist.

When the Common Council of London met on January 13, 1649, the business of the day included a petition of consent from the City of London for the trial, and

possible execution, of King Charles I. "Our Christian Worthy would have no share in it, nothing to burthen his conscience nor disturb his peace."⁸²

⁸¹ Keith Lindley, "Reynardson, Sir Abraham (1590-1661)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/233396, accessed 12 Oct 2015]

⁸² George Smallwood, *Ergon pseudous kai misthos aletheias, or, The wicked mans sad disappointment and the righteous mans sure recompence* (1661) [accessed *Early English Books Online*, October 19, 2015].

Yet, during the Civil Wars, the Merchant Taylors' Company supported Parliament. Some Parliamentary committees were held in the Merchant Taylors' Hall, money was lent for the defense of London and the raising of troops. The Merchant Taylors' provided troops for the protection of London from the King's forces in October 1642, as noted by William Lithgow, a Scottish traveller, who noted "The greatest company which I observed to march out...were the [guild of taylorers, carrying fourtie-six collours, and seconded with eight thousand lusty men."⁸³

St. Martin Outwich remained the regular parish church of the members of Merchant Taylors' Company, but it was not immune from the puritan purges of church ornaments and decoration. In response to the order of September 1641, the church officials hired a painter for "putting out pictures."⁸⁴ During these years, their rector, Thomas Peirs was ejected and the staunch Calvinist Thomas Bedford replaced him.⁸⁵

In May 1644, the Merchant Taylors' Company appointed Thomas Dugard Master of the Merchant Taylors' School. A brilliant scholar, he wrote textbooks for teaching Greek and Latin composition that went through numerous editions. He also pursued a side career in printing, and was invited to join the Stationers'

⁸³ Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*. Leeds: Maney, 2004. p. 187.

⁸⁴ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War*, (Boydell, 2003), pp.144 & 163.

⁸⁵ Joel R. Beeke, "Bedford, Thomas (d. 1653)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1932>, accessed 16 March 2016].

Company as an editor of textbooks. He printed educational materials, as well as political pamphlets, at his presses housed in the Merchant Taylors' Schools, against the wishes of the Company. A firm royalist, he published books and tracts that supported the king and questioned the Commonwealth government, including *Eikon basilike*. After the execution of Charles I, he printed a run of *Defensio regia* in 1650, an attack on regicide.⁸⁶ Elizabeth Akin, nicknamed "Parliament Joan," tracked him down and turned him in the authorities, for which she was compensated. Dugard was committed to Newgate and dismissed from his post on February 8, 1650. His student and assistant printer, Thomas Dawks, was left alone.⁸⁷

Some resistance to the edicts of Parliament by Dugard's students is evident in a petition of 1645. Following the election of 1645, the scholars presented a petition to the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Merchant Taylors' Company, printed later as a broadside titled, "The Scholars Petition for Play-days, instead of Holydays". The petition, written in rhyming verse, states that Parliament has just abolished holy days as "a rubrick't-badge o'th'Roman

⁸⁶ W.R. Meyer, "Dugard, William (1606-1662)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8182>, accessed 12 Oct 2015].

⁸⁷ Maureen Bell, "Alkin, Elizabeth (c. 1600-1655?)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57433>, accessed 12 Oct 2015]; Keith Maslen, "Dawks, Thomas (bapt. 1611, d. 1670)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7340>, accessed 12 Oct 2015].

Whore." Yet, the students crave time to rest and rejuvenate, as they are not made of 'stone or steel or brass.' They ended with a plea,

To you therefore we make our Common Prayer
That, weighing the premises, you would repair
This dolefull damage; and, in compensation
Of this sad loss, appoint, for recreation,
Some equippolent seasons as will fit
Seem to your Wisedomes best for to permit.
Thus your poor Orators devoutly pray, That you sequester would some
times for Play. O let not then our Masters be our Jailors! So shall we ever
pray for Merchant-Tailors.⁸⁸

Two hundred and seventy students signed the petition. Although there was no publisher listed, it is likely that William Dugard printed it on the press that he maintained at the school.

iii. The Civil Wars: Elections to St. John's College, Oxford

St. John's College, Oxford and the Merchant Taylors' Company, London enjoyed peaceful relations until the start of the English Civil Wars. Records indicate that the annual St. Barnabas' Day elections held at the Merchant Taylors' School ran smoothly until 1643. On May 1, 1643, the Merchant Taylors' Company wrote their yearly letter to St. John's College, Oxford, putting them "in minde" of

⁸⁸ Anonymous, *The scholars petition for play-dayes, in stead of Holy-dayes* (1645).

the upcoming elections.⁸⁹ The President and Fellows of St. John's College replied that they would "beare in mind the approach of St Barnabies' day" but that they would not be able to attend the election that year. They cited the "common troubles and distractions of times" and stated that the "hazard of passing and repassing to your school" was too great. At the time, the King's army was stationed in fortified areas around Oxford, and travel was difficult. Furthermore, the President and Fellows were known Royalists. The President, Richard Baylie, was the King's Chaplain and had accompanied him to York the previous summer. Therefore, travelling to London, now a stronghold of Parliament would have been unwise. Therefore, the President and Fellows suggested three options, in lieu of the usual election in London. The first was that the Merchant Taylors' Company chooses two scholars to fill the single available space and send them both to Oxford. Once the students arrived at St. John's College, the President and Fellows would examine them and choose one of them as their scholar. The second option was to wait on electing any students until the political situation cooled down, and travel became safe again. The third option was the suggestion that both parties search the College Statutes and confer with the Bishop of Winchester to find an alternative process for electing a scholar to St. John's College.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ SJCA Munim. LIII. B. 31. "The Merchant Taylors' Company to President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford." May 1, 1643.

⁹⁰ SJCA Munim. LIII. B. 32, "A Copy of a Letter to the Merchant Taylors' Company." Undated.

The Merchant Taylors' Company responded on May 30 that they would not "admitt of that construction there of as you seemed to enforce." In other words, they rejected all three alternative options suggested by the leadership of St. John's. Instead, they asserted their right to nominate and elect scholars. Even though the Merchant Taylors' "comiserate together with you the Common troubles and distraccions of the tyme, and the danger of our publique assemblage att our Schoole," they refused to budge. Even though they declared that they "commiserate" with the plight of the St. John's fellows, they were unwilling to actually assist them. The Merchant Taylors' then declared their intention to elect a scholar on St. Barnabas' Day, with or without representatives from St. John's College.⁹¹ The President and Fellows from St. John's responded that any scholars elected without their assent "shall not be formalie permitted to exercise att our college."⁹² The Merchant Taylors' shot back that the election of 1636 provided a precedent for emergency situations such as this. In that year, plague ravaged London, and the President and Fellows of St. John's College (understandably) wished to avoid travel to the City. A compromise was struck, whereby the Company elected scholars, and the College gave their consent and assent by a signed indenture.⁹³ The College was backed into a corner. The precedent was a recent one: Richard Baylie himself had agreed to the proposal in

⁹¹ SJCA Munim. LIII. B. 33, "The Merchant Taylors' Company to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford," May 30, 1643

⁹² SJCA Munim. LIII. B. 34, "A Copy of a Letter to the Merchant Taylors' Company." June 2, 1643.

⁹³ SJCA Munim. LIII. B. 35. "The Merchant Taylors' Company to St. John's College, Oxford," June 13, 1643.

1636. The College capitulated, and allowed the Company to send three students up to Oxford, as an additional two places had recently become void.⁹⁴

This compromise of 1643 was more important than either party realized. The tally sheets and election records from the Merchant Taylors' School reveal that from 1643 until 1647, St. John's fellows did not attend a single election at the Merchant Taylors' School. All of the elections during the Civil War years were under taken by mail, in the same manner outlined by the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1643.

The final election before the Interregnum was held on June 10, 1648, and it was the most explosive proceeding held in the history of the Merchant Taylors' School. The process began in the usual manner. In May 1648, the Merchant Taylors' Company wrote to St. John's College, asking for the number of scholarships available and whether or not College representatives would be joining them that year. The College wrote back that President Baylie, John Goad, and William Walwyn would be joining them that year. On June 2, Francis Cheynell, President of St. John's College by order of the Parliamentary Visitors of the University of Oxford wrote a terse letter to the Merchant Taylors' Company declaring that Baylie, Goad, and Walwyn had all been "ejected by authority of Parliament." Therefore, he would be coming down to London for the election. Due to St. Barnabas' Day falling on Sunday, the Merchant Taylors' assembled at

⁹⁴ SJCA Munim. LIII. B. 36. 'A Copy of a Letter to the Merchant Taylors' Company.' June 20, 1643.

the school on Saturday, June 10. At the time appointed, Nathaneal Croocher, Vice-President of St. John's College, William Walwyn, and John Goad walked into Merchant Taylors' School Chapel. They declared themselves ready to examine and elect boys to their College of St. John's in Oxford. Francis Cheynell also attended with John Welles and Benjamin Needler. Both Welles and Needler had submitted to the Parliamentary authority on May 8, 1648.

The expelled fellows from St. John's College defended their right to elect, and attacked the legitimacy of Francis Cheynell's "Presidency." Croocher, Walwyn, and Goad stated that Cheynell had no right to be there as he was not the President of St. John's College, as he had nor sworn the oath required for that office. Furthermore, they asserted that Cheynell would not going to govern the College according to its Statutes, and therefore his leadership was null and void. They also denied that they had been expelled from their College, as they had not received notification.

On hearing this, Cheynell pulled out a writ stating that all three men had been expelled, signed by Francis Rous on June 9. The writ also warned against their participation in the Merchant Taylors' School election, stating "the said persons [Croocher, Goad, and Walwyn] presume to interest themselves in an eleccon at Merchanttailors' Schoole, as if they were still fellowes of the said college." It also stated that if these three men tried to participate in that election

that they should be detained dragged before the Parliamentary Visitors at Oxford.⁹⁵

This was the last election that royalist fellows of St. John's College attended until 1661, after the restoration of the monarchy. The pandemonium accompanying the election of 1648 demonstrates the desire of the fellows to maintain a say in their college, in spite of the Civil Wars. As the Parliamentary Visitors appointed fellows to the College, Sir Thomas White's dream disintegrated. It would only be revived when Richard Baylie and the other displaced royalist fellows were reinstated in the 1660's, following the interregnum. It was these fellows that buried Laud in the College Chapel, according to the dead Archbishop's wishes. These fellows rebuilt the damaged buildings of St. John's after the Wars. After the accession of Charles II in 1661, these men made St. John's a haven for High-Church Anglicans again. In that sense, Archbishop William Laud lived on.

VI. Conclusion

On February 8, 1649, King Charles I was buried in St. George's Chapel within the walls of Windsor Castle. Bishop William Juxon and Bulstrode Whitelocke stood by as the deposed King's body was lowered into the ground, his head freshly sown on to his corpse, where the executioner had sliced it off. Both Juxon and Whitelocke were alumni of the Merchant Taylors' School,

⁹⁵ Harry Bristow Wilson, pp. 290-298. See also Wood's *Annals* Vol. II, p. 590; Guildhall MS 34010, Vol. VII. June, 1648.

London and St. John's College, Oxford. They had both benefitted from the care and guidance of William Laud during his time as President of St. John's College. Yet, Juxon and Whitelocke went separate ways during the course of English Civil Wars of the 1640's. William Juxon remained loyal to the interests of the Crown, acting as Chaplain to William Laud, as well as King Charles I, even attending both men at their deaths. Bulstrode Whitelocke, on the other hand, was a lawyer for Parliament, and negotiated with the King for peace on their behalf. Although a firm parliamentary man, he disapproved of the King's trial and execution, but as the newly appointed Governor of Windsor Castle, he was required to oversee the King's burial in St. George's Chapel.

Bishop Juxon presided over Charles' makeshift burial. He stood over the corpse of his sovereign, holding a closed copy of the Book of Common Prayer – disallowed from reading the funeral prayers because of their 'popish' nature. Juxon watched as King Charles I was laid to rest beside another King. Extraordinarily, that King was Henry VIII; the same King that instigated the Protestant Reformation in England over a century prior. Now the two lay side by side: the King who began the Reformation in England, and the one whose execution was viewed by Puritans as a necessary course of action for the full flowering of Protestantism to be complete.

Conclusion

I. Introduction

Lurking in the Baylie Chapel of St. John the Baptist's College, Oxford, is an artifact of the late medieval Christian Church. The artifact, an elaborate pre-Reformation altar cloth, with images worked in gold, silver, and silk thread on burgundy velvet, harkens back to an era of sumptuous display in the English Church, prior to the deprivations and iconoclasm of the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. Although the cloth dates from the late fifteenth century, records in the College archive indicate that the cloth was part of an endowment of vestments and plate donated to St. John's by its founder, Sir Thomas White.

The altar cloth was therefore an antique piece even at its introduction to the College; remains of the late medieval tradition briefly resurrected for the Marian restoration of the Roman rite in the English Church. It currently lies in state in the midst of the Baylie Chapel, a seventeenth century construction littered with the funeral monuments of the College's elite. Here, the altar cloth seems at home, standing as a different kind of memorial: a quiet shrine to the conservative piety and original purpose of St. John's College, while its survival in the College hints at how the College navigated and was transformed by the Tudor and Stuart reforms.

II. Overview

In the midst of the Marian restoration of the Catholic faith in England, Sir Thomas White, a prominent and wealthy Merchant Taylor in London decided to found a College at Oxford for the education of Catholic priests. White's dream was to tie his educational foundation to his fraternity, the Merchant Taylors' Company of London. Yet, his dream did not transfer to reality in the way that he had hoped. The accession of Elizabeth I, and the re-establishment of Protestantism in England, forced both institutions to redefine themselves religiously. Each chose a different confessional path, creating tension between them. While the relationship between the Merchant Taylors' Company, London and St. John's College was ultimately advantageous for both, interactions were fraught with financial, social, and religious complexities.

The story of the first century of St. John's College is one of adaptation and change. The College was intended to be a bastion of Roman Catholic education in England, but the unexpected death of Queen Mary I in 1558 forced Sir Thomas White to re-brand his foundation in order to appear conformist. Meanwhile, he continued to steer St. John's College along a conservative religious course for the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. Exacting a personal rule over the College, he admitted young men dedicated to traditional religion onto the foundation. His College became known as a haven for crypto-papists, and conservative families

sent their sons to study there as non-foundationers. Furthermore, White used his foundation to support former Catholic priests and monks during their retirement, such as John Feckenham, former Abbot of Westminster Abbey.

The foundation of St. John's College was the capstone of Sir Thomas White's philanthropy, which included the establishment of charitable trusts for young merchants throughout England. His generosity is an excellent case study of Catholic charity. His work supports a view of continuity between charitable activities both before and after the Protestant Reformation. It also undermines W.K. Jordan's assertion that Protestantism spurred charitable activities. Rather, my research supports the views of Ian Archer, Susan Brigden and other more recent historians, that both Catholics and Protestants were charitable and that both groups became increasingly interested in donating to educational facilities, almshouses, and hospitals. For most Catholics, this was one of the ways to channel their money into good works that were acceptable to a Protestant government that outlawed the veneration of images and the establishment of chantries.¹ As Ian Archer wrote, "there were rather more continuities with the catholic past than the polemics of the early reformers would leave one to believe."²

¹W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Patterns of English Social Aspirations* (London, 1959); Ian Archer, "The Charity of Early Modern Londoners," *Transaction of the RHS*, Vol. 12 (2002); Susan Brigden, "Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth Century London" *Past and Present*, Vol. 103 (May, 1984).

²Archer, p. 223.

When Sir Thomas White was nearing death in the winter of 1566/67, he appointed Sir William Cordell and William Roper as Visitors for life to his foundation. This was an attempt to retain the conservative tenor of St. John's College. The College Statutes appointed the Bishop of Winchester to the role, but its current incumbent was Robert Horne, a virulent Protestant. Horne had deprived numerous fellows at other Oxford Colleges where he acted as Visitor, particularly New College and Magdalen. In contrast, both Cordell and Roper held to the beliefs and practices of traditional religion, even though they conformed outwardly to the Elizabethan State. William Roper never took up his post as Visitor in a formal capacity, but Sir William Cordell was an active participant in College life. Up until his death in 1581, Cordell assisted with the College finances, mediated between the College and the Merchant Taylors' Company, and supported the more conservative fellows at St. John's, such as Francis Willis and Henry Russell.

Although Sir William Cordell worked to maintain the conservative nature of the College's religious life, the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of Oxford, pressured him to appoint Tobie Matthew as President of St. John's in 1572. Matthew was a staunch Protestant, and shortly after his installment as President, a number of Catholic fellows left St. John's to study for the Roman Catholic priesthood at Douai, Rheims, and Rome. Meanwhile, those conservative fellows who remained, assisted by Sir William Cordell, remained unfriendly to Matthew

until he resigned in 1577. On Matthew's resignation, Cordell fixed the Presidential election so that Francis Willis, a suspected papist, won without opposition. The College remained conservative during Willis' presidency, and a number of fellows were implicated in the missionary activities of Edmund Campion (a former member of St. John's), when he was arrested in England in 1581. Since so many fellows of St. John's were connected with Campion, the Privy Council ordered that St. John's College be searched. Sir William Cordell died that year, but Francis Willis retained the conservative nature of the College, as demonstrated in a letter written to Henry Russell. The letter is from an unnamed relative, and threatens to expose the Catholic beliefs of a number of St. John's fellows, particularly President Willis.

By the 1590's, St. John's College was a conforming institution, albeit one that supported fellows with anti-Calvinist views. The most famous of these fellows was John Buckeridge, who tutored William Laud, the future Archbishop of Canterbury. During the first four decades of the seventeenth century, St. John's College became an institution that spearheaded "Laudian" churchmanship. Laudianism was forged in the midst of this conservative atmosphere, which encouraged practices such as bowing at the name of Jesus. This movement began shortly after William Laud became President of St. John's, following a controversial election. Laud and his immediate successors as President, William Juxon and Richard Baylie, all conformed to a form of high

churchmanship and worship justly called "Laudianism." Laud and these other two men fashioned St. John's College into bastion of Arminian thought and Laudian worship. In the words of Mark Kishlansky, "Laud was already fifty-five years old when he was translated to London, and had spent most of the career in-fighting at Oxford, where he never forgot a friend or a foe...He identified himself early as an opponent of the Calvinism that dominated Oxford, and he set about creating a party of Arminians through the shrewd use of patronage and power."³

Laudianism manifested itself in a number of ways at St. John's, including Chapel renovation in a style that resembled its medieval antecedents, complete with a raised altar, stained glass windows, and an organ. Furthermore, after his accession to the See of Canterbury and his appointment as Chancellor of Oxford, William Laud also used St. John's as a talent pool from which to promote young men with similar beliefs. He also partially funded a new quadrangle dedicated to King Charles I, prompting a royal visit in 1636. The visit was a celebration of Laud's relationship with the King, and was a demonstration of St. John's dedication to both Archbishop Laud and Charles I.

By contrast, the Merchant Taylors' Company adapted differently to the Reformation movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like other London guilds, the Reformation forced the Merchant Taylors' to transform their

³ Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714*, (Penguin, 1997) p. 128

purpose, activities, and identity from religious fraternities to trade guilds. Prior to the Protestant Reformation, the Merchant Taylors' Company had participated vigorously in the religious life of late medieval London. The Company also had supported chantries where priests said obits for departed members and engaged in a number of charitable endeavors, such as the almshouse next to the parish church of St. Martin Outwich. As a result of the religious reforms during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the Company was forced to dissolve their chantries, and surrender any income incurred from these institutions. This nearly broke the Company, but they were able to survive after selling land to two of their prominent members, Sir Thomas White and Sir Thomas Offley.

During the early years of the Reformation, only a few members became Protestants, most importantly Richard Hilles and Sir Thomas Offley, while the rest of the Company remained Catholic. During Mary Tudor's reign, both Catholics and crypto-Protestants, such as Hilles, played important roles in the life and government of the Merchant Taylors' Company and the City of London. Following Mary's death, the Merchant Taylors' Company adjusted, yet again, to a new religious settlement. During the early years of Elizabeth I's reign, Protestant and conforming Catholic Merchant Taylors' worked side by side on philanthropic projects. Even though chantries were abolished, the Company still participated in the religious life of London, and its moral economy, through charitable activities. In particular, the Merchant Taylors' built a grammar school

in London in 1561, for boys from all social classes. The reputation of the new institution was bolstered when Sir Thomas White tied the Merchant Taylors' School to his foundation at Oxford.

The Merchant Taylors' Company became increasingly Calvinist after the 1570's, largely due to the deaths of a number of Catholics in the Company's leadership, including Sir Thomas White, Sir William Harper, and Sir Thomas Rowe. By contrast, a number of Protestant members of the Livery experienced longevity, and therefore rose to power in the Company, such as Richard Hilles and Robert Dove. As the sixteenth century progressed, the Company's membership became increasingly Protestant, and by the turn of the seventeenth century, godly members of the London community (such as Thomas Juxon) became prominent members of the Livery.

Yet, the tides turned shortly after the turn of the seventeenth century, when the Merchant Taylors' Company began courting the Crown. This is demonstrated by the dinner they held for King James I at the Company Hall. While the Livery became more entrenched with the Royal Court, the Bachelors' Company remained vehemently Calvinist, and eventually, and during the Civil Wars in the 1640's, a number of these men became active Parliamentarians.

Over the course of this period studied, arguments between the Merchant Taylors' Company and St. John's College over elections from the Merchant Taylors' School in London to St. John's College in Oxford demonstrate that

complex financial, religious, and social contexts were at play. Although previous historians have boiled these down to financial concerns and power plays, they have not considered the religious causes of these tussles. Religiously, the two institutions were at cross-purposes. The Merchant Taylors' Company was eager to support poor students, as assisting the needy were a meaningful way for them to participate in the moral economy of London. Puritans were eager to demonstrate their divine blessings, but also to disburse them in a way that demonstrated their election. Meanwhile, the President and Fellows of St. John's College cared more about the elections' impact on their educational society. In particular, they preferred boys from wealthy families that did not require extra assistance from the College. Furthermore, they wanted the best-educated boys who were able to excel at the university. Finally, they shied away from boys who came from prominent godly families, such as Rowland and William Juxon, most likely to preserve the conservative nature of their institution.

Over the course of the early seventeenth century, the Company and College came to a truce, particularly during the presidencies of William Laud, William Juxon, and Richard Baylie. A peace was facilitated by the Merchant Taylors' Company's growing connection with the Royal Court. St. John's was a stronghold of royalism, mostly through its connection with William Laud, who was favored by both James I and his son, Charles I. During the tumultuous years of the 1640's, however, the two institutions found themselves on opposite ends of

the Civil Wars – St. John’s College joining with the Royalist cause, and the Merchant Taylors’ supporting Parliament.

III. St. John’s College, Oxford, The Merchant Taylors’ Company, London, and the Reformation

How St. John’s College, Oxford and the Merchant Taylors’ Company of London navigated the religious reforms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has much to tell us regarding the course of the Long Reformation in England. The persistence of Catholic fellows at St. John’s College two decades after the Elizabethan religious settlement demonstrates the presence of resistance to the Protestant Reformation among scholars at England’s universities. They did not receive evangelical ideas with the enthusiasm that Whiggish historians such as A.G. Dickens claimed. Rather, the enduring conservatism at St. John’s College, Oxford, even after the diaspora of its more staunchly Catholic fellows, demonstrates the continuance of traditional forms of belief and practice. This conservatism then fed into emerging anti-Calvinist views at the University of Oxford, led by John Buckeridge. Later, his pupils William Laud, Christopher Wren, and Richard Baylie became cornerstones of the Arminian movement in seventeenth century England. In short, the story of St. John’s College, Oxford supports the claims of both revisionist and post-revisionist scholars, who view the Reformation as a complex, drawn out process.

An important aspect of adaptation for conservative institutions such as St. John's was negotiating pragmatic relationships with their more firmly Protestant benefactors. The relationship between these two groups was initially defined by mistrust, subterfuge, and manipulation. Later, under the auspices of William Laud, the two foundations came to a peaceful understanding, but only after they found a shared interest in seeking the Crown's benefit. Although the Livery of the Merchant Taylors' Company consistently was made up of men with Calvinist leanings, their interest in selling cloth and clothing to the courts of James I and his son Charles gave the Merchant Taylors' motive to engender good relations with Charles' I pet prelate, William Laud.

The connection between the two institutions studied in this dissertation was originally a result of Sir Thomas White's dream to connect his fraternity of the Merchant Taylors' Company of London and his foundation of St. John's College. Although the relationship between the fraternity and the College was not always smooth, it was beneficial to both institutions. The Company was able to promote its school as a path to the University of Oxford. St. John's College gained powerful and wealthy benefactors. In that sense, Sir Thomas White's dream came true.

Appendix A: The Election of 1611

Name	Voted for in Presidential Election, 1611	Date Matriculated	Secondary Education
Richard Andrewes	Laud	1591	MTS
Francis Hudson	Laud	1604	MTS
Edmund Jackson	Laud	1598	MTS
William Juxon	Laud	1598	MTS
Thomas Loveden	Laud	1598	?
Richard Tillesley	Laud	1599	MTS
Theophilus Tuer	Laud	1598	MTS
John Towse	Laud	1603	MTS
Owen Virtue	Laud	1604	MTS
Christopher Wren	Laud	1605	MTS

Martin Okines	Laud	1586	MTS
Nicholas Cliffe	Laud	1592	MTS
Thomas Tucker	Laud	1601	MTS
Thomas Downer	Rawlinson	1600	MTS
John English	Rawlinson	1602	MTS
Joseph Fletcher	Rawlinson	1600	MTS
Thomas Grice	Rawlinson	1605	MTS
Richard Holbrooke	Rawlinson	1602	MTS
Anthony Steevens	Rawlinson	1600	?
John Sone	Rawlinson	1586	MTS, Usher 1595-1606
Michael Boyle	Rawlinson	1593	MTS
George Blagrove	Rawlinson	1594	Berkshire
William Blagrove	Rawlinson	1604	?

Richard Baylie	Rawlinson	1601	Coventry
Thomas Salterne	Rawlinson	1595	Bristol

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MUNIM. LIV "Pedigrees." 16th and 17th Centuries
MUNIM. LX "Miscellaneous Correspondence." 17th Century
MUNIM. LXXXVI "Private Papers of The President and Fellows." 16th and 17th
Centuries
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