RICHARD COX (1499-1581), BISHOP OF ELY:

AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF A

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION ADMINISTRATOR

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

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This is to certify that the

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ABSTRACT

RICHARD COX (1499-1581), BISHOP OF ELY: AN INTELLECTUAL
BIOGRAPHY OF A RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION ADMINISTRATOR

By

Ronald Jay VanderMolen

Though intellectual biographies of great thinkers
are numerous, English leaders who did not build their
reputation as creative intellectuals are usually ignored
or simply treated as mechanical figures. It is true that
of late many scholars have studied such "mechanics" and
have in fact glorified them, but one cannot help but
deplore the artificial dichotomy which results: men of
great ideas are segregated from the politiques, and the
two types are never allowed to meet. The practical
result of such an approach in historical scholarship has
been insight into both ideas and the mechanisms of
society; but such scholarship has also created distinc-
tions as tenuous as those produced by traditional moral-
ists who divide historical events and characters into
either the good or the evil. While Reformation studies
have turned away from moralistic distinctions, they have
instead generally developed along two distinct paths:
theologians specialize in belaboring doctrinal differ-
ences; social scientists rely completely on material
interests, class distinctions, and political motives.

Ronald Jay VanderMolen

Though both approaches have shed much light on the Reformation as one of the most critical periods of Western Civilization, they also have ignored the significant ways in which the ideological and the practical come together. Richard Cox provides a case study of an important English leader whose life and ideas combined both factors.

As a man of ideas, Cox was no great innovator; however, an examination of his thought does reveal a significant reliance on the great thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation. Cox's ideals were first influenced by Renaissance humanists of Northern Europe, and as a result he became enamored of their humanistic scholarship and their social and religious criticisms as well. As a theologian, Cox found that his Christian humanism fit best into the religious ideas of the Swiss reformers: Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, Heinrich Bullinger, and most importantly, Martin Bucer. But more significant for the English Reformation was the way in which Cox adjusted both Erasmian humanism and Swiss Protestantism to conform to the needs of Englishmen. The result of combining these factors was an Anglican ideology. Richard Cox played an important practical role in formulating Anglicanism and in institutionalizing it also.

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ing and enforcing the practical expressions of Anglican-
ism to religious commissions, and Cox performed signifi-
cant duties on many such commissions: Thomas Cranmer
relied on him during the creation of Henry VIII's
King's Book; he was included on the Edwardian Prayer
Book and canon law committees; he served Queen Elizabeth
as a member of the Court of High Commission as well as
aiding in the formulation of a new Book of Common Prayer
and Book of Homilies; and Archbishop Parker relied on
Cox when Anglican ecclesiastical policies required
revision. In addition to bringing his ideas to prac-
tical expression in these ways, Cox also had many oppor-
tunities to institutionalize them as an educational
administrator and church official. As head of Eton
School in the late 1520's, Cox used textbooks which
espoused religious and social criticism as well as
Renaissance ideals of scholarship. As Dean of Henry
VIII's college at Oxford, Christ Church, and as the head
tutor of Prince Edward, Cox was given unique opportunities
to instill his Protestant ideals. As Chancellor of
Oxford in the Edwardian period, he attempted to estab-
lish Reformation ideals and at the same time tried to
avoid either completely abolishing Catholicism or submit-
ting to radical Protestant iconoclasm.

The most significant phase of Cox's career, how-
ever, was his role in leading Anglicans against Puritans.
The struggle began during the Marian exile, and was

basically an ideological clash. Anglicans, led by Cox,
revered English religious traditions as being most suit-
able for Englishmen; Puritans, led by John Knox and
William Whittingham, demanded a return to Christian
practices of the first century A.D. Though both parties
shared a common background of humanistic scholarship and
a theological reliance on the Swiss Reformers, they
created different ideologies. Puritans emphasized the
creation of compact systems of thought, the contents of
which served to measure one's Christianity. By contrast,
Anglicans emphasized formal religious expressions as the
main standard of judgement. Cox's role in developing and
enforcing the Anglican approach was most pronounced after
he became Bishop of Ely for he helped guide the English
church against two types of aggression, that led by Puri-
tans and that led by the queen's own courtiers.

By relying on letters, pamphlets, and biographical
evidence, this study of Richard Cox brings together his
ideals and his pragmatism. The value of the results in
Cox's case are left to the reader's judgement, but Cox
himself demonstrates the close relationship between
Renaissance and Reformation ideas and practical policies
from the reign of Henry VII through the first two decades
of Elizabeth I's rule. In practical policies, Cox's role
was that of institutionalizing new ideas. On the ideolog-
ical level his loyalties demonstrate the framework within
which the Anglican form of Reformation thought developed.

RICHARD COX (1499-1581), BISHOP OF ELY: AN INTELLECTUAL

BIOGRAPHY OF A RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION ADMINISTRATOR

By

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Acts and Monuments
APC	Acts of the Privy Council
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CSP	Calendar of State Papers
EM	Ecclesiastical Memorials
LP	Letters and Papers
O.L.	Original Letters
SP	State Papers
SPV	State Papers Venetian
VCH	Victoria County History
Z.L.	Zurich Letters

INTRODUCTION

Though many words have been written to account for
the careers of major leaders in sixteenth-century England,
there is much room for studies of the lives of those who
could be labelled "institutionalizers." These were men
who actually carried out, or hindered, the broad policies
of such well-known leaders as Cardinal Wolsey, Thomas
Cromwell, the Duke of Somerset, Matthew Parker, and the
successive Tudor monarchs from King Henry VIII to Queen
Elizabeth I. Richard Cox was one such institutionalizer.
After receiving a Renaissance education, he went on to
become an educational leader, first as head of Eton school,
then as tutor of Prince Edward, and subsequently he became
dean of Henry VIII's educational foundations at Osney,
Westminster, and Christ Church College, Oxford. Ultimately
he rose to the post of Chancellor of the University of
Oxford. During the Marian exile Cox led the prayer-book
party at Frankfurt-am-Main against John Knox's followers,
and was subsequently rewarded for his efforts when Queen
Elizabeth appointed him to one of England's wealthiest
bishoprics, Ely. As bishop, Cox continued his earlier
participation on commission for liturgical changes and
canon law reform. He also served on the committee which

produced the Bishop's Bible and subsequently on the
notorious Court of High Commission. In these various ways
Cox participated in virtually every phase of the religious
and social changes which rocked England in the sixteenth
century and have created an endless number of scholarly
problems for students to examine and analyze. While
copious details for Cox's life are to be found scattered
throughout the volumes left by John Strype and Bishop
Burnet and in the standard biographical dictionaries of
British and Reformation leaders, no full biography exists.

In 1954 a PhD dissertation was produced at Cambridge
University by one George Blackman entitled The Life and
Career of Richard Cox, but it is a study of administrative
procedures in Ely rather than a biography. Only sixty-
five of its more than three-hundred-fifty pages are con-
cerned with Cox's first fifty-nine years, for Blackman's
point of view is that of one cleric looking at another's
ecclesiastical administration. Since no other full bio-
graphical study exists, there is obviously a need for an
intellectual biography of Cox. Hopefully, this work will
supply what is lacking. Also, it is hoped that this work
will in a broader way add to the understanding of two
major sixteenth-century problems: first, the ideological
relations between the Northern Continental Renaissance and
Reformation and their counter-parts in England; and
secondly, the unique intellectual character of the succes-

sive steps of the English Renaissance and Reformation.
In dealing with these broad problems Richard Cox is a
valuable case study, for he lived long enough to span
almost the entire sixteenth century. As a result his
career mirrored the successive stages of the English
Reformation. In addition, he had a significant role in
establishing relationships between Continental and English
affairs during both the Renaissance and the Reformation.
Lastly, his roles in sixteenth-century England were of
enough importance in educational and ecclesiastical
affairs to allow him to enforce his ideas and therefore
to influence English life.

This dissertation will not be a straight-forward,
detailed account of Cox's life, for that has been pro-
duced in encyclopedias. Nor will it be an examination
of his administrative behavior as a bishop, for that is
done in Reverend Blackman's dissertation. Rather, this
work will be an intellectual biography and hopefully will
add to the understanding of sixteenth-century ideology.
Each chapter discusses the aspects of Cox's life which
were important enough to influence his role in the estab-
lishment of Renaissance and Reformation ideas and also
devotes much space to the discussion of those ideas. In
this latter discussion an attempt will be made to describe
the origins and roles of Cox's ideas and his means of
institutionalizing them.

Chapter One examines Cox's role as a Renaissance educator. In the period from 1500 to 1532 he had the opportunity not only to be educated by leading humanists, but also to introduce their ideas to his students at Eton. The major problem in this chapter is determining the relationship between the Northern Renaissance and the English Reformation. The education which young scholars, Cox included, received during this period was humanistic, and its general effect was the stimulation of religious criticism. His role as a critic resulted in trouble for Cox while he was a student at Oxford; however, he was allowed to institutionalize the same criticisms while headmaster of Eton. At Eton he used textbooks which attacked traditional Catholicism.

Chapter Two is an account of Cox's progress as a theologian, for after leaving his Eton position he returned to earn his B.D. and D.D. degrees at Cambridge University. In the 1530's his radical theology resulted in social criticism, just as the ideas of other Renaissance thinkers had developed into the same type of attitude. But Cox never allowed his religious and social radicalism to interfere with either his rise at Court or his reputation as a fine educator. He identified himself with the Cromwell-Boleyn faction, and surprisingly lived to tell about it. In fact, in spite of his peculiar brand of Zwinglian theology, Cox was able to progress during

King Henry VIII's conservative regime in the early 1540's.

Chapters Three and Four re-create Cox's influential years as a prominent official. Having been Prince Edward's tutor, he was automatically relied upon for advice and guidance. Subsequently, he served the young king loyally as King's Almoner and Chancellor of Oxford University. Though Cox's reputation as Chancellor has been held in disdain by several scholars, he was hardly the narrow Protestant inquisitor his detractors have created. Rather, his policies were conciliatory. He had such confidence in the truth of Reformation ideas that he assumed that mere exposure to those ideas would produce instant success. The accession of Queen Mary Tudor brought his hopes to an end.

Chapter Five explains Cox's role as an exile, a role which gained him great fame as leader of the Anglican party at Frankfurt-am-Main. Opposing him were the "purifying" leaders, John Knox and William Whittingham and their party of wealthy laymen. Cox led a party largely made up of students, and successfully maintained a uniquely English form of unity by requiring worship according to the Book of Common Prayer of 1552. Though the Frankfurt difficulties began over the order of the worship service, this issue soon spread to such matters as lay control, church discipline, and political allegiance. Cox and the Anglicans won, but English Protestants were

never unified again. The prayer-book issue divided them rather than uniting them.

Chapters Six and Seven account for Cox's role in establishing and enforcing the Elizabethan religious settlement. As an intellectual of high reputation and a member of many religious commissions, he was necessarily important in creating a form of Protestantism acceptable to the queen and to the people as well. As a bishop and member of the Court of High Commission, Cox tried to enforce Elizabethan policy, and thus was brought into direct conflict with both Catholics and Puritans. Though the former were squelched, the latter proved more formidable. As a bishop, Cox also had repeatedly to defend his reputation and his properties against contemporary courtiers of Queen Elizabeth.

Since this study of Richard Cox is primarily an intellectual biography, it ignores some aspects of his life. No attempt is made to ferret out all the details of his daily life. Neither are the details of his administration re-told. Rather, this biography examines Cox's ideas, their origins, and the means by which he passed them on in his various administrative and advisory roles. Richard Cox was no great original thinker; but he was a fine humanist scholar, and this meant that he was keenly aware of how far the church had separated itself from its ancient origins. In Cox's case another result of humanist

scholarship was that Cox was not sure about the exact
form the church should take in the future. He had defi-
nite opinions about what was wrong, but was wary regard-
ing Protestant models for establishing a reformed Chris-
tianity. To provide the answers he was willing to turn
to the Continent, and thus relied very heavily on Euro-
pean critics and reformers such as Erasmus of Rotterdam,
Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger, John
Calvin, and Wolfgang Musculus. How he adopted the ideas
of these men and incorporated them into the English
Reformation is a major concern of this study. Richard
Cox also used his humanistic understanding of the past to
identify the form of religion which was most suitable for
Englishmen. As a member of all three prayer book commit-
tees of the sixteenth-century British Reformation, Cox
played a unique role in establishing a religious system
which was Christian, English, and reformed.

It is the ideological basis upon which Cox rested
his educational and ecclesiastical roles which I should
also like to examine, for little has been done in this
area in studies of the English Reformation. Looking back
at the English Reformation from the point of view of that
nation's seventeenth-century revolution, and by comparing
the Continental idealists with English administrators,
historians have generally overlooked or played down the
role of ideas. Ideas have been simply written off as

rationalizations for political and economic interests.
At the opposite extreme, Christian antiquarians and
theologians have usually studied the development of the
nuances of church doctrines or liturgical practices, but
such examinations have ignored the intellectual framework
of ecclesiastical developments. An exception to both the
materialist and purely theological outlooks is a recent
work by Professor John New, Anglican and Puritan (Stanford,
1964). Dr. New does attempt to reduce doctrines to
ideologies, but he still works in the framework of theology
by providing snippets from theologians' works. As this
dissertation examines Cox's developing ideology and career
it will do in microcosm what New's work does for a hundred-
year period, though different conclusions are developed.

The central importance of Cox's career and intel-
lectual development was that he helped establish a
uniquely Anglican ideology. Though the major source of
inspiration and scholarly methods for Puritan theologians
and for Cox himself came from Christian humanist scholar-
ship, each applied this learning in different ways.
Puritans used it to re-create what they thought were
eternal ideals for Christian belief and practice. Angli-
cans used the same scholarship to return to a form of
Christianity which best suited conditions relative to
England. The uniqueness of Anglican ideology thus appears
in its continued attachment to Christian humanism, and in

this way Anglicans were intellectually much closer to
John Calvin than later Calvinists. As Cox's life and
ideas are examined, it is apparent that many Continental
intellectuals influenced his thinking besides John Calvin,
and these attachments provide another main segment of
this study. As an educator and ecclesiastical leader
Cox had many opportunities to institutionalize the ideas
of Christian humanists in the English Reformation. In
this study I shall examine the English Renaissance and
Reformation as seen through Richard Cox's ideas, the
origins of those ideas, and the means by which he trans-
mitted them to the English. Hopefully I shall say as
much about the broader movements of the sixteenth century
as I do about Richard Cox's life and ideas.

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF A CHRISTIAN HUMANIST

PART I: Biography, 1499-1540

Though records are not available for the town of Richard Cox's birthplace, Whaddon, Buckinghamshire, thus clouding his parentage in 1499, some speculations have been made as to his origins. Most writers refer to his birth as "humble," and thus there are no references such as often appear for the sons of commonly well-known men, such as "Richard Cox, son of . . . ."[1] Also, sixteenth-century spellings of the name Cox make statements about ancestry almost meaningless, for variant spellings appear, including Kox, Coxe, Cockes, and Cokkes. The only men of public record who have possible connections are Henry Cokkes, a chorister, and Richard Cokkes, a "needy scholar," both of whom are named in the foundation charter of Eton College in 1440.[2] In the Cambridge visitation records of 1575 there is a reference to a Richard

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[1] T. Harwood, _Alumni Etoneses_ (Birmingham, 1595), 138.

[2] "Foundation Charter," A. Leach, _Educational Charters_ (Cambridge, 1911), 405 ff.; Victoria County History, _Bucks_ (London, 1905), II, 149; A. Wood, _Athenae Oxonienses_ (London, 1691), I, 465; J. Strype, _Ecclesiastical Memorials_ (Oxford, 1822), II, 11, 12, cites another Richard Cox as a possible predecessor, but he died in 1467.

Cox as father of Bishop Richard Cox, but beyond this there is no relevant information.[3] Whatever his parentage, however, the young product of Whaddon was evidently a bright Etonian scholar, for he went on to Eton's mother foundation, King's College, Cambridge, a center of Renaissance learning and Reformation radicalism. One of the most famous King's College scholars was Richard Croke, a Renaissance linguist and Eton graduate who had been taught by William Grocyn, one of the many English acquaintances of Erasmus of Rotterdam;[4] but Eton had produced many intellectual leaders and reformers, men such as the martyr John Frith;[5] the master of St. Paul's school, John Rightwise;[6] Bible translator Edmund Guest;[7] and many others. Richard Cox was thus educated in the context of the early stage of the English Renaissance and in schools, Eton and Cambridge,

[3]J.B. Clay, ed., The Visitation of Cambridge (London, 1827), 13. This refers to the marriage of Thomas Arkenstall of Kingston to Joan Cox, "daughter of Richard Cox and sister of . . . Cox bishop of Ely."; also see Sir Wasey Sterry, The Eton College Register (Eton, 1943), 89.

[4]See below, pp. 13, 14 for his role and influence.

[5]Sterry, Register, xxv.

[6]Sterry, Annals of Eton (London, 1898), 8. Rightwise was son-inlaw to William Lily and his successor as master of St. Paul's school.

[7]Sterry, Register, xxv.

which established the New Learning.

Eton had been founded in 1440 as a free foundation of seventy-five men dedicated to studying grammar and "to pray,"[8] and in 1446 it was granted a monopoly as a grammar school for the area ten miles around Eton.[9] In this latter grant it was labelled "the king's general school, and . . . the lady and mistress of all other grammar schools."[10] Cambridge experienced similar preferential treatment from English royalty, for it was endowed by no less important personages than King Henry VII and his mother, Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond and Derby. By her will the latter founded St. John's College, a school which would later become a center of Puritan activity and of constant trouble to Richard Cox as Bishop of Ely;[11] and in 1503 and 1505 she successively endowed a readership, a preachership, and Christ's College at Cambridge University.[12]

It was from Eton, with its monopoly as a grammar school, that Richard Cox proceeded to King's College,

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[8]"Foundation Charter," Leach, _Educational_ _Charters_, 405; Eton's proximity to the court at Windsor probably accounts for its favored role. See R. Tigh and J. Davis, _Annals_ _of_ _Windsor_ (London, 1858), 358.

[9]"Chancery Warrant," Series 1, file 1439 (24 Henry VI), Leach, _Educational_ _Charters_, 413.

[10]Leach, . _Charters_, 413.

[11]C. Cooper, _Annals_ _of_ _Cambridge_ (Cambridge, 1843), I, 289, 291, 292.

[12]_Ibid._, I, 271-272.

Cambridge in 1519; and at King's there was little evidence
of placidity. In 1520, Wolsey's visitation resulted in
the public burning of Luther's works, and further inves-
tigations of the new heresy's influence were conducted.
As indicated in a proctor's report of 1520, there was
correspondence between Wolsey and the University: "Paid
Peter the bedel sent to Lord Cardinal and the Chancellor
with letters respecting Luther's works, 20s."[13] Further,
Richard Croke, probably England's most widely known
Renaissance scholar of that time, was made public orator
of King's College for life in 1522.[14] Obviously, King's
was a center of Renaissance and Reformation activity, and
it was from that college that Cardinal Wolsey recruited
much of the talent for his new college, Cardinal's College,
Oxford. Richard Cox was among the bright young scholars
called to Oxford, and having received his B.A. in 1524 he
proceeded to Wolsey's college as a junior canon in 1525,
and obtained his M.A. in 1526.[15] Of the sixteen imported

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[13]Baker MS xxiv, 62, Cooper, Annals, I, 303-304;
Cooper indicates that "Peter the bedel" was the father
of Sir John Cheke, Cox's fellow tutor in the education
of Prince Edward, and Provost of King's College under
King Edward VI.

[14]Cooper, Annals, I, 305; further evidence of
"New Learning" is summarized in Strype's Ecclesiastical
Memorials (Oxford, 1822), I, 74-75.

[15]Cambridge University, Grace Book Theta (Cambridge,
1908), 210. Two future leaders, Thomas Ridley and Matthew
Parker received their degrees at the same time, though the
latter refused an invitation to go to Oxford; Wood,
Athenae, I, 465-466.

scholars, labelled by Anthony Wood as "excellent," five were from King's College, Cambridge;[16] and their role in Wolsey's new college was hardly passive. Cardinal's College, Oxford, had been established on the basis of Wolsey's Renaissance idealism, for it was well endowed, well planned, staffed with fine scholars, and designed to recruit students from the Continent. Rudolph Gualter, for example, was a Swiss youth in residence,[17] and the fine Spanish humanist, Juan Ludovicus Vives, was imported as Professor of Eloquence.[18] From its inception the college was tinged with methods and problems which characterized the entire Reformation: the curriculum emphasized a linguistic training resisted by the more conservative Oxford colleges, colleges which continued to study the older schoolmen; the college was endowed with money from the suppression of St. Fridesyde's Priory, a tactic to be perfected by reformers from all over the Continent; and the school imported Cambridge scholars who had been educated to be critics of all that was old in both education and theology. The story of the White Horse Tavern group and its heresy is well enough known to omit retelling. In short, they were college students enamored of

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[16]Wood, _Athenae_, I, 72.

[17]J. Foxe, _Acts_ and _Monuments_ (London, 1841), V, 4. Henceforth, _A.M._

[18]Edward Lord Herbert, _Life of Henry VIII_ (London, 1683), 147.

contemporary criticisms of the Catholic faith. For

Richard Cox the Oxford group, called "Little Germany,"

proved troublesome. He was forced to flee Oxford, where

he left many former companions, who suffered imprison-

ment and even death. Where Cox went to wait out the

troubles of 1526 is not known, though the martyrologist

Foxe states that Cox "conveyed himself to the north,"

only to return later as chaplain to the Bishop of Ely and

head of his alma mater, Eton.[19]

From 1528 on the key word in Richard Cox's life

would be _elasticity_, for in spite of his radical ideology

he was able not only to survive but also to advance.

Though labelled a "Lutheran," he was installed at Eton

as headmaster and allowed to revolutionize its curricu-

lum and supervise the education of some of England's

leading public officials of the sixteenth century. Richard

Jugge, the famous Elizabethan printer, Walter Haddon,

secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and Matthew Stokes, steward

to Sir William Paget,[20] were among the Eton alumni during

Cox's administration; however, Thomas Ascham probably did

most for Cox's reputation as a teacher. Ascham's work,

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[19]Foxe, A.M., V, 4. For an account of the "Lutherans"
and their activities see J. Strype, Life of Cranmer (Oxford,
1812), I, 4 ff; also see Cooper, Annals, I, 311 ff.

[20]T. Harwood, Alumni Etoneses (Birmingham, 1797),
144 ff.

The Schoolmaster, became a model for Renaissance education, and in this work Cox is referred to as ". . . the best schoolmaster of our time" and "the greatest beater."[21] Though many scholars have attributed this reference to Cox's successor, Nicholas Udal, the author of Bucks County History makes a convincing case for Cox's right to the dubious label, "the greatest beater," as well as to the honorific, "best schoolmaster."[22] Richard Cox's role, beyond forming character in this pugnacious way, was to educate students in the best Renaissance tradition. His revolutionary curriculum went far beyond other contemporary innovations,[23] his use of plays was in the Renaissance tradition,[24] and his total effect as an inspirer of students is favorably treated by both his advocates and detractors. Anthony Wood, harsh critic of Cox's later administration at Oxford, praises the schoolmaster's results at Eton, "where by his diligent instruction, the

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[21]T. Ascham, Schoolmaster (Ithaca, 1967), 7; Cox practiced sound politics also, for Eton submitted to the king's supremacy in 1534 (Tigh, Annals, 513).

[22]Bucks History, II, 181; Arthur Leach traces the error to the 1561 edition of Ascham's Works by J. Bennett (Bucks, II, 142); Lawrence V. Ryan editor of the 1967 edition of the Schoolmaster confirms Leach's discovery.

[23]Below, p. 28 ff. There is no evidence that any school used texts as radical as those produced by Mosellanus and used by Cox.

[24]Eton Audit Book, 21 and 22 Henry VIII, Bucks, II, 182.

boys profited much."[25] A similar judgement is passed by Eton's historians, Sir Wasey Sterry and H. C. Maxwell Lyte;[26] and, within this context of being a well-known teacher Cox rose to prominence and went on to further his learning. The Boleyn faction furnished advancement; Cambridge provided additional education.

As an intellectual seeking an audience and advancement, the head of Eton composed verses in praise of Anne Boleyn's coronation;[27] as a returning scholar and chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, Cox received his B.D. and D.D. in theology from King's College, Cambridge in 1535 and 1537 respectively.[28] As a coronation poet Cox has stood in the shadow of Udall and John Leland, whose poems have been judged as "very much superior to Cox's effusion on the same occasion."[29] When Cox moved on for advanced work in theology, probably with the support of the Boleyn-Cranmer faction, Udall succeeded him at Eton. Their friendship evidently continued, for when the author of Ralph Roister Doister was expelled from his Eton position, Cox was generous enough to pay off some 60s of Udall's

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[25]Wood, Athenae, I, 466.

[26]Sterry, Annals, 70; H. Lyte, History of Eton (London, 1875), 113.

[27]Harleian MS. 6148, fol. 117.

[28]Cambridge University, Grace Book, Theta, 296-320; Sterry, Register, 89.

[29]Bucks, II, 183; A. Wood, however praises Cox's merits as a poet in his History and Antiquities (Oxford, 1786), I, 467.

debts.[30] His generosity was repeated many times during

his career, however, and is perhaps another key to under-

standing his survival: he saw it his duty to support

scholars, whatever their position, and thus developed a

wide base of friendship and support within the intellec-

tual community. Aside from these personal connections,

however, Cox was returning to Cambridge at a critical

time. In 1535, Thomas Cromwell became head of the uni-

versity, and this meant reform would become imperative.

Cromwell's injunctions of 1535 reformed the university

curriculum in much the same way that Cox had modernized

Eton's: traditional study of schoolmen such as Scotus

was forbidden; the study of ancients (in this case

Aristotle) and moderns such as Rudolph Agricola and

Philip Melanchthon was demanded.[31] In other words, the

"New Learning" was set up. Secondly, the typically Tudor

attempt at centralization was carried out: public,

university-wide lectures were established, thus attacking

the uniqueness maintained by the separate colleges.[32]

This problem of university centralization would return

to plague Cox when he became Chancellor of Oxford.

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[30]Proc. Privy Council, viii, 152, Bucks History, II,
184.

[31]Cooper, Annals, I, 375; Baker MS xxi, 195 indi-
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[32]Cooper, Annals, I, 380; see 27 Henry VIII c. 42.

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Thirdly, the monarchy assumed a protective economic and legal stance regarding England's major schools: Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, and Winchester were absolved from payment of first-fruits and tenths:[33] and a special committee was set up to hear university suits which formerly were based on liberties claimed through papal grants.[34] Cox again experienced many of these same problems within twelve years, but he emerged from Cambridge in 1537 as a reformer in full bloom.

Given Richard Cox's position as a Protestant and the contemporary power of the Boleyns, Cromwell, and Cranmer, there was little danger of his being demoted. Though little is known of his actions from 1535 to 1540, Cox does appear to have played a role in the rise of the Protestant establishment. John Strype, for example, credits him with a 1536 plan for disposing of confiscated church properties.[35] As a defender of royal supremacy Cox had also, according to one source, been used in the royal visitation of Oriel College in 1535,[36] but beyond this the only role that can be documented is his service

[33] Baker MS xxi, 195; Cooper, _Annals_, I, 379.

[34] Baker MS xxi, 196.

[35] Strype, _Ecclesiastical Memorials_, I, 417.

[36] D.W. Rannie, _Oriel College_ (London, 1900), 81.

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as chaplain to Thomas Goodrich, the pro-Protestant Bishop

of Ely.[37] Writers have confused Richard Cox with another

Cox, the chaplain to Cranmer who later testified against

the archbishop, but recent scholars have corrected this

error.[38] Whatever his exact activities were, Richard Cox

was evidently regarded as a leading theologian, for in

1536 he was one of the forty-one English clerics who signed

a statement regarding holy orders,[39] and in the next year

he was one of seventeen professors who accepted the Convo-

cation's plan for a compromise religious settlement.[40]

This work, better known as the Bishop's Book, was sent to

the Swiss reformer Martin Bucer by Edward Foxe, Bishop of

Hereford. Out of the friendly relations between Bucer,

Foxe, and Cranmer developed a close tie between Swiss and

English ideas. Though Richard Cox was evidently attracted

to the ideology of Zwingli's successors, his chance for

significant advancement came in the events surrounding the

marriage and subsequent annulment between Henry VIII and

Anne of Cleves in 1540. Cox supported the annulment in

the Convocation of 1540,[41] and subsequently was drawn

[37]Grace Book Theta, 296, 297; J. Bentham, Ely
Cathedral (Norwich, 1912), 189 ff.

[38]L.B. Smith, "Henry VIII and the Protestant
Triumph," AHR LXXX (1966), 1247.

[39]Letters and Papers, XI, no. 60.

[40]Ibid., XII, pt. ii, no. 402.

[41]LP, XV, no. 861; SP, Henry VIII, I, 629-639;
F.O. White, Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops (London, 1898).

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closer to the orbit of power around King Henry VIII. In
the same Convocation Cox participated in doctrinal dis-
cussions and expressed ideas which were much more radical
than contemporary Lutheran concepts. Cox was clearly a
Zwinglian,[42] but in spite of the control exercised by
Bishop Gardiner's Catholic party until the king's death,
he was able to rise within both the king's court and the
English church.

Though Cromwell's power disintegrated, Cox survived,
and proved useful to the king in the 1540's. Because of
his religious position as a radical in the context of
Martin Bucer's Zwinglianism[43] and the fact that he was
still acceptable to the king, Cox was used in attempts at
unity. In February of 1540, the Lutheran, Robert Barnes,
was charged by Bishop Gardiner with being a heretic.
After scolding Barnes, the king appointed a committee of
"indifferent hearers," including Cox, to try to smooth
over the differences.[44] In the end Barnes submitted, but
Cox's role is significant: he was obviously a person
respected as a compromiser. The problem with this position
was of course that he would tread a precarious path to

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[42]LP, XV, no. 826; Lambeth MS 1108, f. 115; below,
p. 66 ff.

[43]Below, p. 74.

[44]J.A. Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor
Reaction (London, 1926), 85-87.

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avoid being hated by both parties.[45]   The key to survival
in the 1540's, however, was twofold: Erastianism and
elasticity.   As a humanist and "commonwealth man" the
former position was agreeable to Cox; and, as a scholar
applying the relativities of humanist scholarship to the
Bible, the latter attitude was easily adopted.   Though a
radical, both in social and religious ideology, Richard
Cox survived and even prospered amid an officially pro-
Catholic government.

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[45]J.A. Muller, The Letters of Stephen Gardiner
(Cambridge, 1933), 325, 360.   Gardiner later attacked Cox
and the latter testified against Gardiner, who was upset
by Cox's role in writing the King's Book even though he
was a radical Protestant.

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PART II: Richard Cox and Renaissance Learning

In tracing the rise of Renaissance ideology, it is commonplace to consider England in two ways, late and secular. These labels may imply to some a backwardness or mundane character about English life, for the popular theme, "the nation of shopkeepers," is easily read into English history. Thus it has been possible for some to view even the most religious of movements as the products of materialistic drives in open conflict: gentry versus aristocracy: proletariat versus gentry.[1] Such antithetical conflicts are created by a materialistic perspective and its application to cultural and ideological movements; however, from a different perspective the English Renaissance and Reformation can hardly be considered the result of naked material interests.

Those responsible for institutionalizing the Renaissance in England were not representative of any unitary, socially determined elite. Thomas More was part of the ruling elite, but he hardly represented a view which advanced his class at the expense of others; rather, his message rested in a negation of heartless rule by force. Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal a latere, similarly cannot

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[1]J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History (New York, 1963). This work discusses the ideas of Christopher Hill, Hugh Trevor-Roper, and Lawrence Stone.

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be accused of advancing clerical interests at the expense
of others. His own college at Oxford and school at Ipswich
were founded with money garnered from the dissolution of
religious houses.[2] In addition, his college became a center
of contemporary criticism of religious and secular injus-
tices. Henry VIII, king and supreme head of the church,
similarly fostered and maintained schools and men whose
purpose was the reforming of both commonwealth and
ecclesiastical structures. A perspective which therefore
has much validity is that the English Renaissance was
represented and encouraged by men who were not simply
products of society or hacks of a singular social view-
point. Rather, they were free, critical, and creative.
It is within this aura that the Renaissance spread into
England; and it is within this context that Richard Cox,
B.A., M.A., B.D., D.D., played a role in institutionaliz-
ing the new critique and religion.

The first significant notice taken of Cox as a
young intellectual came from Cardinal Wolsey, for Cox
was among the several degree-holding scholars whom the
Cardinal transferred from Cambridge to his new college
at Oxford.[3] This act today would be of little signifi-

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[2]H.C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of the University of
Oxford (London, 1886), 441.

[3]C.W. Boase, ed., Register of the University of
Oxford (Oxford, 1885), 140. Involved in this transfer in
1525 were 1 D.D., 3 M.A.'s, and 5 B.A.'s.

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cance, but in a country with only two universities it was
important, for one represented the "New Learning" (Cambridge).
Wolsey's action proved to be highly significant. The Car-
dinal seemed intent on either presenting himself as the
great patron of learning or as a reforming church leader,
or as both, for his ambitions for the papacy were well
known. What better way to present himself as the repre-
sentative of all the best in the Renaissance (classical
education) and the Reformation (concern for making sixteeenth-
century religious life more meaningful)?[4] The fact that
the two were intimately connected in the sixteenth century
is easily overlooked in studying either the Renaissance or
Reformation; but they were obviously joined together in
Northern Europe generally and in England specifically. The
context of the New Learning is generally well known,
especially as demonstrated in the works of Erasmus and the
teaching role of John Colet.[5] These men demanded purity
of scholarship, as did all humanist scholars, but they also
applied their concept of purity to contemporary institutions.
Such demands and critical attitudes are usually approached

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[4]At the time, Charles V, the power behind the papacy,
clearly favored religious reform; Wolsey's protectiveness
was demonstrated in 1529, when he stopped an ecclesiastical
visitation of the University (Cooper, _Annals_, I, 329).

[5]Colet is best known as founder of St. Paul's
school, with its grammar-oriented curriculum; Erasmus'
Praise of Folly has become a classic example of Renaissance
mockery of contemporary religious institutions.

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from the point of view of a discussion of the great liter-
ary works produced by Renaissance leaders, such as Erasmus'
Praise of Folly or More's Utopia; however, yeoman's work in
establishing this critique was provided by countless tutors
and schoolmasters throughout England. Richard Cox was one
such schoolmaster.

By the time he had become head of Eton, Cox had
already demonstrated his ability to survive trouble, for
he had outlived the difficulties into which the "Germans"
had fallen at Oxford. Many of his fellow radicals had
less pleasant experiences.[6] For Cox the sequel to his
exile was more important than his troubles, for he was
rewarded with advancement to the headship of England's
most important grammar school; and to Eton he took his
devotion to the New Learning and developed a model school
with a new curriculum. This curriculum was based on
strict classicism, training in proper manners, and sur-
prisingly open exposure to the critical works of the
Northern Renaissance.

Strict, pure classicism was the first feature of
Renaissance humanism, and this is no less true in Cox's
Eton than in the better known Continental Renaissance.
In England the great leaders of linguistic studies are
well known, and their works have been widely discussed:

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[6]Foxe, A. M., V, 4 ff; Strype, Cranmer, I, 4 ff.

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Linacre, Lily.[7] Also, leading Continental scholars had a

great impact on England. Erasmus became a symbol for such

leadership, and Juan Vives' educational theories became

well known and evidently were widely practiced in England.[8]

Moreover, the institutionalization of classical learning

was carried out by such men as Colet in his foundation at

St. Paul's and Wolsey in his school at Ipswich;[9] but,

though scholars have not gone much beyond these examples

in discussing the nature and impact of English scholarship,

there are other relevant facts. First, English classicism

did play a creative and not simply a reactive role, for

important Continental scholars were clearly indebted to

the English. One example of English influence is the work

of Richard Croke, a graduate of Eton and Cambridge. After

being trained in classical languages, Croke became the

first man to hold a Greek Chair at the University of

Leipzig. More important for this study, however, is one

of Croke's students, Petrus Mosellanus, alias "Peter

Schade." Mosellanus was of the same generation as Richard

Cox, and both represent second-generation institutional-

izers rather than early innovaters: Mosellanus as a text-

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[7]D. Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism
(Toronto, 1939); F. Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order
in Tudor England (Chicago, 1954).

[8]K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England
(London, 1965), 108, 155. Also see, J. Simon, Education
and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge, 1966), 91-128.

[9]A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents
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book author, Cox as a schoolmaster. As head of Eton the
latter used the most modern teaching materials and enforced
the New Learning with as strict a zeal as he was later to
enforce the English version of the Reformation.

The Continental and English textbooks used by Cox
at Eton were products of Renaissance classicism, but there
is also evidence in them of the importation of religious
criticism.[10] Classicism was invoked in the texts written
by Erasmus, Lily, and Stanbridge as well as by heavy read-
ing in classical works ranging from Cicero's difficult
style and deep content to Aesop's lighter Fables. In the
first and second forms the basic texts of William Lily
and John Stanbridge were examples of English attempts to
purify grammar instruction, and the works of neither were
objectionable in the 1520's. Cox's use of Erasmus' work
was not objected to either, for his textbook on correct
letter writing was used. It did little but provide advice
regarding correct forms of address and methods of argumen-
tation.[11] Similarly, his work used in the seventh form,
Copia Verborem et Rerum, provided little else than instruc-
tion in writing in general, and cited several classical

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[10]A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents
448 ff.   ,

[11]D. Erasmus, Libellus de Conscribendis Epistolis
(1521).

examples to bolster the author's instructions.[12] Of course,

reliance on Erasmus does infer sympathy with his critical

views, and there is evidence that Cox patterned his moral

instruction after Erasmian ideals. Renaissance ideals of

the proper behavior of gentlemen and of the correctness

of liberal education were designed to educate young men

in good manners and morals, and Erasmus presented a

thorough plan for this approach in a pamphlet published

in 1530.[13] In that work he idealized both liberal educa-

tion and dedication to Christ's life principles,[14] and

relied almost entirely on Aristotle's instructions for

aristocrats: the man with _vere_ _nobilitas_ should act

according to definite standards, and his actions will

speak clearly to point out his nobility.[15] To inculcate

Renaissance ideals, Cox adopted a thorough system of con-

trol at Eton.[16]

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[12]D. Erasmus, _De_ _Duplici_ _Copia_ _Verborum_ _et_ _Rerum_
(1512). This work exemplified English connections with
the Northern Renaissance, for Erasmus dedicated it to
John Colet.

[13]D. Erasmus, _De_ _Civilitate_ _Morum_ _Pueri_ (1530).
As seen below, pp. 55 , moral training was especially
stressed by Cox as tutor of Prince Edward, the future
king of England.

[14]_Ibid._, D4.

[15]_Ibid._, A3, E4.

[16]R. Cox, "Eton School Curriculum," Leach, _Charters_,
448 ff. The subsequent paragraph is based on Eton's cur-
riculum and daily schedule as suggested to the founders of
the Saffron-Waldon school.

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At the head of the system of discipline stood the master, who had full control over admissions and expulsion: "If there be any dullard the Master giveth his friends warning and putteth him away that he slander not the school." But discipline among the boys themselves was controlled by "Prepositors," or prefects, who were chosen from the student body and given the responsibility of making sure the boys' behavior was proper and that they continually spoke Latin. There were two such prepositors in each form, two in church, two in the choir, and in addition they were to be found in the houses and in the field where the students played, "for fighting, rent clothes, blue eyes, and the such like." Lastly, the medieval practice of having internal spies was maintained. These were called "privy monitors," and they were to be found in each residence. They also were to make sure Latin was spoken in the house and as the boys marched by twos between classes and from school back home. With such a disciplined educational system as a model, it is little wonder that England could easily adapt to Tudor political thoroughness. It is also to be noted that later ecclesiastical discipline systems bore a strikingly close resemblance to Eton's type of internal control system. Both Presbyterian "elders" and the Elizabethan "church wardens" have their prototypes in the schools' "prepositors" and "privy monitors."

In addition to instilling correct grammar and good morals in a disciplined environment, Cox used the works of men who were more radical than any others in contemporary usage: John Despauterius[17] and Petrus Mosellanus.[18] The former was a Dutch schoolmaster at Bergen-op-Zoom, and his work on versification was used in Eton's fifth form. The work consists of rules plus classical examples. More important was Mosellanus, who had produced two textbooks, Paedologia and Figurae. The former presented a new method of teaching Latin forms, the Renaissance dialogue, replete with humanist assumptions and judgements. The Figurae was a textbook for letter-writing instruction, generally used along with Erasmus' Copia. While one need not go so far as A.F. Leach in claiming that these authors exemplified a re-importation of Lollardy,[19] Cox's use of them does demonstrate an important and hitherto ignored importation of the Northern Renaissance's desire for a Philosophia Christi. Since Cox used Mosellanus' texts in

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[17]John Despauter Ninivitae, Ars Epistolica (1512) and Artis Versificationiae Comendium (n.d.).

[18]Mosellanus was born in 1493 or 1494 in Germany and was educated at Cologne. In 1515 he studied under Richard Croke at Leipzig and succeeded him as professor of Greek at Leipzig. See R.F. Seybolt, Renaissance Student Life (Urbana, 1927), xiv ff.

[19]Leach, "Eton College," Bucks History, II, 182.

his administration at Eton and in the education of Prince Edward,[20] a brief examination of the more opinionated of the two books, the Paedologia, is in order.

First, Mosellanus maintains that much of what passed as Christian in the early sixteenth century was actually an accretion of pagan rites and social customs. In Dialogue XXXI, for example, Eurbanius and Kilianus discuss the cleansing rites preceding Corpus Christi day as being similar to pagan cleansing rites;[21] and in discussing the feast of St. Urban, Servatus asks Raphael why Christians from Raphael's home town get drunk, thus acting as pagans did at the feast of Bacchus. The dialogue proceeds as follows:

> Raphael: They think that when the saint is thus propitiated (by drunkeness), grapes grow more abundantly.
> Servatus: O stupid men, who think themselves deserving of the saints by drinking-bouts and intoxication, when they may please God the ruler by abstinence and sobriety.[22]

Such an exclamation is not isolated, for another viewpoint revealed by Mosellanus is his insistence on the search for true piety and learning. In Dialogue XXIV, for example,

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[20]Nichols, Literary Remains of King Edward VI (London, 1867), 392; cited below as Literary Remains from one-volume edition.
 [21]P. Mosellanus, Paedologia (Seybolt, trans, Urbana, 1927), 76 ff.

[22]Ibid., 82 ff.

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> that I may be able at leisure to retire from
> these labors of onus into the cultivation of
> true piety.[23]

In dialogue XIX, Martinus catches Valerius violating a fast

of St. Catherine, the patron of learning:

> Valerius: . . . to speak frankly with you,
>   I have always thought that Christ was
>   the true patron of learning, since he is
>   frequently celebrated in the name of wis-
>   dom in church services.
> Martinus: You are trying to introduce some
>   novelties.[24]

With this cynical reply about "novelties" Mosellanus is

clearly critical of traditional religion and willing to

search for new piety and new learning; in short, for

Christian humanism.[25] A third theme presented by Mosel-

lanus, and later by Cox, is dissatisfaction with the social

and economic status of students. Mosellanus, speaking

through his dialogues, bemoans the poverty of students, and

one can appreciate the popularity this must have had among

contemporary readers. In a broader sense the dialogues are

comprised of social criticisms. In Dialogue XXIII Conradus

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[23]P. Mosellanus, _Paedologia_ (Seybolt, trans, Urbana,
1927), 60 ff.

[24]_Ibid._, 51 ff.

[25]_Ibid._, 28 ff. He suggests that pagan rites and
authors be replaced by Erasmus' _Enchiridion_.

speaks out against the many required fasts, and Aedidius

replies that the church fathers created them "for people

like themselves who are rich and voluptuous."[26] On

answering Conradus' inquiry as to the source of his nega-

tive attitude, Aedidius cites a scholar who had read St.

Jerome's works; and Conradus replies, "I am grateful to

St. Jerome . . . ."[27] Similarly, the dialogue between

Valerius and Nicholas at a feast to the Blessed Virgin

epitomizes Mosellanus' critique:

> Valerius: Why haven't you a candle, Nick?
> Nicholas: How should I have any? I
>   haven't even money to buy food? If I
>   were at home among my own people, my
>   mother would prepare some trifles of
>   this sort for me.
> V: Do you dare to call these sacred
>   things trifles?
> N: Why not? Nor should I immediately
>   become a heretic even if I do not carry
>   a candle, especially since I haven't
>   the means with which to buy one; for I
>   should think it would be much more
>   pleasing to Christ if the expense which
>   were incurred in the purchase of candles
>   were diverted to the use of the poor.
> V: But this is a praiseworthy custom.
> N: It is, to be sure, but not to the extent
>   that on account of it better and greater
>   Christian obligations ought to be
>   neglected.
> V: You are right, for I myself have often
>   laughed at the simple piety of little
>   women who, by placing thirty-six candles
>   before the cross every day, are satisfied

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[26]Mosellanus, _Paedologia_, 53 ff.

[27]_Ibid._, 53 ff.

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> that they are thus deserving of heaven,
> no matter how much the poor suffer
> hunger in the streets.[28]

With Cox's adoption of Mosellanus' text came the first
clear institutionalization of the <u>Philosophia Christi</u> in
the grammar schools; for while many intellectuals had
introduced this new Renaissance philosophy on an individ-
ual basis, Cox was able officially to establish it in the
curriculum of England's most important grammar school and
suggest its use to at least one other school, Saffron-
Walden School.[29] Further, Mosellanus' works were later
used in the education of England's next king, Edward VI.
The works of Despauterius and Mosellanus, therefore, must
stand with those of Vives and Erasmus as examples of the
Renaissance-Reformation desire for pure classicism, for a
return to pure and truly pious Christianity (in Moselanus'
case there is even criticism of early church fathers for
not doing this thoroughly), and for a correction of some
of the more obvious contemporary social injustices,
especially poverty. As a schoolmaster Richard Cox clearly
was involved in institutionalizing very radical ideologies
at the same time the government was espousing conservative
Catholicism.

Another phase of Cox's role as a teacher appears in

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[28]Mosellanus, <u>Paedologia</u>, 65 ff.

[29]<u>VCH</u>, <u>Bucks</u>, II, 85.

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his poetry, for it reflects many cultural ideas as well
as his ideals as a Christian moralist. In the poem "Say-
Well and Do-Well," for example, each characteristic is
put through its paces to prove good works out-value good
talk.[30] Similarly, in the poem "Will and Wit" the
Renaissance lessons of strict political obedience as well
as traditional Christian submission are cleverly taught:

> I wyll, said Wyll, clyme hye alought:
> Such folle, said Wytte, fall muche onsought.
> I wyll, said Wyll, noowyse he towght:
> Well than, said Wytte, all will be nowght.
>   For he that by wyll dothe rule his wytte,
>   Doth oftymes loose, whan he shuld knytte.
>
> This wylfull Wyll Wytte dothe leade,
> Thorough follysshe fansyes in the headde.
> But if Witte were ones in Wylles stead,
> Than Wyll by Wytte myght well be leade.
>   For wheras wytte dothe lead the wyll,
>   The knot half knitte is fasten styll.
>
> If wylfull Wyll wold ruled be
> After Witts counsell, folye to flee;
> Gods commundments kepe shuld we,
> And obey our kynge in eche degree.
> ·· For wheras wytte dothe rule the will,
>   The knot half knytt is fasten styll;
>   And wheras wyll dothe rule the witte,
>   Oftymes dothe loose, when he shuld knyte.[31]

As a teacher-poet Cox relied on personification of ideals
and strict adherence to the theme of obedience, but his

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[30]R. Cox, "Six Ballads with Burdens," J. Goodwin,
ed., _Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature
of the Middle Ages_ (London, 1844), XIII. The only author
who had attempted to date Cox's poetry places this poem
in the period of the Marian exile; however, its contents
reflect Cox the teacher and moralizer, thus its inclusion
here. See A.P. Stanley, _Historical Memorials of Westmins-
ter Abbey_ (London, 1886), 399.

[31]_Ibid._, 6 ff.

ballads reflect a pietistic tinge also. He could write,
for example,

> Lourde, wounde my fleashe with feare,
> For I feare they iudgementes.[32]

Beyond these expressions of a schoolmaster and devout
Christian, Cox's poetry was also used as a sharp critical
tool against contemporary social and religious evils. In
the poem "The Black Sheep" he relies on these problems as
a basis for an attack on the mendicant friars and their
social effects. It is possible to interpret this poem as
a critique of the enclosure system, which already had
created problems of crisis proportions in the sixteenth
century. But such an interpretation is made doubtful by
two facts: the last line indicates that Cox is referring
to men; and Cox later produced a paper which indicated
that he was not averse to the changes in farming methods
in the century's agrarian revolution.[33] Also, as Bishop
of Ely Cox later encouraged enclosures rather than
impeded them. Regardless of its precise meaning, whether
an attack on enclosures or on mendicant friars, Cox's
poem is a nicely done piece of social criticism:

> This shepe he is a wycked wyght,
> Man, woman, and chylde he devouwreth quite,
> No hold, no howse can him wythstande:
> He swaloweth up both see and lande.

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[32] R. Cox, "Ballads," 11 ff.

[33] Below, pp. 43-46.

Men were wont ones off shepe to fede,
Shepe now eate men on dowtfull dede.
This willwysshe shepe, this rampying beast,
Consumeth all thorow west and est.

Halfe England ys nowght now but schepe,
In everye corner they playe boe pepe;
Lorde, them confownde by twentye and ten,
And fyll their places with Cristen men.[34]

The above poems cannot be dated with precision because

they were submitted for publication by Cox's son after his

father's death.   John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich received

them from the younger Cox, and the poems were not actually

published until 1844.[35]   The internal evidence does indi-

cate that they were probably written early in Cox's career,

for they reflect his position as a teacher of morals and

as a critic of both religion and society in the sixteenth

century.   His Renaissance scholarship and Reformation zeal

were inseparable.

Though the only positive view asserted by such

writers as Mosellanus and Despauterius was an encourage-

ment of pure Christian living, Richard Cox's Christian

humanism was characterized by positive social remedies.

Similar remedies have been identified by scholars in the

works of humanists close to Henry VIII;[36] however, few have

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[34]R. Cox, "Ballads," 5, 6.

[35]J. Goodwin, "Preface," "Six Ballads," vii.

[36]W.G. Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Policy (Cam-
bridge, 1948).   Zeeveld relies especially on the works of
Thomas Starkey and Richard Morison.   Also see F. Caspari,
Humanism and the Social Order, 22.

credited the radical religious establishment with blue-
prints for a new society. W. Gordon Zeeveld, for example,
traces such social criticism to Henry's advisers Thomas
Starkey and Sir Richard Morison, but Cox was clearly part
of the religious establishment. He had proceeded B.D. and
D.D. at Cambridge and served as chaplain to one of
England's most important bishops, Goodrich of Ely; and as
a social critic his plans went far beyond those of the
well-known religious social critic, Hugh Latimer. Cox's
1536 paper on social problems has been preserved by John
Strype, and demonstrates the close ties between Reforma-
tion religious thought and social radicalism within the
established power structure; and though Zeeveld has
traced the "liberal" political leanings of the Henrician
regime to the radicals in residence in Wolsey's college
at Oxford, Richard Cox had clearly gone beyond political
paternalism to a vision of a new Europe and a universal
Christianity.[37] Cox's paper is based on two historical
assumptions: that church lands were about to be suppressed;
that the Turks would soon be defeated and should therefore
be enticed to become Christians by Henry VIII and Charles
V.[38] This enticement would occur only after

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[37]R. Cox, "Paper," British Museum, Cotton Cleo-
patra, E4, Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, I, i, 413.
Background to Cox's plan may lie in the Cambridge dispu-
tations regarding papal power. See Cooper, Annals, I,
366-367. Cox's work is cited below as "Paper."

[38]R. Cox, "Paper," 418.

> good reformation be had of such things as
> have been brought in against the purity
> and truth of Christian religion. And
> among other things, the abundance of the
> possessions, and riches of the clergy,
> would be reformed.[39]

Cox's ideal for the clergy is repetitious of most Christian reformers' visions, a return to the idyllic status of the church under Christ and the apostles, a status, which, according to him, had been corrupted by the clergy's being swept up by Roman political power.[40] From such a perspective Cox proposed that the church voluntarily reform its life and doctrine, the net result of the former being an accruance of great wealth by the king.[41] And here Cox's plans shifted to expand upon the commonwealth ideals of Starkey and Morison.[42]

Cox's plan was that the king should use the possessions gained from property surrendered by the church to "cause some notable acts to be done for the commonwealth, and for the ministration of justice."[43] These "notable acts" clearly lay within the realm of economic improve-

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[39]R. Cox, "Paper," 418.

[40]Ibid., 418.

[41]Ibid., 418.

[42]Zeeveld, 36. Both of these humanists produced their economic theories in the context of the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536, and were more interested in providing economic redress to stimulate political unity than in fulfilling their idealism. Zeeveld does stress the common Oxford education which Cox shared with the others: "For it was out of this small group of enthusiasts that justification of the new Tudor program was to spring."

[43]R. Cox, "Paper," 419.

ment and included the following:

> to set vagrant vagabonds to labor . . .
> to relieve such as be poor and impotent
> . . . to build new towns and villages
> decayed . . . to make highways through
> the realm . . . .[44]

Though Starkey and Morison hoped for a society in which

the rich and the poor would come together simply by under-

standing each other, Cox envisioned a future of full

employment and bliss, a Protestant version of Utopia.

However, his appeal was not simply to the idealism of

King Henry VIII, for he added the provision that if the

king were to follow this advice, he would "get to himself

a right gracious name through all Christian realms."[45]

In addition, further practical appeals were made to the

king: first, taking church property would enable him to

provide military supplies; secondly, such annexations

would allow him to fulfill an obligation which all rulers

have "to prevent all dangers that might come to the people

after their death, even to the end of the world."[46] Such

ambitious proposals for eternal welfare are not evident

even among the most enthusiastic commonwealth men.

The remainder of Cox's plan reveals two important

devices: the use of prophecy and a delineation of secular

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[44]R. Cox, "Paper," 418.

[45]Ibid., 419.

[46]Ibid., 419-420.

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success as coming to the king who works at being success-
ful in a worldly way. Reforming clergymen as well as
medieval thinkers were fond of applying religious prophecy
to their rulers, and Cox did the same in encouraging
Henry VIII, as son of a famous mother, Elizabeth of York,
to make England great. Contemporary Catholics evidently
were using the same argument but they encouraged the use
of peaceful and lenient means.[47] They used an old proverb
which indicated that the son of a famous mother would
become more famous by avoiding stringent action. By using
the same prophecy, but with different goals and means, Cox
both appealed to the king and put down defenders of the
religious establishment.[48] Perhaps of more importance,
however, are the values maintained by this young radical,
values which reveal a turning away from an other-worldly
orientation. First, Cox significantly denigrated the use-
fulness of the religious establishment. He maintained that
the honor of God was not to be found in prolonging the life
of existing religious institutions, but in the creation
of the good life on earth:

> the building again of such a town, or such,
> or laying to tillage of such a park, is
> more to the honor of God and to the more
> profit and more surety of the realm, than
> the standing of an house of religion was,
> when it was in his highest prosperity.[49]

[47]R. Cox, "Paper," 421.

[48]Ibid., 421.

[49]Ibid., 420.

The traditional Christian motive of "the honor of God"
is not lost in such a statement, but its focus shifts
away from the contemplative life of preparation for
eternity toward the creation of a just existence on
earth. Secondly, Cox seemed to accept the teaching that
worldly success gives evidence of the blessing of God.
In his attempt to convince Henry VIII to carry out the
abolition of religious houses and to re-orient social
welfare, Cox envisioned an England and Ireland with
"plenty of corn" and "increase of people."[50] But such
increase was not to be an accident: good government
would increase the people; this would please God; God
would in turn cause King Henry to prosper: "_filius_
inclytae matris feliciter sublimabitur."[51] Upon close
examination this is an obvious adaptation of a rather
materialistic ethic, though based on Christian motivation.
"If the king's Grace will increase his people, whereby
the delight of God and the Glory also of himself shall be
increased."[52] It is apparent that Cox was willing to
ignore traditional satisfaction with eternal rewards, for
he viewed God's values and blessings as being material,
not just spiritual. Cox's Renaissance God thus takes on

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[50]R. Cox, "Paper," 421.

[51]_Ibid._, 421.

[52]_Ibid._, 421.

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the characteristic of one who is concerned with earthly life and who measures success in terms of fame and numbers; and this phase of Richard Cox's thought clearly illustrates the secular character of the Renaissance and Reformation upheaval. In adjusting to new social and religious conditions, strong appeals were made to divine justice, but the realities of the good material life could not be overlooked. Cox's views as expressed in the mid-1530's thus provide an example of the so-called "Protestant Ethic," an ethic in Cox's view which was designed to cultivate economic success among all the citizenry--an ethic rooted more in material realities than in biblical directives. In Cox's case at least, the new ethic seems more a Renaissance Ethic than a Protestant one.

As Cox proceeded B.D. and D.D. at Cambridge, he was clearly on the side of the Renaissance critique of contemporary religion and society. He soon reiterated his Protestant feelings within the Cromwellian establishment, but at the same time avoided both old-fashioned Lollard heresies and more recent Luthern pitfalls. To give a definite label to his views is hardly possible, but he was definitely both humanistic and religious, and this identified him with either Phillip Melanchthon's brand of Lutheranism or the Swiss brand of Reformation Protestantism. Though his ideological rejection of

Catholicism was initiated during contact with Cambridge
and Oxford Lutherans, Cox did develop a strong ideological
attachment to the Swiss reformers, that is, to Zwinglians
such as Heinrich Bullinger and Martin Bucer and to the
budding ideology of John Calvin. These thinkers were more
at home with the humanist scholarly tradition and there-
fore would have had much in common with Cox's background
and intellectual orientation.[53] Cox's Erastian leanings
directed his thinking away from rather than toward Luther-
anism, for in spite of his break with Rome Henry VIII
surely wanted no preference shown to Luther. Though will-
ing to negotiate with Lutherans for the sake of foreign
policy, Henry VIII was not amenable to Lutheran ideology
or in any way willing to accept Luther's ecclesiastical
leadership. However, the Swiss Reformation was not
unacceptable, for it was politically harmless and from
the point of view of Renaissance scholarship it was more
respectable. Thus, though Cox's thinking was oriented
toward Swiss radicalism, his peculiar brand of Protestant
radicalism seemed to aid him at the same time Lutheran
Protestants were being persecuted by the king's government.

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[53]Q. Breen, John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism
(Grand Rapids, 1938); J. Rillet, Ulrich Zwingli: Third Man
of the Reformation (Philadelphia, 1964); also, it has been
demonstrated that Cox's thinking was not at all alien to
early Calvinism. In fact, Cox's scholarship, secular ideas,
and theology can be compared to the same ideas contained in
Calvin's Institutes. Though Professor Cremeans, The Recep-
tion of Calvinist Thought in England (Urbana, 1949), 33, has
dated Calvin's influence from 1553, Cox's ideology would
support a contention for an earlier and perhaps greater
influence by the Genevan leader.

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Traced to 1540, Cox's intellectual and theological development does have interpretive connotations. First, the view which would have the English Reformation suspending Renaissance learning is unacceptable.[54] Henry VIII, Cromwell, and Cranmer were all obviously dedicated to the advancement of New Learning, not its destruction: and they were willing to reform universities and establish religious-educational foundations to accomplish their goals. Secondly, from the perspective of Cox's life the Renaissance and Reformation are closely linked together. The Renaissance critique obviously inferred religious change and social reform. It should be pointed out, however, that on both scores the ideas of Renaissance-oriented thinkers were rather nebulous. They could point out errors in contemporary practice but they had no carefully formulated plan for change. Only their Erastianism provided a usable policy for the Tudors, for their idealistic dreams of Christian justice were, for the sixteenth century, entirely unrealistic. Thirdly, English-Swiss relations were developed earlier than is usually recognized.[55] Richard Cox's ideas clearly were much like those of

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[54]R.W. Chambers, _Thomas More_ (London, 1935).
J.S. Phillmore, "Blessed Thomas More and the Arrest of Humanism in England," _Dublin Review_ (1931), 1-26.

[55]Above, p. 21 ff.

Zwinglians and John Calvin, though the unity of the Swiss was clearer in the 1530's than after 1541. Fourthly, the English religious critique was institutionalized early in the century in spite of Henry VIII's apparent alliance with Catholic thinking. Cox's education, troubles, and role as an institutionalizer all were operative before 1530 and were characterized by Christian humanism, not the rise of a definable class or "new elite." Richard Cox thus stands as a proponent of the Northern Renaissance critique, a proponent who was able to institutionalize that critique at a basic and important level--in an educational system which would produce the century's political and religious leaders.

CHAPTER II

SURVIVAL OF A RADICAL IN A CONSERVATIVE REGIME

PART I: Biography, 1540-1547

Though an obvious devotee of Renaissance and Reformation radicalism, Richard Cox rose within the court and the church. Church preferment was granted in both the See of Ely and in Henry VIII's new collegiate establishments; and in addition Cox was made a court chaplain. Also, he advanced to the high position of Prince Edward's tutor and was the king's nominee for advancement at Oxford University. After the downfall of Cromwell in 1540, Cox was soon elevated: on November 16, 1540 he was presented Archdeacon of Ely[1] and First Prebend of King Henry's educational foundation at Ely.[2] In the time-honored role of Archdeacon, Cox had legal jurisdiction on the Isle of Ely,[3] and in his capacity as Archdeacon he also was a leader in the Convocation of 1542. He delivered the opening sermon,

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[1] LP, XI, no. 305; Rymer, Foedera, XIV, 705.

[2] LP, XVI, no. 305.

[3] J. Bentham, The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely (Norwich, 1812), 269-270.

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preaching on the text, _Vos_ _estis_ _sal_ _terris_; and he is
credited with forcing his colleagues either to attend
Convocation regularly or be suspended from membership.[4]
As a Prebend Cox became part of the king's plans to
strengthen English education, for the king was in the
process of trying to create colleges to replace the
schools suppressed during the confiscation of monastic
holdings.[5] For the advancement of education in Cambridge-
shire the king founded a new school at Ely and stocked it
with learned men, the most important of whom were the
dean, eight prebends, and eight canons.[6] Statutes were
given to the school in 1544, but the appointments are
more significant: the new appointees, including Cox,
were generally radical reformers. The dean, Robert
Steward, was a known Protestant; Cox, the First Prebend,
had clearly and publically propounded Zwingli's brand of
Protestant opinion; the Second and Third Prebends were
Matthew Parker and William May, both known supporters of

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[4]Dixon, _History_, II, 282; Strype, _EM_, I, 573;
Strype records that Cox "suspended all the Prelates not
appearing or not licensed to be absent from the celebra-
tion of divine things, and from entrance into the church."

[5]Though often attacked as a greedy annexer of
church properties, Henry VIII did attempt to replace the
educational foundations which were destroyed in the sup-
pression of the monasteries.

[6]Bentham, _Ely_, 225 ff; Letters Patent, September
10, 1541.

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Reformation principles. The former was a Cambridge
scholar and the latter was Chancellor to Goodrich, Bishop
of Ely. The remaining prebends were either products of
radical Cambridge or were monks of suppressed priories.[7]
Thus, at the same time that Henry VIII destroyed the
Protestant Cromwell and turned to the strongly Catholic
Stephen Gardiner as his chief advisor, he was also
advancing Protestants who were more radical than Thomas
Cromwell. This suggests that Henry VIII was in fact a
favorer of the kind of Reformation already epitomized in
Cox's life: reform based on the ideas of humanist learn-
ing as it had been advanced in Renaissance thinking; not
a Reformation based on medieval Lollardy or Lutheran-
Augustinian piety.[8]

Though the king's real motives will be continually
questioned by Tudor historians, his actions were impor-
tant for Richard Cox, for he prospered and was called on
to serve the king. In two minor events, the trial of
Lord Dacre and the reported birth of a son to Anne of
Cleves, he evidently served the Privy Council and the king
as a message bearer and informant;[9] and in the same year,

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[7]Bentham, _Ely_, 225-65; Letters Patent, September
1541.

[8]Traditional Protestant historians such as Burnet
and Strype generally advance this latter view. They
depict Henry VIII as a Lutheran at heart even though his
actions hardly revealed any form of Lutheranism.

[9]_LP_, XVI, no. 932, no. 1414; State Papers, I,
696-699.

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1541, he was generously relieved from the first-fruits
due the king.[10]   At the same time he appears to have been
one of the king's chaplains, for in a grant of 1542 which
gave him a prebendary in Lincoln Cathedral, Cox is referred
to as "King's chaplain."[11]   Earlier grants had simply
referred to him as "clerk."   In the next year, however,
he did lose some property, for the king granted a lease
of a tenement in Woodstrete, property which was in Cox's
possession and had previously belonged to Cardinal Wolsey.[12]
The means by which Cox had acquired the property are not
known, but it would be interesting to know whether he had
received it directly from Wolsey or from the king.   If
from the former, the relations between the Cardinal and
the radical Protestants were more cordial than previously
known.   More important for Richard Cox's career and repu-
tation was his elevation to the deanery of the king's
foundation at Osney on January 8, 1544.[13]   Perhaps this
position was granted because Henry VIII's projected
reorganization of bishoprics had never been carried out.
In that plan Cox was designated for a new bishopric,

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[10]LP, XVI, no. 1226; Pat. 33 Henry VIII, p. 2,
MSS 40-43.

[11]LP, XVII, no. 362; the prebend is described as
"prebend of Sutton and Buckingham with Horley and
Horton, in Lincoln Cathedral . . . ."

[12]Ibid., XXIII, no. 24.

[13]J. LeVeve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae (Oxford,
1854), III, 567.

Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, the projected value of which
was one thousand three pounds. Three hundred thirty-six
pounds of that amount were designated for the new bishopric.[14]
The new see was never created, and Cox settled for a
deanery instead. Osney was another foundation in the
king's plans for supporting learning. Originally desig-
nated as a bishopric, it was changed to King Henry's
College, Oxford. It was then united with Cardinal's
College, and subsequently became Christ Church, Oxford.[15]
Richard Cox moved from his position as Dean of Osney to
become the first Dean of Christ Church College as endowed
and established on December 11, 1546.[16] The close rela-
tions between the religious-educational foundations is
apparent from Cox's actions as early as 1543. According
to Oxford's historian, Anthony Wood, Cox had asked in
1543 to be admitted to the university as one of its doctors
of divinity, but he was denied that position;[17] however,
in June of 1545, some six months before the king made him

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[14]Strype, EM, I, ii, 407. The previous document in
Strype's collection also contains a list of intended bishop's
seats.

[15]LeNeve, II, 511; W. Combe, The History of the
Abbey Church of St. Peter's Westminster (London, 1812),
233-237; Letters patent, December 17, 1540.

[16]LeNeve, II, 503; Pat. p. 3, 38 Henry VIII;
Bentham, Ely, 193.

[17]Wood, History and Antiquities, 919.

Dean of Christ Church College, Cox was admitted a doctor
of sacred theology.[18]   Though the court-university poli-
tics are muddled at this point, it is again apparent that
Henry VIII was deeply involved in re-organizing his church,
in supporting Renaissance education, and in granting prime
positions to theological radicals.   The latter two general-
izations also apply to the king's care for his son's edu-
cation.

King Henry VIII not only promoted Protestants within
the church, but he also appointed two such men, Richard Cox
and John Cheke, to tutor Prince Edward.   A case can be
made that Cheke's religious preferences at the time of his
appointment were not clearly Protestant, but the same
argument does not hold true for Cox;[19] for he had publically
expressed his radical ideas in 1540 and had survived and
prospered in spite of them.   In addition, he was reputed
to be a fine teacher, especially as an instructor of young
boys regarding morals and grammar; in short, he educated
Renaissance men.   Basic grammar instruction seems to have
been his forte, for scholars, including the editors of the

[18]Wood, History and Antiquities, 922.

[19]J.K. McConica, English Humanists and Reformation
Politics (Oxford, 1965), 223; W.K. Jordan, ed., Chronicle
and Political Papers, Edward VI, (Ithaca, 1966), xii;
J. Nichols, Literary Remains of Edward VI, xiv; Nichols
accounts for Cox's promotion by citing Cranmer's influence.
Though L.B. Smith (American Historical Review, LXXX, 1966)
maintains that Cox was not a known Protestant, his conten-
tion is wrong.

British Museum Catalogue, have credited Cox with compil-
ing the well-known "Lily's Grammar," a textbook of long
standing for the inculcation of classical learning.[20]
The grammar which Cox produced, however, is better
labelled "Royal Grammar," for it was set up by a royal
proclamation,[21] was edited by a royal commission which
was probably headed by Richard Cox,[22] and was in no sense
a grammar book by William Lily. Rather, a royal committee
created the work on the basis of the grammars of many well-
known Renaissance writers[23] and thus in reality the com-
mittee produced a Latin and English version of a govern-
ment grammar text:[24] A Shorte Introduction to Grammar and
Breuissima institution grammatices cognioscendae.
Whether Cox was the actual editor cannot be decisively
proved, though he does seem the most likely candidate,
and is in fact the only man ever personally alluded to in
histories of the work's publication.[25] If he was the edi-
tor, he was quickly rewarded, for by 1543 he was Prince
Edward's tutor.

[20]Simon, 191; C.G. Allen, "The Sources of Lily's
Grammar," The Library, fifth series, X (1954), 35-103.

[21]Royal Proclamation, 1543, Hughes and Larkin, 317.

[22]Allen, 100.

[23]The works of Erasmus, Lily, Vives, and Mosellanus
were used.

[24]Allen, 100.

[25]Ibid., 89.

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As tutor Cox's role was probably to give moral
instruction and basic drilling in grammar, for the young
prince was no older than seven. Strype credits Cox with
giving Edward "Christian manners, as well as other learn-
ing;"[26] and the tutor apparently had a great deal of suc-
cess: Edward turned out to be a learned, conscientious,
and rather narrow Protestant. As stated by Gilbert Burnet,
the tutors "who were about the young king, were also very
careful to infuse right principles of religion into him."[27]
While Cox continued as Edward's close companion, John
Cheke was added as tutor in 1544 "as a suppliment to Mr.
Cox, both for the bettere instrucsion of the Prince, and
the diligent teaching of suche children as be appointed
to attende uppon him."[28] At the same time, Cox was ele-
vated to the position of Almoner, a post which he would
hold throughout King Edward VI's reign. The supplementary
tutor, John Cheke, was also a proponent of the New Learn-
ing; and, while a professor of Greek at Cambridge, he had
engaged in a controversy with Bishop Gardiner over pure
pronunciation of the Greek. Though Gardiner was nominally
the power in the king's council, his influence seems to

[26]Strype, EM, II, 13 ff.

[27]G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the
Church of England (New York, 1843), III, 32; A.G. Dickens,
The English Reformation (London, 1964), 194.

[28]SP, I, 764; this is taken from council minutes of
July 5, 1544; also Nichols, Literary Remains, 4.

have diminished when the king married Katherine Parr; thus
Cheke, though Gardiner's enemy, could be promoted to being
one of the prince's tutors. James K. McConica has nicely
labelled the outlook of the new queen's faction at court
as "Erasmian and pietistic," and traces its origins back
to the household of Katherine Parr's former husband, Lord
Latimer. He had protected such reformers as Coverdale,
Hugh Latimer, and Parkhurst,[29] and evidently their influ-
ence had not failed to leave its mark. The prince's edu-
cation, however, probably was not revolutionized, for Cox
himself was enamored of Renaissance educational methods
and used both Erasmus' and Vives' works.[30] In fact,
McConica credits Cox with influencing Henry's decision to
bring in Cheke as a supplement by working through Dr.
Butts, King Henry's personal physician.[31] Butts was
usually amenable to Protestantism, and McConica's account
is not at all improbable.

Though Cheke became the more important scholar of
the two, Richard Cox remained, in name at least, the head
tutor. Evidence indicates that there was a close attach-

[29]McConica, 215.

[30]Below, pp. 57-59.

[31]McConica, 216; Strype, EM, I, 261; Strype credits
Butts with the rise of Thomas Cromwell and the appointment
of Hugh Latimer as King's Chaplain.

ment between Cox, the tutor, dean, and almoner, and the

"Young Josiah." This amicable relationship is recorded

in the documents accumulated by John Nichols, though he

does tend to over-emphasize the uniqueness of the prince's

education. For example, Nichols claims that the court

school conducted by Cox and Cheke foreshadowed later

Reformation grammar schools, thus crediting the later

Tudors with founding new educational methods and systems.

It is clear, however, that many such schools actually

originated in the 1520's.[32] It should also be pointed

out that though Nichols has high regard for Cox as a

tutor of great "fidelity and integrity"[33] and quotes

Leland's praises of the tutor,[34] he also makes basic

errors regarding data of Cox's life. He has Cox dying

in 1591 instead of the correct date, 1581. This error

is repeated in W.K. Jordan's recent edition of Edward VI's

Works.[35] Prince Edward's judgement of his tutors was

favorable: "I have two tutors, Diligence [Cheke] and

Moderation [Cox]."[36] Also, several affectionate letters

from the prince to Cox have been preserved. Some of

[32]Nichols, xl; above, pp. 29-31.

89.

[33]Nichols, xlv; Leland, Encomia Illustrium Vivorum,

[34]Nichols, xlvi.

[35]Edward VI, Chronicle and Political Papers, W.K.
Jordan, ed., (Ithaca, 1966), 3.

[36]Nichols, ccxxxvi.

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Nichols,
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these letters seem to have been sent as reports of Edward's
progress: one of March 11, 1546 contains quotes from the
Roman writer Cato;[37] another, of June 28, 1546 quotes Vives
and Erasmus;[38] and several seem to be simply exercises in
letter writing, one of the main methods of Renaissance
humanist training.[39] However, the prince's letters do
reveal many other facts about his education. First, he
was apparently educated within a group situation, for
Edward's letter of April 2, 1546 refers to other boys who
were being similarly taught.[40] Secondly, Cox seemed to be
the object of much affection, for in a letter of March 24,
1546 Prince Edward begged his old tutor to reply: "Oro tu
ut literae meae tibi placeant etsi non sint dignae, sud
qua animus donatis voluit eas esse melliores."[41] Lastly,
as seen from Nichols' report of the contents of Edward
VI's library, the tutors used the latest Renaissance texts;
for as well as relying on difficult Ciceronian Latin, they
apparently used the critical works of Mosellanus (Paedo-
logia, 1532 edition) and Vives[42] as well as the new royal

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[37]Nichols, 5, document no. L.

[38]Ibid., 19.

[39]Ibid., 11-25. In a letter of June 13, 1546
(Nichols, 18) the prince in fact specifically alludes to
his purpose as that of practicing literate expression.

[40]Ibid., 6.

[41]Ibid., 5 ff.

[42]Ibid., 329. For others see Cox's letter to
Cranmer, LP, XXI, January, 1546.

grammars produced in 1540 and 1542.[43] That his education greatly influenced Prince Edward is hardly questioned, but problems do arise regarding King Henry VIII's motives for allowing such a man as Cox to educate his son, while at the same time the king was banning radical books and burning radical preachers. The king was either naive or had plans for a unique religious establishment.[44]

Whatever the king's motives, however, Richard Cox had risen to prominence, and in spite of his ideas had always adjusted enough to survive. Though a hunted Lutheran in the 1520's, he was soon elevated to become headmaster of prestigious Eton School. Though a product of radical Cambridge and notorious King's College, he was elevated to the deanery of Osney and headship of Christ Church, Oxford, England's center of religious conservatism. At the same time King Henry VIII was burning Lutherans he was promoting Richard Cox, even though Cox was a member of Cromwell's religious clique and was clearly a disciple of Zwinglian Protestantism. By 1546 Cox had advanced to a high position as head of the king's personal educational foundation and also as close friend and almoner to the next king of England. As often happens when one becomes powerful, Cox moved to a defensive posture.

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[43]Nichols, cccxlii. Above, p. 54, regarding the authorship of the grammar.

[44]Below, p. 88.

He saw himself as protector of England's educational system, a system under attack by "ravening wolves." In defending education Cox was not alone, for Matthew Parker, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, had to defend that institution against an attack by Bishop Gardiner. Parker, chaplain to Henry VIII and a Protestant, had been made head of Corpus Christi College at the king's instigation.[45] In 1545 Parker had allowed the performance of a censored Protestant play, but even the expurgated work was offensive to Bishop Gardiner. Their exchange regarding the play is recorded in Cooper's *Annals* and Gardiner's analysis of the relation between education and England's Reformation experience reveals much:

> Our obedience should be example to all
> other in public directions without occasion
> of all slander. If learning should now be
> an instrument to stir up dissension and
> trouble the common quietness, their opinion
> should be confirmed which not many years
> past have labored to prove in books in
> English that the universities be the cor-
> ruption of the realm. Oxford liveth
> quitly with fewer priviledges than we have:
> there be that would we had as few as they
> . . . and he that regardeth not his obedi-
> ence to his prince regardeth not much his
> obedience to God and his truth which he hath
> offended in the other.[46]

That the bishop had been won over to the point of view that "corruption of the realm" had come through university

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[45]Cooper, *Annals*, I, 417.

[46]Gardiner to Parker, April 23, 1545, Cooper, *Annals*, I, 424.

radicals is seen in his persistent attack on Parker. In
spite of the vice-chancellor's attempts to placate the
bishop, the university was officially reprimanded on May
16, 1545; but, more importantly, Parliament passed an
act for the dissolution of colleges and chantries.[47]
Though church properties had been stripped of value,
English nobles did not satisfy their avarice, and the
king turned to college and chantry lands to raise money.
In compliance with the statute of dissolution, the king
appointed visitors to determine the exact holdings of
each college and chantry.[48] Strangely, Matthew Parker
headed the Cambridge visitors (the other visitors being
Redman and May), and he could hardly be considered an
aggressive opponent of college wealth. During the period
of the visitation he corresponded with Katherine Parr and
implored her to defend the university from "lupos quosdam
hiantes," and to intervene with the king on behalf of the
university.[49] Her reply indicated her compliance and
reflects her ideal that universities should encourage
learning "as . . . amongst the Greeks at Athens long ago
. . . .", but she quickly added the desire that their goal
be "the attaining and setting forth the better Christ's

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[47]37 Henry VIII, c. 4.

[48]Baker MS. XX, 369, Cooper, Annals, I, 430b.

[49]Parker, Correspondence, no. xxiii, 31.

reverent and most sacred doctrine."[50]   A clearer statement

of the ideal of Renaissance Christian humanism would be

hard to find.   Parker, however, did succeed.   According

to his notes on the king's inquiry into the schools' prop-

erties, Parker reported that Henry VIII was quite surprised

that the schools could survive on such a small endowment.[51]

The Cambridge episode is important for understand-

ing Richard Cox's career as an administrator, for he faced

the same problems as Parker and performed the same function

at Oxford as Parker had at Cambridge.   Though Cox was not

vice-chancellor, he was obviously a man in whom the king

had confidence, for he had appointed Cox head of his per-

sonal college, Christ Church.   Cox's appeals for govern-

ment protection were made to a member of the Privy Council,

Sir William Paget, to whom he wrote and begged for aid:

> Because there is such a number of importune
> wolves that devour colleges, chantries, etc.
> . . . the realm will come into foul ignor-
> ance and barbarousness when the reward of
> learning is gone.[52]

Similar appeals were made in ensuing letters to Paget on

October 18 and 29.   In the latter appeal he referred to

Catholic destruction of library books, and indicated that

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[50]Lansd MS. no. 1236, art. 8, Cooper, Annals, I,
430b,c.

[51]Parker, Correspondence, 34; for his survey see
Cooper, Annals, I, 430c-439; also see Lamb, Cambridge
Documents, 60; and Masters, Corpus Christi College,
"Appendix," no. xix.

[52]Cox to Paget, October 12, 1546, LP, XXI, ii,
no. 260.

book burnings had led to the destruction of Bibles and even
of the king's primers. In the true spirit of an idealistic
schoolmaster and tutor he saw the destruction of the new
grammars as leading to teaching "the old latin with the old
ignorance."[53]

Closely connected with his defense of education were
his broader social concerns. He saw the foundations
(colleges and chantries) as basically charitable institu-
tions, and strongly objected to both the methods and results
of their proposed dissolution. In his October 12 letter Cox
demonstrated his continued concern for social problems, for
he included complaints against contemporary injustices. He
complained that widows and the poor were not being adequately
cared for,[54] and he also complained that just trials were
not the common rule in court litigations.[55] In short,
while Richard Cox remained part of the establishment, he
still expressed the ideals which many Christian humanists
advanced, pure learning and a just, Christian society.
The anomaly of his position was that by 1546 he was on
the defensive and could never return to his highly radical
pleas for social and religious idealism as he had expressed
them in the 1530's.

By the end of 1547, Bishop Gardiner's aggressiveness

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[53]LP, XXI, ii, no. 282; XXI, ii, 321.

[54]Cox to Paget, October 12, 1546, LP, XXI, ii, no.
260.

[55]Cox to Paget, October 18, 1546, LP, XXI, ii, no.
282.

faded. Parker and Cox, the king's university visitors,
lacked the desire to lay the groundwork for a thorough
purge, for in fact they favored the Reformation and the
New Learning. The property survey produced little which
would tempt the land-hungry courtiers. There was too
little wealth in the colleges. For Cox, however, 1546
proved a critical year: with the radicals he had defended
the New Learning; he had acted quite conservatively in the
prosecution of Dr. Crome, a confessed Protestant whose
recantation had been rejected largely by Cox's objections
that Crome remained a Lutheran;[56] and he had firmly estab-
lished himself at Oxford and at the king's court. With
these varied credentials, Richard Cox, aged 47, assumed a
leadership role which he would not lose until shortly
before his death in 1581.

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[56]SP, 842-844.

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PART II: Richard Cox as a Disciple of Zwinglian Theology

As the English Reformation advanced into the era of
the 1540's, it at first appeared that Protestantism would
be a clear victor. Cromwell seemed untouchable; foreign
affairs seemed destined to produce an English alliance
with German Lutherans; and the material foundation of
Catholicism had been ripped away. It was on the basis of
these factors that Martin Bucer could express his great
joy with the progress of the Reformation in the island:

> We all of us acknowledge how graciously
> England is dealt with, to whom alone it
> is given so far to recover itself in the
> midst of so many impediments. And we
> count you altogether happy in the Lord,
> from whose labours has resulted such
> fruit.[1]

By 1541, however, Protestant hopes had proved illusory:
Cromwell fell; the Cleves debacle ended the era of
Lutheran friendship; and the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen
Gardiner, seemed firmly in power. In explaining the
about-face, one could resort to castigating Henry VIII as
incompetent or cite the basic social upheaval which had
disoriented English society; or any number of psychologi-
cal and sociological explanations could be contrived.
From the point of view of Richard Cox's career and in the
context of intellectual history, another explanation has

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[1]Bucer to Cranmer, October 23, 1538, O.L., I, 520 ff.

validity. Though the king expected his intellectuals to
be anti-Roman, it did not follow that they had to be pro-
Lutheran or even pro-Catholic, for by 1541 Zwinglianism
and Calvinism had polarized and were distinct choices out-
side Lutheranism. The humanism propounded in the Swiss
version of the Reformation was both scholarly and Christian
humanism, and one brand, that of Martin Bucer, was entirely
willing to leave many theological problems open to question.
In fact, it was in the context of the confusion of the
late 1530's that Bucer had expressed his pleasure with
the progress of English Protestantism; however, his letter
of 1538 was written when England could hardly have been
labelled "Protestant." The educational system was in dis-
array; the Pilgrimage of Grace had recently demonstrated
the depth of the social upheaval which accompanied the
Reformation; and the Bishops' Book, a compromise document
at most, demonstrated the lack of any ideological unity.
Why could Bucer be happy?

The answer lies in the fact that from the point of
ideas and intellectual history, leaders of the Reformation
of the 1530's and 40's demonstrated the results of the
humanist critique: anti-Romanism and the humanist desire
for pure biblical scholarship. Richard Cox was a repre-
sentative of both attitudes, and in the formulation of the
last important religious document of King Henry VIII's
reign, the King's Book, Cox clearly exemplified the

Christian humanist ideology.[2] In 1540 Archbishop Cranmer

had, at the king's instigation, initiated a series of

seventeen questions for distribution among church leaders.[3]

The consensus of these questions would eventually, in

1543, comprise the king's last official word regarding

doctrine. Cox's position on each of the questions came

more from humanist intellectual iconoclasm than any

desire to formulate a formal doctrinal position, and his

replies regarding the seventeen questions reveal his

basic orientation.

The main thrust of the questions formulated by

Cranmer was an inquiry into opinions regarding sacraments:

what they are, how many there are, and what they accomp-

lish. The Roman Catholic view that sacraments were in

themselves conveyors of grace had been rejected by the

major Protestant reformers, but the creation of Protestant

unity regarding the nature and efficacy of these means of

grace was not forthcoming. Instead, Protestants soon fell

to acrimonious bickering, and such bickering over the

Lord's Supper led to the failure of the Council of Regens-

burg in 1541. The gross iconoclasm of the Swiss humanists

(Zwinglians) stood in clear opposition to the more conser-

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[2]R.W. Dixon, _History of the Church of England_,
(London, 1811), II, 303 ff; Dixon gives the most complete
secondary account; Burnet, _Records_, I, ii, 356-403 quotes
the discussions in full; Strype, _Cranmer_, "Appendix," no.
XXVII contains the same; also see _LP_, XV, 826; the docu-
ment containing the responses is cited below as R. Cox,
"Resolutions," by question.

[3]_LP_, XV, no. 826.

vative Lutheran views; and the followers of John Calvin,
though intellectually closer to Zwinglians, still could
not agree with them completely. That Cranmer could dare
to hope for English unity is a puzzle in itself, but the
questions came and the differences among the theologians
revealed wide and deep divisions. On the conservative
side stood the Roman Catholic followers of Gardiner, who
had accepted royal supremacy but little else that was new.
In the middle stood Cranmer, quite Lutheran (or perhaps
Wycliffite regarding the eucharist). On the radical
fringes came Richard Cox and the Bishops of St. Davids
and Hereford. With the first few answers, this radical
position was established, for in response to the simple
question of what a sacrament was Cox replied, "I find not
in Scripture the definition of a Sacrament, nor what a
Sacrament is."[4] In part the entire group was impelled to
agree with this point, but they clearly wished to make
something holy and mysterious of the sacraments. Their
"Agreement" was that sacraments were "not evident in
Scripture, but mysterium, that is, a secret, or a hid
thing."[5] In his response to question three regarding the
number of sacraments, Cox continued his "devil's advocate"

[4]R. Cox, "Resolutions," Question no. 1.

[5]Ibid., Question no. 1. An "Agreement" accompanied
each "Question," and usually was a compromise statement
unless only one or two continued to object. In addition,
those being interrogated were allowed to state their posi-
tions after the "Agreement" had been formulated.

role when he stated that scriptures give many examples of
mysterious happenings, or sacraments: the king's secret
in the Apocryphal Book of Tobit, chapter 12; Nebuchadnezaar's
Dream in Daniel 2; Matrimony; the Incarnation of Christ
as described in Ephesians 3.[6] With such answers he was
obviously negating any hope for achieving unity by rely-
ing on either Biblicism cr traditional views as to how
grace was received. This was humanist relativism in a
virile form.

From biblical inquiry the questions turned to the
next obvious source of authority, the church fathers.
Again Cox refused to be cornered: his list of sacraments
based on evidence from the early fathers' writings
included Baptism, Eucharist, Marriage, Ordination, Chris-
mation, Laying of the Hands in Baptism, and concluded with
the eternal escape mechanism, "et cetera."[7] The "Agree-
ment" was that there was no "determinate" number, though
conservatives held out for seven and Barlow would allow
only four.[8] In a similar but more dangerous vein the
theologians were required to react to a statement that
seven sacraments were taught in scripture and by the
ancient church fathers "and were so to be taught" to

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[6]R. Cox, "Resolutions," Question no. 3.

[7]Ibid., no. 4.

[8]Ibid., no. 4.

contemporary Christians. In his reply to this Cox moved
from his position as devil's advocate to being a virtual
heretic. He asserted that the traditional seven were
neither scriptural doctrines "nor of the old Authors, nor
ought to be taught."[9] Again he was joined by Fox and
Earlow.

As the questioning turned to demand precise scrip-
tural knowledge regarding the problems of identifying
sacraments and evaluating contemporary usage, Cox again
proved troublesome. As to sacraments referred to or
implied in scripture, he was willing to accept eight,
including unction of the sick with prayers and excluding
confession;[10] and with Earlow he agreed that confirmation
"cum Chrismate" had no scriptural basis.[11] Similarly, he
refused to accept the conservative position that the New
Testament required consecration at ordination; rather, he
held that appointment and laying on of the hands alone
were sufficient. Earlow, being more radical, would
accept appointment only.[12] Cox's answer regarding the
sacrament of Confession epitomized the individualism of
his Protestant outlook; for while he did not deny the

[9]R. Cox, "Resolutions," Question no. 6.

[10]Ibid., no. 7.

[11]Ibid., no. 8.

[12]Ibid., no. 12.

usefulness of confession, he declared it need not be done
unless a person is "troubled in his conscience, that he
cannot be quieted without godly Instruction."[13] In this
position he was joined by two of the conservatives,
Tresham and Robertson. But the significance of their
answer cannot be ignored: it demonstrated that there was
a Protestant position which would accept Catholic rites,
but only in an individualized, spiritual, and symbolic
sense. This was Cox's Zwinglianism at its strongest.
Rather than dispose of the Christian tradition, he was
willing to put it in a setting of historical relativity;
rather than accept blanket conveyance of grace, he
stressed individual piety. This view was parroted by Cox
regarding anointment with oil in the ceremonies which
accompanied one's remission from venial sins. Both Cox
and Barlow rejected the practice on the grounds that con-
temporary usage was not the same as that of the scriptures
and the church fathers.[14]

Cox emerged from this phase of the questioning as
a rather radical Protestant. He, along with Dr. Day and
the Bishops of Hereford and St. Davids, refused to accept
the view that there were clear scriptural bases for seven
sacraments.[15] Also, he refused to attribute any authority

[13]R. Cox, "Resolutions," Question no. 15.

[14]Ibid., no. 17.

[15]Ibid., no. 5.

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to sacraments beyond their being a "sacre rei Signum."[16]
This view was hardly in accord with the position assumed
by the King's Book, but strangely was not completely
rejected by the others being questioned: the "Agreement"
was that a Sacrament was the "sign of a holy thing," but
not the "visible Form of an invisible Grace."[17]

Any attempt to account for the historical origins
of Cox's ideas regarding sacraments would be an intermin-
able process, but in the context of contemporary views he
clearly represented the tradition of Zwingli and Bucer.
He was Zwinglian in his steady reliance on both humanist
scholarship and in his emphasis on the symbolic meaning
of sacraments. His answers portrayed the humanist habit
of thorough scholarship, scholarship which found contra-
dictions in time-honored church authorities and had failed
to locate clear scriptural evidence for many religious
institutions. Martin Bucer was of greater influence than
Zwingli as far as Cox is concerned, for Cox refused to
push the humanist iconoclasm as far as the other leading
Swiss Zwinglian, Heinrich Bullinger. In spite of his
personal beliefs, Cox accepted the conservative King's
Book without public objection; for, with Bucer, his ideal
was that of a unified Christendom, not an atomized church.

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[16]R. Cox, "Resolutions," Question no. 2.

[17]Ibid., no. 16.

But it is also necessary to understand the closeness of
the views of Bucer and John Calvin in 1540, for such an
understanding further clarifies Cox's ideological posi-
tion.[18] Both Bucer and Calvin were concerned for Protes-
tant unity, for the church as the "kingdom of God"
rather than an institution without unity;[19] and both
idealized "the idea of a universal protestantism."[20]
Both had similar views on the sacraments, predestination,
and church discipline,[21] the last being a device to
counteract the extreme individualism of the Anabaptists.[22]
Together Calvin and Bucer also shared the ideal of a
state in which all citizens, poor as well as wealthy,
were protected as part of a larger kingdom of God.[23] Of
course, their ideologies ultimately diverged: Calvin
adjusted when he actually became the leader of an inter-
national form of Protestantism; Bucer died in exile in
King Edward VI's England. Richard Cox, however, shared
in the ideas held by these two reformers. He shared

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[18]W. Pauck, "Calvin and Bucer," The Journal of
Religion, IX (1929), 237-256. Pauck's work demonstrates
the compatibility by 1540 of Bucer's and Calvin's
thought. Both were products of Renaissance humanist
scholarship and both worked together during Calvin's
exile in Strasbourg.

[19]Ibid., 240.

[20]Ibid., 244.

[21]Ibid., 245.

[22]Ibid., 247.

[23]Ibid., 248. Also see R. Tawney, Religion and the
Rise of Capitalism (New York, 1928).

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their scholarly critique. His desire for unity was clearly
expressed in his conformity and in his refusal to be dog-
matic in any positive way, for his answers to Cranmer's
questions never placed his Christianity into neatly defin-
able entities. Lastly, Cox placed great emphasis on the
Christian life as a life of positive social justice.[24] As
Pauck cites Bucer's Christian ideal from his _Ennar in quat
Evangel_ (Basel, 1536), so it is possible to epitomize
Richard Cox's thought:

> Vera theologica non theoretic et speculative,
> sed activa et practica est. Finis siquidem
> eius agere est, hoc est vitam vire deifismen
> . . . .[25]

Neither Cox nor Bucer, however, advocated the full accep-
tance of the Zwinglian critique, and this is another key
to Cox's outlook. For unity's sake he avoided a total
denigration of the sacramental system and thus also
avoided a direct clash with Lutherans. Eventually, as
Chancellor of Oxford, Cox would find himself embroiled in
the controversy over the real presence; and like Bucer,
Cox would occupy a middle position: not Zwinglian, not
Catholic, not Lutheran.[26] But Cox's ideal seems to have
been the same as Bucer's, the achievement of unity. Apart

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[24]Above, pp. 39-44.

[25]Pauck, "Calvin and Bucer," 254.

[26]Below, p. 168. His defense of Peter Martyr
would place his theory of the Lord's Supper on the Calvin-
ist side.

from such ideals survival was a continual problem for any religious radical, and this was no exception in Cox's life.

Richard Cox's individual solution to the problem of survival was to answer questions regarding the nature of the church and its authority as obscurely as he had handled the sacraments. In this obscurity, however, he could not help but appeal to King Henry VIII's desire for power, for Cox seemed willing to allow the secular state to exercise religious power. In addition he attacked traditional views of the church's hierarchical authority. Regarding the office of bishop, considered successor to that of apostle, Cox temporized to the point of creating doubts about the very source of the office. He refused to accept the idea that bishops predated the office of priest, and concluded that bishops were "after Priests and therefore made of Priests."[27] The significance of this answer is in its implications, the most important being that the hierarchical structure did not comprise the church's first means of organizing itself. Rather, Cox implied that clerics had first selected the bishops, and that the ancient organizational model, which had become so important for sixteenth-century reformers, was in some sense democratic. He even questioned whether the apostles had

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[27]R. Cox, "Resolutions," Question no. 10; Cox, Thirlby, and Redman held that "in initior eordem fuisse Episcopos et Presbyteros." They thus implied a model which combined both bishop and elder-run churches.

possessed the power to force a man to become a priest.[28]
In addition, Cox did not limit ordination powers to bishops.
With Tresham and Crayford, he was willing to allow laymen
to ordain a priest when necessity demanded it.[29] Again,
Cox found himself in a middle position, for in answering
the questions regarding the authority to ordain, the other
respondents had usually allied themselves with lay power
or had cited the unique role of the church's authority.
For example, Barlow consistently revered the "Christian
Prince," while traditionalists upheld the church's author-
ity as being unique and ultimate.[30] Questions were
advanced regarding the hypothetical situation which would
occur when churchmen were not present and the secular
rulers felt that it was necessary to create a new clergy.
Cox, with the majority, maintained that the prince did
have that authority.[31] Lastly, Cox revealed his desire
for a disciplined Christian society when he responded to
the question, who may excommunicate, and for what reason.
He vaguely stated that "others" (than bishops and priests)
could excommunicate and that public crimes as well as
theological errors were grounds for excommunication.[32]

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[28]R. Cox, "Resolution," Question no. 9.

[29]Ibid., no. 11.

[30]Ibid., nos. 9-11.

[31]Ibid., nos. 13, 14.

[32]Ibid., no. 16.

Of greatest significance for Cox's survival, however, was
his political subservience. As one scholar has stated,
"Cox is nearly as Erastian as Cranmer, and Barlow more
so."[33]

As indicated above, the questions and exact answers
are not as important as the ideologies they implied; and
Richard Cox emerged again as a humanist scholar and a
reformer in the tradition established by Ulrich Zwingli
and modified by Martin Bucer. As a reformer he clearly
envisioned church-state cooperation in the reconstruction
of a disciplined Christian society, a medieval ideal using
modern methods.[34] As a humanist scholar he clearly
appealed to the primitive church for his model and demon-
strated in his answers a thorough understanding of that
church. But his Christian humanism also revealed itself
in his relativism. The past was a model, but could hardly
be completely reinstated; and important questions regard-
ing positive policies remained. While Cox could give
insights, he was hardly in a good position to proclaim
what the King's Book should say: the king's choice had
to lie between the radicalism of Barlow and Fox and the
conservatism of Gardiner's party, which was clearly in the

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[33]H.M. Smith, Henry VIII and the Reformation
(Cambridge, 1926), 373.

[34]Pauck, "Bucer and Calvin," 254. Though the
label "Bucerian" is used here, "Calvinist" could be used
as well; however, Bucer's explication predated John
Calvin's.

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majority. Henry VIII therefore had little choice but to
create an officially "Catholic" church, with the important
exception of his assuming its headship. In spite of this
official position, the king obviously appreciated Cox and
evidently was not averse to the ideas expressed by him.
In spite of his Zwinglianism, Cox was given the responsi-
bility of educating the next king of England, Prince
Edward.

Since Richard Cox was an educational leader in the
1540's his ideals as an educator are relevant to his
intellectual biography. Though most of the available
material reflects Cox's methodology, a few strands of
evidence indicate his view regarding content, views which
evidently changed little after his days as master of Eton.
As a grammarian he clearly favored the use of texts which
would instill pure, classical methods of using Latin. As
seen in his letter to Paget, he abhorred "the old latin
with the old ignorance;"[35] therefore, his involvement in
the revision of the royal primer seems quite logical.
But in an age of controversy even that harmless book was
suspect. The reaction to the first edition was that it
gave "offence" and was "seditious," but there is nothing
in it which could possibly have been seditious.[36] Few

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[35]SP, 842-844.

[36]Above, pp. 41-42.

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grammars and primers gave offence because they espoused

New Learning, not heresy. The content of the Prince's

education, however, was not so neutral. Nichol's survey

of Edward VI's library reveals the presence of the royal

grammar,[37] but also present were a homily by the Swiss

Protestant, Rudolph Gualter, and the works of Vives and

Mosellanus.[38] The last author was of course the critic

whose works Cox had used to revolutionize the Eton cur-

riculum.

Of equal interest are Cox's views on methodology.

Though Haddon saw him as "the greatest beater," he

clearly had endeared himself to Prince Edward;[39] and this

can be traced to the teaching ideals expressed in the

"Foreward" to A Shorte Introduction to Grammar (1540).[40]

Cox was apparently head of the committee which produced

the grammar,[41] and is the most logical choice for author

of the "Foreward." He favored avoiding "tediousness of

teaching," and though the new dialogue texts did this,

Cox advised similar techniques in teaching basic grammar.

The editor's advice "To the Reader" was to make grammar

study seem both easy and reasonable. The former was to

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[37]Nichols, Literary Remains, cccxlii.

[38]Nichols, cccxxv ff.

[39]Above, pp. 57-58.

[40]R. Cox, et al., A Shorte Introduction of Grammar, 1567 (c1540).

[41]Above, p. 54.

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be achieved by using easy examples, the latter by explaining the reason behind the rules rather than by forcing memorization of rules. Cox suggested that one learn "not by rote, but by reason."[42] To reinforce the basic grammatical foundation, the writer advised that the student be allowed to read a book of interest to him. These ideas were expressed in terms which demonstrate a schoolmaster's adjustment when the learning situation is not ideal: "if the foregrounds be well and thoroughly beaten in, let them not continue learning their rules . . . but rather learn some pretty book . . . ."[43] He further suggested the device so odious to most Latin students, translation from English into Latin. He concluded with an encouraging word for those teachers who enforced speaking the Latin tongue.[44] Cox's over-all ideal, however, was having students completely submerged in their studies:

> I would all their time they be at school,
> they should never be idle, but always
> occupied in a continual rehearsing and
> looking back again . . . to keep well
> their old, then to take forth any new.[45]

By his teaching methods and scholarship, Cox had made a mark for himself as a leading educator.

The major interpretive problem inferred by the

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[42]R. Cox, A Shorte Introduction, A3.

[43]Ibid., A3.

[44]Ibid., A4.

[45]Ibid., A4.

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facts of Cox's life and ideas during Henry VIII's reign involves deciphering the king's role in the progress of the Reformation. Was he Catholic, Protestant, indifferent, or simply out of touch with the great social upheaval which was enveloping England? G.R. Elton has worked out in detail the point made in the seventeenth century by Bishop Gilbert Burnet, namely, that Henry was never in control of his policies.[46] Depending on their respective views of history, other writers excoriate or praise the king on the grounds of his immorality, his lack of religion, or his dedication to the state. However, from the evidence provided by the ruler's appointment policies and his thoroughness it is possible to see the king in a different perspective. He acted as though he wanted a religious establishment which was a product of English culture and yet unified with the rest of Christianity.

John Strype excepted, historians have often ignored the thoroughness which characterized the king's plans and policies. It is clear that King Henry was obviously deeply concerned with supporting as well as reforming two of the most obvious pillars of English life, the church and the nation's educational system;[47] and Richard Cox's career

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[46]Burnet, I, 485.

[47]27 Henry VIII c. 42. This law is an example, for though the king was annexing church properties, he still released Oxford, Cambridge, Winchester, and Eton from payment of first-fruits and tenths.

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exemplified the king's concern. In Cox's progress under

Henry VIII, from Ely to Osney to Christ Church College,

as well as in the king's plans for a reorganized church,

it is apparent that the monarch wanted cathedral churches

which were centers of learning. The new organization was

analogous to the old monastic structure, but new appointees

were no longer dedicated to praying. They were devotees

of the New Learning. To encourage learning was the precise

role of Cox as Prebend of Ely in 1541, and further appoint-

ments granted to Parker and May reflected the same atti-

tude.[48] Known scholars, and radicals at that, were given

the plums of the re-organized church. For example, four

of the five prebendary stalls at Ely went to scholars and

the heads of colleges,[49] and similar facts emerge upon

examining the Westminster foundation of 1540. There a

bishopric replaced an abbey, but besides its resident

deans and twelve prebends it was to support the following:

> ten readers in divinity, law, physic Hebrew
> and Greek
> twenty students in the universities
> two masters of grammar
> forty grammar scholars.[50]

Whatever the king's religious motives, he seemed intent on

creating a learned England, learned in the sense of dedica-

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[48]Bentham, Ely, 225.

[49]Ibid., 225-253.

[50]W. Combe, The History of the Abbey Church of St.
Peter's Wesminster, Its Antiquities and Monuments (London,
1812), I, 235; Register Book C, folio 76 is Combe's source.

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tion to the "New Learning." His educational appointments,
with the exception of those former abbotts and monks who
conformed, went to Renaissance scholars, and scholars
rooted in the New Learning were selected to educate the
king's own son. Of greatest significance, however, are
the views of these men: they were hardly spineless
grammarians or simply proponents of "Erasmian pietism and
the cause of learning."[51] As seen above, Cox the grammar-
ian was also Cox the religious and social radical.

The same interpretive problem arises when the king's
ecclesiastical policies are examined; but his religious
views are even more difficult to identify because they
were so clouded by foreign policy. Charles V and the
Lutheran princes stood against each other, but each was a
live option for Henry. By allying himself with the
Lutherans the king would have pursued the most treacher-
ous policy, but an alliance with the emperor would neces-
sarily ensure to England a continuation of her role as a
second-class power. Though English hopes, such as those
expressed in Cox's paper in the mid 1530's,[52] were aimed
at creating a vision of international leadership, that
vision was surely a vain dream as long as land armies
dominated European diplomacy. In reality, England was in
a frustrating position: any ruler with Protestant learnings

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[51]J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (Berkeley, 1968), 474.

[52]Above, pp. 39-44.

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ran the risk of being destroyed. From historical hind-
sight Protestant success seems a foregone conclusion;
however, that was hardly the case in the early stages of
the Reformation. Henry VIII and his successors were
forced to act with caution.

King Henry VIII's caution was characterized by two
things, care to avoid presenting just one face to the
Catholic powers and care to ensure a uniquely English
religious revolution. The first of these two aims is
clearly seen in the king's various policies as applied
to the Continent: the Cleves marriage, a Protestant
policy; the Ten Articles and King's Book, a Catholic
policy, with the exception that it included Melanchthon's
adiaphora doctrine;[53] the Bishop's Book, a compromise
policy. After Cromwell's fall the second of the above
three choices seems to have been the king's guiding
principle, for doctrinal standards were quite Catholic,
Protestants were actively persecuted, and Bishop Gardiner's
power seemed to grow rather than diminish. The popular
interpretation of these facts is that Henry was obviously
disillusioned with Protestantism and that after the
death of Cromwell he simply had no policies which would

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[53]A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (London,
1964), 142.

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give England sound, creative direction.[54] The modern pro-

ponent of this view, Professor G.R. Elton, may have been

influenced by his dedication to elevating Thomas Cromwell's

reputation or to his own brand of political determinism,[55]

but his reducing Henry VIII to a mere cipher is hardly in

keeping with the facts. Though the king presented one

face to the Continent, his Catholic face, his institution-

alizing religious policies were in fact not detrimental to

radical Protestants. The basic policies of the 1534-1540

era were not surrendered when Gardiner replaced Cromwell,

for uniformity, a reorganized church, and the principle

of avoiding stringent enforcement of doctrinal uniformity

remained accepted policies. Thomas Cranmer's ideas, with

the exception of his eucharistic views, were quite Protes-

tant, yet he was protected by the king. Pro-Catholic

doctrinal statements simply were not enforced against

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[54]G.R. Elton, England Under the Tudors (London,
1956). Professor Elton's view is that the king never
really controlled his policies: under Wolsey he had been
"a mere cypher behind the over powering cardinal" (101);
from 1529 to 1532, between Wolsey's and Cromwell's periods
of power, the king;s rule is characterized as being "with-
out a policy" (122); Cromwell is credited with founding
the constitutional monarchy and organizing the nation
state (129); and the years without great leaders are con-
sidered years without a policy (186 ff). It should be
pointed out, however, that these views are contradicted
when Elton himself explains Wolsey's fall:" because he
could not serve the man who made him" (120); and when
Edwardian government is criticized for repealing Henry's
heresy acts (205). Regarding these last-named acts it
should be pointed out that they were not even enforced by
the king--as the examples of Archbishop Cranmer and Richard
Cox prove. They were only enforced against those who
publically held Lollard or Lutheran ideas, such as the
heretics Anne Askew and Richard Crome.

[55]Ibid., 110, 163.

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the archbishop, and neither were they enforced against
many other Protestants, Richard Cox included. Those who
were prosecuted as Protestants were primarily accused of
being seditious by publically teaching what had been for-
bidden. They were condemned more for their disobedience
than for their heresy.[56] That a person as radical as Cox
could survive and in fact advance indicates that there was
an alternative to martyrdom--silence. To look for a posi-
tive working policy, one must therefore look to more fac-
tors than foreign policy, official doctrinal statements,
and the persecution of some Lutherans and Lollards. From
the perspective of Richard Cox's career two additional
factors must be considered: the acceptance of the idea
that the church must be subservient to the state; and
basic administration policies as outlined in religious
directives, or "Injunctions."

Injunctions were based on the king's and the
church's administrative powers, powers which were unclear
due to the great institutional revolution of the 1530's
but which by necessity had to be exercised. The injunc-
tions of 1537 evidently were never revoked, and stand as
an excellent example of what Henry VIII actually envisioned
as a reformed church: instruction of the people in the
mother tongue, the supremacy of the king in ecclesiastical

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[56]Examples are Dr. Crome, Anne Askew, and Robert
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59Ibid.,

affairs, the setting up of the Bible in English churches,
and a clergy which avoided public scandal.[57] But beyond
these ideals there were also directions for a reformed
society. Sermons received new emphasis and were to be
directed at young people in particular:

> to provide and foresee that the said youth
> be in no mannerwise kept or brought up in
> idleness, lest at anytime afterwards they
> be driven for lack of some Mystery or Occu-
> pation to fall to begging, stealing, or
> some other unthriftiness.[58]

In addition, clerics were to provide for the poor and for
the support of scholars: one fortieth of holdings worth
more than twenty pounds was to be distributed to the poor,
those holding property worth one hundred pounds or more
were to give one fortieth of each one hundred pounds to a
scholar, and one fifth of the benefice's value was to be
used for church restoration.[59] In a concrete way the
injunctions implored the creation of a reformed society
in which the poor were cared for, learning was supported,
and "unthriftiness" was abhorred. These views were pre-
cisely the values expressed by contemporary humanist
critics of the church, and represent the ideals which

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[57]Cranmer, Register, fol. 47, Burnet, I, ii, 203 ff.
Though the Bible was later removed and replaced with the
King's Book, the rest of the injunctions were not revoked
or replaced.

[58]Ibid., 203.

[59]Ibid., 203 ff.

Richard Cox worked for.[60]   Thus, while the king was offi-

cially prepared to destroy the vestiges of Lollardy and

Lutheranism and to forbid the importation of Protestant

writings,[61] he actively supported the traditional human-

ist demands.   This was not necessarily due to his lack

of character or simply an expression of weakness, for the

humanists had carefully covered their own radicalism with

a strong belief in political subservience.   While Lutherans

practiced the same kind of subservience in their own

states, they somehow expected Englishmen actively to oppose

their ruler; however, Christian humanists generally

espoused quiescence.   Richard Cox, for example, could not

agree with the Ten Articles, but avoided signing them and

did not preach against them.   He was safe.[62]   Anne Askew,

Bishop Barlow, and Robert Barnes refused to follow this

policy of submission--and suffered for it.   On the other

hand, Cox prospered and was rewarded with successive pro-

motions: King's Chaplain, Dean of Osney, tutor to the

Prince, Dean of Christ Church College.   From the perspec-

tive of Cox's experience it seems clear that King Henry

VIII was willing to empower Protestants, no matter how

radical, as long as they were political conformists.

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[60]Above, pp. 39-44.

[61]Royal Proclamation, November 16, 1538, Hughes
and Larkin, 270.

[62]Burnet, I, 373 ff.

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From this point of view, the royal policy was neither as confused as Professor Elton[63] portrays it nor as Machiavellian as Dr. Lacey Baldwin Smith character- izes it.[64] Rather, it is distinctly possible that from 1540 to 1546 the king envisioned the creation of a uniquely English form of Protestantism,[65] in spite of the Catholic face he exposed to the Continental powers; and his seem- ingly contradictory policies make sense. Henry VIII was attempting to establish a reformed Christianity, and basic to it was his acceptance of the _adiaphora_ idea, a theory which permitted Christians to develop their own cultural form of the Christian religion as long as they agreed on the basic beliefs on traditional Christendom. This relativistic and historically oriented view was delineated by Cox in his answers to Cranmer's questions in 1540. It was officially accepted in the _King's Book_ in about the same form accepted in the theologians' Thirteen Articles of 1538.[66] The Thirteen Articles

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[63]Above, p. 85.

[64]L.B. Smith, "Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph," _American Historical Review_, LXXX (July, 1966), pp. 1237-1264. Below, pp. 91-92.

[65]Somerset, "Letter," Strype, _EM_, I, 600 ff; Strype cites a letter by the duke of Somerset which is preserved in the Faustina collection and which indicates that the king intended eventually to enforce Protestan- tism.

[66]Thirteen Articles, N. Tjernagel, _Henry VIII and the Lutherans_ (St. Louis, 1965), 237 ff.

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recognized the relative bases of traditions, rites, and ceremonies, all subjects with which Cox dealt in 1540, and expressed the _adiaphora_ idea by indicating that traditions, rites, and ceremonies

> have been varied, and they are able to be
> varied in keeping with diversity of regions
> and customs, even as the appointments,
> order, and convenience of the churches
> will appear to demand. For these tradi-
> tions have been varied and are able to be
> varied according to the variety of regions
> and customs where appointments and decent
> order will seem to the princes and rulers
> of the region to call for such a variety;
> nevertheless, they can be varied only in
> such a way that nothing be changed or
> instituted contrary to the word of God.[67]

While resting on the relativities discovered by Renaissance scholarship, the document was politically submissive in that it demanded obedience, even to evil rulers "rather than disturb public order and peace by resisting it;" however, it allowed passive resistance in demanding that the Christian "endure death itself rather than perpetuate anything contrary to God's will or precept."[68] These latter views are the same as those expressed by John Calvin,[69] but the importance of the document is that it lays the groundwork for a cultural definition of Chris-tianity. The problem of deciding what was culturally ade-quate for the English and the difficulty in judging what

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[67]_Thirteen Articles_, 291.

[68]_Ibid._, 303-304.

[69]J. Calvin, _Institutes_, Bk IV, Chapter XX, part 25.

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was "contrary to the Word of God" eventually created one of the great crises of the Reformation in England, but on the basis of the ideas described above the king's policies of the 1540's can be understood--and so can Richard Cox's elevation as an institutionalizer of the king's ideals. In the same context, the king's appointing of Protestants to educate the Prince also makes sense.

Dr. Lacey Baldwin Smith has pointed out that the nature of Prince Edward's education is basic in determining the king's religious preferences,[70] but his analysis that Cox and Cheke were simply "devout and obedient Erastians selected by the king for their learning and loyalty to the crown" and that they were not known Protestants is unacceptable.[71] Further, that Cox was used by the crown in the heresy trials of Barnes, Askew, and Crome, is not a consideration which clouds his own religious radicalism. Rather, they demonstrate his desire for religious unity in England and his subservience to the state, and these ideals were characteristic of the humanist-oriented Protestants. Included in such a group were Bucer, Melanchthon, and, until 1541, John Calvin. Thus, while foreign relations dictated a policy designed to placate the French, as Dr. Smith points out,[72] Henry VIII

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[70] Smith, "Henry VIII," 1243. Also see Scarisbrick, 474.

[71] Ibid., 1243.

[72] Ibid., 1255.

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quite consistently pursued a domestic policy which helped create a religious establishment which was patterned after the ideas of many Continental reformers and at the same time was uniquely English.

Cox's promotions and obvious popularity with the king indicate that Henry VIII's religious establishment was oriented to the New Learning. Basic to it were well-endowed and humanistic schools and universities, and Cox's life illustrates much energy devoted to these ends. His role as a student, master, tutor, and dean all demonstrate his dedication to institutionalizing Renaissance learning. Secondly, the New Learning developed a critique of traditional religion. The fact that Richard Cox had as a student joined those who searched for the Philosophia Christi outside the security of scholastic philosophy, that he negated the traditional view of the sacraments in 1540, and that he formulated plans for unity in 1536 all militated for an alternative to traditional Roman Catholicism. In maintaining these views he had much in common with reformers such as John Calvin and Martin Bucer. Thirdly, the New Learning was a social critique, and in this respect Cox's paper of 1536 was in conformity with Hugh Latimer's social radicalism, as well as the social ideal behind the injunctions of 1538. All envisioned a "commonwealth" ideal of full employment, "thriftiness," and justice. While Cox had plans for implementing these

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ideals, however, they never became more than hopes. After
the king had fulfilled the demands of military expendi-
tures and tried to satisfy land-hungry courtiers, the
treasury was empty. This is perhaps one key to the conser-
vative party's success, for those in power had gained far
too much from the Reformation by 1540 to allow the imple-
mentation of the idealistic social ethics of the Christian
humanists. Bishop Gardiner and his party viewed the
radical demands of the reformers as social revolution and
had little trouble conveying their view to Henry VIII,
and for a time these conservatives were successful.[73]
Fourthly, the New Learning provided the basis for the new
English church, namely, England's culture. Since this
critique exposed most traditional beliefs as historically
conditioned and therefore relative, there was little else
to turn to but past culture and the will of the prince.
Of course, there were idealists who wished for a return
to primitive Christianity, but such an ideal seemed to
humanists like Cox as impossible as any strict Biblicism.
Again, Cox's replies to the questionnaire of 1540 are
important, for he was unwilling to appeal to any unitary
picture of the primitive church. Rather, the adiaphora
provided a basis on which reformers could build, namely,
the history of their own cultural form of Christianity.

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[73]L.B. Smith, Prelates and Politics (Princeton,
1953), 145.

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Edwardian reformers were left the responsibility of defin-

ing a properly English way of expressing Christianity, and

again Richard Cox served as an important institutionalizer.

CHAPTER III

KING'S ALMONER AND CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD

PART I: Edwardian Administrator

Richard Cox's life during the reign of King Edward VI is easier to trace because of his role on many ecclesiastical committees and his fulfillment of the nearly impossible task of serving as Chancellor of Oxford University. Also, in this period more evidence is available for his personal life. The major problem of the critical and chaotic years from 1547 to 1553, however, was to establish what Henry VIII had intended to create, a reformed but uniquely English church. In laying the basis for such a creation, the deceased ruler had promoted the establishment of a series of educational-religious foundations, but had found it impossible to finance them. Thus, there were continued financial crises, crises which Edwardian governments were never able to settle with finality.[1] Instead, well-known expedients were used to raise money: since church land

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[1]This point is continually made by J. Dasent in his introductory chapters to volumes II, III, and IV of his edition of The Acts of the Privy Council.

had been almost entirely stripped, church plate and vestments were the next target;[2] coinage was debased to provide new revenues;[3] and the government even turned to stripping libraries and selling the bindings of books it had removed.[4] Aside from economic difficulties, however, the new government had to solve the problems created by the chaos in national religious life. Since Roman Catholic ways were not acceptable, it became necessary to formulate new vehicles of religious expression. Traditional Catholic methods of worship remained the basis of the religious service, but the English made two adjustments: they purged from religion what leading Protestants had labelled "superstitious" and created an "English Way." The results of these efforts were two successive productions, the Book of Common Prayer of 1549 and its more Protestant successor of 1552.[5] But questions of a constitutional and legal nature remained also; for, though Henry VIII's praemunire and supremacy statutes had solved the problem of the church's loyalty, they had left unsolved the problems of

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[2]APC, II, III, and IV. Throughout these volumes there are several examples of confiscation of church goods.

[3]Royal Proclamation, 1549, Hughes and Larkin, 440 ff; Proclamation,1551, Ibid., 518 ff.

[4]APC, vol. III, "Introduction," xvii; APC, III, 224.

[5]Proctor and Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1949).

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legal jurisdiction and the church's internal legal relation-
ships. Edwardian governments therefore had to deal with
the problem of ecclesiastical law.[6] The problem which over-
shadowed all others, however, was unity, for England was
inhabited by a mass of opposing factions; and though these
factions usually had selfish social, economic, and politi-
cal interests, they all seemed to express their differences
most vociferously when confronted with the prime topic of
sixteenth-century religion, namely, the unity of the church.
It was with religion that Richard Cox had most to do, and
it was as a religious leader that he had an impact on and
influence within English society. As King Edward's reign
proved both chaotic and critical for England, so it proved
to be for the career of Richard Cox. Cox, however, was no
longer the rising young man, for he had arrived. Within
the religious-educational structure he served as Dean of
Christ Church, Dean of Westminster, and Chancellor of
Oxford University. At court he held a position that
Wolsey once had held under King Henry VIII, the office of
King's Almoner. Because of his learning and probably
because of his political influence he was called on to
serve on many important ecclesiastical commissions.
These included the commission for canon law reform, both

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[6]*Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was produced, but never
adopted by either Edwardian or Elizabethan governments,
much to the chagrin of the martyrologist John Foxe and
the Protestant historian, Gilbert Burnet.

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committees for writing the Book of Common Prayer, a com-
mittee to discipline Anabaptists, and a commission which
investigated Oxford.[7] Again, therefore, Richard Cox
would be important as an institutionalizer; for, though
there is no evidence that he was a member of Parliament,[8]
and therefore could not be claimed as a creator of
policy, he was surely important in other ways. It was
up to Parliament and the court to establish basic policy,
but it still remained the duty of the countless govern-
ment functionaries to carry out those programs. From per-
forming an institutionalizing role at Eton and in the
education of Prince Edward, Richard Cox advanced to per-
form a similar role under King Edward. As he had been
called upon for religious advice during Henry VIII's
reign, so he again played an important role in establish-
ing English ecclesiastical policy during the reign of
Edward VI.

The highest official position Cox ever held at
court was that of almoner, and it is in that role that
he is usually alluded to in Edwardian state papers. Some
authors have even maintained that he became a member of

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[7]CPR, Edward VI, II, 251.

[8]Parliamentary Diary, Henry VIII, Edward VI,
Cotton Tiberius, D 1 (British Museum).

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the Privy Council;[9] however, there is no evidence of this

in the Privy Council's records.[10] Nor does John Dasent,

editor of those records, include him in any lists of its

members. The young king's latest biographer, Hester

Chapman, has claimed that Cox was demoted to almoner

when Cheke entered the court as an additional tutor;[11]

however, the position of almoner was evidently no mean

task. It was a duty that Cardinal Wolsey had performed

for King Henry VIII, and actually involved contacts and

responsibilities most courtiers and churchmen never had.

The almoner's extensive monetary resources are described

in a grant of March 16, 1547:

> Grant to R. Cox, clerk, STP, the king's
> great almoner, in augmentation of the
> king's alms, of the goods, debts, and
> chattels of all felons . . ., and all
> deodands, within England, Wales and the
> marches, the town and march of Calais,

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[9]A. Wood, _Athenae Oxonienses_, I, 465. In one sentence Wood makes several errors regarding Cox. He makes him Canon of Windsor on July 16, 1548, and adds that "about that time he was made one of the privy council, almoner to the king, and dean of Westminster." However, he had actually been elevated at Windsor by Henry VIII, long since deceased; had been made almoner in 1544; was not made Dean of Westminster until 1549; and never became a member of the Privy Council. Wood praises Cox's poetry and his ability as a tutor, but obviously interprets his rise as part of a Protestant conspiracy of overwhelming political and economic motivation.

[10]_APC_, II, III.

[11]H. Chapman, _The Last Tudor King_ (New York, 1959), 59.

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and the towns of Upper and Lower Boulogne,
forfeited to the king after February 21
last. Appointing him to enquire from time
to time for such profits and levy them.[12]

An entry from the king's household account of February,

1548 also illustrates the extent of additional payments

to Cox the almoner:

for so much money by him disbursed and
employed for the king's majesty's privy
alms (July, August, September, October,
November, December, January, February),
after the rate of xx Ll the month, the
sume of clx Ll.[13]

Evidently the almoner was reimbursed for his payment in

this case. Though his original source of money is not

indicated, it probably came from the broad grant of the

chattels of felons and loans. In addition to controlling

regular alms, Cox was required to distribute money on

religious holidays. A Privy Council entry of March 10,

1547, for example, refers to L 100, 2 s, 7 d that were

set aside for distribution among the poor on Palm Sunday

and Good Friday.[14] The same entry indicates that the

king's total contribution in the form of alms for 1546-7

was two hundred ten pounds.[15] Secondly, the almoner,

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[12]CPR, Edward VI, I, 101.

[13]"Household Book of Edward VI," Trevelyan Papers,
J. Collier, ed. (Camden Society, 1857), 191; according
to APC, III, 137, this amount L xx per month is again
paid for 1550 and promised for the next year.

[14]APC, II, 141. On April 8, 1549 a warrant was
issued to pay the almoner two hundred marks for alms for
Maundie Thursday (APC, IV, 18).

[15]APC, II, 114.

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because of the very nature of his duty, had close con-
tacts with members of the lower classes. Apparently the
king supported thirteen indigent citizens, for a Privy
Council warrant to William Cavendish indicates that alms
supported thirteen "poor men daily at v sterling apiece."[16]
This entry was repeated in the records of March 1, 1548.[17]
But the poor were not simply indigent beggars, for the
almoner also gave pensions to widows of veterans. A
Council letter of March 6, 1547 orders Cox to pay yearly
alms of forty shillings to Joan Power, widow of a man who
had been killed "at Boloyn."[18] Thirdly, Cox's role as
almoner put him in close contact with the higher echelons
of authority. He evidently had the Council's and the
king's trust, for he was entrusted with large sums of
money; and, given the young king's overwhelming piety
and charity,[19] Cox must have been a valued and trusted
advisor and confidant. John Foxe goes far in emphasiz-
ing the king's dependence on Cox in helping settle suits
for money.[20] That he was highly regarded is borne out
by his elevation to the office of Chancellor of Oxford

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[16]APC, , II, 114.

[17]Ibid., II, 174.

[18]Ibid., II, 447.

[19]Foxe, AM, V, 701.

[20]Ibid., V, 701.

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Cox's elevation again demonstrates the point that the English monarchy was intimately concerned with the nation's educational system: as for Henry VIII's, so for Edward VI's government. In the new government Protestant sympathizers were installed as heads of the universities, the Duke of Somerset at Cambridge and Richard Cox at Oxford. Cox was somewhat of an anomaly at Oxford, for he was a Cambridge graduate; however, he could not help but play an important role at the university, for he was dean of one of its most important colleges, Christ Church. Again his elevation was troublesome for he had married. Though there is no known documentation as to whom he married or the circumstances surrounding the marriage, the reaction to it at conservative Oxford could have been little else but hostile. Because of his marriage the chancellor was soon attacked by Dr. Richard Smith.[21] The problem of clerics being married was always an inflamatory issue during the Reformation, and in England it promoted the polarization of the religious split. Also Bishop Gardiner again had a point for disagreeing with the Protestants.[22] An additional complaint against Cox was that his election was not conducted in the usual

[21]Strype, EM, II, 68.

[22]Ibid., II, 103.

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way, and this extra-constitutional election explains how a

married Protestant and graduate of Cambridge could become

head of England's conservative university. Cox was

chosen on May 21, 1547 by a religious Convocation held in

London, and not by the university's regents.[23] This elec-

tion early in the new king's reign was a portent of the

new government's educational policies.[24]

Though Cox's administration will be analyzed

below, the course of his new Oxford leadership can be

outlined at this point. To say the least, his practices

were unorthodox, both in personal life and administration.

Taking a wife was completely unheard of for an Oxford

official, and the outrage expressed by the inmates of the

university indicated that they were hardly ready for such

a development. Moreover, Cox was willing to allow others

to marry also. The foreign divine, Peter Martyr, was

allowed to bring along his wife when he became a profes-

sor,[25] and Anthony Wood records that women servants were

permitted for the first time, as were wives of canons and

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[23]Wood, Annals, I, 124.

[24]Below, pp. 108-142. This portion analyzes the
political-educational policies, at least as seen from
the point of view of Cox's Oxford administration.

[25]J. McClelland, The Visible Words of God. An
Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr
(Edinburgh, 1957), 24; McClelland relies on the biography
by M. Young, The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario
(London, 1860), who in turn relies on A. Wood.

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heads of colleges.[26] It hardly seems likely that the

placid center of learning was turned into a community of

gossiping women and brawling children, but Cox's personal

act and new administrative policies had a great effect on

normal university life, an effect which has provided a

basis for the criticism leveled by many. Wood summarizes

additional charges against Cox also: that he permitted

and encouraged mocking of the Catholic religion; that he

allowed students to poke fun at professors "of the old

stamp;" that he interfered with the weekly disciplining

of students; that he allowed students to break fast days

and "to revel in common houses;" and that he encouraged

university preachers to "rail and brawl against Religion

and ceremony."[27] Lastly, Wood charges him with pursuing

a pro-Protestant appointment policy.[28] In short, Cox

emerges from Wood's account as an administrator with a

tainted record: a Protestant guilty of moral turpitude.

Aside from charges which would lead to such a

general condemnation of the chancellor, Cox did partici-

pate in two events which revealed his pro-Protestant views

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[26]A. Wood, The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, J. Gutch, trans. (Oxford, 1792), II, 1, 100.

[27]Ibid., 100.

[28]Ibid., 96.

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and which have opened the way for the charge that he was

the "Cancellor" of the university rather than its chancel-

lor.[29]   By 1549 one of the major problems within the

Protestant camp was the controversy over the eucharist,

and that controversy spilled over into Oxford.[30] As a

churchman Cox had been involved in the problem through

his appointment to a commission to study eucharistic

doctrine in 1548,[31] and again he had responded to a series

of "Questions." Again he revealed as Zwinglian a position

as he had in 1542.[32] At Oxford, however, disagreement

was expressed in a public way, for a disputation between

Peter Martyr and Thomas Tresham was organized, with Cox

performing the role of "moderator."[33] One could hardly

expect the head of the university, who had already been

intimately involved in the promotion of Protestants and

the importation of Swiss reformers, to defile Peter

Martyr and the Protestant cause--and he did not. Cox

has also been criticized for allowing the destruction of

library books, for his alleged participation in such

destruction has exposed him to the charge of destroying

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[29]J. Gairdner, History, 291.

[30]Secondary accounts are contained in Dugmore's
The Mass and the English Reformers and McClelland's The
Visible Word of God.

[31]Burnet, II, 98 ff.

[32]Burnet, II, ii, "Collection," no. XXV, 146 ff.

[33]Below, pp. 165-166.

the university's cultural treasures and of being a gross
hypocrite. When learning was threatened by Gardiner's
pro-Catholic policies, Cox had leaped to the defense of
the colleges and had complained to Paget about the whole-
sale destruction of books.[34] However, as chancellor of
the university Cox was accused of being part of a zealous
Protestant scheme to destroy Catholic power--and destroy-
ing their books was one tool at the reformers' disposal.
As a member of a nine-man commission to visit Oxford, Cox
had participated in the formulation of a set of injunc-
tions; and part of carrying out of the injunctions was
the destruction of Catholic service books.[35] Anthony
Wood has claimed that the zealous Protestants went far
beyond their original orders and destroyed virtually all
learning.[36] Though this accusation, along with many
others made by Wood, is an over-simplification, Cox's
reputation has suffered. A contemporary Catholic stated
the negative position clearly:

> O that man's blind mind, who yet would be
> accounted as assertor of true doctrine,
> and a vindicator of godliness! But how
> unworthy is he to be the chief of the
> University.[37]

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[34]IP, XXI, ii, 260, 282, 321.

[35]C. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford
(New York, 1924), II, 82, 83, 91.

[36]This charge is made through his works on the
university.

[37]Richard Smith, as quoted by Strype, EM, II, 325.

Though no one has thoroughly examined this charge as yet,
Cox's experience as chancellor was an unhappy one, for
his policy was neither entirely anti-Catholic nor pro-
Protestant; and thus he satisfied no one.[38] In 1552 he
requested that he be allowed to resign his position.[39]
Again he worked through Convocation, not the regents of
the university; and, according to Anthony Wood, Convoca-
tion approved his resignation on July 19, 1552 and fur-
ther promised that Cox would "never after be burdened
with the office . . . ."[40] In spite of his lack of
success at Oxford, Richard Cox's life during King Edward's
reign is filled with accomplishments. He continued to
play an important role in establishing Protestantism.

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[38]Below, p. 130.

[39]Wood, _Colleges and Halls_, 92.

[40]Wood, _Colleges and Halls_, 92; Mallet, II, 92.
The resignation is also reported by John AbUlmis in a
letter to Henry Bullinger on August 16, 1552 (_O.L._,
II, 457). He also indicated that Cox was to become
bishop and that he hoped the Duke of Suffolk would be
elected next chancellor. He must have been disillusioned,
however, for Cox received no advancement, and a Catholic
succeeded him as chancellor.

PART II: Application of Ideals as Head of Oxford

As Chancellor of Oxford, Richard Cox was important
in one phase of Tudor history which has been almost
entirely ignored by modern scholars, university adminis-
tration and policies.[1] Arguments regarding the relative
support given schools has been virtually perennial, but
administrative policies at the higher level and studies
of the wider impact of the Reformation on this phase of
intellectual and social history are lacking. This fact
is especially strange in light of the obvious importance
of the universities and the close interest Tudor monarchs
demonstrated in scholarly affairs. It is clear, for
example, that the universities were the source of leader-
ship of all phases of English society; therefore, produc-
ing graduates with an acceptable ideology was almost man-
datory. When Henrician government recognized this fact
it proceeded to support and control both grammar school
education and university training, and had assumed finan-
cial burdens as well.[2] New revenues were produced within
the church and by the king, curricula were re-oriented to

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[1]Scholarly studies usually have dealt with grammar
schools, such as the works by Leach and Simon. A. Wood's
works and those by Mallet do study Oxford, and Bass
Mullinger and Charles Cooper are authorities on Cambridge.
However, beyond Wood's and Mallet's studies little has
been done to analyze higher education thoroughly. Joan
Simon's work contains a brief section on Oxford, but no
thorough analysis.

[2]Above, pp. 49-53.

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conform to the ideals of humanist scholars, and reorgan-
ization of the universities was begun. In addition to
these characteristics, during Henry VIII's reign the
universities were entrusted to the leadership of disciples
of the New Learning. Richard Cox was one such disciple,
and he was promoted to become head of the king's own
college, Christ Church, Oxford. At the time of the
second Tudor ruler's death, however, the question was
open as to just what Edwardian policy would be. From
the point of view of Cox's role as an intellectual and
institutionalizer the important question remained as to
what his accomplishments would be in the new educational
structure.

Catholics interpreted Edwardian policies as hope-
lessly Protestant and at the same time many contemporary
Protestants abhorred the conservative aura of the regime,
especially until 1552;[3] however, an alternative view is
that Edwardian policy was directed toward avoiding
extremes and carrying out a reformation based on the
ideology espoused by the New Learning. It was a policy
which idealized unity and was developed by compromise,
just as Henry VIII's reformation was. That learning was

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[3]Bishop Gardiner exemplified the Catholic position.
Bucer, Peter Martyr, and John Knox were all Protestant
critics. Knox, for example, even refused to accept the
Prayer Book of 1552 as being too Catholic.

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supported is clear from the new government's directives.

They were incorporated in a set of injunctions set up by

a Royal Proclamation of July 27, 1547. The injunctions

set up the Bible in English churches, but added that it

was to be accompanied by a book of explanation, Erasmus'

Paraphrases,[4] and thus the government avoided a clear

alliance with either radical Protestantism or traditional

Catholicism.[5] Further, the same injunctions ordered

wealthy clerics to support scholars: those churchmen

holding benefices worth one hundred pounds were "to give

competent exhibition to one scholar" and do the same for

each additional one hundred pounds of their endowment's

value.[6] Such a provision was nothing new, for it repeated

what Henry VIII had done; but it does demonstrate the con-

tinuity between the regimes and the support for scholars

that the new government was willing to enforce. It was

also in the context of the monarchy's support of learn-

ing that the proclamation allowed unlearned persons to

confine their sermons to homilies which had been pre-

pared by learned men; the same proclamation ordered that

grammar instruction was to be based solely on Henry VIII's

Primer and Grammar.[7] Another example of the government's

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[4]Royal Proclamation, 1547, Hughes and Larkin, 393.

[5]Bishop Gardiner, for example, opposed the Para-
phrases as poor translations.

[6]Hughes and Larkin, 393.

[7]Ibid., 393.

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avoidance of radicalism was its proclamation against public discussion of the eucharist for the purpose of avoiding "irreverent, superfluous and curious questions" until the learned clergy could decide the proper doctrine.[8] These acts seem based more on the government's desire for a learned reformation than on anti-Catholicism.[9]

The inevitable problems which accompany the support of education also appeared to plague the new government, for it had to find ways to raise the necessary funds. As head of the king's college at Oxford, Cox received twenty-four hundred pounds to redeem debts incurred during Henry VIII's rule,[10] but in addition to supporting his own college the new king also undertook monetary obligations for supporting learning in the entire university. Privy Council records indicate the support of public lectures in civil law,[11] as well as the sustaining of King's Readers;[12] and the editor of the Acts of the Privy Council cites several examples of

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[8]Hughes and Larkin, (December 27, 1547), 410. Though the doctrine was ultimately Protestant, public disputation was allowed.

[9]Ibid., (February 6, 1548) (September 23, 1548), 416, 432. The former forbade innovations and the latter set up homilies.

[10]Mallet, II, 40.

[11]APC, II, 229.

[12]Ibid., IV, 147.

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continued support given by the Edwardian regime to many educational projects.[13] When the Oxford town corporation tried to remove its support from Oriel College, Somerset interjected himself into the dispute and ordered the city to raise the required nineteen pounds "to be equally born among the townsmen of the same as they may for their portions bear it."[14] Along with governmental support went control, and the university was often directed by political mandate rather than according to traditional scholars' politics. Though there are few examples of governmental intervention at Cambridge, for Somerset himself was chancellor of that university, Oxford apparently often gave way to political pressures. In June of 1550, Cox was ordered to investigate the religious beliefs of Dr. Thomas Cole.[15] Cole had accepted Protestantism, but in this case the Fellows of New College bypassed the university authorities and asked the Privy Council to expel him. He remained, but the fellows were correct in suspecting his religious loyalty. When Mary Tudor became queen, Cole became Catholic.[16] When Cole

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[13]APC, xv.

[14]Ibid., III, 296.

[15]Ibid., III, 204.

[16]Wood, Colleges and Halls, 189; Athenae, I, 450 ff.

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voluntarily left Oxford in October of 1550, the Privy

Council intervened further and ordered the fellows of

New College to elect no one without the king's license.[17]

Further, there are several examples of the government's

attempt to purge the university of Catholic influence.

Dr. Morwent, head of Corpus Christi College, and two

students of that college were investigated in 1551 and

imprisoned for using unacceptable service books for

worship;[18] Cox was ordered in the same year to send

Peter Dormot, "supposed to be an Irishman," before the

Council;[19] and, as in the case of Richard Allen, when

the subjects conformed the government ordered their

college to return them to good standing.[20] Further,

the government controlled the appointment of royal

lecturers. In August of 1552, for example, an additional

Greek lecturer was appointed, and the fee was to be

divided between two lecturers rather than be kept by

one.[21] Thus, while continuing Henry VIII's support of

Oxford, Edward VI's government was involved in the

university's administration.

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[17]APC, III, 186.

[18]Ibid., III, 287, 404.

[19]Ibid., III, 332.

[20]Ibid., III, 431.

[21]Ibid., IV, 333.

Chancellor Richard Cox could therefore plan on receiving governmental support, but he could also expect interference: the university was no longer a place of learning removed from secular politics, but rather was one foundation upon which the Tudors wished to build their modern, reformed, Christian society. The aims of the Tudor monarchs clashed directly with traditional university goals and the traditional form of university government; and it became Cox's duty to work out the details, a task which proved virtually impossible in Edward VI's reign. The new government was not at all sure of a positive policy, and thus mixed bold, unilateral actions with vacilating inactivity. As seen above, Cox obtained his position in an unusual way, for he was chosen by Convocation rather than by the regents of Oxford. Such an election was consistent with the government's proclaimed ideal that it would grant independence to the church,[22] but it also raised the problem of the proper constitutional roles of the parties involved. As head of the university Cox's legal position was virtually that of an archbishop, though his power extended to Oxford's students only.[23] No known

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[22]The proclamation of July 31, 1547, for example, gave bishops and archbishops the sole power to license preachers, thus ensuring the church's government over its own clergy.

[23]J. Griffiths, ed., An Index to Wills Proved in the Court of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford (Oxford, 1862), viii.

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document clearly defines the chancellor's exact power,
but it can be inferred from the university's statutes,
which gave the chancellor sole disciplinary power.[24]
John Griffiths, a student of this phase of education,
indicates that the chancellor's legal powers were not
changed by the Reformation. The Edwardian government
seemed to expect the universities to operate within the
English ecclesiastical framework,[25] and the election of
Cox by a convocation in 1547 bears this out. Cox's
actual administration, however, proceeded to demonstrate
that the ideal was unrealistic. It also demonstrated
rather tolerant policies, for the new administrator was
still the devotee of humanist ecumenism. As before, he
submitted in the face of political pressures, some of
which were designed to wipe out any vestige of the old
religion, while others attacked the more radical Protes-
tants.[26]

The general character of Cox's administration has
usually been downgraded by scholars, but closer examina-
tion of policies as reflected in appointments and inter-
nal administration suggests that traditional authors have

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[24]Griffiths, vii, viii.

[25]Ibid., viii.

[26]APC, III, 137. In 1550 Cox was sent to Sussex
to correct the iconoclasm instigated by Bishop Day of
Chichester.

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categorized Oxford administration as they often have
categorized Edwardian government in general: iconoclas-
tic, destructive, and singularly Protestant.[27] A dif-
ferent view is suggested in the latest analysis of Tudor
education by Joan Simon, but she goes little beyond
general assertions and a few statistics to prove her
position.[28] As Simon has pointed out, there was no
master plan for creating a certain type of university,
for the king's own college actually had no governing
statutes.[29] One major development at Christ Church,
however, was its successful absorption of the formerly
autonomous Broadgates Hall. This type of annexation was
evidently carried out by the other major colleges also,[30]
and was analogous to the general policy of centralizing
the university: as the colleges absorbed the halls and
inns, so the university was to absorb the colleges; and
university-wide lectures absorbed everyone.[31] Such

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[27]This interpretation is emphasized in the studies
by Wood, Mallet, and Gardiner.

[28]Simon, 259. Her work mainly discusses the
grammar schools, and is designed to correct the earlier
work of A.F. Leach.

[29]Ibid., 259. Henry VIII died before he could
issue statutes.

[30]Ibid., 260.

[31]The best evidence regarding curriculum at the
university is to be found in letters; as, for example,
John AbUlmis' letter to the Zurich reformer Rudolph
Gualter regarding Oxford life (O.L., II, 418 ff). AbUlmis

centralization led to the appointment of university-wide
lectureships, general disputations, and the means of
selecting Richard Cox as chancellor.[32]   Cox was clearly
a disciple of governmental support for students, and his
Christ Church success reflects this. The student body
was increased by the admittance of twenty-four new pen-
sioners after 1547, which was a twenty-five percent
increase in the college's size, and by the inclusion of
tuition students from Broadgate Hall.[33]   The entire

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reported that the curriculum of a medical student included
traditional reading from the works of Galen on medicine
and of Aristotle on physics, and included additional work
on morals by studying Aristotle and in theology by listen-
ing to Peter Martyr's lectures. Disputations were held
three times a week, and bachelor of arts declamations
twice a week. Regarding government, AbUlmis reported
that the colleges were allowed to choose their own proc-
tors and bedells.

Another interesting development, which may account for
Anthony Wood's mistaken notion that learning was being
purged, was the deleting of some subjects. AbUlmis indi-
cates that colleges were becoming specialized during the
period of Cox's chancellorship, and that separate col-
leges "are distinguished by various studies and pursuits.
Greek is taught in one, Hebrew in another, Here mathe-
maticians flourish, there the poets; here the divines and
physicians, there students of music and civilians." Yet
he also indicates that all colleges were expected to pro-
mote a certain common, basic education: "in all of them
. . . the elements and rules of rhetoric and logic are
impressed with especial diligence and accuracy upon the
minds of the scholars."

Though Oxford medical training was quite traditional,
college specializations were innovative and quite modern.
In fact, they are the basis of Oxford's modern organization.

[32]See above, p. 18 for a discussion of the founda-
tion of these policies.

[33]Simon, 259; Mallet, II, 41.

university experienced a parallel growth in numbers, for in 1552 there were two hundred more students than in 1545.[34] Thus, the general charge made by Anthony Wood to the effect that "the wells of Oxford and Cambridge dried up"[35] is not true from the standpoint of enrollment.

The sources for Wood's interpretation, along with other negative judgements of Cox, are an oration published in 1566 by Peter Frarin[36] and a poem by William Forrest. Frarin's work was first delivered in Latin in the School of Arts at Louvain in 1565. The oration was subsequently translated by John Fowler and published in Antwerp; and it was designed to strike fear in the hearts of Catholics by citing the ignorance, immorality, and cruelty of Protestants. For better instructing children about the contents of the book, a "Table" containing appropriate drawings and ditties was appended at the end. It was comprised of such "poetry" as follows:

> Calvin in his chamber five years taught
> a Nun
> Till she was great with gospell and
> swollen with a son.[37]

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[34]Simon, 259.

[35]Wood, History and Antiquities, 113. The charge is repeated in Mallet, 94.

[36]P. Frarin, An Oration Against the Unlawful Insurrections of the Protestants of our Time Under Pretense to Reform Religion (Antwerp, 1566).

[37]Ibid., "Table," B viii.

It was from such a source that Wood gathered information

about Cox's "destruction" of Oxford.[38] Frarin's work

was primarily about Continental events and his section

on education mainly attacked Continental schools; but

he did single out Richard Cox's work at Oxford to demon-

strate what Protestants were doing to English univer-

sities. The author claimed that the universities were

empty, and that

> Yea they have set their heads together
> and fully agreed among themselves, to
> bannish the Greek and Latin tongue quite
> clean out of the country.[39]

To substantiate this charge he cited Edwardian Oxford:

> Which were the schools in Oxford suffered
> to go down and the ordinary disputations
> in Logic and Philosophy left off in King
> Edward's days: Answer Doctor Cox.[40]

If Cox were to answer he would simply point out two facts;

first, the classical languages were in fact emphasized

by the new leaders, to the extent of setting up King

Henry VIII's Grammar and Primer[41] and continuing the

support of linguistic studies in the university; secondly,

Frarin failed to mention that though college disputations

were suppressed they were replaced by university-wide

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[38]Wood, History and Antiquities, II, 114.

[39]Frarin, G, Gi.

[40]Ibid., Gi.

[41]"Royal Injunctions," (1547) no. 34, E. Cardwell,
Documentary Annals (Oxford, 1844), 20.

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lectures and disputations. Cox was also charged with

being destructive. The charge was made by William Forrest

and quoted by Anthony Wood:

> He robbed the Church of Frydyswis (I say)
> Of chalyces, crosses, candylstycks withe all
> Of silver and qylte, both precious an gaye
> With coapis of tryssure, and many a rich pall,
> Ded grat to God above eternall
> And other collegis may him well curs
> For thorowe hym they are faire yeat the wurse.[42]

With Frarin's and Forrest's work providing his sources of

information, Wood was hardly using objective accounts or

detailed proof. Rather, he was relying on rather slanted

and misleading sources. But there are other phases of

Cox's administration which deserve explication.

Wood makes the charge that Chancellor Cox appointed

only his Protestant friends to university posts, and made

such appointments in a rather wilful and reckless way:

"he did but utter his mind, none dared to deny him."[43]

Regarding Christ Church College this charge seems quite

true, for as its head Cox established as students such

obvious Protestants as William Whittingham and the

foreigners John AbUlmis and John Stumphius.[44] The

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[42]Wood, *Annals*, I, 468-9.

[43]Wood, *History and Antiquities*, II, 96.

[44]*Ibid.*, 26. The last named man was a Swiss
Protestant; AbUlmis was used as a messenger between the
English ecclesiatical leaders and the Swiss reformer
Bullinger; Whittingham did become what Wood calls "that
rigid Calvinist."

Italian reformer, Peter Martyr, was also given a position
in Christ Church.[45] However, examination of appointments
of heads of colleges indicates a mixed policy rather than
a solidly Protestant one: Cox seemed to advance the new
religion when he could, but certainly did not run rough-
shod over Catholic interests. Chancellor Cox's initial
appointments of proctors and a vice-chancellor went to
Protestants: William Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford and
Dean of Durham Cathedral, was designated Vice-Chancellor;[46]
Edmund Crispyne and Henry Bayly were chosen proctors.[47]
Regarding college appointments, however, neither a purge
nor a singularly Protestant appointment policy can be
discerned. Strong Catholics who had been appointed
before 1547 remained in office and others who were known
to be Catholics were actually appointed during the sup-
posedly pro-Protestant years. Thomas Raynolds, appointed
head of Merton College in 1545, remained; and he was one
of the most vocal Catholic leaders.[48] That Merton
remained Catholic is seen from the fact that it produced
Richard Smith and Thomas Tresham, two of the strongest
opponents of Peter Martyr.[49] Merton's historian, in spite

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[45]Above, p. 103.

[46]Wood, Fasti, I, 124.

[47]Ibid., 124.

[48]Wood, Colleges and Halls, 9.

[49]B. Henderson, Merton College (London, 1899), 30.

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of his vigorous criticism of Cox, states that the English
Reformation actually had little effect on the college as
a whole.[50]   In University College, Cox similarly had
little effect, for the appointees of both 1547 and 1551
were not zealous Protestants;[51] and though the chancellor
apparently tried to force the election of John Caius as
head in 1551, the college selected its own leader, George
Ellison.[52]   Though the Protestant William Wright was
chosen head of Balliol College in 1545, his successor,
elected during Cox's administration, was a Catholic.
James Brooks, almoner of Bishop Gardiner, replaced
Wright in 1547 and is labelled by Wood himself as
"another most zealous bishop for the Roman Catholic cause."[53]
Several other known Catholics also retained their offices.
Hugh Weston, a man of doubtful reputation and changeable
religion remained head of Lincoln College, a post he had
held since 1538.[54]   A man of similar reputation, John
Warner, remained head of All Souls College.   He was called

[50]Henderson, Merton College, 80.

[51]Wood, Colleges and Halls, 52.

[52]W. Carr, University College (London, 1902), 81.
Caius was associated with Katharine Parr's household,
having translated Erasmus' Paraphrases for Henry VIII's
widow.   Later, under Elizabeth I, he became a Catholic.

[53]Wood, Athenae, I, 314.

[54]Ibid., I, 295.   Wood calls him a "very lewd man."
His troubles under Mary, however, resulted from his
appealing to the pope in a legal matter, not for being a
Protestant.

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a secret Protestant and a "great intruder into ecclesiastical benefices" by Wood;[55] but that he was a Catholic is borne out by the fact that he was selected vice-chancellor in 1554.[56] Cardinal Pole was hardly reckless enough to overlook a "secret Protestant" in such an important position. Thus, many colleges retained their Catholic head masters. There was no purge in these cases.

At the same time, Protestants were also retained and received promotions as heads of colleges. William Haynes, a Protestant associate of Cox from Eton College and Christ Church, remained head of Oriel College, a position he had held since 1540.[57] At his death in 1550 his prebendary in Christ Church was filled by Peter Martyr,[58] and John Smith, whose religion is not traceable, became head of Oriel.[59] William Devenysh, Provost of Queens College and a Protestant, retained the post he held since 1534;[60] similarly, Henry Cole, a man of changeable religion but a Protestant until Mary's rule, kept the post he had held since 1542.[61] Though he was replaced in 1551 by

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[55]A. Wood, Fasti, I, 81.

[56]Ibid., I, 141.

[57]Ibid., I, 108.

[58]A. Wood, Athenae, I, 328.

[59]A. Wood, Fasti, I, 123.

[60]Ibid., I, 114. He was deprived by Mary for having married.

[61]A. Wood, Colleges and Halls, 189; Athenae, I, 450 ff.

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Ralph Skinner, whose religion is not known, Henry Cole

left because of promotion, not a purge: he became

Provost of Eton and Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in

1551.[62] Other "apparent" Protestants who retained the

headships they received during Henry VIII's rule were

Robert Morwent, head of Corpus Christi since 1537[63] and

Robert Weston, head of Pembroke College since 1546;[64]

and Protestants who received promotions but did not

replace Catholics were John Hawarden at Brasenose

College[65] and Thomas Randolph at Pembroke.[66] Again, the

roles played by the above college heads hardly give

evidence of purge, though three colleges were purged and

the holdings of a fourth were entirely absorbed in its

dissolution.

Of the four colleges handled roughly, the pivotal

one was Magdalen College, for its visitation affected the

entire university and opened the way to the charge that

Edwardian reformers were trying to ruin learning. Oppos-

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[62]A. Wood, Colleges and Halls, 189; Athenae, I, 321.

[63]A. Wood, Fasti, vol. I, 50. Called "Pater patriae literatae Oxoniensis" (Wood, Colleges and Halls, p. 395); he was probably a Protestant because of his promotion of the New Learning and his associations with Edward Wotton and Richard Fox.

[64]A. Wood, Athenae, I, 386. Called Protestant because of his political role as Chancellor of Ireland (A. Wood, Colleges and Halls, 615); he was replaced by Thomas Randolph, a Christ Church student and a Protestant.

[65]Ibid., I, 529. Also see R.W. Joffrey, "History of the College, 1547-1603," Brasenose College Quarter Centenary Monographs (Oxford, 1909).

[66]Ibid., I, 564.

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ing positions polarized easily at Magdalen College, for

its head, Owen Oglethorpe, was an outspoken Catholic,

and its students were very active iconoclasts. Already

in January of 1548 the Duke of Somerset had intervened

to warn the students to stop defacing property; that is,

they were evidently breaking windows and applying white-

wash to walls. The Duke wrote,

> And herein do we not incite you to any
> undecent innovation, but even we here say
> of Mr. Cox's the King's Almoner's, comend-
> able beginning in his house [Christ
> Church], so would we hear of the sequel
> of yours.[67]

In short, Cox was here upheld as an example of moderation,

not of thoroughgoing reform; however, the fellows of the

school were not satisfied with Oglethorpe and requested a

visitation.[68] The results of this visitation, which evi-

dently included All Souls College,[69] St. Mary's Hall, and

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[67]H.A. Wilson, Magdalen College (London, 1899), 82.

[68]Ibid., 90.

[69]It is also possible that the reforming injunctions
were meant to apply to all Oxford's colleges. The injunc-
tions for All Souls College, for example, included a list
of those who were to receive copies of the injunctions,
and the list included the heads of all the colleges as
well as the king's visitors. The injunctions included
generally the same provisions as made for Magdalen: pro-
hibition of grammar teaching on the college level; purg-
ing the colleges of drunkards; including Irishmen among
the scholars. If these were meant for all colleges, they
give a good picture of some Edwardian educational ideals:
thorough education, moral reform, and union with the Irish.
The ideals, though important, were in all probability
entirely unrealistic. See Frere and Kennedy, Royal Injunc-
tions, II, 197 ff.

New Inn, had both religious and educational importance.
H.A. Wilson has retold what happened, and his account is
based on the register book of the vice-president of the
college, on William Dunn Macray's study of Magdalen's
membership,[70] and on the statutes of All Souls College.[71]
On the basis of these sources it is clear that religious
changes were made: daily masses were ended, images and
pictures were destroyed, and the chapel was whitewashed.[72]
Such changes could hardly be called moderate, and Wilson
cites them as the basis for two major events: the impor-
tant disputation between Peter Martyr and Catholic leaders
regarding the eucharist, and the Oxfordshire riots of
1549.[73] The religious character of Magdalen was also
changed by personnel policies in which Cox must have had
an important role. Records reveal the appointment of
nineteen Protestants, five Catholics, twenty-three indi-
viduals whose religion cannot be documented, and four
outright Protestant rebels (Lawrence Styl, William Chip-
man, William Perkins, and John Fowler).[74] According to

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[70]W.D. Macray, A Register of the Members of St.
Mary Magdalen College, Oxford (London, 1894).

[71]Frere and Kennedy, II, 197 ff.

[72]Wilson, 91.

[73]Ibid., 92.

[74]Macray, 92.

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Macray, Thomas Williams, a Protestant, was also illegally
given a position as a fellow by Richard Cox.[75] While
Protestantism was thus being institutionalized, important
educational changes were also implemented.

These changes were in conformity with the govern-
ment's political aims as well as the educational goals
of the Renaissance humanists. The political factor was
represented by the unique attempt to include Irishmen
among the college's fellows.[76] Given the racial and cul-
tural prejudices of the English, such a change could not
help but provoke trouble. In addition, the college was
required to adjust to other stringent standards: Magdalen
was ordered not to teach grammar;[77] and, though this fact
has been used to demonstrate that the new government was
opposed to Renaissance education, it clearly was an
attempt to upgrade education. Rather than put off learn-
ing their grammar until they were members of colleges,
students were required to master it before entrance. Thus
their higher education ideally would waste no time on
basic subject matter. Also, attempts were made to guarantee

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[75]Macray, 97.

[76]Frere and Kennedy, II, 229; "Irishmen, many of
whom are learned, should by allowed entrance" was the
royal order; also see "Statutes of All Souls College,"
197 ff.

[77]Wilson, 92. The order read "grammarians are to
be converted into logicians."

that colleges would continue to be centers of learning
rather than regress into a source of sinecures. Chaplains,
clerks, and choristers were to be endowed only in confor-
mity with "the most necessary uses of good leters,"[78] and
no fellow was to be permitted to hold office for over
twenty years unless he also was a Public Reader, that is,
he would necessarily have to be learned enough to parti-
cipate in public lectures. In implementing these changes
Richard Cox was clearly carrying out his ideals as a
schoolmaster. Assuming grammar instruction had been
reformed, he went on as a college administrator to carry
the reform to its logical conclusion, and university
students were assumed to be proficient grammarians and
dedicated scholars. Public reaction must have been a
shock to Chancellor Cox, for it was almost completely
negative: the city joined the college in objecting to
the new rules and to Richard Cox himself.[79] Thus
divided, the college faced chaos, and in a sense Oxford
became a microcosm of the contemporary upheaval in
English life: Protestant versus Catholic; New Learning
versus the old; centralization versus particularlism; and
even English versus Irish. As usual, however, authority

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[78]Wilson, 92.

[79]Ibid., 93.

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won, and Cox's reforms were not repealed. Radical Protestant success was especially marked at Magdalen, where Protestant iconoclasts, backed by the Earl of Warwick, destroyed the high altar, plastered up windows, and burned organs.[80] In addition, one of Cox's old students, the firm Protestant Walter Haddon, was appointed head of Magdalen in 1559.[81] St. Mary's Hall and New Inn were also deprived of their Catholic heads. Morgan Phillips, a Catholic who debated with Peter Martyr, was replaced as head of St. Mary's by the Protestant William Norfolk;[82] and at New Inn William Aubre, a Protestant, replaced John Gybbons.[83] Though all Souls College received new statutes of the same type as Magdalen's, its head, John Warner, remained in office.[84]

Regarding his appointment policies as Chancellor of Oxford, Richard Cox cannot be interpreted as a thoroughgoing Protestant inquisitor, Anthony Wood and his followers notwithstanding. The new statutes enforced at All Souls and Magdalen Colleges were a product of the humanist desire for sound education; and Cox's tolerance of iconoc-

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[80]Wilson, 95, 96.

[81]Ibid., 97. Also see Haddon, Lucubrationes (London, 1562), which contains praise for Cox (85, 86).

[82]Wood, Athenae, I, 432; Fasti, I, 146.

[83]Wood, Fasti, I, 131; Colleges and Halls, 672.

[84]Wood, Fasti, I, 82, 141.

lasm was more a product of his political subservience than
an expression of his own religious zeal. Moreover, the
examples of purge in 1549 and after were the results of
chaos within the colleges themselves, and bear little
resemblance to any sort of plot, conspiracy, or master
plan. When Richard Cox could institutionalize new ideas
he did just that, but more often he worked for unity and
compromise. His appointment policies reflect the old
Henrician ideal: conformity to the state, advancement
of scholars regardless of their personal religious
loyalties, and adaptability when faced with strong opposi-
tion.

Another charge brought against Cox by Wood and
many subsequent historians is that the chancellor was
responsible for destroying Oxford's collection of books
and manuscripts in 1549 and 1550. James Gardiner, for
example, holds Cox responsible for destroying books "by
the cartload" and maintains that "the New Learning" was
virtually destroyed "by Dr. Cox's endeavors."[85] On the
other hand, Thomas Fuller expresses confusion in account-
ing for Cox's role in the book burning. Fuller blames
John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and head of the visitation
committee, and doubts the reliability of those who would
blame Cox.[86] Upon looking for a correct assessment of

[85]Gairdner, III, 395, 399; IV, 291.

[86]Fuller, 317-318.

the woes of Oxford's books, it is clear that information
is severely lacking as to the number of volumes removed
and the percentage these volumes comprised of the original
collection. One must rely on secondary accounts and evalu-
ate the few primary sources which later writers have used.
Since Wood is usually cited by all historians of Oxford,
his sources in turn must be examined, and again, the only
source he cites which refers to Oxford book burning is
Peter Frarinus' diatribe against Continental reformers'
destructive acts:

> Universities, Colleges and Schools be
>   overturned,
> These men spit at learning, they will
>   have all books burned.[87]

As with Frarinus, however, so with Anthony Wood; for both
have built on the theme that there was a Protestant scheme
to destroy learning. The theme is absurd, but the stanza
on library destruction is especially important for Richard
Cox's reputation. In the 1520's and 30's he had promoted
education and learning and in the forties he had helped
produce a well-educated prince. He also had participated
in royal attempts to purify grammar instruction and had
begged Sir William Paget to intervene and to stop the
destruction of books. Such an about face attributed to
him by Wood, Mallet, and Gairdner would have been a

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[87]Frarinus, "Table," Gi.

complete reversal from most of the positive things for which Cox stood. Though Wood makes broad charges against Cox, actual proof of library destruction in Wood's Colleges and Halls is generally lacking. Of the some twenty learning centers discussed, only two are cited as having actually experienced the destruction of their libraries. According to Wood, Balliol College's books "which smelled of superstition, or that treated of School divinity, or of Geometry or Astronomy" were destroyed.[88] He also claims that decorative wood cuts and pictures were ripped from Balliol's books during the Protestant purge.[89] A similar charge is raised regarding Pembroke College, where "when the University was in a manner left desolate, in the reign of King Edward VI, the said school went to ruin, and books were lost."[90] However, no statistics are given; and, more importantly, absolutely no claim of destruction is made regarding the remaining eighteen foundations (or ninety percent of those discussed). Evidence is similarly lacking in the works of other historians of the colleges. In discussing Magdalen College, the school which was changed most during Cox's administration, H. Wilson makes no mention of a destruction of the library.[91]

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[88]Wood, Colleges and Halls, 89.

[89]Ibid., 90.

[90]Ibid., 625.

[91]Wilson, 86-97.

Probably the most thorough explanation of destruction is given in B.W. Henderson's history of Merton College. His account is based on Wood's general works, and it explains the destruction of books as an attempt to "rout" scholastic philosophy and describes the visitors' activities as the acts of "ignorant vandals" which destroyed the works of the schoolmen, Catholic commentators, astronomers, and mathematicians.[92] Henderson buttresses his account by citing Wood's quotation from Thomas Allen: "A cartload of books were taken out of the library and sold or given away (if not burnt) for inconsiderable nothings."[93] In one of the few citings of statistics, Henderson indicates that sixty-five of the ninety-nine manuscripts from the collection of Bishop Rede were destroyed, though many other works were saved and preserved in the Bodley Collection.[94] Three other authors have claimed that the libraries of their subject colleges were destroyed. H.W.C. Davis makes the claim in his history of Balliol College,[95] as do H. Rashdall and T. Fowler in their works on New College[96] and Corpus

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[92]B.W. Henderson, _Merton College_, 79.

[93]_Ibid._, 79.

[94]_Ibid._, 80.

[95]H.W.C. Davis, _Balliol College_ (London, 1899), 89.

[96]H. Rashdall, _New College_ (London, 1909), 56.

Christi.[97] In all three works, however, libraries are discussed generally, and Anthony Wood is cited as the basic source. The authors do not use library records or eye-witness accounts. No mention is made of book destruction in works on University College, Brasenose College, and Christ Church College.[98] Evidence of destruction is similarly lacking in a recent work on Oxford's libraries, and the work in fact cites the libraries' growth after 1535 as being evidence of the desire to set up the New Learning.[99]

From available studies it does appear that some destruction did occur, but the extent of that destruction is open to doubt and the documentable motivation does not reveal rampant anti-Catholicism. An alternative explanation is that reformers such as Cox wanted to establish an English method of worship and pure Renaissance learning. Royal Proclamation had banned the use of books other than the King's _Primer_ in devotions and grammar training,[100] and Catholic service books were ordered destroyed. A Proclamation of December 25, 1549, for example, ordered

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[97]T. Fowler, _Corpus Christi_ (London, 1893), 56.

[98]W. Carr, _University College_; W. Jeffrey, "History of the College;" H.L. Thompson, _Christ Church_.

[99]N.R. Ker, _Oxford College Libraries in 1556_ (Oxford, 1956), 6, 12.

[100]Royal Proclamation, July 31, 1547, Hughes and Larkin, 393.

the destruction of

> all antiphanories, missals, grails, pro-
> cessionals, manuals, legends . . . and
> ordinals . . . and all service books.[101]

This proclamation provides one source of understanding

the government's motivation: it expected worship to be

conducted according to the officially-approved documents,

the Order of Communion, and the Book of Common Prayer.

Though written by Protestants, these documents were

designed to unite the English in common religious expres-

sion.[102] In short, they were products of the Christian

humanist desire for unity; but neither government support,

nor idealistic intentions, nor the purging of old service

books proved successful. Many Protestants and Catholics

joined in rejecting both works as unacceptable. Another

motivation which can be identified is economic, for this

motive was present in the king's purge of his own library

at Westminster. A Privy Council Order of February 25,

1550 reflects this factor, for it orders

> the purging of his Highness' Library at
> Westminster of all superstitious books,
> legends, and such like, and to deliver
> the guarrantee of the same books, being
> either of gold or of silver . . . .[103]

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[101]Royal Proclamation, December 25, 1549, Hughes
and Larkin, 485.

[102]That they actually led to destruction and
revolution is the tragedy of Edwardian England.

[103]APC, III, 224.

It would be far-fetched to suppose that the government based any great monetary hopes on the sale of books, but service books and "superstitious" books evidently were considered in the same class as all church goods: worthy of being removed and sold. With such a broad description as "superstitious" it is also easy to understand how zealous and uneducated members of visitation committees might create complete havoc. But a third factor is cited by Joan Simon and should also be emphasized. In her view, the extreme acts committed at Oxford seem "instigated not by the visitors but as a result of internal dissension."[104] She indicates that the library did suffer through the loss of the collection of the Duke of Gloucester, but refuses to blame any authorities for such destruction.[105] In this context, however, Cox's role does make sense; for while he surely must have detested the destruction, no one seemed able to control what the Reformation had produced: a polarized, unsettled society. Oxford's libraries became victims of anarchy resulting from a religious revolution, and not the victims of a carefully laid government plot.

Change in another phase of educational life, however, was planned: foreign Protestant leaders were

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[104]Simon, 259.

[105]Ibid., 279.

imported to educate English students at Oxford and Cambridge. The background of the general exile from the Continent lay in Charles V's imposition of the Interim and in Archbishop Cranmer's desire to unify the reformers. The immediate effect was a great influx of foreigners into England. The Protestant from Poland, John Alasco, received financial support from the government and ultimately became superintendent of the foreign churches set up in England.[106] At Cambridge several foreign scholars were given positions: Bucer in theology; Fagins, Tremellius, and Chevallier in Hebrew; and Encinas in Greek.[107] Philip Melanchthon, Lutheranism's greatest scholar, was invited to England, but he never arrived.[108] One of the first and easily the most important of the foreign appointees, Peter Martyr Vermigli, was installed at Oxford through the efforts of Chancellor Cox and Archbishop Cranmer. Martyr's successive roles in the eucharistic debates, the re-writing of the Book of Common Prayer, and in the formulation of a new church law provide much evidence of English dependence

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[106]APC, III, 420.

[107]Simon, 261-262. Letters from most of these men are to be found throughout the Original Letters.

[108]T. Cranmer to P. Martyr, February 10, 1549, O.L., I, 21.

on the Continental Reformation for direction.[109] Martyr

had become a Protestant after reading the works of Bucer

and Zwingli, and he relied on the techniques of humanist

scholarship in his exegesis.[110] As a result he led the

way toward a more closely defined English Protestantism.[111]

During Cox's administration Martyr also became the per-

son around whom many controversies swirled, for he

attacked Catholic doctrine regarding the elements at

Communion and had a personal life which was not accept-

able to many students and most Catholics. The eucharist

controversy developed into a full-scale disputation in

which Martyr had to rely on the protection offered by

Richard Cox.[112] During the Oxford riots of 1549 the

Italian became the object of much derision, to the

extent that one of the chants of the rioters was "Death

to Peter Martyr!". However, after peace was restored he

received a prebendary in Cox's college, Christ Church.[113]

Cox and Martyr also faced difficulty at Oxford because

they brought wives to live at Christ Church. While in

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[109]M. Young, The Life and Times; J. McClelland,
The Visible Word of God.

[110]Young, 403, 121; McClelland, 12 ff.

[111]Below, p. 165.

[112]Young, 428 ff.

[113]Ibid., 432.

Switzerland, Martyr had married Catharine Mamartin; and, according to Wood, she and Cox's wife became the first women to reside at the university and all were harassed by Oxford students.[114] Of greater importance in analyzing Cox's administration, however, is his apparent reliance on Martyr to give Oxford Christians a new ideology. In his correspondence with the Swiss leader Heinrich Bullinger, Martyr indicated that in addition to his work on Corinthians he was involved in several university functions: he lectured on theology; he was expected to participate in public lectures every other week; and he was active in weekly disputations at Christ Church.[115] It is interesting also to note that his success at Oxford was not achieved with ease, for he reported that "my adversaries . . . are indeed most obstinate."[116] Though his success was limited, the support given to Peter Martyr stands as another example of Cox's importance as an institutionalizer of new ideas. Oxford's Chancellor again demonstrated his dependence on and acceptance of Continental Protestant thinkers, especially those who were intellectual descendants of Ulrich Zwingli.

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[114]Young, 423, 433, 434. Young bases his Oxford account on Anthony Wood's works and quotes extensively from them.

[115]P. Martyr to H. Bullinger, June 1, 1550, O.L., II, 481 ff.

[116]Ibid., 482.

Of great importance in analyzing both Cox's Oxford
administration and the nature and progress of the Edwardian
phase of the English Reformation is the apparent failure
of the former to impose Protestantism and of the latter
to impose harsh government. Though Cox's administration
really invoked no radically new programs, it surely
must be labelled a "reformation," for by building on
Henrician changes he obviously hoped to reform England
by reforming education. But by education he did not
simply mean indoctrination. Evidence indicates that
disputations continued; as, for example, Peter Martyr's
continued involvement in them demonstrates. The Protes-
tants evidently shared a common humanist faith in educa-
tion: they believed that reformed religion was so
obviously true that exposure to it would automatically
lead Catholics to Protestantism.[117] Thus, disputations
continued, Catholics received promotions, and the Protes-
tants' opponents were not purged for their disagreement.
As Cox failed to purge Catholic ideas, so he failed to
rid the colleges of Catholic believers: Martyr's great
opponent in the debate over the eucharist, Thomas Tresham,
was subsequently elected Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, thus
actually reducing Protestant influence.[118] Similarly,

[117]Simon, 260.

[118]Wood, Colleges and Halls, 90; Tresham was
succeeded in 1551 by Owen Oglethorpe, the man purged from
Merton (Colleges and Halls, 91).

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though much has been written about the purge of books,
apparently many "superstitious" works were left in the
libraries, for Elizabethan letters have survived which
demand the removal of the same kinds of Catholic writ-
ings supposedly purged.[119] It is possible that the
libraries were re-stocked during Queen Mary's reign,
but again there is actually little statistical evidence
on which to base the course of the libraries' history.
As Chancellor, Richard Cox had failed to purge Oxford
of Catholicism and he had not set up Protestantism
either.[120]

Both factors were also generally true for the
entire Edwardian period, for the state did not follow
any consistent plan. Rather it encouraged iconoclasm
and then was forced to punish the Protestant radicals
who destroyed church property; it had proclaimed its
Protestantism, but then allowed Protestant-Catholic dis-
putes to continue; it had sought unity, but actually
divided the religious factions. As seen above, all these
characteristics epitomized Oxford during Cox's adminis-
tration, and he admitted the failure of his idealistic
course of action by resigning. The methods planned by

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[119]J. Gutch, ed., Collectanea Curiosa (Oxford, 1781), 275.

[120]J. Stumphius to H. Bullinger, November 12, 1550, O.L., II, 467 ff; Stumphius complained that Catho-
lics remained at Oxford and that "master Cox, in his opposition to them, seems to be rather fond of the Fabian tactics: for he has begun to act with greater laxity."

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the humanist scholars and idealists had exposed the
English to public disputations, to King's lectures, and
to compromise religious formulae, but the hope that the
new religion would be forthcoming proved naive. Chaos
followed. From an educational perspective, however,
Cox's administration conforms to Miss Simon's judge-
ment of Edwardian policy:

> when the reign of Edward VI is given due
> weight as a period of educational advance,
> that of Elizabeth falls into place as a
> predominantly conservative age.[121]

There was no Edwardian Purge. There was no successful
establishment of a unified Protestantism. Rather, there
was an unsuccessful attempt to pursue contradictory
policies, the source of which seems to be humanist con-
fidence in education and reason. After examining these
facts from the perspective of Cox's role at Oxford,
other duties he performed assume equal importance. He
served on the important commissions which were designed
to give English religion a positive direction.

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[121]Simon, 291.

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CHAPTER IV

EDWARDIAN RELIGIOUS LEADER

PART I: Edwardian Religious Committees
and Ecclesiastical Discipline

A recurring and nagging problem which faced all reformers was the construction of new liturgical forms, and the problem was no less pressing for Richard Cox as he served on numerous liturgical commissions. The problem of creating a positive structure for religious expression was certainly not new for Englishmen generally nor for Cox either, for history seemed to repeat itself for both. The English liturgical solution of 1549 was even entitled as it had been in 1536, "The Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."[1] Similarly, Cox must have been close to earlier attempts to formulate religious services. Thomas Goodrich, the Protestant bishop who promoted Cox's interests and whom the young cleric had served as chaplain, prebend, and archdeacon, was appointed by King Henry VIII in 1543 to work with the Bishop of Sarum and revise contemporary service books.[2] Though the nature of Edwardian

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[1]Lathbury, _History_ _of_ _Convocations_ (London, 1853)

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[2]Proctor and Frere, 31.

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formularies is discussed below, it must be noted that Cox
was apparently respected for his knowledge regarding
proper modes of worship. He had the distinction of serv-
ing on both Prayer Book committees, that of 1549 as well
as that of 1552,[3] and the Prayer Book which he helped
create served as the critical issue between Cox's
Anglicans and more radical Protestants.[4] In spite of
the book's revision after it was criticized by Peter
Martyr, Martin Bucer, and John Calvin, the product of
1552 was still considered unacceptable by many English
Protestants. The subsequent division proved to be the
major source of the most marked ideological split in
English history: the Anglican-Puritan division. In
conforming to the opinions of Bucer and Martyr, the
Prayer Book committee, and Cox as well, moved farther
away from Catholicism; but the production of the new
book also led to harsh relations with those who did not
accept the adiaphora ideas as applied to religious
ceremonies. The critics were led by John Knox, one of
the king's chaplains, and he and his followers refused
to accept any religious formula not found in scripture.
This struggle between Knox and the Prayer-Book party
began the long conflict between Anglican and Puritan.

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[3]C. Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers
(London, 1958), 202; Fuller, II, 313.

[4]Below, p. 155 ff.

From Cox's viewpoint the problem attacked by the liturgical committees was necessarily closely related to another problem, the creation of unity by means of discipline. Though Elizabethan Puritans later used this matter continually to stimulate feelings against Anglicanism, and subsequent writers have taken them seriously, the Anglicans did attempt to discipline English Christians. Conformity to the Prayer Book was the major criteria; another was the use of ecclesiastical commissions. Richard Cox was a member of the first commission to deal with discipline per se, and his appointment came in the wake of the influx of radicals which accompanied King Edward's accession. As the "Donatists new-dipped" had inundated England at the time of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine Parr, so they came to the Island at the accession of King Edward VI.[5] The Edwardian response, though not as harsh as the former king's reaction, was firm. On April 12, 1549 a commission was appointed to investigate the Anabaptist influence, and Richard Cox was one of the investigators appointed to

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[5]The activities of the extreme radicals are discussed in the works of Burnet and Strype, though a major study of them is lacking. Anabaptists among the radicals evidently survived, for in 1580 a work against them by William Wilkinson was dedicated to Richard Cox, then Bishop of Ely. Anabaptists should be distinguished from the foreign immigrants whose "superintendent" was John Alasco, the Polish Calvinist, and the French Protestants who were led by Poullain. Church authorities often dis-' liked even these latter groups because they did not follow the order of worship prescribed in English Prayer Books.

search for "all anabaptists, heretics, and condemners of the Common prayer."[6] Since Catholic common prayers were still in use, it is apparent that the initial response to Protestants who were radicals was hardly cordial. Though the committee of which Cox was a member produced few practical results,[7] it did demonstrate that England was no place for Protestant radicals, especially those influenced by Continental Anabaptists. The ecclesiastical disciplinary commission was renewed in 1551[8] and 1552.[9]

But Anabaptists were not the only objects of discipline, for the conservative Catholic leaders, Bishops Gardiner and Bonner came under censure and imprisonment; and Richard Cox was active in building a case against them. His role was to publicly attack Bishop Gardiner in a sermon delivered at St. Paul's Cross on July 8, 1548. Evidently the bishop had preached a conforming sermon before the king, and Cox proceeded to attack the sermon for being a lie.[10] According to Wriothesley's Chronicle, Cox attacked Gardiner by

> exhorting all the audience to pray for
> his [Gardiner's] conversion to the truth,

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[6] CPR, Edward VI, II, 406.

[7] Burnet, II, 177; Burnet cites the prosecution of "some London tradesmen" and Joan of Kent.

[8] CPR, Edward VI, III, 347.

[9] Ibid., IV, 355.

[10] This is reminiscent of Cox's role in the Crome trial. Cox's methods did not change, though his principles might have.

and not to rejoice of this his trouble
which was godly done.[11]

According to John Foxe's account, proceedings against
Bishop Gardiner had begun with an investigation in
October of 1547 by Cox and four others. They questioned
the bishop regarding his disagreement with Cranmer con-
cerning the nature and method of salvation,[12] and Cox
was subsequently called to witness against the bishop
concerning the interview. Cox charged that Gardiner vio-
lated many Protestant ideas: he preached regarding the
authority of St. Peter; he advanced the idea that the
pope could be a good advisor to the king; he had com-
plained of conditions of the deprived Catholic clergy;
and he had continued to discuss the mass and the sacred
altar in spite of Somerset's orders that such discussions
were to be discontinued.[13] The charges in themselves are
not particularly doctrinal, but they point up the usual
charges against sixteenth-century heretics. They were
considered seditious and disobedient people. Bishop
Bonner experienced the same denigration as Gardiner; in
fact, the two cases were as intimately connected as the

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[11]C. Wriothesley, Chronicle (London, 1875), 4.

[12]Foxe, AM, VI, 45. Cranmer had written a homily
on salvation which was quite Lutheran; Burnet, II, 59.

[13]Ibid., VI, 97, 150, 151.

bishops had been in delaying Protestant success. Among

the charges against Bonner was the fact that he had heard

Cox's warnings against the ideas expressed by Stephen

Gardiner, but had simply ignored them. Article Ten of

the 1549 charges against Bonner states:

> That ye were at Master Dr. Cox's the king's
> almoner's sermon at St. Paul's Cross . . .
> wherin he declared the great contempt of
> the bishop of Winchester.[14]

Though Bonner denied he was present, later witnesses

placed him at Cox's sermon.[15] Both bishops spent most

of King Edward VI's reign in prison.[16] While thus serv-

ing as a royal inquisitor, Cox was evidently relieved of

his duties as the king's tutor. John Nichols cites a

letter to that effect,[17] and the same fact is reported

by Martin Micronius in a letter to Henry Bullinger on

May 20, 1550.[18] The latter also reported that rumor had

it that Cox would receive the post of Bishop of Winchester.

Though Cox was advanced to Dean of Westminster, the power

of a bishopric did not become his until the reign of Queen

Elizabeth.

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[14]Foxe, V, 762.

[15]Ibid., V, 768, 769, 772.

[16]APC, II, 181. Gardiner was imprisoned in September, 1547 and Bonner accompanied him in 1549.

[17]J. Hooper, "Letter," March 27, 1550. Nichols, Literary Remains, cxli.

[18]M. Micronius to M. Bucer, May 20, 1550, O.L., II, 558 ff.

Related to the examples of discipline applied to radical Protestants and conservative Catholics was the attempt to create a structure of law within the English church. Richard Cox was appointed to serve on commissions whose aim it was to reform ecclesiastical law.[19] It is apparent that the English Reformation had not adjusted to being absolutely controlled by royal power even though King Henry VIII had been able to advance his will without much fear. Thus medieval canon law remained in force.[20] Henry's royal proclamations and injunctions virtually created an *ad hoc* ecclesiastical law system; however, such control was hardly possible under Protector Somerset. The church, supported by Continental scholars, demanded its autonomy. In its official statements, the government complied with this demand, and the church was promised independent jurisdiction, at least in spiritual affairs.[21] To fill the gap thus created by governmental promises and the church's lack of a law system, Edwardian parliaments carried out what Henry VIII had promised,[22] and a commission of thirty-two men, including Cox, was appointed to produce a new canon law.[23]

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[19]CPR, *Edward VI*, IV, 114; IV, 354.

[20]Archbishop's Commission, *The Canon Law of the Church of England* (London, 1947), xi, xii.

[21]APC, II, 114-115; Royal Proclamation, July 31, 1547, Hughes and Larkin, 393.

[22]2 and 3 Edward VI c. 1; 3 and 4 Edward VI c. 11; 5 and 6 Edward VI c. 4; 25 Henry VIII c. 19; 27 Henry VIII c. 15; 35 Henry VIII c. 16.

[23]Edward VI, *Journal*, G. Burnet, II, ii, "Collection," 56.

Either due to disagreements or the commission's bulk,
however, the thirty-two man group was reduced to eight.
This eight-man committee was named in the Privy Council
records of November 9, 1551, and included the following:
Cranmer, Thirlby, Cox, Peter Martyr, Dr. Taylor, Dr.
May, John Lucas and Richard Goodrich.[24] The completed
work was given to the commission of thirty-two, which
included another foreign divine, John Alasco, but the
young king died before the new ecclesiastical law could
be approved by Parliament. As a disciplinary tool the
new canon law was quite comprehensive, which is perhaps
the reason Queen Elizabeth refused to allow its use dur-
ing her reign;[25] but for the era of Edward and Mary its
most important feature was that it recommended the
Edwardian Prayer Book as the best means of religious
expression.[26] This judgement was surely not shared by
Catholics or by all Protestants, and as a disciplinary
device the Book of Common Prayer proved to be the great-
est dividing force among Protestants in the Marian exile.
Cox's role in helping create a system of discipline that

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[24]APC, II, 410. Strype (Cranmer, I, 192) claims
that Taylor, Martyr, and Christopher Haddon (who trans-
lated the book into Latin) were the men who did most of
the work.

[25]Below, p. 246.

[26]Fuller, II, 353.

elevated the Prayer Book also proved to be an important step in his career, for as a leader of the "English party" at Frankfurt he soon had his opportunity to try to create a disciplined English congregation.

Before turning to an analysis of Cox's intellectual development and impact during King Edward VI's reign, it is necessary to cite two duties he performed. First, because of his rather high position he was involved in the social turbulence which accompanied the religious and economic troubles of the young king's reign. Earlier statements by Cox demonstrated his sympathy with the indigent,[27] but his role in 1549 was to help put down rebellion rather than to encourage unrest or plan for social change. Though it is easy to simply emphasize the social causes of the revolts of 1549 and of Somerset's deprivation in 1552, contemporaries evidently saw religious causes. Edward VI, for example, published A Message . . . . to the Devonshire rebels in 1549, and in it accused their behavior thus: "It is sedition, it is treason . . . ."[28] However, in building his argument he referred only to contemporary religious troubles such as the proper means of receiving the bread at communion, the heresy of Catholics, and holding services in

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[27]R. Cox, "Paper" (1536).

[28]Edward VI, A Message, 1.

the English language.[29]   It was in such a religious-
political context that Richard Cox proved useful to the
Privy Council.   On October 7, 1550 he was ordered by the
Council

> to repair in Sussex to appease the
> people by his good doctrine, which are
> now troubled through the seditious
> preachings of the Bishop of Chichester
> and others.[30]

In Sussex "sedition" was begun by Protestants, for Bishop
Day had replaced altars with tables, and he and his fel-
low preachers were evidently opposed by the populace.[31]
Cox again proved useful to the government, for his aim
had long been that of unifying the church within the
framework of Protestant and Christian humanist ideology
as expressed in a uniquely English worship service.
Though England could not remain Catholic, it was also
clear that the radical iconoclasm of many Protestants
was also unacceptable.

Another aspect of Richard Cox's career was his
further advancement, for in 1549 he was appointed Dean
of Westminster.   Under Henry VIII Westminster was desig-
nated a bishopric for the County of Middlesex;[32] but it

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[29]Edward VI, _A Message_, 1.

[30]_APC_, III, 137.

[31]Gardiner, _The English Church_, 285.

[32]Letters patent, December 17, 1540, W. Combe, 233.

was re-united with the London See in 1550.[33] The position
of dean was lucrative, L 586 13s 4d, so Cox's appointment
was an important advancement. The deanery was essen-
tially an educational foundation,[34] but it had also become
important to the Edwardian government in its numerous raids
on church property. One author has it that Dean Benson,
Cox's predecessor, died because of "extreme vexation at
having granted away in so long leases so much of the lands
of the church to Lord Seymour and other persons for the
use of the Protector."[35] With Cox's elevation, the
government did advance a subservient and amenable person.[36]
Thus, little trouble resulted when church properties were
taken during Edwardian times when the see was re-united
with the London bishopric[37] and Westminster was converted
into a cathedral church. As dean, however, Cox granted
away more properties. As stated by Combe,

> There was more plunder of the church by
> the protector as well as by the dean,
> prebendaries, and servants, during the

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[33]Combe, 238; LeNeve, III, 347.

[34]Above, p. 82.

[35]Combe, 237.

[36]LeNeve, III, 347.

[37]W. Combe, Westminster, 238. According to Combe,
Lord Wentworth, Sir Thomas Wroth, "and others" gained
property in that transaction.

time of Cox, than at any other. In the
First Chapter Book there are leases for
fifty, eighty, and ninety-nine years.[38]

Such subservience earned Cox the affection of Somerset,

at whose execution he performed the religious services,[39]

but it did little to aid his reputation among either

Catholics or Protestant opponents of the Prayer Book.

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[38]W. Combe, Westminster, 241.

[39]J. Fox, Acts and Monuments, VI, 295; G. Burnet,
History, II, p 296; H. Chapman, The Last Tudor King, 237;
John AbUlmis to Bullinger, February 8, 1552, O.L., II,
448 ff. AbUlmis reported that Cox was Somerset's "confes-
sor, as they call it, and doubtless to his exceeding
grief and distress, for they had always been upon the
most intimate and friendly terms."

PART II: The Adoption of Continental Reformation Ideas

An analysis of Richard Cox's ideological attach-
ments as he served on the important ecclesiastical com-
mittees of King Edward VI's reign necessarily involves a
discussion of the Continental Protestants whose ideas con-
tinued to play a determinative role. Martin Bucer's
ideology remained formative in Cox's case, especially
regarding discipline, but Bucer's influence also began
to diminish. Aside from the subject of discipline, his
ideas were usually characterized by their vagueness and
negativism. He excelled, as the humanist scholars often
did, at criticizing evils in established Catholicism;
but his desire to promote unity led him to state positive
doctrines in as vague a way as possible. Rather than
promote unity, however, such an approach provided topics
for debate, debate which characteristically led to
religious divisions rather than religious unity. One of
the Continental exiles, for example, cited the difficul-
ties which had arisen from vague statements about the
doctrine of the eucharist in the catechism of 1548:
"fightings have frequently taken place among the common
people, on account of their diversity of opinion, even
during the sermons."[1] Bucer's influence was virtually

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[1]J. Burcher to H. Bullinger, October 29, 1548,
O.L., II, 642 ff.

ended shortly after his arrival at Cambridge, for he died early in 1550. Henry Bullinger, the Zurich reformer, soon filled the gap, however, for his ideas were ably presented in England by Peter Martyr. Bullinger's outlook was directed toward more positive definition of doctrine, especially on the eucharist, and he generally reflected a unified position agreed upon by the three most important representatives of Reformed Protestantism, Martyr, Calvin, and Bullinger himself. As Cox's role is analyzed, these Continental reformers assume great importance in the creation of an Anglican ideology.

The context within which Continental ideologies were imported provides the background against which Richard Cox's role can be analyzed; for though the monarchy had expressed its dislike of icons[2] and had proclaimed that it would rely on the church to run its own affairs,[3] the creation of positive doctrinal formulae was not forthcoming. The reliance on foreign intellectuals therefore became necessary. There was more to the influx of foreigners than either the English lack of an ideology or Charles V's Interim, for England after 1547 became the major Protestant power in Europe. Archbishop Cranmer

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[2] "Injunctions," Cardwell, *Documentary Annals* (Oxford, 1844), 47.

[3] Royal Proclamation (1547), Hughes and Larkin, 417; Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, 43, 44.

realized this, and throughout the Edwardian period he

pursued two important policies: an attempt to assemble

all the major reformers in England; and an attempt at

holding a major council of Protestants. The latter aim

was reflected already in 1549, when the Provost and

Council of Berne accepted the archbishop's invitation to

attend a general council of Protestants.[4] Similar plans

prompted John Calvin to respond to Cranmer's invitation

in 1552. Calvin congratulated Cranmer for a care "not

confined to England alone, but regardful of the world at

large." He then proceeded to blame secular and religious

leaders for blocking unity earlier, but excused himself

from attending a conference in 1552.[5] Because of such

lack of cooperation, no council met; however, the arch-

bishop, assisted by Richard Cox and Cambridge leaders,

was somewhat more successful in luring Continental

Protestant scholars to English shores. Letters were sent

out in 1548 and 1549 inviting the Lutheran leader

Melanchthon,[6] John Alasco,[7] Wolfgang Musculus,[8] and Martin

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[4]Council of Berne to T. Cranmer, December 19,
1549, O.L., II, 717 ff. In a letter to Bullinger Cranmer
also suggested that a general synod meet to create a
unified stand on the eucharist (O.L., I, 22).

[5]J. Calvin to T. Cranmer, April, 1552, O.L., II
511 ff. He wrote, "I shall have sufficiently performed
my duty, if I follow up with my prayers what shall be
undertaken by others."

[6]T. Cranmer to P. Melanchthon, February 10, 1549,
O.L., I, 21.

[7]T. Cranmer to J. Alasco, July 4, 1548, O.L., I
16 ff.

[8]T. Cranmer to W. Musculus, December 23, 1548, O.L.,
I, 336.

Bucer.[9] Cox's role was to provide positions for those who accepted invitations, thus filling Oxford with many foreign students and professors. That the appeals were successful was not pleasing to all Protestant leaders is indicated in a letter by the exiled printer, Christopher Froschover, to Rudolph Gualter, Bullinger's chief aide in Zurich:

> And in this respect the English are in
> my opinion justly worthy of censure,
> that they are endeavoring to draw away
> from Germany its men of learning, that
> they may be able in the meantime to
> live at ease themselves: for if we
> diligently look into the facts, we shall
> find that they have men of higher talent
> for the most part than the Germans.[10]

In spite of such a view, Richard Cox continued to play the host to Continental exiles, however ungrateful they might be. The evident congenital weakness of the English scholars of "higher talent" was that they were perhaps too scholarly in their own unique way. Scholars like Cox never produced definitive doctrines--they relied on the immigrants to provide that function. The English aim was stated succinctly in Cranmer's invitation to John Alasco:

> We are desirous of setting forth in our
> churches the true doctrine of God, and
> have no wish to adapt it to all tastes,
> or to deal in ambiguities . . . . We

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[9]T. Cranmer to M. Bucer, October 2, 1548, _O.L._, I, 12.

[10]C. Froschover to R. Gualter, May 28, 1551, _O.L._, II, 723 ff.

have (thus) invited both yourself and
some other learned men . . . .[11]

The dream of unifying all Protestants proved vain, however, as it had for all who had hoped to unify the religious rebels; and the government's policy of moderation also proved unsuccessful. Once the religion which suited English "taste" was found, there was no room for compromise.

The Edwardian reign proved to be the period in which the English defined their Protestantism more closely. The doctrine and method of worship which compromised the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and its successor in 1552 proved to be the touchstone of the Anglican religion, and the immigrants supported by Cox were essential in the development of both doctrine and an order of worship. With the Protestants in power, an obvious problem for them was the maintenance of discipline, and for this Cox in particular relied on Martin Bucer. Bucer had dedicated his _De Regno Christi_ to King Edward VI and had earlier influenced Cox's stand on the issue of the eucharist;[12] but that his continued interest was in discipline is seen from his letter to John Calvin. Bucer attacked "those teachers who dare to write and assert publicly, that it is a fanatical attempt

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[11]T. Cranmer to J. Alasco, July 4, 1548, _O.L._, II, 16 ff.

[12]Above, p. 67 ff.

to construct any system of ecclesiastical and penitential discipline."[13] Bucer and his friend Paul Fagius were given positions at Cambridge,[14] but both died quite soon after their arrival. Thus Bucer's position of influence was filled by the influential Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger. This change was reflected by two things, Cox's subsequent exchange of letters with the Zurich leader, and the growing interest in creating a more positive and therefore more narrow doctrinal position for the English church. The contact between Cox and Bullinger was stimulated by John AbUlmis, a student whom Cox had placed in Christ Church College, and AbUlmis' description of the head of both Christ Church and Oxford itself to Bullinger could not have been anything but impressive. He claimed that Cox had all the "correct notions respecting every article of the Christian faith."[15] Subsequent exchanges between Cox and Bullinger reveal mutual admiration, for Cox's letters to the latter are full of effusive praise for the Swiss leader's theological writings,[16] and

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[13]M. Bucer to J. Calvin, 1550, O.L., II, 545 ff.

[14]P. Fagius to J. Ulstetter, n.d., O.L., I, 332. According to this letter, Cranmer had wanted to send Fagius to Oxford and Bucer to Cambridge, but they both objected, and were kept together.

[15]J. AbUlmis to H. Bullinger, November 27, 1548, O.L., I, 348.

[16]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, October 22, 1549, O.L., I, 119; November 1, 1550, O.L., I, 120 ff.

also reveal those leading court figures who were influenced by Bullinger's work: Catherine Parr, Cranmer, the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Dorset, all of whom Cox reported he had "saluted in your [Bullinger's] words."[17]

Being an evidently new devotee to Bullinger, Cox emphasized their agreement in such strong terms as, "you so entirely coincide with me,"[18] and proceeded to re-align his thinking to conform to Bullinger's. On the one hand Cox was led to work for a more simplified form of worship, and claimed that though such simplification was his preference, he could only try to persuade the bishops to change.[19] Further, he was converted to Bullinger's views on the eucharist. In referring to the Calvin-Bullinger agreement regarding it, the Consensus Tigurinus, and to their subsequent defense of the agreement, Cox expressed the hope that all Christianity "would aim at the same mark of truth."[20] It was regarding communion that Bucer's influence waned, for he had not wanted the church to express its eucharistic belief in any definitive way. Rather, he desired a vague statement in

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[17]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, November 1, 1550, O.L., I, 121.

[18]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, May 5, 151, O.L., I, 122.

[19]Ibid., I, 122.

[20]Ibid., I, 121.

hopes of creating unity.[21] Thus, though the English

hoped to create unity, the foreign scholars actually

represented divisions among Protestants, divisions which

were only beaten down when influential leaders like Cox

selected a position and enforced it.

The Swiss who desired a clear alignment in favor

of the real presence of Christ at the sacrament opposed

both Bucer and the Lutherans. John Burcher, a Stras-

burgh preacher who corresponded with Bullinger, did not

hesitate to condemn Bucer: "He is an invalid . . . or

almost in his dotage, which is the usual result of a

wandering mind."[22] The same author wrongly united

Martyr with the Lutheran cause, and castigated both for

vague teachings in the communion form of 1548.[23]

Actually Bucer himself was very critical of Peter Martyr's

defense of the real presence, for he criticized the book

in which Martyr summarized the position he defended in

the Oxford disputation of 1549:[24] "I am as sorry for

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[21]Burnet, II, 166-68.

[22]J. Burcher, to H. Bullinger, June 8, 1550, O.L.,
II, 685.

[23]J. Burcher to H. Bullinger, October 29, 1548,
O.L., II, 642 ff. Burnet edited a document by Luther
which indicates that Luther was willing to allow differ-
ent interpretations at the time of his death in 1547
(Burnet, II, 167).

[24]Below, p. 165-170.

master Martyr's book as any one can be; but that dispu-

tation took place, and the propositions were agreed upon,

before I arrived in England."[25] He then asserted that

Martyr changed the preface of his book to conform to

Bucer's thinking.[26] More important, however, is the

fact that many English leaders opposed the Lutheran

view of the eucharist. This fact was reflected both in

the persecutions which had occurred earlier under Henry

VIII and also in the correspondence of the Protestant

merchant, Richard Hilles. Hilles wrote that Lutheran

influence was widespread among English professors "so

that either Luther has drawn them into his error, or else,

fascinated by the world, they pretend themselves to be

Lutherans."[27] In their dissatisfaction with Luther's

eucharistic ideas, the English looked for an alternative.

John Hooper, later Bishop of Gloucester, expressed his

reliance on Bullinger,[28] and also expressed the English

quandary: "The holy supper is not a bare sign, neither

is it the true and natural body of Christ corporally

exhibited to me in any supernatural or heavenly manner

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[25]M. Bucer,to H. Bullinger, May 15, 1550, O.L.,
II, 544.

[26]Ibid., II, 544.

[27]R. Hilles to H. Bullinger, January 28, 1546,
O.L., I, 383.

[28]J. Hooper to H. Bullinger, January 27, 1546,
O.L., I, 33. He also expressed dissatisfaction with
Calvin's writings (Ibid., 38).

. . . ."[29] The same author, however, clearly did not understand the differences among Continental theologians themselves, for he mistook Peter Martyr and Bernardine Ochino as Lutherans.[30] It was out of such confusion and distrust that Richard Cox's support of Peter Martyr assumes great importance, for in the Oxford disputation of 1549 and in his subsequent writings Martyr developed the acceptance of the real presence without resorting to either transubstantiation and consubstantiation on the one hand or to symbolism on the other. Martyr's position was in fact that of the Consensus Tigurinus (Bullinger's and Calvin's), and was subsequently written into the English Book of Common Prayer and Anglican articles of faith.[31]

Cox's role in all this was again that of an institutionalizer. As seen above, he had switched to Bullinger's version of Zwinglianism and away from Bucer's, but his role in supporting the new position at Oxford demonstrates again the important role of administrators in establishing an ideology. Richard Cox gave full support to Peter Martyr's views.

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[29]J. Hooper to H. Bullinger, January 27, 1546, O.L., I, 44.

[30]Ibid., I, 61.

[31]Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers.

That Martyr had accepted Bullinger's position is apparent from their correspondence, for Martyr wrote the following to the Zurich leader on April 25, 1551:

> What you have mutually agreed upon respecting the sacrament of the eucharist [the Calvin-Bullinger agreement] is very gratifying to me; and I desire nothing more than that a plain and perspicuous statement upon that subject may be set forth in the churches of Christ: as for my own opinion . . . I go along with you altogether, and scarcely deliver any other sentiment in this place, when any conversation or disputation takes place respecting the Lord's supper.[32]

John AbUlmis, Bullinger's most frequent Oxford correspondent, wrote to the same effect regarding Martyr's disputes with the Oxford Catholics.[33] The Oxford disputation had originated in Catholic challenges made against Martyr's lectures on Corinthians, for when crowds became unruly during one lecture, Chancellor Cox intervened and arranged a public disputation with a Catholic professor, Richard Smith. Fearing reprisal, however, Smith went into voluntary exile, and Martyr subsequently disputed with three Catholics, Thomas Tresham, William Chedsay, and Morgan Phillips. Martyr, evidently because of Cox's support as well as his own demonstration of extensive knowledge of the church fathers, carried the day by defending three propositions:

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[32]P. Martyr to H. Bullinger, April 25, 1551, O.L., II, 493 ff.

[33]J. AbUlmis to H. Bullinger, June 21, 1550, O.L., II, 413 ff.

1. In the sacrament of the Eucharist
   there is not transubstantiation of
   the bread and wine into the body
   and blood of Christ.

2. The body and blood of Christ is not
   carnally and corporeally present in
   the bread and wine, nor, as others
   say, with the shows of bread and
   wine.

3. The body and blood of Christ is
   sacramentally joined in the bread
   and wine.[34]

The first proposition denied Catholic doctrine, the

second voided consubstantiation, and the third placed

Martyr firmly on the side of Bullinger for it asserted

an independent, real presence in spite of the individ-

ual's faith. That Cox should choose to support this

view does indicate change in his intellectual history,

for his role in revising the eucharistic form in 1548

had been largely negative, though he did adhere to

patristic example as Martyr did in 1549. The Ques-

tions of 1548 are similar to those circulated by Cran-

mer in 1540, though the later ones were not as far-

reaching; and again, the reveal Cox's perspective.[35]

Cox denied that participation in the sacrament could be

of value to anyone other than the participant, for it

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[34]McClelland, The Visible, 15-25. This is the
most recent full account of the disputation, though it
is described in most works on the English Reformation.

[35]G. Burnet, II, ii, "Collection," 146 ff. In
document XXV, Burnet cites the entire list of questions,
with responses. Subsequent references will be made to
the appropriate "Question" only.

was of value only to each individual.[36] Regarding the

positive definition of the mass, Cox saw it as a "remem-

brance" of Christ's passion and death,[37] and when called

upon to define the mass, he responded that it was a

> Thanksgiving to the Father, in distribut-
> ing the Body and Blood of Christ to the
> Congregation, to have the Death and the
> Passion of Christian remembrance, and in
> the end to laud and praise God.[38]

Taken literally, the statement espoused both the corporal

presence and an interpretation which implied the mass'

role was a "remembrance" rather than an efficacious event.

Regarding the performance of the mass, Cox demonstrated

both historical awareness and the desire somehow to re-

capture primitive Christianity, both of which were of

course important Christian humanist and Reformation

themes. In accounting for the priest's role in taking

the elements by himself he cited a decay in the early

Apostolic religion: "the Priest was forced to receive

the Sacrament alone."[39] He then went on to promote the

idea that the congregation should also receive the sac-

raments, just as the priests did.[40] As to the issue of

whether preaching should accompany the mass, Cox responded

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[36]Questions #1 and #2.

[37]Questions #3 and #4.

[38]Question #4.

[39]Question #5.

[40]Question #6.

that the service should "have some Doctrines, after the

Example of the Primitive Church."[41]   In all these answers

Cox revealed his general orientation, but he hardly

espoused any particular point of view; however, when

Peter Martyr advanced a precise approach in 1549, Chan-

cellor Cox immediately supported his propositions and

his defense of them. As the chief moderator at the

debate, Cox was called upon to summarize the disputation,

but he proceeded to heap effusive praise on Martyr's per-

formance and ideas:

> But Peter, who is worthily called Peter,
> for his assured steadfastness; Martyr,
> and worthily called Martyr, for the innum-
> erable testamonies which he gives many
> times for the truth, ought to have great
> thanks at this time, both of ourselves and
> of all the godly: first, because he has
> taken the greatest care in sustaining the
> burden of disputation. For it 'not
> Hercules himself against two,' what say
> we of Peter alone against all comers?
> Further, whereas he undertook to dispute,
> he disproved the vain sayings of vain men,
> who spread envious and odious things
> against him; namely, that he would not or
> dared not defend his doctrine. Finally,
> that he so singularly well answered the
> expectations of the great magistrates, and
> indeed of the king himself, while he not
> only has delivered unto the University
> the doctrine of Christ, out of the living
> fountains of the Word of God, but, so far
> as lies in him, has not suffered any man
> to disturb or stop the fountains.[42]

This joining of the Protestant cause as represented by

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[41]Question #8.

[42]R. Cox, "Oration," McClelland, 22; Strype,
Cranmer, II, 848-851.

Bullinger and Calvin in Switzerland and Peter Martyr in
England proved to be the basis of English eucharistic
doctrine as officially defined in Anglican formulae. It
also proved to be important in further defining England's
Reformation ideology. Again, Richard Cox proved impor-
tant in institutionalizing Continental ideas.

Intimately related to the debate over the euchar-
ist was the revision of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer;
and in changing it the English were formulating prin-
ciples of long-range importance. First, the new book
of 1552, along with its alteration by means of the black
rubric, exemplifies movement closer to Continental Protes-
tantism.[43] For example, though Fagius and Bucer initially
approved the book of 1549, they did report to the Stras-
bourgh Council that the book included

> concessions . . . to a respect for antiq-
> uity, and to the infirmity of the present
> age; such . . . as the vestments commonly
> used in the sacrament of the eucharist,
> and the use of candles: so also in regard
> to the commemoration of the dead, and the
> use of chrism.[44]

In spite of the "concessions," however, the two Stras-
bourgh clerics accepted the English rite in the true spirit
of those who accepted the adiaphora idea; for they reported

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[43]F.A. Gasquet, Edward VI and the Book of Common
Prayer (London, 1890); J. Ketley, ed., The Two Liturgies
Set Forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI
(Cambridge, 1844); Proctor and Frere, A New History.

[44]P. Fagius and M. Bucer to the Council of Stras-
bourgh, April 26, 1549, O.L., II, 534 ff.

to the Council that "They [the English] affirm that there
is no superstition in these things, and that they are only
retained for a time" so the people "may be won over."[45]
Thus, though certain ceremonies were accepted as "indif-
ferent," in spite of their impurities, they were to be
accepted until the people were ready for more change.
Peter Martyr's reaction conformed with that of Bucer, and
in his correspondence with John Hooper, the bishop who had
strenuous objections to vestments required by the Prayer
Book, Martyr resorted the adiaphora theme.[46] Another
man who objected was John Dryander, an immigrant instruc-
tor of Greek at Cambridge. He indicated that ceremonies
"may appear useless, and perhaps hurtful, unless a candid
interpretation be put against them;[47] and he also claimed
that Bullinger would not like the eucharistic views of
the book, "for the book speaks very obscurely."[48]

When Cranmer asked for suggestions regarding chang-
ing the method of worship, there were many critics who
were willing to suggest changes. Bucer wrote an extensive

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[45]P. Fagius and M. Bucer to the Council of Stras-
burgh, April 26, 1549, O.L., II, 534 ff.

[46]McClelland, 26-27. He cites a letter from Martyr
to Hooper in which the former expressed some tolerance for
Catholic rites as not all being "defiled and poluted."
He also wrote to Hooper that "I thought it right to suffer
the same until better times should be granted."

[47]J. Dryander to H. Bullinger, June 5, 1549, O.L.,
I, 340.

[48]Ibid., 350.

criticism,[49] and Martyr concurred with his views. Martyr
also went on to develop a more doctrinaire position.[50]
The new commission for revising the book included
Richard Cox, and the results of the committee's work,
the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, conformed to the wishes
of the Swiss leaders.[51] It is interesting to speculate
concerning possible different results if the Lutheran
reformers had accepted their invitations to come to
England; but men like Musculus and Melanchthon had refused
to accept. The new book, therefore reflected the ideas
of Bucer, Bullinger, and Calvin; however, at the same
time it retained customs, such as kneeling at the Lord's
Supper, which were rejected by more radical Protestants.
John Knox, chaplain to the king, refused to conduct ser-
vices in accordance with church traditions and instead
demanded a service which could be found in scripture
only.[52] Knox's objections and behavior proved to be the

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[49]M. Bucer, *Censuri Buceri super libro sacrorum
. . . .* (1551). This work is summarized in E. P. Echlin,
The Anglican Eucharist (New York, 1968). Father Echlin
claims precedence for Bucer in the creation of a new book,
but Martyr and Bullinger were doctrinally more important.

[50]P. Martyr, *Censura libri Communium Precum* (1551).
This is analyzed in McClelland, 29-30.

[51]Dugmore, 202.

[52]J. Ridley, *John Knox* (Oxford, 1968).

backbone of stiff Puritan resistance to the "English rite"
as opposed to "Biblical rite," for Knox assumed that the
former could only be Christian if it included only those
activities found in scripture.

While much ink has been used to detail the exact
differences between the successive Prayer Books and to
identify the origin of each idea in these works, both
contemporary letters and later events encourage the
development of an additional perspective. First, as
borne out by Marian and Elizabethan religious history,
the Book of Common Prayer became the English means of
establishing their own unique form of Christianity. It
is ironic, but the very book constructed to please Con-
tinental Protestants was the tool which the English used
to divorce themselves from Continental Protestantism.[53]
Secondly, the importance of the Prayer Books in Edwardian
England also was that they represented an attempt to
impose some kind of religious discipline. On this score
Calvin and Bucer are of great importance, for the develop-
ment of discipline represented both an achievement and a
defeat for the influence of their Christian humanism.
Attempts to "educate" the English to Protestantism had
obviously failed: early Edwardian tolerance had produced
chaos rather than unity. On the other hand, the great

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[53]Below, Chapter VII.

emphasis which some of the reformers placed on living a life of obedience and conformity to Christian values was boosted,[54] for one of the great motives behind an exact order of worship was the desire to maintain discipline. Those who did not conform could be kept away from services and sacraments until they changed. The success Bucer had at Strasbourgh and the subsequent application of the same type of discipline by Calvin in Geneva document their interest in disciplining their people, and they encouraged the same for the English. In a stern letter to Somerset, for example, Calvin encouraged the suppression of "sedition and disorder" in both

> those who walk disorderly in the name of the Gospel, and those who are sunk in the old superstition. Both these and those deserve to feel the sword of the prince. They who give themselves to the Gospel ought to be vigilant and orderly, and to prove what they profess.[55]

The procedures of such discipline were in turn outlined by Bucer to Calvin in a letter written in 1550:

> those who have openly offended should be compelled to do penance, and, when that is performed, to be absolved of such offence, and receive absolution of the church for their particular sins.[56]

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[54]Above, p. 74, where Bucer's emphasis on Christianity as a way of life rather than a doctrinal structure is explained.

[55]Dixon, _History_, 524 ff; _Calendar of State Papers_, I, 11.

[56]M. Bucer to J. Calvin, 1550, _O.L._, II, 545 ff.

Such a procedure was little different from Catholic penance, the major distinction being that the Protestant device was public rather than private. What Bucer and Calvin promoted was accepted by Richard Cox, but he soon realized that disciplining a nation was more difficult than dominating a city-state, and English nobles were especially difficult to discipline. In a letter to Bullinger, Cox bemoaned the nobles' evident lack of Christian living and went on to indicate that "we tremble at the rod."[57] That he could expect such a situation is quite apparent, for the English Reformation had always been characterized by political subservience. It was built on royal rather than clerical supremacy. Thus, since social discipline was equally difficult to enforce, the English created an alternate standard: subscription to Anglican rites as outlined in the Book of Common Prayer. Of course, the Prayer Book contained ideas and taught Christian values, but conformity to the church's ceremonies became the touchstone of the English Reformation. Through their ceremonies the English could remain Protestant, but also could enforce an "English" way.

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[57]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, October 25, 1552, O.L., I, 123. In this letter Cox claimed the changes made by the Prayer Book of 1552 were created "according to the rule of God's word." However, he abhorred the lack of discipline: "the severe institutions of Christian discipline we most utterly abominate. We would be sons, and heirs also, but we tremble at the rod." In the same letter he asked Bullinger to explain his teaching on the eucharist further.

At the death of Edward VI the responsibility for maintaining English Protestantism fell to those who became exiles; however, it must be noted that the basic structure of Anglicanism was actually institutionalized during the often-neglected Edwardian period. First, the new government had continued the educational policies of King Henry VIII in spite of continued economic crises, and it is within the educational world that Richard Cox continued to have importance. As an idealistic scholar he had hoped to reform Oxford by merely exposing it to Protestant thought, but he apparently had few converts. He did, however, succeed in directing the university to modernize by forcing specialization within colleges, by serving the general population through public disputations, and by forcing colleges to stop giving courses in areas supposedly emphasized in grammar schools. Secondly, the new government had failed to purge England of either Catholic or radical Protestant influence: its policy of opposing consistent iconoclasm and persecuting conservative Catholics had produced discord rather than unity. This factor, too, was a continuation of Henrician policies, for Henry VIII's policy had neither produced unity nor been consistent. Catholics and Protestants alike fell when faced with royal supremacy, and both types of Christians had died in the persecutions of the 1540's. Thus, Cox's various roles under Edward, whether supporting the Protestantism of Peter Martyr or correcting the

"seditious" Protestantism of the Bishop of Chichester,
were similar to his previous roles under Henry VIII.
Thirdly, the new trend in Edwardian religion is apparent
in the shift to an evidently great reliance on the Zurich
reformer, Henry Bullinger, especially when the English
were forced to define their position on the eucharist.
The four volumes of Zurich Letters (the first two are
entitled Original Letters, but are actually from the
Zurich archives) not only give evidence of this shift,
but Richard Cox's letters and actions give similar proof.
The new view of the eucharist was a product of an agree-
ment made between John Calvin and Henry Bullinger, but
Cox did most to institutionalize it by his support of the
Oxford professor, Peter Martyr Vermigli. Martyr publicly
advanced the Swiss view of the eucharist at Oxford and was
given assistance by Chancellor Cox. Also, Cox served
on the Prayer Book committee which wrote the Bullinger-
Calvin view of the real presence into the Book of Common
Prayer of 1552. The Bullinger-Cox connection is further
expressed in several letters between the two[58] and in
letters between Bullinger and John AbUlmis,[59] a disciple
of Bullinger to whom Cox had given a position in Oxford.
Taken together, these letters have revealed several
things about Richard Cox: his financial and moral support

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[58]O.L., vol. I.

[59]O.L., vol. II.

of immigrant Protestants, his concurrence with Bullinger's
ideas, and, perhaps most importantly, his continued
reliance on Continental reformers to provide him with an
ideology. Though an important institutionalizer, Cox
never had gone beyond the negative (and perhaps "pure")
stage of humanistic scholarship. Though he could point
out flaws and errors with ease, as in his views on the
sacraments, he also was aware of the lack of a pure, posi-
tive model on which to build a reformed religious insti-
tution. And it was in this that Richard Cox is somewhat
a representative English Christian humanist, for few of
them were ever able to produce a positive, narrow ideal
and then enforce conformity to it.

Lastly, however, a great step was taken toward
defining English Protestantism by Edwardian Anglicans,
for they did adopt disciplinary formulae, the Prayer
Book, a new canon law, and the Forty-Two Articles. In
accepting the necessity of discipline, reformers such
as Cox were relying on the views of Bucer and Calvin to
the effect that disciplined Christian living was central
to the Reformation. Since the Forty-Two Articles came
too late to have a great influence and the canon law never
did receive official sanction, the Book of Common Prayer
became the actual means of discipline. A method of wor-
ship rather than an outright ideology became the central
issue in the development of Anglicanism, and in a real

sense this was the major product of English Christian
humanism. Given the natural historical orientation of
humanist scholarship and the English reverence for their
own religious tradition, reliance on the Prayer Book was
quite logical. Nevertheless, though it seems logical
from a historical perspective, many contemporaries refused
to accept Anglican rites. John Knox objected to communion
forms, Bishop Hooper criticized vestments, and the large
number of foreigners continued to use their own orders of
worship, much to the chagrin of English bishops. During
King Edward's reign the stage was set for the Anglican-
Puritan division. This split, aside from its immediate
theological importance, developed issues of great ideolog-
ical significance: the authority of government in religion;
the obedience due rulers; the meaning of the adiaphora
idea; the nature of biblical authority; and the authority
of history. Richard Cox proved important in leading the
Prayer-Book party against the Puritan-led group which
opposed Anglican rites. To develop this aspect of Cox's
life, however, occurrences at Frankfurt on the Main must
be analyzed.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP DURING THE MARIAN EXILE

PART I: The Frankfurt Troubles

The course of Richard Cox's five years in exile
would be impossible to follow if it were not for the works
of John Foxe, Christina Garrett, and the anonymous author
of the pamphlet, The Troubles at Frankfort. The last-
named document is an account of the Frankfurt divisions
over both the Book of Common Prayer and the nature of
church authority. The work also provides much informa-
tion about Cox's actions in 1555.[1] In addition it
supplies the basis for analyzing the Anglican-Puritan
division and the relative importance of Continental
theologians in the troubles of the Frankfurt congrega-
tion. Using the above works, and inferences which can be
made from later correspondence, the nature and course of
Cox's exile can be reconstructed. As Dean of Westminster,
Cox was initially used by Queen Mary,[2] and given his

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[1]P. Collinson, "The Authorship of A Brief Dis-
course," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, IX, 188-208.
Since the nineteenth century it has been assumed that
William Whittingham was the author of the pamphlet, but
Collinson has demonstrated that such a view is no longer
tenable.

[2]APC, VI, 324. He was the recipient of the goods
of William Drury and Robert Stirley on August 21, 1553.

strong belief in political subservience it is not diffi-

cult to imagine that the Edwardian leader would have

served the Catholic queen in spite of his Protestant

loyalties. At the same time it must be pointed out that

Cox's personal life and his activity in alienating many

leading Catholics did place him in a difficult position.

As a married cleric he clearly violated the new govern-

ment's ban on such marriages.[3] Also, though Cox had

tried to placate Oxford Catholics, he had helped build

the case against Bishops Gardiner and Bonner. With such

enemies, Cox could hardly have expected to be tolerated.

In September of 1553 he was deprived of his holdings.[4]

It is difficult to believe that Cox was involved in the

plot to recognize Lady Jane Grey as queen, but his short

imprisonment can be interpreted as the result of suspi-

cion which was soon proved false.[5] Whatever the cause

of Cox's imprisonment, he was released almost immediately

but ordered not to leave his home. A possible explana-

tion is that he had friends among the Catholic party, but

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[3]Clerical marriage was outlawed in December, 1553, and in the following February Queen Mary ordered foreigners to use English worship forms.

[4]CPR, Philip and Mary, I, 323; Leneve, Fasti, I, 352-354; Julius Trerentius to John AbUlmis, November 20, 1553, O.L., I, 373. Trerentius reported that Cox was "stripped of all his preferrment."

the importance of his limited freedom was that it gave
him the opportunity to escape from England. He fled in
the spring of 1554. The whole question of the mass
arrests and subsequent "escapes" has been raised by Miss
Garrett in The Marian Exiles, and the question is rele-
vant to Cox's situation. The known fact is that barely
two weeks after his imprisonment he was released by
official order on the condition that he would remain in
house arrest at Westminster.[6] Aside from Garrett's
explanation that the government was actually encouraging
the exiles to leave rather than persecute them,[7] it is
possible that Cox was not at all hated by many Catholics.
In spite of his testifying against Gardiner and Bonner,
he had promoted Catholics at Oxford; and as a humanist
scholar he often had seemed more interested in truth and
unity than in being doctrinaire. Whatever his interests,
his solution was to flee to the Continent.

Leaving his family behind, Cox escaped from his
house arrest on May 6, 1554 and joined Edwin Sandys.
Having crossed the English Channel,[8] they passed through

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[6]C. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938).

[7]Ibid., 16-17.

[8]Foxe, AM, VIII, 597-598. At the point of depar-
ture an important contact was made, for the exiles met
Edward Isacc of Kent. He became an important lay leader
in Frankfurt on the side of the Prayer Book party. John
Knox blamed him for causing his exile (Knox, Works, IV,
46, 47).

Antwerp, were joined by Edmund Grindal and Thomas Sampson, and proceeded to the most important of the exilic centers, Strasbourgh.[9] Though Grindal and Sampson subsequently left Strasbourgh, Cox and Sandys remained. It is interesting to note that from this group of four wandering exiles came three of the most important Elizabethan religious leaders: Sandys became Archbishop of York after serving as a bishop; Grindal ultimately rose from Bishop of London to become Archbishop of York and the Archbishop of Canterbury; and Richard Cox held one of England's most lucrative bishoprics, Ely. Sampson rejected such honors and refused to serve Elizabeth as Bishop of Norwich, for by the end of the exile he had aligned himself with the Puritan party. At Strasbourgh Sandys and Cox joined the large colony of English scholars who had fled to that city to become students of the erstwhile Oxford professor and Italian reformer, Peter Martyr Vermigli. Strasbourgh soon became more than a center of learning, for many of its English inhabitants formed the heart of the party which forced English congregations to use the English Prayer Book only. Also, this party provided the English church with its leadership when the exile ended.

Though Richard Cox could consider himself a major Edwardian leader, he did not initially impose himself

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[9]Foxe, VIII, 597.

upon the Frankfurt congregation when its troubles appeared.
Instead, the Frankfurt church found that it had been so
comfortably settled and well received that it invited
other English congregations to join it. Upon their arri-
val in June of 1554 the Frankfurt exiles had been offered
the use of the same church used by the French exiles. The
French, under the leadership of Valaren Pullan, had fled
from England to Frankfurt. In England they had found
refuge in Glastonbury during the reign of Edward VI. The
one condition the English exiles had to agree to was that
they would not "dissent from the Frenchmen in doctrine or
ceremonies lest they should thereby minister occasion of
offense."[10] Thus, the English congregation used an order
of worship which the Edwardian government had allowed to
be used in immigrant churches only.[11] The effect of the
new service was that the English exiles did away with the
litany, congregational responses to the minister, and the
long-suspected surplice, plus "many other things also
omitted."[12] In addition, they created a creedal discipline,

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[10]A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frank-
fort in Germany Anno Domini 1554 (England, 1575), 14;
cited below as Troubles. The French liturgy can be read
in Henry Cowell, "The French Waloon Church at Glastonbury,
1550-53," Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London,
XIII (1923-1929), 502-503. Cowell points out that this
liturgy had its origin in Calvin's service, which he
created when at Strasbourgh.

[11]Though Edward VI and Somerset granted that per-
mission, bishops disliked the exceptions made for the
foreigners.

[12]Troubles, 6.

to which new members were required to subscribe in order
to gain membership in the church. Thus "reformed," the
Frankfurt exiles sent out a general letter inviting the
other English exiles in Europe to join them "to the true
setting forth of God's glory."[13] The Strasbourghers'
interpretation of the letter, much to the dismay of the
Frankfurt congregation, was that Frankfurt really wanted
pastors. They therefore offered the services of John
Ponet, late Bishop of Kent, John Scory, John Bale, Richard
Cox, or any two of them.[14] Rather than accept Strasbourgh
scholars, however, the congregation wanted to invite their
own choices, of whom John Knox, ex-chaplain to King Edward
VI and opponent of the Book of Common Prayer, was the
most well known. With the consent of the leading lay
exile, Richard Chambers,[15] the Frankfurt congregation
refused the services offered by the other exiles and sent
a letter to Strasbourgh conveying their decision.[16] The

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[13]Troubles, 7, 8.

[14]Ibid., 8.

[15]Garrett, 111-114. Though there is confusion as
to Chambers' exact identity, Miss Garrett maintains that
he was the exiles' contact, along with Robert Horne, with
the English Protestant leaders. He and Horne apparently
controlled the common purse, and thus their advice and
consent was naturally cherished by the exiles.

[16]Frankfurt Congregation to the Strasbourgh Con-
gregation, October, 1554, Troubles, 20.

letter was carried by Chambers, but he soon returned,
this time with Edmund Grindal and a letter from the
Strasbourgh scholars who demanded conformity to the
English Prayer Book. Signed by sixteen residents, the
Strasbourgh reply indicated that the signers would come
to Frankfurt in February of 1555 to help establish the
English book.[17] The meeting never materialized, and the
Frankfurt group, with Knox as minister, adopted the
Genevan service book as the "most godly and farthest off
from superstition."[18] A newly-arrived pastor, Thomas
Lever, would not accept the Genevan service, however,
and he constructed a compromise order for temporary use.
Meanwhile, the two major opponents of the English rites,
John Knox and William Whittingham, appealed to John
Calvin for his judgement on the English service book.
They produced a letter which described the Book of Com-
mon Prayer in largely negative terms, and Calvin
responded in kind by condemning the book and its propo-
nents as having "delight in the Popish dregs."[19] Per-
suaded by Calvin's letter, the majority of the congrega-
tion voted to accept the Genevan order of worship; but
since there was no unanimity on this course of action,

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[17]Strasbourgh Congregation to the Frankfurt Con-
gregation, November, 1554, Troubles, 22, 24.

[18]Troubles, 27.

[19]J. Calvin to the Frankfurt Congregation,
January 2, 1555, Troubles, 35-36.

another compromise service was proposed for use until the
end of April, 1555, and disagreements regarding it were
to be resolved by a committee of five eminent Continental
divines, John Calvin, Wolfgang Musculus, Peter Martyr,
Heinrich Bullinger, and Pierre Viret.[20] This compromise
was not accepted by the Strasbourgh leaders, and they
responded by sending Richard Cox to Frankfurt for the
expressed purpose of forcing conformity with the English
Prayer Book. Cox, evidently accompanied by fellow
scholars from Strasbourgh, joined the minority at Frank-
furt on March 13, 1555, and together they proceeded to
discredit the Frankfurt ministers and disrupt the non-
English order of worship.

Richard Cox's method was direct. He and his fol-
lowers simply began using the English liturgy by answering
aloud during the service, and when the church seniors
inquired into this behavior Cox replied that he "would
have the face of an English church."[21] John Knox's reac-
tion was not long in coming. In a sermon he resorted to
the contemporary device of prophesying,[22] which, contrary

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[20]Troubles, 37. Musculus was a German reformer who
had been influenced by Bucer. He is discussed below, pp.
299-302. Viret was a disciple of Calvin. His influence
on English religion is discussed by Robert Linder, "Pierre
Viret and the Sixteenth-Century English Protestants,"
Archiv fur Reformationgeschichte, LVIII (1967), 149-171.

[21]Troubles, 38.

[22]This method of preaching was troublesome in the
Elizabethan period. When Archbishop Grindal refused to
discipline prophesiers, he was suspended by Queen Elizabeth;
below, pp. 280-281.

to its later meaning, did not involve predicting the
future but meant the application of biblical texts to
specific contemporary situations. Rather than "prophetical"
it was actually "analogical." Knox's springboard for his
attack on the English order was the Genesis account of
Noah's drunkeness, Knox's interpretation being that some
things must be kept secret and others should be revealed.
The Prayer Book difficulties were classified in the
latter group. Knox then proceeded to attack the sins of
the English church: "slackness of religion," "want of
discipline," the Edwardian persecution of Bishop Hooper
for his refusal to wear vestments, superstition of the
Prayer Book, and the wealth of the English clergy.[23]
The congregation resolved to deal with this flagellation
of English Protestantism by holding a debate, and thus
allowed membership to Cox and his followers so they could
have an official voice in the church; however, once
admitted to membership, Cox simply "forbade Knox to meddle
anymore with the congregation."[24] At this point William
Whittingham, Knox's ally and Cox's former student at
Christ Church College, asked the Frankfurt town govern-
ment to force the parties to compromise.[25] An ensuing
meeting not being successful, the congregation appealed

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[23]J. Knox, "Sermon," _Troubles_, 38, 39.

[24]_Troubles_, 39.

[25]_Ibid_., 40.

to the Frankfurt Senate that they be ordered to use the French order of worship, as required at their initial arrival in the city.[26] Though Cox is quoted as first accepting the Senate's order to comply with the French form, the Prayer Book party did as Whittingham had done and made an appeal to the Frankfurt government.[27] This appeal, however, was not theological. Cox's followers showed the Frankfurt leaders a pamphlet which Knox had published for English Christians, An Admonition to Christians. In the pamphlet he had attacked Queen Mary, her husband Philip, and Spaniards in general.[28] Unfortunately for Knox, Philip's father, the Emperor Charles V, was attending the Imperial Diet at Augsburg at that very time. The Frankfurt leaders were hardly ready to offend Charles V by harboring a theologian who had published sedition by criticizing Spaniards. Knox was sent packing to Geneva. The Strasbourgh scholars (three D.D.'s and thirteen B.D.'s) were presented to the Frankfurt government as the new leaders of the church; and William Whittingham was ordered to refrain from making further trouble as well as being

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[26]Frankfurt congregation, "Supplication to the Senate," Troubles, 43.

[27]Troubles, 49. This action opened Cox to charges of being "double-faced."

[28]Knox accused Edward Isaac of giving the pamphlet to the authorities (Works, IV, 46, 47).

ordered not to join another church.[29] In effect the
town council was forcing the English Prayer Book upon
English citizens, just as Edward VI had; and in spite
of the appeals of one Anthony Gilby, the government
refused to intervene further as long as unity was main-
tained.

Having achieved his victory in but two short
weeks, Richard Cox proceeded to reorganize the govern-
ment of the Frankfurt church. On March 28 he gathered
"such as had been Priests and Ministers in England" for
the purpose of constructing the new organization, and
though he proposed an organization which included both
clerical and lay leaders, he obviously wanted a church
governed by leadership provided by a learned clergy.
Only the clerics were allowed to nominate suitable can-
didates.[30] It was regarding this very fact that the
second major Frankfurt "trouble" first saw the light,
for Christopher Goodman, a scholar who had come from
Strasbourgh with Cox, proposed that the congregation
itself should vote on an order of worship and elect its
own officers.[31] By contrast, Cox clearly preferred

[29]Troubles, 45.

[30]Ibid., 46, 47. The clergy chose those "whom they
thought most meant to be Bishops, Superintendent or Pastor
with the rest of the officers, as Seniors, Ministers and
Deacons."

[31]Ibid., 47. According to the author of the Troubles
Cox's "proceedings . . . were such as if there had been
neither orders, officers, or church there, before their
coming."

clerical control as had been customary in England.

Largely because of Knox's political views, however, the opposition to Cox's party was broken, and the new leader turned to the task of re-establishing a rapprochement with John Calvin and to creating a church which would in the future resist any reappearance of the old difficulties. The first goal was apparently achieved, for Cox and his supporters wrote to Calvin and explained their behavior.[32] Since they had restored peace and elected new officers, the Genevan leader responded in a rather favorable way, though he did have some criticisms. Consistent with his earlier dislike for English use of "Popish dregs," he stated that the English followers of Cox were "more given and addicted to your country than reason would."[33] Of greatest importance to Calvin, however, was the fact that peace had been restored. Thus, he indicated that he would not interfere with the Frankfurt church, and then proceeded to suggest future guiding principles. He maintained that the line between permissible ceremonies and those to be forbidden should be drawn at the use of "lights and crossings or such like trifles," for those who used such superstitions should "drink the dregs."[34] Secondly, he suggested that elections

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[32]R. Cox, et al. to J. Calvin, April 5, 1555, O.L., II, 755-756.

[33]J. Calvin to R. Cox, et al., Troubles, 51 ff.

[34]Ibid., 52. Cox must have taken this advice seriously, for it was over these very issues that he had his earliest difficulties with Queen Elizabeth (below, p. 235).

by the clergy should be effected "with common voices;"
that is, he disapproved of any distinction between clergy-
men when an election was involved.[35] Thirdly, he condemned
the treatment given John Knox, for he claimed that the
charges against Knox should have been made in England, not
in a foreign country. In spite of the criticisms, it is
clear that Calvin still considered Cox and his party to
be acceptable Protestants; and it is further clear that
Coxians held Calvin in high regard. Calvin's parting
wish was that the Frankfurt episode "be buried in perpet-
ual forgetfullness."[36]

William Whittingham obviously did not forget, for
he and his party again asked for mediation of the differ-
ences. During the exchange of letters between Cox and
Calvin, Whittingham had gone to both the Genevan leader
and to Bullinger to convince them to intervene against
Cox.[37] Having failed, he and his followers presented
their position in August of 1555 and again asked for com-
promise. Cox allowed a discussion between the parties,
but the debate ended in failure: "certain warm words
passed to and fro from the one to the other, and so in

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[35]J. Calvin to R. Cox, et al., Troubles, 53.

[36]Ibid., 53.

[37]Troubles, 50, 51. Bullinger apparently did not
allow the use of surplices, wedding rings, or private
baptism; but neither would he intervene on Whittingham's
side.

some heat (they) departed."[38] Whittingham's followers

removed themselves to Geneva and Basle, and those who had

come with Cox left also. But before leaving the latter

party set up a school and permitted some tolerance to

the minority who still opposed the Book of Common Prayer.

In a letter by Thomas Cole it is reported that the minor-

ity members of the Frankfurt church who did not accept

all the English ceremonies were allowed to suit their

own tastes.[39] Not much is known of the success of the

new school, but it could not have been too prosperous.

Though lectureships were established in Greek, Hebrew,

and Theology,[40] troubles again shook the English at

Frankfurt. The new difficulties resurrected the problem

of discipline and church government, matters which caused

so much bickering between Anglicans and Puritans during

Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Though no records survive by which the exact course

of Cox's travels can be traced after his departure from

Frankfurt, two letters written in 1559 and 1560 do estab-

lish a basic outline. According to.the author of the

Troubles at Frankfort, in late November of 1555 "The

learned men who came . . . returned again from whence

they came, and some to other places."[41] The safest

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[38]Troubles, 53.

[39]Thomas Cole, "Letter," n.d., Troubles, 59.

[40]Ibid., 60.

[41]Troubles, 59, 61 ff.

assumption regarding Cox is that he returned to Strasbourgh to rejoin the English leaders there. Later, probably in 1556 when Peter Martyr moved to Zurich, Cox went there also. At least his correspondence with the Zurich reformers indicates a close attachment and an amiable friendship.[42] It was from Zurich that Cox was recalled to Frankfurt in 1557. This time he was asked to be a moderater in the quarrels concerning the proper means of discipline to be set up in the congregation.[43] In the latter part of 1557 and during 1558, however, Cox broke the pattern of exile life. He travelled to Cologne and Worms, in Germany.

Judging from his letter to George Cassander, Cox first travelled to Cologne, and then went on to Worms.[44] At Cologne Cox was befriended by Cassander, a Catholic humanist who was instrumental in the plans of Emperor Ferdinand I to bring Catholics and Protestants back together.[45] Evidently Cox made further friendships within a circle of like-minded citizens, for in later correspondence he requested that Cassander greet five mutual

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[42]Z.L., II. This volume contains several letters exchanged between Cox and Rudolph Gualter and Heinrich Bullinger to amply demonstrate his closeness to them.

[43]Troubles, 99.

[44]R. Cox to G. Cassander, March 4, 1560, Z.L., I, 41.

[45]J. Leclerc, Toleration and the Reformation (New York, 1960), I, 270-296.

friends. From Cologne Cox went to Worms, where he con-
tacted Wolfgang Weidner, an obscure Lutheran to whom Cox
wrote after he returned to England.[46] Again Cox
requested that his correspondent greet two mutual friends,
James Cornicius and Vespasian Fittich. Though Cox was at
Worms when Queen Mary died, he returned to England by way
of Cologne to see his Catholic friends one last time;
however, Cassander was not there and Cox proceeded to
England.[47]

That the period of the exile was critical for Cox
is obvious, for it virtually placed him at the head of the
Anglican party. In addition, the Frankfurt episodes fur-
ther exposed the Protestant divisions already apparent
under King Edward VI, divisions which in sum amounted to
two different views of the church. In turn, these
church views were based in different ideologies. Disci-
pline, liturgy, and church government may have been the
points of reference, but the basic ideological character
of each party, Anglican and Puritan, came to the surface
during the Frankfurt crisis; and Richard Cox was a direct-
ing force in establishing both an Anglican victory and an
Anglican way of thinking. Secondly, the Frankfurt troubles
revealed the secular implications which were to divide

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[46]R. Cox to W. Weidner, 1560, _Z.L._, I, 26 ff.

[47]_Ibid._, II, 41.

Anglican and Puritan. Their theologies implied social
and political differences which would be resurrected in
the revolution of the seventeenth century. Thirdly,
Cox's exile ended on a surprisingly ecumenical note.
At Worms Cox worked with Lutherans, but more importantly
at Cologne he came under the influence of George
Cassander. That Cassander was a Catholic and that Cox
should develop a friendship with him is in itself signifi-
cant, but the implications for the Elizabethan religious
settlement are even more important. The humanist theme
of unity had not died.

PART II: The Ideological Basis

of the Anglican-Puritan Division

Though scholars have often analyzed the Frankfurt
troubles from a purely liturgical point of view or as a
defense of the Puritan party, an analysis based on Richard
Cox's and the Anglican party's ideological position is
lacking.[1] About all the Frankfurt episode has gained for
Cox is the reputation of an immoderate, bad-tempered indi-
vidual,[2] and the reasons for such a view are quite appar-
ent. Virtually the only source of information about his
role is the Puritan pamphlet, The Troubles at Frankfort,
and it is difficult to imagine that the author of that
work could have been anything but hostile. The pamphlet
was written amid the Anglican-Puritan struggles of the
1570's, when, in spite of their failure to direct Queen
Elizabeth's religious policy, the Puritans continued to
press for more reform.[3] Cox was at that time an old,
discredited bishop. Lawsuits brought against the seventy-
year-old man represented him as an overly wealthy prelate

[1]M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1965),
118-123; H.J. Witherspoon, The Second Prayer Book of
Edward the Sixth and the Liturgy of Compromise (London,
1905); A. Hinds, The Making of the England of Elizabeth
(New York, 1895).

[2]Knappen, 127; Hinds, 35.

[3]Below, p. 275 ff; P. Collinson, The Elizabethan
Puritan Movement (London, 1967), 159-172.

and a cruel, spendthrift landlord.[4] Also, his service

on the Court of High Commission had brought him great

unpopularity, for it was that court which had to enforce

Elizabethan laws against Puritans. Because of these

considerations, the Troubles at Frankfort must necessar-

ily be used with care in spite of the scarcity of other

sources of information. Yet a careful use of the pam-

phlet and relative information make it possible to ana-

lyze the ideological character of each party.

The primary ideological problem which divided the

parties was the proper character and necessary applica-

tion of the adiaphora theme. Cox was no stranger to this

idea, and neither were the Puritans; but though both

accepted the idea that orders of worship were "indiffer-

ent matters," the Prayer Book party found it imperative

to accept and enforce one form at the expense of all

others. Hence, Cox pursued the establishment of the

second Edwardian Book of Common Prayer until all oppo-

nents were defeated.[5] The first reason for Anglican

loyalty was the very thing they were accused of ignoring,

church discipline. Such discipline was precisely what

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[4]Below, pp. 283-286.

[5]D. Whitehead, et al. to J. Calvin, September 20,
1555, O.L., II, 755 ff. According to this letter, some
changes were made in the Anglican order after Cox's
party won its victory.

Protestants had supported during the late rule of Edward VI, and the Anglican party was basically continuing that policy.[6] Though Puritans charged that Anglicans had no disciplinary principles, they were wrong. Instead, the real issue was the exact kind of discipline which should be adopted. The Anglican choice was based on the humanist realization that any principle which Christians wished to resurrect as the basis of discipline was necessarily historically conditioned. They were therefore willing to rely on national church traditions rather than return, as Puritans wanted, to first-century practices. Puritans saw no validity in church tradition; Anglicans saw the Puritan ideal itself as tradition. Unfortunately, Puritans did not challenge their own traditions as they did Anglican tradition.

The Anglican view was that Prayer Book unity was the only form of unity possible during the reign of Edward VI; for instead of depending on deduced doctrines, the English had chosen to write these doctrines into a liturgy. Those who became exiles therefore did have a positive statement around which they could rally in a unified way. More importantly, the exiles felt that they could not set aside a system of worship for which

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[6]Objections to the book were maintained by Knox and the foreigners' churches, but there is no evidence of widespread Protestant opposition.

their former colleagues were being persecuted. In their letter of November 28, 1554, the Strasbourgh exiles clearly expressed the Anglicans' goals. They maintained that to give up the English service would amount to a desertion of their comrades who had remained in England, for many of those who remained had been members of committees which had written the Book of Common Prayer.[7] Changing the service, therefore, could be interpreted as admitting that the Prayer Book was corrupt. In short, it was argued that what some Englishmen were being martyred for should not be changed without impelling reasons.[8] Also, the Strasbourgh exiles re-asserted the theme that the Prayer Book promoted keeping the English united in "one congregation, that with one mouth, one mind, and one spirit they might glorify God . . . ."[9] The Anglican party, though it accepted the relativities of the adiaphora idea, felt that unity was possible only when a common English form of worship was observed.

Another important factor in the early Anglican-Puritan difficulties is that Puritan ideology itself was in the process of evolving, and was not as static as the

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[7]Strasbourgh exiles to Frankfurt exiles, November 28, 1554, Troubles, 22.

[8]Ibid., 22.

[9]Ibid., 22.

Puritans claimed. The documents contained in the
Troubles at Frankfort do reveal changes in the Puritan
stance. At the beginning of the struggle the English
exiles, including Puritans, apparently accepted the
French order of worship for a very practical reason:
"lest they should . . . minister occasion of offence."[10]
In such a statement no appeal is made to the ancient
church or to biblically necessary forms of worship.
But the French were not the only ones who served as
models for the Puritans. In describing the order of
worship of other reformed churches, the churches of the
Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish Christians were
held up as ideals.[11] Further, in defending the order
adopted in Frankfurt, the author of the Troubles explained
that many ceremonies had been omitted "for that in those
reformed churches [Dutch, Italian, et cetera] such things
would seem more than strange."[12] He also claimed that
the Frankfurt order was "framed according to the State
and the times."[13] In spite of such relativistic talk,
it is apparent that the Puritans conceived of themselves
as members of a world-wide rather than a national Refor-

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[10]Troubles at Frankfort, 6.

[11]"Description of the Worship Service," Troubles, 7.

[12]Ibid., 6.

[13]Ibid., 7.

mation; but in their attempt to sell the new form of worship to other English exiles they adopted a rhetoric of perfection. They described their service as "being subject to no blemish, no, nor so much as the evil of suspicion (from the which few churches are free) we may preach, minister and use Discipline, to the true setting forth of God's glory and good example to others."[14] It was only when such rhetoric was used that it became necessary to claim purity on the basis of scripture, and it was regarding this latter claim that the natural opponents of the Puritans should be the Strasbourgh intellectuals. As one of the intellectuals with humanist training, Richard Cox had spent most of his life arguing against the idea that Christianity could be reduced to propositional forms. Though his former opponents on that very issue were Catholics, during the exile they were Puritan Protestants. As the Puritans were called upon again and again to defend their position, they completely abandoned their earlier reliance on arguing from the principle of conformity to other reformed Christians. Instead, they progressively adopted terms such as "purely" and "truly" to describe their methods.[15] They ultimately concluded that the

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[14]Frankfurt exiles', "General Letter," November 28, 1554, Troubles, 8.

[15]Frankfurt exiles to Strasbourgh exiles, December 3, 1554, Troubles, 29 ff.

Genevan order of worship which they had adopted was the "most godly and farthest off from superstition."[16] In a sense, therefore, one of the major principles of the Reformation scholars was allowed to die a rather unnatural death during the troubles at Frankfurt. The doctrine of adiaphora, which seemed a way to avoid radical differences actually proved the basis for the Anglican party's solidification around the Book of Common Prayer, while the Puritans did the same regarding the Genevan order of worship. Of course, subsequent dialogue between the two parties did not build on the idea that the adiaphora had been abandoned. Rather, it was simply ignored, and each party went its own way to gather support for its particular position.

The first source of support was close at hand, for both Puritans and Anglicans turned to their respective congregations to provide authoritative guidance; and it was in this context that each faction developed opposite concepts of the Christian community. In accounting for these different concepts it has been customary for twentieth-century scholars simply to identify different sociological origins and material interests in each group and thus discount the ideological differences as mere rationalizations. Such an approach is most clearly

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[16]Troubles at Frankfort, 27.

exemplified in Christina Garrett's study of individual
exiles. She accounts for the Frankfurt incident by
claiming that the Strasbourgh exiles, who were "notables"
under Edwardian rule, were directed by the former bishop,
John Ponet, to maintain control over the English of lower
status at Frankfurt.[17] The major difficulty with this
interpretation, aside from its uncritical acceptance of
the views expressed by the Puritans themselves,[18] is that
it reads seventeenth-century politics into sixteenth-
century religious and ideological differences. Even the
terminology of the later period is used: "Independency
at Frankfort, whiggery at Strassburgh, found each a fer-
tile soil for growth in the freedom of exile."[19] In
addition, Garrett's description of a conspiracy is ques-
tionable. Neither documents nor biographical information
gives evidence of the social groupings identified by Miss
Garrett. Cox's followers were generally not members of
any ecclesiastical or social hierarchy. According to
Miss Garrett's own description of those who signed Cox's
first letter against Frankfurt practices, eight were
simply students. If there was a conspiracy it surely

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[17]Garrett, 27, 329.

[18]Troubles, 1. In the "Preface" the author alludes
to a conspiratorial attempt to discredit the Puritans as
frustrated office seekers.

[19]Garrett, 329.

failed, for five of these students were eventually won over to Whittingham's side.[20] By the same token, the Anti-Prayer Book party was hardly a conglomeration of democratic individualists. All those identified as the core of the Frankfurt party are classified by Garrett herself as "Gentlemen."[21] In the subsequent history of the conflict the names of many additional members of the congregation appear, but as a group they defy definition. Rather than people with a unitary background, the Frankfurt congregation was made up of many types of individuals. In all probability the wealthy gentlemen held the real power, but they probably shared it with the man who gave the greatest amount of financial support to the exiles, the Duke of Wurttemburg. Virtually every exiled student who resided in Frankfurt or came with Cox and switched to the Puritan party received financial support from him.[22]

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[20]Biographical data is found in Miss Garrett's work for the following men: Michael Reniger (269), Augustine Bradridge (96), Arthur Saule (284), Thomas Steward (299), Humphrey Alcoson (70), Thomas Lakin (216), John Huntington (194), and Thomas Crofton (137). Reniger, Bradridge, Saule, Steward, and Crofton all left Cox's party eventually.

[21]Miss Garrett summarizes their lives: Edward Sutton (310), William Whittingham (327), Thomas Wood (343), William Williams (334), John Stanton (297), William Hammon (175), and Michael Gill (162).

[22]This information can be found in the biographies as contained in the Exiles.

By turning their appeal to authority back to the church itself the exiles necessarily developed different concepts of that institution. The Frankfurt exiles, aside from their desire to discipline the congregation according to creedal loyalty, developed a concept of lay control of the church's policy.[23] By contrast, Cox's party was largely made up of intellectuals, a fact which contemporaries recognized but many historians have ignored. The author of the Troubles always referred to the Strasbourgh immigrants as "the learned men of Strassburgh," and did not give a favorable connotation to that label.[24] In referring to the course of events after the Prayer-Book troubles were concluded, the same author created the impression that the intellectuals acted as they wished in spite of the will of the congregations which had welcomed them:

> The learned men . . . returned again
> from whence they came, and some to
> other places, where they might have
> charges, and not to be either burdened
> or bound to the exercises of the con-
> gregation, so that, the exile which was
> to many a poor man full bitter grievous
> and painful, was (to some of the great-
> est persecutors of their poor brethren)

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[23]Troubles at Frankfort, 13, 61 ff. Whittingham's followers continually appealed to the belief that the congregation should select its own leaders and its own order of worship. The later troubles at Frankfurt were almost entirely devoted to the problem of lay control.

[24]Ibid., 12. Also see the letter written to Zurich and addressed to "The students of Zurich." (Ibid., 20).

as it were, a pleasant progress or recreation.[25]

The real distinction, then, was between intellectuals and laymen, not between economically determined classes. The ideological differences which this distinction espoused surely did foreshadow an important phase of the Anglican-Puritan split. Richard Cox was willing to use his learning as a critical tool and as a means of suggesting solutions to problems. Puritans used their learning to identify an ideal in the past and to work towards that ideal without wavering. In an important way Cox's brand of Anglicanism encouraged Christian humanism, for learning was a tool, and a relative one at that. Puritan learning, though rooted in the same Christian humanism, became a tool for creating judgemental propositions, and thus was a death knell for humanistic scholarship. The troubles at Frankfurt provided a living example of the early states of Protestant anti-intellectualism, for the Frankfurt Knoxians refused to accept any leadership from the "learned men" led by Richard Cox. As each party looked to its own church for support, each created a unique idea of who should have authority, laymen or intellectuals.

A second source of authority for both groups of exiles was the Genevan reformer John Calvin. From the Puritan pamphlet one can deduce the fact that Calvin was

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[25]*Troubles at Frankfort*, 59.

the whole-hearted supporter of Knox and Whittingham, but

that viewpoint is not entirely true. The Prayer Book was

initially described to Calvin in such prejudicial terms

as "these follies who can suffer?" and "a certain kind of

pity compelleth us to keep close (quiet);"[26] but Calvin's

response was not entirely negative. Instead he encouraged

unity, and though he did not like many of the ceremonies,

he still indicated that he found "no manifest impiety."[27]

Cox's fellow Anglicans were not averse to using the

reformed method of discipline, that is, discipline admin-

istered by the clergy and leading laymen. The lay leaders

later were called "elders" in the presbyterian system, but

on the Continent they were referred to as "seniors;" and

Cox was not at all averse to relying on these men. For

example, when Knox had been expelled Cox proceeded to set

up a church which included a head pastor, "Ministers,

Seniors, and Deacons,"[28] and in explaining their actions

to Calvin the Prayer-Book party made it clear to the

Genevan leader that they had not altered the basic form

of church government.[29] As Calvin relied on elders in

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[26]Frankfurt congregation to John Calvin, _Troubles_, 33, 34.

[27]Calvin to the Frankfurt congregation, _Troubles_, 35.

[28]R. Cox, _et al._ to J. Calvin, April 5, 1555, _O.L._, II, 753 ff; _Troubles_, 47.

[29]_Ibid._, 753.
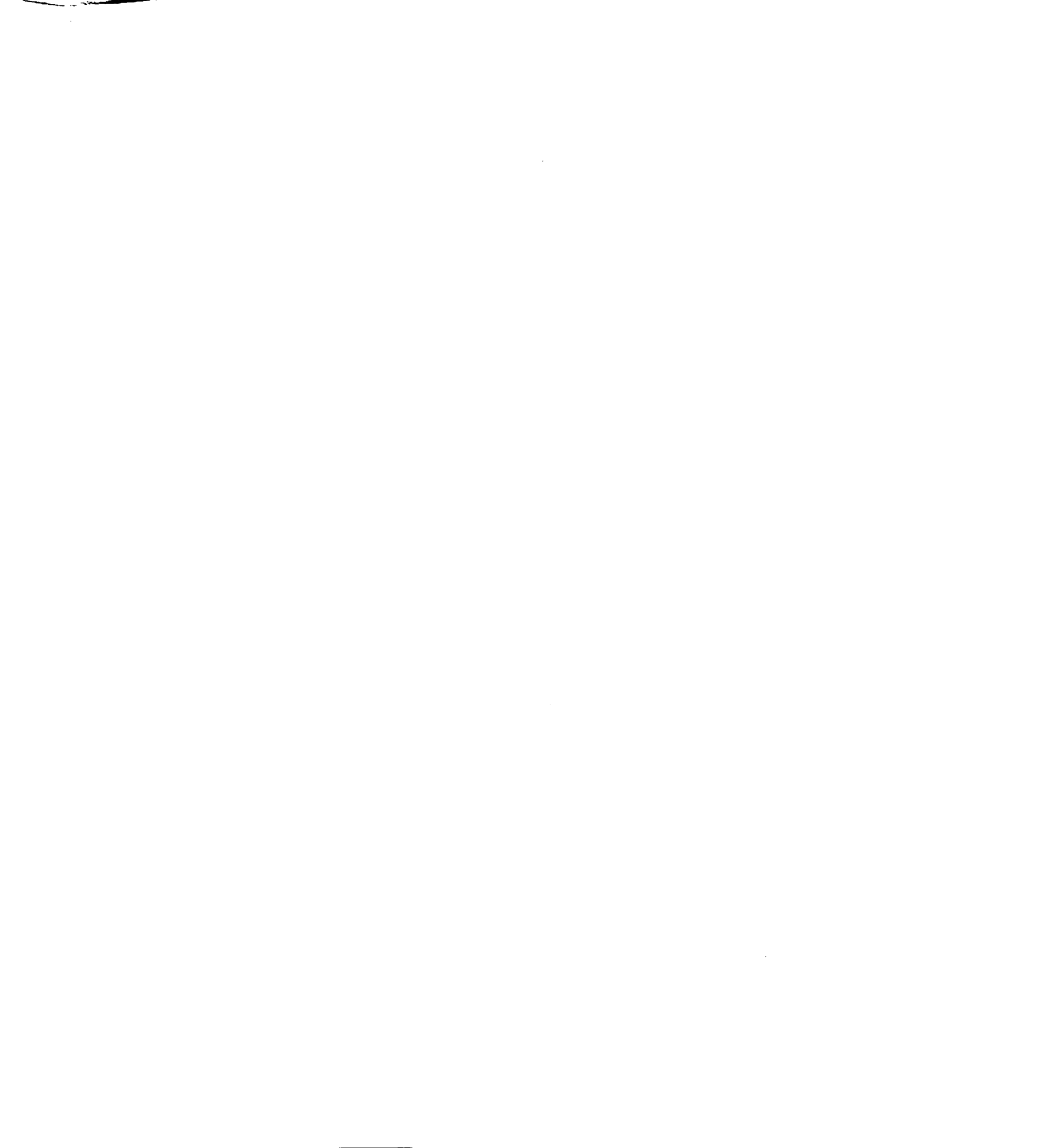
Geneva for the administration of discipline, so Cox's followers were willing to use the same system when they gained control of the Frankfurt congregation. Calvin's main suggestion regarding this topic was that the English should allow an equal vote for all ministers, but beyond this he found nothing wrong with the church's organization. Further, he did not request that the Anglicans install a system of elected leaders as the Puritans had.[30] Calvin's own Geneva was more an example of clerical control than of lay leadership. His view of polity was hardly the same as that of the followers of Knox and Whittingham. John Calvin proved to be a source of authority for both Puritan and Anglican parties, and in an important way was relied upon more by Anglicans than by Puritans. As Puritans grew more confidant of their biblical scholarship, they shed all appeal to the authority of other scholars, John Calvin included.[31] Richard Cox, on the other hand, was willing to use Calvinist ideas as well as Calvinist church discipline.[32]

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[30]J. Calvin to the Frankfurt exiles, May, 1555, Troubles, 53.

[31]This was especially apparent in the later quarrels between Bishop Whitgift and Thomas Cartwright in the 1570's and 1580's. See P. Collinson, Puritan Movement, 120 ff.

[32]Appeals to Calvin by Anglicans were especially strong once the troubles passed. R. Whithead, R. Cox, et al. to J. Calvin, September 20, 1555, O.L., II, 755 ff.

Aside from the ideological differences implied
by their theological disputes, the warring factions
developed different political ideologies. The Coxian
group, true to its leader's long history of political
subservience, sustained the idea of complete obedience
to the secular ruler. Knox's followers refused such
conformity and consequently some of them rejected the
idea of political submissiveness. John Knox was will-
ing to question the theory of obedience and to imply
that active disobedience was necessary in some instances.
It was because of these ideas that the Puritans were dis-
credited before the Frankfurt magistrates.[33] The back-
ground to Knox's new political ideas lies in the insta-
bility of English and Scottish rule and in his desire to
create a theoretical basis for persecuted Christians to
resist oppression. In order to develop a new theory, in
March of 1554 he questioned Henry Bullinger regarding the
right to revolt. Bullinger forwarded Knox's questions
and his own answers to Calvin for his perusal.[34] Knox
had advanced four questions. First, he queried whether
a young ruler, "by reason of his tender age," deserved
obedience by divine right. The reply cited the example

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[33]J. Knox, _The First Blast of the Trumpet against
the Monstrous Regiment of Women_ (Geneva, 1558).

[34]H. Bullinger to J. Calvin, March 26, 1554, _O.L._,
II, 543-547; Knox, _Works_, III, 216-226; cited below as
"An Answer."

of Edward VI, and indicated that obedience was neces-
sary.[35] Secondly, Knox asked whether a woman could rule
by divine right and transfer the same authority to her
husband, an obvious reference to Queen Mary and her
husband Philip. The answer was both vacillating and
straight-forward at the same time. Bullinger recognized
that divine right of a monarch and the rights of one's
husband depended on the laws of the particular king-
dom.[36] He also maintained that scripture demanded
obedience: God demanded obedience and would "in his
own time destroy unjust governments by his own people,
to whom he will supply proper qualifications for this
purpose."[37] Thirdly, the Scottish reformer touched on
critical points in the Swiss reformers' political theory:
the issues of the right of revolt allowed to lower mag-
istrates and the right of passive disobedience. He
asked whether obedience was due the ruler "who enforces
idolatry and condemns true religion," and whether local
political and military authorities had the right to
"repel this ungodly violence."[38] Bullinger replied that
martyrdom was better than obeying evil, and that magis-
trates could revolt against "ungodly" rulers.[39] He was

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[35]"An Answer," 222.

[36]Ibid., 223.

[37]Ibid., 223.

[38]Ibid., 223.

[39]Ibid., 224.

quick to add that circumstances required different answers. Fourthly, Knox asked whom citizens were to follow in the case of "a religious Nobility resisting an idolatrous Sovereign."[40] The evasive answer must have been dissappointing to Knox, for Bullinger simply encouraged piety and suggested letting the issue "be decided by the judgement of godly persons, who are well acquainted with the circumstances.[41]

John Knox was apparently influenced by the views of Bullinger, for his ensuing pamphlet to the English Protestants did not call for an immediate, violent political revolution. It is difficult to imagine that the work inspired anything but discontentment among Queen Mary's Protestant subjects.[42] All the epithets which could possibly condemn the English monarchy in the eyes of Protestants were brought against the government of Mary and Philip. Enforcement of the use of the mass was condemned as idolatry.[43] The monarchy was classified as a tyranny rather than rightful government: "those bloody tyrants within the Realm of England doth kill, murder, destroy, and devour man and woman, as

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[40]"An Answer," 225.

[41]Ibid., 226.

[42]John Knox, A Faithfull Admonition, Works, III, 257-330; hereafter referred to as An Admonition.

[43]Ibid., 261.

ravenous lions now loosed from bonds."[44] Queen Mary was
compared unfavorably with "Jezebel, that cursed idolatrous
woman;" for the queen was accused of hanging twice as
many Englishmen as Jezebel had killed among the Israelites.[45]
The people were exhorted to view their government as a
Spanish one rather than English: the queen was referred
to as one who "beareth a Spaniard's heart,"[46] and Bishop
Gardiner "and the rest of his pestilent sect" were asked,
in absentia of course, why they "would have a Spaniard to
reign over England."[47] Knox's broadest condemnation of
England's government, however, was that England was
repeating the history of Israel. Throughout the pamphlet
he continually applied Old Testament prophecies to contem-
porary English life, and continually referred to Jewish
heroes who had risen up as rebels to overthrow evil,
idolatrous conquerors. The sum total of his condemnation
was succinctly stated in a prayer: "Oh God! the Heathen
are entered into thine inheritance: They have defiled
thy holy temple and have profaned thy blessed ordinance."[48]
While he never invoked the cause of open rebellion, anyone

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[44]An Admonition, 286.

[45]Ibid., 294.

[46]Ibid., 296.

[47]Ibid., 297.

[48]Ibid., 327. It was the continued use of such
prophecies that caused Queen Elizabeth to condemn Puritan
prophesyings.

who wished could easily have considered himself God's
instrument for overthrowing evil. Knox ended his pamph-
let with a prayer which could have produced little else
but hatred for the monarchy: "Thou hast brought to ruin
the palaces of tyrants; and therefore shall the afflicted
magnify thee and the city of the tyranfull nations shall
fear thee."[49]

It is easy to understand why Knox and his party
were discredited as being conspirators for sedition, for
the pamphlet obviously heroized Jewish rebels and con-
demned tyrants, including England's rulers. That most
contemporary Calvinists subsequently were also labelled
as seditious persons is one of the ironies of the period,
for the political theories of the right to revolt against
tyrants, the necessity of tyrannicide when the ruler is
evil, and the belief in the political contract as the
basis of the state were actually not ideas derived from
John Calvin himself. He, along with Bullinger, sanctioned
revolt by magistrates only when they had the constitutional
right to check the monarchy.[50] Also, Calvin consistently
refused to alter his political conservatism, for he main-
tained that even though the Christian could refuse to do

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[49]An Admonition, 329. This argument was invoked
by French rebels in their Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos
(London, 1924).

[50]Calvin, Institutes, Bk IV, chapter XX.

evil, he was always required by God to give strict, unalterable political obedience.[51] Richard Cox's position in condemning John Knox's political ideology was therefore more in line with Calvin's political ideas than were Knox's, Christopher Goodman's, or William Whittingham's.[52] Cox's experience at being submissive in politics was an old habit which had helped his survival and progress in the past, and he was not prepared to abandon it. The theme that the Puritans were seditious citizens became an idea around which Anglicans could unite, and already during the exile the Puritans were labelled as conspirators who were not to be trusted. Though conspiracy is not clearly demonstrable, the Puritans did attempt to expand their party. Whittingham wrote to Calvin that he was trying to recruit a following at Basle and that he wanted Calvin's counsel and aid.[53] In reacting to this move, the English leader at Basle, John Bale, did not hesitate to condemn the politics

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[51]Calvin, _Institutes_, Bk VI, chapter XX.

[52]C. Goodman, _How superior powers ought to be obeyed_ (Geneva, 1558). This pamphlet defended tyrannicide, and its preface was written by Whittingham, who injured his career by writing it, for he never rose above the position of Dean of Durham when he returned from the exile.

[53]W. Whittingham to Calvin, n.d., Wood MS, _The Life of William Whittingham, from a MS of Anthony Wood_, Mary E. Green, ed., _Camden Miscellany_, VI (London, 1870), 6.

of Whittingham's followers. In reviewing their activ-
ities he completely rejected their contention that the
English service was "popish." Rejecting the idea that
the English were "popish," he questioned the real motives
of the Puritan party in a rather strongly worded way:
"What then may be thought of our unnatural and bastardly
brethren?"[54] He answered his own question by further
labelling the "bastardly brethren" as "a seditious fac-
tion."[55] Both charges were over-simplifications, but it
was true that some of the Puritan leaders had produced
seditious pamphlets. More important from the perspective
of intellectual history is the fact that the different
political theories implied a different ideological
framework for each party. The Anglicans were willing to
accept what history had given and use their religion to
account for their complete obedience to the state. The
Puritans used their theology as a device for judgement
and for returning to a point in history when Christianity
was "pure." When Anglican and Puritan political ideas
are compared, it is clear that Anglicans were much closer
to Calvin than the so-called "Calvinists" themselves.

Before turning away from this point, it should be
indicated that another of Miss Garrett's contentions

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[54]John Bale to Thomas Ashley, n.d., Strype, E.M.,
III, ii, 314.

[55]Ibid., 315.

seems faulty. Though she indicates that Anglican ideo-
ology emanated from a Strasbourgh clique headed by John
Ponet and that its ideology was spread among all Anglicans,[56]
she has not taken into account the difference between the
politics of Ponet and Cox. As author of the Treatise of
Politike Power, Ponet clearly allied himself with the new
politics of belief in social contract and the right of
revolt.[57] As already demonstrated, Cox, whose political
thought was close to that of Calvin and Bullinger, would
have nothing to do with such ideas. In fact, by condemn-
ing such ideas he got Knox exiled from Frankfurt. Nor
would many other Anglicans join a party which brought
their political loyalty into question. The reaffirmation
of Anglican political subservience was clearly expressed
at the end of the exile period by John Aylmer. In a
political tract he completely repudiated Knox's political
ideas and in addition asserted a political theory opposed
to Ponet's.[58] Aylmer's work condemned seditious people
as being "among these ugly monsters and broods of the

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[56]Garrett, 253 ff.

[57]J. Ponet, Treatise on Politike Power (1556). If
he was the head of an Anglican conspiracy, as Miss Garrett
contends, he held political ideas which were anathema to
most Anglicans.

[58]J. Aylmer, An Harborowe for the faithful and true
subjects against the late blown blast, concerning the
government of women, where in he confuted all such reasons
as a stranger of late made in that behalf with a brief
exhortation to obedience (Strasbourgh, 1559); cited below
as An Harborowe.

devil's brotherhood,"[59] and upheld the principle that

obedience was to be preserved at all costs.[60] By com-

paring Ponet's tract with Cox's actions and Aylmer's

pamphlet, one can hardly come to the conclusion that

Ponet was directing an Anglican conspiracy. If he was,

he failed. The Anglicans reaffirmed their political

loyalty to the crown, whatever its character was, and

in addition protected the only device which had been

successful in giving English Protestants some form of

unity, the Book of Common Prayer. With these credentials

they clearly demonstrated that they were ready to assume

leadership at the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Before the death of Mary, however, Cox made his

ecumenical excursion through Germany. Though nothing is

known of his relations with the Lutheran, Wolfgang

Weidner, beyond the fact that Cox resided with him at

Worms and later reported English affairs to him, Cox's

attachment to Cassander remains as a significant clue to

his ideological loyalties. It is not difficult to imagine

the dislike Cox must have harbored for what the Puritans

had done with their religious knowledge, but in Cassander

he found a kindred spirit.

George Cassander, like Richard Cox, had been edu-

cated in the Erasmian humanist tradition, which meant

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[59]J. Aylmer, _An Harborowe_, A3.

[60]_Ibid._, B1.

that his scholarly interests lay in church antiquities

and that his contemporary emphasis was on reform com-

bined with unity rather than on establishing a new

church. As an Erasmian Catholic he attacked church

corruption, but at the same time he was critical of

Protestants, and they reciprocated.[61] As humanists both

Cox and Cassander felt that tradition played an impor-

tant role in religion. It was precisely at this point

that Anglican thought veered away from Puritan thought

and towards the moderate Catholicism of a man like

Cassander. In his letter to Cassander, Cox had no

qualms about expressing his cool feeling towards "pap-

ists," and evidently did not classify Cassander as being

among them. The explanation for the apparent agreement

between the two was that they both disapproved of "pap-

ists" and desired to restore the church to its ancient

condition. In fact, Cox's question to Cassander involved

church antiquities, in this case the use of the crucifix.[62]

What is more important than his question, however, is that

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[61]G. Cassander, De officii pii acpublicae tran-
quillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio
(Basle, 1565). This work, though an attempt to create
unity, was attacked by John Calvin and placed on the
Lisbon Index in 1581. His experience was quite like
Cox's role in working for English Protestant unity. See
Schaff-Herzog, Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, II,
434-36.

[62]R. Cox to G. Cassander, March 4, 1560, Z.L., I,
41.

the Cox-Cassander rapprochement reveals much about the Cox-Puritan antagonism.

As Richard Cox became influential in the establishment of the Elizabethan religious system, his experiences on the Continent, combined with his past administrative experiences and education, assumed a great deal of importance. On one hand he used his knowledge to try to restore the church to its ancient condition, while on the other he was willing to accept the church as an institution capable of change over the centuries. Puritans accepted the first proposition, but not the second. From these opposite ideological positions, Cox's Anglicans and Knox's Puritans were to struggle for control of English religion and ultimately for control of English society.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

PART I: Anti-Catholicism and Submission to the Crown

Though the greatest amount of material available
for Richard Cox's life is that which reflects his career
under Queen Elizabeth, the period from 1558 to 1581 is
both anti-climactic and confusing. It is anti-climactic
because the new government did little that was unique
in terms of religious policy. The problems dealt with
were old ones; the solutions were not new either. Con-
fusion also characterized the period because the queen
herself lacked a definite, positive policy. Though she
clearly conceived of herself as the head of the church,
she had no positive policy regarding the form the church
had to take. To complicate matters, she could not act
independently, for both international and domestic
affairs guaranteed neither survival nor success. Queen
Elizabeth therefore had to create a policy which, in
spite of many historians' attempts to identify a unify-
ing principle, remained confused and subject more to
chance than to a grand design. The resulting religious
settlement has been popularly labelled _via media_, but
contemporaries could have viewed it as little more than

a patchwork created out of varying circumstances. The
queen's secret of success was that she could change
policy and let others take the blame for failures. By
the same token, the government could draw its ecclesias-
tical leadership from a party which also lacked a broad
unified plan, the returning Prayer-Book Anglicans.

The new ecclesiastical leadership was largely made
up of exiles who had remained true to the Prayer Book,
but who were of varying opinions as to just what England's
future religion should be. This variety became a cause
for trouble among the leaders themselves, for no unitary
Anglicanism emerged in the English church until the gen-
eration represented by John Whitgift and Richard Ban-
croft.[1] Bishops like Richard Cox and Robert Horne, along
with Archbishop Cranmer, admired Continental ideas, but
were not willing to defend them at all costs. On the
other hand, Bishop Grindal was entirely willing to use
his influence to press continually for more change, even
to the point of alienating the queen. Outside both groups
stood Puritans and Catholics, for though Queen Elizabeth
was unsure of what she did want she obviously did not
like the potentially seditious character of both of these
groups. Conscientious Catholics could not clearly

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[1]Both of these leaders were chaplains to Cox
early in their careers.

accept the state's dominance in religion, and neither could the Puritans. In addition, during the exile the latter group had demonstrated that it considered "English" rites to be "popish," and some of its leaders had even produced seditious pamphlets.[2] Elizabethan religious policy was consequently a product of what the queen, the Coxian exiles, and conforming Protestants who were not exiles could patch together.

Because of his reputation as a scholar as well as his prominent role during the exile, Richard Cox was destined to play an important role in re-establishing and enforcing a religion which would be both reformed and uniquely English. Initially he served as a preacher exhorting the English to leave Catholicism. Contemporary records reveal several appearances by Cox as court preacher soon after Elizabeth became queen.[3] Further evidence of Cox's importance is seen in the fact that he was given the honor of delivering the opening sermon to the Parliament of 1559. Il Scholfanoya, the Venetian ambassador, recorded that Cox, "a married priest who has hitherto been beyond the sea," delivered a fiercely anti-Catholic sermon which lasted for an hour and a half, "the

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[2] Above, p. 185.

[3] Machyn, Diary, 189 (February 8, 1559), 190 (February 25, 1559), 192 (March 28, 1559).

peers standing all the time."[4] Reportedly, the sermon
was an attack on the persecutions suffered at the hands
of monks and also encouraged the English to destroy
images which had been erected to saints.[5] That this
strong advice was not immediately adopted as official
policy is clear from Cox's correspondence with Wolfgang
Weidner. Cox reported that he had been "thundering forth
in our pulpits and especially before the queen, that the
Roman pontiff is truly antichrist, and that traditions
are for the most part mere blasphemies," but the govern-
ment was slow to move to expel Catholic influence.[6] In
Cox's opinion, "many" nobles were being won over and
"vast" numbers of people became Protestant supporters
also, but he blamed the clergy, especially the bishops
in Parliament, for successfully blocking the reformers'
cause.[7] As the foreign issues faded in the spring of
1559, Cox and his associates had reason to be optimistic,
for the queen seemed ready to make a move to promote
Protestantism.

The "Coxian" party (so called by Sir John Neale)[8]

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[4]SPV, VII (1558-80), 23.

[5]Ibid., 23.

[6]R. Cox to W. Weidner, May 20, 1559, Z.L., I 27 ff.

[7]Ibid., 27.

[8]Sir J. Neale, Elizabeth and Her Parliaments
(London, 1953), I. The same label is used by P. Collin-
son in his Puritan Movement, 33.

and Cox himself survived the first year of the new queen's reign with a great deal of success. With the passage of the Supremacy Act and the queen's long-delayed acceptance of the Edwardian Prayer Book, the Coxians could see progress, for both policies reflected the ideas which they had defended during the exile.[9] The Book of Common Prayer, again produced by a committee on which Cox served, was modified by the queen herself to include more ritual; but its establishment was a victory for those who desired Prayer-Book discipline rather than confessional discipline. The Supremacy Act ensured political support of a national church, and this again was exactly what the Coxians had hoped for. Both policies were the exact issues over which the Marian exiles had struggled. By contrast to the Prayer-Book party, the old "Knoxian" party had made its loyalties clear; for at the end of 1558 the Knoxians had sent a circular letter to the English exiles, urging that they all unite to create a church modelled after Continental Calvinist churches rather than after the older Edwardian model. They wanted a united front which would "teach and practice" as "seen in the best reformed churches."[10] The exiles at Arrau,

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[9]Dugmore, The Mass, 208-215; Sir John Neal, Parliaments (London, 1953), I; P. Collinson, Puritan Movement.

[10]Genevan exiles, "Circular Letter," December 15, 1558, Strype, Annals, I, 152.

led by Thomas Lever, agreed to cooperate,[11] but Frankfurt again defended the existence of different ceremonies for different churches even though they all might share a common doctrine.[12] Given their political and religious views, the Knoxians could hardly have expected support from Queen Elizabeth, and though little is known of her religious principles, they surely were not the same as the Puritans. Further, given the extremely precarious international position of Continental reformed Protestantism, the queen surely could not adopt so radical a course as the Puritans hoped for. The Coxians in Parliament and among the returning exiles were the natural allies for the queen to choose.

In contrast to Puritan intransigence, the Coxians affirmed their loyalty and united behind documents such as William Cecil's oft-cited "Device for Alteration of Religion" and Edmund Sandys' and William Grindal's statements which re-affirmed the orthodoxy and loyalty of Cox's party. Sandys' document was actually a cooperative paper which cleverly identified those who abused princes' powers as "false prophets," an obvious allusion to Knox's followers.[13] Grindal's statement suggested that the

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[11]Arrau exiles to Genevan exiles, January 13, 1559, Strype, _Annals_, I, 153.

[12]Frankfurt exiles to Genevan exiles, January 3, 1559, Strype, _Annals_, I, 152.

[13]E. Sandys, _et al._, "Conference of Faith," Strype, _Annals_, I, 167.

returning Protestants avoid harsh disagreements regarding the doctrine of predestination, and speak of that doctrine only "sparely and circumspectly."[14] He further reaffirmed the necessity of political obedience, the right of women to rule, and the need for obedience even to a tyrant, which he identified as a "power ordained by God and . . . to be honored and obeyed."[15] William Cecil's "Device" also exemplified the less radical Protestant position. Besides making practical suggestions regarding international and domestic alliances, Cecil also suggested a religion built on a new Prayer Book.[16] This was again the major theme of the learned exiles, and many of them, including Richard Cox, were suggested by Cecil as members of a committee to construct a new book.[17] By identifying themselves with such opinions the Coxians were the only Protestant party Elizabeth could turn to; however, the Catholics seemed an alternative choice as late as the spring of 1559.

That Catholics were allowed to remain in office and were granted the right to dispute their views in public

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[14]E. Grindal, "Articles," Strype, Annals, I, 152.

[15]Ibid., 172.

[16]H. Gee, Elizabethan Clergy (Oxford, 1898), 7. Gee maintains that Cox's views were prominent in writing this.

[17]W. Cecil, "A Device." H. Gee, Elizabethan Prayer Book (London, 1902), 15. Gee claims that Cox "knew more of the history of the prayer book than any living man."

colloquy was another policy which Queen Elizabeth had
learned from Edwardian example. The Elizabethan variety
of Catholic-Protestant confrontation took place in March
of 1559, and Cox was again at the center of activity.
The details of the disputation are confusing in the
extreme, largely because the Catholics used stalling
techniques to avoid answering questions in writing.
Basically, however, the eight Protestant disputants,
including Whitehead, Aylmer, Grindal, and Horne, all of
whom were supporters of Cox's views during the exile,
produced answers which satisfied the government and the
pro-Protestant audience: they rejected the use of Latin
in worship service; they rejected the church's claim to
exclusive control over rites; and they rejected the
sacrificial character of the mass.[18] Again the Anglican
intellectuals excelled in negating the religious posi-
tion of others. Cox, who also participated on the Protes-
tant side, of course expressed glee with the results.
He indicated to Weidner that the struggle was "like
David and Goliath," and that the audience and the pre-
siding officer, the Lord Keeper Bacon, declared the
Protestants victorious.[19] Two of the participating
Catholic bishops were subsequently imprisoned, and the

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[18]"Westminster Disputation," Burnet, II, ii, 411 ff.

[19]R. Cox to W. Weidner, May 20, 1559, Z.L. I, 27 ff.

rest were ordered to make daily appearances before the
Privy Council and to remain in London.[20]

As summer approached in 1559 all looked bright for
both parliamentarian and ecclesiastical Coxians. The
queen added to the adoption of the Supremacy Act and the
Edwardian Prayer Book a set of injunctions which were
virtually the same as those enforced under Edward VI.
These injunctions were to be enforced by clerics, and
again set up Erasmus' Paraphrases as well as the Bible.
Only article twenty-nine hinted at the queen's conserva-
tism, for it stated that clerics had to get permission
from their bishop before they could marry.[21] The only
other indication that the queen would impede further
reform was that she unilaterally changed the Prayer Book,
but even those minor changes would upset Puritans only.
As the summer of 1559 deepened, however, it became clear
that Queen Elizabeth had no intention of turning the
theologians loose as independent ecclesiastical leaders.
Upon appointing Cox and his allies the queen adopted the
old Tudor custom of stripping the church of the secular
land holdings. The wealth involved created the possibil-
ity of the church's having an independent establishment,

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[20]Cardwell, History of Conferences, 25 ff.

[21]Injunctions, 1 Elizabeth I, Cardwell, Documentary
Annals, 211 ff.

a possibility which the government wanted to avoid. A
state paper of the summer of 1559, indicated that Cox's
appointment, and the appointments of others as well,
was held up while the government worked out the trans-
fer of holdings from the church to the crown.[22] As the
Marian bishops were deposed for refusing royal supremacy,
Coxians took their place.[23] But each in turn had to pay
the price for his clerical advancement. Cox himself was
elected on June 23, 1559 to the See of Norwich,[24] but at
the deprivation of Bishop Thirlby he gained the Diocese
of Ely.[25] It was over the issue of Ely's temporalities
that Cox first met head on with the queen.

The royal policy was to take new bishops' temporal
holdings in return for a rebate on the bishop's contribu-
tion of tenths. Bishops were also to receive sundry run-
down properties. As an additional compensation the
departing bishop was to leave the equivalent of one-third
the see's property value to his successor. Cox was the
first Protestant to object to this policy, and addressed

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[22]CSP, Dom (1547-1580), 135.

[23]Burnet, III, 617, gives a complete list of
deposed bishops.

[24]Machyn, Diary, 201; Leneve, Fasti, II, 469.
LeNeve gives June 22 as the correct date.

[25]CPR, Eliz, I, 453.

both personal letters and a document signed in conjunction with the other bishops-elect to the queen. After beginning his initial letter by flattering the queen's ego, Cox proceeded to cite ten past examples, largely taken from Jewish history, to prove that it was the monarch's duty to support the church rather than to attack it by annexing properties.[26] Though his biblical evidence was rather strained, the arguments based on contemporary considerations are significant. First, he argued that Henry VIII had never confiscated properties which the church needed for the support of the ministry.[27] It has already been shown that Cox had proposed that Henry VIII use the confiscated properties to aid the indigent,[28] and Cox himself was generous in using bishopric monies to support scholars. In almost every letter he exchanged with foreign scholars he indicated that a monetary gift accompanied his correspondence.[29] Secondly, Cox pointed out that the land exchange policy was an insult to the new clergy.[30] By submitting to the indignity

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[26]R. Cox to Queen Elizabeth, 1559, Strype, Annals, I, 114 ff; cited below as "Letter" by article.

[27]"Letter," Article VIII.

[28]Above, p. 41 ff.

[29]See Cox's many letters in the two volumes of Zurich Letters.

[30]"Letter," Article IX.

of being rewarded with less than previous prelates, they
were admitting, at least in worldly terms, that they were
inferior. Thirdly, Cox indicated that the source of the
policy lay in Parliament.[31] The fact that secular leaders
saw the church as an easy means of profit plagued Cox
continually, and it was already clear to him during
Edward's reign that the lay leaders were not at all ready
to be disciplined. They wanted land, and there was little
the bishops could do about it as long as the crown found
a greater source of power in the nobility than in the
church. Cox's second paper was actually an expansion on
the articles of the first epistle.[32] He maintained that
bishops had been left with the duty of maintaining col-
leges, and that if they lost their properties, learning
would no longer be rewarded and would consequently decay.[33]
He argued, and correctly so, that Henry VIII had closely
united religious reform with English education. To this
argument Cox added the claim that "true" ministers should
be given at least as much as Catholics had received in the
past.[34] In addition, Cox maintained that the queen's

[31]"Letter," Article X.

[32]R. Cox, "Considerations why bishops' temporal-
ities should not be taken away," Strype, Annals, I, 147-
149.

[33]Ibid., 147.

[34]Ibid., 148.

policy was comparable to none on the Continent, and that
if bishops' properties were taken the crown would auto-
matically lose an important source of revenue.[35] That
Cox was not alone in the desire to establish a church
with an adequate source of income is seen in the state-
ment produced by Archbishop-elect Parker, and the
bishops-elect of London, Chichester, and Hereford.
Basically they maintained that they were responsible for
supporting education, and urged that the queen aid them
in that venture as had Henry VIII and Edward VI. By
means of compromise they offered to make annual cash
payments to the queen if she would in turn allow them
to retain their temporal holdings.[36] The queen refused,
and the bishops, Cox included, were forced to give up
their temporal holdings and any hopes for independence
as well.[37]

Though determined to maintain her property rights,
Queen Elizabeth was willing to aid Cox both fiscally and
in terms of granting him power in making ecclesiastical
decisions. Already in July she had acted to get Thirlby,
Ely's deposed bishop, to surrender "dilapidation" money

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[35]R. Cox "Considerations why bishops' temporal-
ities should not be taken away," 149.

[36]M. Parker, Correspondence, 97 ff; J. Bentham,
Ely, "Appendix," 37-38.

[37]CPR, Eliz, I, 453. This document described the
exchange made by Cox when he took Ely.

to Cox of over seven hundred pounds,[38] and she remitted

the first-fruits due from all newly appointed bishops.[39]

Though LeNeve reports that Cox was restored to his tem-

poralities, this is not true; for a land exchange was

made in accordance with the Elizabethan statute,[40] and

Cox suffered along with the other bishops. The queen

was apparently determined to leave the bishops econom-

ically dependent, and was willing to let them keep only

enough to furnish hospitality to visitors;[41] however,

the bishops were given the authority of administering

the government's religious policies. Cox, as bishop-

elect of an important see, was appointed to significant

commissions. First, educational visitors were appointed

to investigate Oxford University and the grammar schools,

and Cox served on both committees.[42] It should be noted

that the educational injunctions enforced were largely

duplicates of Edwardian policy, especially in terms of

re-establishing the Primer and Grammar produced in King

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[38]SP, Dom, V, 135.

[39]Ibid., VI, 141.

[40]LeNeve, Fasti, I, 343; CPR, Eliz, I, 453.

[41]Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, 1559, Parker, Correspondence, 101.

[42]Parker, Correspondence; Strype, Parker, I, 95; Simon, Tudor Education, 305; Gee, Clergy, 130.

Henry VIII's reign.[43] The duty of overseeing education

soon was left to a more important institution, the

queen's ecclesiastical commission, and Cox was again

honored with a significant appointment. He became part

of this well-known body in October of 1559.[44] The

court's power was continually renewed throughout the

reign and in effect it provides an important key to

understanding Elizabethan religious policy. The queen

neither wished to interfere directly in religion nor

wanted to let the church be independent. As a result

the Court of High Commission, and especially the

bishops who served on it, had to carry out royal policy

and suffer the disdain of the English people.

If the bishops had any hope for independence

after their defeat on the question of land exchanges,

those hopes were completely destroyed in the disagree-

ment between Cox and the queen over images used in the

queen's chapel. Elizabeth proved that she could defy

a bishop who was enforcing her own religious injunctions--

and get away with it.[45] Though the queen's religious

injunctions continued Edwardian iconoclasm,[46] the queen

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[43]Parker, 95; Simon, 305.

[44]CPR, Eliz, I, 28.

[45]Injunctions, 1559, Article LV, forbade the use of
lights.

[46]John Strype cites Cox as the author of the
Elizabethan injunctions (Annals, I, 236), but there is no
further evidence than his claim. Also, see Burnet,
History, II, 616. For the iconoclastic stance of 1559
see Frere, New History, 97.

introduced candles and a crucifix into her private worship service. This practice was already in evidence in October of 1559,[47] so Cox must have known of it when he was consecrated bishop of Ely in December.[48] That he waited until he was officially a bishop is significant, for he apparently planned to bring the full force of that office to bear on the queen. He clearly saw himself as God's appointee, through the medium of the queen, for he wrote that "God by your majesty hath placed me, and placed me to admonish, to exhort, and to call upon, opportune, importune."[49] He then proceeded to build a case for his refusal to serve in the queen's chapel, "the lights and the cross remaining."[50] He defended his position by means of a five-point argument to prove that such practices amounted to a violation of the second commandment and that they violated both old and new Testament practices.[51] His basic position came close to the Puritan teaching that the church should avoid human inventions for worship: "For our religion ought to be certain, and grounded on God's word and will. Quod non

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[47]Sir Francis Knollys to Matthew Parker, October 13, 1559, Strype, *Parker* I, 92.

[48]LeNeve, *Fasti*, I, 342.

[49]R. Cox to Queen Elizabeth, 1560, Strype, *Annals*, I, ii, 500, 501.

[50]*Ibid.*, 500, 501.

[51]*Ibid.*, 501-503.

est ex fide peccatum est."[52] Theologians might wish to
study the intricate biblical arguments, but of equal
importance is Cox's idea of his role over against that
of the secular ruler. He had long ago learned political
submission, but he also had apparently accepted John
Calvin's idea of theology's role in giving proper direc-
tion to secular leaders.[53] Cox wrote,

> And your highness knoweth, that in this
> thing, and in all other matters of religion,
> the judgement of the ministers of God's
> word ought to be heard.
>
> Neither would godly Constantine, in the
> council of Nice, take upon him to be judge
> over the fathers, but was content to stand
> to their judgement and determination in
> matters of religion.[54]

One can imagine the queen's reaction to the new bishop's
argument, for he even claimed his position to be anala-
gous to that of the church fathers at the Council of
Nicea! Cox clearly saw it his duty to tell the queen
what her policy had to be, and this was not only a per-
sonal affront but a threat to her divine-right status.
She saw her appointment as God's will and the bishops'
policies as her will, and nothing was to cloud those
principles. Queen Elizabeth was therefore determined to

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[52]R. Cox to Queen Elizabeth, 1560, Strype, _Annals_,
I, ii, 502.

[53]Calvin, _Institutes_, Book IV, chapter X; _Commen-
tary on Psalms_, I, 305.

[54]R. Cox to the Queen, Strype, _Annals_, I, ii, 501.

force Cox's submission. He reported to Peter Martyr that
the Protestants were

> constrained, to our great distress of mind,
> to tolerate in our churches the image of
> the cross and him who was crucified: the
> Lord must be entreated that this stumbling-
> block may at length be removed.[55]

His wish was not fulfilled, and Cox was forced, in true
Anglican fashion, to submit to royal power. Bishop Jewel
reported in February of 1560 that Cox and Parker were to
participate in a dispute as defenders of the queen's
crucifix.[56] Bishop Cox had done a complete about face
and was defending in March what he was abhorring in
January. It was in the context of his submission that
he wrote to his Catholic friend, George Cassander, to
inquire into the proper use of images.[57] William Haugaard
has recently emphasized the importance of Cox's submis-
sion largely from the point of view of the ensuing
divisions among the reformers, for it is rather signifi-
cant that Protestants who in March of 1559 were united
against Catholics were one year later disputing among
themselves.[58] Though the Protestant divisions became

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[55]R. Cox to Peter Martyr, 1560, Z.L., I, 66.

[56]Bishop Jewell to Peter Martyr, February 4, 1560,
Z.L., I, 67 ff.

[57]R. Cox to G. Cassander, March 4, 1560, Z.L., II
41 ff. Cassander replied with a learned treatise on the
proper form of the crucifix (Z.L., II, 42).

[58]W.P. Haugaard, Elizabeth and the English Refor-
mation (Cambridge, 1968), 196; W. Southgate, John Jewel
and the Problem of Doctrinal Authority (Cambridge, Mass.,
1962), 44.

important in the ensuing Puritan-Anglican struggle, Cox's
submission is also significant from the point of view of
the subsequent role of Anglican theologians in relation
to the crown. Cox's surrender signalized the defeat of
the principle that theologian idealists had a right and a
duty to give direction to royal policies. Queen Elizabeth
made it clear that Anglican leaders were to be adminis-
trators. They were not to create policy. As a result
the Anglican party retreated to a defense of royal
religious policies and contrived to revise them in indirect,
administrative ways rather than by directly confronting
the queen.

PART II: Early Elizabethan Anglicanism

Bishop Cox, along with others forced into submission, seemingly changed from idealist to administrator quite successfully. Minor tiffs with the queen did follow, such as in the case of clerical marriage[1] and the queen's marriage,[2] but the clerics seemed to understand their new role quite well. Though Cox continued to preach before the queen, his correspondence was usually directed to Parker or William Cecil rather than to the queen herself. On the matter of clerical marriage, for example, Cox made his strongest appeals to Parker rather than to the queen.[3] He pointed out that if the queen enforced her prejudice against married clergy, his diocese would be shot through with more vacancies than already existed. He argued in a cynical vein that "doves and owls" would simply take over the livings.[4] The year 1561 did prove

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[1]R. Cox to Queen Elizabeth, October, 1561, CSP, Dom, 187. He cited ancient examples of priestly marriage, and maintained that marriage was therefore "not forbidden to priests."

[2]Parker, Grindal, and Cox to Queen Elizabeth, 1561, Strype, Parker, I, 164. They wrote, "we crave at your hands to see you entied into this blessed state of wedlock . . . ." They warned the queen of the Devil's plans, and Cox added in the margin, "For Satan is no sluggard, nor Judas no sleeper."

[3]R. Cox to M. Parker, August, 1561, Parker, Correspondence, 151 ff.

[4]Ibid., 151.

highly critical for the bishops, however, for they pro-
duced the first purely clerical attempts to extend the
Reformation. The first document, the Bishops' "Inter-
pretations," was an attempt to formalize the queen's
vagaries and contradictions into a practical policy.
William Kennedy suggests that Cox himself drew up the
document,[5] but more important than its exact author-
ship is the fact that it presents a Parker-Cox _entente_
for solving the quandary in which the bishops found
themselves. Simply stated, they chose to return to an
Edwardian-type standard of conformity; but along with
the Prayer Book, vestments became a standard of judge-
ment. The idealists became utter pragmatists. One
would be hard pressed to find a simpler standard of
discipline than vestments, but it was the one safe
route for the bishops. The queen had violated her own
published regulations regarding ornaments, and disputa-
tions over doctrine were unthinkable due to the great
variety of opinions. By choice of the bishops, vest-
ments became the means of discipline, for better or for
worse.[6] After agreeing to enforce the "Interpretations,"[7]

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[5]W.P. Kennedy, The "Interpretations" of the Bishops
and Their Influence on Elizabethan Episcopal Policy
(London, 1908), 7.

[6]J. Primus, The Vestments Controversy (Kampen, 1960).

[7]"Lambeth Articles," Frere and Kennedy, Visitation
Articles and Injunctions (London, 1910), III, 95-6;
Strype, Parker, I, 194-195; cited below by Article.

the bishops in the main established both the form and the
means of further Reformation. Since the worship service
was to be conducted according to the 1559 Prayer Book
only, it was ordered that "all old service books be
defaced and abolished, by orders in visitation."[8] To
this traditional Tudor policy was added a call for a new
catechism.[9] The means of carrying out conformity to
these policies was close control over and examination of
readers and ministers.[10] Readers were to be "once again
by every Ordinary reviewed, and their abilities and man-
ners examined."[11] Curates and ministers were not to serve
"without examination, and admission of the Ordinary, or
his deputy, in writing" and were not to be allowed to
move without their former diocesan's approval.[12] From
these two major documents it is clear that at least Cox
and Parker had a policy for the careful government of the
church. It is also apparent that these policies were the
same as those used in Edwardian times. The fact that
Puritans had gone far beyond the Edwardian example was
to be a major problem for the rest of the Elizabethan
period.

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[8]Article I.

[9]Article VI.

[10]Article VII.

[11]Article II.

[12]Article V.

The vehicle for the Puritans' response was provided in the Convocation of 1562, for the Puritan party in the Lower House of Convocation chose to attack the very things which Parker and Cox had chosen as guide-lines for discipline, the order of worship and vestments. The lower clergy undoubtedly felt left out of the Reformation, for they never had been given the power to initiate changes. The action they introduced in the new convocation took the form of six articles which attacked many Anglican customs. In general this was a return to the spirit of the Puritans whom Cox had purged from Frankfurt. Upon their return these exiles had been refused admittance to or had rejected the more lucrative offices in the church, and thus filled the ranks of the lower clergy. Their attitude is nicely summarized by John Strype as being for "those platforms which were received in the reformed churches where they had little before sojourned."[13] Their model was the order of worship of the Continental reformed churches, and consequently they were as unacceptable to the bishops who were as enamored of English traditions as the Puritans were of Continental ways. The narrow defeat of the Puritan articles by only one vote indicates the widespread clerical support they had.[14] A broader concern of the

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[13]J. Strype, Annals, I, 502.

[14]Cardwell, Conferences, 40.

lower clergy was discipline, and the bishops joined them
in this concern. In their "Interpretations" and Lambeth
Articles the bishops had provided a workable form of
discipline according to outward conformity; however,
they were sympathetic to a stronger enforcement of English
Protestantism. The results of the united concern were the
Thirty-Nine Articles, the production of a new book of
homilies, and a movement to give the church a legal sys-
tem of its own. Again, all three products were motivated
by the desire for discipline, though the first document
fared well with the government while the second was sus-
pect and the third failed to gain the queen's support.

The articles and homilies reflected the Calvinist
theology of the entire church and the homilies by them-
selves represented the bishops' solution for the lack of
learned clergy. Cox's role was prominent in the formula-
tion of both documents. For example, article twenty-five
of the Thirty-Nine Articles was a description of the
nature of a sacrament which was based on the teachings of
both Calvin and Zwingli, that is, it was characterized
by vagueness. This approach is precisely the one used
by Cox in the 1540's.[15] Again, on a critical sixteenth-
century issue the Elizabethan church was acting in a
context of long-term continuity and an attachment to

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[15]Above, p. 67 ff.

Continental theologians. Cox's earlier relativism pre-
vailed. Though in 1562 Elizabeth excluded the article
which defined the sacrament, it was re-introduced in the
1571 version of the Thirty-Nine Articles.[16] The homily
on the sacraments also expressed Cox's view, for it
defined a sacrament as "anything whereby an holy thing
is signified."[17] Cox's important role in formulating
the second book of homilies is apparent from the fact
that he was chosen to write its preface.[18] Though he
claimed for it as much authority as had been granted
to earlier homilies,[19] that is, royal authority, the
queen for some unknown reason did not give the book her
full support.[20] She did not require that the homilies be
read, but again left that order to the discretion of the
bishops; and again they would have to take whatever
unpopularity attended the new book. The last paragraph
of Cox's original preface indicated the standards of
unity he expected to be enforced: homilies, injunctions,
and articles.[21] His aim was that

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[16]Haugaard, 250-252, 263.

[17]Second Book of Homilies, 316-317; cf. above p.
68; cf. Calvin, Institutes, IV, xiv, 18.

[18]J.T. Tomlinson, The Prayer Book Articles and
Homilies (London, 1897), 246.

[19]R. Cox, "Preface," The Second Book of Homilies,
Strype, Annals, I, ii, 516-517; cited below as "Preface."

[20]Haugaard, 273, 274.

[21]"Preface," 517.

all her people, of what degree or condi-
tion they be, may learn how to invocate
and call upon the name of God, what they
have professed in their baptism to
believe, and what duties they owe both
to God and to man. So that they may pray,
believe, and work according to knowledge
while they shall live here . . . .[22]

This was written in the context of Cox's long-standing

emphasis on the Christians' life as the measure of his

religion, an idea which he had assimilated from Martin

Bucer.[23] This emphasis implied a broader meaning for

the idea of discipline, one which the queen did not

accept.

To further advance discipline the Convocation of

1562 also proposed that Parliament officially adopt the

canon law which had been prepared during the reign of

Edward VI by Cranmer, Cox, and six others. Convocation's

plan had the support of the bishops. Again, however, the

queen resisted innovation and the establishment of the

church as a separate entity with its own law structure.

The canon law became an issue again in 1571, when its

adoption was pressed by Puritans in Parliament and it

was published by the martyrologist John Foxe.[24] It has

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[22]"Preface," 517.

[23]Above, p. 65 ff.

[24]Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, John Foxe, ed.
(London, 1571). For its history see The Canon Law of the
Church of England (London, 1947). In 1840 Edward Cardwell
re-published Foxe's edition (Oxford, 1850). This later
edition is used below and cited as Reformatio.

generally been conceded that the queen rejected the new

law because she disliked the fact that the great push

for its adoption came from the Commons, which she thought

had no business meddling in church affairs.[25] This expla-

nation is inadequate, for previous Tudors had in fact

supported the reform, and the queen herself had allowed

laws to be passed which called for a new ecclesiastical

law.[26] Rather than political prerogatives, what was at

stake was the queen's view of discipline based on confor-

mity to rites versus the Puritans' and bishops' ideal of

discipline of Christians' lives. In the 1571 "Preface"

to his edition of the Reformatio Foxe cited St. Augustine

to the effect that strong discipline was necessary if

the church was to survive and flourish.[27] The bishops

also saw in the proposed new laws a system of discipline

which governed all life, for the new law gave great

emphasis to excommunication[28] and established a thorough

system for applying discipline by means of the office of

rural dean.[29] This official was to oversee individual

morals, from fornication to perjury, in much the same

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[25]Cardwell, "Preface," Reformatio, xii.

[26]1 Elizabeth c 2; 13 Elizabeth c 12.

[27]Reformatio,. 2.

[28]Ibid., 167-177.

[29]Ibid., 100.

fashion that Continental seniors and elders supervised their congregations.[30] In one sense the Reformatio is significant because it represented one of the last attempts at Anglican-Puritan unity. By promoting its acceptance in the Parliament of 1571 the Puritans were by implication accepting the hierarchical form of church government which they disliked. At the same time the bishops accepted the most outspoken of the Puritan demands, the demand for discipline on the basis of Christian living, not just acceptance of church externals. Cox was important in the entire episode, for he had helped write the new canon law and had accepted the Bucerian and Calvinist system of local enforcement when he was at Frankfurt.[31] The queen's action to delay accepting the new canon in 1559 and 1562 and her ultimate rejection of them in 1571 thus drove Anglicans and Puritans farther apart, for Anglicans were determined to follow the queen wherever she led. A ticklish problem was left for the Anglicans, however, for any attempt at independent action could be interpreted as a breach of praemunire. In 1571 the bishops were again left in a politically inferior position. This fact led the bishop-historian, Gilbert Burnet, to trace seventeenth-century

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[30]Above, p. 207 ff.

[31]Above, p. 207.

Anglican problems back to the failure of the government to provide the church with an independent legal structure. Upon reflecting on the lack of a canon law system, he wrote that "our Reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection that is to be desired."[32] For an Anglican bishop to write such a statement is significant, for it is precisely the point which most Puritans were making in the sixteenth century.

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[32]Burnet, III, xvii.

PART III: The Application of Anglican Ideals in Ely

As Bishop of Ely, Cox found himself in the position
of an administrator with mundane duties rather than the
duties of a reforming idealist. In 1562 he did write to
William Cecil and encourage the acceptance of Jewel's
Apologia, which Cox was evidently asked to peruse before
it received official approval,[1] and in the same letter he
promoted the editing of a new translation of scripture, a
suggestion which did ultimately bear fruit in the 1570's.[2]
In addition to these significant acts, Cox participated
in the formulation of the bishops' "Advertisements,"
which, like their "Interpretations," was a document which
promised enforcement of the queen's desire for liturgical
conformity.[3] In Ely itself Cox had plenty to reform, for
only one-third of his cures were served by clerics.
According to his report to Archbishop Parker, of Ely's
one hundred fifty-two cures, thirty-four were vacant,
fifty-three were held by non-resident clergy, and thirteen

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[1]SP, Dom, 192. T.H.L. Parker suggests that Cox
was a possible contributor to Jewel's famous work in his
English Reformers. Library of Christian Classics (London,
1966), xxvi, 8.

[2]SP, Dom, 192; below, p. 302 ff.

[3]Strype, Parker, I, 313-319; Tomlinson, 53 ff.
The 1566 "Advertisements" were especially concerned with
enforcing the use of vestments already prescribed in the
Prayer Book and the queen's injunctions.

had neither a rector nor a vicar.[4] In 1562 Cox was able

to make his first full visitation of his see, and was

quite appalled by its lack of conformity to Anglican

standards. Several churches lacked service books, and

some even lacked a Bible, the Book of Homilies, and

Erasmus's Paraphrases.[5] Even at this local level of

administration the new bishop's Reformation ideals met

resistance, largely in the form of apathy.

Ely was a rather unique bishopric in that the

Isle of Ely was actually a palatinate over which the

bishop presided as a lay as well as religious ruler,[6]

and in a sense Cox found himself in an early medieval

situation. He was expected to be a secular overseer as

well as a religious leader, but he was also expected to

administer policy rather than formulate it. Thus he was

appointed to Ely's commission of the peace,[7] and was

required to serve on similar commissions in Cambridge[8]

and Huntingdonshire;[9] he was ordered to serve on Ely's

commission of sewers;[10] and was required to keep musters

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[4]R. Cox to M. Parker, January, 1561, Parker, Correspondence.

[5]R. Cox, Comptera, 1562 as quoted in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely (London, 1938), II, 178.

[6]3 and 4 Edward VI c 1; Cambridgeshire, IV, 16.

[7]CPR, Eliz, III, 29.

[8]Ibid., III, 20.

[9]Ibid., III, 22.

[10]Ibid., IV, 215; APC, IX, 134; APC, XI, 191.

of Ely's men fit to bear arms.[11] This last duty was per-
formed in conjunction with Roger Lord North, Ely's lord
lieutenant.[12] From the above list of duties it is apparent
that Bishop Cox was deluged with a flood of duties which
were hardly of great ideological significance. When
these duties are added to his role on the Court of High
Commission and his unusually consistent attendance in the
House of Lords,[13] one cannot help but conclude that Cox
was threatened with losing any leadership function he
had hoped for. That the Privy Council intended to use
the bishops rather than follow them is clear from its
behavior as it pursued its anti-Catholicism. In 1564
the bishops, Cox included, were required to forward a
list of potential justices of the peace and indicate the
position of each regarding anti-Catholic legislation.[14]
Cox approved of the government's move as necessary, for
he viewed the church as "dangerously declining."[15] He
returned a list of candidates for justices with approp-
riate labels: g for godly, c for conformable, no sign
for unfavorable, and q for those best suited to serve.[16]

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[11]APC, VII, 242.

[12]SP, Dom, 460, 485.

[13]Lords' Journals, vol. I.

[14]R. Cox, Letter to Council, October 17, 1564, The
Camden Miscellany (London, 1895), IX; cited below as
R. Cox, "Letter to Council."

[15]Ibid., 23.

[16]Ibid., 24.

It is interesting to note that Cox had not lost his pref-
erence for giving intellectuals positions of leadership,
for of the four men he recommended for the Cambridge com-
mission, three were masters of colleges in Cambridge
University.[17]

It was in his relations with the university that
Bishop Cox must have felt most at home, but his role
regarding it also mirrored contemporary political and
religious problems. Cambridge University lay within the
See of Ely and thus was under the ecclesiastical jurisdic-
tion of Cox. The head of the university was William
Cecil, and early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth he was
faced with a radical student body and conservative faculty.
In the face of factionalism, Cecil attempted to resign.
He cited the warring factions and the fact that he had
no power to change the institution as reasons for his
resignation;[18] however, he was persuaded to remain.[19]
In August of 1564 the queen herself, accompanied by Cox,
visited the university in an attempt to get some sem-
blance of unity,[20] and she was greeted with overwhelming

[17]R. Cox, "Letter to Council," 26.

[18]W. Cecil to the University, June, 1562, C.
Cooper, Annals, II, 173; both reasons are very reminis-
cent of Cox's problems at Oxford; above, p.108 ff.

[19]The University to W. Cecil, June 15, 1562,
Cooper, Annals, II, 174.

[20]Baker, History of the College of St. John the
Evangelist, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1869), 157.

oratory:

> Well Nature well, now mayest thou daunce,
>   And pastime for a tyme;
> For never shalt though creature worke
>   So devoyed of crime
> O may not we full rightlie terme
>   That sacret ryal brest
> A paradise where chast advise
>   And godliness wilhe reste.[21]

In spite of such praise, the queen's visit apparently had little effect, for in 1565 university radicals began ignoring the government's standard of discipline: vestments were discarded and iconoclastic sermons were preached. William Cecil's reaction was to give Cox the responsibility of solving the problem:

> I am inwardly afraid, that if fear shall
> not stay this riotous insolvency, these rash
> young heads, that are so soon ripe to climb
> into pulpits, will content themselves with
> no limits, either in church or in policy.[22]

Cox replied that the disorder was found in several colleges,[23] and proceeded to visit the university in 1568 and 1569. Along with John Whitgift, the university's vice-chancellor, and the heads of the colleges, Cox was determined to succeed where Cecil and the queen had failed.[24] The ultimate solution selected by Cox and his colleagues was to propose new university statutes, which

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[21]"Oration," Cooper, Annals, II, 1888.

[22]W. Cecil to R. Cox, 1565, Cooper, Annals, II, 223.

[23]R. Cox to W. Cecil, 1565, Copper, Annals, II, 223.

[24]Baker, 163.

took effect in 1570.[25] The university was reformed to the extent that dispensations regarding time for working on degrees were ended, but the existing division between administrators and students was not ended: the senate of college heads was given more power over the university in general, but colleges were given exclusive control over their own proctors.[26] In a sense the factions were strengthened rather than weakened. The sum result of the bishop's experience symbolized the nature of the Elizabethan settlement: the clergy was disciplined according to religious formalities, not religious belief or social behavior; the state used bishops to carry out rather than formulate policy; the bishops did what they could to avoid harsh remedies, especially when faced with young Puritans. These exact problems and solutions characterized Cox's dealings with Cambridge.

In the 1560's Bishop Cox's ideology was thus reflected more in his actions than in his institutionalizing or creating new ideas. Though responsible for helping create the Elizabethan principle of discipline according to a form of worship, he clearly desired that the laity be disciplined also, and in this desire he maintained his loyalty to the views of Bucer and Calvin. As a firm believer in obedience he necessarily conformed

[25]Heywood, 334, and "Appendix," 5, where the statutes are given.

[26]"Statutes," 1570, Cooper, Annals, II, 257-260.

to the queen's policy, however contradictory it was. His

submission on the issue of images in the queen's chapel

demonstrated his complete surrender to secular power.

That Cox had not given up his long-term ideals is seen

in a letter written in 1569, for it reflected the social

concern which he had expressed in 1534.[27] The letter was

discovered by James Bentham in December, 1786 and was

submitted to The Gentleman's Magazine as an argument for

poor relief, the same cause for which it had been sent

by Cox to his clerical subjects of Ely.[28] Besides his

concern for the poor, Cox also demonstrated that he surely

had not given up his belief that the clergy should direct

the morals of the laity. His basic argument was one which

Calvin had used, namely, that "God sendeth riches to men

. . . to help their poor and needy neighbors," and Cox

added the practical argument that aiding such people

would provide relief from "wicked and ungodly beggars."[29]

To enforce this idea Cox required that

> the minister of the church, the church
> wards, and collectors for the poor, to
> certify to me, or my chancellor, within
> one month after the receipt hereof, of
> the names of them that give weekly to
> the poor, and also the sums; and further

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[27]Above, p. 38 ff.

[28]R. Cox to the clergy of Ely, "Relief of the Poor,"
July 12, 1569, Gentleman's Magazine, lvi (2), 1041; cited
below as R. Cox, "Relief."

[29]Ibid., 1041.

> the names also of them that are able,
> and yet will depart with giving
> nothing.[30]

Clearly Cox had not given up his Christian humanist concern for social injustice. A second view that Cox maintained was that in spite of the queen's concern over vestments and the Puritans' conformity, the real threat came from Catholics. Perhaps this opinion was shared by all the bishops and explains why they generally were not very eager to enforce government pronouncements against Puritans. As seen above, there was in fact a common ground which both Puritans and bishops could accept. In a characteristically relativistic way Cox's view on conformity was expressed in a pamphlet which John Strype attributes to either Cox or Jewel:

> Why consider you Puritans not the circumstances? Why weigh you not in everything the time the person and the place?[31]

And again,

> But something you say is amiss. And I
> say, some things ever will be amiss.[32]

Out of fear of Catholicism Cox appealed for unity among all Protestants, and in this vein he wrote to Archbishop Parker that the archbishop should be moderate

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[30]R. Cox, "Relief," 1041.

[31]A brief and lamentable consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy; set out for the Instruction of the Weak by a faithful servant (1566), Strype, Parker, II, 144 ff.

[32]Ibid., 148.

> . . . lest our royal Mistress be dis-
> couraged, or offended with the little
> warts of a few and wink at the greated
> sores of many. Ours are guilty of a
> wild zeal, but the madness of Papists
> do more harm than any plague.[33]

With such a view in mind Cox and the Elizabethan bishops avoided concern with "the little warts of a few." Though the queen continually tried to enforce uniformity, the administrators' desire for Protestant unity prevailed.

As Bishop of Ely Cox reached the high point of his career as far as ecclesiastical rank is concerned, and on the basis of his early contests with the queen it is clear that he intended to enforce the ideas he had acquired as a Christian humanist and as a disciple of Continental theologians. On the level of official policy the queen prevailed. On the level of administration the Coxians avoided stringent application of her will. With the 1570's, however, new conditions developed. First, the queen was condemned by the pope, which reduced Cox's concern that she might turn back to Catholicism. Secondly, the ideological differences between Anglicans and Puritans came into full view. William Cecil's fear "that the rash young heads" would "content themselves with no limits" came true.[34] Cox was won over to Elizabeth's anti-Puritanism, but not because of a sudden conversion to her opinions. Cox and

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[33]R. Cox to M. Parker, May 3, 1566, Strype, Parker, I, 455, 456.

[34]Above, p. 253.

the queen were united in their dislike of Puritans, but remained divided as to their respective view of what Anglicanism should be. Conditions changed; the protagonists did not.

CHAPTER VII

ANGLICAN AGAINST PURITAN

PART I: Creation of a Unified Anti-Puritan Policy

Though 1571 proved a turning point in the Anglican
settlement, the policies of the entire decade can only be
understood against the background of the 1560's. The
deep fear of Catholicism which Richard Cox and his fellow
bishops shared did not dissipate, for the distress over
Catholic power which Cox had expressed to Peter Martyr
as far back as 1562 was still present.[1] As Bishop of
Ely and member of the Court of High Commission, Cox con-
tinued to provide the government with anti-Catholic ser-
vices. Already in 1565 the government had initiated the
policy of housing Catholic recusants with bishops of the
realm, and Cox was expected to do his share.[2] Church
leaders apparently approved of this policy, for Archbishop
Parker wrote that he encouraged the dispersal of the
Catholic prisoners among the bishops "to school them, or
else at least to have them out of London."[3] Rather than

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[1] R. Cox to Peter Martyr, August 5, 1562, Z.L., I,
112, 113.

[2] Council to R. Cox, 1565, APC, VII, 183.

[3] M. Parker to M. Haddon, June 6, 1566, Parker,
Correspondence, 284, 285.

disappear when attentions turned to Puritanism, the
policy of housing Catholics among bishops was apparently
expanded after 1571, for the Privy Council indicated to
Cox that it intended to use the Castle of Wisbech, on
the Isle of Ely as a prison.[4] This was one of Cox's hold-
ings as Bishop of Ely, and he was expected to donate its
use to the government. Though Cox never did convert the
castle into a complete prison,[5] he did provide services
as a ward of several Catholic leaders. Privy Council
records indicate that in 1577 three Catholic leaders,
Drs. Feckenham, Young, and Harpsfield were all being held
in Cox's custody.[6] Dr. Feckenham proved especially
troublesome to Cox, who in 1579 reported that the
prisoner had openly criticized the queen. Cox was ordered
to change the moderate treatment accorded the religious
prisoner in the past, and to keep Feckenham "a close
prisoner."[7] Though it is apparent that Cox was still as

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[4]Council to Cox, March 11, 1571, APC, VIII, 73.

[5]Council to R. Cox, August 8, 1580, APC, XII, 142.
Apparently the bishop used the same device with the Coun-
cil as he had with the queen, and simply avoided follow-
ing orders, for in 1580 the Council was again ordering
him to do what it had already commanded in 1571.

[6]APC, IX, 358.

[7]Council to R. Cox, APC, XI, 290. He was trans-
ferred from Cox's custody to that of Thomas Gray in June,
1580 (APC, XII, 68).

complete an anti-Catholic in 1580 as he was in 1562,
external conditions had changed. After 1570 Cox, with
other Anglican bishops, realized that enough changes had
occurred to necessitate the creation of new domestic
religious policies, especially regarding the more radi-
cal Protestants and even toward the queen herself.

On the surface, at least as far as Richard Cox's
role is concerned, no sudden, spectacular changes
occurred in his relations with either the queen or the
Puritans. He continued to send advice to the queen,
though he also continued the careful policy of sending
it through either Parker or William Cecil. Strype has
preserved an interesting exchange between Cecil and Cox
concerning the queen's study habits. Cecil reported to
the bishop that Queen Elizabeth was very fond of reading
the works of the church fathers, whereupon Cox replied
that he hoped that the queen pursued such study only in
her "spare hours," for the church fathers tended to
become heretics.[8] As he had done earlier, Cox also con-
tinued to have problems with the queen over marriage of
the clergy, for he himself had taken a second wife upon
the death of his first. In 1568 he married the widow of
the Puritan leader William Turner, an act which was an
affront to the queen's prejudice against clerical marriage.[9]

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[8]R. Cox to W. Cecil, Strype, Annals, I, 540-541.

[9]Above, p. 239.

The bishop wrote to Cecil and asked him to defend his
remarriage.[10] Other duties of the bishop's also contin-
ued as they had in the past. He and Lord North continued
to serve as the government's census takers;[11] he contin-
ued to administer Ely as a palatinate, and to serve as a
secular overseer for the benefit of Ely's inhabitants as
a sewer commissioner and caretaker.[12] Continuity is also
apparent when Cox's basic views of the Puritan party are
considered. Of all the clerical leaders Cox was best
qualified to understand the ideological gulf between
Anglican and Puritan, and when pressed, as in the case of
the vestarian disputes at Cambridge, Cox was willing to
intervene against the more radical Protestants. Similarly,
when urged by the queen he willingly joined Parker in
writing disciplinary statements such as the "Interpreta-
tions" and "Advertisements," and later the church canons
of 1571. As pointed out in Chapter Six, however, Cox
was as lax as any of the bishops in pressing the anti-
Puritan cause when it came to daily administrative action.

Having emphasized the point of continuity, it
remains to develop a more significant side of the Eliza-
bethan Settlement: a maturing of a unified Anglicanism
as opposed to Puritanism. The foreign and domestic events

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[10]R. Cox to W. Cecil, December 29, 1568, SP, Dom, 324.

[11]SP, Dom, 460, 487.

[12]Ibid., 628.

which surrounded this development are well known, but
require a short summary. Catholic aggressiveness was
led by a papal condemnation of the English queen, and
this was soon followed by the publication of Nicholas
Saunders' book, The Monarchy of the Church.[13] This
work was a violent attack on the Protestant thinkers as
heretics and, as its title indicates, on the Tudors'
creation of a new church. Parker referred the book to
Cox, who suggested that a few Anglican leaders each
take parts of the work and attack Saunder's views.[14]
Events in France did not help the English Catholic cause
either, for the massacres of 1572 thoroughly discred-
ited Catholicism in the eyes of the English, Queen
Elizabeth included. On the Puritan side there were also
strong signs of obstreperous behavior. The young Puri-
tan radicals at Cambridge continued their iconoclasm and
were a constant problem. Thomas Cartwright advanced his
famous Admonition to Parliament, and when attacked by
John Whitgift he refused to moderate his position in any
way.[15] In addition, it is apparent that the Puritans'

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[13]N. Saunders, The Monarchy of the Church (1572).

[14]M. Parker to Lord Burghley, November 22, 1572,
Parker, Correspondence, 409 ff.

[15]A.F.S. Pearson, Thomas Cartwright and Eliza-
bethan Puritanism (Cambridge, 1925). The 1572 edition
of the Admonition, according to Pearson, was not Cart-
wright's; however, the subsequent verbal barrages exchanged
between Cartwright and Whitgift, and the original Admoni-
tion, were Cartwright's.

following was growing. Parker and Cox had originally

seen Puritanism as a movement of radicals who mainly

had success in London only, for Parker wrote to Cecil

in 1566 that

> My lord of Ely did write me a letter
> wherein he did signify, that if London
> were reformed, all the realm would
> soon follow, as I believe the same.[16]

That this was an erroneous conclusion was soon driven

home by the Cambridge disturbances. In fact, Cox's

bishopric, which included all of Cambridgeshire, became

an important center of the Puritan cause. The develop-

ments within both the Puritan and Catholic causes had

significance because they removed previous impediments

to Anglican unity. Catholics, whom Cox feared might

gain the queen to their side, were discredited when the

pope condemned Elizabeth. By the same token the Puri-

tan position, with which the bishops had been willing to

unite previously, now alienated Anglican leaders. The

queen and the Anglican bishops were drawn together even

though there were basic differences between them.

Together the bishops made a concerted effort after

1570 to unite with the queen against the Puritan party.

The basic tools were Cox's and Parker's "Advertisements"

of 1566, which included an eight-point list of "Protesta-

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[16]M. Parker to W. Cecil, March 22, 1566, Parker,
Correspondence, 270.

tions to be made promised and subscribed" by whomever the
Court of High Commission desired.[17] Though intended as a
means of disciplining lax clergymen, which Puritans were
not, the "Protestations" contained articles which were
appropriate to dealing with Puritan activities. Article
one forbade preachers to "preach or publically interpret"
other than what was prescribed in official policy,[18] and
thus condemned prophesying, the favorite Puritan preach-
ing device. Prophecy simply was a means of making scrip-
tures, especially the Old Testament literature, applicable
and relevant to sixteenth-century society, but it also
meant that current government and religious practices became
the object of condemnation. To prohibit prophecy was to
take the heart out of the Puritan approach. Articles five
and seven were specifically designed to encourage formal
unity. The former specifically ordered preachers to
encourage unity and quietude among their parishioners,[19]
while Article seven upheld the uniformity imposed by
Anglican rites.[20] The primary means of enforcing the

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[17]"Protestations to be made promised and subscribed,"
Frere and Kennedy, Articles and Injunctions, 179, 180;
cited below as "Protestations," by Article.

[18]"Protestations," Article One.

[19]Ibid., Article Five.

[20]Ibid., Article Seven.

"Advertisements" and other Anglican statutes was the Court of High Commission, and it too was the creation of an earlier age. Founded and described in Tudor law as an "Ecclesiastical Commission," this institution had been used by both Henry VIII and Edward VI.[21] By 1571, with the re-editing of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the passage of a brief set of canons, the tools for attacking the Puritans were complete.[22] Finally the bishops of the Anglican party had acquired the type of aggressiveness the queen had pressed for since her accession.

Bishop Cox assumed a position of leadership in the new anti-Puritan policies. As a member of the High Commission he proved especially useful to Archbishop Parker. Parker wrote to Cecil, who had become Lord Burghley, to the effect that he wanted Cox and the three other bishops on the court to aid him in the examination of several Puritan leaders, including Christopher Goodman, Thomas Lever, and Thomas Sampson, all former exiles of Puritan leanings.[23] In a concerted effort the court issued a letter to the church wardens throughout England, and ordered them to strictly enforce Anglican discipline. They were charged "in the Queen Majesty's name" to stop

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[21] J.S. Burn, The High Commission (London, 1865), 1-4.

[22] Strype, Parker, II, 54-57.

[23] M. Parker to Lord Burghley, June 4, 1571, Parker, Correspondence, 381.

all services not administered according to the Book of Common Prayer and ecclesiastical statutes, and they were not to allow anyone to preach unless he had been licensed to do so within the last month.[24] These actions obviously pleased the queen, who wrote a letter in August which commended Parker, Cox, and Sandys for so diligently pursuing her orders.[25] A second service performed by Cox was winning the approval of the Swiss reformers, Rudolph Gualter and Henry Bullinger. It has already been pointed out that Cox had relied on these theologians for ideas as a young man and for their hospitality as an exile, and his relations with them proved important in buttressing the Anglican cause.

It was in 1572 that a crisis occurred in relations between Anglican and Swiss Reformation leaders. Cox had corresponded with Bullinger in 1571 and 1572 in a very friendly manner by promising to promote the Zurich leader's works before Queen Elizabeth and by promising aid to students and sending cash gifts to Bullinger himself.[26] Cox had also expressed his concern about Catholicism to

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[24]Ecclesiastical Commissioners to Church Wardens, June 7, 1571, Parker, Correspondence, 382 ff.

[25]Queen Elizabeth to M. Parker, August 10, 1571, Parker, Correspondence, 386.

[26]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, July 21, 1571, Z.L., I, 243 ff; R. Cox to H. Bullinger, June 6, 1572, Z.L., I, 268, 269.

Bullinger, for in reaction to the bull of 1570 which con-

demned the queen he wrote,

> Anti-christ, relying on the authority
> of his church and councils, contends that
> faith is not be kept with heretics, that
> is, with those whom he judges to be such.
> He arrogates to himself the authority of
> recalling, and with removing, and absolv-
> ing subjects from their fidelity and
> obedience to their princes and magistrates
> . . . .[27]

By 1572, however, the new problems raised by Puritan aggres-

siveness had become prominent; and in their desire to add

authority to their cause the Puritans had appealed to Con-

tinental theologians. As Gualter reported, already in

1566 English Puritans had visited the Continental leaders

and had claimed that the bishops were persecuting them,

with the result that Gualter had criticized the Anglican

cause to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich.[28] Other Continen-

tal reformers had taken the Puritans' side and had united

in 1571 to write to Elizabeth and encourage tolerance

regarding vestments. This letter was carried by Gualter's

own son.[29] Similarly, the Puritans had claimed Continen-

tal support by including seemingly pro-Puritan letters by

Bullinger and Gualter in the 1572 edition of Cartwright's

Admonition. Thus the early stages of the Puritan-Anglican

struggles of the 1570's in part revolved around the question

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[27]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, July 10, 1570, Z.L., I, 221.

[28]R. Gualter to R. Cox, June 9, 1572, Z.L., I, 364.

[29]Strype, Annals, II, 144.

of whom the Continental reformers supported, and the Puritans seemed to have the upper hand, at least until Cox intervened. Though other bishops wrote the same types of letters he produced, they seemed to have less influence with the Zurich leaders.

On February 12, 1571 Cox wrote to Gualter and objected strongly to the letter which Gualter had written to Parkhurst which was published by the Puritans: "I wish indeed you had not lent so ready an ear to a few of our somewhat factious brethren."[30] He then proceeded to explain that Bucer and Peter Martyr had approved the rites set up by the Prayer Book and further maintained that "we know that this book ordains nothing contrary to the word of God."[31] This was of course the very issue the Puritans and Anglicans struggled over, for the Puritan party wanted to allow only what was practiced in the church described in the New Testament. Cox then proceeded to defend the queen as being "exceedingly scrupulous in deviating even in the slightest degree from the laws prescribed," and also defended English vestments as not being "out of the pope's kitchen" but based on the ancient practice "that order and decency may be preserved in the ministry of the word and sacraments."[32] Cox's general condemnation of the Puritan

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[30]R. Cox to R. Gulater, February 21, 1571, Z.L., I, 234.

[31]Ibid., 235.

[32]Ibid., 236.

party was that its members were "obstreperous, conten-
tious, and rending asunder the unity of a well-consti-
tuted church."[33] These arguments, plus many others
recited by Cox were so convincing that Gualter replied
in a conciliatory way. Though he did not know Cox per-
sonally, Gualter confessed that Peter Martyr had spoken
very highly on the bishop, and then proceeded to explain
that the letter to Parkhurst had been written in the heat
of the vestments controversy and was not meant for publi-
cation or as a general condemnation of Anglican bishops.[34]
He further accused the Puritans who had come to Zurich
of outright lying and of propounding an inadequate idea
of discipline; and he clearly indicated the contemporary
status of the Puritans with the Zurich reformers:

> Since that time we have certainly had
> nothing to do with those vain brawlers,
> who neither at any time wrote us, nor
> had it in their power to boast a letter
> from us.[35]

Gualter added more weight to the Anglican cause by dedi-
cating his 1572 homilies on the book of Corinthians to
four bishops, including Cox.

Having won Gualter over, Cox pressed his case
against the Puritans by summarizing their demands in nine
articles and asking Gualter, with the advice of Bullinger,

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[33]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 21, 1571, Z.L.,
I, 237.

[34]R. Gulater to R. Cox, June 9, 1572, Z.L., I, 362 ff.

[35]Ibid., 364.

to "consider and decide upon them."[36] In a style reminis-
cent of the Frankfurt Puritans' prejudicial description
of Anglican worship,[37] Cox listed nine Puritan goals:
abolition of hierarchical titles, election of ministers
by the congregation, abolition of form prayers, preach-
ing to accompany sacraments, father and child only to
participate in the baptismal service, equality of all
ministers, abolition of confirmation by laying on of the
hands, and sermons at burials, and scripture reading in
the church, and "other things really too absurd."[38] Cox
concluded that

> Satan is envious of our prosperity. It is
> not enough to have the papists our enemies,
> without stirring up men of their opinion
> who are laboring to bring about a revolution
> in the church.[39]

On these bases Gualter was invoked as follows: "It is
therefore both your concern and mine, to cut off the
heads of this hydra."[40] Cox also wrote a separate
letter to Bullinger in the same year, but it is of a much
milder tone than the one to Gualter. He recited a few
Puritan innovations and requested Bullinger's support.[41]

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[36]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 4, 1573, Z.L.,
I, 279 ff.

[37]Above, p. 207.

[38]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 4, 1573, Z.L.,
I, 280, 281.

[39]Ibid., 281.

[40]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 4, 1573, Z.L., I, 282.

[41]R. Cox to H. Bullinger, 1573, Z.L., I, 282.

Cox again wrote to Gualter in June of 1573 and made two broad charges, that the Puritans wanted to restore "the ancient presbytery of the primitive church" and that they wanted "to establish such an equality among all ministers that they may be despised and rejected even by the church itself; so that it is to be feared lest Christ himself should be banished by little and little."[42]

That Bishop Cox had great success in his efforts to gain the support of the Zurich leaders is evident both from correspondence and from public actions. Gualter produced a paper, as requested by Cox, in which he refuted each of the nine points Cox had presented as Puritan views. His general judgement of all the points was that "they are scarcely deserving . . . that any divine should be occupied in the refutation of them."[43] Gualter's position is interesting, for it is one of the few examples of consistent application of the adiaphora idea. Puritans and Anglicans professed belief in the same idea, but neither practiced it; however, Gualter's view was that relative customs should be put up with "so long as purity of doctrine and liberty of conscience remain inviolate."[44] To Anglicans and Puritans their differences were no longer mere customs; rather, what had emerged was a battle for

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[42]R. Cox to R. Gualter, June 12, 1573, Z.L., I, 285.

[43]R. Gualter to R. Cox, August 26, 1573, Z.L., II, 227.

[44]Ibid., 228.

survival. Realizing this, Cox wrote to Parker to warn him to be

> vigilant, that these godless schismatics
> over-run not the realm, nay deface the
> religion of our godly and well reformed
> church. They are bent against us _toto_.[45]

Bishop Cox was also active in attempting to stir the queen's

own Council to anti-Puritan activity. In spite of the

queen's policies the Council had freed and re-installed a

Puritan preacher named Edward Dering. Cox vehemently

objected to the Council's action, and quoted Bullinger

to the effect that the secular government should rely on

the church for advice:

> Sacerdotium proprium est officium, de
> religione ex verbo Dei constituere.
> Principium autem est, juvare Sacerdotes,
> et proverhere, tuerque verram religionem.[46]

He further cited examples from church history, and con-

cluded that _quoties de religione agitur, Episcopos con-

venit agitare_.[47] Such thinking was of course unaccept-

able to the government, for bishops were expected to

follow, not to lead. Whatever they were expected to do,

Cox clearly was important in participating in and gain-

ing Continental support for the Anglican position. In

his rather zealous activity he was trying to enforce

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[45]R. Cox to M. Parker, December, 1572, Strype, _Parker_, II, 193.

[46]R. Cox to Burghley, August 5, 1573, Strype, _Parker_, I, 333.

[47]_Ibid._, 333.

the queen's own views, but this would continue to be a problem for all Anglicans who tried to give the state moral guidance. By the end of 1573 Cox was ready to turn to purging Puritans from his own diocese. Though he began in an optimistic mood, his task proved nearly impossible; and additional trouble awaited him as the queen's courtiers attacked the bishopric's land holdings.

PART II: The Bishopric of Ely, 1571-1581

"Touching my diocese, I trust to find it in better
order than London, the Universities, and many counties
besides"[1] were the words with which Bishop Cox described
his feelings to Parker as he turned to deal with Ely in
1573. The basis for judgement which Cox applied to his
diocese was a set of injunctions which he had issued in
1571. When compared with the standards produced by
Elizabethan convocations and parliaments, Cox's injunc-
tions provide an important insight into just what kind
of administration the Anglican bishop envisioned. Cox's
injunctions were directed to the clergy and to Ely's
church wardens,[2] and in effect were a workable alterna-
tive to Puritan discipline, the only difference being
that Puritans demanded extensive lay participation and
equality among ministers while Anglicans allowed neither.
In Cox's Ely injunctions the clergy were ordered to
observe Anglican rites as described in the bishops'
"Advertisements,"[3] but more importantly Cox attempted to
enforce the very things the Puritans worked for. The
clergy were to give instruction in the catechism,[4] and

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[1]R. Cox to M. Parker, December 5, 1573, Strype,
Parker, II, 349.

[2]R. Cox, "Injunctions and Articles for Ely Diocese,"
c. 1571, Kennedy, Injunctions and Visitation Articles,
296-302; cited below as "Injunctions," by article.

[3]"Injunctions," X.

[4]Ibid., II, III.

discipline was to be practiced by keeping unacceptable people away from communion. Adult persons who had not learned the Ten Commandments, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Lord's Prayer by heart, and those between the ages of twelve and twenty who did not know the catechism by heart were also to be barred from communion.[5] The clergy were also commanded to discipline those who "be openly known to live in any notorious sin without repentance, or any person that is out of charity."[6] In effect, Anglicans were to be disciplined according to their beliefs and their practical expression of Christianity in their lives, and these are precisely the kinds of discipline the Puritans envisioned.[7] In additional injunctions to the clergy Cox ordered them to preach at least once a quarter and to hold no more than one cure unless they had "special license."[8] Perhaps of more importance than orders to the clergy were the injunctions "For the Church wardens and Inquirers," for these persons were given duties outlined in the canon law which the queen had rejected earlier,[9] and which were performed in the Reformed Churches on the Continent by

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[5]"Injunctions," V.

[6]Ibid., IV.

[7]Above, 245 ; M.M. Knappen, Puritanism, 248, 285.

[8]"Injunctions," VII, VIII.

[9]Above, 245.

elders and seniors. First, the church wardens were
required to present a quarterly report to the bishop's
chancellor that the clergy were performing their duties
as prescribed by the bishop's injunctions.[10] This
device gave the bishop a means of applying discipline
beyond his ordinary control of the clergy, and this was
in principle exactly what Puritans demanded when they
demanded the use of the office of elder. Secondly, Cox's
injunctions made provision for exposure to the documents
which he considered essential for proper Christian direc-
tion. In addition to the Ten Commandments, which were
to be hanged on "the east wall of the choir," each par-
ish was to be supplied with

> a Bible of their own, the Book of Com-
> mon Prayer, a Psalter, the two books of
> homilies, the book called the Para-
> phrases of Erasmus, or rather the Com-
> monplaces of Musculus, and other books
> requisite, as Injunctions . . . .[11]

The setting up of Musculus' book was unique to Cox's
diocese, but the other documents were products of earlier
phases of the Reformation. A third aspect of the injunc-
tions which is of great importance is Cox's attempt to
overcome the Puritan complaint that Anglicanism did not
discipline its laymen. Strangely this contention has

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[10]"Injunctions," XI-XVIII.

[11]Ibid., XXVI.

been accepted by many later historians,[12] but Cox's orders

made it very clear that the church wardens were to exer-

cise discipline over the life of Christians as well as

over their doctrinal confessions.[13] Those who acted

irreverently in church or absented themselves from ser-

vices were to be fined twelve pence, which was to go to

the poor.[14] Taverns were to be closed and gaming was to

be stopped during the time of worship services on Holy

days and Sundays.[15] Lastly, the Injunctions approached

the system of Calvinist discipline in that all those

considered to be generally immoral were to be reported.

They included

> all swearers, blasphemers of God's holy
> name, drunkards, adulterers, fornicators,
> ribalds, incestuous persons, bawds, or
> receivers of such incontinent persons, or
> of strange women with child, whose hus-
> bands are unknown, or any persons that be
> not of good name and fame touching such
> crimes and faults, and all sowers of dis-
> cords between neighbor and neighbor, with-
> in your parish.[16]

On the basis of Cox's 1571 Injunctions it is clear

that he was not at all adverse to Puritan aims. His

demands on the clergy were as great as any which the

Puritan idealists would make. Also, he was willing to

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[12]Haugaard, 341.

[13]"Injunctions," XIX, XX.

[14]Ibid., XX.

[15]Ibid., XXIII.

[16]Ibid., XXIV.

use the same kind of discipline Puritans wanted, that is, according to ideas and life. In acceptance of doctrinal discipline he had in fact moved closer to the Puritan party, for during the exile he had adamantly opposed such an approach. Not only had Cox accepted the Puritan ideal, but he also accepted the Puritan means of administering it, for the church warden's role was essentially the same as that of the Puritans' elders and seniors.[17] The real differences appear in terms of opposite concepts of the church.

In Cox's view the clergy necessarily played the leadership role, for they were properly trained intellectuals. With this in mind he naturally resisted any intrusion by laymen as well as what he considered inferior thinking on the part of clerics. In Ely as well as in his past experience, he met many examples of both. Cox's attack on unlearned clergy had begun with his outcry against Catholic priests, was expanded to an excoriation of "Arians, Pelagians, or Free-will men,"[18] and was consistently applied to the Puritan prophesiers. In 1576, when Grindal was attacked by the queen for being too

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[17]P. Collinson, "Episcopacy and Reform in the Later Sixteenth Century," Studies in Church History, III 108, 109. Collinson traces Cox's use of rural deans to Bucer's disciplinary ideas. The evidence in Cox's injunctions demonstrates an even stronger emphasis on discipline than Collinson points out.

[18]Historical Commission Report, Cecil MSS, pt. 1, 308; H.O. White, Elizabethan Bishops, 86.

tolerant of prophesyings, Cox wrote Grindal and advised
him to execute severely the orders which are already
established.[19] The editor of Grindal's correspondence
on this issue, Stanford Lehmberg, incorrectly views Cox
as one who "seems scarcely to have understood what the
exercises were,"[20] for the bishop had faced prophesiers
often in his career, most notably at Frankfurt. Proph-
esying was the technique used by Knox and his fellow
Calvinists to make biblical literature applicable to con-
temporary society, but to a classical scholar like Cox
such preaching was simply "new fangles and fancies."[21]
Though Cox opposed their use when he suggested a course
of action to Grindal, he also saw the value of the right
prophesying, prophesying based on sound learning. Dur-
ing the same controversy in which he condemned prophesy-
ing to Grindal he recommended their proper use to Burgh-
ley. By suggesting that Burghley influence the queen to
deal kindly with Grindal, he also maintained that the
clergy were characterized by laziness, immorality, and
ignorance.[22] Though he saw the problems created by

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[19]R. Cox to E. Grindal, July 30, 1576, *Historical
Magazine*, XXXIV, 125.

[20]S. Lehmberg, "Archbishop Grindal and the Prophesy-
ings," *Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (June, 1965), 90.

[21]R. Cox to Burghley, June 12, 1577, Strype, *Annals*,
II, ii, 611.

[22]*Ibid.*, 611.

prophesying, he also saw it as a means to force the clergy "to some travel and exercise of God's holy word."[23] In advising both policies Cox was acting neither as a politique nor as a seventy-seven-year-old man who had lost his moorings. Rather, he was trying to promote his ideal of a clergyman: a learned, adequately financed leader; learned so he could avoid heresy and well financed so he could avoid allying himself with selfish lay interests. In his letter to Grindal, Cox urged that ministers' livings be protected and that clerics be encouraged to pursue sound learning, for in his view if

> bishops earnestly see to the ministers, that they do their duties . . . you Grindal shall need little any new orders, saving that Cathedral churches would be brought to some better frame touching exercise of learning . . . .[24]

In Cox's view it was especially necessary that church livings be protected simply to keep the lower clergy loyal, for when financial backing disappeared he saw one result: "Let poor ministers have livings, that they shall not need to flatter the gentlemen."[25]

Though Cox had fought out the issue of lay control in Frankfurt and had himself experienced problems in disciplining nobles, his relations with Elizabethan lay

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[23]R. Cox to E. Grindal, 1576, *Historical Magazine*, XXXIV, 125.

[24]R. Cox to E. Grindal, 1576, *Historical Magazine*, XXXIV, 125.

[25]*Ibid.*, 125.

leaders were particularly embittering. Roger Lord North,
High Steward of Ely, and Sir Christopher Hatton, courtier
to Queen Elizabeth, were the laymen who proved difficult
for Cox. They attempted to relieve the bishop of temporal
holdings which he had been able to retain in 1559. John
Strype indicates that Cox was the only bishop who
retained a home in London for his residence while attend-
ing Parliament.[26] Also, as one of the wealthiest bishops,
Cox was automatically a target for land-hungry lay leaders.
To add insult to the already unpopular fact that his see
was wealthy, the bishop had been aggressive in defending
his economic status. For example, he continually reminded
Burghley about the fact that he had never received the
"dilapidation" money owed him by Thirlby, and in the
1560's he had consistently resisted the Privy Council's
attempts to force his contribution to the rebuilding of
St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1563 Cox had claimed that he
could not contribute because he was in debt and had never
received his money from Thirlby,[27] to which excuse the
Privy Council replied that he was required to pay anyway
and that he should force the clerics under his jurisdic-
tion to contribute also.[28] With this unpleasant exchange

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[26]Strype, Annals, II, 358.

[27]R. Cox to Council, June 12, 1563, quoted in W.
Dugdale, History of St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1818),
100.

[28]Council to R. Cox, June 27, 1563, Ibid., 100.

as a background, Cox could hardly expect a great deal of
sympathy regarding money from either the queen or her
counsellors. Sir Christopher Hatton, a captain in the
Queen's Guard, chose Cox's estate in Holborn as his
prize, and he was supported by Queen Elizabeth. Cox
tried to resist Hatton and wrote to both Burghley and
the queen and requested that they aid him; however,
Hatton prevailed and received the estate's buildings and
acreage in return for ten loads of hay, ten pounds rent
per year, twenty-one bushels of roses yearly, and giving
the bishop the right of walking in the garden.[29] Ulti-
mately Hatton got the estate from the queen as a free-
hold in spite of a repetition of Cox's objections.[30]
Cox claimed that his office and its holdings came from
God and should not be alienated by the secular ruler.[31]
He again revealed an idea of the church's role which was
entirely different from that maintained by the govern-
ment. Action by the steward of the Isle of Ely, Roger
Lord North, was more significant for Cox's career, for
though it began as an attempt to sieze the manor of
Somersham, North's attack soon developed into a broad

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[29]"Lease," 1575, quoted in E. Brooks, Sir Christopher
Hatton (London, 1947), 149.

[30]Brooks, 150; R. Cox to the Queen, August 20, 1577,
Strype, Annals, II, ii, 564-566. In his letter the bishop
claimed that the queen was condoning expropriations from
the church which Henry VIII had never permitted.

[31]R. Cox to the Queen, August 20, 1577, Strype,
Annals, II, ii, 565.

plot to completely discredit the bishop. In the summer
of 1575 the queen had ordered the bishop to grant her the
manor which North wanted, but the bishop replied with a
rejection of North's claims.[32] Cox and the high steward
subsequently exchanged charges in December of 1575,[33]
and in the process Lord North's agents gathered a great
array of allegations against Cox's government of Ely.[34]
North charged that the bishop retained a large retinue
of horses and men, was "extremely covetous," and was
guilty of extorting money from the poor clergy; however,
Cox replied that his forty men with horses were hardly a
retinue, that covetousness was an inner feeling which
could not be imputed so easily, that money was taken from
the poor clergy only upon the queen's orders, and that
rather than being guilty of robbing the lower clergy he
had actually made yearly gifts to poor vicars "on some,
four nobels; and upon some, forty shillings."[35] A second
letter of objections from Lord North was sent near the
end of 1575, and included charges of general condemna-
tion. The bishop was accused of being a harsh landlord

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[32]R. Cox to the Queen, 1575, Strype, _Annals_, II,
ii, 567-569.

[33]_CSP_, _Dom_, 507.

[34]Roger Lord North, "Complaints," Strype, _Annals_,
II, ii, 570-574. These are contained in documents XLIX
and L, and will be cited below as "Complaints," by docu-
ment number and article number, and "Book of Articles,"
by article number.

[35]"Complaints," Doc. XLIX, Art's V, VII, IX
(November 20, 1575).

who never released a man from his duties, of not punish-
ing Catholic recusants, and of giving many Ely inhabitants
reason to complain.[36] Cox's reply was simply to demand
exact proof for each charge, but North did not stop with
letters. Having failed to frighten the bishop by claim-
ing the queen's support and by threatening praemunire
charges, North proceeded to issue a book of thirty-five
charges against Bishop Cox. Appended to the book were
several charges by Charles Balam, an Ely gentleman;
another gentleman named Radcliffe; a servant named
Hasyl, who had served Cox for seven years; and another
servant, Laurence Johnson. According to Strype, the
thirty-five articles were composed for North by Austin
Syward, who had lost a farm because of a suit pursued by
the bishop.[37] The articles themselves reveal that their
author had an extensive knowledge of the bishop's affairs,
for they were generally based on specific examples of
alleged mismanagement and covetousness: claiming poverty,
the bishop refused to donate to collections for the poor,
though in reality he was putting money into accounts for
his sons, John and Roger; the bishop converted parks into
dairies, which were in turn leased out; Austin Syward
and a chaplain, Peter Tye, were mistreated after they

[36]"Complaints," Doc. L, Art's II, III, V.

[37]Strype, Annals, II, ii, 587.

discovered that Cox had turned one of his chapels into "a milkhouse;" the bishop deprived a widow and her children of their legacies; the bishop's wife mistreated a tenant named Sharpe; as sewer commissioner the bishop had placed extraordinary taxes on poor townships; the bishop resisted Hatton's lease of the Holborn estate because he had already leased the property to his own brother; the bishop "gave orders in a common ale house at Erythe to fifty or sixty persons;" and the bishop instigated more suits over land in seventeen years than any of his predecessors since the times of King Edward III.[38] Bishop Cox's answers dealt with each charge specifically, and evidently were acceptable to the Privy Council, for North had no further success.

One charge which Cox was entirely willing to admit to, however, was that he had been aggressive in defending the bishopric's properties. His reason was that he wanted to recover that which his predecessors, especially Thirlby, had lost in previous administrations.[39] From the evidence it appears that Cox's primary interest was not his own or his family's aggrandizement. Rather, he desired for the church a status of independence, and was aware that freedom and independence from lay control

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[38]Roger Lord North, "A Book of Articles," Strype, Annals, II, ii, Art's IV, VII, XI, XIII, XIX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIV.

[39]R. Cox, "Answer," Art. XXXIV, "Book of Articles."

could only come if the church was independently wealthy.

He therefore pursued a policy which was acceptable neither

to greedy courtiers nor a queen who was jealous of her

power. During his troubles with the queen's courtiers

he had tendered a list of "Reasons" for his actions to

Burghley.[40] Citing St. Paul's letters as his source,

and John Calvin's commentaries as further authority,

Cox excoriated those who attacked the clergy's wealth.

> At this day some men pinch God, in
> withdrawing double honor from his minis-
> ters: and not only not communicating,
> but plucking from their catechizers.
>
> They pinch God in withdrawing things
> from a godly use to a profane use:
> wherewith God was never pleased . . . .
>
> They pinch the ministers by wringing
> away part of their livings, against God's
> express commandment . . . .[41]

In Cox's opinion the lay leaders were both ignoring

religious observances and taking from the church property

that was to be used for good purposes. In an important

way Cox's struggles with the government over church

property stand as one of the last attempts at keeping the

Anglican church not only reformed and uniquely English,

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[40]R. Cox, "Reasons," Strype, _Annals_, II, ii, 569-570.

[41]_Ibid._, 569-570. Cox wrote, "It may please you at your convenient leisure to read Mr. Calvin upon this place of St. Paul, I Timothy V."

but also independent.[42] This aim could be achieved only
by resisting lay control either outwardly when facing
Puritans or administratively when facing the queen. Cox's
conflict with North and Hatton was his way of legally
attacking the government's religious policy; but as
bishop he also had to continue to face the aggressive
Puritans.

Puritans in both the rural clergy and Cambridge
University provided the challenge to Cox. Richard Green-
ham, Puritan minister of Drayton, was one rural cleric
whose exchanges with Bishop Cox reflect the conflict;
and a record of their troubles has been preserved in _A_
parte of a Register, one of the more famous Elizabethan
Puritan documents.[43] Cox had disciplined Greenham, who
replied with a short paper, an _Apology_,[44] in which he
outlined his response to Cox's attempts to enforce

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[42]C. Hill, _Economic Problems of the Church_ (Oxford,
1956). Hill gives a survey of the church's problems from
the time of Whitgift to the Revolution. For Hill's refer-
ence to Cox's problems, see Hill, 150.

[43]_A parte of a register, containing sundry memor-
able matters written by divers godly and learned in our
time, which stand for and desire the reformation of our
Church, in discipline and ceremonies, according to the
law of our land_ (Edinburgh or Middleburg, 1593).

[44]R. Greenham, _The Apology or answer of Master
Greenham, master of Drayton, unto the Bishop of Ely,
being commanded to subscribe, and to use the Romish
habit, with allowance of the communion book_, _A parte of
a Register_, 86-93; cited below as _Apology_.

Prayer-Book discipline. After thanking Cox for treating him kindly, Greenham refused to explain his reasons for rejecting rites set up by the Book of Common Prayer, for he claimed that "Dissention of resons, doth cause alienation of affections."[45] Without further exposition he simply refused to "subscribe to anything but the Word of God, and things manifestly gathered out of the Word of God."[46] From this proposition he quite naturally refused to accept the advice of all reformers who invoked conformity to the Prayer Book for the sake of convenience. He rejected by name Bucer, Bullinger, Gualter, and, strangely enough, Theodore Beza; for Greenham felt that his conscience only was worthy of obedience: "He that buildeth not in conscience, buildeth in hell."[47] Being thus informed that he might be "building in hell," Cox's reaction to Puritanism was quite naturally one of immense dislike, but he did share with Greenham an idealistic concern for the survival of the church. Cox saw the real threat as the lower clergy's naive alliance with laymen:

> they [Puritans] bawl out to those harpies
> who are greedily hawking after plunder
> and spoil, that properties and revenues
> of the cathedral churches ought to be
> diverted to I know not what other uses.[48]

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[45]R. Greenham, *Apology*, 86-87.

[46]*Ibid.*, 88.

[47]*Ibid.*, 91.

[48]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 3, 1574, *Z.L.*, I, 298.

He further saw that the alliance would produce the destruc-
tion of the Puritans themselves:

> more blind than moles, they do not per-
> ceive that they will soon be swallowed
> up by the devouring wolves.[49]

Greenham's perspective was quite the opposite, for in true
Puritan style he longed for a return to the first century.
He saw the Anglican conformists as the truly greedy
leaders: "some with the vizar of order, do cover their
ambition."[50] To Greenham, Anglicans were the party of
power and corruption in the guise of Christianity; to Cox,
Puritans were allied with corrupt laymen and simply created
confusion within the Christian community.[51] Cox's position
was in part documented by occurrences at Cambridge Univer-
sity.

New troubles were precipitated at the university
in 1572, when students petitioned that the statutes of
1570 be removed. As seen earlier, Cambridge's constitu-
tional difficulties were actually based in the radical
students' objections to Anglican rites and vestments.[52]
Cox and his fellow visitors rejected the students' chal-
lenge to the statutes,[53] and censured the students for

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[49]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 3, 1574, _Z.L._, I
299.

[50]Greenham, _Apology_, 92.

[51]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 3, 1574, _Z.L._, I,
299.

[52]Above, 252 ff.

[53]Cooper, _Annals_, I, 304.

using "disordered means;"[54] however, this action hardly ended the university's or the bishop's problems. The Puritans at St. John's College found a perpetual opponent in Vice-Chancellor Whitgift, and Cox himself was continually plagued by university disorders. Though the administration of the university supported the bishop's press for conformity,[55] the student radicals at St. John's continued to press for change. In 1573 they attempted to depose their master, who was kept in office only by Bishop Cox's intrusion.[56] Because of continued conflict, Cox proposed to Burghley that a new commission be created to resolve the troubles which remained at St. John's,[57] and this action resulted in giving the college a new set of statutes in 1580. Strangely enough Cox consented to new statutes which reduced his power, for he lost his unlimited visitation rights and surrendered most of his power to the college's master and to the state.[58] This latter fact is especially interesting, for though he was jealous of his control over Ely, Cox was entirely willing

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[54]Visitors to the University of Cambridge, May, 1572, Parker, Correspondence, 131.

[55]Burghley was Chancellor, Whitgift was vice-chancellor, and John Ithell, Cox's chancellor for Ely, was Burghley's University Commissary.

[56]Strype, Annals, I, 450.

[57]SP, Dom, February 19, 1576, 516.

[58]Baker, St. Johns, I, 175.

to leave university problems to the one person who could still force the Puritans into submission, the queen herself.[59] There are other examples of Cox's intervention, as in his role in keeping Robert Browne, founder of the Brownist sect out of St. Benet's College, Cambridge;[60] but for the most part the queen, Burghley, and Whitgift were left to solve Cambridge's problems. Cox had other difficulties to cope with.

As an agent of the state he continued to enforce national laws, and as a bishop he faced a new, more radical religious sect than the Puritan party. The government, in true Tudor style, had attempted to control the corn trade, and Cox had received orders to enforce the government's policies in Ely.[61] As a promoter of learning Cox had an interest in the corn laws' success, for universities received part of the income from fines levied on convicted smugglers; but in his enforcement of the regulations in 1578 he revealed his continued concern for the indigent. In reporting his capture of some corn smugglers, Cox wrote to Burghley. He expressed support for the government's policy as a boon to the poor, for he maintained that prices rose in those areas out of which the corn had been smuggled, thus

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[59]Baker, St. Johns, I, 176.

[60]Strype, Parker, II, 244.

[61]APC, VII, 297. This order was first issued on November 25, 1565.

causing the price of food to rise.[62] He ignored the
fact that the smuggling could help the poor in areas
into which the grain was being smuggled. Enforcing corn
laws, however, was not Cox's only duty. A new sect had
appeared in Ely called The Family of Love, a group which
based its beliefs on the writings of a Dutch Anabaptist,
Henry Nichols. According to John Strype, these Protes-
tants had a convert among the queen's "menial servants,"
who had written _An Apology_ for the sect in 1575.[63]
Cox's reaction to the new group is recorded in the
preface he wrote to a 1579 work by William Wilkinson.
This was a pamphlet designed to warn of The Family's
errors:

> Perusing over this little treatise of
> Master Wilkinson's, I could not but
> allow his diligence and painful travail
> in this heretical and schismatical
> world, and I heartily wish of God, that
> our Church of England might be well
> weeded from to to [sic] gross errors,
> for it is high time.[64]

Wilkinson's work was dedicated to Cox, and was designed
to aid Ely's clergy in refuting the new radical heresy.
Apparently the new sect had some success, for in Wilkin-
son's words, "daily those swarms increase."[65] To counter-

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[62]R. Cox to Burghley, 1573, Strype, _Annals_, II,
ii, 182.

[63]Strype, _Annals_, II, 556. _The Apology_ was re-
printed in 1656 during, in Strype's words, "the times of
libertarianism."

[64]R. Cox, "Preface," W. Wilkinson, _A Confutation
of Certain Articles Delivered unto the Family of Love_
(London, 1579), i; cited below as _A Confutation_.

[65]W. Wilkinson, _A Confutation_, iv.

act the "swarms" the pamphleteer presented no scholarly
treatise on doctrine, for the new sect apparently had no
unique heretical position.[66] The new sect was condemned
in terms which Cox must have appreciated. The leaders
were labelled as "unlearned" men, travelling salesmen,
weavers, basket-weavers, musicians, and bottle makers;[67]
and they were summarily written off as men who "sought
by a more easy trade to get their living."[68] In a sense
The Family of Love's leadership was accused of following
the same "unlearned" course imputed to the Puritan party,
but in addition they were considered heretics. Attack-
ing new movements as lacking scholarship did develop
into one of the characteristic devices on which Anglican
intellectuals relied, for as more and more sects
developed and all resorted to the scriptures as their
one authoritative source it became commonplace to attack
their biblical scholarship. As a proponent of thorough
humanistic scholarship and an opponent of lay leadership
Richard Cox acted with dispatch to purge Ely of the new
radicals. He probably had completed his actions by early
1580, for though the queen's Privy Council thought it
necessary to encourage him to suppress and punish the
new sect in early October of 1580,[69] in the same month

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[66]W. Wilkinson, A Confutation, IV.

[67]Ibid., K iv ff.

[68]Ibid., K ii.

[69]Council to Cox, October 10, 11, 1580, APC, XII, 232.

the Council was congratulating Cox for his expeditious handling of The Family.[70] Cox was also requested to forward a list of the sect's heresies, describe their status after they were reformed, and explain his procedures so others could be advised how to deal with the new radicals.[71] It is interesting to note the slowness with which news of this new group travelled; for one year after Cox had written the preface to Wilkinson's pamphlet,[72] the Council seemed to think it was relaying new information, namely, that the group existed.

As Cox ended his career, he maintained an interest in the issues which had always held his attention, unity for Christianity, a major role for the church in determining national policy, and the creation of a uniquely English form of Protestantism. His position as a leader in establishing this last goal is seen in both his role in shaping national policy and his activity as a diocesan administrator in resisting both Catholicism and radical Protestantism. Cox's correspondence in his later years also reflected his long-standing desire for Christian unity. He corresponded in 1578 with Rudolph Gualter regarding attempts to create Protestant unity. Gualter blamed Zacharias Ursinus,

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[70]Council to Cox, October, 1580, APC, XII, 250.

[71]Ibid., 250.

[72]The tract was published in 1579, and initialed by Wilkinson on September 30, 1579 (Confutation, iv).

one of the creators of the Calvinistic Heidelberg Cate-
chism, for blocking the attempts to create a united
Protestant confession of faith.[73] Cox bemoaned Ursinus'
failure to Burghley, and indicated that he continued to
hope for the Protestant unity which "I did not sluggishly
wish in my sermon, some years ago, preached publicly
before the queen."[74] As a leader of the English Refor-
mation Cox, along with all the bishops, had to be content
to mirror the activity expected of all Tudor administra-
tors. They were expected to conform and not to lead.
Cox the administrator excelled in fitting into this pat-
tern, but he also excelled in institutionalizing his
ideas in an effective way.

By 1577 Bishop Cox was apparently ready to remove
himself from public life. He sent his son-in-law, John
Parker, son of the late archbishop, to work out the
details of his retirement with Burghley, but stated his
intentions in a separate letter. Cox complained that he
was hardly able to write because of his infirmities, and
begged to be relieved of his duties;[75] however, no posi-
tive action to fulfill his request was made until 1579.

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[73]R. Gualter to R. Cox, March 4, 1578, Strype,
Annals, II, 11, 106. A conference of Protestants was
held at Frankfurt, Germany, but Ursinus refused to write
a creedal statement.

[74]R. Cox to Burghley, May 16, 1578, Ibid., 118.

[75]R. Cox to Burghley, November 10, 1577, Ibid.,
118.

Meanwhile the aged bishop continued to try to guide the

queen. In 1578 he urged that she purge the church of bad

clerics as Constantine had,[76] and in 1579 he sent her a

secret letter advising her to avoid marrying a Frenchman.[77]

Though Cox continued to serve in Ely, he did remove him-

self from national prominence, for he was absent during

the Parliament of 1580.[78] In 1579 Cox again pressed for

permission to resign, complaining of expropriations and

troubles caused by North and Hatton.[79] For himself he

requested the use of Donnington manor, one of five estates

owned by the bishop, and he also asked that he be allowed

to give up only one hundred pounds in dilapidations money

because he had never received his money from Thirlby.[80]

He pressed his economic interests to the end! The main

trouble finding a replacement for Bishop Cox seems to

have been economic, for the queen apparently wanted to

further strip the bishopric of its wealth.[81] Though she

granted Cox permission to retire in December of 1579,[82]

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[76]R. Cox to Queen Elizabeth, 1578, Strype, *Annals*, II, ii, 118.

[77]R. Cox to Queen Elizabeth, April, 1579, Lansdowne MS no. 179, British Museum, Aberswyth, 124.

[78]*Lords' Journals*, II, 21 ff.

[79]R. Cox to Burghley, April 26, 1579, Strype, *Annals*, II, ii, 259-260.

[80]*Ibid.*, 261.

[81]Strype, *Annals*, II, ii, 261.

[82]R. Cox to Burghley, December, 1579, *Ibid.*, 261.

he pressed for better terms. He requested a pension for life, Donnington manor, dilapidations of only one hundred pounds;[83] but in February of 1580 he expanded his demands to include a complete release from all dilapidations payments.[84] Cox resigned his bishopric in the same month, but continued to serve as bishop until his death in 1581. He succeeded in keeping rich Ely out of the queen's grasp, but at his death she could do with Ely as she wished.

Sir John Harrington, who claimed to have been present at the bishop's burial, reported that Cox's funeral was "the Funeral of the Bishopric as well as the Bishop."[85] Queen Elizabeth left Ely vacant and used its revenues for royal expenses. According to Harrington, "the Profits thereof . . . were employed to relieve the poor distressed king of Portugal, who was called, by some Scholars, Bishop of Ely."[86] Cox certainly had made few friends at Ely, for a monument erected in his honor was defaced during the Puritan-Anglican troubles which continued to plague the bishopric after his death.[87]

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[83]R. Cox to Burghley, December, 1579, Strype, Annals, II, ii, 261.

[84]Ibid., 659-660.

[85]Sir John Harrington, Brief View, quoted by F. Peck, Desiderato Curiosa (London, 1732), II, 45.

[86]Ibid., 45.

[87]Ibid., 45.

PART III: Anglican Idealist Against Puritan Ideals

During the last ten years of his life Richard Cox's
role as an institutionalizer reached a high degree of ful-
fillment. Though he created little that was new during
this period, he continued to oppose all challenges to his
ideal of what English Christianity should be. As a
scholar Cox continued to oppose Puritanism on an ideologi-
cal as well as on a practical level; and he also developed
stronger ties with the Swiss Reformation. As a proponent
of an independent church he continued to oppose any secu-
lar intrusion into matters which he considered sacred.
Cox's former role met with success, and his views became
part of Anglicanism's victory over Puritanism. However,
his continued frustration at the hands of secular leaders
evoked a deep cynicism.

In his contentions with Puritans, Bishop Cox con-
tinued to rely on the ideas of Continental Protestant
leaders, but his requirement that Ely's clergy set up the
Commonplaces of Wolfgang Musculus was unique.[1] Musculus
is a theologian whom few modern historians have credited
with importance, and only one non-European historian has
given him any attention.[2] In the sixteenth century, how-

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[1]R. Cox, "Injunctions, 1571," XXVI.

[2]P. Schwab, The Attitude of Wolfgang Musculus
Toward Religious Tolerance (New Haven, 1933).

ever, Musculus was apparently highly regarded by English
Protestants, for during the Marian exile he was named as
one of the leaders to whom the English had promised to
submit their controversies; and during the Edwardian
period he was one of the Continental scholars invited to
teach in England.[3] After studying under Martin Bucer,
Musculus had gone to Augsburg as a preacher, and he
ultimately settled in Berne, Switzerland to study and
teach theology. It is significant that Cox chose Musculus'
work as the one to officially set up in Ely, for he had
adopted Calvinistic theology; however, Musculus' applica-
tion of that theology to life was much different from the
Puritans' application of the same theology. Musculus'
close relationship with Bucer is also important. Cox's
selection of the work of Bucer's most important student
demonstrates an important re-emphasis of Anglican ties
with Bucerian ideas as well as those of Zwingli, Calvin,
and Bullinger.

The *Commonplaces* served Cox's purposes well, for
they dealt in a very succinct way with the problems which
he was trying to solve: an uneducated clergy; church-
state relations; and Puritan idealists. Musculus him-
self explained his work as a device by which unlearned
clergy could make use of the greater amount of reading

[3]Above, 157, 186.

[7]Schwab,

[8]Musculus,

and work done by "Learned men,"[4] and this was exactly
what Cox wanted; for he was intensely aware that the
English clergy, like the clergy on the Continent, was not
made up of first-rate scholars.[5] Cox's obvious plan was
that taken together, the Bible, Erasmus' Paraphrases,
and Musculus' Commonplaces would be enough to instruct
any interested person in proper Christian thinking.
Regarding the correct relationship between church and
state, Musculus emphasized the necessary role of the
Christian magistrate in enforcing true religion. By cit-
ing Jewish history he maintained that God's magistrates
were first in the order of power and His priests were
second.[6] He also upheld the magistrate to select preachers.[7]
Such views were of course very compatible with English
practices; however, Musculus did not rule out the idea
that the clergy could play an important role in determin-
ing policies, and he condemned princes who meddled in
church affairs, especially when they had economic motives.
He maintained that princes "do also commit sacrilege
which take away the goods of the Church from Prelates and
clerks and convert them to their own private uses . . . ."[8]

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[4]W. Musculus, Commonplaces of Christian Religion,
J. Man, trans. (London, 1562, 1563), v.

[5]R. Cox to E. Grindal, 1576, Historical Magazine,
XXXIV, 122.

[6]Musculus, 554.

[7]Schwab, 11 ff; Musculus, 170.

[8]Musculus, 92.

He also expected magistrates to ensure the freedom of clerical elections[9] and submit to discipline, for it was the clergy's duty to obtain "the redress of men's morals."[10] This was also Cox's view, for the ideal of moral discipline, especially of lay leaders, was one of his constant frustrations.[11]

The most important idea which Cox wanted to institutionalize was the old *adiaphora* doctrine as applied to church practices.[12] Though both Anglicans and Puritans gave lip service to the *adiaphora* concept, neither really practiced it. Puritans claimed rites were relative, then demanded a full return to primitive religious practices; Anglicans also professed that no one system of rites was pure, and then enforced discipline on the basis of procedures ordained in the Book of Common Prayer. Neither party admitted their own contradictions, but Anglicans were at least willing to admit to the possibility of future changes. Musculus was quite useful to Cox in this regard for he opposed any return to the church's primitive status:

> the same which is itself Apostolic, lawful,
> accustomed, and agreeing with the free
> Church, might do well in the first times,

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[9] Musculus, 169.

[10] *Ibid*., 174.

[11] R. Cox to H. Bullinger, October 25, 1552, *O.L.*, I, 123.

[12] Above, 89.

but not so in our times. For then the
faithful people were not of so great num-
bers . . . .[13]

As humanist scholars, Musculus and Cox recognized the

first-century church as one which had adapted to its

environment, and they expected the sixteenth-century

church to do the same. John Man, who edited the ver-

sion of the Commonplaces set up in Ely, was quick to

emphasize its author's acceptance of the relativity of

rites. He wrote a preface to the work, and explained

it in terms which must have been pleasing to Anglicans.

He indicated that Musculus had

> plainly and learnedly set out the sub-
> stance of God's word, with the form of
> celebration of sacraments most agreeable
> to the practice of the primitive church,
> which yet in Rites and Ceremonies is not
> so precisely to be followed, but is free
> to all Churches to dispose them indiffer-
> ently to make to edification.[14]

Having placed rites in the category of the "indifferent,"

Musculus turned to another standard according to which

discipline could be administered. Again his thinking was

an expansion on ideas which Cox accepted. Musculus

avoided grounding discipline on the acceptance of dogma,

for he maintained that ideas were not central to faith.

To him, measuring faith by means of an individual's

acceptance of a given idea was "vulgar and common."[15]

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[13]Musculus, 169.

[14]J. Man, "Preface," Musculus, iii.

[15]Musculus, 195.

Instead, he thought faith should be measured by how a man lived.[16] Thus discipline shifted from the acceptance of ideas, as emphasized by Puritans, to living an acceptable life, the standard which Cox had always advanced as the ideal. The source of this approach was Martin Bucer's theology, but it was also characteristic of John Calvin to emphasize the same thing. By contrast, Puritans demanded a system of ideas as the basis of discipline.

It was also in the context of the Anglican-Puritan division that Cox made his main scholarly contribution to the English Reformation. William Whittingham, the man whom Cox had opposed at Frankfurt during the Marian exile, had remained in Geneva to complete the Puritan version of scripture. This version appeared in 1560 and subsequently became popularly known as the Genevan, or "Breeches" Bible. Its quarto size made it an handy tool for any literate Christian, and to add to its usefulness Whittingham provided the reader with a system of ideas in the form of voluminous marginal notes. The result of Whittingham's efforts was an immensely popular work, but it also presented a Puritan theology which, in one scholar's words, "appears in both the notes and in chapter headings."[17]

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[16]Musculus, 206 ff.

[17]H. Pope, English Versions of the Bible (St. Louis, 1952), 227. Strype, in his Annals, II, ii, 213, complains of the problems created by including so many notes of a particular view.

It was against Puritanism and the fruits of its unique
application of humanist scholarship that Cox reacted,
for already in 1561 he proposed to Cecil that a group of
qualified men be appointed to produce a new translation
of scripture.[18] Archbishop Parker seems to have resisted
this proposal for a time, for in 1565 in a letter to
Cecil he approved the licensing of the Genevan Bible and
indicated that he would not interfere with its being
used in English churches;[19] however, Bishop Cox continued
to press for a unified version for public use.[20] Cox pre-
vailed, and the project must have been well under way by
the summer of 1566, for the spring of that year he wrote
advice to Parker as to the kind of work he preferred:

> I trust your Grace is well forward with
> the Bible by this time. I perceive the
> greatest burden will lie upon your neck,
> touching care and travail. I wish that
> such usual words as we English people be
> acquainted with might still remain in
> their form and sound, so far forth as the
> Hebrew will bear; inkhorn terms to be
> avoided.[21]

Parker concurred with this advice and subsequently supported
a translation designed for exclusive English use. In his own

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[18]R. Cox to W. Cecil, January 19, 1561, Records of
the English Bible, A. Pollard, ed. (London, 1911), 287;
cited below as Records.

[19]M. Parker to W. Cecil, March 9, 1565, Correspon-
dence, 261-262.

[20]Pollard, 29.

[21]R. Cox to M. Parker, May 3, 1566, Parker, Corres-
pondence, 282.

explanation to the queen of the need for the Bishop's Bible

he attacked the Genevan Bible as being both slanted and

non-English:

> as for that in certain places be publically
> used some translations [Genevan Bible]
> which have not been labored in your realm,
> having inspersed divers prejudicial notes
> which might have been also well spared.[22]

In short, the Genevan translation was considered inferior

because it did not meet the archbishop's scholarly stand-

ards and was not an English product. In order to produce

a better version Parker set down guidelines, which included

at least one of Cox's suggestions. The new work was "to

follow the Common English Translation" except "where it

varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original;"

it was also to avoid words "as soundeth in the Old Trans-

lation to any offence of Lightness or obscenity;" and,

most importantly, translators were "to make no bitter

notes upon any text or yet set down any determination in

places of controversy."[23]

The prohibition of making "no bitter notes" is

extremely important, for in one way it epitomized the dif-

ference between Anglican and Puritan outlooks. Whereas

Puritans applied their Renaissance scholarship to scrip-

ture in order to produce definitive doctrines, such as

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[22]M. Parker to the Queen, **Records**, 293-294.

[23]**Ibid.**, 297-298.

Whittingham had included in his notes in the Genevan
Bible, Anglican scholars were humanists of a different
variety. They accepted the relativity of their scholarly
conclusions, and thus were ordered not to write their
interpretations into the Bishop's Bible. Richard Cox's
role in applying this principle is interesting, for he
was called upon to translate two of the most important
books of the New Testament, Acts and Romans.[24] The lat-
ter book was of course the very one on which Luther had
relied in making his break from Catholicism, and every
major reformer was expected to write and speak exten-
sively with a model according to which they could both
attack other churches and build new ones. Puritans
especially were enamored of the apostolic church as the
model to which they wanted to return, at least when it
was feasible; however, Anglicans were willing to accept
later cultural forms of Christianity.

A comparison of the two different translations of
the book of Romans bears out the above generalizations,
and also reveals similarities and differences between
Anglican and Puritan thought. Cox did obey Parker's
directions by avoiding the wholesale inclusion of notes
to explain the meaning of St. Paul's statements. In

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[24]Parker to the Queen, _Records_, 293-294; Parker to
Cecil, October 5, 1568, _Correspondence_, 334 ff.

this omission he was apparently willing to allow scrip-
ture to stand as it was and not attempt to explain every
significant statement. To a great degree the two trans-
lations present a picture of two very compatible theol-
ogies, to the extent that Cox plagiarized some of Whit-
tingham's notes. In many instances he neither changed
the wording of the explanation nor cited Whittingham's
version as the source of his statement.[25] Identical
theologies are also apparent in both translators' treat-
ment of difficult theological concepts.[26] Whittingham
found it necessary to explain in detail whenever he could
just what St. Paul's doctrine of election was, but Cox
clearly accepted the Calvinist idea of double predestin-
ation just as strongly as his Puritan counterpart:

> The will and purpose of God, is the cause
> of the election and reprobation. For his
> mercy and calling, through Christ, are
> the means of salvation: and the withdraw-
> ing of his mercy is the cause of damna-
> tion.[27]

The Puritan version put the same doctrine in more compli-
cated terms by espousing the idea of "chief cause" and
"inferior cause."[28] It also dedicated more space to the

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[25]Romans XIV:5; XII:20; XII:1,3; X:6; V:16.

[26]While this is true, it does not necessarily fol-
low that subsequent differences were simply the product
of material or selfish interest.

[27]Bishops Bible, Romans IX:11.

[28]Genevan Bible, Romans IX:14.

doctrine,[29] but Cox clearly incorporated a belief in pre-

destination, and double predestination at that, into the

Bishops' Bible. A similar parallel is apparent in the

translators' approach to the great difference between

Christians and non-Christians. Puritan emphasis on the

superiority of the chosen people in spiritual matters

is often emphasized by scholars,[30] but Cox conveyed the

same impression in his denigration of those who do not

act from proper Christian motivation:

> For no zeal nor no good intent can be
> acceptable unto God, but only that which
> is grounded upon faith and the knowledge
> of God.[31]

Cox emphasized the same idea in his notes on Romans I:14,

in which St. Paul expressed indebtedness to Greeks and

"barbarians;" for Cox explained that all those who are

not Christians are heathen, the only difference among

them being that some are learned while others are

savages.[32] Similarly, in his explanation of the statement,

"whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Cox cited both

Augustine and Origen to claim all works were bad, "what-

soever they be which proceed not of a right conscience

and unbounded faith, grounded upon the word of God."[33]

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[29]Genevan Bible, Romans IX:7.

[30]New, Anglican and Puritan, 9. He classifies
Puritans as being uniquely "hard line" believers in total
depravity.

[31]Bishops Bible, Romans X:2.

[32]Ibid., I:14.

[33]Ibid., XIV:23.

With this evidence in mind, the distinction Professor New
makes between Anglican and Puritan theologies of man, his
election by God, and the nature of man's knowledge are
not in evidence in Cox's ideas as expressed in the
Bishops' Bible.[34] Both Anglican and Puritan assumed a
"hard line" regarding man and his abilities. Cox and
Whittingham also shared a strong emphasis on the role of
sin. Cox saw it as

> tossing and tormenting the whole man and
> plucking him from good, whereby plagues
> and injuries are heaped on and man liveth
> as he were in the midst of death.[35]

Whittingham expounded in a more ordered way on the process
by which evil rules man:

> The mind first ministreth evil motions,
> whereby man's will is enticed whence
> burst forth the lusts, by them the body
> is provoked, and the body by his actions
> doth solicit the mind: therefore he
> commandeth, at least that we rule our
> bodies.[36]

A final example of similarity appears in a strange way,
for though sixteenth-century reformers placed great empha-
sis on historical-grammatical exegesis, both Cox and
Whittingham relapsed into the allegorical method tradi-
tionally used by medieval Catholics. The first and second
verses of Romans VII speak of man's subjection to the law

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[34]New, 25, 28.

[35]Bishops' Bible, Romans V:24.

[36]Genevan Bible, Romans VI:12.

and woman's subjection to her husband, but both transla-
tors interpreted the contents of the verses as an allegory
of the human race's marriage to sin.[37] Whittingham's ver-
sion especially emphasized this approach:

> Both in the first marriage and in the second,
> the husband and the wife must be considered
> within ourselves. The first husband was Sin,
> and our death was the wife. Their children
> were the fruits of the flesh. In the second
> marriage the Spirit is the husband, the new
> creature is the wife, and their children are
> the fruits of the spirit.[38]

Thus in several ways Cox's work was similar to Whitting-
ham's. Both were willing to use allegorical exegesis and
both shared the same theological outlook; however, some
differences are apparent.

In keeping with his own advice, Cox did convey
texts in expressions which were "usual words as we English
people be acquainted with."[39] Two examples of his more
direct style are as follows:

> Whittingham: For I count that the afflic-
>   tions of this present time are not
>   worthy . . . .
> Cox: For I am certainly persuaded that
>   the afflictions of this present time
>   . . . .[40]
>
> Whittingham: For Christ, when we were
>   yet of no strength, at his time, died
>   for the ungodly.
> Cox: For when we were yet weak, accord-
>   ing to the time, Christ died for the
>   ungodly.[41]

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[37]Romans VII:1, 2.

[38]Genevan Bible, Romans VII:1, 2.

[39]R. Cox to M. Parker, May 3, 1566, Correspondence, 282.

[40]Romans VIII:18.

[41]Romans V:6

These are only two of many examples of Cox's clearer style, but it is apparent that if the English were looking for a better literary version, the Bishop's Bible would have been the correct choice. However, their real aim seems to have been to be presented with a thorough system of thought, for the Genevan translation far outstripped the Bishops' Bible in popularity. Aside from style, the two versions did differ on some matters of substance. St. Paul's description of the early churches did provide both translators with points to emphasize regarding the primitive church. Cox, with his emphasis on unity, seemed particularly anxious to stress St. Paul's condemnation of those who caused church divisions:

> There are two marks to know the false apostles by. The one is, when they leave Christ and serve their belly. The other, when they regard no holy Scripture, but preach lies and their own fancies.[42]

These were precisely the charges he aimed at the Puritan party,[43] and one cannot help but rank this note among those "bitter notes" which the translators were supposed to avoid. Whittingham explained the same verse in a different way:

> Mark them diligently which cause division and offenses, contrary to the doctrine

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[42] Bishops' Bible, Romans XVI:17.

[43] Above, p. 271 ff.

which ye have learned, and avoid them.[44]

This was of course the main theme of the Puritans in opposing Anglican rites which they thought were "offenses and contrary to . . . doctrine." Another difference is seen in Cox's willingness to call attention to the use of women in the early church as deacons; however, Whittingham, in spite of the Puritan emphasis on a complete return to the church of the first century, made no comment on the same passage.[45] They reversed roles on passages which described the office of prophet in the early church. Whittingham included explanatory notes, in keeping with Puritan emphasis on prophesying as a necessary method of preaching. The queen, however, disliked prophesyings, and Cox simply made no comment on the same verses on which Puritans relied.[46]

It was regarding the nature of the apostolic church that a comparison of both translators' versions of the book of Acts is also important. Little can be added to what has already been indicated as to the general similarities and differences between the authors, for Cox continued to produce a clearer translation and to avoid including explanatory notes. He also continued to plagiarize entire statements made eight years earlier by Whitting-

[44]Genevan Bible, Romans XVI:17.

[45]Romans XV:1.

[46]Romans XII:6, 8.

ham,[47] and together both versions drew attention to a factual error in Acts VII:16. It was necessary for some differences to appear, however, for many practices described in Acts posed a problem for Puritan thinkers. In spite of their desire to resurrect the primitive church, Puritans were forced to realize that some of that church's practices were simply not acceptable in the sixteenth century. Whittingham interpreted early Christian communism as simply ensuring a decent living to all Christians and not as a literal practice of mass pooling of resources.[48] In Cox's version there is simply a recording of the fact, and commentary is lacking; however, regarding church organization Cox was willing to present an alternative view to Whittingham's. The latter writer referred to the early church's organization as consisting of "priests, elders, and governors," even when the text he was discussing merely expounded Christ's role as the head of the church.[49] Whittingham also preferred to use the label "superintendant," while Cox insisted on using "bishop."[50] In addition, Whittingham found it necessary to explain away the fact that St. Paul approved the early Christian practice of shaving one's head after taking a vow. Since

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[47]Acts VII:48; XII:15; XV:39; XVII:7; XXVII:24; XXVIII:4, 6.

[48]Genevan Bible, Acts II:44, 45; IV:32, 33.

[49]Ibid., VII:11, 12.

[50]Acts XXI:18.

he had no desire to return to the Apostolic period, Cox

accepted both examples of head shaving as contemporary

practices, and let them pass as historically conditioned;

however, Whittingham explained them as customs retained

from Jewish culture "partly of ignorance and infirmity."[51]

For his part Cox also revealed his Anglican perspective

in a more positive way in two instances, though it must

again be emphasized that it was within the Anglican per-

spective to avoid comments and conform to Parker's

orders. In commenting on the centurion's saving Paul,

Cox revealed the Anglican reliance on the state to sup-

port the church: "God often times approveth his magis-

trates to deliver his faithful ministers from all dangers

of their enemy."[52] Cox also included a harsh note when

referring to St. Paul's conversation with king Agrippa:

> He [Agrippa] knew much, but he failed in
> the right application of his knowledge as
> they do which be wise in their own con-
> ceits only, and have the zeal of God, but
> not according to knowledge.[53]

Knowing Cox's troubles with both Puritans and the govern-

ment, one can clearly detect a ringing indictment of the

bishop's opponents.

Having given a few examples to compare the Puritan

with the Anglican Bible, one can conclude that the docu-

[51]Acts XXI:24; also see Acts XVIII:18.

[52]Bishops' Bible, Acts XXI:32.

[53]Ibid., XXVI:3.

ments reveal important facts about their respective ideol-
ogies. Theologically little difference is apparent, for
both versions were characterized by doctrinal unity
rather than diversity on such topics as man, God, and
election. Regarding the nature of the church there were
some differences, mainly in that Puritans found some
early church practices impossible to implement and there-
fore explained them away or simply ignored them. The
greatest ideological difference revealed by both writers
appears in the notes which accompanied, or failed to
accompany, the work of each. Cox's outlook represented
one type of Christian humanism, a type which allowed him
to leave a bare translation without directing the reader
to the one correct interpretation. It also permitted him
to describe the primitive church without explaining away
its untransferable practices. Whittingham's type of
Christian humanism had developed into an entirely differ-
ent approach. By surrounding scripture with extensive
explanatory notes he was presenting a system of thought
which readers could either take or leave. In a sense the
Genevan Bible epitomized a religious system in which faith
was incorporated into a set of statements. Of course such
a system was exactly what Whittingham had tried to set up
at Frankfurt just two years before he began working on
translation. By contrast, in Cox's Anglican ideology
faith was a person's commitment to simply believing,[54]

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[54]Musculus, 195, 206.

and leaving most dogmas open to at least one or two addi-
tional choices. In such a perspective discipline was
meted out according to practice more stringently than
according to belief; and it was for such a view that Cox
had successfully waged war on Knox, Whittingham, and
their Puritan comrades during the Frankfurt troubles.
In an important way, Cox revealed as much by what he did
not include in his translation as Whittingham revealed
by what he did include.

Another important way of documenting Anglican
ideology in the 1570's is by examining Richard Cox's
exchange of ideas with the Swiss reformers, for out of
this exchange came the formation of a wide-spread anti-
Calvinist bloc. Cox described the Puritans to Gualter
as "unruly men" who had "burst by their reckless attacks
the barriers of law and of religion."[55] The label
"unruly" stemmed from the Puritans' two basic demands;
namely, that the church be governed by equal ministers
and that the bishops of the Anglican church be deposed.[56]
In Cox's view both demands were completely uncalled for,
especially that which advocated the abolition of
bishoprics. He correctly maintained that the Elizabethan
bishops had never zealously pursued a policy of persecu-
tion: "none of the bishops interfere in any matters but

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[55]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 3, 1574, Z.L.,
II, 297.

[56]Ibid., 299.

the ministry of the word and sacraments, except when the
law requires them, or at the command of the sovereign."[57]
Cox's extensive knowledge of the primitive church led him
to believe that bishops had traditionally been part of
the Christian ecclesiastical structure. When defending
the hierarchical system in 1571 he had written, "Let the
practice of the holy church be referred to;"[58] and contem-
porary scholars could not debate the truth of his posi-
tion. Both Cox and Gualter viewed the primitive church
as one whose spirit should be re-captured, but whose
practices were a matter of convenience. Gualter hoped
that the Puritans

> would think about reviving that simplic-
> ity of faith and purity of morals, which
> formerly flourished, and not attacke the
> commonwealth, the ancient rights and con-
> stitution of which Christ does not change![59]

By contrast, the same author viewed the government of the
primitive church as being historically conditioned by its
hostile environment. He further saw political protection
as a boon to the church:

> God has given kings for nursing fathers
> and queens for nursing mothers; who, in
> fine, have magistrates well affected
> towards religion, who are enabled to
> establish and maintain moral discipline
> with far greater authority, and conse-
> quently more abundant benefit, than if

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[57]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 3, 1574, _Z.L._,
II, 299.

[58]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 12, 1571, _Z.L._,
I, 234.

[59]R. Gualter to R. Cox, March 16, 1574, _Z.L._, II, 251.

they appointed ten presbyteries in every church.[60]

Cox would have been hard pressed to find a better defense for his idea of the church's relationship with the English government, for his actions in Ely and his role in aiding the formulation of a national religion were based on the assumption that the queen and the magistrates favored and would enforce a strong religious establishment. He therefore had no desire to return to conditions which characterized the apostolic church. He saw plans for such a return as a plot hatched by nobles and Puritans to

> reduce us to beggary, that they may bring us back to the condition of the primitive church and the poverty of the apostles.[61]

Such a charge moved Anglican-Puritan difficulties beyond scholarly arguments and theological disputations. Political ideology replaced religious ideas as the main topics for contention: Anglicans argued that Puritans were revolutionaries who would ultimately create a tyranny; and the Cox-Gualter correspondence helped bolster the Anglican position.

Again Gualter supplied supporting arguments, but the Puritan party had also placed itself in a precarious position. Its leaders had condoned and even produced seditious pamphlets in the past,[62] a fact which was well

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[60]R. Gualter to R. Cox, March 16, 1574, _Z.L._, II, 251.

[61]R. Cox to R. Gualter, 1576, _Z.L._, I, 319.

[62]Above, p. 209 ff.

known to the queen. Cox had often charged the Puritans
with sedition, and had in fact gotten Knox expelled from
Frankfurt on that claim; but with the increased pressure
brought against him by nobles and the continued Puritan
demand that laymen should run the church, Cox feared for
the preservation of order. Gualter supported him by
writing,

> I greatly fear there is lying concealed
> under the presbytery an affection to
> oligarchy, which may at length degener-
> ate into monarchy, or even open tyranny.[63]

Gualter's argument was based on the assumption that no
group of individuals ever had the right to change the
constitution of the state for only God possessed such
power,[64] and both correspondents believed that Calvin-
ism had already produced tyranny on the Continent. In
his letter to Cox on June 9, 1572 Gualter indicated that
the Calvinists who had travelled through Switzerland and
had elicited the anti-Anglican letter from Gualter him-
self were the same men who were responsible for changes
in the Palatinate "which have inflicted such a blow upon
the churches in that quarter."[65] What in fact had been
established was a disciplinary system which the Puritans
wanted for England. Gualter also condemned the Heidelberg

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[63]R. Gualter to R. Cox, March 16, 1574, Z.L., II, 251.

[64]R. Gualter to R. Cox, March 16, 1574, Z.L., II, 251.

[65]R. Gualter to R. Cox, June 9, 1572, Z.L., I, 364;
above, p. 268.

Calvinist discipline system in a letter to Bishop Sandys.
In Gualter's view, even though the system was based on
a theory of presbyterian democracy it had degenerated in
Heidelberg into a "new tyranny."[66] Thus the Swiss leader
not only charged the Heidelberg leader, Zacharias Ursinus,
with impeding Protestant unity,[67] but he also cited the
Calvinist center at Heidelberg as a city

> in which, after this form of discipline had
> been introduced, within the space of three
> years were exhibited such instances of
> tyranny, as would put Romanists to shame.[68]

Fearing ecclesiastical tyranny, both the Swiss leader and
Richard Cox were entirely willing to rely on the state to
enforce morality and to defend the church's independence.

Richard Cox was thus important in formulating and
bolstering anti-Puritanism. As a humanist scholar he
could point out the Puritans' lack of consistency, for
they really could never recreate the church of the first
century A.D. As a scholar he also was willing to accept
the form of religion best suited to English culture, and
it was with such an aim in mind that he served faithfully
on ecclesiastical commissions and as a loyal bishop. It
was also as an idealistic Christian scholar that he
desired a more influential role for the church in national

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[66]R. Gualter to Bishop Sandys, October 8, 1573,
Z.L., I, 238.

[67]Above, p. 296.

[68]R. Gualter to R. Cox, March 1574, Z.L., II, 251.

life. Late in life, at the age of seventy-nine, he still complained that "the ministers of the word" were not admitted into the Council of Queen Elizabeth.[69] It was also as an idealist that Cox hoped to apply discipline to powerful laymen as well as to clerics, but in this he was frustrated. He wrote to Gualter,

> We retain in some measure the moral disci-
> pline which you make mention of in your
> letter, but should anyone seek to compel
> our great men to submit their necks to it,
> it would be much the same as shaving a
> lion's beard.[70]

Such "shaving" became completely impossible because of the queen's own policy of keeping bishops in line, and this turned Cox into a cynical as well as a faithful bishop.

The great difference which is easily identified between Anglican and Puritan was also characteristic of Queen Elizabeth's ideas when compared with the Anglican idealism of Richard Cox. While he conceived of the good society as one which received moral direction from well-educated Christian clerics, the queen saw herself as being God-appointed and therefore the ultimate human source of truth. The royal outlook was nicely captured in the government's edition of binding penal statutes which appeared in 1581. The work was edited by Ferdinando Pultion, and his introduction captured the royal outlook:

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[69]R. Cox to R. Gualter, February 26, 1579, _Z.L._,
II, 329.

[70]R. Cox to R. Gualter, July 12, 1574, _Z.L._, I, 306.

> so that our worthy Princes have played
> the parts of God's good Lieutenants in
> these their regions, they have layed a
> foundation of all their statutes and
> decrees, the word, and everlasting Tes-
> tament of the Almighty . . . .[71]

Having conceived of herself as dispensing "the everlast-
ing testament of the Almighty," Elizabeth expected com-
plete obedience from her bishops. Thus her policies of
expropriating their property and of expecting them to
serve secular governmental ends and strictly to enforce
her religious policies, however contradictory they were,
were consistent with her vision of her function. The
total effect of her policies on churchmen was often
demoralizing to say the least. Archbishop Parker, for
example, responded in a despondent way by writing, "we
be the stiles over which men will soonest leap over."[72]
Bishop Cox had made some feeble attempts to block the
queen in 1560, but his only success came in administer-
ing his own diocese as he saw fit--in spite of royal
will. But the frustration Cox experienced did find
expression in his poetry, poetry which conveyed an image
of the queen which was much different than most contem-
porary popular and nationalistic views. Cox's poem,
"My Derling Dere," is so obviously an attack on the queen

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[71]Ferdinand Pultion, ed., An Abstract of All the
Penal Statutes (London, 1581).

[72]M. Parker to W. Cecil, April 7, 1565, Correspon-
dence, 237.

that it is a wonder the message has been missed by the
editor of Cox's poetry, James Goodwin. Goodwin simply
passes the poem off by stating that "the meaning . . .
is not very clear;"[73] however, the poem clearly damns
Queen Elizabeth as an intruder into ecclesiastical
matters. This was especially true regarding the queen's
attack on Cox's property, which attack left him econom-
ically dependent upon the state:

> My dere she putteth me to great charge,
> She must have maners and parkes at large.
> Wold Christe I had her neuer known
> My dere beloued hath me downe throne.
> My derlyng dere long haue I sowght;
> Lost is my labour, she ys clere nought.
>
> My goods, my woods, my landes, my rent,
> My dere to pleas all haue I spent.
> Yet is she enemye euer to me;
> O derlyinge dere, what eyleth the?
> My derling dere . . . .[74]

These lines are allusions to the economic troubles which
had plagued Cox from 1559 until his death, and he obvi-
ously held the queen responsible for his difficulties.
However, he also went on to attack the queen's character:

> My dere is of a skyttysh brayne;
> Nowght can hold her, nor rowgh, nor playne.
> I me repent that euer I came
> Into thy company, o deere dame.
> My derlyng dere . . . .

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[73]J. Goodwin, "Introduction," _Ballads_, 9.

[74]R. Cox, "My Derlyng Dere," _Ballads_, 9, 10.

> Dame, damage great thou hast me wrowght;
> My dere, thow art to derelye bowght.
> Nowght hast thou dere, but they dere skynne,
> Dere fayre withowt, dere fowle withynne.
>   My derelyng dere . . . .[75]

Though in his public acts and his correspondence Cox held

up the facade of complete loyalty and dedication to the

queen, underneath beat the heart of an Anglican idealist.

As such an idealist Cox had envisioned an independent

church as well as one which was reformed and uniquely

English, but Elizabeth's policies clearly militated against

such a goal of independence. Though Cox was beaten into

conformity, he saw the queen as "fair without and foul

within;" but he had no way to work toward his own aims

than to apply them in his role as an administrator. As

seen in this study of Richard Cox, what he conformed to

were political realities; what he institutionalized were

his ideals as a Christian humanist.

CONCLUSION

Richard Cox's ideals as a Christian humanist had
their origins in Renaissance learning as adopted by
Christian reformers in the sixteenth century, and these
ideals were relevant to all phases of life. On the level
of scholarship they meant thorough training in original
classical languages and in classical culture. In religion
they meant the desire to reform the Catholic church by
returning to the pure Christianity possessed by the
earliest Christian churches. In secular life the new
idealism meant social concern for the indigent and reli-
ance on the state to provide justice. As an Anglican
idealist Richard Cox was an acitve participant on each of
these levels.

His concern for solid scholarship was in evidence
early in his life as a schoolmaster and grammarian, but
it was also apparent as he neared death. At Eton, as
tutor to Prince Edward, and as Chancellor of Oxford Uni-
versity Cox had attempted to institutionalize sound
scholarship; and this had placed him in the unique posi-
tion, at least during the Reformation, of being a unifier.
Because of the common bond of scholarship he could feel
at home with Calvinists, Lutherans, Zwinglians, and
Catholics, he was often called on as a reconciler. As

the religious positions of the century hardened, however,
Cox was in reality disliked more than appreciated. Dur-
ing his career each group could find reasons for opposing
Cox's activities and opinions. It was only with the
Zwinglians that he maintained a close formal relationship,
for Rudolph Gualter and Heinrich Bullinger were compatriots
to Cox in both scholarly interests and religious opinions.
With Cox they shared an important acceptance of many of
the ideas of Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin. **With Zwingli and**
Bucer, Cox was always willing to leave the question of
sacraments open to debate. With Bucer and Calvin, Cox
placed great emphasis on Christian living as the standard
for religious discipline. That Cox's scholarship as a
theologian came close to the basic position of John Calvin
is significant, for it is a point which contemporaries
admitted, but which historians have interpreted quite dif-
ferently. Some have minimized the difference in order to
impute economic or political causation to Reformation
religion. Others have attempted to find basic differences
on the level of doctrines. The evidence provided by Cox's
life and ideas, however, shifts attention to another point:
that there was a common scholarly bond which united the
reformers who were trained in the methods of humanist
scholarship.

This training evoked a common challenge to Catholic-
ism, a challenge with which many Catholic leaders were

sympathetic; however, critical divisions occurred when
the reformers were forced to create positive statements
as to just what should replace the traditional church.
Cox's Catholic friend, Cassander, obviously wanted
reform on the basis of the criticism levelled by idealis-
tic scholars, but he was willing to work within existing
institutions. Cox's Puritan opponents were motivated by
the same kind of idealism, but applied their scholarship
with the aim of re-establishing first-century institutions.
The Puritan demands were not negotiable since they were
imputed to pure biblical scholarship, and they included
as their most important themes presbyterian organization
with its emphasis on lay leadership, the necessity of
allowing prophesying, and the abolition of Anglican rites
and ceremonies. The constant effort to achieve these
ends has been labelled by Professor M.M. Knappen as "A
Chapter in the History of Idealism," and that it was; but
it does not follow that Anglicanism owed its origins to
politique compromises. As a spokesman for and originator
of Anglicanism as a particular religious outlook Richard
Cox was an idealist in his own right. His idealism had
its origin in the same scholarly training possessed by
both Puritans and Catholics, but it advanced to different
conclusions.

Richard Cox's religious ideology was based on the
belief that religious expression originated in contempor-

ary conditions even though religious belief was based on eternal truth. Thus one will look in vain for doctrinal distinctions between his Anglicanism and the doctrines propounded by Puritans. Their basic differences came in terms of consistency with the points of view assimilated from the great scholars of the sixteenth century, and was based on different deductions from Christian humanistic scholarship. With his great emphasis on thorough scholarship, Cox's idealism naturally opposed Puritan confidence in laymen and reliance on prophesying as the correct means of preaching. To Cox, reliance on lay leadership epitomized a sell-out to selfish, intellectually inferior individuals; and the use of prophesyings was simply a device to avoid undergoing the harsh discipline required for becoming a sound scholar. It was as a scholar that Cox also found it necessary to reject Puritan ideals regarding the early church. In his view Anglicanism did recapture the spirit of early Christianity; and the fact that English Christianity found it profitable to establish bishops, use surplices, and rely on Prayer Books and homilies was a matter of its own freedom of choice. Puritans could not really expect to return to the first century, and Cox could not fathom their insistence on applying standards to Anglicanism which they failed to apply to themselves. In his translations of Romans and Acts, Cox could therefore treat the early church differ-

ently from the way Whittingham did. In Cox's view what was ideal for an Anglican's religion would necessarily differ from other Christians, and in his acceptance of the adiaphora idea he was in a way more consistent than Puritans. Cox was closer to the ideology founded by Zwingli and expanded upon by Bucer and Calvin.

As soon as he accepted the adiaphora theory, the sixteenth-century scholar found himself in the chaos which accompanied any acceptance of relativism. In the case of Cox's ideal for Anglicanism it involved deciding just how far he could go in accepting England's culture as being properly Christian. Early in his life Cox had pointed out the injustices performed against the poor, and he continued to demonstrate this concern as an Anglican leader; however, early in life he also accepted the idea that he should be obedient to political power. This subservience was not characteristic of Puritan leaders, but it clearly was compatible with the principles espoused by John Calvin. Regarding politics, Richard Cox was closer to Calvin than later Calvinists, for they advanced theories of revolution which the Genevan leader never condoned. This fact was used by Cox to condemn Puritans as revolutionaries, but it also gave Cox and Continental leaders another basis for attacking contemporary Calvinists. Both Cox and Rudolph Gualter excoriated Puritanism as a sectarian movement

which would produce tyranny, and as an example they cited
Calvinist practices in the Palatinate. In reacting to
"tyrannical" Calvinism, Cox, along with many Continental
reformers, fell back on other ideas. First, they empha-
sized religious discipline based on works rather than on
ideas. This was nothing new. It was in fact based on
Christian humanists' concern for social injustices. Bucer
and Calvin had emphasized this kind of discipline, and
Cox advanced it throughout his life. It is apparent in
his plans for the correct use of property appropriated
by Henry VIII; it appeared in his complaints against both
Edwardian and Elizabethan lay leaders, and it was present
in his "Injunctions" for the diocese of Ely. The impor-
tant point of emphasis is that Puritan discipline was no
more idealistic than Cox's. Though Puritans emphasized
discipline on the basis of dogmas, and worked out a
thorough, closed ideology, Cox's Anglicanism emphasized
discipline on the basis of living. The Puritan solution
was more conducive to clarity and was easier to enforce,
but that does not make Anglican ideology the product of
expediency. Recognizing Cox's theory and attempted
application of discipline, one cannot help but view the
Puritan attacks on Anglican practices as being in large
part groundless. Both relied on the same basic ideology,
but came to quite different conclusions.

Secondly, Anglicans were forced to develop a means

of enforcement as an alternative to Puritan aggressive-
ness; and here Cox's ideology came into direct conflict
with Queen Elizabeth's. Earlier Tudor rulers had found
ways to cope with Reformation programs for change.
Henry VIII had made Protestant radicals part of the estab-
lished authority, to the extent of giving them high posts
in education and even allowing his only legitimate son to
be educated by religious radicals. Edward VI adopted the
ideals of the Protestants, a fact which caused much trouble
during his brief reign. In Queen Elizabeth, however,
Richard Cox met head on with a willful, self-contradictory
ruler who was continually treading a narrow line between
her own ambitions and the harsh realities of domestic and
foreign politics. Cox failed to appreciate the queen's
problems; and she reciprocated by declining to accept his
ideal of an independent church which would give moral
direction to the secular power. Queen Elizabeth, claim-
ing divine right powers, insisted on enforcing her opinions
and in the process defeated the independence which Cox
idealized. In a broader perspective than contemporary
disputes with the queen, Cox's career and ideas represent
the political defeat which came to characterize Anglican-
ism two centuries later, but Cox himself cannot be
absolved from blame. He condoned an ideology which per-
mitted defining religion in cultural terms, and his belief
in political subservience contributed to making Anglicanism

withdraw from social relevance into religious concern only. In short, though he would have objected to such a generalization, he contributed to making Anglicanism just another arm of the English state.

Having made such a damning generalization, one must necessarily qualify it by pointing out that in practice Richard Cox did try to save Anglicanism from such a fate. His prime practical role was that of institutionalizing his Christian ideals, which included secular and religious aims based on Christian humanism. His secular goals were a failure, and he retreated into cynicism against all who lacked his determination to keep the church pure by keeping its leaders well educated and by forcing its members to live according to Christian precepts. In failing he formed a deep dislike for Puritans, wealthy laymen, and Queen Elizabeth herself. By contrast to secular failures, Richard Cox's religious role was important in establishing sixteenth-century Anglicanism. His ideas were in part so successfully carried on by John Whitgift and Richard Bancroft, both of whom owed early promotions to the bishop, that Puritanism was suppressed. Cox was also important in a positive way in directing the creation of a branch of Christianity which was both uniquely English and also reformed.

In his long life Richard Cox came into contact with and was responsible for institutionalizing Renaissance and

Reformation ideals. Thus his intellectual development is replete with examples of contacts with great thinkers and great issues. As a scholar he accepted the critique established by Erasmus. As a reformer he revered the ideas of great Protestant leaders such as Zwingli, Calvin, and especially Martin Bucer. As a church leader he found it necessary to work toward preserving some kind of independence for his church and still ensure its uniqueness as an English institution. Taken together these factors are part of the ideology formulated and advanced by one of the first Anglican idealists. But Richard Cox also had a unique opportunity for institutionalizing these ideals. In each of his successive roles--schoolmaster, chancellor, exilic leader, and bishop--Cox had opportunities to establish his ideals as an administrator. Besides demonstrating the complexities of Anglican ideology and the framework of ideas which differentiated it from both Puritan thought and governmental policies, Cox's career also demonstrated a certain continuity for the English Reformation. The basic patterns for changing England's religion from Catholic to Anglican were consistent from Henry VIII to Queen Elizabeth. Royal supremacy, canon law, ecclesiastical commissions, and proper religious formulae were the constant problems within which individuals were forced to work; and the rather uniform background of Christian humanism contributed to a general

consistency in the solutions advanced by religious leaders.
Richard Cox's importance lay in helping to formulate and
institutionalize those ideals in an effective way as well
as in revealing the intellectual framework of Anglicanism.
His successes and failures can be judged on the basis of
any number of perspectives; but the framework within which
he worked and which he passed on was clearly that of
religious idealism as filtered through one form of
Christian humanism.

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a Collection of Records and thus saved many documents
which might otherwise have been lost. In addition, he
has provided the central thesis for Professor G.R. Elton's
England under the Tudors (London, 1956) regarding Henry
VIII's role, or lack of one. John Strype's Works (Oxford,
1822) have provided a whipping boy for modern historians,
for Strype's perspective was also Protestant. However,
all of his works are characterized by the inclusion of
extensive numbers of documents, including many which are
highly important for any study of Richard Cox. Letters
by and to Cox which reveal many contemporary problems are
especially plentiful in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials,
6 vols. (Oxford, 1824, c 1724-25), which is a survey of the

early Reformation, though the same generalization must be applied to Strype's _Annals of the Reformation_, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1824, c 1724-25), which is a thorough account of the progress of the Elizabethan phase of the Reformation.

Public records also provide sources of information for the entire span of Cox's long life. _Tudor Royal Proclamations: The Early Tudors_, Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds. (New Haven and London, 1964), is an especially important work, for it, for the first time, gathers the royal proclamations in an ordered way. It also gives insight into royalty's deep involvement in religious affairs. Along with Cardwell's works, the _Proclamations_ provide the most comprehensive insights into the continuity of Tudor policies. _The Statutes of the Realm_, A. Luders, _et al._, eds., 11 vols. (London, 1810-28) is the major source for tracing Parliament's religious policy; however, several other public records reveal the more mechanical aspects of governmental policies. _The Acts of the Privy Council of England_, J.R. Dasent, _et al._, eds., 32 vols. (London, 1890-1907), is useful in identifying Cox's role in the Edwardian period, particularly in his post as almoner to the king and Chancellor of Oxford; and though Cox was not especially prominent in King Henry VIII's rule, he does appear in the standard official sources of that reign: _Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII_, J. Brewer, _et al._,

eds., 21 vols. (London, 1900-1920), which is useful for tracing Cox's rise at court and as a recipient of royal favors; State Papers, Henry VIII, R. Lemon, ed., 11 vols (London, 1830-52). Robert Lemon also provides important information in his Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth (London, 1856). Cox's role in domestic affairs is reflected in the volumes based on patent role entries: Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary, A.E. Stamp, ed., 4 vols. (London, 1937) and Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, 5 vols. (London, 1939). Cox is referred to only once in foreign state papers, in the Venetian State Papers, R. Brown and G. Bentinck, eds., vol. VII (London, 1890); but the reference is important, for it is Schifanoya's account of Cox's sermon to the opening Parliament of Queen Elizabeth's reign, a sermon which lasted an hour and a half "the peers standing all the time." Before moving to specific phases of Cox's life, it is necessary to cite two sources upon which most of the above public and private documentary sources rely: Concilia Magnae Britaniae et Hiberniae, P. Wilkins, ed. 4 vols. (London, 1732-37); and Foedera, convetiones, literae et cuiuscumque generis acta publica, T. Rymer, et al., eds., 20 vols. (London, 1703-35). Without these basic collection of documents little could be written about the ecclesiastical history of England.

Though no full biography of Cox has been written, sources of information are to be found in several primary as well as secondary sources. A laudatory account of Cox is found in Thomas Fuller's seventeenth-century The History of Worthies of England (1662), and to his favorable account can be added the standard biographical source of information about English clerics, J. LeNeve, Fasti Ecclelae Anglicanae, or a Calendar of the Principle Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales, and the Chief Officers in the University of Oxford and Cambridge, T. Hardy, ed., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1854). General information about Cox's career is also contained in two eighteenth-century works: S. Downes, The Lives of the Compilers of the Prayer Book (London, 1772), and J. Bentham, A Catalogue of the Principal Members of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely (Cambridge, 1756). The most complete source of biographical information and bibliographical direction is Charles Cooper's study of the lives of Cambridge leaders, Athenae Cantabrigienses, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1858-1861). By contrast to Cooper's favorable account, Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxoniense, Philip Bliss, ed., 5 vols. (London, 1813-20), has passed on a portrayal of Cox as a greedy landlord and cantankerous cleric. Wood's perspective as a seventeenth-century Catholic is biased, but his work is the basis of most every account of Oxford's Reformation experience. Since Cox was Oxford's Edwardian Chancellor,

he naturally has been the object of Wood's attacks. A
final source, which bases much of its information on docu-
ments and points of view provided in the above works, is
F.O. White's Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the
Anglican Church (London, 1898). A much similar approach
is to be found in the standard source of British biographies,
The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XII (London,
1885). Taken together, all these biographical accounts
give both biographical and bibliographical information,
but studies of specific phases of the English Renaissance
and Reformation demonstrate the complex issues of the
period.

Some of the many surveys of the Tudor period do
provide interpretations of Cox's performance as an educa-
tional and religious leader. Thomas Fuller's Church
History of Britain, vol. II (London, 1834, c 1655, 1659),
is one of the first attempts to save Cox's reputation from
traditional attacks by both Puritans and Catholics, and a
nineteenth-century account which contains details useful
for tracing Cox's various roles is R.W. Dixon's History
of the Church of England, vol. 2 (London, 1881). In con-
trast to these favorable accounts is James Gairdner's The
English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession
of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary (London, 1924). John
Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vols. 5, 6, 7, 8 (London, 1837-
41), is a useful sixteenth-century source. Though he has

a Protestant bias, Foxe's veracity in reporting events is useful; and in Cox's case it is especially useful for an account of the trial of Bishop Gardiner as well as of the beginning of the Marian exile. For the Prayer-Book controversies, F. Proctor and W. Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1949), give many insights into foreign influences on English religious formulae; and an older work which is of similar character is J.T. Tomlinson's The Prayer Book Articles and Homilies (London, 1897). Regarding another important theme, the problem of defining the nature of the eucharist, C.W. Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers (London, 1958), identifies the influence of the Consensus Tigurinus, the Bullinger-Calvin eucharistic agreement. A third problem which plagued the English church was that of the canon law, for it was basic to the church-state relationship as well as church discipline. In addition to the work of Burnet, Cardwell, and Foxe on this subject, a book produced by the Archbishop's Commission, The Canon Law of the Church of England (London, 1947), has proved useful.

A study of the Henrician period is important for Cox's career, but it also has provided problems for historians because royal practices were continually changing. Some scholars have therefore given special attention to the period. H. Maynard Smith's Henry VIII and the Reformation (New York, 1948) is an important treatment of the

relationships between the king and the church. Along with

Burnet and Elton, some historians have attributed the

king's policies to incompetence, Machiavellianism, or lack

of direction. L.B. Smith, "Henry VIII and the Protestant

Triumph," American Historical Review, LXXX (July, 1966),

attributes to the king a conservatism tempered only by

foreign policy considerations; and J.J. Scarisbrick,

Henry VIII (Berkeley, 1968), follows the Burnet-Elton

theme that the king simply did not control his own relig-

ious policies. By contrast, A.G. Dickens, in The English

Reformation (London, 1964) and Thomas Cromwell and the

English Reformation (London, 1959), has been willing to

see a significant intrusion of Protestant religious

thought into royal policy, especially when it came time

for Henry VIII to choose tutors for his son. The exact

nature of Henrician religion is a problem which has

stimulated the study of both Catholic and Protestant

parties. In his Tudor Prelates and Politics (Princeton,

1953), L.B. Smith demonstrates the Catholic prelates'

brand of social conservatism, and James Muller's works

on Stephen Gardiner, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reac-

tion (London, 1926) and The Letters of Stephen Gardiner

(Cambridge, 1933), provide information relevant to seeing

the difference between Gardiner's ideas and role as com-

pared to Cox's. The most thorough treatment of Lutheran

impact on the Henrician regime is by Neelak Tjernagel,

Henry VIII and the Lutherans, A Study in Anglo-Lutheran
Relations from 1521-1547 (St. Louis, 1965). This work also
supplies the important and often neglected Thirteen
Articles of 1538. The standard survey of Protestant radi-
calism, J. Gairdner's Lollardy and the Reformation in
England (London, 1908), is important for identifying Cox's
anti-radical activities, even though Gairdner does make
some factual errors. Since this thesis is a study of Cox
as an institutionalizer of ideas, the most useful work on
the early Tudors from the point of view of explaining
Christian humanism among them is by James McConica,
English Humanists and Reformation Politics (Oxford, 1965).
McConica's work goes far to demonstrate that being a
Renaissance humanist did not divorce one from Christian-
ity, a point often neglected by historians.

In discovering Cox's role during the reign of
Edward VI, several primary sources exist which convey the
nature of Edwardian rule. Prince Edward's dependence on
Cox is demonstrated in the many letters preserved in the
Literary Remains of King Edward VI, J. Nichols, ed., 2
vols. (London, 1867). The same work contains Edward's
Journal, which documents Cox's official role. The
Journal can also be found in Burnet's Collection and in
W.K. Jordan's edition of the prince's Chronicle and Papers
(Ithaca, 1966), a work which includes critical notes and
some incorrect information about Cox's life. An incomplete

but significant understanding of the young king's support of humanists is found in "The Household Book of Edward VI," Trevelyan Papers Prior to A.D. 1558, J. Collier, ed. (London, 1857). Additional works which document Cox's activity during the reign and at the beginning of Queen Mary's rule are the following: Henry Machyn, Diary, J. Nichols, ed. (London, 1848); Charles Wriothesley, Chronicle, W. Hamilton, ed. (London, 1875); and a Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary (anonymous), J. Nichols, ed. (London, 1850); Edward VI, A Message to the Rebels of Devonshire (1549). The only major secondary work, beside the usual surveys already mentioned, is by Hester Chapman, The Last Tudor King (New York, 1959). Its value lies in the fact that secondary works on Edward VI are lacking rather than its being a satisfactory analysis of Edwardian rule.

During the successive monarchies of Henry VIII and Edward VI, Richard Cox's development was characterized by a deep attachment to humanistic scholarship. A background for understanding the social implications of Christian humanism is found in W. Gordon Zeeveld's Foundations of Tudor Policy (Cambridge, 1948), and in the work by Fritz Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order of Tudor England (Chicago, 1959); and for an explanation of the ideology of the Northern Renaissance into England, C.H. Herford, Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany

in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1886), provides many insights. Primary sources for this aspect of Cox's life and ideas are to be found in the pamphlets and texts produced by Renaissance leaders. Most important is Petrus Mosellanus' Paedologia, R. Seybolt, trans. (Urbana, 1927), which demonstrates Cox's use of the dialogue method of teaching and his adoption of many contemporary radical ideas. Important use was made of the works of several other contemporaries, including John Despauter Ninivitae, Artis Versificationiae (1631, c. ca. 1518); William Lily, A Shorte Introduction to Grammar, V.J. Flynn, ed. (New York, 1945); and Erasmus, De Duplici Copia Verborum et Rerum (1512) and Libellus de Conscribindis Epistolis (1521). Erasmus was important for proclaiming the necessity of "liberal learning," a theme adopted by Cox: Erasmus, De Civilitate Morum Pueri, Robert Whitinton, trans. (1530). Cox's influence in establishing the ideas propounded in the above pamphlets is seen in the contemporary accounts of Roger Ascham, The Schoolmaster, L. Ryan, ed. (Ithaca, 1967), and also in the Royal Grammar, A Shorte Introduction of Grammar and Breuissima institution grammatices cognoscendae (1540, 1542). The origin of this latter work is discussed in C.G. Allen, "The Sources of 'Lily's Latin Grammar': A Review of the Facts and Some Further Suggestions," The Library, fifth series, X (1954). In addition to accepting and helping to develop the ideas developed

in the above works, Cox went on to introduce them into England's most prestigious schools.

Cox's career began at Cambridge University, and the traditional history of that university by Charles Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1843), is still useful, especially because it includes many significant primary sources. Cambridge's constitutional structure is best revealed in James Heywood's Collection of Statutes for the University of Cambridge (London, 1840); but the student who wishes to identify policies more closely should consult the university's grace books: Grace Book Delta, J. Venn ed., (Cambridge, 1910) and Grade Book Theta (Cambridge, 1908). Cox's role as both a student at and head of Eton school is reflected in several works relevant to that institution. The basic sources for identifying Eton alumni are by Sir Wasey Sterry, The Eton College Register, 1441-1698 (Eton, 1948), and Thomas Harwood, Alumni Etonenses (Birmingham, 1797). Historians whose works are useful in surveying Eton's history are H.C.M. Lyte, A History of Eton College (London, 1875), and Wasey Sterry, Annals of King's College of Our Lady of Eton Beside Windsor (London, 1898). Cox's role as head of Eton is described in the survey litera-ture, but his importance as an innovator can only be seen by analyzing Cox's own description of Eton's curriculum. This document is found in several places, but can be most

conveniently read in Arthur Leach's Educational Charters
and Documents (Cambridge, 1911). Leach's English School's
at the Reformation (London, 1896), can be used as a back-
ground study for Tudor elementary education, but it is
over-shadowed by Joan Simon's Education and Society in
Tudor England (Cambridge, 1966). Miss Simon uses Leach's
documents, but avoids his conclusions. A second educa-
tional foundation with which Cox was associated was
Westminster Abbey. His role there is described by A.P.
Stanley, Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey (London,
1886), but greater importance in explaining Cox's role as
dean is W. Combe's The History of the Abbey Church of St.
Peter's Westminster, its Antiquities and Monuments, 2 vols.
(London, 1812). Cox played significant roles at Eton
and Westminster after being educated at Cambridge; however,
it was at Oxford that he received his greatest fame (or
infamy) as an educator.

The major source used by all historians of Oxford
and its colleges is the work of Anthony Wood, a seventeenth-
century author who has left a biographical account of all
of Oxford's leaders, a record of the university's history,
and a record of occurrences within each college: A. Wood,
Athenae Oxonienses, an Exact History of all the Writers
and Bishops Who have had Their Education in the University
of Oxford. To Which are Added the Fasti, or Annals of the
said University, Philip Bliss ed. (London, 1813, c 1691,

1692), contains three volumes of "lives" and two of "Fasti." Also in the style of "annals" are Wood's, The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, J. Gutch, trans. (Oxford, 1792); and Gutch has edited Wood's The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, J. Gutch, ed. (Oxford, 1786, c 1668), which contains lists of appointments during Cox's administration. For understanding Wood's bias, one must read his sources, the most revealing of which is by Peter Frarin, An Oration against the Unlawful Insurrections of the Protestants of Our Time under Pretense to Reform Religion (Antwerp, 1566). The standard modern accounts of Oxford's history which are also useful in outlining Cox's education and administration are by C.E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, 2 vols. (New York, 1924), and H.C.M. Lyte, A History of the University of Oxford from the Earliest Times to the Year 1530 (London, 1886). For identifying Cox's contemporaries at Oxford one can profitably use C.W. Boase's Register of the University of Oxford (Oxford, 1885), and for some explanation of Cox's power as chancellor the most useful work is An Index to Wills Proved in the Court of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, J. Griffiths, ed. (Oxford, 1862). For Cox's role within Oxford's colleges, one must consult the various college histories.[1]

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[1]A more complete list of college histories is found in the "Additional Bibliography," which has been appended below.

Cox's important role as head of Christ Church College is described by H.L. Thompson, Christ Church (London, 1900); and his relations with other important colleges are most thoroughly portrayed in R.S. Stanier's Magdalen School (Oxford, 1940); H.A. Wilson, Magdalen College (London, 1899); and B.W. Henderson, Merton College (London, 1899). Cox's pro-Protestant administration regarding Magdalen is best seen in his appointment policies there, policies which are recorded in W.D. Macray's A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, W.D. Macray, ed., 4 vols. (London, 1894).

As an administrator at Oxford, Cox revealed his ecumenical Protestantism, but it was also during the Edwardian period that his attachment to Continental Protestants achieved practical results. The standard surveys of the intrusion of Continental thought into England have not been of great profit in examining Cox's Continental allegiances, but they are useful as background. William Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, 1520-35 (New Haven, 1964), surveys the early Lutheran movement with which Cox was associated at both Cambridge and Oxford. Charles D. Cremeans' The Reception of Calvinist Thought in England (Urbana, 1949) is useful, but cites the arrival of Calvinistic thought somewhat later than the evidence indicates in Cox's case. Martin Bucer was of great influence, as his correspondence with Cox demonstrates,

and his broad role in England has been treated by Constantin

Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation (Oxford,

1949); but of greater importance for understanding Bucer

is Wilhelm Pauck's "Calvin and Butzer," The Journal of

Religion, IX (1929). Bucer's idea of the church is best

explained by T.F. Torrance, "Kingdom and Church in the

Thought of Martin Bucer," Journal of Ecclesiastical His-

tory, VI (1955), and in one of Bucer's most significant

works, De Regno Christi (1550). Cox's ideological link

with Calvin is best seen by comparing the English leader's

ideas with Calvin's thought as expressed in two major

sources: Institutes of the Christian Religion, 2 vols.

(Grand Rapids, 1962) and his Commentaries on the Books of

the Bible, 42 vols. (Grand Rapids, 1947-59). Two works

are significant for understanding Peter Martyr's role as

well as his connection with Cox. A biographical account

based largely on Wood's Athenae, but of a pro-Martyr bias,

is found in Chapter Ten of M. Young's The Life and Times

of Aonio Paleario, or a History of the Italian Reformers

in the Sixteenth Century, vol. I (London, 1860); and a

thorough examination of the debate over the eucharist,

which Cox helped Martyr survive, is made by Joseph

McClelland, The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of

the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr (Edinburgh, 1957).

Cox's ecumenical role with Catholics was evidenced in his

relations with George Cassander, whose moderate views are

fully treated in J. Leclerc's _Toleration and the Reformation_, 2 vols. (New York, 1960). At the end of his life, Cox took a rather surprising turn back to the ideas of Bucer by setting up the major work of Wolfgang Musculus. Though only one English work deals with Musculus, P.J.S. Schwab's _The Attitude of Wolfgang Musculus Toward Religious Toleration_ (New Haven, 1933), and no scholar has studied his influence in England, Musculus' ideas are best understood by reading his _Common Places of the Christian Religion_ (London, 1563). It was with the views of the major reformers of the Zwinglian and Calvinist tradition that Cox led the Anglican party against the first Puritans.

There are two basic sources for studying the Frankfurt Troubles, but several attendant interpretative surveys are available which create different views of the Puritan-Anglican division. The Puritan document which quite naturally places Cox in the role of a villain is _A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begonne at Frankfort in Germany Anno Domini 1554_ (1575), and though it creates a view of Cox which is negative, the information which is included in the pamphlet supplies the basic details and documents for re-creating Cox's role. William Whittingham has traditionally been named author of the pamphlet, but this tradition has been exploded by P. Collinson, "The Authorship of _A Brief Discourse_," _Journal of_

<u>Ecclesiastical History</u>, IX (October, 1958). For tracing the membership of each party in the exile, the basic source is the information provided by Christina Garett, <u>The Marian Exiles, A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism</u> (Cambridge, 1938). Though my conclusions are different from Miss Garrett's, her thorough biographies remain essential to any study of the Marian exile. Two surveys which are useful in tracing the Frankfurt troubles from the point of view of the Puritan party's development are Allen Hinds' <u>The Making of the England of Elizabeth</u> (New York, 1895), which is an anti-Cox account, and M.M. Knappen's <u>Tudor Puritanism, A Chapter in the History of Idealism</u> (Chicago, 1939). For examining performance of John Knox in the ecclesiastical troubles, three works are of most value: John Knox, <u>Works</u>, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1895), which also contains a "Narrative" of the problems at Frankfurt; Peter Lorimer, <u>John Knox and the Church of England</u> (London, 1875); and Jasper Ridley, <u>John Knox</u> (Oxford, 1968), which gives the fullest account of the Knox-Cox rivalry. For demonstrating the Anglican political ideology as it broke from Puritan politics, a most profitable source is by J. Aylmer, <u>An Harborower for faithful and true subjects against the late blown blast, concerning the government of women</u> . . . . (Strasbourg, 1559). By combining these sources with

other descriptions of the life of the exiles,[2] one is
able to identify both parties and ideologies; however, it
was in the Elizabethan period that these differences
reached critical proportions.

Since this dissertation is a study of Cox's intel-
lectual biography, many of his affairs as bishop have
been ignored; however, the records available for a study
of Ely are described in two sources: Dorothy Owen, "Ely
Diocessn Records," Studies in Church History, vol. I
(London, 1964), and A. Gibbons, Ely Episcopal Records
(Lindoln, 1891). Of more use for a study of Cox's ideas
are the documents contained in Walter Frere and W.
Kennedy's Visitation Articles and Injunctions in the
Period of the Reformation (London, 1910), which contains
Cox's injunctions for the clergy of Ely. The Victoria
County History, County of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of
Ely, 4 vols. (London, 1938), and Thomas Baker's History
of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge
(Cambridge, 1869), both contain documents relevant to
Bishop Cox's policies regarding Cambridge Puritans. Of
similar usefulness in describing Cox's role as bishop are
the letters between him and the Privy Council contained
in W. Dugdale, History of St. Paul's Cathedral (London,
1818, c 1668); and Cox's relations with the Crown are

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[2]See the "Additional Bibliography," especially the
entries by Henry J. Cowell, for other accounts of the
Marian exile.

revealed somewhat in the letters preserved in the Ab-
erystwyth collection (British Museum, 124), which are
available on microfilm. Cox's role as a national figure
in the House of Lords is traceable, though only in bar-
est outline, in <u>Journals</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>House</u> <u>of</u> <u>Lords</u>, <u>Begin-</u>
<u>ning</u> <u>Anno</u> <u>Primo</u> <u>Henrici</u> <u>Octavi</u>, 2 vols. (n.d.). Impor-
tant documentary sources which have been used to explain
Cox's role as both a bishop and national leader are also
available in J. Bentham's <u>The</u> <u>History</u> <u>and</u> <u>Antiquities</u> <u>of</u>
<u>the</u> <u>Conventuals</u> <u>and</u> <u>Cathedral</u> <u>Church</u> <u>of</u> <u>Ely</u> (Norwich,
1812, c 1771) and W. Kennedy's <u>The</u> <u>"Interpretations"</u> <u>of</u>
<u>the</u> <u>Bishops</u> <u>and</u> <u>their</u> <u>Influence</u> <u>on</u> <u>Elizabethan</u> <u>Episcopal</u>
<u>Policy</u> (London, 1910), which accords Cox much importance
in the formulation of the significant "Interpretations."
Sir John Harrington's account of Cox's death and funeral
is contained in <u>Desiderata</u> <u>Curiosa</u>, Francis Peck, ed.
vol. II (London, 1732).

Secondary analyses of the Elizabethan period are
unending, but of great use for a survey are Philip
Hughes' <u>The</u> <u>Reformation</u> <u>in</u> <u>England</u>, 3 vols. (New York,
1950), which relies heavily on the <u>Zurich</u> <u>Letters</u>; and
the highly significant work by Sir John Neale, <u>Elizabeth</u>
<u>I</u> <u>and</u> <u>Her</u> <u>Parliaments</u>, 2 vols. (London, 1953-57). For a
background in religious history <u>per</u> <u>se</u>, three works have
proved most useful for this study of Richard Cox: W.H.
Frere, <u>The</u> <u>English</u> <u>Church</u> <u>in</u> <u>the</u> <u>Reigns</u> <u>of</u> <u>Elizabeth</u> <u>and</u>

James I (London, 1904), which emphasizes Cox's role as a leading exile; Henry Gee, The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion (Oxford, 1898), which contains the most extensive account of Cox's roles; and W.P. Haugaard, Elizabeth and the English Reformation (Cambridge, 1968), which is an important survey but explains away any criticism of royal policy. A traditional account of the queen's actions is also found in F.W. Maitland's Selected Historical Essays, Helen Cam, ed. (Cambridge, 1957). An attempt to save an important role for the bishops in English religion is made by Patrick Collinson, "Episcopacy and Reform in England in the Later Sixteenth Century," Studies in Church History, vol. III (London, 1965); and Cox's important role in the creation of the Elizabethan Prayer book is contained in Henry Gee, The Elizabethan Prayer-Book and Ornaments (London, 1902). Several works about and by other Elizabethan leaders have also proved useful in demonstrating Cox's roles. Of greatest value is J. Strype's The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1821), for it contains extensive correspondence between Cox and Parker. Cox's cooperation with Parker in shaping the bishops' religious policies is also found in two modern studies of Archbishop Parker, W. Kennedy, Archbishop Parker (London, 1908), and V.J.K. Brook, Life of Parker (Oxford, 1962). John Whitgift also relied on Cox for promotions and ideas, a fact which is reflected in

Whitgift's <u>Works</u>, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1851) and in P.M.
Dawley's <u>John</u> <u>Whitgift</u> <u>and</u> <u>the</u> <u>English</u> <u>Reformation</u> (New
York, 1954). Documents and narrative regarding Cox's
troubles with the queen's courtiers are to be found in
Eric St. John Brooks' <u>Sir</u> <u>Christopher</u> <u>Hatton</u> (London,
1946).

Cox's most important function was that of an
opponent of Puritanism, and much literature has been
devoted to describing and analyzing the Anglican-Puritan
conflict of the Elizabethan period. John New, <u>Anglican</u>
<u>and</u> <u>Puritan</u> (Stanford, 1964), has given this conflict
attention by emphasizing theological differences in an
attempt to avoid the widely accepted view that the con-
flict was based in material interests and social back-
ground; but a more thorough treatment is by Patrick
Collinson, <u>The</u> <u>Elizabethan</u> <u>Puritan</u> <u>Movement</u> (London,
1967), which molds ideological and material factors
together. Cox's actions against Tudor Puritans at Cam-
bridge University are alluded to in H.C. Porter's <u>Refor-</u>
<u>mation</u> <u>and</u> <u>Reaction</u> <u>in</u> <u>Tudor</u> <u>Cambridge</u> (Cambridge, 1958),
and in one of the most important works on Elizabethan
Puritanism, A.F.S. Pearson's <u>Thomas</u> <u>Cartwright</u> <u>and</u>
<u>Elizabethan</u> <u>Puritanism</u> (Cambridge, 1925). Background for
Cox's role as a translator of the Bishop's Bible (London,
1568), as opposed to the Genevan Bible (Geneva, 1559), is
to be found in two sources. Hugh Pope, <u>English</u> <u>Versions</u>

of the Bible (St. Louis, 1952), discusses the background of the translators, and A.W. Pollard, Records of the English Bible (London, 1911), contains many documents relevant to Bishop Cox's work as a translator. Cox's role against Puritanism and any form of Protestantism which was more radical than his is reflected in three major primary works: R. Bancroft, A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline (London, 1593), which repeats many of the arguments used by Cox as far back as the Marian exile; A Parte of a Register, Containing Sundry . . . . (1593), which contains Greenham's "Apology" to Cox; W. Wilkinson, A Confutation of Certain Articles Delivered unto the Family of Love (London, 1579), which was dedicated to Cox. Cox's attitude in the problems regarding Puritan prophecyings is recorded in his letter to Grindal, S.E. Lehmberg, ed., "Archbishop Grindal and the Prophesyings," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXXIV (June, 1965).

Finally, I would call the reader's attention to the major sources for bibliographical and documentary information and to exclusive editions of Cox's works. Cox's deep concern for the indigent is revealed in his letter of July 12, 1569, as published in Gentleman's Magazine, lvi, pt. 2 (1786). His poetry, which contains much social criticism, has been edited as R. Cox, "Six Ballads with Burdens," J. Goodwin, ed. Early English
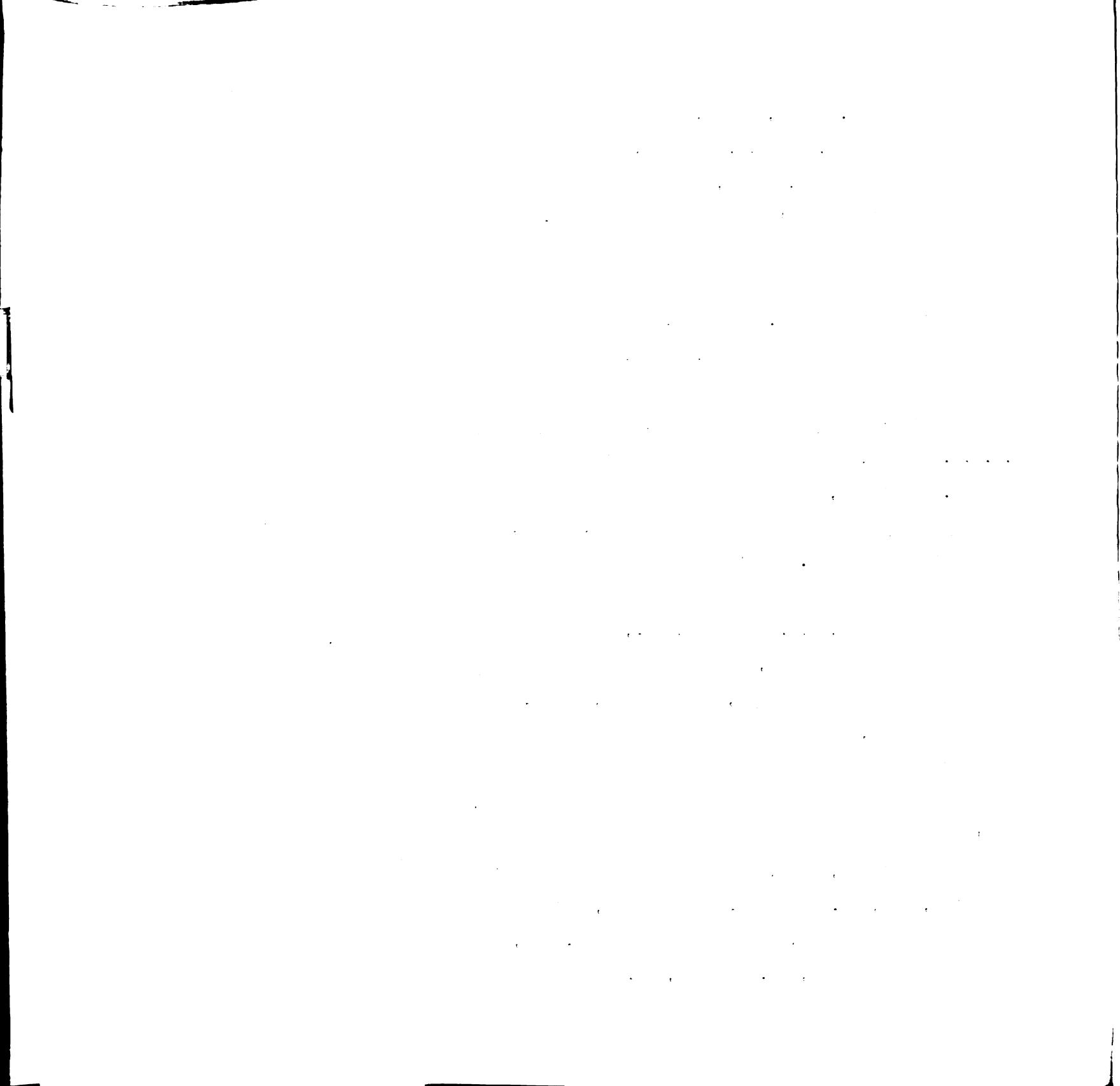
<u>Poetry</u>, <u>Ballads</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Popular</u> <u>Literature</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Middle</u> <u>Ages</u>, vol. XIII (London, 1849). Cox's role as an obedient bishop is documented in R. Cox, "Letter to Council," Mary Bateson, ed., <u>The</u> <u>Camden</u> <u>Miscellany</u>, vol. IX (New York, 1965, c. 1895), and his poem at Anne Boleyn's coronation is found in Harleian MS 6, 148, f. 117, British Museum, and is available on microfilm. Direction to these sources and to the other primary and secondary sources used in this study of Richard Cox can be found in several bibliographical sources and catalogues of documents. <u>Tudor</u> <u>England</u>, <u>1485-1603</u>, M. Levine, ed. (Cambridge, 1968), is the most recently published bibliographical guide, though it lacks some entries regarding religion. A more comprehensive work is <u>Bibliography</u> <u>of</u> <u>British</u> <u>History</u>: <u>Tudor</u> <u>Period</u>, <u>1485-1603</u>, Conyers Read, ed. (Oxford, 1959). Manuscript sources which have found limited use in this dissertation are catalogues in L. Born, ed., <u>British</u> <u>Manuscript</u> <u>Checklist</u> (Washington, 1955), and many of these manuscripts have been made available to me by Dr. Marjorie Gesner. Of greatest use in documenting ideas have been the micro-films made of the many pamphlets catalogued in <u>A</u> <u>Short-title</u> <u>Catalogue</u> <u>of</u> <u>Books</u> <u>Printed</u> <u>in</u> <u>England</u>, <u>Scotland</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Ireland</u>, <u>and</u> <u>of</u> <u>English</u> <u>Books</u> <u>Printed</u> <u>Abroad</u>, <u>1475-1640</u> (London, 1926). Taken together, the works cited above have provided the sources for and background to this intellectual biography of Richard Cox.
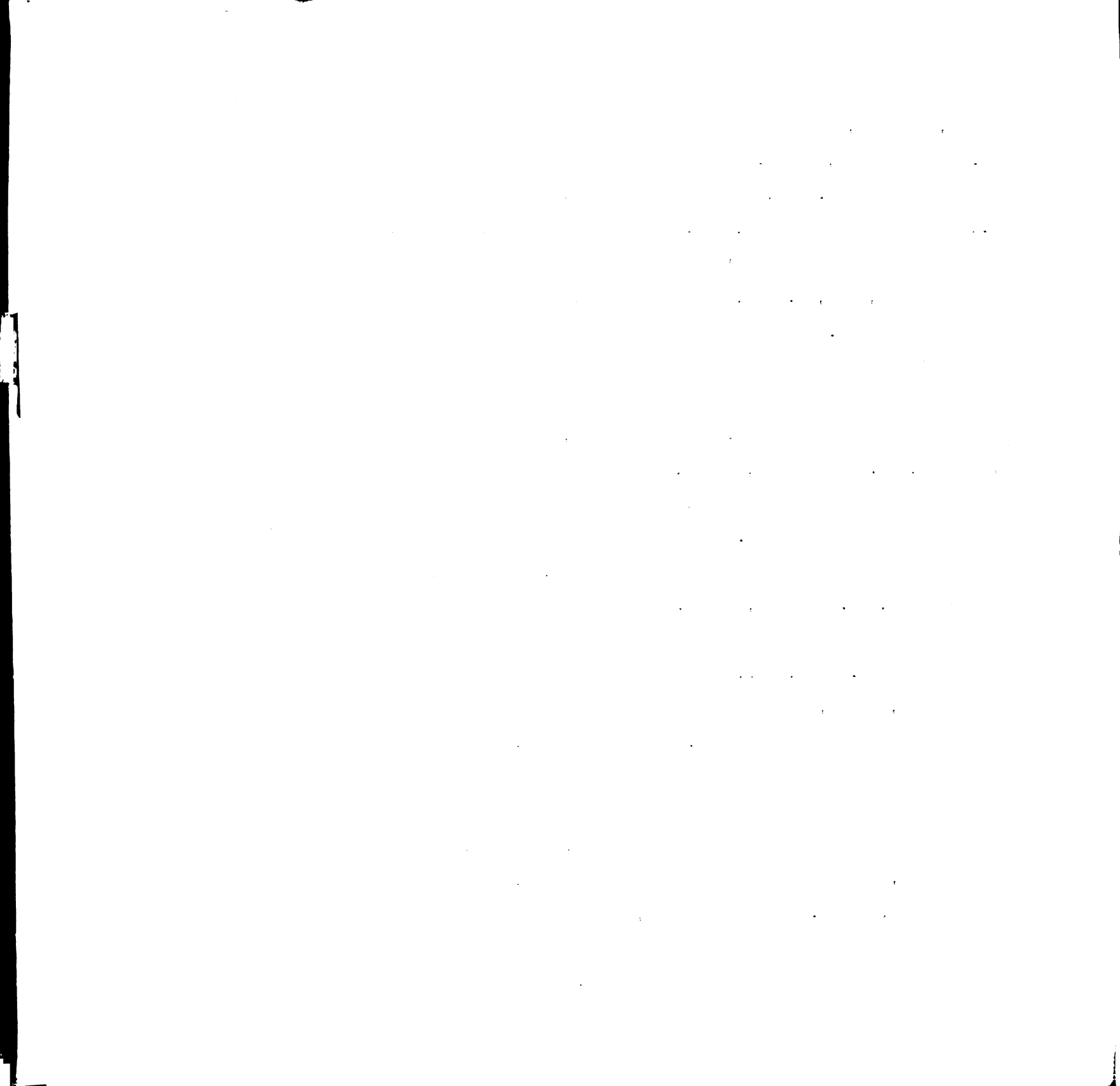
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