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SCHWERPUNKTTHEMA

Die Schweiz als europäisches Refugium

Der Gedanke, den 7. Band des *Jahrbuchs für Europäische Geschichte* der Schweiz und ihren europäischen Verflechtungen zu widmen, einem Land mitten in Europa, das nie mit den formalen europäischen Strukturen geliebäugelt hatte, trotzdem aber für ein europäisches Musterland gehalten wurde, speiste sich aus der Überzeugung, dass es (wieder einmal) an der Zeit sei, diese geläufige Meinung von verschiedenen Seiten neu beleuchten zu lassen. Die Schweiz als politisches Modell und als ein Land, das wie kein anderes Toleranz, Freiheit und Sicherheit gewährte, hat zweifelsohne die Gemüter vieler Intellektueller, religiöser Nonkonformisten, Freiheitskämpfer und Politiker in Europa bewegt und beeinflusst. Aber gibt es auch Momente, die Freiheit und Toleranz in der praktischen Politik bewegten? Waren es die religiös Verfolgten des 16. Jahrhunderts, die Freiheitskämpfer des 19. oder die politischen Flüchtlinge des 20. Jahrhunderts, die für das Ethos der Toleranz, der Freiheitsliebe und der Neutralität verantwortlich waren? Ein europäisches „Refugium“ ist in der Schweiz entstanden: ein Schlupfloch, eine Schutzzone. Wie Europa damit umgegangen ist, weiß man: der gesamte Kontinent (samt britischen Insel) brachte seit dem Mittelalter ununterbrochen Schutzbedürftige hervor, die in dem Alpenreduit Zuflucht gefunden haben, und die Schweizer Politik tolerierte, solange sie dem europäischen Machtspiel nicht in die Quere kam. Wie ist die Schweiz mit diesem „europäischen“ Auftrag zurechtgekommen? Indem sie sich permanent wehrte, ihre Eigenart aufheben zu müssen, ihre Neutralität und ihre Nicht-Zugehörigkeit zu Europa, und indem sie ein vielfach von außen kritisiertes, aber dann doch anerkanntes Regelkorsett aufstellte, das ihr ermöglichte, den schmalen Grat zwischen den eigenen und fremden (sprich: europäischen) Interessen zu wahren. Dass die eigenen Grundsätze dann doch zu den viel gelobten europäischen wurden, ist kein Zufall. Es ist eher ein Beleg dafür, dass die Schweiz ein Refugium der europäischen Toleranz und gesellschafts-politischen Vielfalt geworden ist – auch wenn dies in dem vorliegenden Band des *Jahrbuchs für Europäische Geschichte* lediglich an Fallbeispielen belegt werden kann.

The Marian Exiles in Switzerland

By

Ashley Null

‘Shippe ouer your trinkets and be packing ye Papistes’. According to an allegorical illustration in John Foxe’s famous *Acts and Monuments*, such was the ideal fate for advocates of romish religious practices during Edward VI’s reformation of the Church of England (1547–1553)¹. Although later Anglicans would find their religious identity in the holiness of beautiful worship, the Edwardian reformation was the consciously revolutionary antithesis². Its goal was nothing less than a complete break from what was considered to be the erroneous salvific assumptions as well as the idolatrous liturgical practices of the medieval church. In the illustration’s upper panel, ‘the papistes’ are depicted as hurriedly carrying their ecclesiastical paraphernalia out of a church and boarding a ship, while behind them images are being pulled down and burned. The comment in the margin reads: ‘Every plant which my heauenly father hath not planted shall bee plucked vp. Mat. 15’.

In marked contrast to this tumult, the panel beneath is the epitome of stately stability. Entitled ‘The Temple well purged’, all is order, rectitude, and calm. On left side Edward, seated on his throne with sword in hand, gives the Bible to his kneeling prelates while the court’s noblemen look on. On the right side is a cut-away view of a newly ‘purged’ church. The congregation is reverently hearing a sermon in a building with white-washed walls and a ‘Communion Table’ in the place of an altar. The illustration’s message is clear. For the blessings of a new and better day to come, the church must reverently receive the Word of God, but the godly magistrate must also use his sword to destroy the props of the old ecclesiastical order and remove its agents from English shores.

Yet less than seven years later, the sword was in a different hand, and the shoe was on the other foot. With Edward VI’s untimely death on 6 July 1553 and the collapse of an attempt at protestant succession through Lady Jane Grey by 20 July, the devout roman catholic Mary Tudor ascended the throne determined to right the wrongs done to her, her mother and the mother church of Christendom. Now a government-sponsored Counter-Reformation began

¹ John FOXE, *Actes and Monuments*, London 1570, p. 1483.

² Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, London 1999.

to unfold³. In the midst of a complete religious *volte-face*, the majority of the English people kept doing what they had been doing during the last twenty years of shifting governmental religious policy. They simply conformed, many with real enthusiasm⁴. Yet what of the Edwardian protestant activists who had eagerly imbibed that revolutionary air? What should they do?

I.

Archbishop Cranmer established the battle line at the Mass. In his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament* (1550), he had already identified its doctrines of transubstantiation and satisfaction as the twin roots of the 'Romish antichrist'⁵. Hence, when it was rumoured that he had restored the Mass at Canterbury in August 1553, he wrote a denial, saying

The Devil goeth about by lying to overthrow the Lord's Holy Supper, and to restore the Latin Satisfactory Masses, a thing of his own Invention and Device [...] [which] containeth many horrible Blasphemies in it⁶.

Since devotion to the Sacrament of the Altar was the hallmark of her own personal piety, Mary was only too happy to make acceptance of the Mass the litmus test for Christian Orthodoxy in her realm⁷. When Cranmer refused to apologize for his statement's being placarded around London, he was subsequently arrested and the process which led to his martyrdom began⁸.

Since such was the fate of those who openly resisted the Mass, Nicholas Ridley, former Bishop of London and Cranmer's fellow prisoner, offered only two alternatives for true Christians in England: remain for martyrdom or flee⁹. He rejected out of hand the Nicodemite solution of Naaman the Syrian, namely, outward conformity with the body at Mass, but giving true worship to God alone with the heart¹⁰. Of course, this had been an acceptable strategy for the evangelical cause under Henry VIII. Ridley, however, quoted Romans 6:19 to make clear that season was now closed, since Christians were not to

³ David LOADES, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, London 1979, pp. 96–128.

⁴ Eamon DUFFY, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, London 2001, pp. 152–68.

⁵ John E. COX, *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer [...]. Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, Cambridge 1844, pp. 5–7.

⁶ John STRYPE, *Memorials of [...] Thomas Cranmer*, London 1694, Book III, p. 306.

⁷ David LOADES, *The English Church during the reign of Mary*, in: *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza*, ed. by John Edwards and Ronald Truman, Aldershot 2005, pp. 33–48.

⁸ Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, London 1996, pp. 551–553.

⁹ Nicholas RIDLEY, *A Piteous Lamentation*, in: *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, ed. by Henry Christmas, Cambridge 1843, pp. 47–80.

¹⁰ For the story of Nicodemus, see John 3:1–21, especially verse 2. For the story of Naaman the Syrian, see II Kings 5, especially verses 17–19.

practice again the sins they had left behind¹¹. To any Nicodemite who trusted that 'God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart – what can I do more?', Ridley warned that any physical participation in and financial support for the restored rites of Antichrist was to bear the 'mark of the beast'¹². Since no one could know in advance whether he would in the end be willing to pay the cost for refusing to participate in the Devil's web of deceptions, Ridley urged those not restrained by unavoidable responsibilities to 'flee the infection of the antichristian doctrine by departure out of the realm'¹³.

Naturally, the first to go were those who had already decided to leave their homeland to avoid Antichrist – the protestant refugees from the continent whom Edward VI had welcomed¹⁴. In September 1553 the foreign theologians Peter Martyr Vermigli, Bernardino Ochino and Pierre Alexander left England. The same month 175 members of the Dutch and French 'Stranger Churches' in London, including Jan Łaski their superintendent, boarded ships to begin their journey to find new cities of refuge where they could enjoy the same freedom of worship as Edward had granted them in England. Valérand Poullain and his small community of Walloon weavers at Glastonbury did the same by the end of the year¹⁵.

Many English Protestants, however, hesitated to follow, as if to do so would seem a desertion of duty, a failure due to fear¹⁶. Thomas Howard, heir to the Duke of Norfolk, urged his old tutor John Foxe to linger in England, since

what will you gain by flight? Banishment, poverty, contempt, and the reproach of a runagate. You are not yet come into danger of death¹⁷.

In his *Vocacyon* (1553), John Bale extensively paralleled his adventures in escaping from his new episcopal see in Ireland to the travails which the Apostle Paul experienced on his journey from Caesarea to Rome. Undoubtedly, Bale wanted to encourage fellow Protestants that his Paul-like experience of persecution followed by deliverance should assure them that 'our most mercyfull God [...] delyvereth them in most depe daungers'¹⁸. None-

¹¹ Cf. *The Works of John Knox*, ed. by David Laing, Edinburgh 1855, IV, 159.

¹² RIDLEY, *A Piteous Lamentation* (note 9), pp. 66–71. For an excellent discussion of Nicodemism during the English Reformation, see Andrew PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies*, Aldershot 1996, pp. 86–117.

¹³ RIDLEY, *A Piteous Lamentation* (note 9), p. 66.

¹⁴ Andrew PETTEGREE, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, Oxford 1986.

¹⁵ PETTEGREE, *Foreign Protestant Communities* (note 14), pp. 114–118; ID., *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 42–44, 58, 68 n.

¹⁶ Jonathan WRIGHT, *Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution*, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001), pp. 220–243.

¹⁷ James F. MOZLEY, *John Foxe and his Book*, London 1940, p. 38.

¹⁸ *The vocacyon of Johan Bale*, ed. by Peter Happé and John N. King, Binghamton 1990, pp. 31, 33–36.

theless, his lengthy self-identification with Paul also suggests a lingering defensiveness, that he still felt a need to justify his flight. Bale was by no means alone in this regard amongst the Marian exiles¹⁹.

Cranmer, always the sensitive pastor, rejected such scruples. Writing from prison, he counselled Jane Wilkinson, the influential evangelical sister of Lord North, against hesitation. 'If you be loth to depart for slandering God's word, remember, that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria'. He assured her that the similar flights by Paul and other apostles 'came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good'. Consequently, Cranmer urged her 'to withdraw yourself [...] into some place where God is most truly served'. He added in closing, 'that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors' hands'²⁰. Unfortunately, some of the exiles did not heed this advice, choosing to leave only after compromising themselves before the Catholic authorities in England²¹. Amongst them were such notable leaders as John Jewel, Bishop John Barlow, and Bishop John Scory²².

During Mary's reign about 1 000 English fled their homeland²³. With the failure of Wyatt's Rebellion in early 1554²⁴, some of these were political fugitives, most of whom settled in France and Italy²⁵. Those fleeing primarily because of religious persecution naturally sought refugee in lands where, as Cranmer had put it, 'God is most truly served', the protestant strongholds of Germany and Switzerland. The first half of 1554 saw the establishment of the principal English exile communities at Strassburg, Emden, Wesel, Frankfurt, and Zürich, for in each of these cities the English religious refugees found

¹⁹ 'If one leafs past the title page of numerous other works [of the Marian exiles], one finds the same note sounded regularly. The writer is always a banished man, an unwilling exile, a sufferer who has sacrificed home, family, and goods for the sake of Christ's truth', in: Edward J. BASKERVILLE, *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic: Published in English Between 1553 and 1558*, Philadelphia 1979, pp. 16 n.; cf. WRIGHT, *Legitimacy of Flight* (note 16), pp. 234 n.

²⁰ John E. COX, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, Cambridge 1846, pp. 444 n. See also MACCULLOCH, *Cranmer* (note 8), pp. 548 n.

²¹ PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), p. 98.

²² John STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Oxford 1822, Book III, Part 1, p. 241. Cf. Christina GARRETT, *The Marian Exiles*, Cambridge 1938, pp. 80, 198, 285.

²³ The standard figure of about 800 given by Foxe and confirmed by GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 30–32, has been revised by PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 3 n., 10–14.

²⁴ According to David Loades, the rebellion was basically 'secular and political'; David LOADES, *Two Tudor Conspiracies*, Cambridge 1965, p. 17. For the contrary case, see Malcolm R. THORP, *Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554*, in: *Church History* 48 (1979), pp. 363–80.

²⁵ For the exiles in France, see GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 32–38; and LOADES, *Two Tudor Conspiracies*, pp. 151–175. For those in Italy, see Kenneth R. BARTLETT, *The English Exile Community in Italy and the Political Opposition to Queen Mary I*, in: *Albion* 13 (1981), pp. 223–241.

friends willing to assist them with relocation. At Strassburg they were welcomed by Vermigli and Alexander who had previously settled there. At Emden, Łaski's presence prepared the way. At Wesel, the pastor of the French church in London spoke on behalf of the English to the city officials. At Frankfurt, Valérand Poullain and his Glastonbury weavers did the same for William Whittingham and his group²⁶. At Zürich, Bullinger had an established history of hospitality towards English students and Henrician exiles, including Bale and Hooper²⁷.

II.

Mindful of 'the hope that other and happier times will at length arrive; especially when we see that changes in kingdoms are of very frequent occurrence'²⁸, the exiles devoted themselves to Cranmer's injunction 'to do more good' for the protestant cause back home. One obvious means was the continued theological education of 'English youths'

that, should it please God to restore religion to its former state in that kingdom, they may be of some benefit to the church of England²⁹.

Support for these scholars was provided 'by godly merchants' such as John Burcher³⁰, and the 'godly men' who gave 'Almes and liberalities' to Richard Chambers so that he could 'relieue therwith such poore dispersed Englishe brethern'³¹.

Since Peter Martyr Vermigli had been the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, it should not be surprising that some of his English students would follow him to Strassburg when he resumed his previous post as divinity lec-

²⁶ GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 8 n., 47–49; PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), p. 13, footnote 13.

²⁷ Theodor VETTER, *Englische Flüchtlinge in Zürich während der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Neujahrsblatt von der Stadtbibliothek [Zürich]*, Zürich 1893; Gottfried W. LOCHER, *Zwinglis Einfluß in England und Schottland – Daten und Probleme*, in: *Zwingliana* 14 (1975), pp. 165–209, at: pp. 190–192.

²⁸ Original Letters relative to the English Reformation written during the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich [henceforth: OL], ed. by Hastings Robinson, Cambridge 1847, II, p. 748.

²⁹ OL (note 28), II, p. 514.

³⁰ E. g., he gave 20 florins yearly to Michael Renniger (OL [note 28], I, p. 376) and a stipend to John Jewel, see Lawrence HUMPHREY, *Iuelli vita*, London 1573, p. 87.

³¹ A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frankfort, London 1846, p. 182. For the authorship of this book, see Patrick COLLINSON, *The Authorship of 'A Brief Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford'*, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 9 (1958), pp. 188–208; cf. Strype's description of twenty-six 'sustainers' who had pledged financial support for the exiles, one of whom was Richard Hilles, the business partner in Strassburg of Burcher, STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (note 22), Book III, Part I, p. 224.

turer in the cathedral. However, with its strategic location for communications, Strassburg also became the home for many leading politicians, courtiers and churchmen associated with the Edwardian regime. In contrast, Zürich was primarily a haven for theologians. On 5 April 1554, Bullinger recorded the arrival of Chambers with Robert Horne, former dean of Durham, his wife, and a small group of Oxbridge 'students'. They petitioned the magistrates to 'be permitted to sojourn in this most famous city [...] where [God] is most sincerely preached and most purely worshipped'. 'About 12' lived together *in collegio* in the house of Froschauer the printer, 'happily, like brothers'. Bullinger took great personal interest in their welfare. He lectured before them regularly and noted with approval that they 'deny themselves even what is necessary for their support, and live far too sparingly'. Nearly twenty years later, William Cole is reputed to have said that the brothers dined on mice in Zürich. Although their standard of living was surely modest, such a comment was probably only an exaggeration, especially since they were able to retain the services of a clergyman's widow. On 24 August 1554, Bullinger wrote to the 'sustainers' on their behalf, assuring them that the Zürich academics were conscientious in their studies and lived 'in constant prayer, in godly discipline, and in purity and innocence of life'. When Stephen Gardiner arrested their London patrons, cutting off much of their support, Bullinger arranged for the city authorities to give them a generous stipend³².

A second major activity of the exiles was applying these theological activities to the current pastoral needs of those they had left behind. It was obvious to the refugees that England was being punished for its sins. During Edward's reign the people had failed to adopt in their inner convictions and outward conduct the protestant piety established by law. Now they were experiencing God's judgment as a result³³. The editor of Cranmer's *Unwritten Verities* spoke for many when he wrote:

We were talkers only and not walkers, lip-gospellers, from the mouth outward and no farther [...]. We could speak of God's word and talk gloriously thereof; but in our hearts we were full of pride, malice, envy, covetousness, backbiting, rioting, harlot-hunting, no whit bettered at all than we were before under the pope's kingdom [...]. We read not the scriptures, neither heard them, for any amendment of our own wicked lives, but only to make a brag and a shew thereof, to check and to taunt others [...] to say

³² Emil EGLI, *Heinrich Bullingers Diarium*, Basel 1904, p. 46; OL (note 28), II, pp. 747–752; Theodor VETTER, *Relations between England and Zurich during the Reformation*, London 1904, pp. 51–55; GARRETT, *Marian Exile* (note 22), pp. 8 n.; HUMPHREY, *Iuelli vita* (note 30), pp. 89–91; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [henceforth: ODNB], ed. by Henry C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford 2004, XII, p. 529.

³³ Joy SHAKESPEARE, *Plagues and Punishment*, in: *Protestantism and the National Church in England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Maria Dowling, London 1987, pp. 103–123; Jane DAWSON, *Revolutionary Conclusions: The Case of the Marian Exiles*, in: *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990), pp. 257–272, at: pp. 260–267.

and not to do was not only amongst the unlearned sort, but also amongst the great clerks and chief preachers of God's word³⁴.

Since sin was the root of England's troubles, the only possible solution had to be repentance. As John Bale wrote in his *Vocacyon*, 'Repent yet in the ende / and doubtlesse thou [carefull congregacion] shalt have a most prosperouse delyveraunce'³⁵.

Accordingly, the Marian exiles embarked on a substantial publishing program which encouraged the people of England to reject the false teachings of the Mass and amend their ways by the Word of God. Their propaganda campaign produced an astonishing amount of material, including at least 105 different protestant works in English and 40 in Latin³⁶. The genera varied greatly. There were entertaining ballads, autobiographical adventures like Bale's *Vocacyon*, and comic polemic such as the anonymous *Commyssion* (supposedly sent from Satan to the Bishop of London). Yet the exiles did not neglect to produce serious works also. Among these were Ridley's *A Piteous Lamentation* as well as John Ponet's *Diallacticon* and Thomas Beacon's *Coenae sacrosanctae dominae* – learned Latin defences of the Edwardian eucharistic doctrine³⁷. Lastly, John Bale and John Foxe produced highly influential Latin histories of the English church based on Bale's apocalyptic understanding of two archetypal churches existing through the ages, namely, the false, persecuting church of the Antichrist and the true suffering church of the martyrs³⁸.

That there was a conscious attempt at some coordination and mutual consultation in this campaign between the exile leaders in different cities is evident from John Ponet's letter to his former chaplain Bale, dated 6 July 1555. Writing from Strassburg, Ponet acknowledges that a popular strategy is important: 'Ballets, rymes, and short toyes that be not deare, and will easily be born away doe much good at home amonge the rude people'. Nevertheless, as former bishop to former bishop, Ponet urges Bale to leave 'suche easy exercises' to others so as not to neglect his 'more weightie purposes'. Mindful of

³⁴ COX, Cranmer's Miscellaneous Writings (note 20), p. 9; cf. RIDLEY, *A Piteous Lamentation* (note 9), pp. 58–61.

³⁵ The *vocacyon* of Johan Bale (note 18), p. 81.

³⁶ For the bibliography of Marian propaganda in English, both protestant and roman catholic, see BASKERVILLE, *Chronological Bibliography* (note 19), as revised by him in: Edward BASKERVILLE, *Some Lost Works of Propaganda and Polemic from the Marian Period*, in: *The Library*, Sixth Series, 8 (1986), pp. 47–52. For the bibliography of the Marian exiles in Latin, see PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 118–128, 183–196.

³⁷ BASKERVILLE, *Chronological Bibliography* (note 19), pp. 13–22; PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), p. 122.

³⁸ Katharine R. FIRTH, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530–1645*, Oxford 1979, pp. 32–110; Richard BAUCKHAM, *Tudor Apocalypse*, Appleford 1978, pp. 68–112; Jane E. A. DAWSON, *The Apocalyptic Thinking of the Marian Exiles*, in: *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. by Michael Wilks, Oxford 1994, pp. 75–91; Crawford GRIBBEN, *The Puritan Millennium: Literature & Theology, 1550–1682*, Dublin 2000, pp. 57–66.

the need for teamwork ('Let us all feyght in a throupe together'), Ponet closes by soliciting Bale's advice on his own first attempt at polemic³⁹. Without the erastian sword of England's godly prince to impose order on the religious exiles, any sense of unity could only come through this kind of mutual consultation and consent.

For that very reason, the third and final major goal of the exiles proved painfully elusive, namely, maintaining a unified churchmanship as a model for any future restoration of a protestant Church of England. To the leading figures of the Edwardian regime at Strassburg, it seemed perfectly obvious that a protestant English church in exile should reflect the usages of the national church at the time of the late king's death. After all, a major justification for their fleeing the country was to preserve the religious accomplishments of that reign, accomplishments for which many of their colleagues back home faced martyrdom. Yet the Edwardian religious program was not without its protestant critics. The last-minute insertion of the 'Black Rubric' in the 1552 Prayer Book was a clear reminder that John Knox and others felt that the Edwardian Reformation had not gone far enough.

The 'Black Rubric' was a statement clarifying that kneeling at Communion in no way implied a real presence understanding of the sacrament. Knox had demanded that people sit to receive Communion. He was grieved that a confusing, papist tradition without any warrant in Scripture had been retained. According to Knox, if a worship practice was not based on Scripture, it was contrary to Scripture. Cranmer thought otherwise. Although he agreed that doctrinal matters always had to be grounded in the Bible, he argued that liturgical ceremonies were *adiaphora* and needed only not be contrary to Scripture. Ancient ceremonies, if they aided piety and furthered the Gospel, could be retained. In the end, Cranmer won the main point that kneeling to receive Communion was to be retained, whereas Knox had to be content with the 'Black Rubric' and its specific denial of a papist interpretation of the practice. The following year Cranmer sealed his victory by including his understanding of ceremonies in Article 33 of the official English statement of doctrine, the Forty-Two Articles:

It is not necessarie that tradicions and ceremonies bee in all places one, or vterlie like. For at al times thei haue been diuers, and maie bee chaunged, according to the diuersitie of countries, and mennes maners, so that nothing bee ordeined against goddes worde⁴⁰.

For Cranmer, unity between the reformed churches of Europe was to be based on holding a common doctrine, but not the practice of a common church life⁴¹.

³⁹ Edward J. BASKERVILLE, John Ponet in Exile: a Ponet Letter to John Bale, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986), pp. 442–447.

⁴⁰ Charles HARDWICK, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, Cambridge 1859, p. 318.

⁴¹ MACCULLOCH, Cranmer (note 8), pp. 525–529.

Yet Knox was not the sort of man to take defeat with contentment. When Mary came to the throne, he was quite clear that in addition to the issue of individual faithlessness there was a further, crucial cause for God's wrath on England – the deficiencies in Edward's ecclesiastical policies.

Among many sins that moved God to plague England, I affirmed that slackness to reform religion, when time and place was granted, was one [...]. I reproved this opinion [that religion was already brought to perfection in the Edwardian church] as fained and untrue, by the lack of discipline which is not in the [Prayer] Book, neither could in England be obtained; and by the trouble that Mr. Hooper sustained for the rochet, and such trifles in the Book allowed⁴².

Therefore, when William Whittingham's like-minded majority at Frankfurt called Knox to be their pastor, he warned his fellow refugees that

if we from England brought the same vices that we had in England, and obstinately did continue in the same, his justice must needs punish us in Germany also; and translate us beyond the places of our expectatioun, as were sometimes the Israelites beyond Babylon⁴³.

For Knox and his followers, true repentance by the exiles had to include implementing amongst themselves the reforms in worship and discipline that had not been permitted in England.

Since both the adherents to the Edwardian formularies and their opponents saw the importance of a unified English protestant witness against the Marian regime, conflict between them was inevitable. Frankfurt took the initiative. In August 1554 they began a campaign to have all the other English exiles come and join them in building a truly reformed prototype for a restored protestant Church of England. The leaders in Strassburg responded with countermeasures. Their efforts culminated in March 1555 with the sending of a contingent of Prayer Book supporters led by Richard Cox to Frankfurt to join the congregation. As soon as they did so, they voted to remove Knox from preaching and a week later completed their coup by arranging for him to be expelled from the city.

The 'Coxians' were now determined to 'haue the face off an English church', but that meant not only using the Prayer Book but also abiding by Article 33. They willingly adapted Cranmer's liturgy by omitting private baptism, confirmation, saints' days, kneeling at communion, the surplice and the cross, but not because they were 'impure and papistical', only out of respect for local custom. However, they retained liturgical responses, which the 'Knoxians' opposed, and made all voting members of the congregation subscribe to the Forty-Two Articles. Not surprisingly, the 'Knoxians' remained

⁴² Works of Knox (note 11), IV, p. 44.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

deeply unhappy. They wished to see an English-speaking congregation which bore 'the face of Christ's church' as embodied by the best reformed churches on the Continent. Those frustrated at Frankfurt now looked to Switzerland to fulfil their vision. Some went to Basel with John Foxe. The remainder travelled on with Whittingham to Geneva where, as he wrote, 'Gods worde is truly preached manners beste reformed and in the earthe the chieftest place off true comforte'⁴⁴.

III.

The triumph of the Coxian party at Frankfurt led to the splintering of the 'English college' in Zürich. Already on 12 May 1555, 116 Italian refugees had arrived in the city, putting such a strain on Zürich's resources that the magistrates refused to admit any more foreigners⁴⁵. No doubt the new situation reduced whatever stipend the city had been able to give the English. Then in the Autumn of 1555, the 'Coxians' decided to set up a theological college⁴⁶. Now assured of Frankfurt's respect for the Prayer Book, Horne agreed to become its lecturer in Hebrew, while his fellow Zürich academic John Mullins agreed to give the Greek lectures. Three other Zürich scholars moved there as well: Henry Cockcroft, Nicholas Kervile, and William Cole⁴⁷. When Horne was elected as pastor of the congregation in January 1556, by the beginning of the next month Chambers had decided to join him in Frankfurt as well⁴⁸. Yet not all the English 'brothers' in Zürich followed their leaders to Frankfurt. Four left instead for Geneva: Robert Beaumont, James Pilkington, John Pretie and Thomas Spencer⁴⁹. Three moved to Basel: Thomas Bentham, Roger Kelke and Laurence Humphrey⁵⁰. Only John Park-

⁴⁴ *Troubles at Frankfort* (note 31), pp. 37–59, especially 38, 49 and 59; Works of Knox (note 11), IV, pp. 41–49, 55–57; Robin A. LEAVER, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles, 1555*, Bramcote 1984; Marshall M. KNAPPEN, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism*, Chicago 1939, pp. 118–133; David M. LOADES, *The Sense of National Identity among the Marian Exiles (1553–1558)*, in: *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400–1643*, ed. by James Kirk, Oxford 1991, pp. 99–108.

⁴⁵ VETTER, *Relations* (note 32), p. 55. Cf. OL (note 28), I, pp. 148 n., where on 23 August 1555 Richard Morrison cites this ban as the reason he decided to stay in Strassburg. Nevertheless, Richard Cox himself appears to have moved from Frankfurt to Zürich in November 1555 and remained there until 1557, GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 135 n.

⁴⁶ *Troubles at Frankfort* (note 31), p. 60.

⁴⁷ Rudolf JUNG, *Englische Flüchtlings-Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main 1555–1559*, Frankfurt a. M. 1910, pp. 43, 46.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 53. Cf. their joint letters to Zurich, OL (note 28), I, pp. 126–134.

⁴⁹ 'Livre des Anglois', or Register of the English Church at Geneva under the Pastoral Care of Knox and Goodman 1555–1559, ed. by Alexander F. Mitchell, n.p. 1880 [?], pp. 7 n.

⁵⁰ GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 86 n., 193 n., 203 n., 357 n.

hurst clearly remained in Zürich for the duration of his exile as a houseguest of Rudolph Gualter⁵¹.

This exodus of English scholars was somewhat reversed upon the appointment of Peter Martyr Vermigli to succeed Conrad Pellican as professor of Hebrew at Zürich. Vermigli had come under increasing Lutheran pressure at Strassburg, and when he left the city on 13 July 1556, John Jewel and Edwin Sandys moved with him. Thereafter, Zürich saw a steady stream of distinguished English exiles visiting Vermigli as well as Bullinger. No doubt Sir Anthony Cook spoke for many when he wrote to the 'apostle of the English nation' (as Foxe styled Vermigli): 'I wish it were in my power to converse with you at large upon these and other matters, that in the abundance of my grief and tears your learned and godly discourse might afford me comfort'⁵².

If Vermigli's presence drew many exiles to visit Zürich, Basel's internationally famous publishing industry encouraged others to move to that city. For many, like John Banks, the print shops offered a means of support. When in late 1554 his patron was unable to continue to support his studies in Strassburg, Banks was only too happy for Bullinger's help in finding a job with a printer in Basel⁵³. Between those working in the publishing houses and those studying at the university, numbers which often overlapped, by April 1555 the English exile community in Basel had grown large enough to petition the city magistrates for admission⁵⁴. For writers in the exiles' propaganda program, Basel offered not only a means of support but also an opportunity to get their own works through the presses. After the troubles at Frankfurt, first John Foxe, who had sided with Knox, and then John Bale, who had not, moved to Basel in the latter half of 1555. So did Lawrence Humphrey from Zürich. All three worked in the printing trade, Foxe and Humphrey for both Johann Oporinus and Hieronymous Froben, Bale for Oporinus. All three also enrolled in the university⁵⁵. Because of their long-

⁵¹ ODNB (note 32), XLII, pp. 783–785, Kurt Jakob RÜETSCHI, Rudolf Gualthers Kontakte zu Engländern und Schotten, in: *Die Zürcher Reformation: Ausstrahlungen und Rückwirkungen*, ed. by Alfred Schindler and Hans Stickelberger, Bern 2001, pp. 351–373, at: pp. 358–360. According to GARRETT (*Marian Exiles* [note 22], pp. 269 n.) in the light of his undated letter to Bullinger (OL [note 28], I, pp. 374–376), after a brief stay in Strassburg in late 1555, Michael Renniger 'appears' to have returned to Zurich. For how long, however, remains an open question.

⁵² Charles SCHMIDT, *Peter Martyr Vermigli. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*, Elberfeld 1858, p. 219; Patrick COLLINSON, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583: the struggle for a reformed Church*, London 1979, pp. 72 n.; OL (note 28), I, pp. 139 n.

⁵³ OL (note 28), I, pp. 296 n., 306–309.

⁵⁴ Garrett counts 38 Englishmen listed on the rolls of the University of Basel between 1554 and 1559, although she admits in some individual entries in her census that their actual presence in Basel appears dubious; GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 26 n. For the list, *ibid.*, pp. 357 n. For the petition, translated into English, *ibid.*, pp. 358 n.

⁵⁵ ODNB (note 32), III, 484, XX, 697, XXVIII, 796; GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), p. 357.

standing friendship, Foxe and Bale initially lived together with Oporinus. Then, in 1557 'die Engellender' rented from the city the *Klarakloster*, a former convent, for £24 per annum⁵⁶. Bale, Foxe and at least nine others lived 'in nostro collegio', including four members of the old Zürich household, for Pilkington had since left Geneva for Basel by the Autumn of 1556⁵⁷.

Devoting himself to 'more weightie purposes', Bale finished the final version of his mammoth undertaking, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae [...] catalogus* – a history of the English church via some 900 biographies interspersed with summaries of political events. *Catalogus* stressed the continuity of the true church in England, despite the tyranny of papal corruption, and the country's return to pure Christianity under Henry and Edward. For Foxe, Basel's publishing contacts put him at the centre of an international network of protestant historians like Matthew Flacius, John Sleidan, and Jean Crespin. Through interaction with Bale and these other scholars, Foxe was able to develop further his ideas about the history of the church as the ongoing fulfilment of the Book of Revelation. At the same time, in another example of leaders at Strassburg informally co-ordinating the exiles' propaganda efforts, Edmund Grindal invited Foxe to take part in a project to record the witness of the Marian martyrs. The Strassburg group was to collect the documents for an English edition, while Fox would provide a Latin translation. In the event, the English work was abandoned. Foxe, however, persevered, incorporating the Marian material into his own much grander project to examine English church history in the light of Revelation from the Lollards through the reign of Mary. Published in 1559 at about 750 pages by the Basel printers Oporinus and Nicholas Bryliner, Foxe's *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum* was the prototype for his later highly influential *Acts and Monuments*⁵⁸.

Bale and Foxe were able to be so intensively productive in Basel, despite the strife they found there amongst the exiles. Writing to Thomas Ashley at Frankfurt in 1556, Bale made clear that the English congregation in Basel was just as fractious as the one at Frankfurt, except that those who opposed the Prayer Book remained in power.

And whereas you desire before your coming to know the state of our Church; to be plain in few words, it is troublous at this present [...]. When we require to have *common prayers*, according to our English order, [our elders and their factious affinity] tel us, that the magistrate wil in no case suffer it: which is a most manifest ly. They mock the rehearsal of God's

⁵⁶ GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 55–57, 361.

⁵⁷ Bale listed the following residents: James Pilkington, Richard Turner, Thomas Bentham, Roger Kelke, William Cole, John Plough, Edmund Lawrence, John Dodman, and Christopher Soothous, in: *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae [...] catalogus*, Basel 1557–1559, pp. 741 n. For Pilkington, see GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), pp. 250 n.

⁵⁸ PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 122–125; FIRTH, *Apocalyptic Tradition* (note 38), pp. 70–82; ODNB (note 32), XX, pp. 696–698.

commandments, and of the epistles and gospels in our Communion, and say they are misplaced; they blaspheme our Communion, calling it a *popish mas*, and say, that it hath a popish face, with other fierce dispisings and cursed speakings. These mocks, and these blasphemies, with such like, they take for invincible theology. With these they build, with these they boast, with these they triumph, in erecting their church of the *purity*⁵⁹.

Bale defended 'the English order' and considered those of the 'purity' to be setting up 'a seditious faction'. As a man disposed to conciliation, Foxe would have found the strife unpleasant, but not the elders' goal of an internationally recognisable reformed church. Indeed, Foxe was interested in Christian martyrs precisely because he saw them as the visible face of the true universal church. Therefore, it is ironic that his *Acts and Monuments* became over time 'one of the cornerstones of English Protestant identity'⁶⁰.

With Calvin's invitation to come to Geneva, William Whittingham and his group at last had the opportunity to establish without compromise a truly reformed prototype for a restored protestant Church of England⁶¹. Twenty-eight exiles, including six wives and seven children, arrived from Frankfurt on 13 October 1555⁶². They joined twenty English refugees already resident in Geneva, including Thomas Lever. The congregation elected Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby as the first pair of ministers, since John Knox was away in Scotland. William Whittingham was also elected as one of the two elders along with two deacons. After his return the following year, Knox and Goodman were elected annually as pastors, with Gilby now serving as an elder⁶³. The congregation shared the Marie la Nove church with the Italian congregation, the English using the building on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednes-

⁵⁹ STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (note 22), Book III, Part 2, pp. 313–315; Patrick COLLINSON, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, London 1967, p. 33.

⁶⁰ Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700*, London 2003, p. 285.

⁶¹ The standard accounts of the Marian exiles in Geneva are: *Livre des Anglois* (note 49); Charles MARTIN, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève au temps de Calvin 1555–1560: Leur Église – Leurs Écrits*, Genève 1915; Dan G. DANNER, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1556–1560*, New York 1999; KNAPPEN, *Tudor Puritanism* (note 44), pp. 134–148; Henry J. COWELL, *The Sixteenth-century English-speaking Refugee Churches at Geneva and Frankfurt*, in: *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London XVI* (1939), pp. 209–230; Samuel J. KNOX, *John Knox's Genevan Congregation*, in: *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England XI* (1956), pp. 3–18.

⁶² *Livre des Anglois* (note 49), pp. 6 n. NB, however, that Charles Martin, often followed by others, incorrectly gives the figure as 27 exiles coming from Frankfurt; MARTIN, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés* (note 61), p. 45.

⁶³ *Livre des Anglois* (note 49), pp. 11 n. For a discussion of Whittingham's eventual ordination, of which there is no record in the *Livre des Anglois* and which was later disputed in the Elizabethan church, see GARRETT, *Marian Exiles* (note 22), p. 333; Dan G. DANNER, *Calvin and Puritanism: The Career of William Whittingham*, in: *Calviniana: Ideas and Influence of Jean Calvin*, ed. by Robert V. Schnucker, Kirkwood 1988, pp. 151–164, at: p. 155.

days and probably at 9:00 a. m. on Sundays⁶⁴. Fulfilling Whittingham's original hope that as many English exiles as possible would gather in one truly reformed congregation, the Geneva church quadrupled in number to over 200 participants before it was officially closed on 30 May 1560⁶⁵. The members came from a cross-section of society: knights, merchants, ministers, students, farmers and several sorts of tradesmen⁶⁶. Thus, roughly one-fifth of the Marian exiles belonged at one time or another to the English church in the city.

Knox clearly articulated what made Geneva such a special place for him and his followers:

[Geneva] is the maist perfyte schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis. In other places, I confess Chryst to be trewlie preachit, but maneris and religioun so sinceirlye reformat, I have not yit sene in any uther place⁶⁷.

In other words, England may have had godly preachers, but they lacked authority to make people act according to what they said. They could neither bring about a thorough reformation in public worship nor enforce biblical standards for public morality. For these failings God had loosed his wrath on the nation. Under Calvin, however, the church in Geneva had been able to accomplish both goals. Here, here was the living model which showed the English people what they needed to do, if they were serious about repenting of their previous folly. Therefore, the English exiles in Geneva went immediately to work fashioning a congregational life that reflected the principles and practices of their host city.

They quickly adopted the reformed church order which had been drawn up at Frankfurt by Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Foxe and Thomas Cole but rejected. Then, to fulfil their prophetic role to the English-speaking peoples, shortly thereafter they published it bound up with other useful religious material. Appearing in February 1556, *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua* contained everything needed for a completely new foundation for a future protestant Church of England: a clearly reformed confession of faith, a method of

⁶⁴ So DANNER, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism* (note 61), p. 23, based on MARTIN, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés* (note 61), pp. 39 n. But the text is ambiguous and can be read to mean that the English would preach on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays at 9:00 a. m., William D. MAXWELL, *The Liturgical Portions of the Geneva Service Book used by John Knox while a Minister of the English Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1556–1559*, Edinburgh 1931, p. 7.

⁶⁵ The standard figure is 212 based on MARTIN, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés* (note 61), pp. 43–49. COWELL, *English Refugee Churches* (note 61), p. 212, adds that there were 146 families. KNOX, *Geneva Congregation* (note 61), p. 7, however, gives the figures as no less than 233 souls, or about 140 family units.

⁶⁶ COWELL, *English Refugee Churches* (note 61), p. 212.

⁶⁷ Works of Knox (note 11), IV, 240. Of the English-speaking exiles in Geneva, only Knox and one other member were Scottish, KNOX, *Geneva Congregation* (note 61), p. 7.

electing congregational leadership (pastors, elders and deacons), an outline for worship services and pastoral offices which had very little in common with Cranmer's, fifty-one metrical Psalms, a plan for church discipline, and an English translation of Calvin's catechism⁶⁸.

As appropriate for a fresh start for English Protestantism, the 'Preface' stated the Geneva congregation's fundamental principle. Their handbook presented

a forme and order of a reformed church, lymited within the compasse of God's Woorde, which our Saviour hathe left unto us as onely sufficient to governe all our actions bye; so that what so ever is added to this Worde by man's device, seme it never so good, holy or beautifull, yet before our God, whiche is jelous and can not admitt any companyon or counsellor, it is evell, wicked, and abominable⁶⁹.

At last, Knox's commitment to the regulative principle had been enshrined in a formulary intended for English public worship. But the *Forme of Prayers* made equally clear that godly worship alone was not sufficient. Discipline was also crucial:

And as the Word of God is the life and soule of this Church, so this godlie ordre and discipline is as it were synewes in the bodie, which knit and joine the members together with decent order and comelines. It is a brydle to staye the wicked from their myschiefes. It is a spurre to pricke forward suche as be slowe and necligent; yea, and for all men it is the Father's rodde ever in a readines to chastice gentelye the fautes committed, and to cawse theym afterward to lyve in more godlie feare and reverence⁷⁰.

Convinced that theirs was now the face of Christ's universal church, the Geneva exiles also printed at the same time Whittingham's Latin translation of the handbook for the benefit of their continental reformed colleagues⁷¹.

The new church formularies, however, were only the beginning of the Geneva exiles' own publishing program. More a linguist than a theologian, Whittingham devoted himself to translations: a Latin edition of Ridley's treatise on the Lord's Supper for continental audiences, an English version of Beza's work on predestination, and a new English translation of the New Testament with notes influenced by Beza's recent critically revised Latin text⁷². An-

⁶⁸ For the confession of faith, liturgies, and discipline, see Works of Knox (note 11), IV, pp. 143–214. For the liturgy, see Robin A. LEAVER, 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566, Oxford 1991, pp. 226–237. For the church offices, see PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 32 n.

⁶⁹ Works of Knox (note 11), IV, 160 n.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷² Certen godly, learned, and comfortable conferences [...]. Whereunto is added A Treatise against the error of Transubstantiation (n.p., 1556); A Brief declaration of the chiefe poyntes of Christian Religion, set forth in a Table [Geneva 1556]; The Newe Testament of Our

thony Gilby and John Knox wrote original works defending the doctrine of double predestination⁷³. In Mary's last year on the throne, Goodman and Knox also wrote explosive political tracts which argued that Christians had an obligation to overthrow an idolatrous ruler⁷⁴. Goodman even went so far as to argue that if inferior magistrates like Parliament failed to address the situation, then 'God giveth the sword in to the people's hand' for armed resistance⁷⁵. Denounced by fellow Marian exiles and disowned by Calvin, a biblical rationale for tyrannicide was extremely controversial in its own right. That Knox and Goodman denounced government by women as part of their critique against Mary not only doomed whatever chances they themselves may have had for advancement in Elizabeth's Church of England but also fostered royal suspicion of the city where these works had been printed⁷⁶.

The last major project of Whittingham and his colleagues was their most ambitious, a truly 'user-friendly' English translation of the whole Bible. Finally completed in 1560, the Geneva Bible included a series of groundbreaking innovations. Theirs was the first English Bible to divide chapters by verses; the first to appear in Roman instead of Gothic type; the first to be issued in a handy (quarto) size; and the first to include concordances, maps, and illustrations of difficult passages. Its annotations emphasised such favourite themes of the Geneva exiles as the need for the state to further 'godly reformation', the preacher as prophet, the importance of predestination, that faith must produce good works, and the struggle between Christ and Anti-christ as the key to human history⁷⁷. At least 140 editions were printed be-

Lord Jesus Christ. For Whittingham's literary career, see DANNER, *Career of Whittingham* (note 63), pp. 156–161.

⁷³ Anthony GILBY, *A briefe Treatyse of election and reprobacion*, Geneva 1556; John KNOX, *An answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and adversarie to Gods eternal predestination*, Geneva 1560. See O. T. HARGRAVE, *The Predestinarian Offensive of the Marian Exiles at Geneva*, in: *Anglican and Episcopal History* 42 (1973), pp. 111–123.

⁷⁴ Christopher GOODMAN, *How Superior Powers Oght To Be Obeyed Of Their subjects*, Geneva 1558; John KNOX, *The First Blast Of The Trumpet Against The Monstruous regiment of Women*, Geneva 1558. Cf. John PONET, *A Shorte Treatise of politike power*, Strassburg 1556. See Gerry BOWLER, *Marian Protestants and the Idea of Violent Resistance to Tyranny*, in: *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Maria Dowling, London 1987, pp. 124–143; Dan G. DANNER, *Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate in the Sixteenth Century: The Marian Exiles*, in: *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49 (1981), pp. 471–481; DAWSON, *Revolutionary Conclusions* (note 33), pp. 257–272; David H. WOLLMAN, *The Biblical Justification for Resistance to Authority in Ponet's and Goodman's Polemics*, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982), pp. 29–41.

⁷⁵ GOODMAN, *Superior Powers* (note 74), p. 185.

⁷⁶ DANNER, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism* (note 61), pp. 88 n.; *Zurich Letters*, ed. by Hastings Robinson, Second Series, Cambridge 1845, p. 131; PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 143–149.

⁷⁷ Maurice BETTERIDGE, *The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and its Annotations*, in: *Six-*

tween 1560 and 1644⁷⁸. A bestseller in Elizabethan England, required by law to be owned by every Scottish householder, the version which Governor Bradford brought with him to America on the Mayflower, the Geneva Bible was, by far, the greatest publishing success of the Marian exiles⁷⁹.

Looking back at all their accomplishments in Geneva, Goodman wrote unapologetically to Pete Martyr Vermigli about the bitter strife that had gone before:

I do not now repent of having stood forth and laboured with others in that cause, which has been the chief occasion of that happy agreement and solid peace which by the great blessing of God we enjoy in this place: which I persuade myself never would have occurred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permitted to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of popery which they wished to force upon us⁸⁰.

IV. Conclusion

In the Autumn of 1558 Robert Horne and Richard Chambers visited the Geneva exiles by way of the relatively new English community at Aarau. This group had originally settled at Wesel in 1555, but Lutheran opposition to their practicing a reformed view of Communion led to the authorities requiring them to move on by April 1557. Thomas Lever, their pastor since 1556, naturally looked to Switzerland for a new refuge and received permission to settle the group in Bernese territory. Of the 100 approximate English exiles at Wesel, 93 persons found shelter at Aarau on 11 August 1557. Most were of humble origins. Many were weavers⁸¹.

The purpose of Horne's and Chambers' visit had been once again to provide financial support for the two refugees communities. The English leaders at Geneva interpreted their generosity as an attempt at reconciliation. Consequently, when they received news of Mary's death shortly thereafter, they attempted once more to rally the exiles to a united support for their churchmanship. Writing the various English communities, the Geneva group stated

teenth Century Journal XIV (1983), pp. 41–62; Dan G. DANNER, The Contribution of the Geneva Bible of 1560 to the English Protestant Tradition, in: Sixteenth Century Journal XII (1981), pp. 5–18; GRIBBEN, Puritan Millenium (note 38), pp. 67–79; Basil HALL, The Genevan Version of the English Bible, in: The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society XI (1957), pp. 66–80.

⁷⁸ DANNER, Geneva Bible (note 77), pp. 5 n. For a good overview of the three different versions of the Geneva Bible, see BETTERIDGE, Bitter Notes (note 77), pp. 44 n.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 44, 52, 62.

⁸⁰ OL (note 28), II, p. 769.

⁸¹ Troubles at Frankfort (note 31), pp. 184 n.; GARRETT, Marian Exiles (note 22), pp. 50–53, 353–356; PETTEGREE, Marian Protestantism (note 12), pp. 64–78; OL (note 28), I, pp. 160–170.

one more time their understanding of the root of their country's suffering and the best means for its avoidance in the future:

Moste earnestly desiringe yow that we maie altogetheer teache and practise that true knowledge off Goddes worde, whiche we haue lerned in this oure banishment and by goddes mercifull prouidence, seene in the beste reformed churches: That consideringe oure negligence in times paste and goddes punishement for the same, we maie with zeele and diligence endeavour to recompence it⁸².

The congregation at Frankfurt replied with great courtesy but clearly refused to join in Whittingham's grand plan. Practically speaking, they reminded the English at Geneva that decisions about ceremonies would now be made by the new godly magistrate and her Parliament, not by those in exile. Therefore, the proper issue at hand was not what those ceremonies would be, but how the returning exiles would respond to them:

As we purpos to submit oure selues to such orders as shall be established by authoritie, beinge not of themselues wicked, so we would wishe yow willingly to do the same. For where as all the reformed churches differ amonge them selues in diuers ceremonies, and yet agree in the vnitie of doctrine: we se no inconuenience if we vse some ceremonies diuers from them, so that we agree in the chief points of oure religion⁸³.

No one could have stated the position of the Edwardian church any better.

In 1559 Knox was able to implement his thorough reformation in Scotland, and the Bible and liturgy of the English-speaking congregation in Geneva became the accepted norm in the Kirk. However, to the great on-going discontentment of the party of 'purity', the Frankfurt refugees had had the better grasp of English politics. The Geneva exiles would have little influence in shaping the Elizabethan Settlement in 1559 and even less effectiveness in altering it later towards their goals⁸⁴. For Elizabeth's was a 'Nicodemite Settlement'. Its three chief architects – the queen, William Cecil, her principal secretary, and Matthew Parker, her first Archbishop of Canterbury – all had remained in England during Mary's reign, and all had conformed⁸⁵. Elizabeth was willing to restore the formularies of the old Edwardian church, but not its revolutionary spirit. She based her somewhat idiosyncratic Protestantism on that Edwardian distinction between doctrine and ceremonies then used the ensuing vestments controversy to deprive of office the 'hotter sort'

⁸² Troubles at Frankfort (note 31), pp. 186–188.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 188–90.

⁸⁴ Kenneth R. BARTLETT, *The Role of the Marian Exiles*, in: *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, ed. by Peter W. Hasler, London 1981, I, pp. 102–110; PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), pp. 129–150; Brett USHER, *William Cecil and Episcopacy, 1559–1577*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 1–23; COLLINSON, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (note 59).

⁸⁵ PETTEGREE, *Marian Protestantism* (note 12), p. 106.