University of Cambridge
Historical Tripos Part II

Specified Subject 25

PERSECUTION AND TOLERATION
IN BRITAIN 1400-1700

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The early modern period is widely regarded as an era of intensified persecution: it bore witness to concerted drives to eliminate religious dissent and to discipline moral and social deviants; it unleashed vicious outbreaks of sectarian violence and precipitated wars of religion; and it left a lasting legacy of hatred and prejudice that led to the formation of distinctive and mutually antagonistic confessional identities. At the same time, it has frequently been identified as the crucible in which a tolerant society was born: it was a time during which old assumptions about the inherent evils of toleration were debated and contested in pulpits, public discourse and celebrated printed texts, in which kings, parliaments and civic magistrates issued famous edicts that permitted and sanctioned the existence of religious minorities, and in which ordinary people found creative ways of coexisting with neighbours who adhered to different faiths.

Focussing on Britain (and especially England), but setting it firmly within the context of wider European developments, this Specified Subject offers students the opportunity to explore the relationship between these competing impulses and tendencies between c. 1400 and 1700. It emphasises the value of forging links between the political and ecclesiastical, intellectual, social and cultural histories of the period and of combining a variety of approaches to the study of tolerance and intolerance in past societies. It will analyse the theory and practice of persecution in the late Middle Ages before assessing the impact and consequences of the Reformation. Evolving attitudes towards a wide range of minorities will be traced in a comparative fashion, alongside the differing ways in which they responded to the intolerance to which they were subjected and how this in turn shaped their mentality and outlook. The development of articulate defences of toleration will be addressed, as well as the more practical and subtle manifestations of forbearance and tolerance that have attracted attention in recent years. Throughout, consideration will be given to how definitions of orthodoxy and stereotypes of deviance shed light on the fears and preoccupations of the societies that engender them. The paper examines the scholarly controversies that have crystallised around the themes of persecution and toleration, interrogates the models of progress that underpinned much earlier historical discussion of these topics, and considers the strengths and weaknesses of newly emerging perspectives.

The paper will take the form of 16 lectures and 8 seminars, which will enable students to engage with closely with historiographical debates, conceptual and methodological problems, and key primary texts relating to selected topics. Each student will also have 4 individual supervisions.
Lecture List

**Michaelmas Term**
1. Introduction
2. Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Late Middle Ages
3. The Reformation and Religious Deviance: Church and State
5. The Civil War and Restoration: The Politics of Dissent
6. Protestant Nonconformity: Puritans, Separatists, and the Sects
7. Papists: Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism
8. Unbelievers: Jews, Muslims, and Atheists

**Lent Term**
9. Enemies of God and Neighbours from Hell: Witches and Sinners
10. The Intolerance of the Populace: Collective Violence and Popular Prejudice
11. Making the Ultimate Sacrifice: Martyrs and Martyrdom
13. Dissembling one’s Faith: Conformity and Nicodemism
15. Living with Diversity: Religious Pluralism and Coexistence
16. Conclusions

Seminar Classes

There will be eight ninety-minute seminar classes for this paper. All students are expected to attend these. They will be held fortnightly, in weeks 2, 4, 6, 8 of the Michaelmas Term and in weeks 2, 4, 6, and 8 in the Lent Term. The themes of the seminars are as follows. These classes will combine discussion of key historiographical controversies, conceptual and methodological problems, and primary texts. Students will be asked to participate in group work in class, to prepare short presentations in pairs or threes, and to engage in structured debates. Documents for discussion will be placed on Moodle.

**Michaelmas Term**
1. The Duty of Persecution
2. Lollardy
3. Anti-popery and other prejudices
4. Enemies of God: Witch-hunting in Early Modern Britain

**Lent Term**
5. Embracing the Stake: Martyrs and Martyrologies
6. Ways of Lying: Dissimulation and Equivocation
7. The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful: Coexistence and Dilemmas of Conscience
8. Toleration and its Consequences

**Easter Term**
Two revision classes – dates to be confirmed.

A further optional session in the Wren Library, Trinity College, to inspect early printed books relevant to this paper, will be organized in the Lent Term.
SEMINAR READING GUIDE

Recommendations for secondary reading and some questions to consider ahead of the seminar are indicated below. Students are asked to read all the primary source extracts and at least one of the recommended secondary readings in preparation for the class. Note that many journals are available electronically, via JSTOR or other web platforms. If you are unable to obtain any of the items, please use your initiative and select something from the relevant section(s) of the bibliography.

(1) The Duty of Persecution

This seminar will examine the theory and theology of persecution in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries and its roots in the Bible and medieval era. It will consider key texts justifying the coercion of heretics and false believers and probe the assumptions behind the early modern pursuit of religious uniformity.

Documents


Recommended Secondary Reading

(1) Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (1999), ch. 3


(6) P. Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (2003), ch. 2


(10) J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (2006), ch. 15

Some questions to consider:

Why did the legacy of the Augustinian theory of persecution last so long?

Why was the persecution of heretics & false believers regarded as a Christian duty and act of piety?

Why did so many contemporaries believe that they not be tolerated in a Christian commonwealth?

What arguments were set forth to justify the coercion and punishment of the unorthodox?

To what extent did these change in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Why did the late medieval and early modern church and state pursue religious uniformity?

Why was religious pluralism regarded as a recipe for political, social and religious chaos and disorder?
(2) Lollardy
This seminar will explore the nature and significance of the phenomenon of late medieval lollardy and the response of the ecclesiastical authorities to it and the historiographical disagreements surrounding these issues. We shall examine ‘De Haeretico Comburendo’ and presentments and depositions of accused lollards.

Documents
(1) ‘De Haeretico Comburendo’ (Of the Burning of Heretics), statute of 1401

Recommended Secondary Reading
(2) I. Forrest, The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England (2005), chs 2, 7, conclusion
(5) A. McHardy, ‘De Heretico Comburendo, 1401’, in M. Aston and C. Richmond (eds), Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages (1997)
(8) J. Arnold, Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe (2005), ch. 6
(9) R. Rex, The Lollards (2002), chs 3-5 and conclusion
(10) R. N. Swanson, Church and Society in Late Medieval England (1989), ch. 7
(11) G. W. Bernard, The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability before the Break with Rome (2012), ch. 9

Some questions to consider:
What was lollardy? How did it evolve between the 14th and early 16th centuries, and why?
Did late medieval lollards consider themselves members of a dissenting sect?
What strategies did the authorities adopt in their attempts to eradicate heresy and how effective were they?
How easy was it to distinguish between lollardy and orthodoxy in late medieval England?
How far did persecution shape the character of late medieval lollardy?
Do trial records reveal more about the mentality of heretics or the preoccupations of church officials?
To what extent was official fear of the lollard threat out of proportion to the reality?
What significance should lollardy be accorded in explanations of the Reformation?
(3) **Anti-popery and other prejudices**

This seminar focuses upon the construction, dissemination and function of stereotypes of deviance and forms of prejudice and encourages awareness of continuities over time and points of overlap between contemporary perception of different groups. The focal points for discussion will be popery, Quakerism, and the Ranter phenomenon. Documents to be discussed this week include visual representations and ephemeral polemical pamphlets.

**Documents**

1. Selected visual satires.
2. One of the following short pamphlets: *The Jesuits character* (1642); John Taylor, *A delicate, dainty, damnable dialogue. Between the Devill and a Jesuite* (1642); *The Character of a Jesuit* (1681).
3. One of the following short pamphlets: *The Quakers fiery beacon or, The shaking-ranters ghost* (1655); *The Quakers dream: or the Devil’s pilgrimage in England* (1655); or *The Quakers terrible vision; or, The devil’s progress to the City of London* (1655).
4. One of the following short pamphlets: John Reading, *The Ranters Ranting* (1650); *The Ranters declaration* (1650); *The Ranter’s Religion* (1650); *The Routing of the Ranters* (1650).

All of the printed items under (2, 3, 4) are available on EEBO (Early English Books Online; access via eresources@cambridge on the University Library homepage: you will need your Raven password.)

**Recommended Secondary Reading**


**Some questions to consider**

In what ways do stereotypes of deviance illuminate the ideals, anxieties and fears of the orthodox? How can we account for their continuity over time? What functions did they serve? How were such stereotypes disseminated and to what extent did they shape popular perceptions of the members of dissenting churches and sects? What common features do the stereotypes of the papist, Quaker, and Ranter exhibit and how do you account for these similarities? How useful is the concept of a moral panic? To what extent was the Ranter phenomenon a product of propaganda and the popular press? What is the relationship between such stereotypes and the self-perception of the groups in question? If heresy had not exist would it have been necessary to invent it?
(4) Enemies of God: Witch-hunting in Early Modern Britain

This seminar will examine the phenomenon of witch-hunting and seek to explore contrasting patterns of prosecution in England and Scotland. It will assess the relationship between popular attitudes and the views of the church and state and situate British developments in their continental context. We shall examine demonological writings such as William Perkins, The Damned Art of Witchcraft, records of Scottish witch trials, and material relating to the Civil War witchfinder Matthew Hopkins.

Documents
(3) Matthew Hopkins, The discovery of witches: in answer to severall queries, lately delivered to the judges of the assize for the county of Norfolk ([1647])

Recommended Secondary Reading
(5) J. Goodare, The Scottish Witchhunt in Context (2002), esp. chs 3-4
(8) C. Elmer, Witchcraft, witch-hunting and politics in early modern England (2016)

Some questions to consider:
To what extent and why did the advent of Protestantism intensify anxiety about witches?
Why did the early modern state legislate in the area of witchcraft?
Why did the early modern period see a proliferation of demonological tracts?
What prompted accusations of witchcraft?
What kinds of tensions and conflicts within local communities did they give expression to?
What was the social profile of the witch in early modern England and Scotland?
How significant a part did the idea of the demonic pact in early modern witch trials?
How did the English legal system influence and shape the prosecution and trial of witches?
Why was witchcraft regarded as an exceptional crime and how could it be proved?
What was the politics of witch prosecution in early modern England and Scotland?
In what circumstances did witch-hunting flourish?
How does the pattern of prosecution and anxiety in England and Scotland compare with elsewhere in Europe?
Embracing the Stake: Martyrs and Martyrologies

This seminar explores individuals who died or suffered for their faith. It explores why people were put to death or corporally punished for religious reasons in this period, the mentality of the victims of these acts, and the consequences of martyrdom for the authorities and for dissenting communities. It also considers the ways in which martyrs were represented and remembered. Students will be asked to compare martyrological accounts written by Protestants, Catholics, and Quakers.

Documents

5. Selected images of martyrdom and martyrs.

Recommended Secondary Reading


Some questions to consider

- What motivated early modern people to suffer and/or die for their faith?
- Why were heretics put to death and what were the purposes of the public spectacles?
- To what extent was the burning heretics and execution of religious dissidents counterproductive?
- What was the ‘theatre of martyrdom’? Why were martyrs such an asset to a persecuted religion?
- How were martyrlogies exploited as weapons of propaganda in early modern Europe?
- Can we take these accounts of heroic suffering and death at face value?
- In what ways can martyrlogies be said to have promoted intolerance in early modern Europe?
(6) Ways of Lying: Dissimulation and Equivocation

This seminar seeks to assess the significance of the widespread resort to strategies for dissembling and disguising one’s faith and for avoiding the consequences of persecution by partially or fully conforming with the requirements of the church and state. Focal points for discussion and document analysis will include the practice of equivocation and the fierce condemnation of ‘nicodemism’ by the leaders of persecuted groups. An assessment will be made of why outward conformity provoked such concern and anxiety in early modern society.

Documents

2. The declaration of the fathers of the councell of Trent concerning the going unto churches, at such time as heretical service is saied or heresy preached’ (August 1562), in Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier (eds), Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England (2010), pp. 16-25.

Recommended Secondary Reading

1. P. Zagorin, Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution & Conformity in Early Modern Europe (1990), chs 7, 9, 10
6. A. Walsham, Church Papists (1993), chs 2-4

Some questions to consider

What different forms did conformist or nicodemite behaviour take?
How did those who practised conformity and dissimulation justify their behaviour?
Was it merely a pragmatic response to persecution and was it underpinned by principle?
Why did the leaders of most persecuted religions so fiercely condemn dissimulation conformity?
When were they prepared to permit it?
Were conformists more useful to repressed religious minorities than martyrs?
Why have conformists and nicodemites been marginalized from the history of dissenting minorities and persecuted groups until fairly recently?
When did dissenting minorities resort to forms of verbal dissimulation & equivocation?
In what circumstances was it permissible to lie?
Why were the practices of equivocation and mental reservation so controversial?
(7) The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful: Coexistence and Dilemmas of Conscience
This seminar will examine the phenomenon of religious coexistence and the dilemmas of conscience that confronted the members of persecuted churches and sects in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain. Groups of students will present short case studies of how dissenting groups such as lollards, Catholics and Quakers interacted with their orthodox neighbours and the competing instincts towards assimilation and segregation, integration and separation, which shaped their encounters. We shall also examine some examples of the ‘cases of conscience’ engendered by different religious minorities.

Documents
(2) P. J. Holmes (ed.), Elizabethan Casuistry, Catholic Record Society 67 (1981), extracts

Recommended Secondary Reading
(8) A. Davies, The Quakers in English Society 1655-1725 (2000), ch. 14 and conclusion
(9) B. Kaplan, Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe (2007), ch. 7 (also chs 5, 6, and 8)

Some questions to consider:
What dilemmas of conscience did early modern dissenting minorities experience?
To what extent and why did interaction with people who adhered to alternative faiths cause spiritual and moral discomfort?
How possible was it for the adherents of persecuted religions to segregate themselves from their heretical or ungodly neighbours?
What themes emerge from the case of consciences you have examined?
What do they reveal indirectly about the development of religious tolerance at the grassroots?
What strategies and arrangements facilitated coexistence in early modern Europe?
In what circumstances did relatively stable and peaceful relations between members of different faiths break down?
What have recent studies of the social history of tolerance and toleration revealed about the degree of interaction and hostility between dissenting minorities and orthodox society? Is this surprising?
(8) Toleration and its Consequences

The final seminar for this paper will examine the emergence of reasoned defences of and arguments for toleration alongside political developments that translated this into official practice (notably the Act of Toleration of 1689) and the more elusive practice of tolerance at the grassroots. It will seek to assess the relationship between these and to engage critically with key historiographical contributions on this disputed topic. It will also reflect on some of the paradoxical consequences of toleration.

Documents

(1) Jacobus Acontius, *Stratagematum Satanae* (1565), extract
(2) Thomas Helwys, *The Mistery of Iniquity* (1612)
(3) Roger Williams, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Concience* (1644), extract
(4) John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1685), extract


(5) ‘The Declaration of Indulgence of 1672’ and ‘An Act for Exempting her Majesties’ Protestant Subjects Dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of Certain Laws (1689)’, in A. Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents* (1953)

Recommended secondary reading

(2) P. Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (2003), chs 1, 8
(3) A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred* (2006), ch. 5 and 6
(4) B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith* (2008), ch. 12

Some questions to consider

Why was religious toleration regarded as anathema in the late medieval and early modern period? Why were earlier historians so keen to chart the ‘rise of toleration’ and why have more recent treatments of the theme adopted a different perspective?

What role did ideas play in bringing about toleration? Why have some historians become sceptical about the part played by ‘enlightened’ thinkers? What arguments were developed to support toleration? How far were early modern arguments for toleration inspired by religious conviction and how far by religious scepticism?

What did early modern writers mean when they called for religious liberty? Who called for toleration and why? Was toleration merely a ‘loser’s creed’? Was it ever regarded as a virtue?

What kind of ‘toleration’ does the act of 1689 provide for? What are its limits?

What were the consequences of toleration? How could it lead to persecution?
SUPERVISION ARRANGEMENTS

Students taking this paper will have four supervisions, in either Michaelmas or Lent. Suitable essay topics are listed within each section of the bibliography. One essay should be chosen from each section (A-D).

(A) The Politics of Persecution and Toleration:

1 (Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Late Middle Ages)
2 (Reformation to Civil War)
3 (Civil War to Revolution).

These topics will provide students with a broad chronological framework and understanding of official strategies for containing religious dissent and deviance.

(B) Religious Minorities and Deviant Groups:

4 (Lollardy)
5 (Protestant Nonconformity)

This section has the further subdivisions. Each of these might form a suitable weekly essay topic.

(a) Puritans; (b) Familists, Separatists and Religious Radicals; (c) Anglicans;
(d) Civil War Sects; (e) Quakers

6 (Roman Catholicism)
7 (Jews and Judaism)
8 (Muslims and Islam)
9 (Atheists and Deists)
10 (Witches and Witchhunting)
11 (Sins and Sinners: Moral Deviance).

The aim here is to allow students to explore the history of particular groups in some depth and detail, but also with a view to drawing comparisons with other minorities. Students should think about the horizontal as well as vertical dimensions of the experience of early modern dissenters. Some exam questions may refer specifically to particular groups; others will be broadly conceived and, implicitly or explicitly, allow students to deploy their knowledge of one or more minorities they have studied.

(C) Responses to Intolerance

12 (Resistance, Rebellion and Religious Violence)
13 (Martyrs and Martyrologies)
14 (Exile)
15 (Conformity, Nicodemism, Dissimulation and Equivocation).

In these essays, students are encouraged to range broadly, think comparatively, and draw insights from different minorities and contexts.

(D) Toleration, Tolerance and Coexistence

16a Ideas and Theories of Toleration
16b Toleration and Tolerance: Policy and Practice

Students are encouraged to consider both the intellectual history and the social history of toleration and tolerance, and the practical manifestations of coexistence and confessionalisation, as well as how these developed over time. Exam questions may require a consideration of both dimensions of this topic.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Religious legislation and political initiatives:
G. R. Elton (ed.), The Tudor Constitution (1960, 1982)
S. R. Gardiner (ed.), Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660 (1889)

Ecclesiastical directives:
K. Fincham (ed.), Visitation articles and injunctions of the early Stuart church, 2 vols (1994-8)
W. H. Frere (ed.), Visitation articles and injunctions: of the period of the Reformation (1910)
W. P. M. Kennedy (ed.), Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, 3 vols (1934)

Ideas about persecution and toleration:
W. Haller (ed.), Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638-47, 3 vols (1933-4)
A. S. P. Woodhouse (ed.), Puritanism and Liberty (1938)
J. Locke, A letter concerning toleration (1689 and many later editions)

Records about the experience of persecution:

Lollards
A. Hudson (ed.), Selections from English Wycliffite Writings (1972)
N. Tanner (ed.), Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428-31 (1977)
S. McSheffrey and N. Tanner (eds), Lollards of Coventry 1486-1522 (2003)

Protestants and Protestant Dissenters
John Foxe, Actes and Monuments (1563 and subsequent editions)
A. G. Matthew (ed.), Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy’s Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced 1660-1662 (1934)
A. G. Matthew (ed.), Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker’s Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-1660 (1947)
E. B. Underhill, Records of a Church of Christ Meeting in Broadmead Bristol 1640-1687 (1847)

Catholics
P. Caraman (ed.), The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I (1951) and The Years of Siege: Catholic Life from James I to Cromwell (1966)

**Quakers**
Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, 2 vols (1753)

**Witchcraft**
A. C. Kors and E. Peters (ed.), *Witchcraft in Europe 1100-1700: A Documentary History* (1972 and later editions)

**Electronic Resources**
There is a vast amount of relevant material available on Early English Books Online ([http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home)). This is accessible via the eresources@cambridge link on the University Library home page. You will need your Raven password to access this.

*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*. These calendars list and summarise correspondence sent or received by the Tudor and Stuart monarchy and state now preserved in the National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office). These can be found in hard copy in the Official Publications room in the UL and are also now accessible via eresources@cambridge. See British History Online: [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/). The original documents for the Tudor period (1509-1603) and Stuart period (1603-1714) are accessible in digital form from ‘State Papers Online’, accessible again through eresources@cambridge.


*Statutes at Large ; Statutes of the Realm*

*Foxe’s Actes and Monuments*
For Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* (the ‘Book of Martyrs’), see the online version at: [http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/](http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/).

*Visual resources*
See the excellent electronic resource, ‘Printed Images in 1700 in Britain’. This provides access to the contents of the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings: [http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/](http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/).
The catalogue to the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings is accessible at: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx). Items can be accessed and downloaded from this site.
SECONDARY SOURCES
This bibliography of Secondary Sources is divided into sections. These follow the lecture list and correspond with supervision essay topics. Despite appearances, this is not comprehensive! You are not expected to read everything on this list: this is intended as a resource to guide your reading and to be used selectively. Items marked with an asterisk * are strongly recommended.

GENERAL AND KEY TEXTS
O. Grell and B. Scribner (eds), Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation (1996)
O. Grell and R. Porter (eds), Toleration in Enlightenment Europe (2000)
B. Kaplan, Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe (2007)
J. C. Laursen (ed.), Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against and Beyond Persecution and Toleration (2002)
A: THE POLITICS OF PERSECUTION AND TOLERATION

(1) Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Middle Ages

Essay Questions

How fluid were the boundaries between heresy and orthodoxy in late medieval England?

How intolerant was late medieval English society?

When and why were heretics burnt in pre-Reformation England?

How successfully did the pre-Reformation Church contain and eliminate religious dissent?

(1a) General and European Context

*J. Arnold, Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe (2005), ch. 6


D. Nirenberg, Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages (1996)

J. Richards, Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages (1990)

R. Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c.1515 (1995), ch. 8


(1b) The Prosecution of Heresy in Late Medieval England


G. W. Bernard, The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability (2012), ch. 9


A. G. Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York (1959)

C. J. Drees, Authority and Dissent in the English Church: The Prosecution of Heresy … 1380-1547 (1997)


V. Gillespie and K. Ghosh (eds), After Arundel: religious writing in fifteenth-century England (2011)


A. McHardy, ‘De heretico comburendo, 1401’, in M. Aston & C. Richmond (eds), Lollardy and the Gentry(1997)


*R. Swanson, Church and Society in Late Medieval England (1989), ch. 7

D. Thiery, Polluting the Sacred: Violence, Faith and the Civilizing of Parishioners in Late Medieval England (2009)

N. Watson, ‘Censorship and Cultural Change in Late Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel’s Constitutions of 1409’, Speculum, 70 (1995)

See also section 4 (Lollardy) below.
Reformation to Civil War

Essay Questions

In what ways did the Reformation transform the dynamics of persecution in early modern Britain?

How far and with what consequences did religious dissent become politicised in sixteenth-century England?

Who represented more of a challenge to the task of enforcing uniformity in mid-Tudor Britain: religious conservatives or religious radicals?

Why did sixteenth-century regimes seek religious uniformity and what strategies did they employ to achieve this?

(2a) The Early Reformation

J. G. Bellamy, The Tudor Law of Treason (1979)

W. A. Clebsch, England’s Earliest Protestants 1520-1535 (1964)

E. Duffy and D. Loades (eds), The Church of Mary Tudor (2004).
*G. R. Elton, Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell (1972)
T. Freeman, ‘Dissenters from a dissenting Church: the challenge of the Freewillers, 1550-1558’, in Peter
G. Gray, Oaths and the English Reformation (2013)
C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (1975)
G. A. Hayes and McCoy, ‘Conciliation, Coercion and the Protestant Reformation’, in T. W. Moody et al (eds), A
New History of Ireland, vol. iii Early Modern Ireland (1976)
F. Heal, Reformation in Britain and Ireland (2003)
R. Houlbrooke, Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation 1520-1570 (1979).
and Martyrologies, SCH 30 (1993)
D. Loades, ‘Anabaptism and English sectarianism in the mid-sixteenth century’, in D.Baker (ed.), Reform and
Reformation: England and the Continent c.1500-c.1750, Studies in Church History Subsidia 2 (1979)
D. Loewenstein, ‘Writing and the Persecution of Heretics in Henry VIII’s Reign’, in D.Loewenstein and John
Marshall (eds), Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture (2006)
D. Loewenstein, ‘Heresy and Treason’, in Brian Cummings and James Simpson (eds), Cultural Reformations:
Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History (2010)
Scribner (eds), Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation (1996)
Historical Review, 116 (2001)
M. McLendon, The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich (2001)
*W. Monter, ‘Heresy executions in Reformation Europe, 1520-1565’, in O. P. Grell and B.Scribner (eds),
Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation (1996)
J. Murray, Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland (2009), esp. chs 6-8
History, 40 (1989)
G. Williams, Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415-1642 (1987), chs 12-13
(2a) The Later Reformation

Essay questions

To what extent and why was the post-Reformation church and state content with securing outward conformity?

Why were so few religious deviants burnt at the stake as heretics after 1558?

‘The politics of religious persecution in post-Reformation Britain were more decisively shaped by foreign developments than domestic events’. Discuss.

Where did the post-Reformation church and state draw the line between legitimate prosecution of seditious and unwarrantable coercion of conscience?

*K. Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642 (1993)
J. Guy (ed.), The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade (1995), chs 6-8
*P. Lake and M. Questier (eds), Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660 (2000)
See also sections 5a, 5, 6 below.
(3) Civil War to Revolution

**Essay Questions:**

How much religious liberty was there in Interregnum England?

Did the puritan revolution do more to intensify intolerance or promote toleration?

Who was persecuted during Cromwellian rule and why?

How tolerant were the Civil War and Interregnum regimes?

**(3a) The Civil War and Interregnum**


I. Green, 'The persecution of “scandalous” and “malignant” parish clergy during the English Civil War', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979).


*J. F. Macgregor and B. Reay (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006), ch. 2, 4-8


M. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (1978), ch. 2


*See also sections 5c, 5d, 5e, and 6 below.*

**(3b) The Restoration**

**Essay Questions**

Was it inevitable that the Restoration settlement would result in the marginalization of Protestant dissenters?

When and why did attempts to comprehend Protestant dissenters within the Restoration Church finally fail?

‘Even in the Restoration, toleration was a minority opinion and a perjorative term; a national church was still what Dissenters wanted’. Discuss.
How powerful a force was latitudinarianism in the Restoration Church?

Was anti-popery or anti-presbyterianism more significant a factor in shaping religious politics after 1660?

How inclusive was the Restoration Church?

Why did toleration and indulgence prove to be such controversial issues in late seventeenth-century Britain?


G. Cragg, Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660-1688 (1957)


R. L. Greaves, Deliver us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663 (1986)

R. L. Greaves, Enemies under his Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677(1990)


C. Hill, A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyan and his Church (1989)


J. Marshall, John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture (2006), ch. 3

John Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688 (1973)

Steve Pincus, 1688: The First Modern Revolution (2009)


J. Rose, ‘Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy & the Restoration Church’, Historical Research, 80 (2007)


G. Southcombe and G. Tapsell, Restoration, Politics, Religion and Culture (2010), ch. 2


G. Tapsell (ed.), The Later Stuart Church 1660-1714 (2012)


M. Watts, The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution (1978), ch. 3

R. Wykes, “‘They assemble in greater numbers and [with] more dareing then formerly’: The Bishop of Gloucester and Nonconformity in the late 1660s’, Southern History, 17 (1990)

See also sections 5e, 6 below.
B: RELIGIOUS MINORITIES AND DEVIANT GROUPS

Essay Questions that may be answered with reference to one or more of the following religious minorities and dissenting groups:

Did religious minorities in early modern Britain consider themselves to be churches or sects?

How did one or more religious minorities you have studied balance the need for separation and the impulse for integration?

Was toleration or persecution more of a challenge for early modern religious minorities?

To what extent was religious deviance a consequence rather than a cause of persecution?

What strategies did early modern religious minorities employ to avoid annihilation?

What do stereotypes of deviance reveal about the values and anxieties of their producers? Discuss with reference to one or more ‘deviant groups’?

How far was suffering an integral part of the self-perception of persecuted religious minorities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

‘The impulse to discipline deviants in early modern Britain sprang from local communities rather than central government’. Discuss.

Write a ‘horizontal history’ of any one religious minority you have studied.
Essay Questions

How much of a threat did lollardy present to the late medieval English Church and state?

Has the coherence of lollardy as a dissenting movement between overstated?

‘Lollardy lay largely in the eye of the beholder in late medieval England’. Discuss.

To what extent did lollardy constitute a counter Church in pre-Reformation England?

M. Aston, Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion (1984)
M. Aston, ‘Lollardy and the Reformation: survival or revival?’, History, 49 (1964), 149-70.
M. Aston and C. Richmond (eds), Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages (1997)
G. W. Bernard, The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability before the Break with Rome (2012), ch. 9
M. Bose and J. P. Hornbeck I (ed.), Wycliffite controversies (2011), incl. I. Forrest, ‘Lollardy and Late Medieval History’
I. Forrest, ‘Lollardy & Late Medieval History’, in M. Bose & J. P. Hornbeck (eds), Wycliffite Controversies (2011)
A. Hope, 'Lollardy: the stone the builders rejected', in P. Lake and M. Dowling (eds), Protestantism and the National Church in the Sixteenth Century (1987)
A. Hudson, Lollards and their Books (1985)
A. Hudson, Selections from English Wycliffite Writings (1972, 1978)
K. B. Macfarlane, John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity (1932)
F. Somerset, J. Havens and D. Pitard (eds), Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England (2003)
*J. A. Thompson, The Later Lollards (1965)

See also section 1 above.
(5) Protestant Nonconformity

Essay questions

‘Puritans were one half of a stressful relationship’. Discuss.

Did puritans have a persecution complex?

‘The subversiveness of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritanism has been greatly exaggerated’. Discuss.

How did Puritanism evolve after the failure of the Elizabethan Presbyterian movement?

What prevented so many puritans from separating from the established Church?

P. Collinson, Godly People; Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism (1983)
P. Collinson, Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism (2013)
*C. Durston, Christopher and J. Eales (eds), The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700 (1996).
P. Ha, English Presbyterianism 1590-1640 (2010)
W. Holden, Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642 (1954)
P. Lake, Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church (1982)
P. Lake, Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church (1982)
W. Lamont, Puritanism and the origins of the English Civil War (2003)
(5b) Familists, Separatists and Religious Radicals

Essay questions

Why did the late Tudor and early Stuart establishment find familists AND/OR separatists so alarming?

Have historians underestimated the significance of radical Protestant heresy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, and if so, why?

Did the roots of separatism lie within or outside the established church in early modern England?

C. Burrage, *Early English Dissenters* (1912)
F. Heal, 'The Family of Love in the Diocese of Ely', *Studies in Church History*, vol. 9 (1972)
**Anglicans**

**Essay questions**

How did loyal adherents of the Church of England adapt to the experience of defeat in the mid-seventeenth century?

Was persecution responsible for the birth of Anglicanism?

To what extent was the experience of Anglicans qualitatively different to that of other religious groups during the Civil Wars and Interregnum?

J. Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. 2 *Establishment and Empire* (2017), esp. Tapsell
*A. Lacey, The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (2003).
J. Maltby, ”By this Book”: Parishioners, the Prayer Book and the Established Church', in K.Fincham (ed.) *The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642* (1993).
W. C. Watson, ‘Rethinking the late Stuart church: the extent of liberal Anglicanism 1688-1715’, *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 70 (2001)

*See also section 3 above.*
(5d) Civil War Sects: Ranters, Fifth Monarchists, Muggletonians and Others

**Essay Questions**

To what extent was the spectre of Civil War sectarianism a creation of the popular press?

How far were radical sects the subject of a moral panic in Civil War and Interregnum Britain?

Did the Ranters exist?

Was the proliferation of radical sects in the mid-seventeenth century a consequence or a cause of the breakdown of order that precipitated the British Civil Wars?

What united and what divided the radical religious sects that flourished in the 1640s and 50s?

**General**


**Ranters**


*J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians* (1986)


K. Gucer, “‘Not heretofore extant in print’: where the mad ranters are’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61 (2000)


**Fifth Monarchists**


**Muggletonians**


**Adamites**

(5e) Quakers: The Society of Friends

**Essay questions**

- Why were the Quakers so frequently a target of popular intolerance?
- When and why did the Quaker movement make the transition from charismatic enthusiasm to sober respectability?
- How did the experience of persecution shape the Quaker movement?
- Why were Quakers frequently conflated with other deviant groups such as witches and papists?


C. Horle, The Quakers and the English Legal System 1660-1688 (1988)


*B. Reay, The Quakers and the English Revolution (1985)


(6) Roman Catholicism

Essay questions

In what ways has the tradition of ‘recusant history’ constrained and distorted our understanding of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholicism?

Is it appropriate to describe post-Reformation Catholicism in Britain as ‘a branch of the nonconforming tradition’?

How politically engaged was the post-Reformation Catholic community?

Did Catholics in early modern Britain ever lose hope that the Church of Rome would be restored to dominance?

*J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (1975)
A. Dures, English Catholicism 1558-1642: Continuity and Change (1983)
C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (1985)
P. McGrath, Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I (1967)
A. Morey, The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I (1978)
T. Ó hAnnracháin, 'Catholicism in Early Modern Ireland and Britain', *History Compass*, 3:1 (2005)
M. Rowlands (ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town* 1558-1778 (1999).
*W. Sheils, 'Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community', *Northern History*, 34 (1998)
*A. Walsham, Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England (1993)
A. Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (2014)

(6b) Anti-popery

**Essay Questions**

To what extent was fear of popery crisis related?

Did early modern Protestants hate Catholicism but love their Catholic neighbours?

Has the convergence between anti-Catholicism and patriotism in post-Reformation Britain been overstated?

What were the limits of anti-Catholicism in early modern Britain?


C. Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England (1971), ch. 1


J. P. Kenyon, The Popish Plot (1972)


D. Lemmings and C. Walker (eds), Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England (2009), essays by Harris, Walsham, Walker.

J. Lock, ’How many tercios has the Pope?’: the Spanish War and the sublimation of Elizabethan anti-popery’, History, 81 (1996)


John Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688 (1973)


A. Shell, Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660 (1990).


*A. Walsham, ”The Fatall Vesper”: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London’, Past and Present (1994)

(7) Jews and Judaism

Essay Questions

To what extent and why were Jews AND/OR Muslims demonized in early modern society?

What functions did anxiety about Judaism AND/OR Islam serve in early modern Britain?

How did attitudes towards non-Christian minorities such as Jews and Muslims differ from attitudes towards Christian minorities?

Was anti-judaism a racial prejudice in early modern Britain?

Why did anti-semitic stereotypes persist in late medieval and early modern England despite the fact that the Jews had been expelled several centuries earlier?

Should the phenomenon of philosemitism be seen as a manifestation of religious toleration?

J. Israel, European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550-1750 (1998)
R. L. Kagan and P. D. Morgan, Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism
1500-1800 (2009)
D. Wood (ed.), *Christianity and Judaism*, Studies in Church History, 29 (1992)
**Essay Questions**

To what extent and why were Jews AND/OR Muslims demonized in early modern society?

What functions did anxiety about Judaism AND/OR Islam serve in early modern Britain?

How did attitudes towards non-Christian minorities such as Jews and Muslims differ from attitudes towards Christian minorities?

Did the Reformation do more to intensify or to attenuate religious prejudice against Islam in Britain?

Account for the paradox that prejudice against Muslims flourished in early modern Britain despite the fact that their physical presence was negligible.

Was the threat presented by Islam in early modern England more political than theological?

How far did contemporaries regard Muslims as heretics?

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M. Birchwood and M. Dimmock (eds), *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453-1699* (2005)

H. Buchanan, ‘Luther and the Turks 1519-1529’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 47 (1956)


M. Dimmock, ‘“Machomet dyd before as Luther doth nowe”: Islam, the Ottomans and the English Reformation’, *Reformation*, 9 (2004)


*P. Marshall, ‘Rather with Papists than with Turks: The Battle of Lepanto and the Contours of Elizabethan Christendom’, *Reformation*, 17 (2012)*
*N. Matar, ‘Britons and Muslims in the early modern period: from prejudice to (a theory of) toleration’, Patterns of Prejudice, 43 (2009)
N. Matar, ‘Britons and Muslims in the early modern period : from prejudice to (a theory of) toleration’, Patterns of Prejudice, 43 (2009)
C. Toenjes, *Islam, the Turks and the making of the English Reformation: The history of the Ottoman Empire in John Foxe’s Acts and monuments* (2016)
Essay questions

‘If atheism had not existed in early modern England, it would have been necessary to invent it’. Discuss.

Why could atheists not be tolerated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain?

Was contemporary concern about deism out of proportion to the threat it actually presented in late-seventeenth-century Britain?

Did fear of atheism replace fear of heresy in late seventeenth century Britain?

How articulate was the phenomenon of unbelief in early modern Britain?

D. Berman, A History of Atheism in Britain: from Hobbes to Russell (1990)
G. T. Buckley, Atheism in the English Renaissance (1965)
R. L. Emerson, ‘Heresy, the Social Order and English Deism’, Church History, 37 (1968)
L. Febvre, Le Problème de l’incroyance au XVIIe Siècle: La Religion de Rabelais (1947)
*M. Hunter and D. Wootton, Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment (1992)
R. Popkin and A. Vanderjagt (eds), Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1993)
(10) Witches and Witch-hunting

Essay Questions

When and why did early modern people accuse their neighbours of witchcraft?

To what extent was witch-hunting a mechanism for state-building in early modern Britain?

Did early modern Britain experience a witchcraze in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

How were heresy-hunting and witch-hunting linked in early modern Britain?

Is gender an irrelevance in assessments of the impulses behind the early modern witch-hunt?

Were witches generally regarded as social or religious deviants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Did Protestantism do more to restrain witch-hunting than to stimulate it?


S. Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', Past and Present (1980)

S. Clark, Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (1997)

S. Clark (ed.), Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology & Meaning in Early Modern Culture (2001)

S. Clark, 'Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c.1520-c.1630)', in Bengt Ankarloo & Gustav Henningsen (eds), Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries (1990)


C. Elmer, Witchcraft, witch-hunting and politics in early modern England (2016)


M. Gaskill, 'Witchcraft in Early Modern Kent: Stereotypes and the Background to Accusations', in J. Barry et al (eds), Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (1996)

M. Gaskill, Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England (2000), ch. 2


G. Geis and I Bunn, A Trial of Witches (1997)

M. Gibson, Reading Witchcraft (1999)


J. Goodare, L. Martin and J. Miller (eds), *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (2007)


D. Oldridge (ed.), *Witchcraft Reader* (2001)


Essay Questions

To what extent and why did the early modern period witness a ‘permanent upward tilt’ in the pattern of moral regulation?

Is the Reformation a red herring in attempting to explain the intensification of moral regulation in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Should religious zeal or socio-economic strain be accorded more importance as an impetus behind the drive to regulate morality?

How far was sin criminalized in early modern Britain?

How far did anxieties about moral and religious deviance converge in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Were ordinary laypeople chiefly victims or agents of the early modern Reformation of manners?

M. Braddick, State Formation in Early Modern England c.1550-1700 (2000), ch. 4
A. Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (1982)
P. Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England (1988), ch. 4
P. Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (1982), ch. 5
K. Crawford, European Sexualities (2007), chs 2, 4
A. Fletcher, Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England (1986), ch. 8
L. Gowling, Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London (1996), ch. 6
R. Houllbrooke, Church Courts & the Reformation during the Eng. Reformation (1979)
R. P-C. Hsia, Social Discipline in the Reformation (1989)
M. Ingram, Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640 (1987)
*M. Ingram, Carnal knowledge: regulating sex in England, 1470-1600 (2017)
*M. McIntosh, Controlling Misbehaviour in England 1370-1600 (1998)
W. Monter, Enforcing Morality in Early Modern Europe (1987)
B. Reay (ed.), Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England (1985), esp. intro, ch. 4
P. Slack, From Reformation to Improvement (1999), ch. 2
*M. Todd, The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland (2002), esp. chs 3, 4, 6
D. Underdown, Fire from Heaven (1992)
D. Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion (1987)
K. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700 (1979; 1995), chs 5-7
C: RESPONSES TO INTOLERANCE
(12) Resistance, Rebellion and Religious Violence

Religious Violence

Essay Questions

When were people driven to religious violence in early modern Britain?

Why did Britain experience fewer outbreaks of religious violence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by comparison with its continental neighbours?

Has the potential for sectarian violence in early modern Britain been underestimated?

*N. Canny, Making Ireland British 1580-1650 (Oxford, 2001), ch. 8
D. Crouzet, Les guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion (1990)
E. Darcy, The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (2013)
R. M. Kingdon (ed.), Myths about the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacres (1988)
M. Levene and P. Roberts (eds), The Massacre in History (1999)
J. Ohlmeiyer and M. O’Siochru (eds), Ireland 1641: Contexts and Reactions (2013)
*A. Walsham, ‘“The fatal vesper”: providentialism and anti-papery in late Jacobean London’, Past and Present, 144 (1994)
*J. Walter, Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution (1999)
Resistance and Rebellion

Essay Questions

To what extent did persecution sow the seeds for theories of legitimate resistance?

When and why did religious dissent spill over into armed resistance in early modern Britain?

Why did so many of the religiously inspired revolts and rebellions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries fail?

How important was resistance theory to Catholic and/or Protestant rebellion in Tudor and Stuart England?

C. Burrage, ‘The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections’, English Historical Review, 25 (1910)
*A. Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions (1968)
M. E. James, ‘The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising’, Past and Present, 60 (1973)
### Essay Questions

Why was martyrdom such a powerful weapon of propaganda for persecuted minorities?

How successfully did persecuted faiths exploit the ‘threat of martyrdom’ in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain?

Did martyrdom enact the power or expose the weakness of the early modern state?

To what extent did the Reformation transform the significance of martyrdom?

In what ways have martyrological writings distorted our understanding of religious minorities in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Britain?

Did early modern martyrologies do more to promote religious intolerance or tolerance?

How did the experience of suffering shape the sectarian identities of early modern minorities?

Who was more useful to a persecuted faith: martyrs, dissemblers, rebels or exiles?

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K. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (1979), ch. 3


T. Freeman, ‘So Much at Stake: Martyrs and Martyrdom in Early Modern England’ [Review article], *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57:3 (2006)


W. Haller, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (1963)

C. Highley and J. King (eds), *John Foxe and his World* (2002)

A. Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (2003)
*P. Lake and M. Questier, The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (2011)
D. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (1997)
D. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective* (1999)
N. Williams, *John Foxe the Martyrologist: His Life and Times* (1975)
(14) Exile

British Religious Exiles Abroad

Essay Questions

What dilemmas of conscience did religious dissenters who chose to flee their native country to seek refuge overseas experience and how did they resolve these?

To what extent did the experience of exile enhance confessional identities?

Were early modern regimes justified in regarding religious emigration as an inherently seditious act?

How did exile communities reconcile their desire to integrate and assimilate with their host communities with their continuing ambition to return to their home countries?

C. Bowden and J. Kelly (eds), English Convents in Exile (1600-1800)
E. Carlebach, Palaces of Time: Jewish Calendar and Culture in Early Modern Europe (2011)
C. Eire, War against the Idols (1986), ch. 7
C. H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (1936)
P. Guilday, The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558-1795 (1914).
G. E. Minton, ”Suffer me not to be separated/And let my cry come unto thee” : John Bale's Apocalypse and the Exilic Imagination’, *Reformation* 15 (2010).
M. Williams, ‘Between King, Faith and Reason : Father Peter Talbot (SJ) and Catholic Royalist Thought in Exile’, *English Historical Review*, 127 (2012)

**Stranger Communities in Britain**

**Essay Questions**

To what extent did stranger communities find peaceful asylum in early modern Britain?

How and why did attitudes towards foreign Protestant communities in England change in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

How significant a factor was xenophobia in the experience of religious refugees who settled in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain?

Why were so many religious immigrants slow to assimilate into their host communities?


O. Grell, Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England (1996)


N. Goose and L. Luu (eds), Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England (2005)


*A. Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London (1986)


C. E. Reaman, Trail of the Huguenots in Europe, the United States, South Africa & Canada (1964)

I. Scouloudi (ed.), Huguenots in Britain and their French Background (1987)


Conformity, Nicodemism, Dissimulation and Equivocation

**Essay Questions**

Why did forms of religious dissimulation cause such anxiety in early modern society?

Did partial and occasional conformity do more to foster tolerance or intolerance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Were equivocation and dissimulation more of a hindrance or a help to religious minorities?

Why were both the enemies and the leaders of religious minorities united in their opposition to the phenomenon of nicodemism?

How did early modern religious minorities justify deceit in the name of religion?

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P. Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise* (1982), esp. chs 6-8


E. Rose, *Cases of Conscience* (1975), ch. 7


K. Thomas, ‘Cases of conscience in seventeenth-century England’, in J. Morrill, P. Slack and


T. Wood, *English Casuistical Divinity during the Seventeenth Century* (1952)


D: TOLERATION, TOLERANCE AND COEXISTENCE

(16a) Ideas and Theories of Toleration

Essay Questions

- How and why did attitudes towards toleration change in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?
- What did it mean to call for liberty in early modern Britain?
- To what extent did early modern theorists of religious toleration regard it as a virtue?
- Was religious toleration only ever ‘a loser’s creed’ in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Britain?
- Have historians yet escaped from the grip of celebratory whig histories of the rise of toleration and should they try to?
- To what extent were ideas an agent of change in the sphere of religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries?


R. Bainton, ‘The Parable of the Tares as the Proof Text for Religious Liberty to the End of the Sixteenth Century’, Church History (1932)


*T. Bejan, Mere Civility: Disagreement and the Limits of Toleration (2017)


H. E. Bodeker, C. Donato and P. H. Reill (eds), Discourses of Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Enlightenment (2009)


T. Corns, ‘John Milton, Roger Williams, and the limits of toleration’, in S. Achinstein and E. Sauer (eds),
Milton and Toleration (2007)
W. Haller, *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution* (1955)
A. Murphy, Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America (2001)
C. Polizzotto, 'Liberty of conscience and the Whitehall debates of 1648-9', JEH, 26 (1975)
S. Tutino, Thomas White and the Blackloists: Between Politics and Theology During the English Civil War (2008)
M. Williams and J. Waldron (eds), Toleration and its Limits (2008)

(16b) Toleration and Tolerance in Policy and Practice

Essay Questions

How limited were attempts to extend toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

Should the Act of Toleration of 1689 be regarded as a landmark in the history of persecution and toleration in early modern Britain?

How did people live together in early modern societies divided by faith?
When and why were early modern people tolerant of those who dissented from them in religion in early modern Britain?

How was coexistence possible in a context of commitment to the singularity of religious truth?

How has recent research on the practice of religious toleration in local communities transformed existing assumptions about the ‘rise of toleration’?

Was the practice of tolerance more widespread than the theory of toleration in early modern Britain?


C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, J. Israel and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds), The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic (1997)


R. Bonney and D. J. B. Trim (eds), The Development of Pluralism in Modern Britain and France (2007)


J. R. Jones, Liberty Secured? Britain before and after 1688 (1992)


A. Murphy, *Liberty, Conscience and Toleration: The Political Thought of William Penn* (2016)


(1991)
P. Walker, James II and the three questions: religious toleration and the landed classes, 1687-1688 (2010)
B. Walsh, Unsettled Toleration: Religious Difference on the Shakespearean Stage (2016)
*A. Walsham, Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England 1500-1700 (2006), ch. 5
J. Whaley, Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529-1819 (1985)

See also sections 3a and 3b.