"A CRAVING TO REFORM": LEGITIMIZING REVOLUTION IN MID-TUDOR ENGLAND

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"A CRAVING TO REFORM":

LEGITIMIZING REVOLUTION IN MID-TUDOR ENGLAND

by

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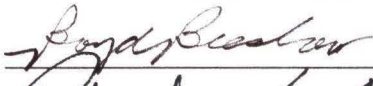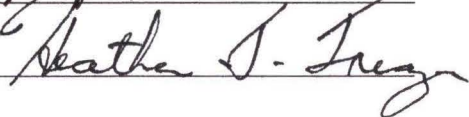"A CRAVING TO REFORM": LEGITIMIZING REVOLUTION

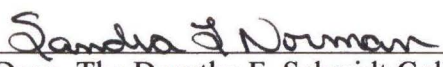IN MID-TUDOR ENGLAND

by

Douglas A. Breeden

This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis advisor Dr. Ben Lowe, Department of History, and has been approved by the members of his supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letter and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

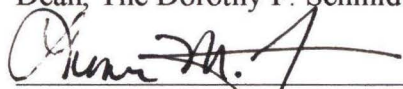SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

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iii

ABSTRACT

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The mid-Tudor period for a long time has been portrayed as a period of

trouble and turbulence that was of little historical significance. The rulers and

intellectuals of the period were cast as fanatical, intolerant religious bigots whose

actions at best delayed the progress of English government. Actually the opposite

is true. After the death of Edward VI, a group of evangelicals fled the restoration

of Roman jurisdiction by Mary I. These English Protestants are known as the

Marian exiles and they fashioned some radical political ideas to support a

traditional, albeit evangelical political culture. They did this by trying to find a

Biblical justification to oppose the Catholic restoration of Mary and return

England to the godly church and state of Edward VI. Looking to restore the

reformed church, they inadvertently legitimized what had before been seen as

sedition into the modern idea of revolution.

DEDICATED TO

KATIE BREEDEN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

RELIGION, POLITCS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN MID-TUDOR ENGLAND

It is not what ideas do to men, but what men do to ideas.

John Lukacs[1]

Revolution conjures up something radically different when used in history and

political theory, something that may be at once romantic or terrifying. Like war it is a

defining event of a time, with significant effects on a local area or the world in

general. Michael Walzer has described revolution as the idea that a small select group

of people can transform society and overthrow traditional values by using political

violence.[2] The term was most famously applied to the Tudor age by the historian G.

R. Elton,[3] in his book *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (1953), wherein he

transformed the way the entire sixteenth century was seen.[4] Was there a revolution in

the sixteenth century or was it only a readjustment in the government as David

Starkey and other revisionists have contended? Much evidence points to the latter as

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[1] Jon Lukacs, CSPAN2: Review of *Democracy and Populism: Fear and Hatred,* April 10, 2005 4:50 pm, www.bookTV.org/feature/index.asp?segD=56788eschedID=340.

[2] Michael Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology: The Case of the Marian Exiles," *American Political Science Review* 57 (1963): 643.

[3] G. R. Elton (1921-1994) was the major historian of the Tudor age. Some could even say the historiography of the period could be divided into two periods, before Elton and then after Elton. Some of his major works are: *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953); *England Under the Tudors* (London: Methuen, 1955); *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); *Reform and Reformation: 1509-1558* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); *The Parliament of England: 1559-1581* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For more information on Elton's place in Tudor history see: Perny Williams, "Dr. Elton's Interpretation of the Age," *Past and Present* 25 (1963): 3-8.

[4] Christopher Coleman and David Starkey, ed., *Revolution Reassessed; Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 1.

the government was modified but not radically changed.[5] With volumes written on revolutions-- usually the successful ones-- there is no significant comprehensive history of revolution in general. While there are accounts of many individual revolutions, there is no interpretive study of how the idea of revolution has evolved out of the changes societies go through over time.[6] Before any study like this can be undertaken, one must first look for the origins of revolution; this study will argue that its birthplace was in mid-Tudor England.

Although usually cast as violent events, but because of the complexities of human society; not all revolutions are with the best example being Gandhi's rebellion against British rule in India. Whether violent or not, the effect of revolution is to change society radically and replace the traditional social, economic, and political norms with new ones; but, again because of the complexities of society, there are exceptions to this as in the case of Indian independence where the social order remained much the same after the British left. Aristotle observed, "Revolutions are effected in two ways, by force and by fraud."[7] In the present day the revolutionary is usually portrayed as either heroic or romantic, or both; but for most of history the idea of revolution was linked to violence, rebellion, sedition, and heresy. Although Aristotle saw political revolution as more the result of accidents rather than the planned actions of men, Thomas Aquinas saw revolution as sedition since it was a war between parts of the same people and not against aggression from an external force. Thomas Hobbes and John Locke equated all revolution with war and

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[5] Ibid., 208.
[6] John Gates, "Towards a History of Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (1986): 535.
[7] Quoted in Mortimer J. Adler, *The Great Ideas A: Lexicon of Western Though: Revolution* (Norwalk, Conn.: Easton Press, 2001), 734.

proclaimed that it was inseparable from violence as it entailed a denial of the authority of the Commonwealth, and the people using force without right. It would not be until the eighteenth century and the writings of Thomas Paine and Rousseau that revolution would be cast in a more romantic and heroic image. This is because in earlier times Europeans struggled with the idea of one's right to resist or deny the right of rulers to rule; only in the late eighteenth century, and a more secular society, did the right of resistance become established. Since the common image of revolution is one of abrupt change, many historians describe the earlier changes in society as evolution, or a slow development and progression over time.[8]

Whether the Tudors were revolutionaries or not the following study will examine whether political and religious modifications in the mid-Tudor period supplied the roots for a later age of revolution that produced shockwaves still being felt today. In exploring this possibility we will focus on a small faction of English and Scottish Protestants who migrated to Germany and Switzerland beginning in 1554, preferring exile over submitting to Mary Tudor's restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in England. These people were called the Marian exiles, and it is in their political writings that the base of much later revolutionary thought may lie. To find out, we must look into the history of the ideas associated with those changes,

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[8] Ibid., 735-36. This article in Alder's book presents an excellent essay on the idea of revolution and its development in Western culture. Whether the changes of mid-Tudor England represent evolutionary or revolutionary developments must be looked at with an eye on the methods of transporting ideas and events. In our present day of internet and cable news, people are instantly aware of events and ideas almost as they occur. In the sixteenth century, however, it would take weeks or months for the events of the time to be transmitted across Europe. Revolutionary ideas existed in all eras of time, but because of the lack of literacy and the slow methods of transmitting ideas, changes in norms took many years to filter through a society. This is at the heart of Thomas Barnett's ideas regarding the importance of the media in creating the events of history. Accepting the view that the media which distribute the ideas as a critical component of the way events unfold allows one to see a world in which means of communication were not instant and change took much longer to be accomplished. See Thomas Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2004), 262.

with the understanding that the history of any idea is about more than just what an author wrote or when it was written. This study will take us into the realm of intellectual history, a discipline in which one is not faced with a set of facts that all can agree on, or that can be reproduced scientifically in a laboratory or explained by mathematical equations. History was described by Jared Diamond as, "not considered to be a science, but something closer to the humanities."[9] The natural sciences have the luxury of testing facts or theories and thus expanding the knowledge of a particular field, but, in history, like theology, art, and philosophy, the researcher is dealing not with just what is, but with what many think may have been.[10] Paul Hoffer in his work, *Past Imperfect*, cited this as the paradox of all historians, as they cannot ignore the conceptions of the present and, simultaneously, they must not twist facts or words to fit their own expected interpretation of the past.[11] In other words, the historian is not just dealing with the event, but also with what people thought happened or why it happened, both at the time and ever since.

The earliest historiography of the mid-Tudor period and its religious character is shaped, therefore, by the religious biases of contemporaries. The Protestant historians of the period moved from the prophetic, (such as the evangelical polemicist John Bale), to the apocalyptic, which is more revolutionary in character, and can be best seen in the works of martyrologist John Foxe.[12] In reading the contemporary

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[9] Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997), 412.

[10] Crane Brinton, *The Shaping of Modern Thought* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 2.

[11] Paul Hoffer, *Past Imperfect; Facts Fictions, Fraud: American History from Bancroft and Parkman to Ambrose, Bellesiles, Ellis and Goodwin* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 211.

[12] Thomas Betteridge, *Tudor Histories of the English Reformation; 1530-83* (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 1999), 188. John Foxe wrote the largest and most sophisticated book of sixteenth century England. It offers the Protestant version of the history of the church and the England. His advocacy of humanism in his encyclopedic work would influence histories up to the present day. John King, "John

works, one can detect a move from Bale's stress on continuity from past to present early in the century to the later, more pessimistic view of historian Thomas Brightman (1562-1607). Brightman, who wrote late in the sixteenth century, was as much concerned with the rhetoric and the polemics involved in the event as with the truth. While modern historians look to remove, or at least admit, biases, those of this period celebrated them. Tudor historians saw history as the active contact between the past and present as well as a dialogue between the people of the present with those of the past.[13] Since they wrote with a moral purpose in mind, either to justify or denounce a certain person, practice, or idea, the accounts of the mid-Tudor period reflect almost as many different perspectives as the number of writers that produced them. For example, in one of the first histories of this time, a small tract called *The Copie of a Pistel or Letter Sent to Gilbard Potter* (1553),[14] the author proclaimed his loyalty to Mary as the rightful heir of Edward and condemned John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, [the second regent of Edward VI] as the villain of her half-brother's reign. Since most English people clearly upheld the legal right of succession as a bulwark of law and order, quick acceptance of Mary and condemnation of Dudley was common, if not universal, whether they were Protestant or Catholic.[15] Even evangelicals such as John Ponet and John Foxe followed this line of thinking, and this evil characterization would follow Dudley right into the twentieth century. Political realities would also change the history of the mid-Tudor period. After her ascension

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Foxe and Tudor Humanism," in Jonathan Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (London: Palgrave, 2002), 174-85.

[13] Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5.

[14] Poore Pratte, *The Copie of a Pistel or Letter Sent to Gilbard Potter in the Tyme When he was in Prison, for Speaking on Our Most True Quenes Part the Lady Mary Before he has his Eaers Cut off* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1553).

[15] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 7.

to the throne, authors became respectful of the wishes of Elizabeth, whose favorite--

Robert Dudley-- was Northumberland's son. Consequently, both Protestant

administrations of Edward Seymour and John Dudley now were praised, with the

image of Edward VI evolving into that of the godly imp sitting on a throne

surrounded by holy men who were all in awe of his precociousness.[16]

John Foxe's *Act and Monuments* [first published in 1563] was the most

important history produced in the sixteenth century and it has continued to help

define the English Reformation up to the present. The book provided a detailed

account of events leading up to Elizabeth's ascension to the throne as well as a

Protestant view of the history of the Christian church from the time of the apostles.[17]

Foxe's view of the Reformation was that England was an elect nation chosen to

defeat the antichrist through the leadership of a godly prince. The works of Thomas

Brightman, one of the major early writers in the Foxe tradition, would greatly

influence the Puritan movement in both England and later New England as they

proclaimed the Apocalypse at hand and insisted the English had a duty to transform

the world in God's image.[18]

Charles I's infamous Archbishop of Canterbury, and a strong opponent of the

Puritans, William Laud (1573-1645), saw events differently from Foxe and the

Puritans. As he attempted to counter Foxe's view and give the Church of England

more of an autonomous role in the Reformation, he, in effect, enthroned the Church

instead of the nation as the elect body doing battle with the forces of the Devil. Laud

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[16] Ibid., 15.

[17] Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London: Methhuen, 1986), 17.

[18] Avihu Zakai, "Reformation, History, and Eschatology in English Protestantism," *History and Theory* 26 (1987): 313.

once said that "if the Church had more power, the Kinge might have more obedience and service."[19] Laud was an anti-Calvinist, Armenian, and the leader of what would be called the Westminster movement, which attempted to rewrite history by denying that the Swiss-influenced Edwardian Reformation left any permanent mark on the history of the Church of England.[20] Thus Laud initiated an interpretation that would relegate the mid-Tudor period to a time of destruction, negativity and cynicism.[21] Dr. Peter Heylyn (1600-62) was the most famous of Laud's disciples; he maintained the Anglican Church was the purified Roman Catholic Church, whose authority came from God, not the monarch. In his works, such as *Ecclesia or the History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1661, 1670, 1674),[22] the Tudors are portrayed not as friends of the Church, but as arch-despoilers.

While the Laudians argued the view of the Archbishop, Foxe's adherents responded with several books from their own. Thomas Fuller's (1607/8-1661) *Church History* (1655)[23] and Gilbert Burnet's (1643-1715) *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*[24] countered the Laudians by reasserting the Foxean view of history. The last of the great seventeenth-century historians was John Strype (1643-1737),[25] whose detailed study of primary sources may or may not have

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[19] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Laud, William," by Anthony Milton.

[20] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 158.

[21] Ibid., 221.

[22] Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata: or the History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London: n.p., 1661).

[23] Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII* (London: John Williams, 1655).

[24] Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Restoration of the Church of England,* 3 vols. (London: J. F. Dove, 1820).

[25] John Strype (1643-1737) was the youngest son of John Strype and Hester Bonnel, who had fled the continent for religious reasons. Strype was heavily influenced by the nonconformist movement in England and particularly, Presbyterian minister John Johnson. Of the Tudor period he said in his book on John Cheke, "my inclinations (I know not how) have carried me now for many years to search more

ushered in the modern scientific methods of research, did however; enshrined the traditional view of the Reformation as an official one with reform instituted by the crown and church leaders.[26]

David Hume (1711-1776) in his study, *The History of England under the House of Tudor* (1759),[27] cast the period as one of trouble, bigotry, superstition, and political violence.[28] This image would hold well into the twentieth century, although the image of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset (Edward VI's uncle and first regent) would be enhanced in the liberal nineteenth century. Historian James Anthony Froude (1818-1894) portrayed Somerset as a lover of liberty, much in the fashion of the Victorians of his time,[29] while A. F. Pollard (1869-1948) described him as a champion of the poor and a man who was destroyed by the age in which he lived. Of Somerset Pollard said, "His quick sympathies touched the heart of the people; and it

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curiously into the Affairs of that Age." [Strype, John *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke: Kt First Instructor Afterwords Secretary of State to King Edward VI* (London: John Strype, 1705), 3.] Strype became a collector of contemporary private papers and used them to write histories of the time. These included *Memorials to Thomas Cranmer* (1694); *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* and *Survey of London* (1698); *Historical Collections of the Life and Acts of John Aylmur, Lord Bishop of London* (1701); *Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke* (1705); *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury* (1711); *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* three volumes covering the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I (1721); and his four-volume work on Elizabeth I, *Annals of the Reformation* (1709-31). He also annotated the chapter on Mary Tudor in White Kennet's *Complete History of England.* Although Strype used many original documents from the period to write his histories, many modern historians do criticize him for neglect of chronology, selective abridgments or poor transcriptions, the inclusion of irrelevant material and a lack of critical analysis (which was a common fault of his time). They say while he claims to be objective, he actually is very biased in his selection of texts for his works. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Strype, John," by G. H. Martin and Anita McConnell.

[26] Ibid., 52.

[27] David Hume, *The History of England Under the House of Tudor*, 2 vols. (London: n. p., 1759).

[28] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 20.

[29] James Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (London: J. W. Parker, 1856-70), 5:3.

was no slight honor to be remembered as the "good duke" by that generation of Machiavelli."[30]

By the middle of the twentieth century the image of a troubled, turbulent times was well-established and best summed up in Whitney R. D. Jones' book, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1539-1563* (1973). Jones argued that Edward and Mary initiated radical and thus unpopular religious changes and presided over a weakening foreign position as well as deteriorating social and economic stability.[31] In keeping with the common inclination to view them as road blocks on the path towards a more efficient, modern church and state, Elton described the mid-Tudor rulers in his characteristically unique way: "Of Henry[VIII]'s three children, two were bigots; fortunately for the realm they were also the two who died the soonest."[32] Until recently this image of the mid-Tudor period was fairly universal among historians who saw this period as a tragic interval between the great (and in Elton's case, revolutionary) reigns of Henry and Elizabeth.

Modern historians have ignored the monarchs of this period, seeing them largely as being of little importance; as a result, these historians have ignored or dismissed the intellectuals of the Marian Exile as well. As for their theories arguing for the right to resist evil governments, they have been relegated to a subsidiary place--no more than footnotes to the more important writings of the French Huguenots. The exiles' writings were attributed more to their own personal ambition

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[30] A. J. Pollard, *The History of England From the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth (1547-1603)* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), 65.
[31] Whitney R. D. Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1539-1563* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), 2.
[32] Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 371.

than to any ideological or deeply religious conviction.[33] This perception has changed

somewhat recent years, however, as historians have taken a fresh look at the mid-

Tudor period and come away with some very different views.

David Loades in his book, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (1992), argued

that the governments of Edward and Mary were effective and functioning during this

period. He cited that the dangers posed by the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) and the

Spanish Armada (1588) threatened the stability of the state more than anything in the

mid-Tudor period.[34] Loades also stated that while there were economic problems,

caused by Henry VIII, there had been worse situations earlier and later in the century.

The shortness of the reigns and the royal minority give the illusion of instability, but

Loades argued that Mary's challenge against Northumberland's attempt to thwart the

succession succeeded, thereby testing the strength of English political traditions

regarding the succession. Northumberland's success, Loades pointed out, would have

led to the type of absolutist rule that later would become a hallmark of Bourbon

France.[35] As for the Marian exiles, Michael Walzer argued that the uniqueness of the

conditions under which the Marian Exiles operated in Europe made them radically

different from the French Huguenots. Walzer cited John Milton's later proclamation

that these exiles were the fathers of revolution to back his contention that the exiles

were more than just a footnote in the writings on resistance theory [36]

To resolve this argument over what happened in the mid-Tudor period in the

realm of revolutionary ideas, one must first take into account the current debate

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[33] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 643.
[34] David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis: 1545-1565* (New York: Palgrave, 1992), 1.
[35] Ibid., 3.
[36] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 643.

regarding contemporary interpretations of texts and ideas. Writer Mark Twain said of texts, "You can find in a text whatever you bring, if you stand between it and the mirror of your imagination. You may not see your ears, but they will be there." [37] While many may agree with Twain, Quentin Skinner has argued influentially that it is the duty of the historian to find the original intent of the author in any text. In his classic two-volume work, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* (1978) Skinner stated that he was looking for what the authors of texts were thinking when they wrote them.[38] Skinner and J.G.A. Pocock have argued that only by stripping away all the layers of interpretation of a text and taking into account the work's full historical context, can one find the original meaning of the writing and then write an accurate history of the period. Skinner equates writing with speech and sees the text as having the same interaction between author and reader as there is between speaker and listener.[39] To achieve this Skinner developed the following syllogism for the historian to follow:

> 1. We need to recover an author's intention in order to understand the meanings of what he writes.
> 2. In order to recover such intentions, it is essential to surround the given text with an appropriate context of assumptions and conventions from which the exact intention can be decoded.
> 3. This yields the crucial conclusion that knowledge of these assumptions and conventions must be essential to understanding the meaning of the text.[40]

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[37] Quoted in Jann Enfield, ed. *Readings on The Prince and The Pauper* (San Diego, Calif.: Greenhaven Press, 2001), *Frontpeice.*

[38] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1: xiii. This approach is derived from Skinner's seminal article "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8 (1969) 3-53, which first laid out the pursuit of original intent when interpreting texts.

[39] David Harlan, "Intellectual History and the Return of Literature," *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 586.

[40] Ibid., 584-85.

Taking this methodology further, Pocock calls for the study of the conceptual language to find the original intent of the author. By doing this we can see what was both possible and impossible for a certain culture at a certain time. Pocock used this theory to show that many of the revolutionary meanings later put into John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* could not have been understood by the contemporary landowning society of late seventeenth-century England. Pocock and Skinner believed one should approximate the original intent of the author to write an accurate history of the time.[41] Both Skinner and Pocock developed their methods of reading texts to counter the earlier and rather sloppy way intellectual historians, such as R. G. Collingwood and Leo Strauss, wrote the history of ideas as if writers were engaged in a timeless dialogue over the centuries, in which meanings were essentially the same regardless of historical context. Pocock and Skinner sought to bring the authors back into their texts and give them a place in the historical narrative.

To a postmodern deconstructructionist like Jacques Derrida this quest to find the original intent is as futile as it is irrelevant to the meaning of the text. In his mind the text has generated many meanings as it has been read and studied over the succeeding generations.[42] Derrida would have one study texts like a Jewish rabbi studies the Torah, with each succeeding generation giving the text a new meaning and leaving historians to study those interpretations much like lawyers study legal briefs. Michel Foucault likened the search for the original intent of a text or author to the quest Herman Melville's Ahab conducted in trying to find in the great white whale, something like "trying to pierce its eternal whiteness, to penetrate its madding

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[41] Ibid., 598.
[42] Ibid., 582.

blackness to reveal some original presence."[43] Ahab went mad searching for this

presence, Foucault contended, much as modern historians would in looking for

original intent. David Harlan has directed historians, alternatively, to look upon the

texts as forward-looking documents, not backward ones, thus rescuing them from a

contextual stranglehold and allowing them to become applicable to the present.

The goal of original intent helps us to understand the mental world of a

particular time, but for intellectual history to be more than an antiquarian fetish this

must be combined with the broader view of how the ideas are seen by people in a

later time. By combining these views one sees the broad view of history and allows

the historian to see the whole tapestry of history and not just a timeline. This makes

the actual events and the interpretations of these events in a period of almost equal

importance in understanding the evolution of ideas in history. The historian needs

both the theories of the postmodern school and Skinner's methods of finding original

intent to create a history of the idea and see it unfold into the present. Combining the

events and the interpretations of those events gives the historian a pathway to the

history of how ideas came to be and how they exerted their influence on the present.

It is as Thomas Hobbes said, "Out of the conceptions of the past, we make a future."[44]

Using just one method for researching the past limits the vision of the

historian and does not give one a comprehensive view of the period and its ideas.

One must combine these ways of looking at the past, taking into account some notion

of the original intent as well as the succeeding interpretation of a text. A way to do

this is described in Thomas Barnett's recent book, *The Pentagon's New Map,* in

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[43] Ibid., 592.

[44] Quoted in Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints; A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 207.

which he explains the origins of his ideas in his work as a naval security advisor as he tried to determine future wars the Navy might become engaged in. Barnett's theory of history encourages the historian to take a broad and comprehensive look at the events and ideas of the past by seeing them not so much *as a timeline, but as a tapestry*.[45] For our purposes the small strands of original intent would then fit into the grand tapestry that includes later interpretations of a time. The historian must look at events and ideas within the broad sweep of history, from beginning to end, in all of their complexity.[46]

Going further, Barnett has also contended that all societies operate under a set of rules governing the actions of that society. These are called rule sets, and they are the foundation of the thinking and actions of a social group.[47] In a concept very similar to Pierre Bourdieu's idea of *habitus*, the argument is made that people will usually act in ways that are familiar and within certain cultural limits.[48] Like *habitus*, the people of a period operate under these rules and will try to stretch them to fit any situation they are subjected to by the events of the time. The historian can look at the interaction of the rule sets on the individual, local, state, and system level. The local level would be the lowest and most intimate, such as a small village or town; the state level would be the society acting as a nation; while the system level refers to international relations. In the middle ages much activity occurred on the individual level, among the local lords and the peasantry, merchants from different cities, and nobles ruling their own domains. In the medieval state the national government may

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[45] Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map*, 51.
[46] Ibid., 119.
[47] Ibid., 9.
[48] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 12.

find itself as less important than the local domains, a pattern described in works such as S. J. Gunn's, *Early Tudor Government: 1485-1558* and David Loades', *Politics and the Nation 1450-1660.*[49] A slow change was occurring in the sixteenth century as economic and political activities moved from the local arena to the state level with the birth of modern age.

The words of a popular song proclaim "any moment everything can change."[50] This is, perhaps, the best way to describe Barnett's idea of vertical shocks and horizontal waves. As history flows through time in a linear fashion, much like a timeline, an event, striking like a vertical line into a horizontal one, rips into the fabric of the society and upsets all the rules and traditions so radically that it forces changes in those rules. In much the same vein, Bourdieu said of *habitus* that these events "are products of history and subject to be transformed by history."[51] Barnett characterizes a vertical shock as the "meteor that separates the dinosaurs from the mammals," an event that changes everything in a society.[52] These vertical shocks can be a large event like the Reformation or a small one like the death of a leader, but one that so traumatizes a society that all the ways it had handled things in the past no longer work.

There are many system permutations in the transition from the medieval to the modern period, but this thesis will focus largely on the early death of the fifteen-year-old Edward VI on 6 July, 1553, arguing that it was an event that changed everything for England. It left a hierarchical and patriarchal society with no male leader, as the

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[49] S. J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government 1485-1558* (New York: St Martins Press, 1995); David Loades, *Politics and the Nation 1450-1660: Obedience, Resistance, and Public Order* (Brighton, Eng.: Harvester Press, 1974).

[50] John Shanks, *Fly: Hilary Duff,* performed by Hilary Duff, Hollywood Records CDLS-2004, compact sound disc.

[51] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power,* 248.

[52] Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map,* 259.

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only claimants the Tudors could offer were Henry VIII's daughters, Mary and

Elizabeth, and his nieces, Mary Stuart (Queen of Scots) and Lady Jane Grey and her

sisters, Catherine and Mary. To the men who made up the intellectual and ruling

class, this was nothing short of a disaster. After spending almost seven years dealing

with a minority kingship, they now faced the prospect of continuing their role as

instructors, this time to a female monarch, at least until she found a suitable husband

who could rule as king.[53] The death of Edward left men of this period groping for

answers on how they could adapt or justify female rule and, as we shall see, all within

the rule sets of the Great Chain of Being.[54] The royal Privy Council did this by

asserting its right to instruct a monarch and assist in ruling the kingdom, which

increased the power of the council. As the power of the council increased, the

traditional system of personal rule was inadvertently weakened, and the nation was

slowly moved towards a revolution in government in the next century.

A historian used to the rapid changes in society produced in the late twentieth

and early twenty-first centuries, might argue that little if any change occurred in the

mid-Tudor period. One could see just another period of instability brought on by

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[53] Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), *passim.* This book details the attitudes of society towards its female members in this time period. Viewed basically as inferior creatures, women of this time were assigned a subservient role in society, with only high noblewomen, receiving any education. Wiesner details the origins of these views and shows how changes began in this time period as all institutions came under questioning by Renaissance humanists and the Protestant reformers.

[54] Stephen Collins, "Great Chain of Being in Tudor England" (Ph. D. diss., Northwestern University, 2001), *passim.* Collins explains how this Great Chain was a mindset in Tudor England that was under siege on many fronts. The intellectuals saw wisdom and reason as knowing no class, but they were distrustful and paranoid over any idea that might run counter to the prevailing wisdom of the Great Chain. The total commitment to order and tradition permeated the entire social structure of life, with a strong belief that order depended on the moral conduct of people. Unchecked evil would upset the Chain and lead to chaos, the most feared state in Tudor times. Economic and political changes that were occurring in the early modern period caused much stress and consternation for humanist intellectuals as they tried to balance their adherence to the traditional society with their belief that reason and intellect were the best and most noble way to achieve oneness with God, but on the other hand they feared and detested anything that threatened this outlook and the order it created.

leaders either too young or too fanatical to assume command of a state in those troubled times. This view fails, however, to take into account why change, and the rate of change, occurred in such a slow manner during this period. One must understand that the ripple effects of sudden change or shock were felt slowly in early modern Europe because mass communication of the day was measured in weeks and months, instead of the present day where it is measured in seconds. The medium, or media, through which these shock waves traveled, are critically important to the speed in which change occurs.[55]

In the sixteenth century the media consisted primarily of handwritten works, word of mouth, and the printing press. The printing press allowed the mass production of the written word which made books more accessible to the general population than the old method of hand copying texts from the handwritten originals. The printing press gave people the ability to reproduce a large number of works, making the ideas of the Protestants more accessible to the general population.[56] While the printing press allowed more books to be copied than ever before, the horse and wagon remained the means for published works to be delivered as it had for several centuries in Europe. One of the hallmarks of a period of major change is that an innovation, such as printing, outpaces its support system, like distribution, causing many strains in society and forcing modifications in the rule sets. The slow delivery of ideas, unlike in our present day of internet and mass communication, caused the

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[55] Barnett, *Pentagon's New Map,* 262.

[56] Catherine Davis, *A Religion of the Word; The Importance of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 2002), xiv.

system permutations of the Reformation and the other pre-industrial shock waves to take many long years to play out fully in Europe.[57]

The system permutation, or vertical shock, of King Edward VI's death profoundly affected all of the events of the reign of his older sister, Mary I (r. 1553-1558), including the actions of Protestant exiles. The mid-Tudor period was a time in which the English people experienced a slow change in the rules set that had governed their society for many centuries. English society was slowly transforming from medieval to modern, an event that would upset the old order of the Great Chain and cause the people to seek to make sense out of the new situations they were confronted with. The slow or more provincial life of the medieval age was breaking down and being replaced with the faster pace of the modern era. Economic and political activities were shifting away from individual, local jurisdictions to that of the state. Where once cities and nobles conducted business with little outside interference, increasingly the renaissance monarchs centralized more and more of the economic activity.[58] Again, the process of centralization was the end result of an ongoing movement that had slowly changed the relationship between the king and the nobles.

The society the Great Chain was one where the king and nobles had a personal relationship as they were the vassals of the king and he ruled over them. The land was in the hands of each individual noble and the king's lands were the only lands directly under royal control. As the modern age dawned, slowly, in a process that is not historically clear, the land was seen to be owned by both the nobles and the crown.

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[57] Barnett, *Pentagon's New Map,* 262.
[58] Ibid., 84-85.

Thus, the king ruled over the land as well as the people, resulting in an expansion of royal authority, one which was better able to handle the many new economic and political situations faced in the early modern period.[59] The process had weakened great medieval rule sets, the Great Chain of Being, and eventually would lead to its destruction.

The Great Chain of Being is the medieval outlook that placed the world into one great hierarchy, one in which everything had its place and each person a duty to perform. This hierarchy was seen as a reflection of the heavenly society that had been ordained by God.[60] This was a chain, not a ladder; all were to accept their place and not look to become something they were not created by God to be. A saying of the times was, "A fern cannot become an oak; a codfish cannot become a whale; a mother cannot be a father; nor should a husbandman try to become a peer and of course, no one could aspire to be king but the divinely appointed, anointed, and acknowledged heir of the previous king."[61]

Economic growth in cities attracted many people and began to change the face of the population, further straining traditional medieval society. Medieval society had been essentially a rural one, where everyone knew their neighbors; but this would slowly change as Europe became more urban.[62] The urbanization process would take several centuries to complete, but as it accelerated in the early modern period and strained the Great Chain as people moved to cities in an effort to increase their wealth.

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[59] Hagen Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 1994), 8-9.

[60] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History* (Malden, Maine: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 22.

[61] Ibid., 25.

[62] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), 244-86.

The increased anonymity and the more secular urban hierarchies tended to undermine a society based on birth and land holdings. The changes that occurred in the early modern period were affected by a series of crisis within the institutional church over jurisdiction and papal authority which was largely the consequence of the Babylonian Captivity in Avingon (1309-77) and the Great Schism (1378-1417).

The Chain was also challenged by the Renaissance humanists with their goal to return to the original sources (*ad fontes*) in order to apply the ancient learning to current society, politics, and religious issues and problems. The ideas of the Renaissance humanists took hold in many English universities by the late fifteenth century and soon became popular throughout England.[63] Among English intellectuals, many of whom were at Cambridge University, the ideas of Erasmus of Rotterdam enjoyed the greatest popularity.[64] Many of the later writers of the mid-Tudor period had been involved in Cambridge meetings, which were held at the White Horse Inn soon after the outbreak of the Reformation to discuss the ideas of Erasmus, Martin Luther, and the other religious thinkers or figures of the day.[65] It is to this circle of men that Henry VIII would turn to justify his divorce from Catherine of Aragon; later,

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[63] Alistair E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 50.

[64] Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) was born in the Netherlands and devoted his life to studying the ancient writers and revitalizing Christianity in the Renaissance spirit of the *devotio moderna*. He believed that perfectibility was intrinsic in human beings, which implied the power of self-determination and moral achievement. With Jesus Christ as the example of how one was to live, people were to use interior piety, scriptural exegesis, and the study of classical and patristic writings to achieve this life. This philosophy of imitating Jesus Christ (*philosophia Christi*) was to be the inspiration for secular and religious leaders to govern with compassion and concern for the well-being of all Christian people. His major works include: *Adages* (1500), *Enchiridion* (1504), *Praise of Folly* (1509), *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), and *Novum Instrumentum* (1506). For an excellent essay on Erasmus see: Ian P. McGreal, *Great Thinkers of the Western World* (Norwalk, Conn.: The Easton Press, 2001), 129-32.

[65] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 50-51.

many of these men would go into exile during the inhospitable reign of Mary Tudor, only to return and assist in setting up Elizabeth's government.

The desire for maintaining order in a time when economic forces put the Chain under great stress, led many Protestant writers, such as Richard Morison, to write in favor of reform, but against rebellion.[66] People at the time were alarmed at the potential for tremendous dislocations, and as is usually the case, tended to choose order and security over liberty. To the English, maintaining order was paramount; and the Tudors reinforced with an authoritarian flair the assumption that monarchs were responsible for maintaining that order. Consequently, the reformers usually spoke of restoring the true church rather than making a "new one," as a concession to this overwhelming desire for legitimacy and order. Max Weber said of order, "Conduct, especially social conduct, and quite particularly a social relationship, can be oriented on the part of the actors towards their *idea* of the existence of a *legitimate order.*"[67] The effects of the War of the Roses and the instability of Henry VI's rule maintained a profound and lasting legacy into the sixteenth century, as the English looked for a strong effective dynasty that could establish and keep peace and order in the kingdom.

To describe how a well-ordered society should operate, the metaphor of the human body was used by many intellectuals of this time to show how society functioned with all parts acting in total harmony with each other. In a paper written,

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[66] See Sir John Cheke (1514-1557), *The Hurt of Sedition, how Greenous it is to a Common Weal* (London: John Daye at Aldersgate and Peter Seres at Peter College, 1549); Richard Morison, *A Remedy for Sedition*, (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1536); William Tyndale (d1536), *The Obedience of the Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell (London: Penguin Books, 2000).

[67] Quoted in David Little, *Religion, Order, and Law: A Study on Pre-Revolutionary England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 6.

"Discourse on the Reform of Abuses in Church and State" (April? 1552), the young

King Edward VI gave a cogent, if rather traditional, example of how society operated:

> The temporal regime consists in well-ordering, enriching, and
> defending the whole body politic of the commonwealth, and every part
> of the whole, so one not hurt the other. The example whereof may be
> best taken of a man's body. For even as the arm defends, helps, and
> aids the whole body, chiefly the head, so ought servingmen and
> gentlemen chiefly and suchlike kind of people be always ready to [the]
> defense of their country, and chiefly of their superior and governor,
> and ought in all things [to] be vigilant and painful for the increasing
> and aiding of their country.[68]

Here Edward gave an example of how most contemporaries viewed their

world, a society where the prince ruled the country as the head ruled the body. Any

rebellion was treated as a disease that had to be cut out of the body to make it healthy

again. Like all the organs and parts of the human body, the members of society each

had a necessary function to keep the whole body politic healthy.

Religion played a pivotal role in the period, as it had in medieval times. The

Reformation emerged at a time when many in Europe believed that the "renaissance

popes" had become more interested in secular power and wealth which led to more

avarice, venality, immorality, and an addiction to power politics than had ever

existed.[69] English Reformation revisionists, however, have called into question the

extent to which anticlerical sentiment caused the Reformation.[70] Institutional

corruption and anti-clericalism had a long history, and humanists certainly

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[68] Edward VI, "Discourse on the Reform of Abuses in Church and State," (April? 1552) in W. K. Jordan, ed. *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 160.

[69] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 3.

[70] See for example, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Alters: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c.1580s* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992); Christopher Haigh, The *English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London: Methuen, 1986).

exaggerated the novelty of contemporary events. Contemporary attacks caused many people of the time to look back in nostalgia, as is often the case, to a simpler time before all the troubles and uncertainties came about. A myth is a powerful historical force that combines what people saw with what they wanted to be the reality of what they believed they saw.[71] If enough people are convinced of this reality, it becomes embedded in the social fabric which makes it often impervious to the actual facts. Brain Dippie has stated that a myth is a static image in a frame of the story, one in which the frame can be altered to meet new conditions, "but the image is immutable."[72] Thus the myth replaces the fact and becomes a doctrine that people will hold onto, even in the face of irrefutable evidence to the contrary.[73] Myth or legend becomes an important factor in studying the history of an idea, as it is through these myths that thinkers, usually inadvertently, take the "original intent" of an author and change it to a new idea. Reformers, the best example of whom is John Foxe, engaged in a bit of myth making as they looked to return the Church to apostolic times, a Golden Age of Christianity, before the ideas and ideals of Christianity had been forsaken by greedy and immoral men who had rejected authentic Christianity.[74]

The reformers wanted rulers who would champion this return to a pristine Christian civilization by embracing the ideals of reform with body, mind, and soul. Drawing on the Old Testament examples, reformers desired princes who were driven by the ideals of godly rule accompanied by a patriotic fever and holy zeal for

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[71] Brain W. Dippie, *Custer's Last Stand; The Anatomy of an American Myth* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 2.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 3.

implementing reform.[75] They were especially interested in exploring the time when

God used Hebrew kings and prophets to shape and move history. It was in the Old

Testament where they discovered how the covenant between God and the Israelites

had been broken and then renewed; through this, they sought to relate to and be

obedient to God's will, and subject themselves to His guidance.[76] The Israelite boy-

king Josiah[77] was a favorite of men like Thomas Cramner, John Ponet, and John

Knox as they attempted to find analogies between the young Edward VI and

reforming biblical monarchs. This sentiment can be seen in Cramner's proclamation

to the young king upon his coronation day on 20 February 1547: "Your majesty is

God's vice-regent and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with

your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of

the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed."[78] Josiah

was a reforming king of Israel who, after a book of the law had been discovered in the

Temple, led one of the last major reform efforts before the fall of Jerusalem in 587

BC. His reforms exhibited a strong sense of nationalism which accompanied a

rediscovery of the authentic Mosaic faith; but the reform displayed much outward

change with little inward commitment.[79] The lack of commitment to reform would be

a major theme of the Marian exiles in the wake of Edward's early death as they

sought to explain why God would permit the overthrow of the reformed church and

Mary's restoration of Roman jurisdiction.

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[75] Graeme Murdock, "The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 1043.

[76] Ibid., 1059.

[77] II Kings chapter 22 and 23.

[78] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Alters*, 449.

[79] Henry Flanders, Robert Crapps, and David Smith, *People of the Covenant: An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Ronald Press, 1973), 342.

Reforming kings were needed because the medieval Church had stood as an entity unto itself, even having its own ecclesiastical court system to judge the clerics of Europe. Such courts became easy targets for the reformers. For hundreds of years many battles between the kings and popes erupted over the jurisdiction and parameters of church and state authority, with the most celebrated English case being the one played out between Thomas Becket and Henry II in the twelfth century. By the latter middle ages, emergent monarchies began to challenge church power confidently and they found support from an increasingly large contingent of philosophical and legal opinions.[80] While the ideas of William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua may have been too radical for serious consideration, England had a proud tradition of curtailing papal jurisdiction in the realm from the Constitution of Clarendon (1164) to the statues of Praemunire and Provisors set up during the Avignon papacy and schism. Henry VIII drew on this history when he charged the clergy with violating the praemunire laws, forcing them to submit to his authority (1534), and in commissioning an English translation of Marsilius' *Defense of the Peace* which argued in favor of temporal power. Collectively these arguments championed the idea that the king had the right to rule over the Church in his domains as he was responsible for the salvation of the people God had placed under him. This understanding would later be called Erastian, after the German-born Swiss theologian Erastus (1524-1583), who drew direct parallels between Old Testament Kings and their contemporary counterparts.[81]

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[80] Franklin J. Pegues, *The Lawyers of the Last Capetians* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), 37-45.

[81] Catholic Encyclopedia Online, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05514a.htm, s.v. Erastus.

In an example of how men change ideas, these works became the foundation of a doctrine that would proclaim that the Church was virtually a department of the state with the clergy serving as the moral police, all within the larger objective of creating the godly commonwealth. This was the intellectual foundation of the national churches in Europe and an idea that provoked much conflict.[82] In England this thinking emerged from the incipient notion of the Royal Supremacy; although the writer Erastus had little or nothing to do with it, his name would eventually become associated with the royal government's hegemony over the church and religious policy.

Many of the champions of a nationalized church who fled England in 1553, to avoid the Catholic restoration under Mary undertook in a rather organized fashion what may be considered the first colonization by English Protestants.[83] Like Walzer, Christina Garrett, their most notable historian, has argued that the exiles formed a community isolated from traditional rule, which placed them outside of the normal controlling authorities that existed in early modern Europe. These conditions also led

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[82] Brinton, *Shaping of Modern Thought*, 68.

[83] Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 7. Garrett argued that William Cecil may have had a hand in organizing the exodus from his self-imposed exile in his country estates. Cecil, who played a vital role under both Edward VI and Elizabeth I, never would mention what he exactly was doing during the exile and later even downplayed his influence in Edward's reign. Garrett cited the ease with which many of the exiles were able to leave taking not only possessions, but servants as well. She suggests that maybe an alliance existed between Cecil and the Catholic Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was probably the leader of those who at one time favored the Royal Supremacy but opposed the more radical Protestantism of Edward's reign. Gardiner embraced Mary's restoration of the Catholic Church since she was the legitimate ruler, and he feared the disorder he believed came from Protestant ideology. The alliance for Gardiner may have been one of convenience, as he could rid England of those who might cause problems eventually during Mary's rule. He in all likelihood felt that the exiles would become absorbed into the societies of Germany and Geneva, saving England from rebellions the evangelical Protestants would likely have been involved. Cecil's role is less clear, although he may have been in league with the Princess Elizabeth, in an effort to build a base for her ascension to the throne. He, like some at court, may not have believed Mary would produce an heir. The answer to Cecil's' role in this exile is unfortunately buried in the mists of time. Garrett compared the Marian exiles to the Puritans who settled New England, citing how both had set themselves up in a similar fashion and were totally isolated from the native population by language and custom.

to a breakdown of social barriers, especially since the social makeup of these exiles

was very different from the émigré nobles of former times who wondered around

Europe waiting for political climates to become more agreeable in their homeland.

The Protestant exiles, however, were mainly clergy and lay people who found

themselves marginalized or outside the accepted social parameters of the Great Chain

of Being. They, in fact, were able to set up their own societies; and this led some of

them to begin to question other traditional doctrines that had ruled their lives.[84]

William Whittingham in his book, *A Brief Discourse on the Troubles at Frankfort,*

(1554-58) expressed the attitude of a group of exiles when they arrived in Germany:

> After that it had pleased the Lord to take away, for our sins, that noble
> Prince of famous memory, King Edward the Sixth, and placed Queen
> Mary in his room; sundry godly men, as well as stranger (foreigners)
> as of the English nation fled, for the liberty of their consciences fled,
> over the seas; some into France, some into Flanders, and some into the
> high (inland) countries of the Empire: and in the year of our Lord 1554,
> and the 27 of June, came Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William
> Whittingham. And Thomas Wood, with their companies, to the city of
> Frankfort in Germany, the first Englishmen that there arrived to
> remain and abide.[85]

Notable in this passage is the image of Edward VI as one who had been

removed because of a nation's sins, not because he had renounced the Pope in Rome,

which Mary's people would proclaim. It is also significant that the exiles felt it was

necessary to ask the local town magistrates for permission to set up a community in

Frankfort with the right to pass laws and to rule themselves. The exiles recognized

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[84] Ibid., 21.
[85] William Whittingham, *A Brief Discourse on the Troubles at Frankfort: 1554-1558,* ed. Edward
Arber (London: Eliot Stock, 1908), 23.

that cooperation with their foreign hosts was crucial even as they hoped to live rather autonomously.[86]

While in Frankfort, they were exposed to ideas that argued the right of lesser magistrates to resist tyrannical or heretical rulers, an idea that can be traced back to the English monk and scholar William of Ockham and the late medieval conciliarist movement which contended that the electors of the Empire held the *ius gladii* over the Emperor and could remove him if he became tyrannical.[87] John Ponet in his book, *A Shorte Treatise on Political Power* (1556),[88] would integrate this view with John Calvin's condemnation of godless rulers, and urge the ruling class of England to overthrow Mary Tudor and restore the Church of Edward. Later, Christopher Goodman in his book, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed* (1558),[89] would take this view one step further by giving this right to all the people and not just to the ruling class.

The rulers of the mid-Tudor period also played a role in the development of political thought. Their images were set by those who supported and opposed their rule, with Protestant metaphors prevailing during the reign of Elizabeth. The descriptions of the three rulers, Edward VI, Lady Jane Grey, Mary I, of this time have changed significantly over the years, however, as politics and religious leanings would produce varying attitudes. The images of Mary Tudor and Lady Jane Grey

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[86] Dan G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 17.

[87] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2: 128.

[88] John Ponet, *A Short Treatise of Political Power, and of the True Obedience Which Subjects Owe to Kings and Other Civil Governors, With Exhortation to all True Natural English Men*, ed. Robert Lemon (New York: Robert DeCapo Press,1972).

[89] Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed by their Subjects: And Wherein They May Lawfully by God's Word, Disobeyed and Resisted. Wherein also is Declared the Cause of All This Present Misery in England and the Only Way to Remedy the Same*, ed. Patrick S. Poole (Geneva: n.p., 1558).

would run an almost parallel course: the more Mary became the villain the more Jane

emerged as the closest thing to a Protestant saint that history would record. Mary

became the persecuting Bloody Mary of legend, seen by English Protestants as a

tyrant who had been imposed on England because of a general lack of piety during

the reign of Edward VI.[90] Foxe said of Mary in his *Acts and Monuments:*

> The bigotry of Mary regarded not the ties of consanguinity, of natural
> affection, of national succession. Her mind, physically morose, was
> under the domination of men who processed not the milk of human
> kindness, and whose principles were sanctioned and enjoined by the
> idolatrous tenets of the Romish pontiff.[91]

Although Mary suffered such slings and arrows, Lady Jane Grey went on to

become the favorite martyr of the Protestants. Even more recently, Mary was

branded a fanatic by Elton, and Diamond MacCulloch would credit her persecutions

as one of the factors that saved England for the Protestants.[92] Conversely, Lady Jane

gave Whiggish writers of the early eighteenth century a ready-made example of

Protestant purity and devotion.[93] As for Edward VI, he has gone from the precocious

godly imp, to a very normal aristocrat of his time, and some have argued he might

have made a good king.[94] Mary unfortunately, has been the subject of only a few

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[90] Dan G. Danner, "Christopher Goodman and the English Protestant Tradition of Civil Disobedience," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8 (1977): 64.

[91] John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments: A History of the Lives, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths of the Early Christian and the Protestant Martyrs* (London: John Dye at Aldersgate beneath St. Martin, 1563), 1982.

[92] MacCulloch, *The Boy King,* 179; Elton, *Reform and Reformation,* 371.

[93] Jean I. Marsden, "Sex, Politics, and She-Tragedy: Reconfiguring Lady Jane Grey," *SEL* 42 (2002): 504.

[94] See, for example, Hester W. Chapman, *The Last Tudor King: A Study of Edward VI* (Leicester, Eng.: Ulverscroft, 1958); W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI The Threshold of Power: The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* ed. George Bernard and Penry Williams (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

biographies, and the two major works, by H.F. M. Prescott and David Loades, give Mary a more tragic legacy than one as a fanatical executioner, while A. J. Pollard described her most uncharacteristically for the time, as the most honest of the Tudors.[95]

The changing images of the rulers mark the shifting fortunes of the evangelicals and Catholics during the mid-Tudor era. The Protestants went from dominance to defeat and back to power with the ascension of Elizabeth, giving the English people a roller coaster of religious, political, and social change. From the death of Henry VIII in 1547, to Elizabeth's succession in 1558, an English subject, looking to be loyal to his monarch, would have gone from attending a nationalized Catholic Church, to a radical evangelical Protestant Church, then back to a Roman Catholic Church, and finally back to a Protestant one. As to a people's ability to make such changes, Crane Brinton stated: "Masses of men can and do accommodate themselves to changes in abstract ideas, philosophies, theologies, to conflicts among these ideas, in a way that the sincere and single-minded idealist cannot explain except by ceasing to be an idealist about his fellow men."[96] Historians have debated over how the English people reacted to all of the changes in the sixteenth century and what those changes meant to the process of Reformation. Reformation historian A.G. Dickens saw a more grassroots Reformation fueled by anti-clericalism while revisionists Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh saw a violent attack on a traditional

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[95] Pollard, *History of England,* 174; David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); H. F. M. Prescott, *Mary Tudor: The Spanish Tudor* (London: Phoenix, 1988).

[96] Brinton, *Shaping of Modern Thought,* 71.

society by its own ruling class.[97] Dickens argued that the Reformation was inevitable;

regardless of what might have happened, England would have broken with Rome by

the end of the 1500s.[98] Duffy counters that the traditional religion would have been

restored had Mary lived longer and argued that the Counter-Reformation may have

been modeled on the workable program of Cardinal Reginald Pole and Queen Mary.[99]

Despite Dickens' contention of widespread anti-clericalism, Pole's instructions to the

Reverend Father Confessor of the Emperor in October of 1553 backs Duffy's

argument of the deep loyalty that the people of England had to the Catholic Church.

Pole tells the Reverend Father that:

> He [the Pope] may further insist that the people have always been in
> times past more disposed to that obedience than any other nation; that
> they have experienced more advantage from it than injury; that this
> island having been restored to the faith by the Holy See, and having
> become, of its own free will, tributary of it, has not only not suffered
> oppression from the Pope, but has on more than one occasion freed by
> them from the great tyranny of its own princes.[100]

The Cardinal never believed that Henry's actions had the support of the

people and only the greed of a small, but powerful group of nobles, who profited

from the theft of church lands, had been behind any success that the evangelicals had

in England. Pole could cite the revolts against both Henry and Edward and Mary's

victory over Northumberland as proof that the people of England did not support the

break from Rome. While Protestants had a different scenario the true feelings of the

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[97] Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5.

[98] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 129.

[99] Duffy, *Stripping of the Alters*, 525.

[100] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign series, Mary*, ed. William Turnbull (Burlington, Ont.: Tanner Ritchie Publishing 2005), 20-21.

people may never be known. For as Elton contended, the records themselves are tainted with the biases of the writers.[101]

The question all of the scholars ask is how the Protestants emerged victorious in one of Europe's most traditional and conservative nations. Ethan Shagan has put forth the most compelling recent argument that this was accomplished through the day-to-day local politics and interactions of the men and women on the most personal level. Little by little, compromises and political opportunities slowly turned England from a solid Catholic nation of the late middle ages to the stalwart defender of Protestantism by the late sixteenth century. For Shagan this "collaboration" "involves the ability of collaborators to form symbiotic relationships with authority and co-opt the state as the state is co-opting the people."[102] The enforcers of the policies were imbedded in the society and the entire population was able to use these people or officials for their own political or economic gain. Church lands and properties made many English elites rich and many of the lower classes more comfortable; thus the Protestants gained collaborators under Henry, Edward and Elizabeth. As for the differing policies of Edward and Mary, the process worked much the same. Scores were settled in both reigns as adherents to the official religion enriched themselves at the expense of those out of power.

Through this collaboration, which benefited the Protestants the most, as Mary's reign was short, the reformers slowly converted the nation. A "convergence of interest," when the state and the people pursued similar aims but dissimilar ideals (Elton called them points of contact) also played a part in the slow converting of the

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[101] Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 367.
[102] Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 34.

nation. Thus people looking to become powerful or maintain power would use the

state's edicts to crush their opposition and uphold their families' positions of power in

a move that inadvertently caused the nation to become Protestant. To be loyal one

had to proclaim Protestantism and hide any Catholic leanings, eventually giving the

younger generation the impression that the reformed religion was the true one, in turn

making them devoted Protestants.[103] This argument has gained wide support as even

the revisionist Duffy, who argued that the traditional Church had strong, deep roots in

England, would agree that this accommodation, or collaboration, ultimately brought

about the death of Catholic England.[104] In the introduction of their new book, *The*

Church of Mary Tudor (2006), Duffy and David Loades, would say of England's

religious changes, "Loyalty to the Crown, and perhaps a certain fatalism, were to

prove more decisive determinates of general behavior than theological commitment

or devotional conservatism."[105]

Of course, not all beliefs were founded on religious doctrine alone. As the

economy of the time grew more complex and local markets expanded, many of the

traditional views of society began to break down.[106] The Church, which had enforced

the traditional social values in medieval times, increasingly came under royal control.

This led to the state, acting out of a sense of religious duty, becoming more involved

in social welfare.[107] The burdens on the needy increased noticeably in the mid-Tudor

period as population growth took off and the wool market collapsed in the midst of

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[103] Ibid., 15.

[104] Duffy, *Stripping of the Alters*, 593.

[105] Eamon Duffy and David Loades, ed., *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 2006), xviii.

[106] Raymond de Rooven *Business, Banking, and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Julius Krishner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Scott Wilson, *Cultural Materialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

[107] Whitney Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth 1529-1559* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), 4.

rampant inflation, the first such period in English history. The mounting numbers of

itinerant poor coupled with the break with Rome would affect the society well into

the next century. The growth of a more bureaucratic government--directed by king-

in-parliament-- was a result of this growing complexity of the economy and the

changes that it brought. The English, often utilizing humanist (mainly Erasmian)

views, saw the government's involvement as part of the Christian duty of a prince.[108]

This is the foundation of the body politic of the commonwealth, a sense of Christian

duty that some later historians equated, mistakenly, with early socialism. The so-

called "commonwealth men" who wrote about the socio-economic ills of the day,

men such as John Hales, Sir Thomas Smith, and Robert Crowley, were not socialists;

yet their ideas eventually laid the foundation for certain strains of socialist thought as

they were reinterpreted over the years.[109] Edward VI wrote in 1551 in his essay,

"Discourse on the Reform of Abuses in Church and State," that men should be

limited to a set number of sheep, farms, or money as a way to keep them humble in

Christ.[110] He cited Jesus' many words urging his disciples to be humble. When the

term commonwealth was used in the sixteenth century, its context was of a

government fulfilling its Christian duty to its subjects; in turn the subjects' duty was

to obey the godly prince. To the ruling class the roots of poverty could be found in a

lack of education, training, and honest crafts, as well as in idleness; these were also at

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[108] Ibid., 6.
[109] Albert S. Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 2-5.
[110] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, 162.

the heart of rebellion, the disease that must be removed from the body politic.[111]

Edward himself wrote that the cure for any ill in the kingdom was:

> 1. Good education; 2. Devising of good laws; 3. Executing the laws justly, without respect of persons; 4. Example of rulers; 5. Punishing of vagabonds and idle persons; 6. Encouraging the good; 7. Ordering well the customers; 8. Engendering friendship in all the parts of the commonwealth. These be the points that tend to order well the whole commonwealth.[112]

Edward's commonwealth was to have been one where each person represented a part of the body (thus body politic), working together for the good of all, with everyone living and working in God's grace and for his glory.

To come full circle, when Henry VIII broke from Rome in 1534, and set himself up as head of the English Church, he set in motion a series of events with no one having any idea the direction in which they would lead. He had established the government as that of the king-in-Parliament which used the Royal Supremacy as a vehicle to secure his dynasty and to do his duty as a Christian ruler. Under his son Edward, English Protestants encouraged utilizing the governmental structures as vehicles for evangelical change.[113] The Protestants performed what they saw as *their* God-ordained duty to instruct the young king in *his* duties as a ruler, while dealing with the problems of a royal minority, that the writers of Ecclesiastes said would occur in any nation whose king is a child.[114]

What follows then will be a look into the birth of modern revolutionary thought, taking into account the cauldron of religious, social, economic, and political

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[111] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, 57.
[112] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, 165.
[113] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 206.
[114] Ecclesiastes 10:16.

change, through the experiences of the Marian exiles, who felt less bound by tradition. Chapter two will therefore describe first who the Marian exiles were. Chapter three provides a context by focusing on the people and politics of mid-Tudor England, while chapter four will examine the intellectual milieu focusing mostly on the humanist and evangelicals. Chapter five will then turn to the ideas of the "godly commonwealth" fashioned by the exiles, before we end by drawing together a number of conclusions and determine how "revolutionary" their ideas were. It will be argued that the radical exiles, inadvertently, legitimized the idea of popular revolution by modifying the ideas of world they were part of in an attempt to deal with the new and ever changing situations faced by people experiencing a more dynamic, even modern world.

Finally, in Henry's and Edward's reigns, the evangelicals emphasized the duty of the people to obey their godly king, but this would all change with Edward's death in 1553; in fact, the whole world changed for the evangelicals as they faced Mary and the Catholic restoration. Fleeing to the continent many sought to justify resisting Mary and the Catholics, who in turn, delighted in turning the evangelicals' words on obedience against them. Citing Romans 13,[115] Mary and her allies demanded that England follow the will of its legitimate ruler, a ruler confirmed by Church and parliament. The evangelicals answered with one of the most explosive political ideas of the age.[116] In Acts 5:29 it is written: "Peter and the other apostles answered and said. 'We ought to obey God rather than men," and with that the evangelicals found

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[115] Romans 13:1 (KJV), Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. 2. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that shall receive to themselves damnation.

[116] Walzer, *Revolution of the Saints,* 57.

the way to oppose Mary and any ruler who did not support the godly reforms they championed. This was the verse that John Ponet, John Knox, and Christopher Goodman relied upon to justify their words and actions against Mary and her government. Early on they embraced the ideal of passive resistance by either resigning themselves to martyrdom or by going into voluntary exile.[117]

In Germany and Geneva the exiles were isolated from the surrounding culture, as they did not speak German and had no controlling authority or noble class with which to contend.[118] While the French Huguenots were led by nobles who had to maintain their position, the Marian exiles were basically on their own, coming under few if any of the normal societal controls that existed at the time. The Great Chain of Being became less relevant in determining their behavior as they were basically political free agents. It was under these conditions that modern ideas of revolution were born, or at least they provided the field from which the tree of revolution would spring. Ponet had championed the right of the lesser magistrates to act against the rule of a tyrant; Goodman would take that further and proclaim that all the people had the right to resist a tyrant.[119]

The mid-Tudor age did not give birth to modern revolution; the original intent of these men was to establish a godly commonwealth with an apostolic church, living under a new covenant with God, thereby creating the new Israel on earth. They all thought that Elizabeth's succession would bring this about, and in that they were to be largely disappointed. The evangelicals, however, were pragmatic men who offered practical advice to rulers of a nation they felt God had set apart. Ostensibly they were

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[117] Ibid., 57.
[118] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 643.
[119] Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 63.

committed to restoring an earlier time with a pure church and respect for God's natural design (the Great Chain). They may have failed in this, but in so doing, they inadvertently moved toward a new idea, revolution.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MARIAN EXILES: LONE VOICES

OF THE ENGLISH BABLYLON

Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience.

Edward Said[1]

Late in the afternoon of 6 July 1553 death came to Edward VI, King

of England, in whom all the hopes of the evangelicals had rested. He was the

godly prince ruling the new Israel where the will of God would be manifested on

earth. Holding his ravaged hands on his chest he cried out, "Lord, have mercy

upon me, take my spirit." His eyes rolled up, and the young man, four months

short of his sixteenth birthday, died.[2] In the sixteenth century a nation's religion

was determined by the monarch, and Edward's Protestantism had made England a

bastion for the reformed church. Now the heir apparent was the Catholic Mary

and the custom of the period dictated a return to Roman jurisdiction. All of her

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[1] Quoted in, Peter Rose, ed., *The Dispossessed: An Anatomy of Exile* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 1. Peter Rose's book is a collection of essays that explores the whole phenomena of exile and its effects on those exiled and the land they are exiled in.

[2] Chapman, *The Last Tudor King*, 552. Hester Chapman attributes Edward's death to a combination of tuberculosis of the lungs and the medicine given to him in a desperate effort to save him. Jennifer Loach disputed this arguing that Edward died of a suppurating pulmonary infection that had lead to generalized septicemia with renal failure. See Loach, *Edward VI,* 162. While the causes of his death have been argued for years, a recent article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* suggests that it may have been due the measles virus suppressing the host's immunity to tuberculosis, leading to"rapidly progressive tuberculosis that developed after he had measles." Grace Holmes, Fredrick Holmes, and Julia McMorrough, "The Death of Young King Edward VI," *New England Journal of Medicine* 345 (2001): 60. Since the state of medicine in Edward's time essentially kept one comfortable as the disease ran its course, the young king was overwhelmed by whatever infection finally ended his short life.

subjects were expected to either obey their new monarch or face either execution or exile. One group of subjects was so devoted to restoring, what they saw as, God's true church and so committed to do his will on earth, they looked to find another course. They looked to justify disobedience to what they saw as a heretical ruler, one that wished to force them to disobey the laws God had laid down. The death of a fifteen-year-old is a tragic event; in this case it proved a disaster to the English Protestants, as it forced the evangelicals to completely rethink their entire world view. Some would confirm the traditional methods of resisting a ruler, but one small group began to think in a very different way. The following chapter will introduce the evangelicals who went into exile and examine the divisions that occurred as they tried to adapt the new realities of their world to traditional ways of thinking.

The commitment to the reformed church first led to the failed effort of Edward and the Duke of Northumberland to thwart Mary's succession with the Protestant Lady Jane Grey. The effort was doomed to failure as Mary Tudor rallied the people in her determination to reinstate the Catholic Church and return England to the time of her early childhood, before both her parents' divorce and the Reformation of her father.[3] Mary felt she had failed both God and her mother when she acceded to her father's wishes and accepted the divorce, and she was determined not to make that mistake again.[4] The Queen used the powers

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[3] Northumberland could find biblical justification for this move as David had chosen Solomon in I Kings 1:33, 34 (KJV) and later Rehoboam had chosen Abijah in II Chronicles 11: 22, 23 (KJV). Yet in Deuteronomy 17:15, and I Samuel 9: 16, 17; 16:12 the choice is clearly left to God. To the majority of the people of 1553, however, the succession was set by Henry VIII and Parliament and could not be overturned without another act of Parliament. (Bible verses are from the King James Version which is close to the version used at the time.)

[4] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 149.

Parliament had granted both her father and brother to bring back the mass and to return the English church to Roman jurisdiction. Wishing to fulfill her duty in producing an heir, she married the future Philip II of her beloved Spain, an act that led to revolts, such as Thomas Wyatt's in 1554. The Wyatt Rebellion triggered the persecutions of Protestants that would saddle the queen with the moniker Bloody Mary.[5] Now the evangelicals had only three choices: submit to Rome, accept martyrdom, or flee into exile and hope God would restore the church of their beloved Edward. While John Foxe would later immortalize those who chose death, the ones who fled would find their legacy in an idea they would have totally rejected at the time: revolution.

Edward's death is a classic example of a vertical shock. Without a Protestant king, England's reformation would suddenly be reversed, and a whole new set of rules for coping with this situation would have to be created. The evangelicals were faced with an unprecedented situation since they believed in obedience to the anointed of God, and Mary was seen by many as just that.[6] The biblical text, which the evangelicals cited as the ultimate authority in all things, left little doubt that rulers were to be obeyed. It is directly mentioned in at least nine passages.[7] William Tyndale, who many saw as the forefather of the reformed church in England, had written in his book, *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528) that the nobility were executors of God's law, thus God ruled the world through the kings, governors, and rulers. Evil rulers were seen as God's

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[5] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*, 16.
[6] Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 309.
[7] Deuteronomy 21:18, 20; Proverbs 30:17; Romans 13; Hebrews 13:17; Colossians 3: 20, 22; Ephesians 6:1; Titus 3: 1; James 3:3; I Peter 3:1.

punishment of a wayward nation and even bad rulers still commanded total obedience of their subjects.[8] According to historian Dan Danner, in the sixteenth century people believed that "the state must accept its duties and perform them, or else lose its divine mandate and place itself in the abyss of the Anti-Christ."[9] The modern idea of revolution would be born in the effort to find the biblical justification to resist an established government by men who were schooled in the Pauline doctrine of obedience to authority and yet were confronted with a totally hostile authority.[10]

The debate over whether to go into exile or stay and fight had confronted the English Protestants as far back as the Lutheran Tyndale's hiding out in Antwerp in the 1520s, and continuing after the harsh anti-Protestant Act of the Six Articles (1539) became law.[11] It is a bit ironic that in Edward's reign England itself became a haven for persecuted Protestants on the continent as European reformers fled their troubled lands for the relative safety of Protestant England.[12] Now they were facing a vindictive group of former church and government officials whom the evangelicals had spent the last seven years chastising with admonitions to obedience. While some would stay and face martyrdom, others preferred exile, citing the biblical actions of David, Paul, and even Jesus himself.

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[8] Dan Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate in the Sixteenth Century: The Marian Exiles," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49 (1981): 471.

[9] Ibid., 472.

[10] Romans chapter 13.

[11] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII, Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 93-100.

[12] Jonathan Wright, "Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2001): 220; Andrew Pettigree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Co., 1996); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communiites in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

The word exile comes from the Latin word *exilium,* which describes one who has been officially cast out or expelled, referring to those who have been ostracized and then banned from their native lands. This is different from a refugee, who flees one country to find safety during another in a time of war or political upheaval. Despite these very different meanings these two words are many times incorrectly used interchangeably.[13] Exile can take on a romantic aura, as people retell the biblical stories of the Israelites in Egypt or Babylon, or more modern tales of revolutionaries, or those who leave for political reasons. Some see their time of exile more as a strategic retreat, while for others it is a lifelong tragedy.[14] Exile is almost always, however, a time of great upheaval in a person's life and one that has long lasting effects on those who undergo it.

The experience of exile is conditioned by the past, with the memories of the homeland usually clouded by an image of a Golden Age that is more myth than reality. The exiles see their condition as temporary; as they visit their homeland only in dreams, dreams that are usually destroyed as all of their financial resources have been exhausted. The exile is then forced into a lifestyle well below that which he or she experienced in his or her homeland, usually bringing despair and bitterness for their position.[15] In the end the exile usually dies in a foreign land, lonely, embittered and seeing his or her whole life as a failure.

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[13] Peter Rose, "Forced Out," in Rose, ed., *The Dispossessed,* 2.
[14] Robert C. Williams, "European Political Emigrations: A Lost Subject," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 12 (1970): 141.
[15] Ibid., 142.

A good example was the case of Bishop John Ponet, who died of plague in Germany after seeing his former homeland returned to Roman jurisdiction and his nemesis Mary wed to the "vile" Philip of Spain. The period of exile, when nostalgic memory of the homeland is coupled with the urge to move on with life, can stimulate creativity on the part of the participants. The past and future (or the exiles moving on with their lives) merge and inspires the dispossessed to seek ways to overcome this conflict of the mind. In the mind of the exile memories, backed by historical insight and wisdom, combine to validate their moral pronouncements.[16] As Polina Dimova has commented, "their (the exiles) hindsight ensures their foresight."[17] This creative possibility of exile would manifest itself in the numerous writings of those who fled to the continent in Mary's reign, including John Knox, Christopher Goodman, and John Ponet, while, at the same time, the exile experience radicalized them to the extent that they looked for methods to resist what they saw as her ungodly rule.

People had fled England before for various reasons, so having people leave the island as a new monarch was crowned was not new. This, however, was not the usual group of nobles who might have on occasion fled to France while waiting for the political winds in England to change. The Marian exiles formed a new faction of political émigrés whose ideas became a hallmark of much subsequent revolutionary ideology.[18] They were made up of both lay and clerical people numbering around eight hundred, who now found themselves outside of

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[16] Polina Dimova, "Exile, Creativity, and Memory: Reflections on 'The Excursion of the Dead Girls,'" in Rose, ed., *The Dispossessed*, 80.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Williams, "European Political Emigrations," 140.

the traditional body politic. Some left within months of Edward's death, others after the failure of Wyatt's Rebellion, with the last wave coming as the persecutions by Mary increased in late 1554.[19]

Often backed by merchants, and perhaps with the assistance of English Privy Council members William Cecil and Stephen Gardiner, these people escaped an inhospitable England, only to organize themselves into a governing body that was isolated from the new surroundings by culture, language, and custom.[20] For example, the evangelical community at Frankfort included a group of Flemish weavers under Varlerand Poullain (Somerset had invited them to Glastonbury under Edward) and were consider the more radical group from the very beginning of the exile.[21] When in May of 1554 they began to form a governing body, participant William Whittingham wrote that instead of looking to a noble or ordained leader, they held a meeting of the congregation to work on the liturgy as well as all aspects of church rule, much as the Flemish had done in Glastonbury, and "after that the congregation had thus concluded and agreed, and had chosen their minister and Deacons to serve for a time."[22] In contrast, the English evangelicals outside of Frankfort set up their churches along the lines in Edward's Second Prayer Book and looked to leaders, such as Richard Cox, to determine the rules of the church. Other Protestants, such as the French Huguenots who lived in Catholic countries, lived under the rule of powerful local

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[19] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism,* 15-16. John Ponet and John Cheke went to Strasburg, were Peter Martyr resided, Thomas Lever and James Pilkington joined Henry Bullinger in Zurich while John Bale and John Foxe spent their exile in Basel.

[20] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 7.

[21] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism,* 16.

[22] Whittingham, *A Brief Discourse,* 25.

Protestant nobles who not only set church policy but were able to challenge royal authority on religious matters. This English migration, or exile, may have been more than just those fleeing persecution as it can be characterized as the first religious colonization undertaken by the English and a training school for the later migrations to New England.[23]

The English experience, however, tended to be one of relative isolation, as they were separate from the surrounding people by culture as well as language. The exiles sought to set up communities within the traditional norms they had lived under all their lives. While they sought to live under old values, they now existed outside of the rule set of the Great Chain of Being, since they had no noble class to look to. The nobles, mostly allies of Northumberland, were despised by many of the exiles, who blamed their greed for Edward's death. Estranged from the English Protestant nobles, and cut off from local society by culture and language, the exiles had inadvertently made themselves political free agents who might experiment with thoughts and ideas that previously would have been suppressed by the proper level of authority inherent in the old social system.

To these exiles Edward VI was the new Josiah, sent to restore the church to its original state before it was corrupted by Rome. For them he was the most powerful English king in history; for not only was he proclaimed King of England, Ireland, Wales, and France, he still held his father's title of Defender of the Faith and the Supreme Head of the English Church. The nine-year-old boy claimed the authority of both monarch and pope in his realm and had been raised to believe that this was the will of God whose instrument he was on earth. Edward's entire

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[23] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 15.

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education and social experiences underlined his duty to carry out a godly

Reformation, a Reformation that was justified by scripture and inseparable from

notions of kingship and proper governance.[24]

While the ruling class believed that it had a duty to instruct or advise a

king, it also believed the Bible mandated that it obey him as well. Edward's tutor,

John Cheke, [25] stated this in his 1549 tract, *The Hurt of Sedicion, Howe Greveous

it is to a Commune Welth:* "But the magistrate is the ordinaunce of God,

appointed by him with the swerde of punishmente, to loke straightlie to all

evildoers. And therefore, that, that is done by the magistrate, is done by God,

whom the Scripture often times doeth call God, because he hath the execution of

Goddes office."[26] Written in response to Kett's Rebellion in 1549, Cheke

admonished the rebels that by rebelling against a godly ruler they rebelled against

God.

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[24] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 32.

[25] John Cheke (1514-1557) was the son of Peter Cheke, esquire–bell of Cambridge University. Educated at St. John's College Cambridge he became a fellow there in 1529. While at Cambridge he taught William Cecil (who later married his sister Mary) and Roger Ascham. Ascham gave Cheke the highest praise for scholarship and character in his book, *The Schoolmaster,* and Cheke (along with Sir Thomas Smith) introduced a method of pronouncing Greek that survived into the nineteenth century. Tutor to Edward VI, Cheke also held seats in Parliament and was provost of King's College Cambridge. Active in many of the other universities in England and was a strong Protestant, who was intimately involved in the government of Edward VI, as well as the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. He was imprisoned by Mary, but allowed to leave England for the continent on 3 September 1553. Cheke not only exceeded the time he was to be abroad, he also authored and disseminated "seditious" literature in Europe, with large amounts of the tracts reaching England. Seen by Mary's counselors, as well as the Venetian ambassadors, as the leader of this effort, Cheke was singled out to be kidnapped and returned to England. Terrified at being burned he recanted in an act he deeply regretted, and in 1557, died a broken man. He left many manuscripts, of which a large amount survive, and was famous for his lectures on Greek, especially on Demosthenes. His most famous writing, *The Hurt of Sedicion How Greveous it is to a Communeweith* (1549) was written in response to Kett's Rebellion in 1549, and he was the inspiration behind Edward VI's chronicle, which Cheke designed to be a tool to better prepare the young man to rule as king. (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Cheke, John," by Alan Bryson.)

[26] Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedicion,* sig.J4 r.

Once the anointed king died, however, it provoked a number of responses from those trying to explain it. For those who maintained that the godly remnant were agents of the Lord's will, a safe haven was essential to see the holy experiment carried out. The origins and purpose of this particular exile included those who left out of conscience but others perhaps saw a political opportunity, and there is still a question of whether it was an organized effort coordinated by unknown persons in or out of government. The exile effort did benefit from organization at home and abroad, but these ties were tenuous, as there is no evidence of an organized party directing the actions of the Protestants on the continent. Once on the continent, the exiles allied with Protestant and anti-Hapsburg groups to form a party of opposition to Mary. While attempts at overthrowing Mary had all failed, her death provided many of the Protestants, whether they remained at home or went into exile, an opportunity to secure high positions in Elizabeth's reign, but until that happened the expatriates needed another plan since Mary could very well produce an heir herself.[27]

While the idea of exile was an old and honored tradition in the biblical and Christian world, the ease and organization of this exile begs one to question whether there was an organized force behind the effort. As mentioned, there is some evidence to suggest William Cecil, intimately involved in both Edward's and Elizabeth's governments, may have had a hand in this great movement of people.[28] Trying to ensure the survival of the Reformation, he might have joined

[27] Kenneth Bartlett, "The English Exile Community in Italy and the Political Opposition to Queen Mary I," *Albion* 13 (1981): 241.

[28] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII,* 95. Ryrie notes that the exiles under Mary were more organized than any of the groups that fled to Europe under Henry's reign.

forces with the Catholic minister and bishop, Stephen Gardiner, who may have
been looking for an easy way to rid England of troublemakers. The times of
arrival and the apparent ease many had in not just getting their families, but
substantial possessions out of England, suggest an efficiently designed plan of
action.[29] As to who could have had enough influence to lead such a movement,
one only needs to look at the Edwardian career of Cecil to see his intimate
involvement in all facets of governance; yet he was able to return home in relative
obscurity during Mary's time.[30] Cecil was the ultimate survivor; he was closely
associated with both of Edward's regents and was later to become the leader of
Elizabeth's council, yet he never suffered any persecution under Mary. Cecil kept
track of Protestants in Europe for several years. A letter to him from John Hales
in 1551 described the relations between the Catholics and the Protestants in
Germany. Hales found for the most part they cooperated with each other, except
in Strasburg where the Protestants had their own church.[31] The many letters to
and from Cecil in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign* (2005) shows Cecil to be
intimately involved in Edward's governments relations with Protestants
overseas.[32] Did he escape the torments of Mary's reign by playing the loyal
subject on a country estate, or did he have a secret agreement with Marian

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[29] Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, 7-10; Bartlett, "The English Exile Community," 223.

[30] Alford, *Kingship and Politics, passim.*

[31] Letter from John Hales to William Cecil Augsburg April 27, 1551, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Reign of Edward VI*, 96.

[32] Another source that examines the web of relationships between the Protestants from Edward's time until the Elizabethan settlement is: Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1980). Hudson argued that Cecil's actions at the time of Elizabeth's accession, along with the opinions of him by many ambassadors, show that he was intimately involved with many behind-the-scenes activities, demonstrating a long standing relationship with Elizabeth and suggest he had a controlling hand in many of the events even before her coronation.

officials that gave him a safe haven in his own estates in exchange for ridding England of those who might cause the Marian government trouble? No direct evidence exists to corroborate any involvement by him, but like with so many of the characters of Tudor England, there are always some mysteries that elude the historian's grasp.

Whether or not they received much assistance from people at home what is clear is that the Marian exiles lived outside of the normal bounds of society and searched for a successful way to counteract or stop the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in England, even if from afar. Many resorted to prayer, hoping God would, in his good time, restore his rightful Church to England.

Just who exactly comprised the cohort that fled England during Mary's reign? There were two main groups of exiles: those who had political motives, mainly nobles, and those who fled for religious reasons. The political exiles, those who were anti-Spanish or pro-Northumberland, mainly settled in Normandy or Venice, and became part of a larger anti-Hapsburg movement that existed in Europe.[33] These exiles behaved like their predecessors, basically working with the anti-Hapsburg governments of Europe in an attempt to foil the plans of the great Spanish and Imperial family.[34] The other group, consisting of both lay and clerical people, settled in the German areas of the Holy Roman Empire, first at Frankfort and Strasbourg, with later colonies at Emden, Zurich, Wesel, Worms, and Duisburg, and in Geneva. The most successful of the early communities was

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[33] Bartlett, "The English Exile Community," 224. This community would later provide many of the government leaders of Elizabeth's reign while many in the Frankfort community would prove too radical for the more moderate and pragmatic Queen.

[34] Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, 32.

located in Frankfort, where the exiles not only set up their own governing body, but elected pastors for the new congregation they had established at the Weissfauen Kirke.[35] Like many later European exiles they experienced a profound sense of loss and nostalgia for the England they left as they remembered the promise which Edward's rule had held out for them-- a virtual and perhaps mythical Golden Age of the past.[36] This group soon split into two factions, a separation that portended the later conflicts that would arise back in England between an episcopal structure and a presbyterian one. While one party sought conformity with Edward's Prayer Book and wanted the Church set up in a more traditional way with a group of learned clergy (or bishops and nobles) anointing leaders and clergy, the other looked to have the elected elders do this in the fashion of the present-day Presbyterian Church.[37]

The divide centered on Edward's Second Prayer Book of 1552, which some saw as the final work of Archbishop Cramner while others believed it was but a temporary revision of the liturgy.[38] Richard Cox[39] led those who favored

[35] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*, 18.

[36] Williams, "European Political Emigrations," 142.

[37] Ronald J. Vander Molen, "Anglican against Puritan: Ideological Origins during the Marian Exile," *Church History* 42 (1973): 48.

[38] Douglas Harrison, introduction to *The First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI* (New York: Dutton, 1968), xv. Harrison points out that the Anglican conferences from Elizabeth's time onward usually looked to the 1549 version for any revisions and not the more radical 1552 book.

[39] Richard Cox (1500-81) had been educated in the New Learning at King's College in Cambridge and had been recruited by Cardinal Wolsey for Cardinal's College, Oxford in the1520s. He rose to prominence as head of the Eaton School and assisted Cramner in writing the *Bishops' Book* and was later appointed as one of Edward VI's tutors. Cox held the post as Chancellor of Oxford and Dean of Westminster. He was on the Windsor Commission that drafted the Order of Communion in 1548 and later both of Edward's Prayer Books. He also was instrumental in the effort to bring many Protestants to Oxford. During the exile he defeated Knox's efforts in Frankfort to set up a presbyterian style church would become one of Knox's most influential enemies in England. Under Elizabeth he was Bishop of Ely from 1559 till 1581 where he carried on an enthusiastic attack against the Puritans. (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Cox, Richard," by Felicity Heal.)

the episcopacy, which included many of Elizabeth's future bishops and councilors, while the more radical group, represented by famed Scottish reformer, John Knox, represented the presbyterian view of church governance.[40] Cox insisted, "That they would do as they had done in England; and that they would have the face of an English Church." Knox retorted, "The Lord grant it to have the face of Christ's Church."[41] This would cause Whittingham, who was at Frankfort and wrote about the events, to lament:

> Wherefore, if we from England brought the same vices that we had in England, and obstinately did continue in the same; his justice must needs here punish us in Germany also; and translated us beyond the places of expectation, as were sometimes the Israelites beyond Babylon. Among the many sins that moved God to plague England, I affirmed that slackness to reform Religion, when the time and place was granted, was one; and that it did as to become circumspect, how we did now lay our foundations, and how we went forward.[42]

Whittingham's account is the main source for determining the reasons why the group split, yet this is hardly an unbiased assessment. Closely allied with Knox, he outlined a somewhat early Puritan view of events, evident is his description of Knox as modest, a character trait not usually associated with the Scottish reformer.[43]

Whittingham, in this and other passages, described much of the mindset of the more radical of the exiles, who drew on a covenant theology reminiscent of Calvin and Knox. Like the ancient Hebrews, who had broken the covenant with God through apostasy, the English people had been apathetic toward the reformed

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[40] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism,* 21.
[41] Whittingham, *A Brief Discourse,* 54, 62.
[42] Ibid., 64.
[43] Ibid., 53.

religion, which ultimately caused Edward's death and the ascension of Mary. Seeing themselves as part of a covenant with God, their failure to uphold their end had brought down God's wrath upon them. The more radical exiles at Frankfort believed that all of England belonged to this covenant and doing nothing to restore the reformed church of the covenant was an even larger sin then not being fully committed to it in the first place.

The famous study of the division at Frankfort, Christina Garrett's book, *The Marion Exiles*, published in 1938, while still useful, cannot answer the many questions that have been raised since then in light of much new evidence that challenges some of her conclusions. Hence a major study of the exile is needed. For example, Garrett describes the rift as caused by those who wished to maintain the traditional hierarchical society of Edwardian England, an assertion that even her own evidence does not support.[44] Her assertion, however, that the exiles were an organized religious opposition party to the Marian restoration is sustained by the historical evidence.[45]

In both groups the differences were minor when it came to where power resided in the community since it would have been vested in the upper-class exiles and their foreign allies or counterparts, who were naturally endowed with the power to exercise authority according to the dictates of the Great Chain of Being. Even the non-elitist Puritans promoted a power sharing arrangement with the Duke of Wittenberg, who provided protection and financial support for them. The division was really over the maintenance of congregational discipline, in

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[44] Molen, "Anglican Against Puritan," 52.
[45] Bartlett, "The English Exile," 241.

which Cox held to the traditional view of religious leadership, and Knox and his allies developed a new concept antithetical to the institutional, hierarchical church. To maintain congregational discipline both groups stressed creedal loyalty, and while the latter promoted lay control over the policy and structure of the church, the former favored the traditional position of control by educated bishops.[46] The followers of Knox and Whittingham pushed the position of lay control during the whole period of exile; almost all later troubles came out of this campaign.

Proper learning and training became the flashpoint for much of the argument, and foreshowed many of the later battles between the Anglicans and Puritans. Cox supported the view that a Christian humanist education was instrumental in one's quest for knowledge of God. Knox tended towards anti-intellectualism that questioned any reliance on sources outside of Scripture, refusing to submit necessarily to leadership from educated bishops, and looked instead to the biblically-educated lay congregation. Knox thus supported lay control over the church while Cox sought to maintain the authority of the bishops.[47] The argument over who was to control society--the educated elite or the people--would later manifest itself in many of the writings of later revolutionaries, but the seeds of such conflicts were planted in this period, planted by men who thought they were doing the will of God, and maintaining a traditional social order. By questioning the central tenets of the Great Chain, they laid the foundation of its destruction.

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[46] Molen, "Anglican Against Puritan," 52.
[47] Ibid., 53.

The rift over the church caused Knox and his cohorts to leave Frankfort

for Geneva by August of 1555 and despite the efforts by many, including Calvin[48]

himself, the exile community remained split over the issue of Edward's Second

Prayer Book and further reforms. Led by Cox, the exiles in Frankfort would set

up their church along the lines laid out in the Prayer Book while Knox and those

in Geneva would follow a more radical line.[49] Cox, in a letter to Calvin in April

1555, expressed the more conservative view that sought the permission and

doctrinal statement of the magistrates of Frankfort before setting up the church or

holding a vote on matters of governance:

> With the consent likewise of the same church there was forthwith
> appointed one pastor, two preachers, four elders, two deacons;
> the greatest care being taken every one should be at perfect
> liberty to vote as he pleased; except only that by the command of
> the magistrate, before the election took place, were set forth
> those articles lately published by the authority of king Edward,
> which contained a summary of our doctrine, and which we were
> all of us required to subscribe. [50]

It is interesting to note that even when Cox sanctioned a vote by the men

(women would not have been allowed to participate by either faction), he still

acknowledged that the rulers had the authority to set conditions and influence the

outcome of any "democratic" exercise. By contrast, this with the radicals favored

more lay control of the church by its members, with little outside influence. In

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[48] Ibid., 54. Ronald Molen has pointed out that Calvin was seen as the authority by both sides of the rift, but the Anglicans began to rely on him while the Puritans, becoming more confident in their biblical scholarship, would reject all appeals to any authority of scholars, relying totally on Scripture. Calvin would also not give up his conservative ideas on resistance, which further alienated him from the Puritans who began to accept more radical ideas on this issue.

[49] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*, 22.

[50] Letter from Richard Cox and others to John Calvin, Frankfort 5 April 1555, in *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: The University Press, 1857), 754.

September of the same year, David Whitehead wrote Calvin reinforcing Cox's views by saying, "For what kind of election ours was, we call to witness God, our conscience, our whole church, and the very magistrates themselves, of whose authority and advice we always availed ourselves."[51] The letter goes on to condemn Knox for his radical views which they felt threatened the orderly governance of the church and might cause more persecution in England. At this point it appears that Calvin defended Knox saying, "This one thing I cannot keep secret, that master Knox was in my judgment neither godly nor brotherly dealt withal."[52] Christopher Goodman, writing from Geneva in 1558, later defended debating such questions by saying, "not only that we may boldly contend for the truth, whether it be against open enemies, or against those who wish to be called brethren; but also that we may not refuse our support, whenever it is demanded with simplicity and for the sake of arriving at the truth."[53] While Cox and his followers deferred to those whom they saw as their superiors, Knox, as he laid out in his *Letter to the Commonalty,* proclaimed that all men were equal.[54] The troubles would only worsen over time as the sincere religious beliefs of the exiles were exacerbated by political intrigues that soon developed within each community.[55] Each clique or enclave claimed that they were true representatives of the Edwardian Reformation, and these kinds of battles that ensued among

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[51] Letter from David Whitehead and Others to John Calvin, 20 September 1555, Ibid., 759.
[52] Ibid., 760.
[53] Letter from Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr, 20 August 1558, Ibid., 770.
[54] John Knox, *Letter to the Commonalty,* in *John Knox: On Rebellion,* ed. Roger Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 119.
[55] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 38.

English Protestants would continue at least until the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.[56]

While many lamented the split on congregational discipline, another rift slowly, and more importantly, became apparent amongst the Protestants all over Europe. It was the problem of obedience to lawful authority, even if the ruler was unstable or evil, or if the monarch was not a Christian. The problem was simple, and exemplified in Proverbs 20:2 where it is written, "The fear of a king is as the roaring of a lion; *whoso* provoketh him to anger sinneth *against* his own soul." Verses such as these, including the whole of Romans chapter 13, had provided a longstanding foundation for the Great Chain's insistence on obedience to an anointed authority.[57] Again, William Tyndale, in his book, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, expressed this view clearly when he proclaimed that, "such tyrants and persecutors are but God's scourge and his rod to chastise us."[58] Obedience to a ruler was a central tenet of the Great Chain, as it was seen as the lynchpin for peace and good order in a kingdom.

Against this background, however, three fellow Protestants, John Ponet, Christopher Goodman, and John Knox, published a series of tracts that would question such categorical obedience. Using the story of Peter and the Sanhedrin they found the one Bible verse that, in their minds, trumped all other verses that encouraged obedience to superior powers. In the Acts of the Apostles Peter

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[56] MacCulloch, *Boy King*, 220-21.

[57] The admonition that one should not touch an anointed of God is found in two places in the Old Testament: Psalms 105:15, "Saying touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm," and in I Chronicles 16:22 where this verse appears in the exact format and wording.

[58] Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, 12.

proclaimed to the Sanhedrin that, "We ought to obey God rather than men."[59]

Attention to this verse came out of the heated debates amongst the exiles after the

failure of Wyatt's Rebellion and the publication of Ponet's work when the exile

John Pilkington (1520?-76), who later became bishop of Durham and part of the

committee that edited the prayer books of Elizabeth, may have first raised the

fundamental question of who one should obey, man or God.[60] As time went on

the more radical exiles interpreted this verse in such a way that allowed them to

move past the traditional positions on authority and find a way to resist the

Catholic restoration of Mary.

To do this these men would tap into an ongoing debate over power that

had its roots in antiquity and old private-law arguments, many of which came

from fellow Englishman William of Ockham's 1340 tract, *Eight Questions on the*

Power of the Pope. In this work Ockham argued that one may use force to repel

an unjust force.[61] John Ponet (1514-56) gave one of the earliest presentations of

this argument in his tract, *A Short Treatise on Political Power* (1556).[62] Ponet,

considered one of Archbishop Cramner's more radical clerics, replaced Stephen

Gardiner as Bishop of Winchester when Gardiner was deprived in 1551.[63] This

action was reversed two years later by Queen Mary. Christopher Goodman (c.

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[59] Acts 5:29.

[60] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 473. For more biographical information see Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism,* 55-56 and Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 250-51.

[61] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2: 126.

[62] Ibid., 221. See Garnett, *Marion Exiles,* 163-64. Skinner has pointed out that Knox and Goodman were not at opposites as many have portrayed them, but actually had much in common in their pursuit of a way to oppose Mary. They were both looking to create a theory of lawful resistance and each relied on private-law arguments in an effort to do this. Knox differed with Goodman mainly in the ideas of a covenant, where Knox uses this as a primary argument, while Goodman uses the convent theory as a secondary and minor part of his works.

[63] Glyn Redworth, "Bishop Ponet, John Stow, and Wyatt's Rebellion of 1554," *Bodleian Library Record* 16 (1999): 509.

1520-1603) developed a similar theory in his tract, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed* (1558). Before his exile he had been the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Finally, perhaps, the most radical of all the exiles, the Scottish reformer John Knox (1505-72), demanded purity in his reformation above all else, which brought him even more enemies and had the potential to alienate many others. Despite Whittingham's worries that the tone of many of Knox's writings would cause more persecution in England, Knox pushed forward with his radical doctrines.[64] For example, Knox continued to promote his notion of the covenant nation, which asserted that when England and Scotland accepted the Reformation, they had become favored nations like Israel in the Old Testament. If they returned to the old "pagan" (Roman Catholic) rites they would place the nations in direct violation of God's law, thereby breaking the covenant.[65] Knox demonstrated deep feelings for his favorite monarch, Edward VI, and may have spent the happiest time of his life in England under the boy-king where he exercised major influence on the Second Prayer Book of 1552. Unfortunately, his 1558 tract against Mary, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Rule of Women,* earned him the undying enmity of the Princess Elizabeth.

The twin ideas of covenant nation and the right to resist were therefore forged by these two notable exiles, Goodman and Knox, who each reinforced and reinterpreted this idea of England as a select nation. Their writings were quietly producing a new current of thought in Europe, one that most would consider extremely dangerous. The power of their writings soon began to disturb those in

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[64] Whittingham, *A Brief Discourse*, 90.

[65] W. Sanford Reid, "John Knox's Theology of Political Government," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988): 529.

power, which may explain Mary's government forcibly kidnapping Cheke and bringing him back to England. Cheke had the reputation in England and the continent as a leader of those who were writing and distributing seditious literature back home.[66] Slowly these ideas worked their way into mainstream constitutional thought, as the more elaborate publishing network of the time quietly moved ideas across the European continent. When the exiles were charged with being contentious and for bringing disorder to their communities, Goodman answered that the debate was unavoidable:

> And though in this case it may be difficult to avoid the imputation of being contentious, yet when our conscience bears witness to us that we are not averse to strife, and that we do not regard the opinions of men, but the cause of the contention itself, we must faithfully discharge our duty, and leave the event to Almighty God, who will defend his own cause.[67]

The political ideas of the exiles would find their way into the mainstream eventually but in a much different form. As intellectuals rethought old ideas, they changed them and made them into new ideas. An example of this can be seen in John Locke's great work, *The Two Treatises of Government*, where many of the same arguments put forth by Ponet, Goodman, and Knox, may be found with some major modifications. Locke defended the right to resist on the basis of human and natural rights with the power of resistance residing in the body of the people even when not connected to religious apostasy and coercion.[68] The exiles saw rebellion emerging solely out of the need to thwart ungodly rulers who were hostile to legitimate church reform. And while many of these evangelicals

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[66] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 36; Bartlett "The English Exile," 232.
[67] Letter from Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr, 20 August 1558, *Original Letters,* 770.
[68] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2:239.

extended their concerns into the area of economic or social reform, they were still more determined to uphold an orderly, hierarchical society that they believed God intended above all else.[69]

The more radical of the exiles, however, rejected conservative views that accepted without question the more traditional religious position of complete obedience to the state. They wished to return to a "pure" form of Christianity, a time before it was corrupted by human greed and shortcomings.[70] The exiles saw society in terms of the Great Chain of Being, a society ordained by God, and their resistance was a defense of God's laws and order. Tyranny was associated with Catholicism and heresy, and resisting it was a religious duty, not the personal legal right of citizens.[71] Such passion would make these exiles a clear minority in the sixteenth century. The marginality of their positions only inflamed their beliefs and led them to become even more radical, as if they were the Old Testament prophets of their day. This rejection of the more traditional views regarding legitimate governments would plant the seeds of resistance which later grew into justification for revolution. The ancient Greek dramatist Aeschylus had said that in exile people have their most graphic and creative dreams; the Marian exiles would be no different.[72] They dreamed of restoring the covenant of Old Testament times with England fulfilling the role of Israel, reforming and restoring the "pure" religion of the Bible. The radical exiles may have spoken only to

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[69] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, 64.
[70] Molen, "Anglican against Puritan," 56.
[71] Ibid., 240.
[72] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 472.

religious reform, but even in this small way, they opened up government and society to more systematic questioning and new forms of political activism.

CHAPTER THREE

GODLY PRINCE, HEROINE AND TRYANT:

THE RULERS OF THE EXILES

Like cultural idiosyncrasies, individual idiosyncrasies throw wild cards into the

course of history.

Jared Diamond[1]

After exploring just who the exiles were and what their ideas and motives

were in chapter two, we now turn to those who were in authority over these

people. The mid-Tudor rulers are often ignored and dismissed as fanatics by

scholars, and their period painted as a troubled time between the glorious reigns

of Henry and Elizabeth. The influence of individuals is a source of debate among

historians, with most until recently looking to find the one, who in the words of

the Prussian Otto von Bismarck, "heard the footsteps of God and tried to catch his

coattails."[2] We now recognize the *longue duree* and the structural basis for

historical causation and change, but the rulers of the mid-Tudor period should not

be dismissed out of hand as insignificant. As we shall see they either inspired the

evangelicals (as in the case of Edward VI and Lady Jane Grey) or strengthen their

resolve (during Mary's reign), as the problems of Tudor succession played out.

We will begin with Edward Tudor, the son of Henry VIII and Jane

Seymour, who became the champion of Protestantism in the late 1540s and early

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[1] Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 420.
[2] Ibid.

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1550s. His death in 1553 was an occurrence that Thomas Barnett might call a vertical shock, or an event that turned the world upside down.[3] So how did the death of Edward VI, just four months short of his sixteenth birthday, qualify as an earth shattering event or to use Barnett's term, a vertical shock? It came in the middle of a great transitional period in history as the medieval age was giving way to the modern period. His death forced a group of religious reformers into exile and freed them from many of the traditional rules that would have held radical thought in check. The corresponding turmoil stirred up within the economic and religious establishments caused questions to be raised about the old rules governing society. English evangelicals, who had enjoyed a brief period of relative free expression before the revolts of 1549, found themselves in a situation where they were free to experiment with ideas and rethink their whole world view.[4]

These and other exiles painted Edward as the pious, godly prince whose people's lack of commitment to God's true church had caused his early death and forced them into this forlorn exile, much like the Babylonian exile of the Israelites described in the Old Testament. Henry Bullinger, leader of the reformed church in Zurich, lamented in a letter to his cohort in Geneva, Theodore Beza: "Oh! How truly wretched are the times into which our good Lord has thought fit for us to enter!"[5] In the reformers' grief over the king's death, they forgot the many

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[3] Barnett, *Pentagon's New Map*, 262.

[4] John King, "Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 40 (1976): 2.

[5] Letter from Henry Bullinger to Theodore Beza Zurich, 30 August 1553, *Original Letters,* 741. The English exiles had been in correspondence with Protestant churches and leaders in Zurich and Geneva since the 1530s.

problems of Edward's time, remembering only a devout, saintly monarch ruling the godly commonwealth of England. They saw only the pious young king who ruled as God's minister on earth and sought to purge papal superstition from his realm. The image of the young king was seen not only in many of the evangelical texts written before and after his death, but in their paintings as well.[6] Edward became the catalyst for the changes that occurred in this time, as he inspired the evangelicals to feel that they were close to achieving the will of God and restoring the church to its "pure" form. Had he lived, the customary conventions may have prevented many of the more radical exiles from taking their ideas down the paths they eventually took.

Edward himself is somewhat of an enigma, and historians and writers have described him in many different ways. To Jennifer Loach he was a typical aristocrat of the sixteenth century,[7] yet G. R. Elton described him as a monster in the making.[8] The young Edward was certainly not Mark Twain's lonely boy, whom he often compared to Joan of Arc,[9] but was he the godly imp whom Foxe described in his popular book, *Acts and Monuments*?[10] It is not easy to tell. While Edward's *Chronicle* shows more interest in military affairs and parties, his

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[6] Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost; Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 218. Aston details how the reformers in England used allegory in their art to remodel the church along Protestant lines. It also gives many examples in art of the image of Edward as the pious young Josiah, the ideal of the godly prince that so inspired the exiles to fight against the Marian restoration.

[7] Loach, *Edward VI*, 184.

[8] Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 202. Elton said that Edward was a bigot and England was better off that both he and Mary had short reigns.

[9] Einfeld, *Readings on the Prince and the Pauper*, 111.

[10] Foxe, *Acts and Monument*, 1780.

one terse, matter-of-fact sentence on his uncle's, the duke of Somerset, execution still gives many reason to pause.[11]

Edward's father, Henry VIII,[12] was a legend, a figure who had transformed England religiously, socially, and politically during his thirty-eight year reign. He would cast a giant shadow over the entire century and even today is one of England's most recognizable rulers. Acting well within the medieval mindset regarding the duties of a monarch, he had broken with Rome at least in part to ensure the survival of his dynasty, an act he saw justified with the birth of his son, Edward, in 1537. In the words of historian Diarmaid MacCulloch, Henry had been the "most self-consciously powerful of English monarchs over the minds and souls of his subjects."[13]

In his third Act of Succession in 1544, Henry determined that the crown would go to Edward first, then to his daughter Mary and finally, if neither Edward of Mary had any issue, to his youngest daughter Elizabeth.[14] He had used Parliament to ensure that his choices had the stamp of popular approval, but Henry believed that he could leave the crown to whomever he pleased, for it was his property. Hence he reserved the right to determine any future issues regarding the succession in his will. The will, which he completed before his death in 1547, forbad Mary or Elizabeth to marry without the consent of the council and they

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[11] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, 107. Jan 22, 1552- "The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." W. K. Jordan calls this the most puzzling of Edward's comments and many debate whether Edward is showing a cold, rather heartless character or whether, since others read this work, he is writing out of caution as the Tudor court was a very dangerous place.

[12] For more on Henry VIII see Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed. *The Reign of Henry VIII; Politics, Policy, and Piety* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995) and Michael A. R. Graves, *Henry VIII: A Study in Kingship* (London: Pearson Longman, 2003).

[13] MacCulloch, *Reign of Henry VIII*, 1.

[14] Graves, *Henry VIII*, 140.

would be denied any right to the crown if they did. Henry skipped over any descendents of his sister Margaret, who had married James IV of Scotland, and left the crown to the heirs of the daughters (Frances and Eleanor) of his other sister Mary should his children die without issue. By setting down in his will the makeup of the council to assist his son in ruling until he attained his majority, Henry had intended to rule from the grave.[15] The will excluded both the Howard faction and the most powerful conservative bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, from the council, and privileged the reformers, led by Edward's uncle Edward Seymour, to rule the kingdom as a committee with no one individual as a controlling power. Henry wished Edward to have a group of equals to serve him as advisors until he reached his majority. Seymour, the newly created Duke of Somerset, along with his ally, William Paget,[16] quickly overturned this part of the will and set himself up as Lord Protector, giving himself virtual control over his nephew's kingdom.[17]

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[15] Ibid., 141.

[16] William Paget (1505/6-1563) held important posts under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth which was evidence of not only his talent in governing, but his survivor abilities as well. He was Henry's conduit to his council in the king's later years and was a close ally of the duke of Somerset early in Edward's reign. He managed this despite his brother Robert being a leader in the Western Rebellions of 1549. He withdrew from council when Northumberland took power, and declared for Mary soon after Edward's death in 1553. He privately showed little interest in religion, regarding it mostly as the glue that held society together and sought as little disruption in societal order as possible. He became Phillip II of Spain's ally and in 1556, Lord Chancellor. He assisted in the kidnapping of John Cheke in May of 1556, yet after Mary's death both Cecil and Thomas Parry sought his council on peace negotiations and coinage issues. Paget was a pragmatist who looked to maintain law and order in England. His health declined in his later years and he died in 1563, during a time he may have been slowly making his way back into the government under Elizabeth. (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v., "Paget, William," by Sybil M. Jack.)

[17] E. W. Ives, "Henry VIII's Will: A Forensic Conundrum," *Historical Journal* 35 (1992):803. In this article Professor Ives comes to the conclusion that despite the many myths of the past Henry VIII was totally in charge of the writing of this document and it represented his turning his back on the conservative religious party of Gardiner.

The nation the young nine-year-old inherited in 1547 was far from an idyllic, pastoral kingdom. England was a land nearly boiling over with economic unrest and social upheaval, and a land of contradictions, where the people distrusted great wealth yet had little sympathy for the homeless or those in dire poverty.[18] In English society the leaders undertook a course of radical religious reform while trying to maintain very traditional, conservative social values. It was a world where each individual member had a certain function to perform in maintaining the natural social order.[19] Like the parts of the body each member had certain duties to perform in the maintenance of the whole. Religion embraced all facets of life in this system and there was nothing that existed outside of its domain. Every event had an ethical meaning and was part of God's plan for the world, a view inherited with little resistance from the middle ages.[20]

Sixteenth century social attitudes were perhaps best described by Edmund Dudley in his book, *The Tree of Commonwealth* (1509-10) when he used the image of a great tree to describe government and its people:

> The comon wealth of this realme or the subjects and inhabitants thereof may be resemblid to a faier and mighte tree growing in a faier field or pasture, under the coverte or shade whereof all beastes, both fatt and leane, are protectyd and comfortyd from heate and cold as the tyme requireth. In like manner all the subjectes of that realm wher this tree of comon wealth doth sewerly growe are ther by holped and relyved from the highest degree to the lowest. But for a troth this tree will neuer long stand

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[18] Edward VI, "Discourse on Reforms," in *Chronicle,* 160-167. In this paper Edward speaks of limiting the amount of wealth that one could have, said of England that "this country cannot bear" large amounts of wealth concentrated in only a few hands. He goes on to set what he sees as the limits of wealth that one can possess. Edward later condemns those who have no employment, calling them idlers and vagabonds, and as being the cause of sedition and rebellion. The young king also has little use for usury and lawyers, on which the economies of later times would depend.

[19] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism; A Historical Study* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1952), 23.

[20] Ibid., 22.

or growe uprighte in this realme, or in any other, without diuerse strong rootes, and fastened sewer in the grounde.[21]

The Duke of Northumberland's father described a society where for all to prosper, each member must maintain the "roots" of that the social order or risks seeing the tree of commonwealth crumble and die. The roots of this tree are the love of God, justice, truth, concord, and peace, all of which come from the wise leadership of a godly prince. This prince is responsible for maintaining good government and protecting his subjects, because this is where his wealth and prosperity resided. Henry Brinklow's 1546 tract, *A Supplication of the Poore Commons*,[22] in which he argued that the king was responsible for protecting and supporting all subjects in his realm, also supported this image of society.[23] A realm that was a great corporate body binding all parts of society together in a covenant of mutual responsibilities and duties to each other would be carried together under God's holy plan.[24] By Edward's time the concept of a prince's religious duties was being combined with increasing emphasis on the social and economic duties of the government, or commonwealth. The young king was educated by men who combined the ideas of both Christian humanism and Protestantism into a plan of active reform that would expand the duties and obligations of the godly commonwealth.[25]

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[21] Edmund Dudley, *The Tree of Common Wealth (1509-10)*, ed. D.M. Brodie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 31-32.

[22] Henry Brinklow, *A Supplication of the Poore Commons* (London: n.p., 1546).

[23] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 64.

[24] Whitney R. D. Jones, *The Tree of Commonwealth 1450-1793* (Madison, Wis.: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 30.

[25] Ibid., 33.

Henry VIII took great pains to prepare his son to assume the responsibilities of ruling his kingdom by providing him with a formidable humanistic schooling that included heavy emphasis on the classics.[26] In spite of Henry's own declarations of his devotion to the Catholic Church, theologically, Edward's tutors were some of the leading reform-minded men in England. Richard Cox, a friend of Cramner and a person of solid evangelical views was the first appointed to school the young prince. To assist Cox, Henry chose Sir John Cheke, considered by many as the greatest scholar among the English humanists; eventually he became Edward's main teacher.[27] Later, after Cox had been appointed headmaster at Eton, Roger Ascham (1516-68), author of the much renowned handbook, *The Schoolmaster,* and tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, came to help in the young king's education.[28] Other evangelicals assisting in the prince's learning were John Pilkington, Anthony Otway, Giles Eyre, and Roger Tonge who guided Edward's religious education to the extent that Edward was able to follow the theological arguments of Peter Martyr's *De Sacramento Eucharistiae,* when it was presented to him in 1549.[29]

Schooled not only in literature, Edward was given the finest mathematical and scientific education of his day, with a major emphasis on geography. From Flanders, Phillip van Wilder was brought in to school the young prince in the lute and Thomas Sternhold coached him in his metrical versions of the Psalms.[30]

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[26] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 32; Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors 1485-1603* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 180-81.

[27] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2: 33; W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI, The Young King; The Protectorship of Somerset,* 41.

[28] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 1: 213; Loach, *Edward VI,* 13.

[29] Loach, *Edward VI,* 14.

[30] Jordan *Edward VI, The Young King,* 42.

Edward was a star pupil, and all of his teachers praised him for his willingness to take on complicated and advanced tasks, and for his quickness in mastering them.

To insure the young prince learned humility, it was arranged for him to have a group of young nobles study with him; one of these was Barnaby Fitzpatrick,[31] who became Edward's closest friend and confidant.[32] Henri II of France said that Edward's confidence in Fitzpatrick was well placed as his behavior in France was exemplary.[33] Cheke had the prince begin keeping a personal dairy also, using it as an intellectual exercise to assist Edward in becoming a better rounded and prepared ruler. All of this was done in accordance with the Renaissance mindset on how a prince was to be educated. Through his education and the proclamations of his advisors, no king of England could have been more aware of the expectations of his subjects than the young Edward.[34] Edward's education would continue after the death of his father, but it never varied from the structure or goals set down by Henry.

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[31] Barnaby Fitzpatrick (c1535-81) was the second Baron of the Upper Ossory, his father Barnaby (Brian, d. 1575) the first baron gave up his Gallic title of MacGiolla Phladraig and sent his son to Henry VIII's court in 1541 as terms of his surrender to the Tudors. Barnaby was rumored to be Edward's whipping boy, but scholars dispute this, but he became the king's closest friend. By 1551 the young Irishman was on the Privy Council and French king Henri II had made him a gentleman of his chamber. Barnaby was on the path to becoming an important and probably powerful member of Edward's government when the young king died in 1553. Despite being a committed Protestant, he helped Mary put down Wyatt's Rebellion and spent the rest of her reign in Ireland assisting his father in running their estate. He succeeded his father in 1575, and spent most of his remaining years involved in a bitter feud with his cousin Thomas of Ormond. Never regaining any prominence at court he died imprisoned at Dublin Castle on 11 September 1581. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Fitzpatrick, Barnaby," by Christopher Magihn.

[32] Jordan, *Edward VI, The Young King*, 44.

[33] Letter from Henri II to Edward VI, Compeigne, December 1551, *Calendar of Foreign Papers, Edward VI*, 232., The relationship between both boys and Cecil can be seen in a letter from Fitzpatrick to Cecil in where Fitzpatrick calls Cecil more of a father than a friend. *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Rozburgue Club 1857), 1: 77.

[34] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 32.

Edward's rule was marked by a conservative social order's attempt to maintain the traditional society of the sixteenth century in the face of growing economic and social change. Recent research has countered the traditional view of Edward's court as a divided battleground and instead sees a very stable group of governors, tied by family, religion, and political office, which formed a bridge to the political establishment of Elizabeth's reign.[35] During Edward's reign the Privy Council and Parliament came to play an important part in governing, and both gained much experience that continued into the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. It would be in this period that new ideas about economics and religious reform began to flourish, and early in Edward's reign they were even encouraged. Sixteenth century English intellectuals had a period of relative free expression that was combined with a longstanding tradition of active participation in the life of communities, towns, and rural parishes.[36] Civic humanism and an ancient constitutional tradition of a mixed monarchy, a partnership between Parliament and king, now came face to face with major economic and social upheavals that were occurring as the modern era began.[37] These threads running through English society created a volatile mix that would set the stage for the even more creative and more radical ideas to follow. As historian Stephen Alford has contended, Edward's reign led to the formation of a powerful, but limited, monarchy.[38]

The new attitude towards governance can be seen in the attitude taken by Tudor monarchs toward the role of Parliament and council. Both institutions had

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[35] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 3.

[36] King, "Freedom of the Press," 2.

[37] Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 27.

[38] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 4.

been created out of the king's need for advice and counsel. Parliament provided

English monarchs with a chance to consult with a wider range of the people than

was normally possible, and to gain assent for levying taxes on the land.[39] In 1460

some nobles suggested that the Duke of York's claim to the throne be submitted

to Parliament for settlement, to which the House of Lords declared that they were

not in the position to determine such a high mystery of state. Henry VIII had no

such reservations in turning to Parliament during his rule, and his children

regularly passed almost all of their major policies through Parliament. England

had enjoyed a high degree of jurisdictional unity for many years and its people

probably came to find parliamentary consultation by its monarchs to be not only

good theory, but a very pragmatic way of governing.[40] The establishment of the

Royal Supremacy and the rules for the succession, mainly due to the uncertainty

of the Tudor line, had the effect of creating the idea of a limited monarchy in

which the prince ruled with the consent of the people through Parliament. Even

Henry VIII famously remarked:

> We be informed by our judges that we at no time stand so highly in
> our estate royal as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as head
> and you as members are conjoined and knit together into one body
> politic.[41]

This cooperation between king and parliament resulted in the idea that

kings needed godly partners to insure the success of reforms. As the relationship

emerged and evolved in Edward's reign the process inadvertently created a

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[39] Jennifer Loach, *Parliament Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 1.
[40] Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 9.
[41] Quoted in Graves, *Henry VIII*, 105.

breeding ground for revolutionary thought that would overwhelm the Tudor's successors in the next century.[42]

How did Edward himself view his role as king? To answer this question, it is important to look at his writings, much of which survives, even if his notebook on sermons has been lost. With fifty-five works in Latin and fifty in Greek, the total output reveals a young man of exceptional learning.[43] Edward's *Chronicle* is the most personal work which as noted earlier, began as an academic exercise at the behest of his tutors. This and the fact that his tutors read his entries mean that those scholars who read this work should do so with caution, as a less-than-candid reflection of the king's mind.

Some historians use Edward's chilling words describing his uncle's execution to paint a picture of an uncaring, heartless monster in the making. They see him as cold, indifferent, and lacking in human emotions, a highly formal creature whose fanatical Protestantism surely would have earned him the nickname "Bloody Edward" had he lived.[44] Against this, however, there are many other indications that he was a typical teenage aristocrat of the sixteenth century. His chronicle was an academic exercise that Edward knew would be read by many, thus, he would have known to be very careful in what he revealed. His relations with Barnaby Fitzpatrick and his friendly, unconventional knighting of Nicholas Throckmorton, a young man only a few years older than Edward,

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[42] Ibid., 11.
[43] MacCulloch, *The Boy King*, 20-21.
[44] Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 371.

however, show a more human side.[45] These were dangerous times; the upheavals

of the War of the Roses were still remembered. Edward himself got an early

education in the intrigues and treacheries of the Tudor court form his uncle,

Thomas Seymour. Seymour, who had married Catherine Parr, became close to the

young king, urging him to take control of his kingdom as well as passing money

and messages to the boy. By late 1548 he had moved to gather allies, promising

Henry Grey that he would arrange a marriage between Edward and his daughter

Lady Jane. He also tried to get permission to marry the Princess Elizabeth, who

had flirted with for several years, yet on 16 January, 1549; Seymour tried to break

into Edward's bedchamber and in the process killed one of the king's dogs.

Edward may have realized that his uncle was using him for political gain, as he

had turned down the Admiral's request for favours from Parliament.[46] The

Admiral's rash actions lead to his execution in 1549 and may have shown Edward

that a king must be careful of whom he allowed close to him and expect all to use

him for political gain.[47] Edward may have seen his court as a place of intrigue

and treachery and acted accordingly, keeping his private thoughts and feelings to

himself.

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[45] Mary Luke, *A Crown for Elizabeth* (New York: Paperback Library, 1972), 302. Luke wrote of how after the Scottish campaign the young King, jokingly told Throckmorton, in response to the young courier's request for a commission for services rendered during the war, that not only would he grant a commission but knight him as well. Edward ran after the young man with his sword and Throckmorton ran and hid in the spirit of Edward's jest. Edward, acting more like a mischievous boy than a pious imp, knighted him in a grievous breach of custom as Throckmorton's older brother had not yet been granted that honor.

[46] Edward VI, *Chronicle,* 6.

[47] Jordan, *Edward VI,* 1:372-81; Loach, *Edward VI,* 56-7; Chapman, *The Last Tudor King,* 232-41. Thomas Seymour's actions during Edward's reign were a good lesson to the young King that nobody was immune to the block in the sixteenth century.

Edward's image changed, along with the ideas of the period, as writers sought to justify or defend their interpretations of events. The evangelical image of Edward as a pious boy, the new Josiah, or Hezekiah, quietly listening to sermons of the Protestants preachers with approval may have been more in the minds of writers, such as John Foxe, than any reflection of actual fact. Foxe describes Edward in his *Acts and Monuments* with exaggerated praise, constantly referring to him as that "blessed young Edward the Sixth."[48] Later, the evangelicals, while certainly supporting the king's religion, extended his reputation of a godly prince to justify their rebellion against a tyrant; thus Edward was transformed into the image of God's anointed, who restored the covenant of God much like the ancient kings of Israel did, such as David, Josiah, and Hezekiah.

A study of his chronicle and other works reveals a typical young aristocrat of the sixteenth century, who may have been more interested in sports, tournaments, warfare, and in obtaining more pocket money, than leading a religious life. His relations with his sister Mary may have been strained as much by his Tudor need to be obeyed as for religious reasons.

> The Lady Mary, my sister, came to me to Westminster, where after salutations she was called with my Council into a chamber where was declared how long I had suffered her mass (against my will *crossed out)* in hope of her reconciliation and how now, being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered that her soul was God's and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said I constrained not her faith but willed her (not as a king to rule *inserted)* but as a subject to

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[48] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 1780.

obey. And that her example might breed too much inconvenience.[49]

The above entry shows that religion was an important factor in Edward's dealings with his half-sister, but he also placed her obedience to him at the same level of importance. One interesting note, despite the ruthlessness of the times, Edward never speaks of Mary being in danger of execution. The King had a deep affection for her, as she did for him. The evangelicals, on the other hand, despised Mary and her Catholic leanings, and held the young King in the highest esteem and reverence. They had placed him high on a pedestal and deeply mourned his death. Edward became the inspirational image that many of the exiles looked to long after his death. Inspiring loyalty like this, Edward, had he lived, may have been closer to a *guerrier de Dieu* than the godly imp.[50]

Edward lived in a time of great transition as new economic forces were producing changes in the social structure and upheavals affected notions of godly reform along with the leadership expected of the king. The expansion of trade with the East and in the Americas was calling into question old ideas on usury and social rank, as rich merchants were being elevated into the upper echelons of elite society, acquiring the derisive label of "upstarts." Similar to Barnett's idea of vertical shocks, the eminent historian, R. H. Tawney, once wrote that: "Mankind does not reflect upon questions of economic and social organization until compelled to do so by the sharp pressure of some practical emergency."[51] The emergency that had emerged was a change in economic practices that moved

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[49] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, 55.

[50] Loach, *Edward VI*, 181.

[51] Tawny, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 66.

away from statist medieval ideas such as the just price to the more dynamic

mercantilist support for profit-making which caused many to rethink the structure

of society and one's place in it.[52] As a result many new ideas were entertained

that potentially endangered the age-old Great Chain of Being that had

traditionally governed every facet of life. Most people do not like drastic change,

and while new rules must be fashioned to cope with changed conditions, the old

does not give way without a struggle. When upheavals produce a crisis, over

threats real or imagined, these struggles give rise to new ideas and produce new

rules to govern society.

Edward's government faced several crises during his reign and the

outcomes had a lasting effect on later events. One was the problem of enclosure

which accompanied a large-scale conversion of arable land into pasture. A

contemporary rhyme laments the unpopularity of this practice:

> The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.
> The more shepe, the dearer is the motton.
> The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.
> The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.
> The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate.
> The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.[53]

Edward VI himself condemns this and associated practices by landlords

and businessmen who were seeking greater profits:

> The ill in this commonwealth , as I have before said, stands in the
> deceitful working of artificers, using of exchange and usury,
> making vent with hoys only into Flanders, conveying of bullion,
> lead, bell metal, copper, wood, iron, fish, corn, and cattle beyond
> the sea, enhancing of rents, using two arts to live by, keeping of

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[52] Ibid., 15.

[53] R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, ed., *Tudor Economic Documents; Being Select Documents Illustrating the Economic and Social History of Tudor England* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924), 51-52.

many sheep and many farms, idleness of people, disobedience of the lower sort, buying and selling of offices, impropriating benefices, turning till-ground into pasture, exceeding in apparel, diet, and building, enclosing of commons, casting of ill and seditious bills.[54]

To many contemporaries, the enclosing of land was at the root of the existing economic and political crisis. One can debate the validity of this, but for a government a problem that is imagined can be as troublesome as one that actually exists. Enclosures were an example of this, as they were more a symptom rather than a cause of economic dissatisfaction. The controversy highlights that there was a general change in the attitude toward social responsibility. The commonwealth ideal, a belief that was imbedded in the minds of mid-Tudor nobles, held that the government not only had the right but the duty to intervene in economic situations to protect its people. The adherence to this ideal led the ruling class of England to pass many laws and proclamations ending or mitigating the practice of enclosure. While scholars debate the existence of an actual organized party of social reform, the commonwealth ideal was ingrained in Edward and the evangelicals due to their reading of the gospel and its concern for the poor.

Edward's writings show that he distrusted great wealth and at the same time condemned those who did not have gainful employment. Edward writes in his "Discourse on Reform" what he felt was the maximum amount of land, sheep, and wealth that his subjects should own.[55] Sounding almost like a modern socialist, he reasoned that for an orderly kingdom no one should have too much.

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[54] Edward VI, "Discourse on Reform," in *Chronicle,* 165.
[55] Ibid., 162.

Edward, using the logic of the commonwealth ideal, tells his subjects how all should act in conducting their business. The King bragged, as did many Englishmen did, of how much better the English peasants were than the French. Edward bemoans that "the lawyers and judges, have much offended in corruption and bribery."[56] He complained that too many of the young are not engaging in honest work, but tend to "loiter" about. He saved his strongest condemnation for the vagabond of whom he said if they "take children and teach them to beg should, according to their demerits, be worthily punished."[57] His writings also foreshadowed some of the splits at Frankfort as he spoke of limiting the power of bishops, and of keeping them under the control of civil authorities.

Edward and other "commonwealth men" maintained a somewhat medieval outlook that saw wealth as a gift from God, and those that had it were obligated, in a paternalistic way, to see to the welfare and good behavior of all who were dependent upon them.[58] Sixteenth century English people looked back to a past when the honest English yeoman worked the land, protected by the neighboring nobleman, all under the fatherly gaze of the parish priest.

Transferring this paternalistic ideal from the local landowner to the state was at the root of the new commonwealth ideals that were championed by many

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[56] Ibid., 164.
[57] Ibid., 166.
[58] Loades, *Mid-Tudor Crisis,* 101. Because these writers proclaimed a form of economic egalitarianism, many later writers saw them as proto-socialist, even as the founders of socialism. While they may have planted seeds of socialism, like revolution, they were neither socialists nor revolutionaries. They were avowed monarchists trying to make sense of a changing world. They tried to hold on to the old, while exploring the new, and in such a way they became part of an evolution of ideas that transformed the medieval world into the modern.

of the time, including the Duke of Somerset.[59] David Loades in his book, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, best described the commonwealth ideal in the following statement; "The princely office existed, not for the glory of its holder, but to enable him to protect the welfare of his subjects, and the same responsibility lay upon those who served him in public office."[60] Such a sentiment can be seen in many of Edward's writings, as in well as many of the sermons of the time, especially in those of the King's favorite preacher, John Knox.[61] The expansion of the government into the economic and social sphere, an area that in medieval times was reserved for the local lord and church, caused changes in the social structure that were beyond the comprehension of the people of the sixteenth century.

The enclosure crisis, the introduction of new religious practices, combined with economic turmoil led to the rebellions of 1549. The Prayer Book Rebellion was hostile to reforms while Kett's Rebellion supported the commonwealth reformers. Together they are known as the Western Rebellions and they contributed to Somerset's downfall. These rebellions, never as serious as the Pilgrimage of Grace, show that the government of the time was stronger than commonly given credit for as it was able to put both down rather quickly. The early success of the rebels came from their ability to take advantage of weak local nobles, who put up little resistance, allowing the rebels to seize property while

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[59] Ibid., 100-128. Loades gives a detailed explanation of how the changing economy of the mid-Tudor period and how it produced this myth and the crisis that resulted from it. For more on the economy and social pressures of the times see J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England, A Social History 1550-1760* (London: Arnold 1987), 3-13; and Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities, Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

[60] Ibid., 101.

[61] Mason, *John Knox: On Rebellion*, x.

moving towards London. Somerset failed to act quickly and harshly enough, which led many of the nobility to feel he had forsaken the ruling class, thereby upsetting the natural social order. Since the rebels had no alternative to the ruling structure of the time, their failure was inevitable. John Dudley, the future Duke of Northumberland, moved quickly and with little mercy to rout rebel forces and restore order. Somerset's effort to have an orderly and just society failed, as the sixteenth-century mind believed that order was to be maintained at all costs.[62]

With his failure to maintain order, he was forced from power, not for any so-called liberal ideas, but for failing to maintain order.[63] Rebellion in the sixteenth century was an event that was not to be tolerated by any ruler, whether a Protestant government claimed it was the fault of papists or a Catholic regime blamed heretics. Whatever their label, resistance to legitimate rule was not tolerated. Cheke would write his tract on sedition at this time and many in the Edwardian camp lectured on Pauline obedience, lectures that would later be used by Marian officials against the evangelicals. The more radical exiles looked for a biblical justification for rebellion to avoid being accused of causing disorder. It was this search that they eventually legitimized the idea of revolutionary politics.[64]

The execution of Somerset in January 1552 brought Northumberland to power. The splitting of Edward's reign into two parts is an old historical method of describing the boy-king's rule. W. K. Jordan's two-volume study of Edward is

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[62] See John Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedicion*, (1549) and William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528).

[63] Loades, *Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 128.

[64] David Wollman, "The Biblical Justification for Resistance to Authority in Ponet's and Goodman's Polemics," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982): 29.

divided thus, with the first subtitled, *The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset,* and the second, *The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland.* Dudley is traditionally portrayed as a manipulative, greedy man who controlled Edward and used his power to enrich his family while in the end trying to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne. Most of this interpretation relies on a very biased historiography of the period and an almost universal dislike for John Dudley.[65] Northumberland was an excellent soldier, and loyal to Edward VI, whom he encouraged to take a larger role in the government toward the end. Ruling under the shadow of Somerset's popularity, he also suffered the undying hatred of many English people as they blamed him for the judicial murder of "the good Duke." In a letter to Cecil in January of 1553, Northumberland expressed a desire to retire to the country, and revealed how his long service to Edward had worn him out. He cites an Italian proverb concerning faithful servants, "A faithful servant will become a perpetual ass," as he indicated a wish to live the rest of his life in tranquility.[66]

He enforced the device of succession, in which Edward played a greater role than had been previously believed, which caused Northumberland to become trapped in actions over which he had little control.[67] Northumberland became the symbol of a greedy aristocracy, whose lack of devotion to the reformed church and desire for wealth was perceived by the exiles as leading to Edward's early

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[65] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 168.

[66] Letter from Northumberland to Cecil, Chelsea 3 January 1553, *Calendar of Domestic Papers 1547-1580, Reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth,* Robert Lemon, ed. (Burlington, Ont.: Tanner Ritchie Publishing, 2005), 50.

[67] Barrett L. Beer, *Northumberland: The Political Career of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland* (Kent ,Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973), 150-55; Jordan, *Edward VI: The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland,* 531-32; David Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland 1504-1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996),230-71.

death and their own misfortunes in Germany. Had Edward lived, Northumberland might still have been a loser. With the emergent problems with the harvest and the wool market, a twenty-year-old Edward could have needed a scapegoat for his problems, much as his father had at the beginning of his reign. John Dudley may, like his father Edmund, have had to bow to a Tudor king asking, "What have you done to my kingdom?"

Edward's death in July of 1553 ushered in a series of events that shaped England for many years. The evening of 6 July was marked by a violent thunderstorm and the slow death of the young king. One of his last prayers was said in these final hours: "Lord God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done. Thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with Thee."[68]

Before Edward died, he tried to alter the succession to keep his Catholic sister Mary from the throne. Called *My Devise for the Succession*, this document has been the subject of much controversy over the years. It is basically a rough draft of a will. It still has provisions for Edward's own heirs and may have been undertaken by the King with the idea of presenting it to Parliament. The exclusion of Elizabeth is a mystery but may have come from the fact she had been bastardized by Parliament, Edward may have felt her claim would not stand up to Mary and her Imperial allies. Still, keeping his father's intentions of excluding Margaret's Scottish line, Edward settled on, Frances, the Duchess of Suffolk and then her daughters Jane, Catherine, and Mary. Margaret Clifford was the last

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[68] Quoted in Luke, *A Crown for Elizabeth*, 378.

person mentioned in the order of succession.[69] When it was apparent the King

would not live long, the document was radically altered, from leaving the crown

to "Lady Jane heirs' male" to "Lady Jane and her heirs' male."[70] Lady Jane had

been recently, and very reluctantly, married to Northumberland's son Guildford,

which led to speculation that Dudley was the driving force behind the device.

As early as August of 1553, John Burcher, a merchant and English

Protestant, wrote to his friend, Henry Bullinger stating that, "A writer worthy of

credit informs me that our excellent king has been most shamefully taken off by

poison."[71] Burcher not only accuses Dudley of poisoning the king but of

replacing the young king's body with another boy who was also murdered by the

duke. This shows how early the image of a scheming Northumberland driving to

gain the throne existed in English consciences. The traditional picture may not be

entirely true as some evidence shows that Edward was more of a driving force

behind this attempt to change the succession than was the Duke.[72] W. K. Jordan

points out that Northumberland had been ill and in many ways did not act like a

man who was contemplating taking power before Edward's death, and that he

may have been trapped into this venture by "the ill-considered and fevered

contriving of a desperate boy who knew his death was at hand."[73] While Loades

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[69] Jordan, *Edward VI: The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland*, 515; Loades, *John Dudley*, 265.

[70] Loach, *Edward VI*, 163.

[71] Letter from John Burcher to Henry Bullinger, Strasburg 16 August 1553, *Original Letters*, 684.

[72] Jordan, *Edward VI: The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland*, 516; Loades, *John Dudley*, 265.

[73] Ibid., 517.

concludes that Dudley's reputation, "tells us more about the evolution of English history than it does about the duke of Northumberland."[74]

The young king apparently acted on the traditional medieval belief that the crown was his property to leave to whomever he pleased much as his father, Henry, had. Henry had made his will into a parliamentary act to make his moves seem to reflect the popular will. By doing this, Henry, inadvertently, had increased the institution's power and set in motion the tide of constitutional controversies that would inundate his Stuart successors. Had Northumberland succeeded, it might have derailed this process and dealt a great blow to the limits already placed on England's monarchy. Dudley, had he been successful, might have set in motion forces that could have laid the foundation, according to David Loades, for an absolutist type monarchy that later emerged in France.[75]

Upon Edward's death the evangelicals faced a bitter choice. They believed in obedience to the law of the land, yet they were unalterably opposed to the restoration of Roman jurisdiction which Mary was sure to impose. This belief is evident in the words of the Princess Elizabeth in a letter, written in 1556, to her sister Mary, where she stated, "if they [the evangelicals] feared God though they could not have loved the state, they should for dread of their own plague have refrained that wickedness which their bounded duty to your majesty hath not restrained."[76] While Elizabeth was attempting to ingratiate herself with the new queen, she was sincerely critical of the exiles and their growing radicalism,

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[74] Loades, *John Dudley*, 286.

[75] Loades, *Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 3.

[76] Letter from Princess Elizabeth to Queen Mary 2 August 1556, in Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, ed. *Elizabeth I; Collected Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 43.

holding to the traditional ideas of obedience to superior powers. The exiles, or at least the more radical of them, felt they had to make a choice between obeying an earthly power and obeying God. They saw no easy answers to their dilemma. Yet, they had made hard choices before. Most believed in social equity, but opposed egalitarianism; they championed the old Great Chain hierarchy; yet they were beginning to accept social mobility. Most importantly, though, their world seemed to be crashing down upon them and they looked for a way to maintain their mission of restoring the biblical kingdom in England.[77] Eventually most came to see only one course of action: they must obey God and oppose the Marian restoration. They could not back away from active resistance if it would facilitate the Lord's will. They first attempted to replace Mary with another Protestant ruler, Lady Jane Grey, but after this failed, many chose exile, and in exile developed even more radical political views.

Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of Frances, duchess of Suffolk and her husband Henry, was a grand niece of Henry VIII and for many Protestants represented a shining example of Christian purity and devotion.[78] In this young girl the evangelicals found one of their first heroes in their battle against the rule of Mary. Foxe said that she was "a lady of great birth, but of greater learning." [79] The diminutive young woman had been mentioned as a potential queen for Edward VI by many Protestants, especially those who later went into exile, and

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[77] Jones, *Tudor Commonwealth*, 104-5.
[78] Marsden, "Sex, Politics, and the She-Tragedy," 504.
[79] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 1473.

who wished the king to marry an English subject.[80] Traditionally, she has been

portrayed as a saint, but not all see her this way. For example, historian H. F. M.

Prescott in her book, *Mary Tudor, The Spanish Tudor* (1938), described her as

possessing a high spirit that "showed itself on occasion in a schoolgirl's pertness,

or in downright bad manners."[81] Mary did have affection for her young cousin,

though Jane criticized Mary for her love of jewelry; both disliked and feared

many of their advisors and thought Guilford Dudley a conceited, silly, and over-

indulged boy.[82] Jane viewed the attempt to make her queen as wrong, saying that

the, "crown is not my right, and pleaseth me not; the Lady Mary is the rightful

heir."[83] She is said to have closed her eyes and asked that if it pleased God, to

take the crown away; he did not, so she accepted it. Jane refused to make

Guilford king, saying only Parliament could do that and that he really only

deserved to be a duke. Considering the unreliability of much evidence regarding

her life, it may be impossible to discern her true thoughts, especially since she

herself was a committed Protestant.

In the end the English people could not support the Protestant Jane over a

daughter of Henry VIII, sanctioned by Parliament. It proved impossible to turn

Jane's ascension into a popular evangelical crusade as respect for divinely

inspired English law triumphed over religious persuasion.[84] As Eamon Duffy has

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[80] Hester Chapman, *Lady Jane Grey: October 1537- February 1554* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1962), 37. John Bale believed that Edward favored a marriage to Lady Jane, but while Edward's diary mentions his potential marriage to the Princess Elizabeth of France on four occasions and expressed satisfaction with how the marriage negotiations were progressing, he made no mention of any marriage to Lady Jane. Edward VI, *Chronicle*, 63, 68, 69, and 107.

[81] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 212.

[82] Chapman, *Lady Jane Grey*, 65.

[83] Quoted in Chapman, *Lady Jane Grey*, 106.

[84] MacCulloch, *Boy King*, 156; Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 193-98.

argued the Roman Catholic Church was not the unpopular institution many historians later believed, but one that many in England still supported. In 1553, Catholicism was still a viable political force.[85] Thus, feeling secure in her triumph, Mary, despite the urgings of the Spanish and their ambassador Renard, showed mercy to Jane and many of her councilors. On the other hand, Northumberland's fate was sealed as he was executed on the same day as his father, Edmund, forty one years earlier.[86] A year later, in 1554, Wyatt's Rebellion, made Lady Jane too dangerous to keep alive, but even then Mary sent her chaplain, Dr. John Feckenham, to try and convert her, and thus save her life. She refused his overtures and accepted the fate of a martyr.[87] But in many ways her death would be her victory, since this "choice" transformed Lady Jane into the closest thing to a Protestant saint that one could imagine.

She inspired Foxe to turn her into a martyr for the reformed church and an example of how the godly person was to face the allies of Satan. Like the young king, her image changed as situations unfolded. She later became, to many Puritans and eighteenth-century whiggish writers, an image of what a Christian woman should be.[88] She would not be immortalized by Shakespeare, however, or written much about in Elizabethan times since she died a traitor.[89] Jane's death would be one of a series of events, however, that gradually sapped the support from Mary's regime; others included Cranmer's execution, the loss of Calais, and

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[85] Loach, *Edward VI*, 179; Duffy, *The Striping of the Alters*, 524-64.
[86] Chapman, *Lady Jane*, 169; Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 199.
[87] Paul Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001), 65.
[88] Marsden, "Sex, Politics, and the She-Tragedy," 504.
[89] Zahl, *Five Women*, 57.

the burnings at Smithfield. These combined with Mary's reliance on Renard, and

her husband Phillip's Spanish advisors, allowed the exiles to portray the Catholic

Church as a tool of foreigner occupation. Thus the exiles were able to equate

Protestantism with patriotism, much like the Polish Catholic church did during the

communist era. Mary did not underestimate the strength of the traditional church

in England; she underestimated the developing nationalism that was growing

alongside of the exiles' revolutionary thought.

Revolutions need heroes, martyrs, and ideas to support their march across

the timelines of history, but perhaps most importantly revolutions need a villain.

In the annals of English history only King John, Henry VI, and Richard III might

have a worse reputation than Henry's oldest daughter, Mary, who filled the role of

villain perfectly for the evangelicals.[90] A small woman who was deeply affected

by the events of her life, she was practical, extremely disciplined, and deeply

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[90] Duffy, *Stripping of the Alters,* 524-64. Duffy has argued that the accounts of this period have been marked by the Protestant historiography shaped by John Foxe (see Jasper Ridley's book *Bloody Mary's Martyrs* for a contemporary example of this) with very little attention paid to the broad support Mary had in returning to the traditional religious practices. He further claimed that the Marian church did have a realistic set of objectives that were based on the realities of a population that had been under the reformed church for almost two generations at this point in time. It absorbed what was found as positive in the Henrican and Edwardian church and then incorporated these into a vision of the traditional Catholic Church in an effort that was more constructive than it was reactionary. Mary's bishops restored many of the religious ceremonies, whose abolition was one of the root causes of the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) and the Western Rebellions (1549). The Marian church saw that it could no longer just present symbols, as was done in medieval times, so Edmund Bonner, the Bishop of London, created a program to instruct the people in the meanings behind the symbols and ceremonies. This mixing of old and new is seen in the Marian Church's retention of the state keeping birth, death , and marriage registrars, along with an emphasis on basic religious instruction in English. In 1555 Bonner produced what Duffy called the period's best book on catechisms, *A Profytable and Necessary Doctrine,* to assist the parish priest in explaining the fundamentals of the faith, the seven deadly sins, the seven sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Hail Mary. It was based on the *King's Book* of 1543 and was to provide a continuity of tone between Mary's reign and that of her father. Bonner was instrumental in this and many of the other efforts to restore the Roman Church to England. Many of Mary's reforms were precursors of the Counter-Reformation that would soon find expression at the Council of Trent.

pious with a narrow mind.[91] The travails of her life had severely weakened Mary

both physically and emotionally, and she had become very dependant upon the

men around her. Although ill-adapted to the stresses of monarchy, she was well

educated and had a gift for music, like all of Henry's children. The Queen had no

guile, but probably little or no sense of humor either.[92] Mary could be

passionately affectionate, yet no breath of scandal was ever attached to her.

Prescott stated that when anyone spoke to Mary they spoke of and to her as if she

were a nun.[93] Extending charity to almost all with whom she came into contact,

her only extravagance was a love of jewelry and fine clothes.[94] She committed

herself to returning England to the traditional faith, no matter what it took. While

profoundly melancholy and stubborn, she could also show mercy to many of her

enemies, though she has been branded with the moniker, "Bloody Mary."

Mary's entire life may have been marked by one event in particular, her

submission to her father in 1536. She had stood with her mother against her

father's wishes from the time of the divorce, even after intense pressure was

placed on her by Henry. Threats, abuse, and arguments characterized her life

from her early teens onward. Only after her mother's death did she finally sign

her name to a paper (22 June 1536) acknowledging Henry as head of the Church,

the Pope as a pretender, and even that her mother's marriage was unlawful and

that she was illegitimate. Perhaps with the rural rebellions and Anne Boleyn's

execution, she felt that her submission would push her father to return to the path

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[91] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 125.
[92] David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 8.
[93] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 125.
[94] Ibid., 124.

of righteousness and then the threats of armed rebellion would cease.[95] Mary had

blamed all of her troubles on Anne and on evil advisors, such as Thomas Cramner,

and saw Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor as her only true friend.[96]

The Princess Mary had long been the focus of many who wished to return

to the old religion and she had even tried unsuccessfully to flee the country in

1550.[97] Henry had achieved his aim in her submission, as it deprived his enemies

of her as a symbol for resistance. Overcome with remorse almost immediately

after signing her surrender and no one could comfort her, not even her mother's

strongest supporter at court, the Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys.[98] Saints,

monks, priests, and all manner of men and women had faced martyrdom rather

than do what Mary believed she had done, which was to submit to heresy. Mary

had compromised, and in doing so she felt she had failed God, her mother, and

her nation. She would never forget that she had once had a choice between right

and wrong, and chosen wrong. She would make sure she never did that again.

Mary was uncompromising in her attitude towards the evangelicals,

painting all of them as traitors and heretics, an attitude that hardened their

opposition to her. Bad harvests, a depressed wool market, the marriage to Phillip

of Spain, the mass burning of heretics, and the loss of Calais made it very easy for

the exiled evangelical movement to paint her as Satan's ally on earth. Knox had

argued that God could not do evil; this enabled him to portray evil rulers as the

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[95] Ibid., 101.
[96] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 85.
[97] Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 193.
[98] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 103-4.

instruments of God, and as the enemies of God and Satan's agents on earth.[99] In

August of 1553, Henry Bullinger described how matters in England were

deteriorating rapidly to the point of Mary re-calling to her service "that [Cardinal]

Reginald Pole, who is too well known both to you and myself: for that English

Athaliah desires the benefit of his presence and his counsel."[100] From the

contemporary John Foxe to the modern Jasper Ridley, Mary has been portrayed as

an evil, brutal woman who ruled over the English equivalent of the French

Terror.[101] Rarely trusting her English advisors, she committed many mistakes and

soon alienated much of the nation she had hoped to lead back to God.

Mary's distrust of anyone who had held government office since the

establishment of the Royal Supremacy led her to look for advice from foreigners,

especially Simon Renard, the ambassador of the man she considered her true

father, Charles V. Renard found an ally in William Paget, another of the political

survivors of the Tudor period, who had served in important post for Henry,

Edward and Mary, and may have been on the path to one in Elizabeth's

government when he died in 1563. With Gardiner and Pole, a small inner circle

developed in Mary's council, from which some more powerful English nobles

were not allowed to enter. The perception that many of the English ruling class

were excluded from her council caused a permanent rift in the council.[102] The

atmosphere at council meetings soon became so contentious that Mary

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[99] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 650.

[100] Letter from Henry Bullinger to Theodore Beza, Zurich August 30, 1552, *Original Letters*, 741.

[101] Jasper Ridley, *Bloody Mary's Martyrs: The Story of England's Terror* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2002), 1.

[102] Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 36.

complained that all she did was scream at her advisors.[103] Renard urged a stronger hand against her enemies, while arguing for Edward Courtenay, the last Plantagenet male heir, and Elizabeth's execution. Stephen Gardiner, now fully restored as a bishop, protected Courtenay who shared his family ties to the medieval Plantagenet dynasty, and Paget protected Elizabeth, out of loyalty to his old master Henry VIII.[104]

The council's most significant test came when Mary decided to fulfill her duty to marry and produce an heir. She chose Phillip of Spain as her preferred match, but while many welcomed the restoration of the traditional church, the idea of a foreigner becoming king, especially a Spaniard, drove many English into opposition and even into rebellion.[105] This action not only inflamed the English, but gave the French an exploitable option in their long battle with the Imperial family.[106] This was not the England of Mary's youth where the Spanish alliance forged by Henry VII had been popular; Spain had become a hated enemy. The turmoil over the marriage was exploited by the French and evangelicals, with both sides fomenting rumors which sent the English countryside into a state of turmoil and fear. In an effort to quell these disturbances and keep England as an ally, Charles V accepted a very limited role for Phillip in Mary's government, an act

[103] Ibid., 37.

[104] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 213.

[105] Ibid., 285. Duffy, *The Church of Mary Tudor*, xxi. Duffy argues that Mary's reliance on Spanish advisors led her to do things good for the Hapsburgs but bad for English restoration. Her action drove a wedge between the popular old religion and a hated Spanish/ Papal association that came with Phillip.

[106] Bartlett, "The English Exile Community," 228.

that met with much protest from Phillip and his advisors, who expected the archduke to assume the usual role of the king.[107]

The most serious challenge that occurred in the period before Mary's marriage was Wyatt's Rebellion. Sir Thomas Wyatt (d. 1554) was the son of the poet, also called Thomas [d. 1542] of Kent. Wyatt's response came from Mary's plan to marry Phillip II of Spain, and Gardiner's attempt to move church restoration to before the time of Henry VIII's break from Rome. Wyatt led a force of about 3,000 men in January- February 1554 to the gates of London with the aim of overthrowing Mary and preventing the Spanish marriage. After early success he was defeated at Ludgate near London when Mary, showing outstanding courage, rallied the Londoners to her cause using the image of her father and appealing to their traditional obedience to anointed monarchs. While John Ponet's whereabouts are uncertain at this period it is known he actively supported Wyatt as did many of the exiles. Mary did show much mercy to many of the rebels, to the dismay of her Spanish advisors, and saw her victory as proof God approved of her actions. The rebellion condemned Lady Jane, mostly on Spanish insistence, and almost brought on the execution about Elizabeth.[108] Loades has argued that Gardiner's attempt to use the rebellion to gain power in the council led to Protestantism becoming equated with resistance to foreign rule.[109]

Wyatt came close to leading the only successful revolt against the Tudor monarchy; he was defeated by both the traditional reluctance of the English to

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[107] Ibid., 287.
[108] Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 217; Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 295-314.
[109] Loades, *Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 149.

support rebellions and the solid courage of Mary Tudor. The rebellion intensified her distrust of her English advisors and she began relying more on Renard. Mary's victory over Wyatt would prove to be the high point of her rule and as a result of her victory she embarked on her mission to return England to the true faith more forcefully.[110] Filled with confidence that her victory was proof that God approved of her actions, Mary would push for her marriage with Phillip, which took place in August of 1554. While the next few months may have been the happiest of her adult life, her celebrations were short lived as there were many clouds on the horizon.

After the Wyatt's defeat, Mary's longtime friend, and her father's implacable enemy, Cardinal Reginald Pole, returned to England intent upon returning to the church all ecclesiastical lands confiscated since the time of Henry VIII. The attempt by Pole and Mary to reclaim church lands inspired Ponet to write his famous book against Mary and inflame the exiles even more, for taking the land from them deprived many of their livelihoods. Ponet was adamant that private property rights had to be respected and protected.[111] He, as will be seen in the next chapter, would equate the taking of private property by the government with theft, an idea that would push his theories on resistance into even more radical areas.

Soon, however, the situation in England began to deteriorate. Pole had given up on returning church land, for too many of Mary's key supporters had also benefited from the expropriations. The plan to return these lands to the

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[110] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 214.
[111] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 473.

church might endanger the reunion of England with Rome.[112] Then in 1555,

Gardiner died, leaving Mary with none who could effectively deal with

Parliament; or serve as a moderating voice on the council.[113] Phillip's long

absences along with her false pregnancies only added to her woes. In addition,

from across the channel, Knox, Ponet, and Goodman inflamed with hatred for

Phillip and his Spanish court, called for disobedience and rebellion. These actions

only made Mary more determined to hold to her course of restoring the Roman

Church, which in turn inflamed many of the exiles even more. Commenting on

Goodman's and Knox's writings, S. R. Maitland said, "Knox was the best man to

tell the people why they should not obey Mary, but Goodman the best tutor for

those who wished conscientiously to obey nobody."[114] This quotation shows that

a change was occurring in the thought of the Protestant opponents of Mary. By

1556, the passive resistance of Bale, Cramner, and Latimer was slowly being

replaced by the revolutionary ideas of Knox, Goodman, and Ponet.[115] By 1555,

Mary began a course that not only would damage her image in England, but that

of the Catholic Church as well.

To Mary, the reformers were guilty of destroying peaceful and pious old

England and replacing it with a land full of disorder and heresy.[116] Cardinal Pole

blamed them for the destruction of his family, and both he and Mary now set

themselves on a course to atone for a generation of wrongs. The blame for this

[112] Ibid., 237.
[113] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 400.
[114] S. R. Maitland, *Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation* (Rivington, Eng.: St. Paul's Church Yard, 1899), 123.
[115] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 343.
[116] Duffy, *The Church of Mary Tudor*, 27.

lies with two people, Mary herself and Phillip, whose later actions in Flanders made the persecutions in England look tame.[117] The persecutions did not bring the peace that Mary and Phillip had expected, but rather it made martyrs and heroes out of many people Mary detested. For example, Thomas Cramner's repudiation at the stake of his recantation became a rallying cry for the Protestants in exile. The loss of Calais, which ended English rule in France--begun under William the Conqueror-- was the final blow to Mary's popularity as it damaged English pride. Phillip was particularly blamed for this defeat as most English people perceived him as having done nothing to help them save their French foothold.

Mary had managed to give the Protestants a justification for creating a martyrology and for radicalizing their thinking. Finally, a break came and providence seemed to have intervened on 17 November 1558, when both Mary and Cardinal Pole died hours apart. With them died the English Catholic Church. Before her death Mary had named Elizabeth successor on 8 November, an act that Mary may have seen as surrender. With her religious settlement, Elizabeth controlled the forces that Mary had unleashed by giving some of the radicals positions in her church, thus placing them in a position where they had something to defend. For example, Goodman was made a bishop and spent the rest of his life backpedaling on his words. Ponet died earlier in exile, however, and few

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[117] Prescott, *Mary Tudor,* 384; Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 185-86. Pettegree spoke of the massacre at Antwerp (1576) and the many conspiracies and assassinations Phillip carried out in his reign as proof he was a relentless opponent of the Protestants.

probably repeated any of his words to Elizabeth. Knox was never allowed back into England, but founded the Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

Edward had died believing he had done everything to keep his kingdom in the reformed and "pure" church. Lady Jane went to the block a martyr looking forward to a reward in heaven. Mary, on the other hand, died believing she had failed-- failed her mother, her nation, and her God.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INTELLECTUAL WORLD OF MID-TUDOR ENGLAND:
THE BACKGROUND TO EXILE THOUGHT

For if that which is done away with *was* glorious, much more that which

remaineth *is* glorious.

II Corinthians 3:11

Ideas do not spring out of a vacuum, but are built upon past ideas and

shaped by the culture that surrounds the thinker. To fully understand the exiles'

thoughts one must look on the prevailing ideas and culture that the evangelicals

lived in. We now will turn our attention to that time and the people who shaped

the thoughts of the sixteenth century. The sixteenth century was a century of

change and tumult as the medieval world was transformed into the modern period.

People of the Renaissance and Reformation saw themselves as restoring the glory

of the ancient world and bringing humanity into an even more glorious age. In

this quest lies the origin of the exiles' ideas. So, to better understand their

thoughts we now will give an overview of the ideas that were the foundations of

the mid-Tudor period. Historically it is marked by two great movements, the

Renaissance and Reformation, both a source of study and debate by historians and

philosophers as well as religious thinkers. Jacob Burckhardt's classic image of

the Renaissance as springing from total isolation of any medieval roots, still

remains a powerful interpretation, but has been replaced for the most part by P. O.

Kristeller's argument favoring an evolution from medieval *dictatores* and Petrarchan humanists of the later fourteenth century.[1] Skinner accepted much of Hans Baron's view of this period which stressed the optimism and patriotic flavor of the fifteenth-century Florentine Republic which had successively defended its traditional liberties against the aggression of the Visconti of Milan.[2] Renaissance humanism not only changed the political landscape but created a new version of history, challenging the Augustinian linear view that it was the gradual unfolding of God's plan, by returning to the more Aristotelian conception of the circular nature of a recurring past. Looking to Polybius and Cicero as models and mentors, the humanists began to recover the classical world and started questioning many ideas. Coluccio Salutati in 1379 defended such inquires by using the verse in Ecclesiastes that proclaimed "there is nothing new under the sun."[3] The Reformation later grew out of this questioning, first as a protest movement and later blossoming into a movement that founded new churches and theologies.[4]

The Marian exiles, steeped in the humanism of the Renaissance and dedicated to the Reformation, and now outside of the traditional political controls of society due to events in England, saw their view of society undergo a slow change which would begin a process that eventually produced the modern ideas of revolution. The transformation arose as the exiles sought to justify resistance to Mary and her restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in England. Their

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[1] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 1: 101-2.
[2] Ibid., 103.
[3] Ibid., 110. Ecclesiastes 1:9.
[4] Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 2.

responses to this situation were based in part on an ongoing debate that had continued over several centuries regarding the responsibilities of the rulers and their subjects in society. Euan Cameron in his book, *The European Reformation* (1991), has argued that the Reformation came from a process of parallel movements, and if one substitutes resistance for Reformation, one can see how the exiles also followed this pattern from medieval to modern.

> The European Reformation was not a simple revolution, a protest movement with a single leader, a defined set of objectives, or a coherent organization. Yet neither was it a floppy of fragmented mess of anarchic or contradictory ambitions. It was a series of *parallel* movements; within *each* of which various sorts of people with differing perspectives for a crucial period in history combine forces to pursue objectives which they only partly understood.[5]

The exiles were a part of a parallel movement that slowly transformed the traditional ideas of obedience into the modern ideas of legitimate resistance, and then of revolution. They looked to the Bible as the final authority on morality in both social and political arenas, and they saw the Catholic Church as an institution that had been corrupted by human greed and needed to be returned to its biblical roots. The exiles began a process of what would later result in the divorcing of the religious and secular spheres, laying the foundations for more radical concepts that would come in the following centuries.[6] They genuinely believed at first that loyalty to a legitimate ruler was necessary to maintain order, and that preaching any form of resistance would pave the way for anarchy.[7] Eventually, when they did seek to justify resisting an ungodly ruler, it was so as to maintain the

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[5] Ibid., 1.

[6] Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 10.

[7] Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, 105.

traditional values of society; they did not set out to disrupt the old order. They did not know or understand what might happen when placing a potentially disruptive idea into the cauldron of change that was the sixteenth century.

The exiles' mindset was largely a medieval one that had its sights set on otherworldly matters, considering the world as a temporary place of toil and trouble. They saw themselves as being in a world where the living looked toward heaven as a place of rest and a source of help and knowledge. St. Augustine expressed this view in his book, *The City of God* (413):

> It is even with toil we search into the Scriptures themselves. But the holy angels, towards whose society and assembly we sigh while in this our toilsome pilgrimage, as they already abide in their eternal home, so do they enjoy perfect facility of knowledge and felicity of rest.[8]

The secular world was therefore only a temporary dwelling for people who were journeying to their heavenly destination, and society was a reflection of heaven. It was according to this view that the Great Chain came into being. Along with the Great Chain came the intellectual tradition of Thomas Aquinas, employing a method traditionally called scholasticism that emphasized rational justification of religious beliefs and the systematic presentation of those beliefs.[9] Scholasticism was not universally accepted by all writers and thinkers. By the later middle ages, theologians such as William of Ockham challenged many of its premises, methods and conclusions. Writing in response to the many

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[8] Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: Modern Library, 1993), 376.

[9] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 67. For a detailed discussion of St. Thomas Aquinas see: McGreal, *Great Thinkers*, 107-13.

shortcomings he saw in the Avignon church, Ockham, like Luther in a later time, sought to correct abuses and return the church to its original and pure form.[10]

While we cannot be sure of what ideas actually influenced the thought of the more radical exiles, there is an easily identifiable tradition of political anti-clericalism that came out of the church/state struggles of the late Middle Ages, with which they likely would have been familiar. The figure most associated with emerging tradition was the early fourteenth century English Franciscan scholar, William of Ockham (c. 1285-1347).[11] Ockham sought to resolve the dilemma of what to do when the leader of the church is a heretic and thereby facilitates the damnation of countless numbers of souls. When that authority possesses enormous wealth and political power the temptation to worldliness becomes almost overwhelming.

Using Augustine's idea of two cities (earthly and of God) as a model,[12] Ockham assigned private property and political rule to the secular, a realm of the now sinful human condition, which thus had its roots in injustice. Ockham

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[10] Stephen Chak Tornay, "William Ockham's Political Philosophy," *Church History* 4 (1935): 215-16.
[11] William of Ockham was born in the village of Ockham in the county of Surrey near London. A Franciscan monk he studied and taught at Oxford from 1309 until 1323, but was prevented from occupying an official chair at the college, instead holding the title of a beginner (*venerabilis inceptor*), because the university chancellor felt his thinking was dangerous. Summoned to Avignon by Pope John XXII William became embroiled in controversy and was soon declared a heretic by the church. Believing this condemnation by the pope proved John was a heretic Ockham fled to Munich and came under the protection of Emperor Louis of Bavaria. He spent the rest of his life in Munich and died in 1347, possibly of the Black Death. At the center of the religious and political controversies of the fourteenth century Ockham would be accused of bringing down the entire synthesis of faith and reason set up by the scholastics. Ockham is most associated with the doctrine of nominalism which asserts that there are no universals (essences) in things and emphasized the experienced world of contingent beings. Thus names of things were not of some perfect thing in heaven, but were names given to things that were alike. Using the least number of assumptions (Ockham's razor) he argued that creation and salvation are manifestations of God's will and, thus all were in a covenant relationship with him. He rejected papal jurisdiction over the secular realm and held that the gospel law was the law of freedom. See McGreal, *Great Thinkers*, 123.
[12] Augustine, *City of God*, 345-46.

contended that all political rule and private property were the consequence of sin, thus a separate system of laws was set up to cover the fallen nature of man and provide secular society with order. Divine law, which came from God and was perfect, was to show people the way of salvation.[13] Ockham agreed with contemporary philosopher Johannes Duns Scotus (1265-1308), who stated that for human positive law, or civil law, to be just it must be authoritative and in accord with practical reason. Divine law was given to people by God for their salvation and perfection while human law provided protection and order for the weak. He also placed limits on secular and spiritual power.

In the secular realm Ockham contended that "no temporal lord has by right any greater power over his servant than to be able to impose upon him anything which is not contrary to divine or natural law."[14] As for the Church, Ockham noted that, "Christ forbade Peter and the other Apostles the power and dominion of the kings of the Gentiles."[15] He championed the idea that for the common good of society a government could override the rights and liberties of individuals to benefit the entire community. Yet this idea could also be reversed, as the government itself was subject to change if that change benefited the common good.[16] In Ockham's view the government existed for the benefit of the governed and not for the enrichment of a prince; yet on the other hand, he did not

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[13] William of Ockham, *On the Powers of Emperors and Popes,* trans. and ed. Annabel S. Brett (Bristol, Eng.: Thommes Press, 1998), 15.

[14] Ibid., 76.

[15] Ibid., 75.

[16] Arthur McGrade, *The Political Thought of William of Ockham: Personnel and Institutional Principles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 215. Ockham saw the final test of a law as how well that law served and benefited the community. Thus the common good of the community was to be of paramount importance to all actions of the government and people. Any threat to the common good, whether from the government or the people, was to be resolved by seeking what benefited the community as a whole.

give the community the unilateral right to disobey the government. He portrayed government as a servant of the people and not their absolute master.[17] The exiles could have found in these ideas a good basis for their battle against the heretical Marian regime, in the chapter on their thought shows which ones had similar outlook in argument.

In a broad sense, Ockham was the most original and influential thinker to react to the Thomistic *via antique* based on Aristotelian realism and logic, by establishing the *via moderna* which gave a higher place to faith and the will in understanding God and his world.[18] He was part of a small group of thinkers who made many political arguments in the fourteenth century. As a result, purely abstract arguments about the nature of governments, authorities, and their powers became more secularized, since they were increasingly based on practical considerations and exigencies of necessity. Although Martin Luther was trained in the traditions of the *via moderna* and recognized similarities to his thought and that of the *devotion moderna*, he rejected the mystical beliefs of latter movement along with the value placed on human freedom found in the descendants of Ockham.[19] John Wyclif used Ockham's idea that the realm was a corporate entity in his drive to confiscate ecclesiastical temporalities in England.[20] Also trained in this school was William Tyndale (c 1495- 1536), who became part of a group at

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[17] Ibid., 122.

[18] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2: 23.

[19] Ibid., 2: 24-27.

[20] William Farr, *John Wyclif As Legal Reformer* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 144.

Cambridge that eventually would provide much of the intellectual foundation for the English Reformation.[21]

One of the important works of Ockham, written in the early 1340s, was the *Eight Questions on the Power of the Pope*,[22] where he applied the civil law maxim, that one can repel force with force, to the political realm. He stated that in certain circumstances the king, or Pope, can be deposed by the people for violating the natural laws of God. During the time of the Great Schism (1378-1417), these ideas would be taken up by Jean Gerson in his writings, *On the Unity of the Church*[23] and *Ten Highly Useful Considerations for Princes and Governors*,[24] which asserted that the king's power is not absolute and if he does evil to the subjects of a kingdom they may exercise their natural right to protect themselves from the evil behavior, even if it requires that that king be overthrown.[25] Wyclif also echoed Ockham's ideas in his theory of *dominium*,[26] where he stated that if a man is unjust, he has forfeited his right to property and it can be taken away, an idea that the exiles applied to kings.[27] This was not a

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[21] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2:32-33.

[22] William of Ockham, *Eight Questions on the Power of the Pope* [*Octo Quaestiones de Protestate Papae*] in J.G. Sikes ed., *Opera Politica* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1940).

[23] Jean Gerson, *On the Unity of the Church*, ed and trans. James K. Cameron in Matthew Spinka, ed., *Advocates of Reform: From Wyclif to Erasmus* (London: Westminster Press, 1953).

[24] Jean Gerson, *Ten Highly Useful Considerations for Princes and Governors* [*X Considerationes Principibus et Dominis Utilissimae*] in Louis Ellies du Pin, *Opera Omnia*, 5 vols. (Antwerp: n.p., 1706)

[25] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2: 126-27.

[26] The idea of *dominium* came from Wyclif's denial of the separate kingdoms for the sacred and secular. He argued that Christ could not be separate from the church and he was the guarantor of all law, external, natural, or written. Using this line of thinking Wyclif denied that Rome had any claim to land or powers over any national church, since they were all equal parts of the one body of Christ and thus no church could claim supremacy over any lands or churches in any nation. This would have fit perfectly into the ideas of the Royal Supremacy and the evangelical claims of authority in all religious matters in England. Farr, *John Wyclif as Legal Reformer*, 43.

[27] Daly, *Political Theory of John Wyclif*, 70-73.

blanket right for rebellion, but a limited right to protect oneself if a ruler violated God's laws and threatened the subject with violence.

Another argument regarding the extent of secular authority preceding the exiles contended that the *merum Imperium* should be interpreted in a constitutional sense. A term used in the sixth-century Justinian Code to describe the power to make laws and command armies, which many felt were assigned to the emperor alone. A small group of lawyers, however, argued that this power may be extended to "lesser magistrates" or officials of lesser rank than the emperor. The classic debate was conducted by Azo and Lothair at the end of the twelfth century and was recorded later by Jean Bodin in his discussion of *the imperium* in his *Six Books of a Commonwealth* (1576).[28] In the original debate the emperor sided with Lothair and said that the power to make laws and command armies was the emperor's right alone, but Bodin declared Azo to have been right.[29] Azo's position basically underpinned the structure of the Holy Roman Empire and held that at the emperor's election that they signed a contract to rule for the good of the empire and to protect the rights of the subjects, especially the nobility ruling the many provinces. The idea of a contract, or an oath, came from the feudal and particularist view of the Imperial constitution which nobles of the Holy Roman Empire felt bound the Emperor to properly discharge his duties.[30] From this belief, the electors held they had the power to

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[28] Jean Bodin, *The Six Books of a Commonweal,* ed. Kenneth D. McRae (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[29] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2: 127.

[30] Ibid., 127-28.

remove an emperor who violated this contract or oath, and had done so in 1400 by deposing the Emperor Wenzel.[31]

The idea that the Empire was a *universitas,* or an organic body, in which all parts had a duty to maintain the integrity of the whole, also preceded the exiles. Those who held to such a configuration of the body politic might also argue the right to take up the sword (*ius gladii*) against a ruler who had failed to exercise his role as the head. This idea had been put forward by theologians and lawyers; even Thomas Aquinas suggested it in his *Summary of Theology,*[32] while Ockham proclaimed it in his *Eight Questions on the Power of the Pope.* Using the human body as an example, Ockham argued that if one part of the body was injured, the rest of the body must make up for this injury; thus if a ruler became a tyrant, the lesser officials had the right to depose him. In 1514, Mario Salamonio, in his book *The Sovereignty of the Roman Patriciate,*[33] further expanded this idea by arguing that the people gave up their right to self rule when governments were originally set up; if the rulers violated the original "contract" they could be overthrown. The ruler was not the god-king of the ancient times but the servant of the laws of the land.[34]

Theological arguments were not the only force driving the exiles; there were historical ones as well. Many English reformers held the belief that Christianity had been introduced into England in apostolic times and had

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[31] Ibid., 128.

[32] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica: A Concise Translation,* ed. Timothy McDermott (Allen, Tex.: Christian Classics, 1989).

[33] Mario Salamonio, *The Sovereignty of the Roman Patriciate* [*Patrritii Romani de Principau*] (Rome: n.p., 1544).

[34] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2:134.

struggled against the Roman Church since the time of Augustine of Canterbury in the sixth century.[35] Protestant historian John Bale (1495-1563) articulated this when he claimed the English church was founded by Joseph of Arimathea, a contemporary of Christ, rather than Pope Gregory the Great when he sent Augustine to England in 597.[36] This interpretation was suggested first by William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century and was embraced by the reformers in their attempt to deflect claims by Catholics that their church had no history before Henry VIII. In this scenario, Joseph of Arimathea, at the direction of the apostles, brought Christianity and the Holy Grail to England, not only setting the stage for later Arthurian legends, but also founding in England a "pure" apostolic church.[37] Here Bale used the biblical Book of Revelation to explain England's past and show how the Apocalypse was fulfilled in English history. Thus Bale made history not only scripturally-based, but Anglo-centric as well.[38] The reformers were then able to portray themselves in a struggle with a usurping foreign power that had corrupted Christ's church and was intent on holding its power over England. The exiles saw themselves in a battle between Christ and the Antichrist in a conflict over the fate of their native England. John Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments* would later support Bale's story and further assert that Pope Gregory had found slave boys from Britain to be of such angelic beauty, that he sent Augustine to this land of angels (thus England got its name) to bring them under

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[35] Zakai, "Reformation History," 306.

[36] Richard Barber, *Myths and Legends of the British Isles* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2000), 380-85; John Bale, *The First Two Partes of the Acts or Unchast Examples of the Englysh Votaryes* (London: n.p., 1560), sig.C1.

[37] Zakai, "Reformation History," 308.

[38] Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale, Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1976), 86-88.

Roman rule so he could obtain more of these lovely boys.[39] Reformers used this

historiography to portray England as the successor to the biblical Kingdom of

Israel, in a covenant relationship with God.[40]

England had political arguments with Rome as well, with many of the

English feeling that while a local priest may be fine, the Roman bureaucracy often

ran counter to godly and English interests.[41] In the twelfth century, despite it

being the time of the only English Pope, Adrian IV [Nicholas Brakespear] (1154-

59), there had been many problems between Rome and England, beginning with

struggles over investitures between Henry I and Anselm of Bec, Archbishop of

Canterbury in the early part of the century. The mid-century saw the epic battle

between Henry II and Thomas Becket. The century closed with English nobles,

resenting the interference of Innocent III in the affairs of King John. The next

century saw the "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon and the later Great Schism

(1378-1417) remove much of the waning respect the popes had held in England.

Under Edward III, the papacy, because of these events, was seen as a puppet of

England's enemy, France. Between 1351 and 1393 a series of parliamentary

statues were passed to protect the property of English subjects and the king's

authority from papal interference and encroachment, known respectively as the

acts of provisors and praemunire. These were a limited and practical means of

maintaining the jurisdictional rights of the laity, especially the king, in matters of

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[39] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments,* 1563.

[40] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 472.

[41] Sean Field, "Devotion, Discontent, and the Henrican Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 41 (2002): 17.

appointments and advowsons.[42] Henry VIII had used the threat of a charge of praemunire to force the submission of the clergy in England in 1531.[43]

Although Ockham, revisionist history, and late medieval church/state tensions may have foreshadowed many of the ideas of the Marian exiles, the great humanist, Desideisus Erasmus, was the one contemporary writer that many cited when discussing politics in early sixteenth-century England. A friend of Thomas More, Erasmus commented on many of the intellectual trends of his day and was praised in Foxe's account of the reign of Edward VI for his support of godly rule and religious reform.[44] Many historians have asserted that the English Reformation was partly the product of Erasmian humanism especially when comparing early Protestant literature with the themes found in Erasmus' writings.[45] Perhaps the root of Erasmus' political thought rested in his contention that commonwealths were not made for the personal gain of princes, but that the princes were made for the good of the commonwealth.[46] The major difference between the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is simply that in the Renaissance the prince was seen as a vital, essential part of this commonwealth. According to Erasmus:

> The common people are unruly by nature, and magistrates are easily corrupted though avarice or ambition. There is just one blessed stay to this tide of evils-- the unsullied character of the

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[42] Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 108.

[43] Graves, *Henry VIII*, 21.

[44] John King, "John Foxe and Tudor Humanism," in Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, 177.

[45] Alan Stewart, "The Trouble with English Humanism: Tyndale, More, and Darling Erasmus," Ibid., 78; James McConica, *English Humanist and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 43, 245.

[46] Jones, *Tree of Commonwealth*, 26.

prince. If he too is overcome by foolish ideas and base desires, what last ray of hope is there for the commonwealth?[47]

Although many later revolutionaries showed a similar contempt for people to govern themselves, they came to see the state as less patrimonial, based on an individual's capacity to rule, and more as an impersonal, largely bureaucratic entity in which the prince's role was determined by law. Erasmus also used the imagery of the body politic in which the body became a metaphor for society. True to the precepts of the Great Chain he claimed that not all parts of the body were equal, yet all had to work together to maintain the health of the whole. Using a story of what happened when some parts of the body revolted against the stomach, to explain that the body suffered greatly from the exclusion of the belly. Healing only came when the body reunited and all parts returned to their ordained purposes to restore the health of the whole.[48] This theme actually had a long pedigree and was articulated quite thoroughly in Edmund Dudley's book, *The Tree of Commonwealth* (1509).

Maintenance of the common good and the order that it provided was a common theme in mid-Tudor political literature. An example of this is in the "Discourse on Reform," written by Edward VI where he stated that he wished to simplify and make more plain laws in England, "which I think shall much help to advance the profit of the commonwealth."[49] This effort Edward felt would bring peace and harmony to his kingdom and fulfill his duty to his people. The

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[47] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince 1516*, ed. by L.K. Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 32.

[48] Jones, *Tree of Commonwealth*, 28.

[49] Edward VI, "Discourse on Reform," in *Chronicle*, 166.

reformers saw England as a society that was out of order, whose people were in need of repentance and restoration, which was the active responsibility of a godly king. The evangelicals were preaching restoration, not social revolution, in their efforts to bring this peace and harmony to the kingdom. The exiles were committed to a pious reform-minded monarch, thus they could not tolerate Mary's plan to return England's church to Rome. While the evangelicals preached repentance and restoration, they inadvertently introduced ideas on resistance that later would slowly transform the society of the Great Chain, and move the world into the modern period.

To Edward and his followers, the main purpose of the government was to keep order in the kingdom and protect the weak,[50] while fighting for the souls of its people.[51] To do this they wished to set up and maintain a government that provided for the common good while purifying the church. A model for such a government was developed in detail in Erasmus' book, *Enchriridion Militis Christiani* (*Handbook of a Christian Soldier*) (1504), which thus instructed the king:

> Turn not to thine own profit things which are common, but bestow those things which are thine and thine own self all together upon the commonwealth. The common people oweth very many things to thee, but thou owest all things to them.[52]

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[50] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 159.
[51] Ibid., 101.
[52] Desiderius Erasmus, *Enchiridion Militis Chrisiani: An English Version,* ed. A. M. ODonnell (London: Early English Text Society, 1981), 162.

A proclamation in February 1539 shows that the idea of working for the common good did pre-date Edward's rule and already was firmly ingrained into the political consciousness of England:

> It is the office and duty of chief rulers and governors of all civil commonalities to study, devise, and practice by sundry ways and means to advocate, set forth, and increase their commonwealths committed to their cares and charges.[53]

Edward wrote in many places in his political papers expressing a desire for setting up such a government which he believed was his Christian duty. Erasmus inspired Foxe, Cheke, Gardiner, and Edward himself, who all admired him, although some regretted his remaining a Roman Catholic. The Erasmian prince was to rule for the common good and insure the prosperity of his people, a concept that the exiles embraced as correct and godly. Even though all the Tudor monarchs embodied certain Machiavellian traits, the government was to be the protector of the people and not a source of power for a prince.

Using the Erasmian model the evangelicals constructed a government where the ruler was to perform the duties of the ruler but was to do this in a responsible manner.[54] Stephen Alford expresses the contradictions of the Tudor monarchy by portraying it as, "kingship at its most complex, absolute but accountable, unlimited but underpinned and informed by the written Word of God (scripture) and by the spoken (the preacher). Kingship was a ministry of God, which made it immensely powerful and utterly accountable."[55] Evangelical leader, Hugh Latimer in his first two Lenten sermons in 1549 argued that the king

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[53] *Tudor Royal Proclamations* no.181 (265), no. 189 (281-83).
[54] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 43.
[55] Ibid.

was a minister of God and it was the role of preachers to advise and admonish

him or her. He used Deuteronomy 17:14-20 as a blueprint for establishing the

temporal and spiritual relationships between subjects and kings as well as laying

the foundation for godly kingship.[56] Latimer asserted that a ruler had a Christian

duty to remove false religion, uphold the truth, and protect the people who profit

from an orderly society, and always remembering he or she would be held

accountable for his/her actions before God. The Golden Rule, which commanded

them to love their neighbors as themselves as well as the command to love one's

enemies,[57] was to be the foundation for the godly commonwealth, where all lived

in harmony under the laws of God and the protection of the pious prince.[58]

Adapting the royal supremacy of Henry VIII to fit their needs the

evangelicals created a government that argued that for the realm to prosper and

survive the reforms of Edward and his father must be continued.[59] As we shall

see, once in exile, they clung to this model and used it in their justification against

Mary, believing her intention to restore the Roman Church would destroy these

reforms. Some of the more radical exiles believed that they just could not stand

by and accept this situation because of traditional dictates of obedience. They

saw no other course but to resist actively this return to the idolatry and

superstition that they believed God had commanded them to destroy.

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[56] Ibid., 179-182.

[57] Mark 12:29-31 (KJV); Matthew 5:44. (KJV) The use of the Golden Rule to support
commonwealth ideals is an example of the theory of contrary, in which a negative commandment
implied a positive corollary. The command to love one's enemies therefore implied that one was
not only to show compassion towards your foes, but to care for one's family and community
members as well.

[58] Barbara Allen, *Tocqueville, Covenant, and the Democratic Revolution: Harmonizing Earth
with Heaven* (New York: Lexington Books, 2005), 36.

[59] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 55.

There was also a growing strand of nationalism creeping into the minds of the English people of this period. It was not new, but like the resistance theories, grew out of many parallel movements that slowly developed over time.[60] An anonymous piece of literature in 1549, expressed a contemporary patriotic viewpoint when it proclaimed:

> Englande, sum tyme called in frenche *Le Graunde Britayne*, in Cosmography and in other cartes [maps] is named the greatest iland of the world, invironed with th'occian sees, havying fysshertownes and fyssermen in every cost.[61]

The growing nationalism may be best seen in the image the English language had during this period. Early humanists like Thomas More favored Latin, fearing a vernacular text released to the common people might cause political problems.[62] He voiced the traditional argument that English was a barbarous tongue as well as one of the more base and vile languages of Europe, totally inappropriate for expressing higher thoughts.[63] Some, however, such as Cardinal Pole, favored the vernacular for Bibles, but most of the publications of Mary's reign were written for foreign audiences and thus were in Latin.[64] Mary's government failed realize the full potential, limiting most of their works to foreign audiences, of the printed word which gave the exiles an edge in the propaganda war, as Protestant John Foxe claimed that the press, and not the sword, was the best weapon of the church. Printing was embraced by both

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[60] Winthrop S. Hudson, *John Ponet (1516?-1556): Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 116-17.

[61] Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents,* 3: 10.

[62] J.W. Binns, "The Humanist Latin Tradition Reassessed," in Woolfson ed., *Reassessing Tudor Humanism,* 193.

[63] Jennifer Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," *English Historical Review* 101 (1986): 138.

[64] Ibid., 143.

regimes, Edward's more so than Mary's, and used for propaganda, publishing

laws, as well as for spreading ideas. With approval of the monarchs it is little

wonder that the exiles turned to the printed word as well to press their message.[65]

A new sense of nationalism was growing in England that encouraged the

flowering of the English language; even among the intellectuals.[66] When

emergent nationalism was combined with the religious fever of a nation trying to

recapture the Davidic Kingdom of God and the original church, the stage was set

for a radicalization of thought during the exile.

Before the invention of the printing press the political ideas of the exiles

would not have gained much currency, but as with the Reformation as a whole,

the printing press created enormous opportunities to circulate information over a

wide distance in a short period of time. This is why many historians argue that

without the printing press the Reformation might not have been possible.[67]

According to Richard Cole, "The Reformation itself seems to be impossible

without taking into consideration the printed pages of Luther's sermons, essays,

addresses, and Biblical translations."[68] The explosion of this medium, which

some call the greatest invention since the wheel, also allowed for the mass

production of books. The new technology became especially important to the

exiles as it became their weapon of choice against Mary after armed attempts had

failed.

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[65] Ibid., 135.

[66] Jonathan Woolfson, "Between Bruni and Hobbs: Aristotle's *Politics* in Tudor Intellectual Culture," in Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism,* 193.

[67] Richard G. Cole, "Reformation Printers: Unsung Heroes," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15 (1984): 327.

[68] Ibid.

Along with political ideas, the great economic turmoil of the age was forcing reconsideration of traditional beliefs regarding usury and profit-making.[69] The sixteenth century society saw a move away from the medieval just price method to the modern mercantilist system that came to dominated the nineteenth century. The expansion of markets fueled by trade with the East and an influx of New World silver, which was just becoming apparent, had forced changes in the old economic rule set handed down from the Middle Ages. For example, usury had been universally condemned in the medieval period; by 1570 the English had begun to note a difference between usury and interest.[70] The change in attitude was noted in 1610 when Henry Rowlands, Bishop of Bangor, said, "A bastard child borne, usury is now taken to be almost legitimate."[71] The debate over usury can be seen in the following law, "Usury and trewe interest be things as contrary and flashed is to trewe. For usury contayneth in it selfe inequalitie and unnaturall dealings, and trewe interest observeth equitie and naturall dealings."[72] Usury was hotly debated by Protestants as their positions went from Luther's conservative view that if the loan was without risk it was sinful, to Calvin's more liberal view which allowed such loans if both the borrower and lender agreed to it in the beginning. The only area of broad agreement was that a secular ruler could allow lending at interest to serve the good of the community.[73] As people gained

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[69] Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 6; Norman Jones, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1989), 145-74.

[70] Ibid., 68.

[71] Quoted in Jones, *God and the Moneylenders*, 145.

[72] Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3: 364.

[73] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, 206; Jones, *God and the Moneylenders*, 6-46; Norman Jones, "William Cecil and the Making of Economic Policy in the 1560s and early 1570s," in Paul A. Fideler and T. F. Mayer, ed., *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse, and Disguise* (London: Routledge, 1993), 169-93.

power and prestige from the new wealth, a slowly expanding middle class produced an economic revolution that eventually forced a political one.[74]

The willingness to reconsider the efficacy of traditional practices which characterized the Renaissance and Reformation eras extended even to the realm of international relations, including war. War was bad for economics, so even among evangelicals, many began searching for more peaceful means to resolve conflicts.[75] Slowly, quietly, the idea of peace as only the absence of war was transformed into the idea that peace was the more natural state of the godly nation, helping produce the divinely sanctioned ideal commonwealth, that God would reward with economic prosperity.[76]

The Christian humanism fostered by Erasmus abhorred war and greed, finding most of the vices that plagued human society as outgrowths of personal moral behavior. The birth of Protestantism, however, with its emphasis on a biblical, more authentic Christianity added a practical element (especially in England) to explain how political and social ills should be understood and addressed. The Marian exiles were committed to the theologies of both Martin Luther and John Calvin. So we must now turn to these ideas as the final ingredient in our discussion of the intellectual background of exile political thought.

The monk of Wittenberg, who launched the Protestant Reformation with his attack on indulgencies in 1517, formulated the movement's seminal doctrines

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[74] Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 68.

[75] Ben Lowe, *Imaging Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas, 1340-1560* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 7-8.

[76] Ben Lowe, "Peace Discourse and Mid-Tudor Foreign Policy," in Fideler, *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth*, 130.

of justification by faith alone, *sola scriptera,* and the priesthood of all believers. Luther soon expanded his attack on Catholic Church corruption by proclaiming that Rome had no secular power on earth, this power belonged to the anointed kings of each land. Proclaiming that all Christians were priests, he confined the church's power to the spiritual realm, thus placing the church within society and not over it.[77] England's earliest reformers, including William Tyndale, Robert Barnes, Thomas Bilney, and John Frith were all Lutherans, a faith illegal in Henry VIII's time.

By Edward's reign, most Protestants leaders had been influenced predominantly by the Swiss reformers, first Huldreich Zwingli and then John Calvin.[78] Cramner exemplifies a common thread among those English contemporaries who gradually moved from German to Swiss models of reform. As we shall see though, the picture is not so neat, as Cramner welcomed numerous Protestant luminaries, such as Knox, Peter (Martyr) Vermigli, and Martin Bucer to England in Edward's reign.[79] Still most beliefs regarding politics stemmed from Luther's and Calvin's writings.

Calvin, thoroughly schooled in civil law, laid out the most comprehensive outline of Protestant beliefs in his great work, *The Institutes of Christian Religion,* begun in 1534 with six chapters, and expanding to eighty chapters by its last edition in 1559.[80] Calvin, held to many of Luther's teachings, developed his theory of predestination out of a belief that God both actively chose those who

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[77] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern of Modern Political Thought,* 2:13.
[78] Jones, *Tudor Commonwealth,* 82.
[79] Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism,* 39.
[80] McGrath, *Reformation Thought,* 96-97.

would be saved and those would be damned. Luther saw God forgiving people despite their sinfulness, while Calvin declared it was irrespective of their sins. Calvin further developed the idea that God had made a covenant with the reformed church just as he had done with the Biblical Israelites.[81] The idea of a covenant with God made up an important part of Knox's writings and, to some extent, Goodman's.

When it came to their political philosophy, Luther and Calvin held to more traditional resistance theories, believing in the Pauline obedience doctrine of Romans 13. They championed the Augustinian position that only passive resistance was acceptable in the eyes of God.[82] Augustine wrote, "Therefore that God, the author and giver of felicity, because he alone is the true God, Himself gives earthly kingdoms both to good and bad."[83] Both of the major reformers, Luther and Calvin, however, did allow that "the lesser magistrates," those nobles or other officials who held lesser rank than the king, had the right to defend themselves and their subjects from actions that were against God's laws.[84] To the sixteenth-century mind, committed to the Great Chain of Being, power and authority were hierarchical, and people were obligated to obey those whom God had placed over them.

Luther's views were complex and not always coherent, especially as he grew older. He held to an Augustinian view of history, to an existence of separate

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[81] Ibid., 137.

[82] Cynthia Shoenberger, "Luther and the Justifiability of Resistance to Legitimate Authority," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40 (1979): 3.

[83] Augustine, *City of God*, 140.

[84] David Williams, "The Biblical Justification for Resistance to Authority in Ponet's and Goodman's Polemics," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982): 30.

physical and spiritual kingdoms, both under God's guidance, and to a

determinism that accepted the idea that God would not forsake His people. As

Luther feared disorder of any kind, especially after the Peasant's War of 1525, he

tended toward a traditional view of obedience.[85] He believed that spiritually

people were free but not in their physical lives as can be seen here in his famous

tract, *Freedom of the Christian* (1520):

> A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none.
> A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.[86]

From this understanding of the spiritual and physical self, Luther, in later

writings, moved into the political realm with his idea of two kingdoms:

> Here we must divide Adam's children, all mankind, into two parts:
> the first belong to the Kingdom of God, the second to the Kingdom
> of the world.[87]

Luther explained the foundation for this conclusion:

> Man has a twofold nature, a spiritual and a bodily one. According
> to the spiritual nature, which men refer to as the soul, he is called
> spiritual, inner, or new man. According to the bodily nature, which
> men refer to as flesh, he is called carnal, outward, or old man, of
> whom the Apostle writes in II Cor. 4:16, "Though our outer nature
> is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed every day."
> Because of this diversity of nature the Scriptures assert
> contradictory things concerning the same man, since these two
> men in the same man contradict each other, "for the desires of the
> flesh are against the spirit, and the desires of the Spirit are against
> the flesh," according to Gal. 5:17.[88]

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[85] Shoenberger, "Luther and the Justifiability of Resistance," 5.

[86] Martin Luther, *Treatise on Christian Liberty* in *Three Treatises,* trans. W. A. Lambert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), 277.

[87] Martin Luther, *On Secular Authority,* in *Luther and Calvin on Secular Authority,* ed. Harro Hofl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 8.

[88] Ibid., 278.

The reformer used the dual nature of humans to counter some of the controversies of resistance. Regarding the Pauline dictates of obedience he stated:

> Of the same nature are the precepts which Paul gives in Rom. 13:1-7, namely, that Christians should be subject to the governing authorities and be ready to do every good work, not that in this way be justified, since they are already are righteous through faith, but that in the liberty of the Spirit they shall by doing so serve others and the authorities themselves and obey their will freely and out of love.[89]

Here Luther argued that the Christian, already justified by faith, in order to show a willingness to be a servant to their neighbor will submit to the rule of those God has placed over them-- not to gain favor with God or rulers, but like Christ himself, to willingly become a servant to all. As he further clarified:

> But because a true Christian, while he lives on earth, lives for and serves his neighbor and not himself, he does things that are no benefit to himself, but of which his neighbor stands in need.[90]

In 1539 Phillip of Hesse and Frederick, Elector of Saxony, hosted a public debate on resistance in the face of aggression against Lutherans by the Emperor. Luther owed both his life and freedom to work to these princes, who protected him from the wrath of Charles V.[91] It was at this time Luther, who had been avoiding the generalized question of resistance, unveiled the concept of the "*Beerwolf*," a tyrant who overturned the entire moral order of society. When faced with this type of ruler, all could resist and even overthrow such a ruler.[92] What is unknown is whether Luther came to this idea because he had truly altered his opinion or if pressure from his protectors in the nobility produced this change.

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[89] Ibid., 307.
[90] Ibid., 13.
[91] Hopfl, *Luther and Calvin*, vii.
[92] Shoenberger, "Luther and the Justifiability of Resistance," 18.

Calvin would advocate a similar position on the dual nature of humanity in his *Institutes,* stating:

> Therefore, lest this prove a stumbling-block to any, let us observe that in man government is twofold: the one spiritual, by which the conscience is trained to piety and divine worship; the other civil, by which the individual is instructed in those duties which, as men and citizens, we are bound to perform.[93]

Calvin talked of a "feeling of reverence, and even piety, we owe to the utmost to all our rulers, be their characters what they may."[94] To Calvin subjects are obliged to be obedient to "those whom God had deemed worthy to be the delegates of His power on earth."[95] He stood solidly behind the traditional standard of obedience that existed in the sixteenth century, and for anyone who claimed "that obedience is to be returned to none but just governors, you reason absurdly."[96] He further argued that that this obedience was the right of kings: "But Samuel calls it a right over people, because they must obey the king and are not allowed to resist them."[97] He warned his followers that "it is impossible to despise God's ministers without disobeying God himself."[98]

Since he saw government as an institution ordained by God, obedience was required, even to a tyrannical ruler. He did allow, if a ruler became so evil that he or she was a threat to more than just the nation, that God, might raise up a special person to strike down such a tyrant, one who would cause a people to fall

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[93] John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion,* trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), 2:140.

[94] Ibid., 673.

[95] Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin,* trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), 238.

[96] Calvin, *Institutes,* 2:673.

[97] John Calvin, *On Civil Government,* in *Luther and Calvin,* 78.

[98] Ibid., 55.

out of favor with God, but that too was basically limited to those who occupied a lesser office and who had a duty to defend those whom God had placed below them.[99] Calvin proclaimed:

> At one time he [God] raises up manifest avengers from his own servants, and gives them his command to punish accursed tyranny, and deliver his people from calamity when they are unjustly oppressed; at another time, he employs, for this purpose, the fury of men who have other thoughts and other aims.[100]

Calvin did not, however, sanction obedience to orders that are against God's laws. In such cases one must, "endure anything rather than turn aside from piety."[101] This is basically the Augustinian notion of passive resistance with an exception for the right of resistance by lesser magistrates which Augustine never considered, and which Protestants, holding to constitutionalist ideas of the Holy Roman Empire, saw as the only legitimate basis for opposing a king. This was largely the constitutional basis for resistance that had existed in the Empire from medieval times and was the lynchpin for the writings of the French Huguenots later in the sixteenth century. The Huguenots, such as Francois Hotman and Phillippe du Plessis de Monray, built on Calvin's views and developed constitutional arguments that argued the right of estates or parliaments to control succession and taxation, and to make new laws.[102]

Luther, Calvin, and the Huguenots were under the protection of nobles and thus were hesitant to explore ideas that would alienate them. At the same time, the right of lesser magistrates to resist appealed to many Protestant aristocracies

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[99] Niesel, *Theology of Calvin,* 240-45.
[100] Calvin, *Institutes,* 2: 674.
[101] Ibid., 676.
[102] Shoenberger, "Luther and the Justifiability of Resistance," 20.

which sought to maintain their feudal rights against a Catholic king. The more traditional belief may be found in the views of early English evangelicals, such as Tyndale, who preached obedience to the king, not wishing to offend Henry VIII.[103] While Luther and Calvin stressed obedience, both did recognize that one needed to obey God over man.[104] In the end, however, Luther and Calvin both held more steadfastly to traditional views regarding resistance. Luther counseled that when one was faced with an evil ruler, a Christian could only respond by, "witnessing to the truth."[105]

Against this background of change and upheaval, the very traditional and conservative-minded Henry VIII had sought to secure a male heir and avoid a repeat of the violence and destruction of the War of the Roses. To gain this political objective, Henry had turned, as many contemporaries did, to a biblical solution. He found in Leviticus (chapter 18:16, 20:21) a way he could gain his objective. Henry was denied his divorce for mainly political reasons; Charles V's Imperial troops had made a "guest" of Pope Clement VII. The king overcame this problem by breaking with the Roman Catholic Church and forming his own Church of England with himself as its head, in 1534. Replacing the Roman Catholic Church in England with an English Catholic Church, Henry proclaimed himself a loyal and devout Catholic and persecuted many of the Protestants in his land. A complex man, the king then proceeded to place one of Luther's English followers, Cramner, in charge of his church, and turned over his son's education to some of the most radical and fervent Protestants in his kingdom. After Henry's

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[103] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 66.
[104] Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 40; Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 84.
[105] Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 39.

death, Edward Seymour and his allies pursued a godly reformation using Henry's own devices of the king-in- Parliament and the royal supremacy to archive this. In the process the monarchy was transformed into a vehicle for evangelical change.[106]

After Edward's death in 1553, Henrican Catholics, under Stephen Gardiner, and Roman Catholics, under Mary and Reginald Pole, used the same instruments to restore the Roman Church to England. In these actions the Tudors changed the monarchy in ways people would not foresee, making Parliament a much stronger institution that might challenge the monarchy. Mary's policies sent many evangelicals into exile, where they were not only isolated from the culture around them, but where the usual controls of society were also absent. Outside the traditional spheres of control, they became political free agents and were able to explore many paths of thought that would have been closed to them in Edwardian England. Finding many different ideas of resistance circulating throughout Europe, they began to think in different ways than intellectuals had before. They saw themselves as the people God had chosen to reform and purify the English church, and now Mary was leading it back into superstition and idolatry. Standing by and relying on passive resistance was no longer an option; they had to strike back actively or risk the wrath of God.

The changes that Europe was slowly undergoing transformed the old medieval world into the modern one. Economic, political, and social changes were flowing like a river throughout the sixteenth century, and the exiles were carried along in its current. They were practical people who thought

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[106] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 206.

pragmatically about how to run the government and protect the consciences of pious, English Christians.[107] The exiles took all these currents and combined them into what they saw as logical and reasonable solutions to the problems facing them. They looked to a home port, which for them was the godly commonwealth, but like many others in history, the port they were sailing to, was not the one they had originally in their sights.

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[107] Ibid., 207.

CHAPTER FIVE

RADICAL THOUGHT, CONSERVATIVE LEANINGS:
THE DRIFT TOWARDS LEGITIMIZING REVOLUTION

Every religion has a political opinion which is joined to it through affinity. Let

the human spirit follow its own tendency and it will order political society and the

City of God in much the same way: it will look for ways, if I dare say it, to

harmonize earth with heaven.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*[1]

Having introduced the exiles, their rulers, and examined the intellectual

scene of the sixteenth century now we can turn to the ideas of the exiles and how

they legitimized heresy as they attempted to justify resisting the rule of Mary

Tudor. With the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary the soon-to-be

exiles saw their world turned upside down as they were thrust into an unfamiliar

and disorienting land. They did not seek to create a new world order, but to

"harmonize earth with heaven," by preventing anything that would deter the

progress of church reform that had been ongoing under Edward. The exiles

would have agreed with the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville's assertion that the

essentials of democracy, or in this case, the godly commonwealth, emerged out of

an expression of Christian belief in moral equality which raised the human

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[1] Quoted in, Allen, *Tocqueville, frontpeice;* Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing Co., 2000), 129.

purpose beyond the transitory existence to that of a godly life.[2] Backed by this idea, the exile John Knox would answer his critics who called him too radical by arguing that he only sought to do God's will, for "my travail is that both princes and subjects obey God."[3] Seeking to maintain a godly, rather conservative social order, evangelicals still wanted further reform in the church, based upon the gospel, and therefore injected a critical spirit that could not be confined simply to one form of expression. Like the Reformation itself, which began as a protest against indulgences, the evangelicals' compelling need to protect Christ's church led them to justify resistance to the committed Roman Catholic, Mary. Their vision of a pious commonwealth and a reformed church later became the breeding ground for revolution.

Revolution was not on the minds of the Marian exiles as they looked to justify resisting Mary's restoration of Roman jurisdiction over the church. They were a very conservative group who only studied rebellions to condemn them for their violence and the destruction of established order as well as to find a means to either prevent or quickly suppress them.[4] By trying to justify resisting what they saw as a heretical ruler a change slowly began to creep into the minds of many of the exiles. As their biblically-informed consciences became more authoritative than an established authority that might be ungodly, a slow change in thinking moved the exiles toward the idea that a godly nation, or people, had a voice in determining the government over them. Thus a more modern view of

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[2] Ibid., xv.

[3] John Knox, "Knox and Mary Queen of Scots, September 1561," in Mason, *John Knox: On Rebellion*, 179.

[4] Adler, *Great Ideas*, 740.

revolution came into being, a gradual shift of the traditional idea of revolution as bringing only disorder and rebellion, to the more modern view that legitimized a "right" to rise up against a repressive government. Although this shift is not completed until the eighteenth century, the attempt here to justify resisting a blasphemous government marks its beginning. The exiles did not intend to change the image of rebellion or revolutions; they sought to restore their church to biblical roots while maintaining a society they felt God had ordained

The attempt by these exiles to reestablish harmony between earth and heaven was not an attempt to forge a new political theory or social order, but an attempt to uphold the godly commonwealth. As noted in the last chapter, this commonwealth was a corporate society ordained by God and led by an actively reforming prince.[5] To evangelicals the intervention by saints in the Catholic liturgy was idolatry and doctrines such as transubstantiation, the bread and wine becoming the body and blood of Christ, were nothing more than superstition and examples from which devout princes were to protect their subjects. John Ponet pointed out that a ruler was the minister of God's laws and they were to do good and not evil.[6] Thus as the executor of God[7], if the one refused to protect their subjects from false beliefs, a true Christian was left with no other option but to resist such an authority. This idea was at the core of the writings of Ponet, Knox, and Goodman and would mark the beginning of a slow drift towards legitimizing the people's right to resist.

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[5] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 39-40.
[6] John Ponet, *Shorte Treatise of Political Power*, B4r-B5v
[7] Ibid., C6r.

Isolated in exile and outside of traditional societal restraints, these three men found themselves, like all exiles, in a world that they found frustrating and at times depressing. In 1556, exile Ponet wrote that, "The Lord God, I acknowledge, has taken from me all that I had, which was most ample." He described his experience in exile as "a thing which, provided you have the wherewithal to subsist, is painful only in imagination."[8] In a classic example of an exile trying to make the best of a bad situation, Ponet asserted that he had not given up hope for the restoration of the reformed church, but reality was very different. Actually, many were frustrated over their inability to reestablish the saintly rule of Edward VI; with the failure of armed insurrections, such as Wyatt's Rebellion, they turned to more hostile literary weapons against there hated enemy, Mary Tudor. Under these conditions John Ponet, Christopher Goodman, and John Knox produced their famous tracts on resistance. The publication of their writings came at a time when the exiles were unable to receive accurate information about events in England, which made rumors rampant, especially with regard to the rising number of martyrs as Mary's government intensified their efforts at stamping out Protestantism. These conditions became a source of intolerable frustration in the exile community, causing much debate and friction between the different exile groups. Many exiles cautioned against works hostile to the regime for fear that these would fuel greater hostility toward fellow evangelicals still in England.[9] For example, David Whitehead, a leader in the circle around Richard Cox, in a letter to John Calvin, said that Knox and his followers would, "supply their

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[8] Letter from John Ponet to Henry Bullinger, Strasburg 14 April 1556, *Original Letters,* 116.
[9] Barbara Peardon, "The Politics of Polemic: John Ponet's *Short Treatise of Politic Power* and Contemporary Circumstance 1553-1556," *Journal of British Studies* 22 (1982): 38.

enemies with just ground for overturning the whole church."[10] Such conflicts

contributed to the split at Frankfort, and the ongoing debate over using either an

episcopal or presbyterian method of enforcing church discipline would later

foreshadow the battles between the Anglicans and Puritans under Elizabeth.

Historians do not agree on the position these exiles occupied in the

development of political thought. Some feel they had a very limited influence,

while recent scholars have argued for a greater role. Quentin Skinner has pointed

out that while the radical exiles of this time spoke of deposing heretical rulers,

this was not seen as a moral right, but as part of a Christian duty to uphold the

laws of God. Skinner contended that the religious duty to resist a heretical ruler

was transformed into a moral and political right of resistance by the French

Huguenots during the religious wars of the latter part of the sixteenth century.[11]

Michael Walzer has disputed this, saying that while the Huguenots wrote treatises

that argued systematically for a right to resist, English exiles had actually

contended for this right earlier. Because they were neither capable of nor

interested in arranging their ideas in a formal, organized manner, such as the

Huguenots had done, historians tend to dismiss the exiles completely or assign

them a minor role. Walzer went on to say that the experience of political exile

gave them a unique perspective on resisting a sacrilegious leader. Because of this

unique perspective, Walzer continued that the exiles deserve a more important

role in the formation of modern revolutionary ideas.[12] More recent historians are

less categorical but tend to support Walzer's position. For example, Barrett Beer

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[10] Letter from David Whitehead and others to John Calvin, *Original Letters,* 760.

[11] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2:240.

[12] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 644.

sees the exiles' writings of this period, especially those of Ponet, as a response to the death of Edward VI and the resulting crises over legitimacy that followed.[13] Barbara Peardon has emphasized Ponet's elevation of private property to the status of a right as the most important idea to come from the exiles.[14] Differences in historical interpretation, such as those seen above, over what exactly happened to ideas in periods of transition are common occurrences. A helpful metaphor might be to liken such periods to bayous at the end of a river flowing into the sea. You know when you are in the river, and when you are in the sea, but while in the bayous, you cannot tell exactly when the river becomes the sea. Thus historians may pinpoint something as medieval or as modern, but they are less able to identify when the medieval becomes modern, or when political thought fully embraces a fundamentally new relationship between the government and the people.

If one searches, therefore, for the defining moment when resistance as a religious duty becomes a political right, perhaps the best that can be hoped for is to find the foundations of this new idea and identify various building materials used or needed to construct it. One will not find a direct, easily discernable chronological line from one interpretation of an idea to a newer one. There is no simple revolution where a great leader sets out with a vast, highly organized group with stated objectives and goals. Nor is there a mass of anarchic or

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[13] Barrett Beer, "John Ponet's *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* Reassessed," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21 (1990): 377. Beer in this article has contended that the crisis of 1553 has never received adequate attention because English historians have been committed to the monarchy, especially the Tudor monarchy. Beer argued that Ponet's *Shorte Treatise* came not only from his disillusionment in the English establishment, both religious and political, but in the concept of monarchy as well.

[14] Peardon, "The Politics of Polemic," 35.

contradictory ambitions haphazardly moving through time. Using Euan Cameron's formulation again, you have a series of parallel movements in which many different people, all with different sets of ideas, combine forces at critical points in history to "pursue objectives which they only partially understand."[15] The Marian exiles' most important contribution comes from their being relatively free politically and intellectually to experiment with finding ways to fit new realities to their beliefs. Largely freed from obedience to a traditional controlling political authority, they were able to rethink old ideas, many coming from England, and transform them into a reservoir of new concepts that later writers might use to justify even more revolutionary thinking.

The effects of being outside of traditional control may be witnessed through the writings of Ponet, Goodman and Knox, all of whom saw themselves as soldiers in a war against the forces of Satan, rallying the army of God to battle.[16] They argued that the duty of the prince was to uphold the authority of Scripture, especially against idolatry.[17] They fell back on the printed word, a device used very effectively under Somerset.[18] Employing the printing press as a weapon, radical exiles marched out to defend the new Israel, believing no force would be able to stand against them. They explored and expanded the ideas of resistance that had been floating around Europe for many years. Unlike the Huguenots, they were free of "protecting" nobles and thus able to take their views into areas that traditional mores of society would have not allowed.

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[15] Cameron, *The European Reformation,* 1.
[16] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 650.
[17] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII,* 58.
[18] King, "Freedom of the Press," 2.

The exiles were not, however, radicals looking to overturn society and replace it with a radical new world. They were conservative, traditional people who were committed to the old order of society. Even the more radical exiles limited all resistance to actions against a heretical ruler; they demanded obedience once they were in the presence of a godly ruler. For example, in his *Scots Confession* of 1560, Knox, when under the rule of James VI of Scotland, stated:

> We confess and acknowledge that empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities are appointed and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in them, emperors in empires, kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, and magistrates in cities, are ordained by God's holy ordinance for the manifestations of his own glory and for the good and well being of all men. We hold that any men who conspire to rebel or overturn the civil powers, as duly established are not merely enemies to humanity but rebels against God's will. Further we confess and acknowledge that such authorities are to be loved, honored, feared, and held in highest respect.[19]

Although the above quote may seem like total hypocrisy compared to his writings in exile, one must see them in the context in which they were written. The confession goes on to assert that it is the duty of rulers to, "maintain true religion and suppress all idolatry and superstition."[20] Ponet agreed when he wrote, "for is every commonwealth kept and maitened in good ordre by Obedience;"[21] yet he also asserted that, "God must be obeyed rather than men."[22] Here both Knox and Ponet show their commitment to the traditional ideas of obedience and order, as well as to their positions on resisting a heretical ruler. The more radical

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[19] Presbyterian Church, USA, *Book of Confessions* (Louisville, Ky.: The Office of the General Assembly, 2002), 24.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ponet, *Shorte Treatise,* sig. C8 r.

[22] Ibid., sig. D4r.

exiles were careful to narrowly define when one could resist an order from an anointed ruler, and most of them still strictly limited it to the defense of the reformed church and firmly placed their ideas of resistance in the realm of a Christian duty. Ponet, Goodman, and Knox wrote about a very limited right of resistance, one narrowly defined under the banner of resisting a heretical government. The traditional principles of obedience were to be upheld when one was under a godly government, one that was upholding the laws God had laid down in the Bible.

The exiles carefully cast the restoration of Roman jurisdiction as a repeat of the Old Testament pattern of the ancient Israelites forsaking Yahweh for Baal, and then being punished for breaking the covenant Moses had given them at Mt. Sinai.[23] Such a violation of God's laws could not be condoned or tolerated as John Ponet declared:

> Whatsoever God Commandeth man to doe, he not consider the matter, but straight to obey the commander. For we are sure, what he commandeth, is just and right, no injustice or wrong can come.[24]

Ponet, like both Knox and Goodman, believed that he had narrowed the ability of one to resist only to those times when a ruler was in violation of God's law. To these men the specter of Kett's Rebellion still loomed large. This insurrection which began in July 1549 was in support of government efforts to enact many of the ideals of the commonwealth, including providing protection to small property owners who had been adversely affected by enclosure. Many of

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[23] Exodus chapter 19.
[24] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise*, sig. D2v.

Somerset's social programs were mirrored in the demands of the rebels, such as the anxiety over the overuse of common land as well as concern over the perceived corruption and self-interest had undermined the government's ability to administer reform. Unfortunately for these people, the Tudors had little toleration or patience for any rebellion, and the ruling class demanded that this one be put down immediately and without mercy.[25] The exiles' allegiance to the commonwealth ideals was total but, rebellion was an anathema to them as well. Because of this attitude, they were very careful not to advocate any blanket right or duty for resistance or rebellion. Thus a contradictory cloud hung over the exiles' thought, at once proclaiming a duty to uphold the godly commonwealth, yet still holding to traditional doctrines of obedience to anointed leaders, they pushed for a doctrine but had no understanding of the outcome of their arguments.

A number of factors came together and produced a unique situation for the Marian exiles. These might be summarized as:

1. A legacy of radical thought in England, dating from the time of William of Ockham and Duns Scotus.

2. A period of a relatively free press, which exposed the exiles to many resistance theories long before Mary came to power.

3. The lack of a traditional political authority over them during the exile. Isolated by language and culture, and with no membership in any national polity or government of the time, they were political free agents, which gave them freedom, in a limited sense, to explore perhaps more radical ideas than other European reformers.

4. An English parliament (an English institution for which the French Huguenots were advocating by the end of the century) that already had exercised the right to control taxes, affected the

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[25] Jordan, *Edward VI*, 1: 484; Loach, *Edward VI*, 79.

succession, and approve new laws, including those regarding religion.[26]

5. Total adherence to the evangelical reformation carried out under Edward VI, which they believed had to be actively defended.

These would give the exiles a different perspective from the other Protestant groups who depended, for the most part, on the protection of princes, nobles, or cities. The English exiles did not have answer to a prince or noble that one always had to avoid offending. They also possessed other liberties that did not exist on the continent; for example, the press, especially under Somerset, enjoyed a freedom that was not to be realized again until the reign of George III.[27]

Now that we have examined the historical context and intellectual climate in which the Marian exiles lived and wrote it is time to turn to the ideas on religion and resistance to rulers who were committing heresy. Most exile thought was in response to Mary's religious policy. First, the evangelicals equated Mary's restoration of the Roman Catholic Church with idolatry.[28] For them the medieval

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[26] Loach, *Parliament Under the Tudors,* 78-96. Loach argues that by the mid-sixteenth century it had become clear that there were certain principles of the British constitution a monarch could not overturn and further that Parliament was the guardian of these principles. To clarify this one must see that these principles were all relative to the conditions of the sixteenth century, and are not synonymous with modern ideas of parliamentary rule. The Tudor monarchs decided when Parliament met, what questions were put before it, and largely who the representatives would be. They had control of the agenda, summons, prorogation, and dissolution of the body, making it basically a rubber stamp for their designs. The many changes the Tudors instituted in accordance with their problems of succession, however, did set in motion many contentious forces that strengthened this institution in the next century; but at this time the monarch possessed substantial control over the body.

[27] King, "Freedom of the Press," 1.

[28] The evangelicals were obsessed with idolatry and sought to root it out wherever they found it. This relentless search for this practice led them to come to some rather strange conclusions, for example, they claimed greed had made an idol of money, and portrayed many wealthy merchants as worshipping profit or gold as a god. Under Edward, the evangelicals the most important policy or duty of the government was to destroy any physical image that they believed took the congregations mind off God. MacCulloch, *The Boy-King,* 152. In biblical history the word idol comes from the Hebrew *pesel,* a word variously translated as graven image, idol or statue. (Bruce

140

tradition of praying to saints for intervention was a violation of the First

Commandment since they believed reverence given to these holy dead was due

only to God himself.[29] The destruction of idolatry was of primary importance to

the evangelicals and was to come before the reorganization of the church.[30]

Christopher Goodman declared that, "Behold thou hast God's commandment for

thy defense: Thou shall commit no idolatrie, not to make to thy self any graven

image." Later he continued, "The like commandment is also given in the 17 and

18 chapter of the famous boke (The Bible), charging all people of God in general,

to see idolatrie punished without mercie, and that in all persons."[31]

Knox echoed this feeling on idolatry in his founding document of the

Presbyterian Church, *The Scots Confession,* written in 1560:

> Moreover, we state that the preservation and purification of
> religion is the particular duty of kings, princes, rulers, and
> magistrates. They are not only appointed for civil government but
> also to maintain true religion and to suppress all idolatry and
> superstition.[32]

Mary's gender was also a factor in their opposition and another dividing

point between the radical and more conservative exiles, who, using the example

of Deborah,[33] could later accept Elizabeth when she came to power. Knox in his

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Metzger and Michael Coogan, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Bible,* [Norwalk, Conn.: The Easton Press], 261.) A distinctive feature of the Old Testament is the strict prohibition of idolatry. It makes very clear that Yahweh could not be represented by any physical form and that God would not tolerate idols of any other god. The New Testament warns that idolatry could lead Christians to worship worldly things, such as covetousness or gluttony, and undermine weak believers. (Ibid., 197-98.)

[29] Exodus 20:1-6, 22-26.

[30] Pettegree, *Marion Protestantism,* 166.

[31] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed,* 171, 183.

[32] Presbyterian Church, USA, *Book of Confessions,* 24.

[33] Metzger, *Oxford Companion to the Bible,* 161. Deborah (Judges 4 and 5) is unique in the Biblical narrative as she is not only a judge in the sense of a military leader but in the law-court as

famous tract, *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), and to some extent Goodman, categorically stood in opposition to the rule of women.[34] The Scotsman only accepted Elizabeth, mostly out of political necessity and only providentially, or as A. N. McLaren has said, "when Elizabeth humbled herself, as a woman and queen, in the presence of God--and John Knox."[35] Goodman, less radical than Knox, who was completely opposed to female rule, argued that because of England's refusal to uphold the reforms initiated under Edward VI in spirit, God appointed:

> not a man according to his appointment, but a woman, which his law forbiddeth, and nature aboreth: whose reign was never counted as lawful by the worde of God, but an expressed sign of God's wrath, and a notable plague for the synnes of the people.[36]

Exiles also pictured themselves as more than just establishing a national reformed Church of England, but also as a being agents for bringing together a unified reformed church in Europe that would stand against the corruption of Rome. King Edward himself had reflected this desire when he declared to the Senate of Zurich in 1549 "there is a mutual agreement between us concerning the Christian religion and true godliness," which would make their relationship, "yet more intimate."[37]

When the Archbishop of Canterbury argued in favor of calling a council on church doctrine, which he would have led, in a letter to Calvin concerning the

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well. She is also the only military leader to be called a prophet. Many of the exiles used her position to show that God could use a woman to be a ruler if he so chose to.

[34] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 184.

[35] A. N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 56.

[36] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed,* 96.

[37] Letter from Edward VI to the Senate of Zurich, Westminster 20 October 1549, *Original Letters,* 1.

Council of Trent in 1552, Thomas Cramner asked, "shall we neglect to call together a godly synod, for the refutation of error, and for restoring and propagating the truth?"[38] Along the same lines Cramner wrote to Philip Melancthon, Europe's leading Lutheran, saying that when arguments arose in the early church, "the apostles and elders came together to consider this matter."[39] He went on to urge that Protestants likewise, "should be assembled together, after the example of the apostles."[40] Cramner may have been thinking of using the Augsburg Confession as an acceptable ecumenical religious formula to unify the Protestant movement, with London, or Canterbury, acting as a Protestant Rome.[41] While such a dream seemed to die with Edward, the surviving evangelicals clung to this vision, with the more radical ones picturing themselves as at the vanguard of an all-out war with Satan.[42] This belief led John Ponet to remind the exiles of the warnings he and others gave of what would happen if England did not embrace true reform.

> For the preachers and ministers of Goddes worde, in the tiem of
> the godly Josias king Edwarde the Sixthe preached and prophecied
> unto you, what miseries and plagues should certainly come to you:
> the foode of Goddes woude be cleane taken away from you, famyn
> of the body, pestilence,warres, the loss of your goodes, the
> deflowering and ravishing of your wyves and daughters before
> your eyes, the captivite of your bodies, wyves and children: the
> subversion of the policie and state of the Realme: that a strange
> king and strange people (not only in country, but also in coniciones
> and manners in respect to your own) should reigne and rule over
> you if ye in tyme repented not of your wickedness, amended your
> lyves, and called to God for mercie.[43]

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[38] Letter from Archbishop Cramner to John Calvin, Lambeth 20 March 1552, Ibid., 24.
[39] Letter from Archbishop Cramner to Philip Melancthon, Lambeth 27 March 1552, Ibid., 25.
[40] Ibid., 26.
[41] Pettegree, *Marion Protestantism*, 134.
[42] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 650.
[43] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise*, sig. K3r.

Infused with the zeal of the reforms initiated under Edward and backed by

a legacy of radical thinking and a tradition of commonwealth ideals, the exiles

tried to make sense of a world which had gone wildly astray before their very

eyes. They participated in a radical reformation and saw themselves as God's

anointed people leading His new elect nation back to its covenant with the Lord.

Now their country was run by the enemies of the Lord, enemies they had to fight

with all their strength.

To Ponet, the exile was the result of the English failure to heed God's

warnings, thus God had chosen to send some of the evangelicals into exile as

punishment. Ponet was a troubled man whose life was afflicted by a marriage

scandal, charges of quarrelsomeness, and accusations of avarice, while being a

humanistic scholar who served as Bishop of Rochester (1550-51) and then

Winchester (1551-53).[44] He had been Cramner's chaplain after 1545, which

placed him in the center of religious and intellectual circles in England from the

time of the divorce up to Edward's death. A leader of the Edwardian church and

closely associated with John Bale, who served as his chaplain, it was natural he

would have been one of the leaders of the exiles as well. Fervently anti-Catholic

and totally opposed to Mary and her Spanish husband Phillip, Ponet was an

advisor to Thomas Wyatt in 1554 and was forced to flee England after the latter's

rebellion against Mary failed.[45]

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[44] Beer, "John Ponet's *Shorte Treatise*," 374.
[45] Redworth, "Bishop Ponet," 509.

Ponet had written other tracts, mainly justifying clerical marriage, and had introduced John Cheke's new method of pronouncing Greek at Cambridge. Fluent in Greek, Italian, Latin, and German, he also showed ability in mathematics, astronomy, and engineering. Recognized as an important figure in the mid-Tudor period, by the twentieth century he was largely forgotten, with the exception of his *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (1556), written in exile in response to Mary's attempt to seize the lands of the evangelicals who had gone abroad. In this work he outlined what he considered a lawful method of resisting heretical rulers. Ponet proclaimed that monarchs are not absolute, since, "God is the highest power, yea the power of power, from him is derived all power," which made them, "executors of God's laws, and men's just ordinances, are also not exempted from them."[46]

Ponet thus worked within a traditional English understanding of royal power at that time, which held that the king was a public official who was accountable to God to exercise his power responsibly, which therefore limited it. Ponet went further by saying the claims of absolute power were excuses for rulers to "treat their subjects like men treat animals."[47] The exile portrayed monarchs as only administrating God's laws, and if a king's order was in violation of these laws a subject could resist. He also made a tentative appeal to the private-law theory of resistance, arguing that when rulers act as tyrants they are reduced to the status of felonious private citizens and subject to the law as anyone else is.[48] Ponet and Goodman portrayed the people as being constantly under the threat of

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[46] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise*, sig.D2v.
[47] Ibid., sig. B3r; Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 178
[48] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2:222.

ungodly magistrates and the duty of government was to protect people from these rulers.[49]

Like his contemporaries, Ponet used the metaphor of the body to cast his arguments, saying that people must love, "the hole common wealthe before any member of it."[50] He cited the words of Jesus in describing why the head can be removed from the body politic:

> For he said, "If the salt be unsavory, it is good for no use, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot by all men." And again, "If your right eye offends you, pull it out and cast away. For it is better that one member perish, than the whole body should be cast into hell." And again say the canonists [the pope's lawyers] in rehearing Christ's words, "If our eye, foot, or hand offend us, let it taken from the rest of the body. For it is better to lack members in this world, than that they should carry the rest of the body into hell. By salt, eye, foot, and hand, is understood the heads and rulers, and, and not the members and subjects. And not only the heads and rulers in the church, but also in all policies and commonwealths."[51]

In Ponet's mind the idea was simple. If one was, as Jesus said, to cast off a part of a body that does evil, the same would be true in the body politic of the state. He rejects the common defense of the time, that rulers claim, "We are anointed. You may not touch us. We are subject to God, and every man to us. God will have us reign to plague you people for your iniquity."[52] He argued that the rulers were, "not exempt from the lawes and duties of a Christian, which everi one prosesseth in Baptism."[53] Ponet further went on to state that those whom God

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[49] McLaren, *Political Culture*, 108.

[50] Ponet, *Shorte Treatise*, sig. D7r.

[51] Ibid., sig. C6r.

[52] Ibid., sig. G5r.

[53] Ibid., sig. F6 r.

lifted up to rule were required to follow God's laws to benefit the commonwealth and protect the subjects of that land.

In protecting the subjects of a commonwealth, laws upholding private property were sacrosanct, and government theft of private property was both a violation of divine and human law as well as an act of tyranny. Ponet argued that if rulers take private property of their subjects they become subject to both God's laws as well as the laws of the land, thus identifying tyranny with theft, and good government with protection of property.[54] Here Ponet was clearly reacting to Mary's attempt to expropriate the lands of the exiles in 1555. Mary, as part of her effort to restore the Catholic Church, wished to restore lands her father had taken from the church. Full restoration proved practically and politically impossible, as many of Mary's own supporters had extensive ex-church property. The pope, in recognition of this political reality, granted dispensation to the loyal owners of former church property, but land still held by the crown and those disloyal to the crown was fair game.[55] Mary's effort to appropriated the evangelicals' land was rejected and in a somewhat obvious assessment as to why members of Parliament rejected the queen's initiative, Jennifer Loach asserts that, "at the heart of both proposals was property, and property was something about which members of parliament cared deeply."[56] Property rights were important to both sides of the

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[54] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 649; Jones, *Tudor Commonwealth*, 61.

[55] Peardon, "The Politics of Polemic," 40.

[56] Loach, *Parliament Under the Tudors*, 84. In the Parliament of 1555 two bills presented by Mary caused trouble, one was restoring the first fruits and tenths that Henry VIII had annexed. The other was the exile bill that would have allowed Mary to seize lands of those who had gone abroad and refused to return home. The latter was defeated when Sir Anthony Kingstone locked the chamber's doors and forced a vote before supporters could rally their people. At the heart of the opposition to this bill was uneasiness by members of Parliament to any interference by the

religious divide; Ponet's identification of good government with the protection of private property was one idea that would have found wide acceptance in mid-Tudor England. This was perhaps the most fundamental important idea that he argued and would later prove central to the political thought of John Locke.

Another area where Ponet was within the English political tradition concerns his view of parliament and its rights. A member of the Henrican political class, Ponet was a strong believer in the Royal Supremacy and its operation through king-in-parliament, which Henry had utilized to establish his reformation, for "kings and princes can not make laws, but with the consent of the people."[57] Ponet also championed the English legacy of common law as he asserted that "long custom maketh lawe."[58]

Therefore to one familiar with this English legal background, a tyrant was the worst thing a ruler could be. To Ponet all people had the right to oppose such a leader and he described the character and greed of a tyrant:

> He spoils the people of their goods, either by open violence, making his ministers take it from them without payment; or promising payment and never paying; or craftily under the name of loans, benevolences, contributions, and such-like gaily painted words; or for fear he gets out of their possession what they have, and never restores it.[59]

Ponet laid out other circumstances, therefore, besides a monarch's heresy, that would permit resistance to a ruler. These circumstances arose from the right

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Crown with private lands. Since the bill would undermine the security of tenure, many asked why one should lose lands doing something legal, like living abroad.

[57] John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise*, sig. E6v.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., sig. D7r.

of all people to defend with violence, if necessary, their lives or property.[60] Resistance might also be justified to defend the honor of women or to keep the country from becoming defenseless against foreign powers. To Ponet God stood above all authority, therefore while he may use other arguments to support his position, those would only be secondary as religious arguments formed the most important part of his ideas.[61]

In Ponet's mind the biblical flood in Genesis (Chapter 6-9) was a dividing point in the history of the world. Before the flood, humans were closer to God and communicated directly with the Lord, an ability that was lost as people fell further away from the Lord after the waters receded. To compensate for this, God gave the people the power to govern, to enact and execute laws, thus allowing people to determine how authority was executed.[62] Here Ponet divided natural law, which existed before any civil authority and can be determined by reason from Scripture, from positive laws that were enacted and executed by the people.[63] People could then either keep the mandate of lawmaking for themselves or consent to surrender it to another.[64] Using both history and Scripture he argued that the people stood above the ruler, and if magistrates were abusing their positions and violating God's law they, "ought to be deposed."[65] Here Ponet claims that people have a mandate to overthrow such persons, but he was careful to limit this action to a very narrow set of circumstances.[66] He asserted that he

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[60] Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2:224.
[61] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 473.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 139-40.
[64] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 473.
[65] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise,* sig. E3v.
[66] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 473.

was not arguing for a blanket right to resist, which he accused the Anabaptists of supporting,[67] but one limited to a ruler who was ordering the people to do evil.[68]

When Ponet placed the people above the monarch, he argued that government was created by the consent of the people, who gave their loyalty to the nobles in exchange for their giving them protection and an orderly society.[69] Under the government that Ponet believed people had agreed to, there were certain conditions that were fixed in their lives by God to ensure an orderly commonwealth. Since idleness "is a vice wherewith God is offended,"[70] a ruler should make sure all subjects had gainful employment. If this was not done then, "by taking away the means by which they live, a means is devised to kill them with famine."[71] This would place the ruler in violation of the sixth commandment (Exodus 20:13- Thou shall not kill). Further, if laws were passed that were against the subject's welfare, then not only did the ruler violate the commandment against stealing, "but also the general law, that sayest: 'Thou shall love thy neighbor as self. And what so ever you will that men do unto you, even so do you unto them.' For you yourself would not be killed with hunger."[72] Ponet goes on to argue that the ruler must insure that people received equal treatment before the law. He stated that:

> When ye sitte to judge, ye shall not have respect of persones, whether they be riche or poore, great or small: feare no man, for ye execute the judgement of Godd, sayeth the holy goost by the

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[67] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise,* sig. C8r - v.

[68] Ibid., sig. D4r.

[69] Ibid., sig. E6v.

[70] Ibid., sig. A3v.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., sig. A3 v-r.

mouth of Moses. Judge not after the outwarde appearance of men, but judge rightly: sayeth Christ.[73]

Most significantly, Ponet elevated the private ownership of property to that of a right by giving it equal weight as he did for economic or legal justice.[74] Ponet used the Old Testament story of Naboth's refusal to sell his land to King Ahab to justify his claim since Naboth had refused to sell because, "for by Goddes lawe he had a propretie therin, from which without his consent, he could not be forced to departe."[75] Old Testament texts coupled with the commonwealth ideal in Ponet produced a view that was in direct conflict with sixteenth-century opinion which held that the crown possessed final rights of ownership over all land. Coming close to the seventeenth-century doctrine of absolute, natural rights of property, Ponet ventured into an area full of implications beyond what he could fathom. Here he left the traditional views of society and set out on a new and dangerous course. His many condemnations of the Anabaptists are evidence of his commitment to of the traditional view of society. He affirmed that "it is also a principle of all lawes grounded on the lawe of nature, that every man should ofe himself and be obedient to that lawe, that he will others be bounded unto."[76] Ponet, like Goodman and Knox, did not comprehend the power and force of the ideas he had unleashed. All three were careful to limit their ideas strictly to a

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[73] Ibid., sig. H1r.

[74] Peardon, "Politics of the Polemic," 43.

[75] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise*, sig. F4v. I Kings 21 – Here the Prophet Elijah told Ahab in verse 19 that where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, so they will lick Ahab's. It is also in verse 23 of this chapter the prophet foretells that Jezebel would be eaten by dogs. For Ponet, a prophecy like this would have provided the best foundation for his view of private property as a right.

[76] Ibid., sig.C6v.

period when a heretical ruler was in power; later writers would use their words to wade into more radical waters.

Ponet, like many exiles, would die disillusioned and embittered, never to return home. Soon to be forgotten, more recent historians, however, recognized Ponet's contributions to political thought for his equating tyranny with theft, and good government with the protection of private property.[77] Ponet had seen himself as a champion of the godly commonwealth and of the traditional society of the Great Chain, as seen in his defense of the pious Edward's device and right to leave the crown to whomever he believed was a godly successor.[78] Even though Ponet may have thought he was only restoring long-established societal values, his appeal to conscience as the source of faith, left subjective forces to judge the decision to resist a heretical ruler and to the later development for more radical thought.[79]

Another exile, Christopher Goodman, reformer and close friend of John Knox, also argued that people had the right to resist a heretical magistrate. He was a close ally of reformer Peter Martyr, and while in exile he became a leader of the Protestants in Frankfort as well as those who left for Geneva in 1555. Goodman became more radical than Ponet as he expanded the right of resistance to private individuals. William Whittingham supported Goodman in his introduction to *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed,* by stating:

> God's word is our guide to lead us in our doings: when it commands us to obey God, we must disobey man to the contrary: for no man can serve two masters: and when our heavenly master

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[77] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 649.

[78] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise,* sig. E3r.

[79] Peardon, "Politics of the Polemic," 46.

commands obedience to man, it is ever to be understood, in the Lord. So obedience to God's Laws by disobeying man's wicked laws is very commendable, but to disobey God for any duty to man is all together damnable: as in the discourse of this book you shall fully be assured, if God opens your eyes to see the truth, and moves your heart to embrace it. The Spirit of God, which is the schoolmaster to lead us into all truth, lighten your hearts, give your minds to understand, and courage to execute His holy will, to setting forth of Christ's Kingdom, the profit of Hs Church, and confusion of Satan's power and Antichrist's. Amen.[80]

Before his exile Goodman was an Oxford graduate, earning his M.A. in 1544 and his B.D. in 1551, and he was appointed the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1548.[81] Goodman turned sermons he in Frankfort gave in defense of Ponet's work, using the fifth chapter of Acts, into his tract, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed* (1558). He also contributed to the *Scottish Book of Common Order* as well as the *Geneva Bible*. While at Geneva, he helped to make that congregation the largest and most productive of the exile communities. While a friend of Knox, Goodman placed primary importance in his argument to the private law theory of resistance, one which that Knox never broached.[82] He rejected passive resistance saying, "but we are required therein always to be either hot or cold, and must gather or scatter." [83]

Echoing Ponet, Goodman asserted that rulers are in place to administer God's laws and commands. He explained, "That kinges are institutete to rule in Goddes feare and Lawes, as subjectes and Sergeants to God, and not agaynste his

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[80] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*, 8.

[81] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*, 41.

[82] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2: 221-22.

[83] Letter from Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr Geneva 20 August 1558, *Original Letters*, 769.

Lawes."[84] Again the argument is made that when a ruler's commands violate the Lord's ordinances, people must obey God's laws and reject these heretical orders of man. Goodman explained that "to obeye God, and disobey man, is true obedience."[85] Goodman first offered this line of argument in early 1557 in a sermon reacting to Ponet's treatise. He used Acts 4:19 "Judge whether it be just before God to obey you rather than God" to support Ponet's assertions.[86]

Speaking of officials demanding obedience to Mary's restoration of the Roman Church and authority, Goodman proclaimed, "These things and many of the like are plainly forbidden to you by the manifest word of God: and therefore to do them for fear or pleasure of any prince or power is plain disobedience and rebellion against the Almighty."[87] Calling the people of England to reject demands by English authorities to obey Mary, Goodman stated, "In obeying her, ye have disobeyed God. Then in disobeying her, ye shall please God."[88] He went on to urge England to "forsake with speed the unlawful obedience of the flesh and blood, and learn to give honor in time to the living Lord."[89] To Goodman, the destruction of idolatry (the Catholic Church) was not just a duty of magistrates, but of all people. God had condemned idolatry in Deuteronomy 13:6-11, and if the rulers refused to repudiate it, the people must do so, or be condemned as unrepentant sinners at the last judgment.[90] He stated simply, "God forbid, that we

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[84] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed,* 60.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 182.
[87] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed,* 174.
[88] Ibid., 103.
[89] Ibid., 179.
[90] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 188.

shulde forsake the Lorde, to serue strange Goddes."[91] Like the biblical prophet

Elijah, he proclaimed, "If the Lord be God, follow him: if Baal be God, go after

him."[92]

Goodman would also list numerous other complaints against Mary:

For God's word she abhorreth, Anti-Christ hath she restored, her
fathers laws condemned, her promise broke, and her brother Godly
King Edwarde as an heretique condemned, not ynoughe to
expresse her tyranny upon thee that live, except she showed cruelty,
or rather raging madness on the bodies of Gods servants long
before buried, drawing them forth of their graves to be burne them
as heretikes.[93]

Here we see that not only did Goodman condemn her idolatry but accused

her of breaking a promise to the Suffolk men-- who rallied to Mary against Lady

Jane--that she would not alter the religion.[94] He championed the rebel Thomas

Wyatt, extolling his courage at rebelling against the heretical Mary and calling

him a "valiant capitayne."[95] As the litany of complaints by the exiles against

Mary grew as the years of her rule went by, Goodman, like Ponet, steeped in

commonwealth ideals, bemoaned the fact that poor were "left to sink or swim."[96]

Both sides became more entrenched as the positions of each hardened, and out of

this hardening more radical ideas found a fertile breeding ground.

As the struggle with Mary went on, the exiles began to look on the office

of the king in a different light. Although they still believed in obedience to a

godly king, that king was now transformed into a minister of the people and

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[91] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*, 80.
[92] Ibid., 233. I Kings 18: 21.
[93] Ibid., 99-100.
[94] Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 237.
[95] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*, 202.
[96] Ibid., 215.

subject to all human and divine laws.[97] Goodman, like Knox, constantly cited the

Book of Deuteronomy to prove that England was the new Israel and had a

covenant with God to further the reformed faith. Since England had not faithfully

held to its covenant with God, Edward VI had died young. God then punished the

apostate English by putting Mary on the throne, in the same fashion as He had

done so with the biblical Israelites.[98] Mary was pictured as the evil queen Jezebel,

whom the devout must oppose and overthrow.[99] As God had punished and

forgiven his people when they repented in the Old Testament, he would do the

same for England. The exiles continued to cite biblical texts[100] as justification in

portraying Mary's reign as a punishment while urging the good Christians to

resist her. Goodman would praise the actions of Thomas Wyatt, as an example of

resistance by a private person against Mary's tyranny. He finishes his tract with a

hope that God will respond to the prayers of the exiles and bring death to Mary, as

He did to the evil rulers of biblical times.[101]

Like Ponet, Goodman left the decision of resistance to the conscience of

the subject, and also did not understand the full implications of what he had

suggested. He did not see how his words could be used by others to justify an

expansion of resistance from a limited duty in opposing a heretical ruler to a

natural right of a people, as it became fashionable in the eighteenth century. Dan

Danner summed up Goodman's belief by stating, "No human being can command

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[97] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 189.
[98] Dan Danner, "The Contribution of the Geneva Bible of 1560 to the English Protestant Tradition," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12 (1981): 11.
[99] II Kings chapter 30
[100] For example, Psalm 106.
[101] Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 64.

the people to disobey a divine mandate and thus violate true religion."[102]

Goodman himself had argued that to bring people to a true reformation one must

have "some common and approved Lawe, which very nature and fear of God will

teach them to reverence and obey."[103] When Mary attempted to restore Roman

jurisdiction, she violated God's laws against superstition and idolatry and

therefore could be resisted. While Ponet may have had no understanding of the

implications of these ideas, Goodman may have seen some dangers with his views.

In a letter to his friend Peter Martyr he defended his action at Frankfort, and states

that he enlisted Calvin's opinion on his book; yet he does note that one must be

careful to limit these ideas of resistance:

> I requested the judgment of Master Calvin, to which you very
> properly attach much weight, before the book was published, and I
> shewed him the same propositions which I have sent to you. And
> though he deemed them somewhat harsh, especially to those who
> are in places of power, and for this reason they should be handled
> with caution, yet he nevertheless admitted them to be true.[104]

To justify his rather extreme position Goodman fell back on the idea of a

covenant nation, as seen in the book of Deuteronomtry, to show that England had

become the new Israel and therefore must continue to keep the reformed faith.[105]

Yet one can also see his commitment to obeying a godly ruler by his actions once

Mary died and Elizabeth ascended the throne. At the urging of John Knox,

Goodman went to Scotland and became a member of the Scottish council that

dealt with religious matters, and in November of 1559 he became the minister of

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[102] Ibid., 63.

[103] Goodman, *How Superior Powers are to be Obeyed*, 181.

[104] Letter from Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr, Aug. 20, 1558 in Geneva, *Original Letters*, 771.

[105] Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 64.

the congregation at Ayr. Despite Goodman's criticism of the English society of Elizabeth for not committing fully to reform, in 1565 he returned to England at the insistence of the Earl of Warwick. By 1571 he was embroiled in the controversy over the Articles of Religion, which only led him into more trouble. In April of that year to gain the acceptance of Elizabeth, Goodman recanted his views on resistance and his opposition to female rule by stating:

> And in my confession I do also conclude, that a woman may of God's appointment have and enjoy lawfully the government of the realm or nation and so be of all men obeyed and honored by the word of God.[106]

Goodman's life in England reflected the growing disappointment the more radical evangelicals would feel towards Elizabeth's government. As part of his recantation in 1571, Goodman said he regretted ever writing his book, declaring it was in response to a very difficult time; yet both Archbishops Parker and Whitgift feared it would be reprinted.[107] This gradual disillusionment with Elizabeth-- whom Diarmaid McCulloch said restored the outer temple of the reformed church and not the spirit-- is exemplified by Goodman's life in England.[108] He died in 1603, the same year as Elizabeth, but his ideas survived him, despite his efforts to distance himself from them.

As we have seen, Goodman was a close companion of the Scottish reformer John Knox, the most radical of the exiles; both while overseas and back home in Scotland. Knox may have been a forerunner of the modern revolutionary, and seldom showed little, if any, concern for the consequences of his words or

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[106] Quoted in Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 66.
[107] Ibid., 67.
[108] MacCulloch, *The Boy King*, 194.

actions. Dan Danner has stated that the ideas of Knox and Goodman are usually

considered together,[109] and Skinner pointed out that the main difference between

the two is in the emphasis placed on the covenant idea. Knox used the covenant

idea as a primary argument, while Goodman considered it only as a secondary

point.[110] Frustrated by the events in England and not satisfied with leading a

small exiled congregation, Knox sought a more powerful office and he discovered

it not in the constitutions of men but in divine prophecy.[111] In the figure of the

Old Testament prophet, Knox found a role model for proclaiming his religious

ideal to the world. Like a Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or Isaiah, Knox, with little concern

for his own safety, fearlessly preached that God would bring death and

destruction to any ruler, churchman, or private person who did not live strictly by

the principles of his radical Calvinism. Goodman, responding to what he believed

to be unjust criticism of Knox, came to the defense of his friend by comparing

Knox to the Old Testament prophet, Daniel in the lion's den,[112] saying that those

who urged his friend to be more cautious and careful in his words, would, "no

doubt, condemn Daniel of rashness and folly in doing more than was

expedient."[113]

Knox rejected any advice recommending caution because of his full faith

in the idea of a covenant with God. Ponet made no mention of covenant ideas in

his work and as stated, for Goodman it was a secondary argument. Based on a

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[109] Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 67.

[110] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2:126.

[111] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 647. Prophecy in the sixteenth century was not the ability to foretell the future, but the ability to apply Biblical verses to contemporary events, an ability that Elizabeth found extremely annoying.

[112] Daniel 6:16-24.

[113] Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*, 71.

discussion in Book II of Calvin's *Institutes*, the covenant of God centers on a
series of agreements made directly between human beings and God after Adam's
fall.[114] These "covenant of works" showed that people were incapable of
upholding the law of God; therefore in the death and resurrection of Jesus God
gave humanity a new covenant. In this new "covenant of grace," God only
required that humans have faith in Christ, and in fact, works could now only
condemn, not save the people. Faith, more than anything, now demonstrated
one's commitment to God.[115] For Knox, once a nation committed to the reformed
church, it was the same as when the biblical Israelites took over the land of
Canaan. The Israelites had to enter into a covenant with God to be able to enter
their new land, and the English and Scots had entered into a similar agreement
when they embraced the reformed church and began the process of restoring the
church to its "pure" form.[116]

The idea of covenant was not original with Calvin and may have been
foreshadowed in the works of Augustine and Ockham. Both Beza, and later
Mornay, used the idea of covenant with God in their works, the latter arguing the
existence of one between people and their King, and another between the nation
and God. Johannes Althusius (c.1557-1679) and William Ames (1576-1633)
found inspiration in covenant theology to create the idea of "federal theology"
(*foedus*) that later formed the base of Puritan political theories in New England.[117]

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[114] Calvin, *Institutes*, 2: 679.
[115] Allen, *Tocqueville*, 19-20. Allen's book is an in-depth study of how the ideas of covenant of
the early Puritans that developed in the exile formed the foundation of American federalism that
Tocqueville commented on in his famous work in the 1830s.
[116] Mason, *John Knox: On Rebellion*, xxiv.
[117] Allen, *Tocqueville*, 13, 25.

Calvin taught that it was possible for a group of people to reaffirm this covenant formally resulting in a covenanting community.[118]

The first of these contemporary communities was established in 1537 in Geneva and, as a follower of Calvin, whom Knox referred to as "that notable servant of God," he would have been familiar with the ideas of covenant.[119] The reformer knew Calvin well enough that he had gotten a letter of introduction to Bullinger from the Swiss reformer when Knox first fled to Dieppe in 1554.[120] Knox later based his entire theory of resistance on the covenant theory of resistance. Like many of the radicals, however, he would break with Calvin over this idea of resistance, as Calvin banned Knox's works in Geneva in 1558. Even Francois Hotman condemned Knox's ideas, even though he affirmed many of them later in his career.[121]

Knox proclaimed that under Edward VI England had become a covenant nation, much as had biblical Israel when it took procession of the Promised Land.[122] Like the Israelites, the English had made a promise to God, in this case a pledge to maintain the reformed church. Many of the exiles agreed with Knox and they had constructed a whole history to support how it applied to England.[123] They saw the Church and state as one, as Scripture demonstrated when God placed Aaron under Moses, thereby leaving the state responsible to uphold the laws of God. In this scenario, not only was the ruling class part of this covenant,

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[118] Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2:236.

[119] Knox, "Knox and the Protestant Nobility, March-December 1557," in Mason, *John Knox: On Rebellion*, 134.

[120] Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*, 86.

[121] Ibid., 88-89.

[122] Mason, ed. *John Knox: On Rebellion*, xiiii.

[123] Danner, "Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate," 472.

but so was every individual person, and each one, therefore, was responsible in seeing that the laws of God were upheld. For Knox, "God will neither excuse nobility nor people, but the nobility least of all, that obey and follow their kings in manifest inequity."[124] Since all were included in this covenant, then all had a communal right, or duty, to resist a ruler that did not follow God's laws. It is here that Knox extended the right of resistance to common people.[125] For him the community was obliged not only to live up to the letter of the law, but to the spirit of it as well, in all activities both in the sacred and secular realm.[126]

Since Knox saw himself in battle with Satan; he believed that he must gather any and all forces to defeat the enemy. Knox's image of himself doing battle with evil allowed him to speak of evil people as part of God's judgment, and still view them as enemies of God who must be resisted. So while evil rulers may be a device to punish a people, they were still the enemies of God and thus of all godly people. Knox said of the evil rulers, "For all those who would draw us from God (be they kings or queens) being of the devil's nature, are enemies of God, and therefore will God that we declare ourselves enemies to them."[127] The Scotsman rejected the idea that God would sanction evil, ignoring the Book of Job, and argued that the evil rulers were tools of Satan and therefore must be opposed by any means necessary. In Michael Walzer words: "The prophet [Knox] thus expresses his alienation from traditional English politics in the language of war

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[124] John Knox, *The Appellation,* in Mason, ed. *John Knox: On Rebellion,* 97.

[125] Roger Mason, *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 1998), 145.

[126] Allen, *Tocqueville,* 15.

[127] Quoted in Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 650. Walzer notes this quote appear in the mss. but not in the published version of the *Letter.*

and suggested that the traditional rulers of England might well be agents of Satan, enemies of the godly."[128] Knox saw the struggle against Mary's rule as a part of the greater battle between Christ and Satan, and his mission was to muster the forces of the godly to attack the devil's army. He spoke of resistance by magistrates as only a beginning. Unlike the later French Huguenots,[129] who limited the right to resist to the lesser magistrates of the kingdom, Knox would refute the traditional view that the magistrate was a public person and that the private man was politically irresponsible.[130] Knox broke with many as he tried to create a Christian theoretical basis for resistance, a theory whose origins rested in the existent political instability of both England and Scotland.[131]

Knox had experienced the minority rule of Edward VI and Queen Mary Stuart, and saw the church he passionately believed in being defeated by what he believed to be the forces of idolatry and superstition. He rejected the notion that God wished him to stand by quietly while idolatry and superstition were allowed

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[128] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 650.

[129] The main Huguenot writings are: Francois Hotman's (1525-1590) *Francogallia*, the most celebrated of the new humanists or "French" method of interpreting Roman law to find the original intent of it. However he felt Roman law was irrelevant to Europe and thus to determine secular law, one must draw on many sources, such as general virtues, European problems and custom. He called for kings to rely on a council of wise men and not to rule as absolute monarchs. Theodore Beza's (1519-1605) *Du Droit des Magistrats sur Leurs Sujets* (1573) argues that kings were created by the people, but that matters of governance should be left to those who were wise enough to make such complicated decisions. Beza also argued that each man should know his station and be content in that. Phillippe du Plessis-Mornay's (1549-1623) *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos Basel* (1579) rallied the Huguenots against the Catholic League and asked them to be a counter balance to Spain. Mornay was more in line with English radicals as he championed the not only covenant nation, but the idea that people must obey God over man as well. All three however did not extend such right of resistance to private individuals as they saw the lesser magistrates as the people's representatives in all matters of state. The Huguenots, in a minority and under the protection of Protestant nobles, were usually careful to appeal to discontented Catholics and not advocate anything that resembled a threat to the order of the kingdom. See Julian Franklin, ed. and trans., *Constitutionalism and Resistance-Three Treatises by Hotman, Beza and Mornay* (New York: Pegasus, 1969.)

[130] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 651.

[131] Molen, "Anglican against Puritan," 54.

in his beloved lands. Obedience was no good in and of itself, and for Knox,

giving such to kings did not automatically please God. Knox would adopt one of

Goodman's analogies, "And as the examples of Daniel, also Shadrach, Meshach,

and Abed-nego, do teach us: which not withstanding their captors, would not obey

the king's command to do evil."[132] Political responsibility extended to the entire

social order and all classes of people must fight the forces of evil, no matter what

station they occupied.

"And this one point I wish your wisdoms deeply consider; that God hath

not placed you above your brethren to reign as tyrants without respect of their

profit and commodity."[133] So wrote Knox in his work, *The Appellation* (1558),

which many consider his most important yet misunderstood piece of work.

Knox's erastian-based arguments that the church was under the authority of the

state led him also to view the community as the source of royal power, and it was

the ruler's obligation to rule for the common good.[134] The idea of ruling for the

common good shows that Knox was, as both Ponet and Goodman were,

committed to the commonwealth ideal that permeated English political society in

the sixteenth century.[135] His adherence to commonwealth ideals when combined

with his expanded concept of the covenant nation pushed the reformer into radical

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[132] Goodman, *How Superior Powers are to be Obeyed*, 127; Daniel 3:8-30, 6:16-28.

[133] John Knox, *The Appellation of John Knox*, in Mason, ed. *John Knox: On Rebellion*, 85.

[134] Mason, ed. *John Knox: On Rebellion*, xvii.

[135] Reid, "John Knox's Theology," 530-31. His political views were a mixture of the ideas of Jacques Almain, Theodore Beza, and the ecclesiastical conciliarist movement, a longstanding movement in opposition to papal infallibility, which was very popular in Scotland. One of its great advocates, John Major, may have been student with Knox at the University Saint Andrews. Thus Knox may not have been all that original but effectively brought together several existing strands of political thought.

nonconformity that saw no need for political compromise.[136] Knox stood like Nathan before David, chastising a king for his actions, and upholding the idea that not even kings were above the law of God.[137]

In addition to his argument for resistance based on covenant theology, Knox claimed that female rule was against God's law and therefore should be opposed; he would outline his argument in, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* (1558). Knox directed his work against his two main enemies, Mary of Guise (regent for Mary Stuart in Scotland) and Mary Tudor of England. Departing from both Calvin and many in the exile community, Knox totally opposed the idea of women rulers. As he stated in the tract, "I am assured that God hath revealed to some in this our age that it is more than a monster in nature that a woman shall reign and have empire above man."[138] He cited two commonly held reasons for this: 1. God's commands had made it a virtue for woman to serve man, and, 2. God's punishment of Eve had put woman in subjection to man. He denied women the right to rule even if there was no male heir to succeed to the crown and saw female monarchs in the covenant nations of England and Scotland as punishment from God for the failure to carry out the religious reforms He required.[139]

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[136] Mason, *John Knox and the British Reformations,* 77.

[137] II Samuel chapter 12.

[138] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* in Mason, ed. *John Knox: On Rebellion,* 4.

[139] Robert M. Healy, "Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994): 376.

Knox rejected the examples of Deborah and Huldah,[140] holding that

exceptions do not make for law. God could grant such exceptions if he so pleased,

but this had nothing to do with the situation he was facing with either of the

queens. He further argued that Deborah was unmarried and when she ruled did

not claim it her right by blood or birth. More importantly, however, Deborah was

chosen by God and did not usurp the throne, which Knox believed Mary Tudor

had done.[141] Knox proclaimed:

> Deborah's judgment or government in Israel was no such power as
> our queens unjustly possess this day, but it was the spirit of
> prophecy that rested upon her. . . . By which she did rebuke the
> idolatry and iniquity of the people, exhort them to repentance, and
> in the end, bring them this comfort that God should deliver them
> from their enemies. And this she might do, notwithstanding that
> another did occupy the place of the supreme magistrate (if any was
> in those days in Israel). For so I find Huldah the wife of Shallum
> in the days of Josiah, King of Judah, speak prophecy and comfort
> the king; and yet he resigned to her neither scepter or sword.[142]

Knox saw both women's authority as being purely prophetic, carrying

with it no political power; he further asserted they had no right to pass their office

on to others in their family.[143] He also claimed that women could not inherit their

fathers' property, but only had a right to share in it and that the Bible overruled

any civil law or national custom that granted such power to a woman.[144] For

Knox, resisting female rule by a covenant nation was justified because a woman

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[140] Huldah was the prophetess that Josiah sought out when he found the books of the Lord in the temple. She warned the king that if he did not return to God's way that He would bring evil down on Judah. Heeding the warning, Josiah restored the temple and the covenant of Moses to Judah. See II Chronicles chapters 20-33.

[141] Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 68.

[142] John Knox, *The Political Writings of John Knox,* ed. Marvin A. Breslow (Cranbury, N. J.: Associated University Press, 1985), 67-68.

[143] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet,* in Mason *John Knox: On Rebellion,* 35.

[144] Ibid., 43.

in a ruling position was "a thing most contrarious to His revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice."[145] Thus to allow such a thing was to rebel against God, and declare oneself an enemy of the Lord.[146] Knox declared that a kingdom under a woman was "a wall without foundation."[147] Woman only achieved perfection, in the Scotsman's mind, when they were "made to serve and obey man."[148] Simply put, Knox held to the idea that a woman's place was in the home, serving her husband and not in the public arena. Unlike other writers of the time who had made provisions in their arguments to accept the possibility of a godly queen, such as the elevation of the princess Elizabeth, Knox did not, and thus Elizabeth never spoke to or communicated with the great reformer.[149]

Knox's tract was considered inflammatory to both exiles and those who remained loyal to Mary. William Whittingham openly worried that Knox's work would only cause more persecution back home.[150] Knox had alienated himself from many potential allies because of such uncompromising radicalism, but the Scotsman never seemed to be bothered by his relative isolation as he continued his call for the "pure" reformation. He became like the Old Testament prophets he so admired, a lonely voice crying out in the wilderness. Elizabeth never

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[145] Ibid., 8.

[146] Ibid., 43.

[147] Ibid., 47.

[148] Ibid., 12.

[149] While the Scotsman publicly proclaimed a women's inferiority and denied them any right to rule, privately he had a soft spot for women with whom he came into contact. This is seen by his many letters and communications with several women over his lifetime. He would, at fifty, marry a nineteen-year-old girl and had several children with her. He was very caring on a personal level with many of the women he knew, but he never allowed them a public role, just a private one.

[150] Whittingham, *A Brief Discourse,* 90. Editor Edward Arber echoed this concern in his introduction writing, "How Knox could write such violent books, in such dangerous times, is another mystery in his life (xvi).

forgave Knox for this tract, and deeply distrusted his Presbyterianism,[151] a distrust

that came from its placing in elders rather than bishops control of church policy

and discipline. Knox, saw himself only restoring the church to its biblical roots,

but in an era where religious reform encompassed all things in society, he too did

not, comprehend the where his ideas would eventually lead. The church was the

key institution of the Great Chain, one that upheld the traditional order of society.

A society that believed in the sanctity of hierarchies, with kings heading the

secular and popes ruling the sacred, to run society, Knox, by relying on elders and

not bishops challenged this and showed that private citizens might be able to run

key institutions. Knox may not have understood where his ideas would lead, but

Elizabeth may have, and this could have been the reason she never communicated

with the Scotsman or allowed him to return to England after Mary's death. While

his reform movement in Scotland would be victorious and many modern Scots

consider him a national hero, contemporaries criticized him for being too

English.[152]

Knox, like many others, returned to traditional views once back in

Scotland leading the Presbyterian Church when under the minority government of

James VI, which was really controlled by Presbyterian nobles, the Lords of the

Congregation, declared in 1560 that, "We hold men who conspire to rebel or

overturn the civil powers, as duly established, are not merely enemies to humanity

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[151] Elizabeth once said of his church, "If the people see that a Church can be run without bishops they may believe a state can be run without princes." Quoted in M.M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Ideas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 318. Elizabeth may have been the only ruler Knox dealt with that did not fear him. He tried for the rest of his life to gain some acceptance from her, but she never allowed him to re-enter the land of his beloved Edward.

[152] Mason, *John Knox and the British Reformations*, 10.

but rebels against God."[153] Here we can see how Knox, like the other radical

exiles, saw his writings as applying only to the Christian's duty when facing

heretical rulers who ordered people to do evil. To the more radical exiles,

especially Knox and Goodman, there was a biblical mandate to resist the orders of

a heretical ruler and the people must act if the lesser magistrates refuse to do so.

When Knox and Goodman were under Protestant rulers, who in their minds were

devout, they rejected violence and instead sought parliamentary and legal means

to reform society.[154] These actions would, over time strengthen parliament and

lay the foundations for the destruction of the Great Chain and the society that both

Knox and Goodman sought to uphold.

Although the writings of Knox, Goodman, and Ponet foreshadowed more

radical thought, their works were not the only sources of radical writings.

Another was the Geneva Bible, which was first published in 1560, but would not

be printed in England until Archbishop Parker died in 1575. The reason for it not

being published is that many in the English ruling class thought the annotations in

the book encouraged civil disobedience and therefore might cause rebellion in the

land.[155]

The Bible was begun in Geneva during the exile (1555 to 1560) and was

advanced under the protection of John Calvin. William Whittingham had

published a translation of the New Testament in 1557 and the Geneva Bible was

seen as the culmination of the exiles' desire to have a new translation. Many of

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[153] Presbyterian Church USA, *Book of Confessions*, 24.

[154] Danner, "Christopher Goodman," 73.

[155] Hudson, *John Ponet*, 185. Hudson has pointed out that historian Peter Heylyn noted that
King James I condemned the Geneva Bible as being seditious, untrue, and partial, and harboring
too many dangerous and traitorous notions.

the exiles contributed to the finished product, including Knox, Goodman, Thomas

Cole, John Pullian, Thomas Sampson, Anthony Gilby, and Miles Coverdale.

While these and probably many more lent their assistance, the bulk of the labor

was carried out by Gilby and Whittingham.[156] The Geneva Bible, though never

officially sanctioned, would become the most popular of the English translations,

with thirty-three of forty-two editions printed in England between 1575 and 1593.

It would remain the favored version of many throughout Elizabeth's reign,

especially among the Puritans, and still enjoyed much popularity after the

publication of the King James Version.[157] As Richard Greaves described the

Geneva Bible's larger impact:

> The numerous marginal notes conveying social principles reflect
> an amalgam of traditional, conservative values and potentially
> revolutionary ideals. The resulting tension was a basic
> characteristic of English Puritanism until the strain became
> excessive in the seventeenth century and Puritanism ruptured. [158]

Most people in Tudor England, and certainly the more pious, recognized

the Bible as the ultimate authority in determining behavior in all facets of life,

society, and government, with the godly magistrate as the key implementer of the

right religion and a stable social order. At the same time, tradition provided the

basis for a divinely-sanctioned, predetermined social order. If the Bible seemed

to promote a more just and egalitarian society, which it did for many evangelical,

New Testament literalists, this could be seen as dangerous, potentially creating

unrest that eventually would lead to disorder. In the mid-Tudor world, therefore,

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[156] Danner, "The Contribution of the Geneva Bible," 5.

[157] Hudson, *John Ponet*, 185-186.

[158] Richard Greaves, "Traditionalism and the Seeds of Revolution in the Social Principals of the Geneva Bible," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (1976): 95.

not only could a tyrant bring disorder, but so could godly rulers who ruled according to the Gospel, and thereby pursued a more comprehensive reform guided by commonwealth principles. There were clearly signs of such a possibility during Somerset's protectorate, when his enclosure commission recommended a more equitable agrarian policy. Support by commoners resulted in Kett's Rebellion (1549) which was universally condemned by those in power, and led to strong military retaliation, and Somerset's removal.[159] At the time, evangelical John Cheke tried to prove his loyalty by publishing the broadside, *The Hurt of Sedition to the Common weal.* The disorder that came from the rebellions left a legacy of distrust for any real reform efforts; this legacy would haunt the exiles. It might have led them to minimize somewhat the disruptive social aspects of Christian obligation on the ground, and left one to emphasize more the need for a reform-minded prince to do God's, and therefore their own, bidding. The call for reform, however, and its basis in the Gospel, did not change; and just because the exiled political theorists did not directly call for social revolution, it does not mean those who took their words seriously would not see such a thing as the logical extension of their ideas.

The Geneva Bible was written in the tradition of Tyndale, but many new printing and editing techniques led to a new age in Bible translation. With more accurate texts available to the translators, they divided the Bible into chapters and verses for ease of understanding. It also made finding favorite stories easier and readers took to making their own judgments about God's true meaning. The one

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[159] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* 98. Alford has argued in his book that Somerset's removal was more for his inability to react quickly and harshly after the revolt broke out, and not so much for his policies.

thing, however, that the ruling class most objected to was that the exiles added annotations, prefaces, and what they called "arguments" to assist the readers in a better understanding of Holy Writ. In these annotations the reader can find an ethic that owes its origins to Erasmian humanism.[160] One example is that war is justified only when Christians are in danger of attack or the true religion is being perverted. The annotations also reinforced the exile view of history in which England had replaced Israel as the chosen nation, and was in danger, if its people turned to idolatry and superstition, which would break the covenant and incur God's punishment.[161] These annotations, more importantly, state that it was the duty of each individual Christian to search the Bible to find the correct course of action to follow in resisting a heretical order.[162] By allowing the individual conscience of each person to determine God's will, these evangelical editors might have opened the door for much more radical thought that came later.

What was the legacy of all these writings? Recent attempts to answer that question have led to controversy. By the twentieth century the exiles had been relegated to a minimal role in the history of political thought. For example, J.W. Allen wrote that Ponet's treatise on political power was of little significance and had little impact on England.[163] Yet in earlier times they were all viewed much differently, American, John Adams, proclaimed Ponet one of the founders of liberty.[164] While influence is next to impossible to find, it is known that the

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[160] Danner, "The Contribution of the Geneva Bible," 10.

[161] Ibid., 11.

[162] Greaves, "Traditionalism and the Seeds of Revolution," 101.

[163] J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1957) 120.

[164] Stanley Bamgerg, "A Footnote to the Political Theory of John Adams' *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*," *Premise* 3 (1996): 1.

French Huguenot, Francois Hotman was in Strasburg lecturing on civil law at the time Ponet had written his tract. Although we do not know if he read Ponet's work, Hotman was a friend of John Strum, who knew Ponet. Hotman's work *Franco-Gallia* (1573) has many similarities to the contexts found in Ponet's *Shorte Treatise.* One can also find some of Ponet's assertions in Theodore Beza's work, *Du Droit des Magistrats sur Leurs Sujets* (1573), and as well as in Philippe du Plessis-Mornay' *Vindicie Contra Tryrannos* (1579). While we cannot say for sure if any of the exiles influenced these writers, these men were in a position to have known of works and may have read them.[165]

In the move from medieval to modern the exiles played a part in the early transformation of thought. Their allegiance was clearly to a traditional hierarchical order, but they were also enamored of the idea of reform of both the church and society. They were offspring of Renaissance humanism and committed to the traditional society of the Great Chain. As Renaissance scholars they would have read the many great classics of the ancient world as well as been familiar with Augustine, Ockham, Wyclif, and Tyndale. Totally committed to the commonwealth ideal as expressed by Edmund Dudley, they believed that it was the duty of those in power to take care of the weak and poor of society, as well as

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[165] Hudson, *John Ponet*, 196-97. As for possible Huguenot appropriation of Marian exile ideas, note for example: Hotman echoing Ponet on the source of government's power and the idea of an absolute ruler: "It has been sufficiently demonstrated, we believe, that the kings of France have not been granted unmeasured and unlimited power by their countryman and cannot be considered absolute." (Hotman, *Francogallia* in Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance*, 90.) Also, Beza reflects Ponet's view on obeying God over man: "The only will that is a perpetual and immutable criterion of justice is the will of the one God and none other. Hence Him alone we are obliged to obey without exception." (Beza, *The Rights of Magistrates*, in Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance*, 101.) Finally Mornay voices a similar view of what is to be done if a King becomes a heretic: "If he [the king] neglects God, if he goes over to Hs enemies and is guilty of felony towards God, his kingdom is forfeited of right and is often lost in fact." (Mornay, *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, in Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance*, 143.)

maintain order. The exiles had a passion for the reformed church, and their writings at times seem contradictory or inconsistent, as they moved toward a justification for rebellion, only to pull back to more traditional views. Also, since their work never caught on after Mary's death they could easily be forgotten. As we have seen, however, they were consistent deep down; but historians have not looked below the surface, and have deemed their political thought as inferior to that of the Huguenots. Because of this view historians have assigned these writers to a lesser position in the history of political thought. True to their Erasmian tradition, the exiles had little concern as to where their ideas led, or for creating a unified and constant theme of thought.[166] This gave their writings an aura of inconsistency that also made it easier to dismiss them as nothing more than a small footnote to the writings of the later Huguenots.

When Edward died the evangelicals were forced to face an inhospitable regime in Mary, one that commanded them to do what God had commanded them not to. Some adapted to the situation by using traditional means, facing martyrdom, exile, or submitting to the anointed ruler; the more radical pursued another course. The only option they saw was to oppose Mary actively, or any other ruler who did not uphold the reformed church. Using writings of people like William of Ockham, along with other medieval writers that addressed dealing with heretical rulers, the more radical exiles sought to show how a subject could resist the order of an ungodly ruler. Although religious issues motivated their theories, by allowing individuals to use their consciences to research the Bible and determine God's will, they opened the door for a radical expansion of these

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[166] Ibid., 14.

thoughts by later thinkers. The Marian exiles opened the door to people who saw the logical conclusion of the radical exiles' thought as not only giving them a right to resist the orders of an anointed power, but to rebel against it.

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CHAPTER SIX

"CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE"

This royal throne of kings, this septer'd isle
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world;
This precious stone set in a silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall, Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.[1]

The exiles' ideas strained the society of the Great Chain, as their writings

on resistance crated a foundation for later ideas that would eventually break the

medieval chain and open the door for the modern era. In the above famous

quotation from Shakespeare, one can see how closely tied the religious and

national consciousness of Tudor England had become.[2] As the preceding

discussion has demonstrated, the Protestants had created an image of their church

as the national Church of England and cast the Roman Catholic Church as the tool

of foreigners bent on controlling the British Isles. They successfully presented

Mary's attempt to restore Roman jurisdiction as an attempt by a foreign power,

Spain, to control the people of England and subject them to a religion of idolatry

and superstition, turning their backs on the true faith. While some followed the

traditional methods of passive resistance in opposition to these threats, the more

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[1] *King Richard II,* Act IV, Scene 1.
[2] Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism,* 119.

radical evangelicals believed that the days of such submissive tactics were over, and it was time to aggressively stand up for God. Committed to active resistance, and in a foreign land, where they were free of the traditional political and social controls of the old social order, the exiles began to rethink the relationship between monarch and subject.

Devoted to the humanism and the new learning of the Renaissance, they would have been familiar with works by such thinkers as William of Ockham, Marsilius of Padua, and Erasmus. Although they read and studied many classical and medieval works, the Bible was seen as the highest authority for all knowledge, which was carefully studied to find the answers to all questions of governance and religion. Using the Bible, especially the Old Testament, to define the role of each segment in society they combined historical and theological arguments to solve the dilemma of what to do when facing an ungodly ruler.[3]

During the reign of Edward VI, the evangelicals had participated in a movement to radically reform the church as well as other institutions of society. Such disruptions in the Great Chain resulted in Kett's Rebellion in 1549, which the evangelicals did not anticipate, mainly because they had a vision for change that came from God Himself, and which no obstacle would be allowed to thwart. Their actions forced a change in the English monarchy during the mid-Tudor period. Stephen Alford stated that "in promoting a godly Reformation of the realm underpinned by the authority of the king-in-Parliament, Edwardians transformed the Henrican royal supremacy into a vehicle for evangelical

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[3] Ibid., 119.

change."[4] The combination of religion with a sense of nationhood would create a volatile mentality that opened the door for societal and political changes that went far beyond what the original thinkers could have foreseen.[5] The outcome, without the minority of Edward VI and the Marian exile may have been radically different.[6]

The period is marked by the growing influence of a middle class that was becoming richer from the new economy of the early modern period, under girded by the more accepting attitudes towards business.[7] The excesses caused by the quest for greater profit and wealth, however, also spearheaded evangelical dedication to social reform based on the commonwealth ideal which had been drawn from both humanism and the gospels. Such new concerns and conditions came to undermine traditional medieval political theory that had focused on contests for authority between king and pope.[8]

In 1534, the Royal Supremacy Acts settled this question in England in favor of the king, but in the process transformed the role of Parliament from one of being just a larger council to the king, to the guardian of certain principles that the monarch would utilize and have to respect.[9] John Ponet specifically stated that a king could not rule without the consent of Parliament.[10] It must be noted that he was not endorsing parliamentary rule, but asserting the doctrines of the royal supremacy and king-in-parliament that Henry VIII had established to create

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[4] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 206.
[5] Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism*, 119.
[6] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 207.
[7] Jones, *God and the Moneylenders*, 6-7.
[8] Hugh Merce Curtler, *The Inversion of Consciences From Dante to Derrida: A Study of Intellectual History* (New York: Edwin Mellon Press, 2004), 29.
[9] Loach, *Parliament Under the Tudors*, 78-96.
[10] Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise*, sig. E6v.

his reformation. Ponet's ideas were later used by political writers such as the American Alexander Hamilton. Echoing Ponet's idea of consent[11] Hamilton wrote in the *Federalist Papers:*

> The fabric of the American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE. The streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure, original fountainhead of all legitimate authority.[12]

Hamilton and Adams may have echoed Ponet, but by the twentieth century he had been forgotten. Writers, such as Walzer and Danner, however, have argued that radical exiles had a significant influence on modern political theory. For example, Peter Calvert said that when Knox, along with Beza in Switzerland, urged resistance against rulers to uphold true religion they laid the foundations for the more radical writings of the Huguenots.[13] Furthermore, Knox's rejection of episcopacy in favor of presbyterian government, along with his ideas of covenant, brought into question how a subject should approach an ungodly monarch and why all must resist the heretical commands from such a ruler. Knox could not have foreseen that the process he began as an assertion of purely religious duties would slowly be transformed into matters of individual civil rights over the next two centuries.[14] Bit by bit an ideology developed that championed an organic Christian society that held to a vision of a government that possessed social, educational, and humanitarian responsibilities to its subjects.[15] Holding to this

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[11] Ibid., sig. E6v.
[12] Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers,* ed. Clinton Rossiter (New York: Penguin Books 1961), no. 22, 152.
[13] Peter Calvert, *Revolution* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 64.
[14] Jones, *Tree of Commonwealth,* 326.
[15] Ibid., 327.

developing ideal the more radical of the evangelicals would only find disappointment in the Elizabethan settlement, as she basically restored the outer temple of the Edwardian Church, but not the spirit.[16]

The more radical exiles were purist, like Knox, and any thing less than total commitment to the reformed church was unacceptable. Elizabeth had to deal with the realities of sixteenth-century Europe, with very powerful catholic nations waiting for an excuse to pounce on the newly-crowed queen. At home, the new queen needed to deal with a growing Protestant group that was demanding a return to the reforms of her brother. She was, in Christopher Haigh's words, "not so Protestant that she could not play Catholic politics when she had to."[17] Thus Elizabeth, in a move to keep order and govern the nation, forged a compromise in 1559, which is called the Elizabethan Settlement. First, the Supremacy Bill made the queen the supreme governor of the church, not the head as Edward had been, and the Uniformity Bill which was a compromise between the radical and conservative factions in Parliament. The settlement would allow for an understanding of a real presence of Christ in the communion, keeping traditional vestments of church worship, eliminating the abuse of the Pope from the Litany, and placing ministers in the same place Catholic priest had stood in the mass. The compromise gave the new service continuality with the past and moderated the evangelical reforms of her brother.[18] The process gave Elizabeth some religious peace, and continued the changes in the monarchy and parliament that had begun under Edward.

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[16] MacCulloch, *The Boy King*, 194.

[17] Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, 32.

[18] Ibid., 34-35; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 135.

By forging this compromise Elizabeth sought to bring harmony to the English church, which had been disrupted by the evangelical ideas that emerged in her brother's reign. These ideas did not emerge in whole cloth from the reign of Edward alone; the roots of these changes go back to the break from Rome under Henry VIII as well as to even earlier writings on the relationship between monarch and subject. Henry's break from Rome, the more important of the foundation stones, brought about a change in the political culture. Ethan Shagan said Henry's action forced his subjects to, "experience, internalize, and contribute to a process of religious change that was not done *to* them, but rather was done *with* them in a dynamic process of engagement between government and people."[19] The engagement between the government and the people changed the roles of both, transforming the old medieval society of the Great Chain into the more fluid modern society of the present era.

Historical forces were also at play in this change. For example, John Bale created an Anglo-centric view of history using the Book of Revelation to portray England as a select nation,[20] which Foxe later compared to ancient Israel. The picture of England as separate from and above all other European nations would find expression in such English historians as David Hume and A. J. Pollard. A national identity found in English exceptionalism that included late on a Whiggish belief in the obligation to civilize the rest of the world indeed seems to have roots that go at least as far back as the writings of mid-Tudor evangelicals, including the Marian exiles. As the exiles constructed and used this history to justify their

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[19] Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation,* 309.
[20] Zakai, "Reformation, History, and Eschatology," 306; Fairfield, *John Bale,* 86.

resistance to Mary, they may have even left a blueprint for religious colonization that the Puritans in New England eagerly adopted. The more radical exiles went furthest and combined their infant nationalism with the role of the Old Testament prophets, to lead a wayward people back to their holy destiny, and thus contributed to the birth of modern revolution.[21]

So how did these very traditional thinking evangelicals give birth to such a concept? An idea they would have totally rejected as a sin against God himself. Revolution was not the romantic or heroic event that is the contemporary model. Revolution to the people of the sixteenth century was not something anyone wanted to be accused of. By the mid-Tudor period the concept was equated with anarchy, a definition that had the backing of the ancients and Church fathers. In the world of the "two swords" (temporal and spiritual), violence against the king was sacrilege, the mindset of this period looked for political stability at any cost, even when facing an evil ruler. The only exception came from Thomas Aquinas, and that was when a community, an act by an individual person was never to be accepted, could by appealing to a higher authority, seek to remove such an individual. Aquinas would go on to say if no higher authority existed, then the community should turn to God.[22]

Thus, Michael Walzer's idea that a small group of people could transform society would have been considered by the people of the Tudor period as nothing less than treason.[23] The only reason that one could oppose a government was if it became heretical, thus Calvert's idea that one could overthrow a discredited state

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[21] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 647.
[22] Calvert, *Revolution*, 49-56.
[23] Walzer, "Revolutionary Ideology," 643.

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would be viewed with suspicion and armed forces making using force, or threat of force, to make change government would have been totally rejected. Although the idea of a legitimate government making changes might have appealed to them and they would have understood the concept of a political myth giving the political leadership an aura of legitimacy.[24] While these definitions may fit well into our modern world, to the people of early modern Europe, they would have been viewed with either distain or horror, as revolution for at this time was a thing that was to be quickly and ruthlessly put down.

While a medieval view of revolution was the prevalent picture, the sixteenth century was a time of much turbulence and change. In the present period historians have too quickly dismissed ideas that either were very different from modern perceptions or did not have a direct line to present day conceptions.[25] By doing this, the historian fails to see history in its entire complexity, missing the broad sweep of the ideas as they weave through the great tapestry of events.[26] When one does not look at the broad sweep one can miss much about people and events. For example, Edward VI is portrayed by Elton as a monster in the making, by Loach as a normal aristocrat,[27] with both using his *Chronicle* to support their views. Young Edward wrote much of tournaments and

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[24] Peter Calvert, *A Study of Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 4. Calvert describes revolution as having four aspects that either separately or together form the characteristics of revolution. These would be: 1. A process in which the state becomes discredited in the eyes of the people or the certain key parts of a population. 2. A clear change in government brought about by the actions of an armed force or threat of armed force. 3. A program of change in political or social institutions done by the political leadership after a transition of power has occurred by the legitimate controlling power. 4. The development of a political myth that resulting from a revolutionary transition that gives the new power the status as the legitimate authority.

[25] Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace*, 10-11.

[26] Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map*, 119.

[27] Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 202; Loach, *Edward VI*, 184.

war in his work as well as the famous cryptic comment on his uncle's execution, but what was he thinking deep down? His favorite preacher was the radical John Knox, and he did say to some at court during Somerset's deposition in 1549, "Methinks I am in prison. Here be no galleries nor gardens to walk in."[28] The young king is enigma, leaving one to wonder just what he was thinking, highly confidant in his ability and right to rule; the more radical evangelicals may not have had as many restraints on them as present day historians believe.

Whether or not the evangelicals would have went as for as they did under Edward is a question of pure speculation. What is known is that there were changes in the way the world was viewed during this period. Europe was rediscovering the classical philosophies of Greece and Rome along with many ideas from the Islamic world. The introduction of these ideas was the impetus for changes, which were not as evident during the sixteenth century as they would be later.[29] These changes, because of the media of the time, took much longer to take effect than those of the modern period. Since evangelicals did not have the modern mass media to spread their thoughts across Europe, thus they were unable to reach the vast majority of the population.[30] But with the printing press, they were able to reach more people than the earlier thinkers of the medieval period. Thus new views on old ideas were not as easy to control as they had been in earlier times. As exiles rethought many old concepts, as they did they changed old perceptions, and were able to reach a much larger audience than the radical

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[28] *Quotations in History: A Dictionary of Historical Quotations c.800 to the Present,* ed. Alan and Veronica Palmer (Sussex, Eng.: The Harvester Press, 1976), 72.

[29] Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong: The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6-7.

[30] Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map,* 262.

thinkers of the Middle Ages. These changes would survive them and formed a base for later thinkers to make even more radical conclusions than the exiles would have comprehended.

Whitney R. D. Jones said of the changes that occurred in the Tudor period: "It may be suggested that in the long run the changing circumstances which led the Commonwealth idealist to appeal to the State to enforce a traditional social and economic code were also conductive to a metamorphosis in the concept of the State itself, and to its emergence as an entity which rejected any supra-national authority."[31] Jones went on to argue that the government was then transformed into the preserver of individual liberties and the protector of the people, which later gave birth to the ideas of collectivism and the welfare state of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[32] While this assertion may be debatable there was a shift in how the people viewed themselves. Hugh Curtler has described this change: "Individuals beginning to see themselves as autonomous agents with a moral will, living in a world in which they could improve themselves which they had previously thought reserved for a few who were who were inherently better than they."[33]

The act of allowing individuals to read the Bible and interpret it on their own was another catalyst for revolution. Protestants in Europe argued for this, but the freedom from the power of controlling nobles may have allowed Knox, Ponet, and Goodman to make stronger arguments for this radical action by people than would the French Huguenots. Consequently, writers of the late-eighteenth

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[31] Jones, *Tudor Commonwealth*, 227.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Curtler, *Inversion of Consciousness*, 29.

and early-nineteenth centuries spoke more highly of these radicals than have more modern historians. Alexis de Tocqueville in his famous work, *Democracy in America,* stated that the covenant theories of the Puritans evolved into the federalism on which the new American democracy was based.[34] Tocqueville gives the credit for the American success to many of the ideas of the English Protestants, as he said:

> At the time of the first migrations, municipal government, that fertile gem of free institutions, had already penetrated deeply into the English habits, and with the dogma of the sovereignty of the people had been introduced into the heart of the Tudor monarchy.[35]

Tocqueville thus saw the period of the English Reformation as one that furthered the cause of democracy, as he said, "While the nation had been busy talking about religion, morals became purer."[36] While Tocqueville spoke of the entire period, John Adams, the second President of the United States, was more specific as he argued that John Ponet promulgated, "all the essential principles of liberty, which afterwords [were] dilated by Sidney and Locke," [37] Hamilton also referred to many of the ideas of the more radical exiles in his comment on the idea of covenant when he stated, "However gross the heresy it may be to maintain that a party to a compact has a right to revoke that compact, the doctrine itself had respectable advocates."[38] These comments may be more about a mythical image of the time than reality, as none of the exiles would have favored a representative democracy.

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[34] Allen, *Tocqueville,* 9.
[35] Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* 17.
[36] Ibid., 18.
[37] Bamgerg, "A Footnote to the Political Theory of John Adams'," 1.
[38] Hamilton, *Federalist Papers,* no.22, 152.

There was no revolution in government, as the government remained basically the same, but from the time of Henry VIII to Elizabeth reinterpretations of old ideas led to the end of the Great Chain and the beginnings of the modern era.[39] Revolution was not born as the result of a great leader backed by a committed party surging into power. There was no heroic stand in the streets by peasant brigades, nor was any great fortress stormed.

The new ideas were created in a quiet corner of a room or on a silent spot under a tree. In this humble place a person opened the Bible and read, not asking any priest or noble what the writings meant, but deciding on his/her own. During that quiet time a new idea was born and the old order of the medieval hierarchy gave way to the modern era of the individual. In 1558, the newly crowned Elizabeth and her chief councilor William Cecil may have looked over their nation and thought, like the words of an American folksong, "something's happening here, what it is, ain't exactly clear."[40] What had happened was not something any of them understood, nor could they comprehend. The world they knew was quietly dying, not by some great event, but by two small ones. A young man four months short of his sixteenth birthday died, and those who stood by him, expecting the worst was now to come, asked the people to do something that had been forbidden them for many centuries. They asked the people not to follow the traditional powers of monarch and church, but to rely on a different authority, one that ultimately came from deep within themselves.

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[39] Loads, *Mid Tudor Crisis*, 190.

[40] Stephen Sills, *For What its Worth*, performed by Buffalo Springfield, Atco Records, sound recording 1966.

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