Young People and Religious Change in Reformation England, c.1530-c.1580

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This thesis will offer a re-evaluation of how young people experienced religious change in the English Reformation. In her pioneering article 'Youth and the English Reformation', Susan Brigden highlighted the religious disorder of young people due to the emergence of Protestantism. Although this seminal work consciously offered numerous research possibilities regarding the religious behaviour of young people, its conclusions have seeped into the historiography largely unquestioned. Therefore, this study will advance the historiography by demonstrating that, in order to understand how the young responded to religious change in the English Reformation, it is necessary to analyse the messages for, and depictions of, young people in the writings of both conservative and reformed writers. Currently, the reformers' messages for young people have been underutilised and, consequently, this thesis will analyse the religious catechisms, sermons, interludes and John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* in order to develop a more nuanced explanation for the religious behaviour of young people which moves beyond circular explanations based on stereotypes for the life-cycle stage of youth. In particular, it will be argued that the Edwardian reformers' focus on religious education for young people, and the methods that were implemented to achieve this, allowed the young an opportunity to acquire a role in society that would otherwise be unobtainable. There are numerous examples and depictions of young people providing religious education for their elders both directly and indirectly. The role of young people as "educators" enabled them to invert the social hierarchy but this existed within an environment that was controlled by adults. By tracing the theme of religious education through the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, it would seem that the Edwardian model offered a novel and unique interaction with young people. Therefore, the overarching aim of this thesis is to understand better the relationship between young people and Protestantism by moving beyond, although not discounting, the current historiographical orthodoxy based on the alleged appeal of riot and disorder.

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Introduction

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I.

In 1558, Richard Wilmot, an eighteen year old apprentice, was working in his master's shop when a guard walked through the door. The pair conversed and the guard, a Welshman named Lewes, passed on the news that Dr Crome had recanted his Protestantism. Wilmot received the news badly and stated that Crome should have persisted with his sermonising because it was, after all, based on the word of God: the young apprentice knew this to be true because his books affirmed it. Perhaps it was also these texts that had helped Wilmot to form the notion that God had chosen Thomas Cromwell, a man of low estate, to have risen in stature so that reform could be spread. Lewes was outraged at the apprentice's claims and, on the return of Wilmot's master, he explained to his fellow adult the extent of the young man's arrogance and heresy. Thomas Fairfax, a servant who was also in the shop, concurred with Wilmot's views but this only exacerbated the anger of the adults. As punishment, Richard Wilmot's master threatened to take away all of his books. Lewes went much further and told the Lord Mayor about the incident thus starting an ordeal from which neither young man ever physically recovered.[1] This story, included in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, touches on a number of the themes to be covered in this thesis. Did Protestantism allow young people to

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[1] I have edited this story from John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Throughout this thesis, all references to *Acts and Monuments* are obtained from the website: 'John Foxe's Acts and Monuments Online': http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php. This electronic resource is directed by Professor Mark Greengrass and Professor David Loades. It receives contributions from the British Academy Project Advisory Board, chaired by Professor Alexandra Walsham. The website contains unabridged versions for the 1563, 1570, 1576 and 1583 texts. Unless otherwise stated, references will be taken from the 1570 edition and will use the pagination of Foxe rather than modern option. For the full story of Wilmot, see John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570), pp. 2299-3001. Wilmot and Fairfax were to be publically whipped in the streets for their offence but, after the Drapers' Company intervened, the punishment was altered to a beating within the Drapers' Hall. Foxe describes that Wilmot and Fairfax were stripped from the waist upwards, bound in iron rings, and thrashed with an iron rod until 'the bloud did follow in their bodyes'. Wilmot could not rest on his back for six nights.

challenge or disobey their elders? How did Protestant reformers communicate with young people? Did young people embrace reformist literature and religious texts? And how were young people portrayed in the literature of the English Reformation, by both the supporters of reform and its opponents? The overarching aim of what follows is to illuminate how young people were affected by, and responded to, the social and religious changes of the English Reformation, from 1530 to 1580.

II.   The Life-Cycle Stage of Youth

The persisting currency of the classical Greek and Roman definitions of the human life-cycle resulted in conceptions of youth, a traditional stage in the life of man, differing very little from the late medieval period to the early modern period. This intellectual framework offered a variety of different ways to explain the characteristics of youth. In terms of the humours, youth was sanguine but it was also a hot and dry period which symbolised youth's tendency for rashness and ire. In celestial terms, Plato described youth as the planet Venus: energetic and prone to lustfulness.[2] Youth was a time of enthusiasm (which could lead to recklessness), courage (which could manifest as pugnacity) and merriment (which could descend into gambling and whoring). These views and fears of youth were widely articulated in both the late medieval and early modern periods.

In late medieval England, the age at which a person entered the stage of youth was around fourteen. Indeed, this was the age at which the character Wanton made the transition into youth, symbolised by the changing of his name to Lust and Liking, in the morality play *Mundus et Infans*, first published in the final quarter of the fifteenth century. As noted by Barbara Hanawalt in her discussion of this play, it was on reaching this age that 'knowliche

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[2] For more examples relating to characteristics of youth, see R.M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), p.13.

of manhode he [Wanton] wynnes'.[3] Ruth Karras also identifies fourteen as the age when a person was considered to have entered youth in the late medieval period. Using hagiographical sources, Karras discerned that at thirteen or fourteen it became typical for young people 'to show more independence, deciding for themselves, for example, whether to seek assistance from a saint'.[4] Jeremy Goldberg closely linked the stage of youth with the late-medieval cycle of service and stated that it was unlikely that young people would have left home for service 'before they achieved their canonical majority (twelve for girls and fourteen for boys)'.[5] This is reiterated in the work of Philippa Maddern who stated that 'twelve to thirteen is below the age at which most authors conclude that late-medieval English adolescents commonly took the step into the world of work, apprenticeship, and service that separated them from their natal family': a typical signifier of the transition from childhood into youth.[6] It appears that, for males, fourteen was considered the age at which an individual left childhood and became a youth whilst, for females, this was perhaps a little earlier: this is closely linked with rites of passage in religion (canonical ages) and in service.

When a person exited youth and entered into adulthood in late medieval England is more difficult to ascertain. In terms of rituals, it would seem that most young people transitioned into adulthood through marriage or citizenship. Marriage was an important rite for young people of both genders because it represented their ability, in both a social and physical sense, to become householders and have children. The problem with the rite of marriage as a symbol of adulthood in the later medieval period is that it could occur at very different times

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[3] B. Hanawalt, '"The Child of Bristowe" and the Making of the Middle-Class Adolescence', B. Hanawalt & D Wallace (eds), *Bodies and Disciplines: intersections of literature of history in fifteenth century England* (London, 1996), pp.165-6. Hanawalt also notes that at fourteen, Mundus tells Lust and Liking that 'the next seven years are to be all games and glee'.
[4] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.15.
[5] P.J.P. Goldberg, 'The Ages of Man', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. R. Horrox & W.M. Ormrod (Cambridge, 2006), p.420.
[6] P. Maddern, 'Between Households: Children in Blended and Transitional Households in Late Medieval England', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3 (2010), p.67.

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in a young person's life. This would depend on whether the young person was from a rural or urban environment and also their social status. This explains why, when using marriage as a transitional ritual, historians often cite a broader range of ages, such as Karras' cautious estimate of 'the mid-twenties to thirties'.[7]

Citizenship of a city also signified a young man's exit from youth because it removed him from a position of dependency to a situation where he could open his own shop and begin to train apprentices.[8] The link between finishing an apprenticeship and entering adulthood is frequently discussed in the historiography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but it is most succinctly described by Stephen Rappaport:

> It is arguable, therefore, that the transition to adulthood began for these men when they finished their apprenticeship terms. It was then that two crucial events took place: they exited from school, in the justifiable sense that apprenticeship was a period of vocational schooling, and entered the workforce either as journeymen who worked for wages or as craftsmen and retailers who ran their own shops.[9]

However, the age at which young males completed their apprenticeships, and thus made the transition into adulthood, rose significantly throughout the medieval period. Barbara Hanawalt claimed that 'during the course of the fifteenth century the age of entry *into* apprenticeship increased to at least sixteen, but eighteen was more common'.[10] With the life-cycle stage of youth being so closely related to the cycle of service, this may have had an interesting effect on medieval adolescents, who may have experienced a delayed transition out of childhood. Some young people may have been viewed as a youth by society at fourteen years of age but, due to the socio-economic climate, these young people may not have been able to start their apprenticeship until eighteen. The obvious effect of this delay

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[7] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 16. In terms of a rural labourer or servants, Karras' lower limit of 'mid-twenties' may still be too late.
[8] Unlike marriage, this ritual was only for young males. Although there is evidence that widowers could train apprentices, gaining the freedom of the City was for males.
[9] S. Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structure of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 327.
[10] Hanawalt, '"The Child of Bristowe" and the Making of the Middle-Class Adolescence', p. 169. The emphasis is my own.

into apprenticeship was that apprentices were much older when they finally gained the freedom of the City and thus moved into adulthood. Throughout the fifteenth century, 'apprentices did not finish their terms until they were twenty-eight, rather than twenty-one, as in the fourteenth century'.[11] This is a significant change because it not only delayed the time when an apprentice could start his own business; it also stopped the young man from taking a wife and starting a family. In terms of the socio-economic pressures on young people, it would seem that apprentices in the fifteenth century had much in common with their sixteenth century counterparts.

David Cressy provides a neat outline of how, in the early modern life-cycle, 'infancy gave way to childhood, childhood to youth, youth to maturity, and maturity to old age'.[12] It is clear that early modern society acknowledged youth as a specific stage within the life-cycle. For example, the interlude *Lusty Juventus*, published in the early 1560s, not only acknowledges youth as a distinct stage in life, but it also claims that certain behaviours were to be expected of young people.[13] In addition, the bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, stated in his Edwardian visitation articles that curates must instruct 'the youth' of the parish.[14] Ridley obviously believed that the curates would know who was meant by 'the youth'. Therefore, identifying the life-cycle stage of youth in the contemporary psyche of early modern society is relatively straightforward but defining its boundaries is more complex. Paul Griffiths notes that, although 'contemporaries nearly always distinguished a stage of life between childhood and adulthood which they usually called youth', the specific ages of this period were imprecise and blurred, with the terms 'young people' and 'youth' used to

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[11] Ibid., p.170.
[12] D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), p. 5. Cressy also added that 'different schemes offered particular additions and refinements, such as adolescence, adulthood, and dotage'.
[13] The interlude portrays arrogance, vanity and angst as specific characteristics of youth: J.M. Nosworthy (ed.), *Lusty Juventus* (Oxford, 1971).
[14] H. Christmas (ed.), *The Works of Nicholas Ridley* (Cambridge, 1841), p. 320.

describe people ranging from seven years of age to twenty eight.[15] To complicate matters

further, historians have also used alternative terms, such as "adolescence", in an inconsistent

manner. Illana Ben-Amos views adolescence as a separate stage from youth: 'adolescence

refers to the first stage – the years around puberty, in the early and mid-teens – while youth

denotes people in their mid-teens and upwards'.[16] Ben-Amos explains that the need for

separating adolescence and youth is because there is an 'inadequacy... in descriptions of a 23-

year-old apprentice being described as an adolescent'.[17] Alternatively, Susan Brigden claims

that it was adolescence, and not youth, that 'was thought to last between the ages of fifteen

and twenty-five' in early modern society which suggests that, if Ben-Amos had difficulty in

describing a 23 year-old as an adolescent, some Reformation writers did not.[18] Griffiths

judged that youth tended to be associated with 'people in their teens and twenties and with

the state of dependence'.[19] It is perhaps unsurprising that Griffiths went on to state that 'the

proper ordering of adolescence and youth has raised difficulties for both early modern people

and recent historians'.[20]

As one would expect, early modern society used the same rites of passage to separate the

stages of the life-cycle as the late medieval period. Brigden describes adolescence as being

'marked at its beginning by one rite of passage – confirmation - and at its end by another –

marriage'.[21] As aforementioned, this approach creates unhelpful differences between rural

and urban youth because, in rural areas, young people were more likely to marry early,

effectively signifying their transition into adulthood. Moreover, although marriage during an

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[15] P. Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560 – 1640* (Oxford, 1996), pp.20-1.
[16] I.K. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), p.9.
[17] Ibid., p.7. However, this does beg the question of whether there is an inadequacy in describing a 13-year-old boy as a youth? This is something that Ben-Amos does not address.
[18] S. Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), p. 37.
[19] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.60.
[20] Ibid., p.21.
[21] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.37. Steven Ozment also wrote that the canonical ages (twelve for girls and fourteen for boys) were viewed as the end of childhood and the beginning if youth: S. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family life in Reformation Europe* (London, 1983), p. 144.

apprenticeship was forbidden, there are examples of this occurring in the courts of London, which suggests that either some apprentices should be viewed as adults, or that obtaining the freedom of the City is perhaps a more apt indicator of adulthood than marriage. The positive aspect of using the rites of passage as an identifier of youth is that it eradicates some of the arbitrariness of using age-limits. For example, Brigden uses the age of twenty-five as a rough guide for when adolescence/youth might end.[22] However, apprenticeships could last until people were twenty-eight. The question is whether, because of his age, a twenty-eight year old apprentice would feel like an adult or, because of his social circumstances, he would feel like a young man, albeit one with seniority over most of his 'contemporaries'. Conversely, would a person of thirteen years of age, when starting an apprenticeship in a new city, feel like he was on the brink of youthfulness or would he still feel like a child in comparison to the older apprentices with whom he dwelt? The answer to these questions would change from person to person depending on their individual experiences thus making it impossible to chart a homogenous journey through youth. Therefore it is necessary to adopt a definition of youth that is inclusive without being misleading. Following analysis of the aforementioned literature, this thesis will define youth as being the stage in a person's life after they have received confirmation (twelve-fourteen years of age) and before they either marry or receive the freedom of a city (upper-limit of twenty-eight years of age). These age parameters have been chosen because they bring together the core strands of the aforementioned historians' arguments and mirror the general ages cited by Brigden, Griffiths and Ben-Amos, although it is perhaps more inclusive in its upper-limit.[23]

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[22] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.33.
[23] The thesis will not acknowledge a difference between adolescence and youth: instead it will use the term youth throughout.

III.   The Concept of "Youth Culture"

Before undertaking an analysis of young people and the religious changes of the English

Reformation, it is necessary to understand how historians have discussed the relationships

that existed between young people.[24]   Focussing on service and apprenticeship, historians

such as Barbara Hanawalt, Stephanie Hovland and Ilana Ben-Amos have asked questions

such as: Where did urban servants and apprentices come from?   Did their masters have

children?   And, how long did they stay in their non-natal home?   The workings of pre-

industrial apprenticeship have been illuminated by this research.   However, the quality of

these relationships between young people, and whether it can be termed a youth culture, has

divided scholars.[25]

Focusing on late medieval London, Barbara Hanawalt claims that there was not a 'fully

fledged youth culture', and certainly not a visible apprentice culture, because in this period,

peers were not the chief influence on an adolescent's life.   Hanawalt noted that there would

only be one or two apprentices within a master's household: not enough to exert the influence

required for anything approaching a youth culture.[26]   Stephanie Hovland, who names

Hanawalt as a significant influence on her research, concurs that the main influences on a

young person's work and leisure time would have been adults, rather than other young

people.   Hovland noted that, in medieval London, 'apprentices were found at leisure and play

on the streets, and acting in ways that might be termed typically adolescent or youthful' but,

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[24] A typical starting point for this discussion is Ariès and his work on the social construction of childhood as a
life-cycle stage; P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. R. Baldick (New
York, 1962). However, this theme has been fully discussed in the historiography and will not be repeated here.
[25] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*; B. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*
(Oxford, 1993); S. Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London (c.1300-c.1530)', Unpublished PhD.
Thesis (University of London, 2006).
[26] Hanwalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p.137. The rise in the number of apprentices within a household
throughout the sixteenth century, contrary to statute, is perhaps a significant aspect in the formation of a youth
or an apprentice culture. For example, see the example of Master Cawood below.

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even regarding these recreations, the direction came from adults.[27] These words are echoed in the work of Michael Mitterauer who claimed that the 'leisure activities of young people' were 'completely under the control of the householder'.[28] It seems that, in late medieval London, although there was interaction between young people within both the private and public setting, the overarching authority and interference of adults, both within the household and society in general, stopped a youth culture from developing.

Ilana Ben-Amos similarly concluded that it was difficult for young people in early modern England to create a separate culture because they lacked any activities which were solely their own and did not possess any social institutions separate from adult involvement.[29] Furthermore, Ben-Amos claimed that the movement of apprentices from towns to cities (and sometimes back again) and the frequent changes between different masters conspired to block a youth culture from forming in the early modern period. However, for Ben-Amos, the absence of a youth culture or an apprentice culture does not necessarily negate the usefulness of youth as a mode of historical enquiry. In a chapter entitled 'Spirituality, Leisure, Sexuality', Ben-Amos analyses how young people lived outside of the workshop.[30] She assesses the impact of Shrovetide and May Day plus that of alehouses on a young person's free time. Therefore, Ben-Amos concludes that young people shared experiences, were expected to behave in a certain way, and could be formed into a group based on their age even if they did not possess a youth culture. It seems that Ben-Amos, Hanawalt and Hovland are searching for a youth, or an apprentice, culture which existed unaffected by adult interference; they rightly conclude that this simply did not exist.

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[27] Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London', p.138.
[28] M. Mitterauer, *A History of Youth* (Oxford, 1992), p. 131.
[29] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, p.205.
[30] Perhaps a failing of Ben-Amos' work is the lack of time spent analysing how young people behaved outside of work. It is also a factor in why she dismisses the existence of a youth culture so resoundingly: Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*.

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The work of Paul Griffiths, which focuses on young people and their behaviour in early modern England, offers a different interpretation of how one can approach the possibility of a youth culture. The study covers the period 1560 – 1640 and, in addition to analysing the system of service, it surveys the behaviour of young people in the alehouse, in courtship and in sport. Griffiths does not attempt to argue that young people were free from the influence of adults: he acknowledges that any notion of a youth culture will have 'rough edges' that are 'scarred' by the appearance of adult figures.[31] However, Griffiths suggests that if the principal features of a youth culture include 'formative experiences of youth, the freedom to organize free time, and common cultural and social moments, then we shall see in the course of this book that it is not an entirely unhelpful term'.[32] In this declaration, Griffiths is guilty of understatement because his approach to youth culture proves to be extremely useful. Having accepted that there will be some presence of adults, Griffiths' study of youth culture is expansive, studying how young people lived alongside, and separate from, adult authority. Perhaps the most significant contribution of Griffiths' approach for this thesis is that he did not seek to prove the existence of a *pure* youth culture but instead was interested by the 'more casual associations who gathered to talk, play, drink, gamble and whore away their time'.[33] After assessing the evidence, Griffiths stated that youth was a valid mode of historical inquiry because they shared a culture and deserved 'a presence, an identity, and, above all, historical agency'.[34]

This agency is affirmed in the work of Stephen Smith on the culture of apprentices in the seventeenth century, which takes the existence of a youth culture as its basis. Smith

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[31] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.116.
[32] Ibid., p.116.
[33] Ibid., p.174.
[34] Ibid., p.402. In his conclusion, Griffiths also claims that Illana Ben-Amos is guilty of portraying a 'colourless' youth.

describes how apprentices had a 'recognised economic order' and attended religious services together, swapped stories with one another and played sports in groups.[35] Following the work of Griffiths, Smith did not discard the possibility of a youth culture, or an apprentice culture, simply because there may be traces of adult involvement. Smith stated that apprentices, by the mid-seventeenth century, had 'developed a set of values for the subculture, values which were not accepted by all apprentices, but which did help to define apprenticeship in the minds of many'.[36] His research suggests that, by the end of the sixteenth century, a youth culture, and even an apprentice subculture, was developing and becoming stronger. For example, in relation to apprentices' political activism, Smith states that they 'were rarely mere tools of adults... [and they] believed that they were part of a long and established tradition of fighting for righteousness'. It appears that the culture of young people and apprentices had developed significantly from that of their medieval predecessors studied by Hanawalt and Hovland.

It could be argued that the period of the Reformation witnessed a transition in the formation of both a youth culture and an apprentice subculture. The presence of a late medieval youth culture was dismissed by Hanawalt and Hovland because young people did not have enough opportunity to socialise and share leisure time. They stated that only one or two apprentices lived within a master's household. However, an investigation of the London Stationers' records highlights an important rise in the number of apprentices within household units and implies that apprentices would have shared many experiences and spaces. For example, between the years 1555 – 1560, a Master Cawood had five apprentices who were granted the

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[35] S.R. Smith. 'The Ideal and Reality: Apprentice-Master Relationships in Seventeenth Century London', *History of Education Quarterly*, 21:4 (1981), p.459. This is corroborated by Bernard Capp who noted that forty apprentices 'met frequently to play together "in a spacious place" in Elizabethan Salisbury': B. Capp, 'English Youth Groups and the Pinder of Wakefield', *Past and Present*, 76 (1977), p.127.

[36] S.R. Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', *Past and Present*, 61 (1973), p. 160.

freedom of the city.[37] These young men must have worked together, eaten together and slept together. It is hard to imagine that strong bonds would not have blossomed amongst these young men and it seems likely that a distinct identity would have formed which separated the apprentices from their master's family. In addition, Smith has described how apprentice literature grew significantly in the seventeenth century as apprentices became represented in 'plays, ballads, and other literature [which] helped engender a feeling of identity and self-respect as well as mutuality of interest and, at the same time, weakened the patriarchal ties between masters and apprentices'.[38] Perhaps to a lesser extent, young people and apprentices can also be viewed in the literature of the English Reformation. For example, the interlude *Lusty Juventus* not only depicts the behaviour of a young man, but it was also performed for a young audience.[39] Therefore, it could be argued that young people as a social demographic were becoming more visible throughout the sixteenth century and that the Reformation period was one of development for a "youth culture".

IV. Attitudes to Youth in Early Sixteenth-Century England

Although a 'youth' or 'apprentice' culture may not have existed in a pure form, separate from adult institutions, or with formal institutions, such as the French Abbeys of Misrule, it is possible in Tudor England to see that young people, and especially apprentices, were expected to behave in a certain manner.[40] Hovland noted how the apprentices were satirised in Chaucer and, perhaps more importantly, how the statutes and regulations of the trade guilds described their age-related behaviours, both actual and expected.[41] For example, the Skinners' Company required apprentices to live 'in all fear and obedience' to masters and

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[37] R. Myers (ed.), *The Stationers' Company Archive: an account of the records, 1554-1984* (Winchester, 1990). The apprentices were Mathew Bowler, William Fanne, Roberte Hodgekyns, John Lyan and John Thyckepany.
[38] Smith, 'The Ideal and Reality: Apprentice-Master Relationships in Seventeenth Century London', p.456.
[39] See Prologue in J.M. Nosworthy (ed.), *Lusty Juventus* (Oxford, 1971).
[40] For the French Abbeys of Misrule, see N.Z. Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule', in N.Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: eight essays* (London, 1975), pp.97-123
[41] Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval', pp. 135-150.

magistrates whilst avoiding 'swearing and blaspheming of the Holy Name of God, haunting of evil women or schools of fence, dancing, carding, dicing, bowling, tennis, play, using of ruffs in their shirts, tavern hunting or banqueting'.[42] There are many similarities in how young people were viewed in late medieval and early modern England. In Baron's *Sermones* of 1508, he preached that:

> Youth spends all the day from the first light of dawn to the evening in lasciviousness and sensual
>
> delights; nor does he recognise any other felicity beyond carnality and the gratification of the
>
> body; he thinks it is beatitude to melt away in filthy pleasures and obscenity.[43]

Baron's focus on youth's propensity to indulge in their baser desires is a recurrent theme in the pre-Reformation literature. In Richard Whitford's *A werke for householders*, produced by the Bridgettine brother in 1530, he attempts to increase good behaviour through religious instruction, and one of his primary concerns was the behaviour of young people. He informed anyone in charge of youth to

> let them beware of the tauerne and alehous for drede of dronkennes or of glotony and of suspecte
>
> places or wanton company for fere of vnclennes or lechery whiche thynges ben vnto youth moost
>
> peryllous & of great daunger & ieopardy of corrupcyon.[44]

The perception of young people as prone to vice, which for Whitford was grounded in reality, required adults to undertake proactive correction and the pre-Reformation literature promotes the use of discipline amongst governors of youth. Ideally, young people 'were supposed to be respectful to their elders [and] obedient to their parents or employers' but if this was not the case, they should be 'firmly (but not harshly) disciplined'.[45] Whitford eloquently highlighted the necessity of discipline by stating:

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[42] J.F. Wadmore (ed.), *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners of London, being the Guild or Fraternity of Corpus Christi* (London, 1902).
[43] J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: a study of English sermons 1450-c.1600* (Oxford, 1964), p. 233.
[44] Richard Whitford, *A werke for housholders or for them ye haue the gydynge or gouernaunce of any company* (1530) (available on Early English Books Online (EEBO): http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[45] Goldberg, 'The Ages of Man', p. 434.

> And yf they mende not therby let them be so brought through the open stretes with shame ynough
>
> & cruel punysshment. For better is it that the chylde wepe in youth and suffre shame and rebuke
>
> than hereafter the father mother and frendes shulde wepe for sorowe and shame at his hangynge
>
> and shamfull dethe.[46]

These public displays of discipline had the benefit of both shaming the culprit and instilling fear into all those who watched the spectacle. Discipline was needed to keep young people on the right path because it was feared that youth's lustfulness would lead them to immoral activity and shameful death.

However, there was also a positive perception of youth. Adults viewed young people as a living opportunity to forge a better future. Consequently, adults in both periods placed much expectation and hope in young people.[47] In 1526, Erasmus explained how young people must be educated in order to keep them from corruption but also to ensure spiritual orthodoxy in the future. He stated that

> the olde philosopher and among the christenmen the auncient doctors of Christes churche all
>
> affyrme lernyng to be very good & profitable nat onely for men but also for women the whiche
>
> Plato the wyse philosopher calleth a bridell for yonge people agaynst vice.[48]

Erasmus' advice is typical of the humanist philosophy of the early sixteenth century which encouraged education amongst young people, including knowledge of scripture and the writings of the early Church Fathers.[49] The humanist movement encouraged education through the 'Christian scriptural and patristic writings and the 'acceptable' pagan classics',

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[46] Richard Whitford, *A werke for householders* (20).

[47] Barbara Hanawalt claims this was especially true for the fifteenth century: 'a century of disruption and transition' when 'youth became a focus for anxieties about a better future: Hanawalt, '"The Child of Bristowe" and the Making of the Middle-Class Adolescence', p.155. This is also true for the sixteenth century and especially the Protestant reformers of Edward VI's reign: see E. Rhys (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer* (London, 1906), p.63.

[48] Desiderius Erasmus, *A deuoute treatise vpon the Pater noster* (5, 1526) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[49] For a fuller discussion of humanism and young people in the English Reformation, see Chapter Two.

especially for young males.[50] Humanism was also evident in the work of Richard Whitford who suggested a more communal method of learning. He believed that

> it shuld also be a good pastyme & moche merytoryous for you that can rede to gader your neyghbours aboute you on the holy day *specyally the yonge sorte* & rede to them this poore lesson.[51]

Erasmus and Whitford both emphasised the need to educate young people because 'the yonge cocke croweth as he dothe here & lerne of the olde' which was the best way to 'bringe vpe the tender youth... to encreasse the christian religion'.[52]

In late medieval England, young people were perceived as both the problem and the solution to society's ills. Antonia Gransden describes how this ambivalence was 'inherited from antiquity and the Bible [where] youth was to be praised for its courage and strength, but criticized for its thoughtless impetuosity'.[53] It is interesting how these perceptions of youth transcend the historian's boundaries of "late medieval" and "early modern". Young people were viewed as indulgent, lazy and undisciplined but in times of social, economic or spiritual turbulence, they also represented the best means to bring about change. Indeed, the religious changes of the English Reformation perhaps amplified the importance of youth as the future architects of society, but the Protestant reformers were certainly not revolutionary in their attempts to inculcate future changes through young people.

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[50] M. Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (Beckenham, 1986), p.1.
[51] Whitford, *A werke for housholders* (6, 1530).
[52] Ibid., (6, 1530); Desiderius Erasmus, *An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture* (8, 1529) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[53] A. Gransden, 'Childhood and Youth in Medieval England', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 16 (1972), p.19.

V.   Historiography of Youth During the English Reformation

Paul Griffiths has noted that there is a 'persisting ambivalence' which surrounds 'the contribution of youth to the social history of the English Reformation'.[54] In sixteenth-century England, young people constituted over half of the population and yet they remain subsidiary characters in much of the existing historical analysis. For example, Collinson and Craig's work on the progress of the Reformation in English towns dedicates only two pages to young people.[55] Similarly Christopher Haigh's *The English Reformations* contains just one reference to youth in the index, whilst Eamon Duffy, in his revisionist text *The Stripping of the Altars*, continues the marginalisation by ignoring youth completely in the index.[56] In Carter Lindberg's *The European Reformations*, there are references in the index for 'women', 'merchants' and even 'Adolf Hitler' but nothing for youth, adolescents or children.[57] Individual monographs dedicated to the history of young people during the early English Reformation are non-existent. In 2007, Meridee Bailey could still describe children and young people as 'one of the most overlooked social groups of this time or indeed any time'.[58] The two important texts on early modern youth are Illana Ben-Amos' *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* and Paul Griffiths' *Youth and Authority*. However, both of these texts focus on the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign and the seventeenth century thus ignoring the tumultuous, early years of the Reformation. In addition, rather than assessing how the religious changes of the English Reformation impacted on young people, the texts offer more of a social survey of youth, analyzing their leisure time (predominantly the

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[54] Griffiths, *Youth and* Authority, p.178.
[55] P. Collinson & J. Craig (eds), *The Reformation in English Towns 1500 – 1640* (London, 1998).
[56] C. Haigh, *The English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993); E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992).
[57] C. Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, (Oxford, 2000). Hillerbrand's encyclopaedia refers readers who are looking for 'Youth' to 'Education' and 'Social Discipline': H. Hillerbrand (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (2003).
[58] M.L. Bailey, 'In Service and at Home: Didactic texts for children and young people, c. 1400-1600', *Parergon*, 2 (2007), p.23.

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approach of Griffiths) and apprenticeships (the predominant focus of Ben-Amos).[59] This rather barren historiography is perhaps all the more surprising when one considers the seminal article published by Susan Brigden in 1982 entitled 'Youth and the English Reformation'. Brigden's article focused on how young people experienced the religious changes of the sixteenth century and, in particular, their responses to the emergence of Protestantism.[60] Unfortunately Brigden's work has not spawned the research it, or indeed young people as a sixteenth-century demographic, deserves. This study hopes to fill at least part of this gap in the historiography.

Before Brigden's article, research on how young people experienced, and responded to, the religious changes of English Reformation was unfocused and generic. References to young people were often used as evidence of a wider social phenomenon. For example, on the occasions when Geoffrey Dickens concentrated on the social implications of the English Reformation, the behaviour of young people was used interchangeably with actions from other sections of society. When highlighting the rashness of some early Protestants, who were full of vigour and excitement for the new creed, Dickens recounted the story of John Porter, a young tailor from London, who 'may well have been one of those brave but impatient enthusiasts who brought trouble upon themselves without substantially advancing the cause'.[61] For Dickens, Porter's young age is not important because his behaviour was being used as an example to illuminate the general behaviour of Protestant converts. This is not a criticism of the pre-Brigden scholars because, as will be argued in this thesis, young people were often forwarding or resisting religious change in a similar way to other members of society, whether they were Protestant or Catholic. The point is that, before Brigden's article, the ways in which young people were affected by, and contributed to, the English

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[59] Griffiths, *Youth and* Authority; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England.*
[60] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.37.
[61] A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1967), p.265.

Reformation had not received anything more than isolated attention; therefore it was impossible to understand how young people were affected by religious changes.

The tendency to incorporate the actions of young people into the wider behaviour of Protestants, as opposed to viewing them as a distinct aspect within society, did not stop historians from noticing patterns which were specific to young people. When analyzing the list of Marian martyrs, Dickens did note that it included 'a very large proportion of persons in their twenties or late teens'.[62] Without going into any further detail, he commented that 'there are signs both in Foxe and elsewhere that the new doctrines had developed a strong appeal for apprentices and young journeymen'.[63] J.W. Blench's work on the sermons of the Reformation also highlighted a link between young people and the new creed, especially in the rhetoric of Catholic preachers. Blench noted that many preachers would tarnish Protestantism by suggesting it made apprentices idle and disobedient to their masters, 'particularly those who are averse to the old religious order'.[64] However, this theme was largely ignored in the English historiography until Brigden's article. Other scholars did touch upon the question of youth but not in direct relation to how young people experienced the religious changes. For example, Keith Thomas claimed that the 'sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are conspicuous for a sustained drive to subordinate persons in their teens and early twenties and to delay their equal participation in the adult world'.[65] Finally, whilst the work of Stephen Smith did discuss how young people, and especially apprentices, responded to the changing religious and social landscape of the early modern period, his research began with the 1580s, thus omitting the key years of the English Reformation.[66]

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[62] Ibid., p.364-5.
[63] Ibid., p.365.
[64] Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, p.242.
[65] K. Thomas, 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1976), p.214.
[66] Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', p.160.

Scholars researching the religious reforms of other European countries had perceived youth as an important social group that deserved research before Brigden's focus on the young people of the English Reformation. In 1975, Natalie Zemon Davis published *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* which looked at general concepts such as misrule, religious change and the rites of violence. In her analysis of these themes, Davis frequently referred to the behaviour of young people during the religious tensions of sixteenth-century France. She argued that 'adolescent males and even boys aged ten to twelve played a strikingly important role in both Catholic and Protestant crowds'.[67] She was often cautious in attributing the riotousness of youth to any specific side of the theological divide.[68] However, Davis did note that young people were particularly active in the initial phase of French Protestantism which involved destruction and disobedience. It is claimed that the French Reformation, 'in its early decade... with its attacks on the paternal authority of the clergy and its imagery of the young Christian combating the old doctor of theology, sometimes seems to have the character of a youth movement.'[69] In addition, Davis acknowledged that 'almost all the great iconoclastic disturbances in the Netherlands, in Rouen, and elsewhere' all mentioned young people as perpetrators whilst the 'youth-abbeys in the Savoie and in Switzerland, the fools in Geneva, and the Enfants-sans-souci in some towns of Guyenne were early supporters of the new religion'.[70] This work also provided a striking example of how some young people seemingly swayed towards Protestantism. In 1572, a group of young boys met in Provins to hold a mock trial against a Huguenot. They ordered that the original judge's penalty, that the Huguenot be burnt alive as was the traditional punishment for heresy, must be overturned and the defendant should instead be hanged, suggesting that the young boys sympathized with the

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[67] N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, p.183.
[68] Ibid., p.183.
[69] Ibid., p.122.
[70] Ibid., p.120.

religious element of the offence.[71] Therefore, Davis' research is important because it highlighted the contributions of young people during the French Reformations and, perhaps more importantly, it linked their engagement to the opportunities for riot and misrule which were offered by the emergence of the new creeds.

For the German Reformation, Gerald Strauss' *Luther's House of Learning*, published in 1978, looked at how young people were affected by the religious changes of the sixteenth century. Strauss portrayed the relationship between young people and Lutheranism as very authoritarian with the reformers' ideas being impressed upon a malleable youth. For example, Strauss described the Lutheran objective to increase literacy amongst young people as highly desirable for the government and church 'as long as it remained tied to the system of indoctrination and control established in ecclesiastical constitutions'.[72] Strauss's view regarding how the relationship between young people and Lutheranism functioned was even more apparent in his description of the reformers' long-term view for Germany. The reforming pedagogues

> embarked on a conscious and...systematic endeavour to develop in the young new and better impulses, to implant inclinations in consonance with the reformers' religious and civic ideals, to fashion dispositions in which Christian ideas of right thought and action could take root, and to shape personalities capable of turning the young into new men – into the human elements of a Christian society that would live by evangelical principles.[73]

The varied responses of young people to the social and educational changes implemented by the reformers were not fully addressed in Strauss's research and when attempts were made to measure the success of the reforms it was primarily through the records of visitations enacted by the Lutherans themselves. However, Strauss' research is important because it outlined how the German reformers placed great hope and

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[71] Ibid., p.163.
[72] G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: indoctrination of the young in the German Reformation* (London, 1978), p.22.
[73] Ibid., p.2.

expectation on youth. These expectations resulted in significant changes for young people including a rise in access to education and religious instruction.

These works on the continental Reformation provided the backdrop to Susan Brigden's seminal article, 'Youth and the English Reformation'. Here Brigden masterfully pulled together various strands of evidence pertaining to the experiences and responses of young people during the religious changes of sixteenth-century England. Published in 1982, the article contained some of Brigden's initial conclusions which had presumably arisen from the vast amount of archival research that she had undertaken for *London and the Reformation*, an ambitious monograph which was published in 1989.[74] In her article, Brigden surveyed the relationship between young people and Protestantism and, despite the spatial constraints within which she was working, it has become a touchstone for any historian commenting on the behaviour of young people during the English Reformation. At the time Brigden was writing, Christopher Haigh had produced his revisionist text *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* but this had not modified the general consensus that, outside of some backward-looking northern counties, the rise of Protestantism was generally well received by the population.[75] Dickens' view of a popular Reformation was soon to be challenged but, at the time of 'Youth and the English Reformation', Brigden was perhaps more likely to expect young people to be attracted to the new creed then be antipathetic or resistant.

Therefore, at its core, the article aimed to explain why young people were early followers of Protestantism and how this might have happened. In order to answer this question, Brigden consulted a variety of sources. She scoured the records of the Court

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[74] Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1991).
[75] C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London, 1975).

of Aldermen, the Court Books of the City guilds, and the records of the Court of Common Council in order to trace the responses of young people to the religious changes of the mid-sixteenth century. In addition, Brigden analysed the statutes of the realm, state papers, and the Acts of the Privy Council in order to understand how young people should have been behaving and, conversely, what misbehaviour must have been recurring for certain acts to be reissued time and time again. Brigden also utilized literary sources and polemical writings, particularly Catholic works, in order to create a picture of how young people were behaving throughout the English Reformation. Texts such as Miles Huggarde's *Displaying of the Protestantes* and John Christopherson's *An Exhortacion to All Menne* were used to assess both youthful activity and also how youth, as a concept, was deployed in the literary battles between Catholics and Protestants.[76] Finally, although Brigden accepted that 'religious conversion occurs for reasons individual and personal… [and] only if spiritual autobiographies of all Protestant converts existed would the motives and age of the convert be revealed', she had to make do with only a few extant memoirs, such as those of the London apprentice Richard Hilles.[77]

On the whole, Brigden's article accepted that many young people were won early to the new faith. However, Brigden claimed that such a conclusion 'proves nothing, because, there were vastly more young people than old in early modern England'.[78] In her own words, Brigden wanted to explore 'whether Protestantism was the creed of youth and whether young people

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[76] Miles Huggarde, *The displaying of the Protestantes, [and] sondry their practises, with a description of diuers their abuses of late frequented* (1556) (available onEEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com); John Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion wherein are set forth the causes* (1554) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[77] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.42.
[78] Ibid., p.37.

played a distinctive part in its passage'.[79] Brigden attempted to answer these questions by advancing a number of potential explanations for why young people may have abandoned Catholicism. Among these suggestions were the young's distance from death, which gave them more freedom to explore and question their faith, and also the difficult socio-economic climate for urban apprentices, which the Edwardian reformers appear to have emphasized. However, the most prominent theme running through the article is the inherent predilection of young people for misrule, riot and subverting patriarchal authority, all of which (it is argued) were more abundant due to the emergence of Protestantism. The Reformation provided 'new sport' for young people which was 'more than simply anti-authoritarian delinquency for they invariably took place during some Catholic service, sermon or procession'.[80] Brigden also analysed how the reformers would have communicated with young people, such as through preaching and dramatic interludes, which she suggests were popular amongst youth due to their 'fraternal and subversive' qualities.[81] Finally, Brigden commented that the emergence of Protestantism 'brought new causes for discord: apprentices began to neglect their work in order to attend Protestant sermons or read Protestant tracts'.[82] In this sense, the misrule and disorder of young people played an important role in answering both of Brigden's initial questions. The appeal of the Protestant creed for young people was substantially due to its subversive and secretive nature, whilst the distinctive contribution young people made to Protestantism was through their manifestations of disobedience and misrule.

'Youth and the English Reformation' fleshed-out some of the bones proposed by Dickens. It adopted the premise that young people were attracted to Protestantism and forwarded potential explanations for why this occurred. It also embraced the themes of Natalie Zemon

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[79] Ibid., p.37.
[80] Ibid., pp. 50, 56.
[81] Ibid., p.58.
[82] Ibid., p.49.

Davis concerning how young people used misrule and riot to express their religious preferences. Brigden concluded that, in England, Protestantism offered young people increased opportunities to indulge their natural desire for disorder and inverting the social hierarchy. This hypothesis has seeped into the subsequent historiography relatively unchallenged. For example, Robert Whiting wrote that 'traditional religion was abandoned more rapidly by young people' because they were susceptible to the 'novelty' of new fangled preachers.[83] Diarmaid MacCulloch has claimed that Protestantism was associated with liberty and social egalitarianism in Edward's reign which appealed to the dispossessed youth.[84] Eamon Duffy has affirmed that Protestantism appealed to the young because it represented disorder. When describing how Protestants were in the minority religion during Marian England, Duffy included its 'specially strong support base of rowdy apprentices'.[85] The link is further propagated in Duffy's description of the Marian burnings. He claims that 'unruly London apprentices, many of them keen evangelicals, were often key elements in the disturbances in the city' and that they flocked to the burnings in order to 'protect their own whether or not they approved of their opinions'.[86] In the latter part of this quotation, Duffy is suggesting that the opportunities for youthful disorder were so attractive that many of these young people may not even have been genuine followers of Protestantism. Finally, after noting that some young people had desecrated an ex-chantry in Edward's reign, Ethan Shagan flippantly remarked that such 'youthful iconoclasm' implicated a 'whole generation in the Protestantising project'.[87] The views of these historians regarding young people and Protestantism are primarily informed by the research of Susan Brigden.

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[83] R. Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 1998), p.133.
[84] D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant* (London, 1999), p. 127. This is a key theme in Brigden's article. On numerous occasions she refers to the 'spiritual egalitarianism' within the gospel from which 'young people and the dispossessed might find a special inspiration': Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.62.
[85] E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (London, 2009), p. 113. In this work, Duffy refers regularly to the disorder of youth at the expense of other potential explanations for the young's adherence to reformed ideas, unlike Brigden, who is open to alternative, subsidiary influences.
[86] Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp.159-60.
[87] E. Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), p.267.

The widely-accepted link between young people and Protestantism as something inherent in the behaviour of youth raises the question of what happened next. Brigden addressed this issue in the conclusion of her article. She wrote that what took place in early Reformation England was not a unique situation but one that would occur repeatedly:

> The zealous Protestant innovators of Henry VIII's reign were likely to become the staunch conservative Anglicans of Elizabeth's, for prudence would come with age... To be a youthful Protestant in the 1520s, when the faith was new and outlawed, was to be a revolutionary: a generation later Protestantism was the orthodoxy, young Protestants then conventional rather than disobedient, and the rebels not the reformers but those who looked to the restoration of the old faith, which now had the appeal of exotic and forbidden fruit.[88]

This concept of a generational tension, where young people constantly reject the authority of orthodox establishments, has also been outlined in the research of Norman Jones. Using a hypothetical family as a microcosm for wider society Jones explains that, in Reformation England, the grandparents were Catholic but their grandchildren would have been Protestants. As the older generation passed away, Protestantism became the new orthodoxy and presumably the grandchildren found another channel for their rebellion, as suggested by Brigden.[89] However, there has been some gentle questioning of this generational hypothesis by some historians. This is particularly true for those scholars that have looked more generally at youth. For example, Paul Griffiths remarked that some historians have 'depicted' certain historical phenomena as 'age-related' including 'the impact of the Reformation which (it has been argued) had special appeal for some sections of the young'.[90] In addition, when listing the supposed

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[88] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.67.

[89] N.L. Jones, *The English Reformation: religion and cultural adaptation* (Oxford, 2002); Steven Ozment raises the interesting point that an initial success of Protestants was 'persuading a generation to abandon the faith of its fathers': Ozment, *When Father Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe*, p.174.

[90] It should be noted that Brigden's 'Youth and the English Reformation' is at the forefront of Griffith's footnote for this quote: Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.8.

elements of appeal of Protestantism to the young, Griffiths identifies 'struggles with ecclesiastical authorities' and 'recreation'.[91] In addition, Ben-Amos expresses concern that the 'predominance of youths' in the evidence of Protestant conversion, which often highlights disorder, 'may have been no more than a reflection of the fact that the majority of the population in this period was under 30 years old'.[92] Despite these emerging doubts, a critical reassessment of how young people behaved during the English Reformation has not been undertaken. Indeed, in comparison to 1982, when Brigden published her seminal article, current scholars would be more cautious in stating that young people were particularly attracted to Protestantism during the English Reformation. Since the works of Shagan and Ryrie, the notion of counting Catholics and Protestants within a social demographic, or society as a whole, has been reassessed in terms of its usefulness as a historical approach.[93] Instead, this thesis will consider the particular ways in which reformed ideas and teachings were directed at, and may have appealed to, some sections of the young in Reformation England whilst also studying perceptions and depictions of young people by both conservative and reformed writers. By implementing this approach, it is possible to develop a more nuanced explanation for how young people experienced the religious changes of the sixteenth century.

VI.

This thesis is divided into five inter-related chapters. The first chapter will include a reassessment of the evidence that has been used to link Protestantism and young people

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[91] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.8.
[92] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in early modern England*, p.185. This issue was not overlooked by Brigden.
[93] Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation*; A. Ryrie, 'Counting sheep, counting shepherds: the problem of allegiance in the English Reformation', P. Marshall & A. Ryrie (eds), *The beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002).

in the historiography. This chapter will argue that the prominent explanation for why young people were attracted to Protestantism, which focuses on opportunities for youthful disorder and social inversion, stems from an over-reliance on materials of Catholic polemic. It will argue that a more balanced approach to the evidence is needed, which includes analysis of the writing by both conservative and reformed writers.

Having outlined the need for more engagement with the writings of reformers about the young, the second chapter will identify their preoccupation with providing religious instruction for young people, which is evident in the sermons and catechisms produced during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Drawing on examples from Lutheran Germany and Geneva, Thomas Cranmer implemented a programme of catechisation for young people in Edwardian England. In addition, the young were encouraged to read religious texts, which raised the issue of literacy, and to attend sermons in order to understand the God's will. This chapter argues that the reformers' methods for instructing young people offered them an important role in the local community and, by assessing the evidence from both Protestant and Catholic writers, seeks to demonstrate that religious education offered young people an opportunity to invert the social hierarchy, although always within a framework of obedience.

The third chapter will analyse another currently under-used source for the history of Reformation youth, namely the dramatic interludes of the Tudor period, in order to understand better how young people experienced the emergence of Protestantism. By undertaking a close reading of these texts, it is possible to glimpse something of how young people were responding to the religious changes through incidental references to

subjects such as schooling and Catholic parents. Brigden identified that the young often attended these dramas which, in itself, was a subversive act but the messages for young people within Protestant interludes focus heavily on obedience and education. Indeed, the youthful characters in the interludes often represent an ideal of what the reformers hoped to achieve with young people but, in the inevitable lapses of youths within the narratives, it is also possible to identify rebukes of their current behaviour.

The fourth chapter will analyse a document that has been consistently mined for examples of youthful misbehaviour: John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. In the current historiography, this text has provided historians with instances of how young people behaved during the Marian period. In a record of (godly) disobedience, it is unsurprising to find examples of youthful disorder. However, when Foxe constructed fully-formed narratives for his young martyrs, the depictions of young people were not based on misrule but, instead, focused on their religious knowledge and obedience to authority. From this safe foundation, Foxe could build depictions of young people who were combative with Catholic priests and bishops but otherwise respected the social order. In this sense, the text offers an Elizabethan view for how young people should have behaved during the English Reformation. This chapter will include four case studies to illustrate how Foxe portrayed the different types of young people both in his text and his illustrations.

The fifth and final chapter will assess how young people responded to the religious changes of Elizabeth's reign. As has been noted, Brigden has hypothesised that young people were attracted to Protestantism due to increased opportunity for disorder. This explanation relies on the inherent characteristics of youth. By Elizabeth's reign,

Brigden states that Catholicism, which was now the marginalized creed, became an attractive option for the rebellious youth. Therefore, this section will analyse the appeal of Catholicism and less mainstream variants of Protestantism to the young. In addition, this chapter will also assess how the Elizabethan Protestant authorities reconfigured their relationship with young people. The overarching aim of this thesis is to understand better the relationship between young people and Protestantism by moving beyond, although not discounting, the current orthodoxy based on the alleged appeal of riot and disorder.

Chapter One

"All things are turned upside down": reassessing the evidence

for young people and religious disorder in Reformation England

I.

In terms of writing the history of young people during the English Reformation, one of the

biggest difficulties is being able to identify confidently the age of the people involved in

certain acts. In mid-sixteenth-century court books and other judicial records, the age of

deponents is intermittently recorded.[94] Indeed, Paul Griffiths has noted that it is rare for

judicial documents to record ages in the sixteenth century. Although this gradually improves

during the seventeenth century, when 'the bare information of name and sometimes status

and/or occupation' is given, the clerks in the Reformation period were more likely to include

a label such as 'lad', 'maid', 'apprentice' or 'servant'. These labels have been described by

Paul Griffiths as the 'vocabulary of age' and provide historians with the information that

strongly indicates, if not resoundingly identifies, the life-cycle stage of youth.[95] However,

there are certain caveats that must be acknowledged with this approach. In the sixteenth

century, it was possible for an apprentice to be indentured until he was 28 years of age. This

means that certain people in the records, labelled as 'apprentices', would be at the upper-limit

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[94] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, pp. 32-3, 159-160.

[95] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.24. Whether consciously or not, Ilana Ben-Amos uses evidence that is youth-specific, such as the Register of Apprentices for Bristol, which means that Ben-Amos does not engage with the 'vocabulary of age'. Instead, inter-generational records, such as Churchwardens Accounts, are only used when the inclusion of age becomes more regular, in this instance from 1582 onwards. Unfortunately, the Register for Apprentices in Bristol is highly formulaic and, although I was able to monitor the number of apprentice-master breakdowns, the records do not include information regarding the reasons nor monitor the solutions rendering any exercise one of 'head-counting'; I.K. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*. For Bristol evidence, see D. Hollis (ed.), *Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book, 1532-1565: Part 1 1532-1542* (Bristol, 1949); E. Ralph & N. Hardwick (eds), *Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book, 1532-1565: Part 2 1542-1552*; (Bristol, 1980); E. Ralph (ed.), *Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book, 1532-1565: Part 3 1552-1565* (Bristol, 1992).

of the age range used in this study.[96] In addition, when the label of 'servant' is used in the records, it could refer to a person who had completed his apprenticeship, but who was still working for his master because he had not acquired a shop of his own: a hiatus which, on occasions, appears to have literally lasted for a lifetime. Despite these limitations, the methodology provides historians with the best, if not only, means of identifying early-modern young people in the judicial records.[97] The vocabulary of age is also a useful tool for other documents such as John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. In this text, Foxe includes both narratives of young martyrs and also brief entries of youthful behaviour. In the fuller narratives, Foxe would typically include the age of the young person: such as William Hunter (19), Rose Allin (20) and Julins Palmer (24).[98] However, in the briefer entries, such as that of the young sustainer who died bringing books to the imprisoned Richard Bayfield, Foxe simply labels him a 'lad'.[99] Similarly, Foxe refers to the young person that visited John Hooper in prison as a 'boy'.[100] Therefore, these labels are an essential tool in being able to identify the actions of young people in the extant documents.

Using the 'vocabulary of age', this chapter will analyse the behaviour of, and attitudes towards, young people in order to understand better how they experienced the religious changes of the English Reformation. Firstly, the chapter will analyse the pre-Reformation historiography regarding young people in order to provide a benchmark for the subsequent

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[96] Although, this highlights the limits of using age boundaries as a mode of inquiry rather than developmental stages.

[97] The case of Francis Hygham outlines the benefit of this approach. In the Court of Aldermen records, there is reference to an incident where a person had shaved the head of a young boy to look like a priest. In this entry, only the name of the offender is given, Francis Hygham, and not an age. However, in the Drapers' Company, records, Francis Hygham is clearly described as an apprentice, which means that this act of religious disorder can be attributed to a young man; B. Percival, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London*: collected from the Company's records and other sources (Croydon, 1934). I am grateful to Laura Branch for this incident: L. Branch, 'Faith and Fraternity: The London Livery Companies and the Reformation c.1510-c.1600', Unpublished PhD. Thesis (University of Warwick, 2011).

[98] John Foxe, *A&M*, pp.1751, 2238, 2157.

[99] Ibid., p.1228.

[100] Ibid., 1717.

analysis. This section will focus on riot and misrule, which are prominent themes in Reformation scholarship, including an evaluation of the role played by adults.[101] The second section of the chapter will evaluate the widely-held belief that young people had a disproportionate and distinctive role in the growth of Protestantism based on the increased opportunity for misrule and riot. By evaluating the evidence from civic court books, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and Tudor proclamations, it will be argued that linking young people to Protestantism through theories of riot is inconclusive and restrictive. The third section will assess the other forms of evidence that have been used to bolster the link between the subversive youth and Protestantism, namely the Catholic sermons and tracts that were produced throughout the English Reformation.[102] Finally, the chapter will analyse the material of the reformers, such as their sermons and tracts, in order to outline their messages for young people regarding obedience and disobedience.

II. Riot, Disorder and Pre-Reformation Youth

The most famous riot of young people in pre-Reformation England was the May Day riot of 1517.[103] Leading up to this event, tensions between London's citizens and its aliens had been escalating and, on the Tuesday after Easter, a Dr Bell preached an incendiary sermon stating that London's alien population was depriving a 'livynge from all the [English] artificers'. Over the next few weeks, the tensions continued to simmer as the citizens of London directed numerous threats at the city's aliens. These emotions finally boiled over when John Mundy, an Alderman of London, chastised some young men in Cheapside who had broken Chancellor Wolsey's curfew. Mundy attempted to arrest one of the young men and this

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[101] See Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*; Duffy, *Fires of Faith;* Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation'.

[102] These texts have been used by historians such as Susan Brigden and Eamon Duffy to highlight the predilection of young people to Protestantism.

[103] See Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London', pp.148-9; Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation' p.47.

started a riot which soon began to focus on the alien population whose houses were looted and razed. May Day 1517 has attracted the attention of both late medieval and early modern scholars as a prominent example of a riot where young people were heavily involved. However, these two sets of historians have placed different emphases on the riot, and also youthful disorder more generally, which is worth further investigation. Therefore, this section will assess the late medieval and early modern literature in order to outline the divergent views regarding the role of adults in youthful disorder and also the wider prominence of riot in the historiography.

Medieval historians have often sought to play down the importance of the May Day riot as evidence for the rebelliousness of young people. Stephanie Hovland has strongly questioned the notion that youthful riot existed in late medieval England. Whilst it is clear that young people did partake in riotous acts, Hovland suggests that they 'were not ringleaders' but 'launched into the fray alongside their masters and other servants'.[104] In essence, this made the riot a communal affair rather than specifically youthful.[105] In relation to May Day 1517, Hovland recounts the prominent role of adults such as John Lincoln, a London broker who sponsored Dr Bell, another adult, to deliver his fiery sermon. These two elders played an important role in rousing the apprentices, as did William Colt, a mercer, who publicly threatened Francesco de Bardi, a London alien, that 'we wyll one daye have a daye at you, come when it wyll'.[106] Barbara Hanawalt has agreed that there was no specific 'juvenile delinquency' in this period but rather there were disorderly acts that transcended age groups.[107] Indeed, even in minor acts of disorder and play, young people 'shared the

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[104] Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p.147.
[105] Ethan Shagan has also observed adults and young people working together in acts of religious disorder in early modern England; see Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, p.268.
[106] Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p.148.
[107] Hanwalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p.11.

company of other men and women in the city'.[108] In opposition to this view, several early modern historians have placed rather more emphasis on young people in acts of riot and disorder. For example, Susan Brigden has described the events of the 'Evil' May Day as a 'youth riot' which occurred because 'news travelled quickly and young men would soon band together'.[109] Paul Seaver has also suggested that young people were the 'perennial culprits' of riot in early modern England and that, referring to their actions in 1517, people 'were in little doubt that apprentices were the chief actors'.[110] It would seem that some late medieval and early modern historians diverge in how they perceive the prominence of the young and the role of adults in acts of riot and disorder. Whilst historians such as Brigden and Seaver do not argue for the absence of adults from such acts, they place much stronger emphasis on young people who are portrayed as acting both cohesively and independently.

The importance they attribute to riot as a theme in the history of young people is another major difference between the approaches of some late medieval and early modern historians of youth. Hanawalt and Hovland both state that young people in late medieval England frequently engaged in small-scale disorder. For example, in the records of the Mercers' Company, there is an entry stating that:

> Divers mennys apprentices have greatly mysordered theymselfes as well in spending grete summes of money of theyr masters good in Riott as well uppon harlots as at dyce, cardes and other unthryfty games as in their apparell'[111]

Hanawalt has also noted that the curfews of late medieval London were broken by 'some people, apprentices and servants among them... in pursuit of revelry'.[112] In addition, by

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[108] Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p.138.
[109] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.47. Brigden does not mention the involvement of adults such as John Lincoln because her focus is on the young people.
[110] P. Seaver, 'Apprentice Riots in Early Modern London' in J. Ward (ed.), *Violence, Politics and Gender in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2008), p. 19.
[111] Hanawalt, '"The Child of Bristowe" and the Making of the Middle-Class Adolescence', p.159.
[112] Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p.30.

analysing the indentures for late medieval apprentices, Hovland has suggested that it is possible to identify the disorderly behaviour of young people. In the indenture of John Pounde, produced in 1491, the young man must pledge not to:

> ... play dice, nor gamble, nor play other unlawful games. He will not frequent a tavern except to
>
> do his master's business. He will not commit fornication in his master's house nor outside, by
>
> which his master might suffer damage.[113]

Although it is clear that young people engaged in disorderly activities during the late medieval period, there is caution in terms of attributing this behaviour to a wider social issue. Young people could be 'wild and wanton' but such instances occurred at 'diverse times [and] places... [meaning that] further generalisations would be dangerous'.[114]

The late medieval historians have also observed larger-scale riot amongst young people but, once again, there is a reluctance to overemphasise this theme. It would seem that the riot of young people was particularly focussed on the alien communities in urban areas, such as the May Day riot of 1517. Hovland notes that 'apprentices' participation in unrest seems... to have been most likely when attacks were taking place on the alien population of the city'.[115] Similarly, Hanawalt has suggested that 'apprentices rebelliousness seemed more directed toward foreign competitors' whilst Rappaport states that, though the disorder of young people was often aimed at aliens, it was 'hardly ever organised or purposeful, at least not consciously'.[116] There is an awareness that some of the future youthful riots, such as the Shrove Tuesday events from the 1570s onwards, where apprentices would be allowed to sack brothels, simply did not exist in the late medieval period.[117] Therefore, these historians

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[113] Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p.259.

[114] Hanwalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p.137; Gransden, 'Childhood and Youth in Medieval England', p.19.

[115] Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p.147.

[116] Hanwalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p.163; Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p.11.

[117] Hanwalt writes that 'the destruction of brothels associated with Shrove Tuesday in the early modern period does not appear in the medieval records'; Hanwalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p.125.

acknowledge that young people undertook acts of riot and disorder in pre-Reformation England but, in terms of the general history of youth, they warn against exaggerating this theme. For example, when discussing the judicial evidence from late medieval London, Hovland argues that the 'supposed links between apprentices, or youth, and rioting and disorder may... be over-emphasised'.[118] Hanawalt also contends that, due to their determined attempt to prove the existence of a youth culture, early-modern scholars have overstated the riot and disorder of young people to such an extent that it has restricted research into other aspects of youth. In Hanawalt's view, the focus on riot has created an 'unnecessary limitation on [the] historical discussion' of young people.[119] In terms of how young people experienced the emergence of Protestantism, this thesis will argue that the predominance of youthful riot and disorder in the historiography has also overshadowed any other potential explanations, an issue that this thesis will redress.

In relation to early modern riot amongst young people, historians have been keen to shed the 'boys will be boys' motif of youthful riot in order to better understand the motivations and desires of young people who were perceived as a socially distinct grouping with their own identity, interests and agency.[120] Ian Archer stated that, in Elizabethan London, apprentices were a socially-aware group.[121] He views the riot of apprentices as something much more sophisticated than vandalism: rather it should be interpreted as 'a negotiating strategy' which was invoked to 'remind magistrates of their obligation to redress apprentice grievances'.[122] Stephen Smith also views young people as 'moral agents' who used riot to defend what they

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[118] In summary, Hovland has concluded that, during this period, apprentices were involved in 'periodic unrest and rioting which took place on the streets, whether it were random 'roring' or more politically calculated disturbances' but this was not to be exaggerated; Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p. 138.

[119] Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, pp.8-9. The debate surrounding the existence of a youth culture in both the late medieval and early modern periods is more fully addressed in the Introduction.

[120] Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p.10. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Brigden has also linked instances of early-modern youthful riot to the emergence of the Protestant cause.

[121] I. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.1-9.

[122] Ibid., p. 5.

thought was right, 'whether it were the "right" Protestant religion, or the "right" behaviour of London's prostitutes'.[123] Finally, Paul Griffiths has fired the warning, which is pertinent to the late medieval scholars, that youthful riot should 'not be treated lightly and dismissed as the momentary gestures of a troublesome generation from whom nothing else should be expected'.[124] The debate surrounding the role of riot in the history of young people raises two significant questions which will underpin this chapter. Firstly, were young people acting alone in their riot? And secondly, has too much emphasis been placed on riot in the history of young people? In answering these questions, we will be able to better understand the complex relationship between young people, Protestantism and disorder.

III.   Young People and Religious Disorder

In order to view the actions of young people throughout the English Reformation, Susan Brigden has predominantly analysed three types of evidence: civic/guild court books, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and Tudor proclamations.[125] The civic/guild records, such as the books for the Court of Aldermen and the minute books for the Grocers' Company, provide snapshots of the youthful disorder that occurred throughout the period. Although the preference was for fathers and masters to discipline children and apprentices within the domestic sphere, if the father or master felt that the issue had escalated, or if it was a public offence, the case would be brought to the courts of the Aldermen or Common Council.[126] Therefore, these records hold important information concerning how young people were behaving or, more specifically, misbehaving during the English Reformation. Another

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[123] Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', p.161. In contrast, Stephanie Hovland concluded that, during the late medieval period, 'apprentices were perhaps becoming more visible on the streets, more visible as a class within the city, more visible in an uprising... [but] they were not more audible... they were not political activists' in S. Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London*, p.150.
[124] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.125.
[125] A full discussion of Brigden's use of Catholic polemical works will follow this section.
[126] For apprentices, it would have been typical for a master to bring an unruly apprentice to a trade court before it reached the Aldermen or Common Council. For public and private punishment of early modern youths, see Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*.

important text is Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*: a 'record of disobedience' for Protestant martyrs including a detailed account of the Marian period.[127] In recent scholarship, the text has been mined for information on how various groups such as women, preachers and young people responded to the religious changes of the sixteenth century.[128] The text was first published in 1563 but the most comprehensive edition, and the one that gained royal approval, was published in 1570.[129] As the title suggests, the text contains both acts, that is the accounts of the martyrs, and monuments, that is the inclusion of documents such as episcopal records and personal letters.[130] The text is an important resource and is often used to corroborate evidence within the civic/guild records.[131] Finally, Tudor Proclamations, dating from 1530-1580, have also provided information regarding the types of youthful behaviour that were particularly worrying for the authorities. Through this combination of sources, historians such as Brigden and Duffy have suggested that young people were attracted to Protestantism because it increased the opportunity for riot and disorder[132]. This section will re-evaluate the evidence in order to reassess this historiographical maxim.

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[127] *Acts and Monuments* depicts the war that had been waging between the 'true' and 'false' churches since the time of Christ; this included the history of groups such as the Waldensians, the Lollards and the Marian martyrs.

[128] For women see: C. Peters, *Patterns of piety: women, gender and religion in late medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2003). For preachers see: Blench, *Preaching in England in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. For young people see: Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation'; Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and youth in early modern England*.

[129] The first edition of *Acts and Monuments* (1563) was approximately 1800 pages in length and included oral testimonies, the London Episcopal registers and the narratives that had been collected by Grindal during Mary's reign. In addition, Foxe borrowed heavily from the works of other authors such as Jean Crespin, Johannes Cochlaeus and John Bale. For the second edition of *Acts and Monuments* (1570), Foxe increased the scope of his research which now included the ecclesiastical records of Hereford, Lincoln and Rochester in addition to access to the Royal Archives. Despite the attempts of John Day, the publisher of the text, this edition contained over 3000 pages; see J.N. King, 'Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture', (Cambridge, 2006), pp.1-20; D. Greenberg, 'Community of the Texts: Producing the First and Second Editions of "Acts and Monuments", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36:3 (2005), pp.695-715.

[130] B.S. Robinson, 'Neither Acts Nor Monuments', *English Literary Renaissance*, 41:1 (2011), p.22.

[131] For example, when Susan Brigden discusses the 'climate of heresy' that existed in Cambridge during the 1520s, she refers to the *State Papers*, the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, and the reformers' letters within the *Acts and Monuments*: see S. Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p. 41. Similarly, on an issue other than youth, Helen Parish illuminates the issue of clerical marriage in Reformation England through the vignette of George Fairbank and, in this account, the examination of Richard Woodman in *Acts and Monuments* is used to complement evidence taken from the episcopal register for the diocese of Chichester: H. Parish, 'England', in A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (2000), p.234.

[132] For a fuller discussion of how Brigden's hypothesis has permeated the work of subsequent scholars, see the Introduction.

As previously outlined, Hanawalt and Hovland have suggested that youthful riot is perceived to be a more autonomous act, viewed as distinct from adult interference, in early-modern scholarship. During the English Reformation, the throwing of stones and puddings at priests, attendance at Protestant interludes, and the desecration of Catholic rites provide examples of the typically 'fraternal and subversive' behaviour of young people.[133] Brigden suggests that it is the more aggressive acts, such as the heckling or jeering of Catholic clergymen, that were likely to come from the young, because their elders 'would prefer more sedate forms of opposition'.[134] However, although it is clear that young people did undertake such disorderly behaviour, there is more doubt surrounding the extent to which these acts are distinctively youthful. For example, as Brigden has shown, young people were frequent revilers of the Mass throughout the reigns of both Edward and Mary. Indeed, Adam Foster (16), Thomas Spicer (19) and Elizabeth Folkes (20) are just some of the young people who were admonished for refusing to participate in this Catholic rite. In addition, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* contains numerous accounts of young people denying transubstantiation under examination. As well as these verbal attacks, there are cases recorded by Foxe of young people showing disdain for the ritual by leaving caps on their heads or putting on their caps at the elevation of the Host. This can be seen in the case of John Alcock, a young man dwelling in Hadley, who refused to remove his cap and join a procession to Mass. This induced the wrath of Parson Newall who undertook a personal vendetta to get Alcock arrested.[135] In addition, Patrick Packingham, who was twenty-one years old, refused to remove his cap during a mass at the great chapel in St Paul's.[136] However, this Catholic sacrament provoked similar reactions amongst a range of Protestants, not just the young. In the London parish of

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[133] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.58.
[134] Ibid., p.63.
[135] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1694. Alcock called the mass a 'shamefull idoll'.
[136] Ibid., pp.1244-5. He also refused to receive the holy water and the holy bread from the priest.

St Martin Outwich, there was a communal protest against the Mass which culminated in the entire congregation putting caps on their heads and walking out of the church during the sacring time. Similarly, Henry Lawrence and Roger Clarke wore their caps during a Mass in Mary's reign.[137] Finally, in Shirland (Derbyshire), there was riotous opposition to the Mass, undertaken by adults, who thrust a pudding into a priest's mouth at the time of the consecration.[138] This neatly illustrates that, whilst young people were certainly disorderly in their opposition to the Mass, this was not necessarily distinctive behaviour, and adults also engaged in these less sedate forms of Protestant dissidence.

The role of adults in the religious riot of young people must also be reassessed. It would seem that, in some instances, the disorderly behaviour of young people was legitimised, and sometimes even orchestrated by, adults. In Buxton (Derbyshire), there was an incident concerning a number of young people who were seen 'most irreverently to pipe, dance, hop, and sing' at an 'abused' ex-chantry chapel. However, this youthful disorder, which appears typical for the age group, was instigated by an adult named Roger Cottrell. According to a complainant at Queen Mary's Court of Chancery, Cottrell would also 'suffer such youthful persons... to wash and bathe in the well called St Anne's' in order to desacralise the site.[139] There is also evidence of churchmen attempting to instigate religious misbehaviour amongst young people. For example, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, the rector Rowland Taylor, who was approximately 50 years of age, is forced to wear Catholic vestments after the accession of Mary. In the account, Taylor is said to have joked, 'if I were in Cheap[side], should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery'.[140] Whilst Taylor's comment is predominantly used to highlight the apparent religious riot of young people in

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[137] Ibid., pp.1867, 1410-1.
[138] Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, p.136
[139] Ibid., p.267.
[140] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1732.

Cheapside, it also suggests that Taylor condoned, and more likely encouraged, the young

people to mock the Catholic vestments. Similarly, in 1554, it would seem that John Bradford

was aiming to instigate youthful disorder when he warned that Spanish papists were

threatening to invade England and kill everyone under the age of twenty because they were

'borne out of fayth'.[141] Indeed, there are striking examples of adults initiating or utilising the

riot of young people outside of the religious sphere. One of the more interesting examples

relates to the London apprentices being mobilised in order to help the cause of the duke of

Somerset in 1551. In an alleged plot, Somerset was to invite the earl of Warwick to a

banquet where he would be murdered. However, if matters should escalate, a Mr Vane was

to run through the streets shouting 'libertye, libertye to raise the prentises'.[142] Although this

plan was not utilised, it highlights the important role of adults in youthful riot. Finally, there

is evidence that young people were encouraged to join Kett's Norwich rebellion in 1549. In

the records of the Aldermen, a Master Theatley was punished for attempting to entice

apprentices and servants to help the cause of Kett's rebels.[143] These examples suggest that

the religious riot of young people was sometimes shaped, and perhaps even initiated, by

adults.

Just as the religious disorder of young people should be viewed as part of the wider Protestant

movement, the role of religion in youthful riot should also be placed into context. There is no

question that young people undertook acts of religious riot and disorder during the English

Reformation and that this was predominantly aimed at Catholic targets. In 1541, John Smith,

an apprentice in Bread Street, was reprimanded for saying that he would 'rather hear the

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[141] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.47.
[142] Ibid., p.48; BL, Cotton MS Nero, C, x, fos. 44-5; The National Archives (T.N.A.), K.B. 8/19, m. 27; L.M.A., Rep. 12, fos. 326-7.
[143] L.M.A., Rep. 12, fo. 122.

crying of dogs than priests singing matins or evensong'.[144] Charles Tylby, who was fourteen,

threw his cap at the elevated Host in 1548 and, as a consequence, was whipped for his

actions'.[145] In Mary's reign, it is recorded that a young boy 'had his crown "shorne lyke a

pryest" by Francis Hygham, a draper's apprentice, who was whipped for what was termed,

participating in the 'derision of priests'.[146] In 1559, a printer's apprentice interrupted a

Rogationtide procession at St Paul's by snatching the processional cross, smashing it into

pieces and running away with the figure of Christ.[147] Furthermore, Catholic figures were also

targets of the young's religious disorder. In 1543, a group of apprentices and servants

attacked Sir William Gravesend whilst, in Mary's reign, Friar Peto and Bishop Bonner were

the targets of a stone and pudding respectively: both were hurled by young men.[148] Finally,

there is evidence of anti-Catholic misrule by the young, such as the 'lewd youth [who] nailed

a dead cat upon a post with a paper on its head... like a rood' in St Ives (Huntingdonshire)

recorded in a letter from Simon Kent to Henry Holbeach, the bishop of Lincoln, in 1549.[149]

This behaviour of young people prompted responses from government, such as the

proclamation of Edward's reign, which prohibited apprentices or servants from using 'such

insolence and evil demeanour towards priests as reviling, tossing of them, [and] taking

violently their cappes and tippets from them'.[150]

However, the aforementioned examples of religious riot span fifteen years and it is important

to position these incidents in the wider history of young people in Tudor England. For

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[144] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1377.
[145] L.M.A., Rep. 11, fo. 495.
[146] See Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p. 56; L.M.A., Rep. 13, fo. 157; B. Percival, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London.*
[147] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p. 1377; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 566. Rogationtide processions would not be prohibited under Protestantism but the apprentice seemed intent on attacking the processional cross and figure of Christ, items he perhaps understood as idolatrous.
[148] See Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', pp. 56-7; L.M.A., Jor. 15, fo. 9; L.M.A., Rep. 13, fo. 291ᵛ; L.M.A., Rep. 13, fo. 335.
[149] State Papers Domestic: Part 1: The Tudors: Henry VIII – Elizabeth I, 1509-1603 (available on: http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx), p.105.
[150] P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* (New Haven, 1964-9), i, no. 292.

example, the books for the Court of Aldermen contain numerous prohibitions relating to the non-religious riot of young people. Throughout the mid-sixteenth century, there were prohibitions against young people attending interludes, participating in dances and playing youthful games.[151] Judging by the extant court records, one particular issue that seemed to preoccupy the London aldermen much more than religious riot, was the lavish apparel of apprentices.[152] Regulations and prohibitions concerning apprentices' dress occur frequently from 1533 to 1570 which suggests that it is was a particular nuisance to the authorities. Furthermore, the master-apprentice disputes, recorded in the court minutes of the trade guilds, suggest that religion was not a major cause of conflict. Instead, many of the recorded disputes occurred due to alleged debts or thefts. For example, Richard Pauley, the apprentice to Thomas Barlow, a grocer, confessed to stealing goods worth £5 from his master.[153] Similarly, in the Carpenters' records, John Griffiths, apprentice to John Gibson, stole materials and money amounting to £5 11s 7d from his master whilst another apprentice stole a piece of lead by concealing it in his hose.[154] Furthermore, religion is not cited as an issue in the complaints made by apprentices against their masters. Instead, the most frequent complaint was that they were not being taught the trade, such as Richard Smart, who 'dothe not teache... the arte of Carpentrie' to Richard Poyner.[155]

Interestingly, the guilds did get embroiled in domestic disputes, which is where one would expect to find religious tensions. For example, William Levertonne, an apprentice skinner,

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[151] For games see L.M.A.., Rep.11, fos.350, 388ᵛ; L.M.A., Rep.12, fos.90, 91ᵛ, 98, 368ᵛ. For interludes see L.M.A, Rep.12, fos.99, 162ᵛ; 'Act for the Advancement of True Religion', *Statutes of the Realm 1101-1713* (London Record Commission, 1963), 34 & 35, Hen.8, c.1; For dancing and fencing see L.M.A., Jor.20, fos.368, 469.

[152] For apparel see L.M.A., Jor.13, fo.343v; Rep.9, fo.100v; Rep.10, fo.256; Rep.14, fo.252v; Rep.17, fos.353, 380, 454.

[153] W. Le Hardy (ed.), *Grocers' Company, Calendar to the Court Minute Books, 1556-1692*, vol. 1 (London, 1930), p.147.

[154] B. Marsh (ed.), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters: Company, Court Book 1533-1573*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1933), p.164, 154.

[155] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p.132. John Baldock made a similar complaint against his master; see *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p.74.

complained that his master had said 'certain undecent words' to him and also 'thrust him out of the doors' on a certain evening.[156] However, in these cases, the trade records rarely give details for the cause of the dispute. In the records of the Grocers' Company, William Strakeland, Thomas Chilton and Richard Weston were all insubordinate to their masters. The descriptions of their misbehaviour are all different but they do not shed any light on the cause of the conflict. Strakeland showed 'lewdness' to his master, Chilton was 'stubborne and dysobedyent' and Weston had 'committed divers offences for which he deserved to be punished'.[157] Unlike the trade disputes, such as theft from a master, where the guild would include information about the case, the records of more personal conflicts include only cursory details. For example, although it is recorded that Richard Hill was fined 7d for 'feythtyenge with a prentes', it is impossible to know what caused the conflict. It may have been an argument over a game of dice, or it may have been a religious disagreement: it is impossible to determine.[158] In themselves, these court records, which include limited descriptions and a preoccupation with non-religious issues such as apparel and theft, in addition with the evidence from Foxe, does not support the contention that young people were heavily involved in religious disorder. This has forced historians to analyse other types of evidence in order to highlight the frequency of religious disorder amongst the young and justify its role in the emergence of Protestantism. This evidence will be the focus of the following section.

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[156] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p.74; J.J. Lambert (ed.) *Records of the Skinners of London: Edward I to James I*, (London, 1933), p.305.
[157] *Grocers' Company*, pp.204, 304, 267.
[158] R. Myers, *The Stationers' Company*, p.6ᵛ. Similarly, Peter Harsuante, a stationer's apprentice, was forced to pay a fine of 12d for leaving his master, but there are no further details: *The Stationers' Company*, p.168.

IV. Representations of Young People in Catholic Polemic

If the judicial records can only provide the skeleton for the link between youthful disorder and Protestantism, the Catholic polemical tracts have been used to provide the flesh. From the beginning of the Reformation, conservative tracts and sermons forged a direct link between the emergence of Protestantism and a rise in youthful disobedience. Thomas More warned that, if young people were allowed a free rein, it would cause chaos. Indeed, he remarked that 'even here in London, after the great business that was there on a May day... all that business of any rising... began only by the conspiracy of two young lads that were apprentices in cheapside'.[159] Although this does not explicitly reference Protestantism, More's overarching theme that the 'heresy' was being spread by 'lewd laddys' reinforced the connection.[160] In 1545, the preacher Cuthbert Scott felt that he could specifically link apprentice disobedience with the Protestant religion. He claimed that the young apprentices had 'in their hand the new testament, and they will talk much of the scripture... God's word' but yet they ignore the writing of St Paul who 'in so many places doth beat and inculcate in, that servants should be obedient, and faithful unto their masters'.[161] This proved to be a popular theme because, in 1529, More also wrote that the arrival of Luther's heresies would allow 'youth [to] leue labour and all occupacyon'.[162] More was astutely aware that the fear of masterless men, especially those that were young, made this argument particularly effective. It would appear that, even during the early stages of the Reformation, the polemic produced by Catholic writers and preachers linked the emergence of Protestantism with the disorderliness of young people.

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[159] Thomas More, *The apologye of syr Thomas More knight* (1533) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[160] Ibid.

[161] Cuthbert Scott, *Two notable sermons,* sig. Hiv^r. Cf. Blench, *Preaching in England* (Oxford, 1964), p.242.

[162] Thomas More, *The supplycacyon of soulys* (1529) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

The concept of youth provided the conservative writers with a useful polemical tool which could be deployed to marginalise the Evangelical movement. During the 1520s, Lutheran ideas had been adopted by the students at the universities, and particularly at Cambridge, which worried their Catholic elders. The preacher Roger Edgeworth remembered that, when he was a young student of Divinity at Oxford, 'Luthers heresies rose and were scattered here in this realme, whiche in lesse space then a man woulde thinke, had so sore infected the christen flocke, first the youth, and consequentlie the elders, where the children coulde sette the fathers to scole'.[163] More also plays on this theme by referring to William Tyndale as a 'young man', despite the fact that in 1533, Tyndale was nearly 40 years of age.[164] Tyndale, in More's eyes, resembled 'a wanton ladde' and a 'shrewed wyly lad' who was, in equal measures, pugnacious and illogical in his arguments.[165] Perhaps more fittingly, John Frith, aged 30 in 1533, was also labelled a young man by Thomas More in *A letter... impugnynge the erronyouse wrytyng of Iohn Fryth agaynst the blessed sacrament of the aultare.* However, More refers to Frith as 'young' on 48 occasions within the 88 page treatise.[166] This was more than simply a descriptive term: it was a pejorative label deployed by More to disparage the religious views of Frith, Tyndale and, of course, the wider Evangelical movement.[167]

During Mary's reign, polemicists continued to produce material that described in explicit detail the problems that were occurring, or would soon occur, if a Protestant-influenced youth

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[163] Roger Edgeworth, *Sermons very fruitfull, godly, and learned: preaching in the Reformation c. 1535- c. 1553* (Cambridge, 1993), p.95.

[164] Thomas More would have been 58 years of age. There is clearly a generation between the two men, which More exploits, but Tyndale would not have been considered a young man in most aspects of Tudor society.

[165] Thomas More, *The second parte of the co[n]futacion of Tyndals answere* (1533) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[166] Thomas More, *A letter... impugnynge the erronyouse wrytyng of Iohn Fryth agaynst the blessed sacrament of the aultare* (1533). (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[167] Thomas More was not the only polemicist to use this technique. In 1538, a conservative derided one of Latimer's preachers by calling him a "foolish puppy and a boy": see R. Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*, p.180.

were to remain undisciplined. There was a uniform belief in these Marian works that, during

Edward's reign, young people had been indulged by the Protestant establishment. Preaching

in 1557, Cardinal Pole asserted that the Reformation was a 'youth movement' because of 'the

attractions Protestantism exercised over the London apprentices and other "yowthe brought

up yn a contrarye trade"'.[168] John Christopherson, the dean of Norwich, agreed that the

Protestantism of Edwardian England had indulged young people in liberty and Miles

Huggarde noted that, nowadays, 'the childe, vnnaturally resisteth & disobeieth the parentes'

because of the Edwardian tendency to 'nosel them vp with wantonnes'.[169] This youthful

liberty worried Huggarde who witnessed how young people would tell their friends that 'if

his father be a catholic man... he hath a papist to his father, or an old doting fool to his

mother'.[170] The Marian polemicists constructed the image of a terrifying dystopia which

existed because of the country's brief dalliance with Protestantism. It was a world where

young people frequently showed 'disobedience to magistrates and aged men', where parents

and masters were too fearful to correct their errant youths, and where apprentices 'follow[ed]

their sensual appetite and carnal lusts, as a great sort do, and think that they be favourers of

God's word'. [171]

Interestingly, in light of the aforementioned discussion surrounding guild records, the

polemicists describe in vivid detail how Protestantism had created conflict between

apprentices and their masters. Christopherson claimed that 'disorder and disobedience came

of this liberty [Edwardian Protestantism]' and had caused apprentices to abandon their

masters' businesses because 'they had been occupied either in reading God's word, or in

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[168] E. Duffy, 'Cardinal Pole Preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557' in E. Duffy and D. Loades (eds.) *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 195. The term 'youth movement' is used here by Duffy.
[169] Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554); Huggarde, *The displaying of the protestantes* (1556), p. 93.
[170] Huggarde, *The displaying of the protestantes* (1556), p. 94.
[171] Ibid., (1556), p.94; Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554).

hearing some sermon'.[172] This same theme is used by Huggarde who writes that apprentices and other servants, 'being nuzzled in liberty, are not only odious to the world, but also unthrifty towards their masters'.[173] It was not only that young people would rather be at a sermon than in the shop, it was alleged that Protestantism had also planted a deep mistrust in the patriarchal system of apprenticeship: 'since they [apprentices] had tasted of this new doctrine... very few of their masters could after trust them'.[174]

Young people are also described as frequently abusing the authority of the priests within the Catholic polemic. Playing on fears surrounding anti-hierarchical behaviour, the polemicists write that young people would shout at priests, 'I warrant you must turn your tippet, and lay away your old mumpsimus, and shut up your portess and your mass book too, and put away clean your purgatory masses... you must now old fool go to school again, and learn a new lesson'.[175] According to Christopherson, just seeing a priest was enough for young people to start their railing and they would 'whistle and hum' at the priests or say 'go walk in a mischief you bald headed knave'.[176] In the treatises, anticlericalism is portrayed as the favourite hobby of Marian apprentices who did not need to make their own games when they could 'spy a priest to play the like part'.[177] Later in Mary's reign, Huggarde was still observing a deep-seated anticlericalism amongst apprentices which meant that 'no good man or priest passing by them in the streets can escape without mockers'.[178] He provided a shocking example from St Margaret's church in Westminster where, on Easter Sunday, in the 'godly quietnes at our Lordes table, aboute to receiue the blessed body & bloud of Christ suddenly rose a desperate ladde & strake at the preist, hauing almost slaine him, and diuers

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[172] Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554).
[173] Huggarde, *The displaying of the protestantes* (1556), p. 95.
[174] Christopherson, *An exhortation to all* (1554).
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Huggarde, *The displaying of the protestantes* (1556) p.95.

other honest persones there present'. [179] In his St Andrew's Day sermon of 1557, Pole

brought all of these Catholic themes together when he preached that people have 'tolerated

such youthful rebellion... disorder and error' which will only end when 'the fathers and

masters cease to suffer and alteracyon yn his sonne or servant touching religion". [180] The

image of dystopia depicted by the Catholic polemicists proved durable. During the reign of

Elizabeth, Abbot Feckenham still believed that, because of the preachers 'of this new

religion... all things are turned upside down'. [181]

The content of these Catholic tracts and sermons however, must be approached with caution.

They are obviously pieces of propaganda. Catholic writers could marginalise Protestantism

by suggesting that youthful disorder was intrinsically linked to its emergence: a clearly

attractive topos. [182] Although Susan Brigden has stated that such disorderly depictions of

young people must have contained some truth, there is a danger of using this material as the

final jigsaw-piece which completes the puzzle of the court records. It creates a circular

argument where the young are expected to be riotous and, in addition, riot is expected to be

the work of young people. For example, in Mary's reign, a dead cat was dressed as a

massing priest and hung in Cheapside. This act would seem to fit the category of youthful,

religious riot. Indeed, Brigden claims that it is 'not hard to guess who might have been

responsible'. [183] However, the culprits are not known and, although there is the

aforementioned youth in St Ives who exhibited similar behaviour, there is also John Warne, a

30-year-old, who shaved his spaniel to look like a priest. This neatly illustrates the danger of

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[179] This incident is cited by Brigden alongside evidence from the judicial records. Huggarde, *The displaying of the protestantes* (1556), pp.100-1; Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.47.
[180] Duffy, 'Cardinal Pole Preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557', p. 195.
[181] Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*, p.180.
[182] In addition, it provided Catholic writers with an easily achievable solution, and one that most conservative people wanted to hear: that society will revert to 'normal' when young people were once again disciplined by their parents and masters.
[183] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.56

such an approach and, it is interesting to note that Brigden cites both the records from the Court of Aldermen and also Huggarde's *Displaying of the Protestants* when referring to the incident of the dead cat. The link between young people and religious disorder is therefore less strong than has often been assumed in the historiography. Moreover, as Hanawalt has claimed, this focus on riot and disorder may have restricted other lines of inquiry regarding the history of young people.

V.   Protestant Writings

Young people engaged in various forms of religious riot during the English Reformation and the evidence suggests that their targets were often Catholic. In the cases of Charles Tylby and John Hale, both were aiming their disorder at potent symbols of Catholicism, namely the Mass and Bishop Bonner. However, whether such religious riot was distinctively youthful is not clear. It would seem that, like the adults who shoved a pudding in the mouth of a priest mouth to stop him from saying the Mass, religious riot was a form of dissidence deployed by a range of Protestants. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that some acts of religious riot may have been perpetrated by young people, but they were instigated and encouraged by adults. There is also a need to place religious riot in its wider context. In the records of the trade guilds, there are many examples of young people undertaking non-religious acts of disobedience, such as theft and wearing inappropriate apparel, which troubled the beadles and aldermen considerably more than religious disorder. Historians have sought to augment the (inconclusive) judicial evidence, by utilising the works of Catholic polemic which abound with comments and examples of young people misbehaving due to Protestantism. The young are portrayed as disobedient to magistrates, insubordinate to their masters, and contemptuous to priests. This evidence is of questionable reliability, as a topos useful to Catholic polemicists, which can be seen by More's determination to describe his opponents as 'young'

at all opportunities, even when this was not strictly justifiable. Moreover, this historiographical focus on the religious riot of young people has restricted research into alternative, perhaps even complementary, explanations for why the young found Protestantism attractive.

In the Evangelical material, such as sermons and tracts, young people were not engaged and appealed to through a rhetoric of disorder or misrule. During the reigns of Henry and Edward, the reformers strongly promoted messages of obedience and discipline to young people via their pulpits and pens. Young people were to 'obey father and mother, master, lord, prince and king'.[184] This social order was propounded in *The Book of Homilies* (1547):

> 'Some are in high degree, some in low, some Kings and Princes, some inferiours and subjects, Priests, and lay men, masters and servants, fathers, and children husbands and wives, riche and poore, and everyone have neede of other, so that in all things is to bee lauded and praised the goodly order of God, without the whiche no house, no citie, no Commonwealth can continue and endure, or last'.[185]

The prosperity of the country depended on the maintenance of this social order, the same pyramid of authority that Marian Catholics claimed the Edwardian Protestants were putting in jeopardy. Latimer preached that 'God loveth a cheerful obeyer' who was obedient both bodily and spiritually whilst John Cheke, in a letter sent to Matthew Parker in 1552, asked 'if learning touch not soberness to young men, obedience in subjects, honesty in all degrees, [then] what should we do with learning'.[186] Indeed, young people were described as the 'good and possession' of their parents by Tyndale and should obey their masters even if they 'be evill and froward'.[187] The template for this behaviour was Christ and his Apostles who 'received many and divers injuries of the unfaithful and wicked men in authoritie' yet they

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[184] H. Walter (ed.), *Doctrinal Treatises and introductions to different portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Cambridge, 1848), p.25.
[185] *Certayne sermons, or homelies appoynted by the kynges Maiestie* (herein The Book of Homilies) (1547) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[186] *Sermons by Hugh Latimer* (London, 1906), p513; J. Bruce & T.T. Perowne (eds.) *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge, 1853), p.48.
[187] Walter (ed.), *Doctrinal Treatise,* p.168; *The Book of Homilies* (1547), p.72.

did not cause 'any sedition or rebellion against authoritie' but instead suffered 'all troubles...

and death it selfe obediently without tumult or resistance'.[188] *The Book of Homilies* even

described how 'hee [Saint Paul] will not that a Christian woman should forsake her husband,

although he be an Infidell, or that a Christian servant should depart from his Master, which is

an Infidell and Heathen'.[189] William Tyndale, who Thomas More labelled an 'abbote of

misrule in a Christemas game', described the natural law where people 'ought to prefer the

men before the women, and age before youth, as nigh as we can' for it is 'against the law of

nature that young men should rule the elder'.[190]

In the texts of the Protestant reformers, young people found themselves subject to their

parents or masters, magistrates and the king. At the summit of this pyramid of authority was

God, and this did create a conundrum for some early reformers. If the master of a young

person was disobedient to God, was it plausible for the youth to forsake a temporal elder?

Although the formal texts stated a youth should steadfastly obey an 'evil' master, this

question does offer a glimpse of some preachers condoning youthful disobedience regarding

religion. For example, Hugh Latimer preached that young people and women 'ought to do

their duty' to a master by 'obeying him in all things that be *not against the commandment of*

God'[191]. The logic in Latimer's argument is that God, as the ultimate arbitrator, consequently

requires the ultimate obedience even at the expense of earthly masters. This theme was also

explored in the works of William Tyndale. He advises young people that 'it is better to offer

to God, than to thy father or mother; and so much more meritorious, as God is greater than

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[188] *The Book of Homilies* (1547), p.72.
[189] Ibid., p 92.
[190] H. Walter (ed.), *An answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue* (Cambridge, 1850), p.18.
[191] *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p.538. The emphasis is mine. Latimer actually refers to the situation of women and their husbands first; explicitly saying 'For she may not obey her husband in wicked things, which be against God '. This clause is absent from the proceeding paragraph referring to the plight of youth but the adjoiner of 'likewise' strongly suggests that the female ability to subvert temporal obedience for spiritual obedience was also relevant to young people.

they' because 'worldly powers or rulers [are] to be obeyed' only when 'their commandments repugn not against the commandment of God.[192] In Cranmer's *Catechismus*, he writes that young people must be obedient 'first toward God, secondly towards your majesty, and so towards all ministers under the same, [and] towards theyr fathers and mothers'. It is perhaps significant the Cranmer chose to prioritise these recipients of youthful obedience.

It appears that religion may have theoretically offered young people the opportunity to temporarily break the traditional bonds of earthly obedience. Latimer preached 'let us not incline ourselves into the precepts and traditions of our fathers' but instead people should 'chiefly lean' on the Bible and 'do that [what] seemeth good in our own eyes'.[193] The young people of the English Reformation must embrace Scripture and break with the traditions, and consequently the obedience, of their elders. Tyndale took this argument to its logical conclusion and suggested that Scripture itself could provide a justifiable reason for a young person to leave the faith of their elders:

> "what reason is it, that I should leave the authority of my elders, and go believe his; or that
> he should leave the authority of his elders, and come and believe mine?" None at all,
> verily. But the one party must shew a miracle, or else we must refer our causes unto
> authentic scripture, received in old time, and confirmed with miracles, and therewith try
> the controversy of our elders.[194]

However, the disobedience of youth was intended to be brief. [195] In addition, the arguments of the early reformers concerning youthful liberty are highly theoretical and their resonance amongst an audience, especially a young one, is questionable. The majority of the Protestant sermons and tracts promote youthful obedience and refrain from any language that could be viewed as encouraging disorder among young Protestants.

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[192] Walter (ed.), *An answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue*, p.47; Walter (ed.), *Doctrinal Treatises*, p 25.
[193] *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p.82.
[194] Walter (ed.), *An answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue*, p.133.
[195] Note how the youth should *leave the authority of my elders, and go believe his; or that he should leave the authority of his elders, and come and believe mine*. The disobedience of a young person towards one elder was quickly replaced with obedience to another; this was not supposed to be a particularly liberating process.

The reformist preachers and authors did not want to give youth a licence for rebellion or riot; they did not wish to turn the world upside down. If this was the message received by young people, it is not prevalent in the extant texts of the Protestant polemicists. However, through detailed analysis of Protestant materials such catechisms, interludes and sermons, it is possible to find messages that would have resonated with young people, and perhaps offered them opportunities to subvert the social order, but in a more controlled and subtle manner than the incitement to riot and disorder. The following chapters will focus on this material in order to gain a more balanced interpretation of the relationship between young people and Protestantism.

Chapter Two

"Nouselled with ungodlie Catechismes and pernicious evil doctrine":

young people and religious education 1530-1570

I.

In the reformers' sermons and treatises produced during the English Reformation, it is clear that obedience was a requirement for young people. Within this material, authorised opportunities for the young to invert the social order or engage in religious disorder were minimal.[196] However, in addition to obedience, reformers expounded a second prominent message to young people in their tracts: the importance of gaining a religious education. Indeed, throughout sixteenth-century Europe, the religious education of the young was a key policy for reformers, both Protestant and Catholic, who became increasingly aware that the indoctrination of young people was an essential factor in ensuring the long-term success of a religious faith. In England, Evangelical reformers urged that 'we all should take earneste care... for our youth, that it be well instructe[d] and brought up in the true feare of God'.[197] The religious education of young people was also the key purpose of Cranmer's *Catechismus* in 1548, which aimed to ensure that 'the youthe and tender age of youre lovynge subjectes [Kind Edward's], maye be broughte up and traded in the trewth of Goddes holy worde'.[198] In 1549, Hugh Latimer, the bishop of Worcester, exclaimed 'there is now good hope in youth,

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[196] The opportunities were minimal, rather than non-existent, due to the more theoretical arguments that were propounded by some early reformers. These arguments are outlined in the previous chapter.

[197] E. Allen, *A catechisme, that is to saie, a familiar introduccion and training of the simple in the commaundmentes of God, and the principles of oure religion* (1548) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[198] T. Cranmer, *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the singular commoditie and profyte of childre[n] and yong people* (1548) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

that we shall another day have a flourishing commonweal, considering their godly education.[199]

This relationship between religious reform and educational advancement has been the focus of numerous Reformation historians throughout Europe who have aimed to understand both the methods and success of such pedagogy.[200] For example, in his seminal study of the German Reformation, Gerald Strauss noted that the Lutheran reformers quickly identified the importance of educating young people. Initially, the reformers concentrated their efforts on the very young (0-10) who, it was hoped, would gain their religious education in the domestic sphere.[201] Parents were encouraged to teach their young charges the tenets of Lutheran doctrine at any opportune moment but, at the very minimum, there should be instruction after the evening meal. It soon became clear, however, that many parents were inadequate and intermittent teachers which, coupled with the German revolts of 1525, forced Lutheran reformers to reassess their *modus operandi*. Consequently, the education of young people became part of a magisterial reform which relied on civic sponsorship for the provision of schools and teachers.[202] In 1978, Strauss offered a pessimistic evaluation of the Lutheran reformers' success claiming that many young people received only a 'smattering of religious education' through schools and catechism classes.[203] However, this view has been revised by more recent historians, such as Charlotte Methuen, who argues that there were important

[199] *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p.63.
[200] The importance of young people and education is outlined in Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*; C. Methuen, 'Securing the Reformation through Education: the Duke's Scholarship System of Sixteenth-Century Wurttemberg', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25:4 (1994), pp.841-851; S.M. Vance, 'Godly Citizens and Civic Unrest: tensions in schooling in Aberdeen in the era of the Reformation, *European Review of History*, 7:1 (2000), pp.123-137; I. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (Oxford, 1996); K. Von Greyerz, 'Switzerland' in R. Scribner, R. Porter & M. Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.30-46.
[201] In this first phase, adolescents were viewed as too old to re-educate. However, they were still expected to attend catechism classes and sermons.
[202] For a comprehensive account of Luther's early attempts to indoctrinate the young see Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, pp. 133-246.
[203] Ibid., p.282.

educational advances in places such as Württemberg, which had a Grosse Kirchenordnung that stipulated 'schools were to teach all the children... to read and write... and to know their catechism'.[204] Similarly, in Switzerland, Von Greyerz has suggested that the religious reformers gave 'a new impetus to the reform of schooling' whilst, in the 1530s, their catechisms played a 'crucial role in primary education'.[205]

In England, Evangelical reformers by-passed the Lutheran notion that parents could teach the tenets of the faith to their children and, instead, focussed on the sporadic and variable provision offered by schoolmasters and clergymen.[206] As observed by Nicholas Orme, there was a realisation that, in the 1530s, 'school was an effective place for teaching children religion as well as letters, and thereby [it was] an important means of establishing reformist beliefs and habits among the rising generation'.[207] For the same period, Joan Simon noted that 'the stage was set for a reformation in England which... might also extend to include educational reform'.[208] The historiography directly links the religious reforms with educational advancement. As noted by Ian Green, historians have tended to affirm that 'educational innovation was taken by the "godly"': starting with the Evangelicals and peaking with the Elizabethan Puritans.[209] In order to chart this peak, and in response to the pessimistic conclusions of Leach, subsequent historians have re-examined the provision of

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[204] Methuen, 'Securing the Reformation through Education', p.849.
[205] Von Greyerz, 'Switzerland', p.39.
[206] There were three types of school in sixteenth-century England. The first type were "petty" schools which would provided basic literacy to children who could walk to the building. In most cases, the educators in these schools would have been a local curate or a very poorly paid schoolmaster. The second type were "free" schools which were more ambiguous. These may have been the lower form of a grammar school or an isolated, intermediary school for those people who were too competent to remain in a "petty" school. Finally, there was the grammar school which taught linguistics and religious instruction. Typically for the gentry, these schools became more accessible to the middling sort as the century progressed. For a fuller account of these schools, see L. Stone, 'The educational revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), pp.41-80.
[207] N .Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), p.291.
[208] J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1979), p.148.
[209] I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Abingdon, 2009), p.8.

schools throughout the sixteenth century.[210] Scholars including Joan Simon, Wilbur Jordan and Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran have all undertaken research that tracks the educational institutions that were founded and maintained during the English Reformation.[211] It is only in the last fifteen years that historians have moved beyond this theme in order to analyse specific areas of educational advancement such as catechisms and also the training of schoolmasters.[212]

This chapter will build on the current historiography by focussing on the primary recipients of education: young people. It will demonstrate that reformers consciously used young people to disseminate religious knowledge to their peers and masters. Furthermore, the chapter will outline the role of young people as educators, rather than simply disseminators, and argue that this provided the young with an opportunity to achieve a social status that would have been otherwise unobtainable. The chapter will be separated into four interrelated subdivisions. The first section will survey the educational landscape of the sixteenth century in order to understand the growth of education and its inseparable ties to religion. The second will focus on Protestant catechising and how it created a role for young people as disseminators of religious knowledge. The third will illustrate how young people also engaged in educational practices outside of the reformers' authoritarian framework. And, finally, the fourth will analyse the educational programme during the reign of Mary, whilst also assessing how the Catholic polemicists interpreted the Edwardian educational policies, in order to understand better the potential popularity of Protestantism amongst the young.

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[210] A.F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation 1546-8* (Westminster, 1896).
[211] See J. Simon, 'A.F. Leach: A Reply', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 12:1 (Nov. 1963), pp.41-50; J. A. Hoeppner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548: learning, literacy, and laicization in pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Princeton, 1985), pp.3-14; W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: a study of the changing pattern of English social aspirations* (London, 1959), pp.280-5.
[212] For catechisms, see the impressive I. Green, *The Christian's ABC*. For a unique approach to the quality and influences of schoolteachers, see I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education*, pp.55-125; and also H. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

Although the age of youth for this study has already been defined, it is necessary to outline the typical ages when young people would have both entered and exited the various forms of religious education.[213] In terms of religious instruction, the catechism of Edmund Allen, which was produced in 1548, identifies two distinct stages. The first phase involves receiving basic religious instruction from parents whilst the second stage is signified by being taught 'eyther in the schole by the scholmaisters, or els in the churche by the pastoures and ministers'.[214] Unfortunately, Allen does not identify the age that separates these two phases. Similarly, in the official catechism of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Cranmer simply states that it is necessary for those children who have come to 'the yeres of discrecion', whilst John Ponet, in his *Catechisme* of 1553, suggests that his text is necessary for those of 'yong age'.[215] Slightly later evidence suggests that children would typically begin to attend catechism classes at six or seven. In Bailey Meridee's assessment of didactic texts produced between the years 1400-1600, she argues that the more formalised religious instruction occurred during 'middle childhood and pueritia': that is seven to fourteen years of age.[216] In addition, although Philippa Tudor has warned that 'only when episcopal visitation articles and injunctions began to record the ages of young people receiving catechetical instruction in 1569 can we speak with any certainty about when religious instruction began', she estimates that catechising started at six.[217] This is reiterated by Ian Green who, having analysed the

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[213] The age range of this study is clearly defined and explained in the 'Introduction'.

[214] Allen, *A catechisme* (1548).

[215] *The booke of the common prayer and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the vse of the Churche of England* (1549) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com); J. Ponet, *A short catechisme, or playne instruction, conteynynge the su[m]me of Christian learning* (1553) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[216] Bailey, 'In Service and at Home'. Bailey notes that 'didactic texts were often ambiguous in using age-specific terminology, making it difficult to differentiate between certain ages and interests'.

[217] P. Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents in the Early English Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35.3 (1984), p. 394.

same material, identified six as the proper starting age for oral catechisation.[218] In relation to

English schooling, Helen Jewell has suggested that it began 'around six to eight years of age'

but many poorer families could not release children from earning money, which they were

also able to do from seven or eight years of age.[219]

In terms of exiting education, Edmund Allen again fails to indicate when a young person

would no longer be required to learn his catechism. He states that once the young person had

learnt the entire text it was simply necessary to start at the 'begynnyng agayne'.[220] Many of

the catechisms were produced with the aim of training young people for Confirmation which

included mastery of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed.[221]

Throughout the sixteenth century, young people would typically attend Confirmation at the

age of twelve or fourteen but the evidence suggests that young people were expected to

attend catechism classes beyond this age. For example, Green has identified nineteen as a

typical age for exiting catechisms classes but cautions that people of '20 or more were not

considered immune from catechising if they wished to take a full part in church life'.[222] This

is reaffirmed by Tudor who also argues that twenty was a typical age for when formal

catechising may stop.[223] For schooling, it would seem that fourteen was an average age for

leaving class but, in *The Boke named the Governour*, written by Sir Thomas Eliot in 1531, it

is recommended that it should continue until twenty-one because 'far too many parents

dispense with tutors when boys are only fourteen leaving them to idle away their time at the

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[218] Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p. 122. This age is corroborated by the Lutheran Reformation, where Strauss has suggested that children started catechism classes at six or seven: Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.199.
[219] Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England*, p.92.
[220] Allen, *A catechisme* (1548).
[221] The anonymous *An A.B.C. wyth a catechisme, that is to saye, an instruction to be learned of everye chylde before he be brought to be confyrmed of thee*, published in 1551, is one example of how catechisms were viewed as texts to help a young person through the ceremony of Confirmation.
[222] Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p.122.
[223] Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents', p.394.

most formative age'.[224]   The evidence therefore suggests that formal religious instruction

lasted from the age of six to nineteen whilst schooling was typically for those aged six to

fourteen.

II.   The Growth of Education 1520-1553

Throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the Evangelical reformers placed a

growing emphasis on the religious education of young people.   Unlike the systematic

approach to religious instruction that was implemented in Lutheran Germany, the English

reformers were more piecemeal in their interventions.   Nevertheless, by the end of Edward's

reign, young people were encouraged to attend school and were an integral part of the

catechisation programme.   This section will survey the key educational developments of pre-

Reformation and Reformation England in order to highlight the ideas and events that

influenced the Evangelical reformers.   Following the lead of other historians, it will begin

with an assessment of the impact of humanism before analysing the educational repercussions

of dissolving both the monasteries and the chantries.   In addition, it will emphasise the

increasing importance of young people for the Evangelical reformers as the period

progressed.

As defined by Maria Dowling, humanism was the 'reappraisal of religious and secular

thinking through examination of the literary bases of theology and philosophy: that is, the

Christian scriptural and patristic writings and the "acceptable" pagan classics'.[225]   Its

influence extended across Europe and it had a significant impact on the way that young

people, and specifically young gentlemen, were to be educated.   For example, in Thomas

Lupset's *Exhortacion to Young Men*, written to a former tutee in 1529, he explained the need

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[224] Quoted in Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p.154.
[225] Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p.1.

to study texts such as Erasmus' translation of the New Testament, Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, and the works of Cicero.[226] The content of this bibliography is typically humanist as was Lupset's advice for reading the New Testament: he states that young men should 'presume not in no case to thynke, that there you understonde ought: leve devisinge thereupon: submit your selfe to the expositions of holy doctrines: and ever conforme your consent to agre with Christes church'.[227] Although such bridled comments have led Joan Simon to suggest that the conservative humanists put knowledge 'at a discount', it neatly outlines the dilemma experienced by the early humanists who wanted to increase access to scripture whilst also ensuring that its interpretation remained agreeable to Catholic theology.[228]

Humanism had a direct impact on the education of young people in pre-Reformation England. At St Paul's School, John Colet, a close friend of Erasmus, created an institution that eschewed any type of scholastic learning in order to provide a model for humanist education.[229] The school was 'the kind that all humanist writers advocated: 'a school open to all comers, placed in a city and not shut away in a monastic precinct, held in a building of its own and under the control of a public authority'.[230] Later in the English Reformation, such lay benefaction would become an important element of the school-system with Edwardian preachers stating that such bequests would have been lauded and praised by the ultimate

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[226] Lupset was a friend of Thomas More, Reginald Pole and Erasmus. The exhortation was written to Edmund Withypoll.
[227] T. Lupset, *An exhortation to yonge* men, perswadinge them to walke in the pathe way that leadeth to honeste and goodness (1534) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[228] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, pp.150-2.
[229] In his study of education in Lutheran Germany, Strauss identifies how this return to patristic writing helped to form the Lutheran approach to education. The works of Aristotle, Plutarch, Quintilian, Jerome and Augustine all fed into the texts of Luther, Erasmus, Philipp Melanchthon and Juan Luis Vives to create a new approach to education; Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, see chap. 3.
[230] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p. 73.

school-master, Jesus Christ.[231] Colet also advocated the spread of religious education in the

vernacular, in line with humanist thought, and produced a catechism for the boys of St Paul's

in 1512 which included the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Ten

Commandments and the Seven Sacraments in English.[232] Colet's favour of the vernacular

would sometimes upset his superiors and it is claimed that Richard Fitzjames, the bishop of

London, suggested that Colet was a heretic for 'translating the paternoster in English' in

1514.[233] Colet's brand of humanism focused on the rejection of scholasticism, specifically

sought lay benefactors and encouraged learning in the vernacular; it is easy to understand

why Joan Simon felt that such a philosophy 'paved the way for more thoroughgoing reforms'

in education during the English Reformation.[234]

The humanist movement is a reminder that the reformers of the sixteenth-century

appropriated educational philosophies that preceded the English Reformation. Similarly, it is

also important to view the religious instruction of pre-Reformation England out of the

shadow cast by the Evangelical reformers. Indeed, Clive Burgess has described how

'education was not hard to obtain' in late medieval England. He states that 'domestically, it

could be had both at the hearth and in the workshop' and 'locally, the density of parish

churches and resultant numbers of stipendaries... ensured that education in the parish was

readily available'.[235] Such education would typically consist of basic religious instruction

that enabled pupils to help the priest undertake his parochial duties although it may have

included simple literacy. In 1526, the statutes of the small chantry school at Childrey in

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[231] In the early 1520s, Hugh Latimer preached that people with wealth should give 'teachers stipends worthy of their pains: *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p.63.
[232] Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, p.148.
[233] F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers: John Colet, Erasmus and Thomas More* (London, 1887), pp.254-5.
[234] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, pp.72-3.
[235] C. Burgess, 'Educated Parishioners in London and Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation' in C.M. Barron & J. Stratford (eds), *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: essays in honour of R.B. Dobson* (Donington, 2002), p.295.

Berkshire required the priest to 'teach children the Alphabet, the Lord's prayer, the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostle's Creed and all other things which are necessary to enable them to assist the priest in the celebration of the Mass, together with the psalm De Profundis and the usual prayers for the dead'.[236] Furthermore, Eamon Duffy has noted the importance of the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* within the pre-Reformation landscape. The *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* was a late-medieval catechism which included the key tenets of Catholicism and was to be expounded by the parish priest in the vernacular. In 1518, the text was reissued by Cardinal Wolsey with orders that its content should be communicated to the entire parish four times a year.[237] This neatly illustrates that the Evangelical reformers did not create a programme of religious education out of a vacuum but, in their scope, they were certainly more ambitious. As noted by Nicholas Orme, 'the Reformation was the outcome of educational developments... the higher education of the monarch and the nobility, and wider education among other lay people made necessary and helped bring about a reassessment of their roles within the Church'.[238]

During the reign of Henry VIII, there were important educational developments, such as the production of a standardised Latin textbook for grammar schools and the appropriation of Wolsey's Cardinal College, but these are overshadowed by the scale and impact of the changes wrought by the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The loss of the monasteries had two profound effects on education. Firstly, it brought the subject of education to the attention of policy-makers. Prior to 1538, educational policy was often the domain of bishops and deacons, mainly due to the attachment of schools to religious institutions, which meant that educational reforms were implemented on a diocesan level. This approach is evident in the attempts of Hugh Latimer, the bishop of Worcester, who implemented reform in his diocese

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[236] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p. 48.
[237] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.53.
[238] N. Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London, 1989), p.18.

during the 1530s by ordering 'chantry priests to instruct the children of their parishes to read English'.[239] The Dissolution brought the religious education of young people into the sphere of "secular" government and, as stated by Orme, this was the beginning of the crown 'developing educational policies'.[240] Secondly, the Dissolution provided reformers with the assets and agenda to pursue educational advances. Although the loss of the monasteries had serious doctrinal implications for traditional religion and its shrines, pilgrimages and images, Thomas Cromwell's plans for the disused buildings and resources were not entirely odious to some of its followers. Cromwell wanted to use the Dissolution as a means of promoting education for 'the good of society and the welfare of the church, and, too, the salvation of individual souls' which conflated strands of Humanist and Evangelical thought. In 1539, an official statute promised that the spoils from the monasteries would be used so that 'God's word might be the better set forth... [and] children brought up in learning'.[241] This policy chimed with an earlier plea from Thomas Starkey, a humanist and religious conservative, who had advised Henry to put the confiscated monastic lands to good use by setting up 'common schools for the education of youth in virtue and religion'.[242] Therefore, the Dissolution of the Monasteries was an important event in relation to the religious education of young people because it encouraged the government to develop and implement a policy towards this subject.

It is also important to note that there were other educational reforms in Henry's reign that would have been more uncomfortable for religious conservatives. For example, in 1538,

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[239] N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London,1973), p.256. Similarly in Canterbury, an injunction of 1530 stated that rectors, vicars and chantry priests should instruct boys in the alphabet, reading, song or grammar when not engaging in divine service, study, prayer or preaching: see Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England*, p.45.
[240] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p.311
[241] *The Statutes of the Realm, from Magna Carta to the end of the reign of Queen Ann*, III (London, 1963), 728.
[242] S.J. Herrtage (ed.), *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth. Part 1: Starkey's life and letters* (London, 1927), p.lvi.

royal injunctions required that every parish church should purchase an English bible and that access should not be restricted. In Cranmer's Preface to the Bible of 1540, he includes young people in his list of those who should read the book to 'learn all things what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning almighty God, as also concerning themselves and all other'.[243] Joan Simon has described this period as one of educational transition, where emphasis moved away from the church as teacher, the traditional 'guardian and expositor of the faith', to the promotion of communal education, and sometimes even 'self-education', throughout society.[244] There was also an injunction in 1538 stating that young people were not to be permitted to receive the sacrament unless they could say the Paternoster, the Creed and the Ten Commandments in English. This focus on the education of young people, accelerated by the Dissolution of the Monasteries, has led Philippa Tudor to identify this period as the start of England's 'ambitious programme of religious instruction for children and adolescents'.[245]

As Joan Simon noted, 'if education was to be an effective means of unifying the religious outlook and consolidating the social order, further steps were clearly necessary' after the reign of Henry VIII.[246] This arrived with the ascension of Henry's son, Edward VI, who himself had received a strong, Protestant education. The Edwardian regime's first attempts to provide basic religious instruction for young people can be seen in the *Book of Homilies* (1547), Cranmer's *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of children and yong people* (1548) and the *Book of*

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[243] *The Byble in Englyshe that is to saye, the content of all the holye scrypture, bothe of the olde and newe Testament* (1540) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[244] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p.176.
[245] Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents', p. 391. Although these developments were important, Orme has urged historians to remember that 'a large section of education lay untouched by his [Henry's] actions, larger than that which he touched: that is the clerical teachers and the schoolmasters'; Orme, *Medieval School*, p.311.
[246] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p.196.

Common Prayer (1549). The *Homilies* and the *Catechismus* are both in the form of short

sermons whilst the *Book of Common Prayer* contains a catechism that was specifically

included for young people. Cranmer's catechism praises King Henry VIII who 'dyd mooste

Godlye begynne' to reform but it also offers a barbed criticism of his progress regarding

education. Cranmer states that Edward must reverse the 'greate negligence of th[e] education

of the youth' which if it 'had not bene so much suffered', the religious reforms would have

been much more successful.[247]

The famous ethos of William Tyndale to enable the 'boy who driveth the plough' access to

the Bible was also the objective of the Edwardian reformers. Indeed, it has been noted that

the initial injunctions of Edward's reign, produced in 1547, 'largely repeated the policies of

the 1530s'.[248] In the historiography, this egalitarian approach to reading religious texts is

commonly linked to the promotion of literacy. For example, Michael Alexander writes that

'while hoping to promote the eventual Protestant victory, the publication of the English Bible

also led to greater awareness of the need for more widespread education and literacy'.[249]

Similarly, Lawrence Stone noted that, once the Bible 'ceased to be a closely guarded secret

fit only to be read by priests, it generated pressures for the creation of a literate society'.[250]

Literacy amongst young people, which was to be acquired through education, was

intrinsically linked to the open ethos of the Evangelical reformers regarding religious texts.

This need for literacy is conveyed by Hugh Latimer who, in 1550, highlighted the need for

more schools and teachers. He implored benefactors to provide 'lands and riches for their

children to school to learn the word of God, and to make a provision for the age to come'.[251]

In Cranmer's *Catechismus* of 1548, he writes that young people should acquire an elementary

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[247] Cranmer, *Catechismus* (1548).
[248] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p.317.
[249] M.V.C. Alexander, *The Growth of English Education 1348-1648* (Pennsylvania, 1990), p. 111.
[250] L. Stone, *Social Change and Revolution in England: 1540-1640* (London, 1965), p.27.
[251] *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p.253.

education in order to understand better 'godlye sermons and al other godlye doctrine and books'. Similarly, in Edmund Allen's *Catechsime* of 1548, he expounds the need for young people to be taught either in a church or school to bring them to 'the knowledge of God conteyned in holy scripture, in the byble'.[252] In many ways, it was the dissolution of the Chantries, undertaken in 1547, which provided the reformers with an opportunity to put this theory into practice. In the Act for the Dissolution of Chantries, it was stated that the dissolved chantries and resources should be converted to 'good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness'.[253] Joan Simon observed this theory being turned into action at Newent (Gloucestershire) where the chantry commissioners reported that 'all the youth of a great distance there hence [are] rudely brought up and in no manner of knowledge and learning' and therefore it was necessary to 'erect a school for the better and more godly bringing up of the same youth'.[254] Nicholas Orme has suggested that there was initially a slow start regarding the endowment of schools after the dissolution of chantries but, by 1550, it was possible to see 'the real beginning of the promised educational foundations'.[255]

Although historians have debated whether the number of schools increased or declined due to the dissolutions, it is beyond question that these events had a galvanising effect on the attitudes of Evangelical reformers regarding education. The Dissolution of the Monasteries put education on the radar of reformers and, along with other members of society, young people were encouraged to attend sermons and read the Bible in the vernacular. However, after the execution of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII adopted a conservatism that stifled this educational renaissance and young people were prohibited from reading the Bible and other

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[252] Edmund Allen, *A catechisme...* (1548).
[253] C. Williams (ed.), *English Historical Documents, 1485-1558* (1967), pp.775-7.
[254] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p. 229.
[255] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p.283.

religious texts through statute such as the *Act for the Advancement of True Religion*.[256] Only after Henry's death did the religious education of the young, including access to texts, receive formal encouragement. This ethos placed emphasis on the literacy of young people and the Dissolution of the Chantries was viewed as an opportunity to increase the provision of schools in Edwardian England. It is claimed by Joan Simon that the schools created from the loss of the chantries 'were conceived of as units in an educational system serving a protestant nation'.[257] In many ways, literacy and religious instruction were inextricably linked during the Edwardian period and this is perhaps most true for a form of instruction that has not yet been examined in this study: the catechisation of young people.

III. Catechising: young people as disseminators of religious knowledge

In his impressive study of catechisms and their usage throughout the early modern period, Ian Green defines a catechism as a 'manual of belief' and catechisation as 'a means of leading young Christians towards knowledge and understanding of the faith'.[258] Catechisms could also help young people to acquire literacy, such as *The ABC with the catechisme*, and prepare them for confirmation to Holy Communion, such as *The primer and catechisme*.[259] There were two main ways that young people interacted with catechisms. Firstly, the texts could be read privately by an individual and, during Edward's reign, printed catechisms written by Cranmer and Allen were produced for public sale.[260] The second method of accessing a catechism was via oral dissemination. During the reign of Edward, there was a novel preoccupation with oral catechisation, particularly in the church, and the benefits that it could

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[256] 'Act for the Advancement of True Religion', *Statutes of the Realm 1101-1713*, 34 & 35, Hen.8, c.1.
[257] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p.240.
[258] See Green, *The Christian ABC*, p.15.
[259] Both of these catechisms contain the version within Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*. As observed by Green, 'it is likely that the first text on which the majority of people who learnt to read practised their new skills was the catechism of 1549': Green, *The Christian ABC*, p.66. However, it should be noted that young people did not have to be literate to learn the basic catechism in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Its short form, consisting of thirteen questions and answers, could have been learned by rote.
[260] For dramatic representations of young people receiving and reading catechisms during the reign of Edward VI, see Chapter Three.

bring. Archbishop Cranmer produced an authorised text, the Prayer Book catechism of 1549, which outlined the proper process for catechisation, including how often it should occur, for the parish priest. In addition, throughout the reign, many reformist bishops included articles in their visitations that enquired to the frequency of the catechism classes.[261] The programme of catechisation focussed on young people because they represented a better, reformed future. However, young people also developed a novel role through this pedagogical model as disseminators of religious education throughout Edwardian society. This section will describe the process of catechisation and build on the current historiography by exploring how the process of catechising affected those young people who were at the heart of the process.

In the Edwardian programme of catechisation, young people were unquestionably the predominant focus of the reformers. The typical method of oral catechisation, which is true for both schools and churches, comprised of oral repetition between a master and his pupil(s). This is most vividly described in Edmund Allen's catechism of 1548 which stated that the young people should be given 'every Sunday one short article or question to learn, repeating it distinctly twice or thrice, and requiring it of them again the next Sunday, and then to give and repeat unto them in like manner another, until the whole catechism, be learned out'.[262] The questions would usually be read aloud by the presiding cleric and the answer made by the young people in attendance. Whether these responses were made by individual pupils or the group as a whole is something that probably depended on the size of the class (and the parish).[263] Consequently, the catechisms constructed for oral dissemination would contain relatively short questions, such as Allen's 'what is it to honour father and mother?', and

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[261] In Kett's rebellion of 1549, the insurgents complained that the young people were not being catechised often enough by the priests: see Green *The Christian's ABC*, p.133.
[262] Allen, *A catechisme.* (1548).
[263] See Green, *The Christian ABC.*

precise answers, such as Cranmer's 'honour thy father and thy mother that thou may lead a long life in the land which the lord God shall give unto the[e].'[264] Similarly, in Ponet's catechism, both the question and response are ideally constructed for learning through recitation: 'What is in that commandment doe not kill? ... That we hate [and] revile no man'.[265] This rigid, formal style of catechisation with frequent reiteration of material was believed to be the most effective way to teach young people. The mind of the young was believed to be stubborn and ignorant like a rock. Therefore, in order to carve this rock into something of beauty or worth, the teacher had to chisel away, never flinching from the task that he had started, even if it required a period of many years.[266]

The official Prayer Book catechism of Edwardian England was to be taught by the 'curate of every parish once in sixe wekes at the least... upon some Soonday or holy day, half an houre before evensong'.[267] This is confirmed in the visitation articles of Nicolas Ridley, the bishop of London, which were produced in 1550, and which enquired as to whether catechisation occurred 'upon the Sunday or holy-day, and at least every six weeks once'.[268] However, other reformist catechisms were more ambitious. The catechism of Edmund Allen, produced in 1548, suggested that the curate should catechise for 'one houre... every Sonday' or, for schools, that the schoolmaster should catechise for an hour 'once a week'. Indeed, in the *Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws* (1552), the minimum requirement was extended so that curates must teach catechism classes for one hour on every Sunday and holy day.[269] In all of

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[264] E. Allen, *A shorte cathechisme A briefe and godly bringinge vp of youth* (1550) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com); T. Cranmer, *Catechismus* (1548). Cranmer's answers are more like short sermons than memorable answers for the young. However, each commandment has an opening response, such as this quote, which must have been designed as the desired retort during examination.

[265] Ponet, *A short catechisme* (1553).

[266] Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, see ch.1.

[267] *The booke of the common prayer* (1549).

[268] Christmas (ed.), *Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p.320.

[269] J.C. Spalding, *The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws of England, 1552* (Missouri, 1992). Although Edward's death meant that this was never fully enacted.

these orders relating to church catechisation, it is always stipulated that the young people are to be instructed and examined 'openly in the church'.

In addition to putting the young at the heart of learning, catechisation also utilised them as disseminators of religious knowledge. In the catechising that occurred in churches, it is clear that young people were instructed and examined in groups. The curate would call a pupil to the front of the class before asking them to recite the Lord's Prayer, the Article of Belief, the Ten Commandments, and perhaps a short question regarding the nature of god-parenting or the Trinity. Importantly, this method meant that the catechumen was not only undertaking an individual assessment of his religious knowledge, but he was also providing indirect instruction for the other pupils who were forced to witness the spectacle.[270] There is also evidence to suggest that, in some instances, young people were used to ask the questions within the catechism, in addition to reciting the answers. In Lutheran Germany, Ian Green notes that 'children were ranged in ranks with one side intoning the questions and the others the answers'.[271] This alternative method of 'horizontal' learning might also have been imported into some English parishes, especially during the Edwardian period, when Cranmer and others were heavily influenced by Bullinger and his fellow continental reformers.[272] A similar example can be found in the statutes of East Retford grammar school, refounded by Robert Holgate, the archbishop of York (1545-1554), where it is prescribed that pupils should attend divine service in the parish church on every Sunday and holy day so that a grammar school pupil can read aloud 'the catechism in English openly and distinctly in the body of the said parish church... as well for their own instruction as for the instruction of other young

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[270] The same process was also occurring in Germany: see Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.256.

[271] Green, *The Christian ABC*, p.240.

[272] Indeed, John Bale's dialogue for two children included the older son questioning the younger son. Although the length of the answers suggest this text was probably read, rather than remembered by rote, it offers another example of young people "questioning" each other in formalised roles: J. Bale, *A dialoge or communycacyon to be had at a table betwene two chyldren, gathered out of the holy scriptures* (1549) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

children... in the parish'.[273] Not only is the young pupil disseminating knowledge to his fellow schoolmates, by undertaking this action in the parish church, he is contributing to the teaching the other young people who did not attend a school. The idea that young people could help educate one another in such a manner was certainly not an invention of the English Reformation. In pre-Reformation grammar schools, it was not unusual for the students to undertake the role of educators, particularly for the younger students. The statutes for the grammar school in Manchester (1525) stated that the older pupils could teach elementary reading to the younger ones in order to preserve the precious time of the master.[274] This development has also been noted by Michael Alexander who suggested that 'all students at the grammar school level or beyond were potential reading teachers'.[275] However, through their programme of catechisation, the Edwardian reformers extended this principle and applied it to religious instruction. In addition, by catechising young people as a social group, the reformers created an activity that was both distinctively youthful and, for those who undertook the role of "educators" or quasi-examiners, provided an opportunity to acquire a status in society that would otherwise have been difficult to obtain.

Even more significantly, catechising also utilised young people to act as disseminators of religious knowledge for their elders. At the beginning of the Edwardian period, Thomas Cranmer clearly stated his intentions for educating society at large through the instruction of young people. In his catechism of 1548, Cranmer wrote that 'the older sort' might 'by hearing of their children, learne in theyr age, that which passed them in their youth'.[276] This objective was also echoed by Edmund Allen in 1548, who claimed that curates should examine young people 'in the church before the face of the whole parish' in order to obtain 'a

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[273] Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p.240.
[274] Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, p.17.
[275] Alexander, *The Growth of English Education 1348-1648*, p.36.
[276] Cranmer, *Catechismus* (1548).

floorysshing commonwelthe'.[277] Both Cranmer and Allen encourage curates to catechise young people in front of their parents and masters with the intention that, although the elders would not participate directly, the repetitive teaching would seep into their minds. Green observes that reformers were keen to catechise the young when 'their parents were present rather than beforehand when their parents may not have arrived'.[278] Indeed, it would seem that this method of religious instruction, where the young were used as disseminators for their parents, found its way into the injunctions of Nicholas Ridley. On becoming the bishop of London in 1550, Ridley ordered that each curate 'shall call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish'.[279] Furthermore, when Ridley was looking back at Edward's reign after the accession of Mary, he remembered how 'the old folk... yet they learned the same [the basics of the new faith], by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same'.[280] It therefore seems plausible to suggest that the parents were here expected to attend the catechism classes along with their charges.

The notion of using young people as a tool to educate their elders was prevalent in the mid-sixteenth century. During the early 1530s, Richard Whitford, a priest attached to the Bridgettine monastery of Syon, expressed a hope in his *Werke for Housholders* that through 'hearing children recite the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria and Creed in the vernacular the older generation would be able to learn these texts at the same time, without embarrassment'.[281] There was also a strong Lutheran influence in this method of communal instruction. Andreas Osiander, writing almost contemporaneously with Whitford, stated that his *Catechism Sermons for Children* (1534) was intended to 'prepare young children for their first

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[277] Edmund Allen, *A catechism* (1548).
[278] Green, *The Christian ABC*, p.104.
[279] Christmas (ed.), *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p.320.
[280] Ibid., p.49.
[281] Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents', p.399; Whitford's *Werke for Housholders* was first published in 1530 but republished twice in 1531, once in 1533 and twice more in 1537.

communion (as well as to instruct the "simple of mind" assembled in the adult congregation)'.[282] Outside of catechising, reformers also hoped that young people would disseminate religious knowledge through the singing of godly ballads. In the mid-1530s, Miles Coverdale composed a number of psalms for young people to sing so that they could 'change their foul and corrupt ballads into sweet songs and spiritual hymns of God's honour'.[283] Similarly, Gerald Strauss notes that Lutheran reformers taught young people psalms in the hope that they would sing them for their parents at home.[284] The notion of using young people as disseminators of religious knowledge proved durable and Shona Maclean Vance, writing on Aberdeen during the 1560s, noted that 'the young helped their elders by the public repetition of and examination in the catechism'.[285] Similarly, in the *Book of Discipline*, it is explained how the open examination of young people would be 'great instruction to the aged'.[286] Finally, Amy Nelson Burnett highlights that, in Basel, parents were forced to attend the catechism classes of their children.[287] In the process of their own religious instruction, young people would themselves become an instrument for the dissemination of Protestant doctrine to the whole parish. Although this concept was not an innovation of the Edwardian regime, it was applied systematically to the programme of catechisation and was enforced by visitations. Therefore, catechising within the parish church provided young people with a clear role regarding the dissemination of religious knowledge to their natural superiors.

Although by this means young people may have indirectly inverted the usual flow of knowledge in Tudor society, it is important to note the controlled environment within which

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[282] Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.209.
[283] Quoted I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), p.380.
[284] Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.232.
[285] S. Vance, 'Godly Citizens and Civic Unrest', p.125.
[286] J.K. Cameron (ed.) *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1972), p.132.
[287] A.N. Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and their Message in Basel, 1529-1629* (Oxford, 2006), p.228.

the young could perform this role. In the church, the priest would preside over the class and authorise the process of any catechising. The same role would be undertaken by schoolmasters in an educational setting. Indeed, even the didactic texts produced for use in the domestic sphere, such as John Bale's *A dialogue or communication to be had at a table between two children* (1549), include an adult figure who legitimises any 'horizontal' learning amongst the young people or indirect dissemination to elders.[288] For example, in Bale's dialogue, the exchange between the brothers adheres to the natural hierarchy of authority as the father allows the older brother to edify the younger. Bale's controlled depiction of young people educating one another neatly outlines the reformers' plans within the catechism classes and schools. In these scenarios, young people were being allowed to disseminate or "educate" by figures of authority: schoolmasters, curates and fathers. In addition, in their role as disseminators for adults, there is no direct contact between the young people and their elders which avoids any reference to social inversion. Therefore catechising was a distinctively youthful activity which offered young people an opportunity to act as parochial educators but, importantly, this pedagogical tool was always authorised and circumscribed by an adult.

IV.   Young People as Educators: outside of church and school

This chapter has sought to analyse evidence from both ends of the theological spectrum in order to find a *via media*. On the one side, there is the blueprint of Evangelical reformers and their plans to provide young people with religious instruction through formal models of indoctrination. On the other side, there are the dystoptian warnings of conservative polemicists who portrayed young people as disobeying their natural superiors due to their unfettered access to sermons and religious texts. However, there are other examples of young

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[288] J. Bale, *A dialoge or communycacyon to be had at a table betwene two chyldren, gathered out of the holy scriptures* (1549).

people acting as religious disseminators and educators in this period. For example, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, there are glimpses of young people providing instruction for one another. In the story of William Maldon, a young man of seventeen, it is clear that his household is theologically divided along generational lines.[289] Maldon's parents are both followers of traditional religion whilst Maldon and Thomas Jeffrey, his father's apprentice, are sympathetic to the Evangelical creed. Indeed, during Henry's reign, William and Thomas both saved their money in order to purchase a copy of the New Testament in English. Although there is no reference to direct dissemination in this story, that is the reading aloud from either William or the apprentice to the other, the act of co-funding the procurement of this text suggests that it had been discussed, and would continue to be debated, by the two young men. There is an equally intriguing vignette concerning a young man named John Davis, also included in *Acts and Monuments*, who was approximately twelve years of age in 1546.[290] It would seem that, during Henry's reign, John had acquired a reputation as an informal tutor regarding Evangelical doctrine. John was living with his sympathetic uncle, an apothecary, and his aunt, Alice Johnson, who was offended by John's affinity to reformed ideas. Alice was eager to report John to the authorities and consequently concocted a plan to entrap the young man. Interestingly, Alice asked her son, Oliver Johnson, who was a schoolfellow of John, to gain his trust and ask 'to be instructed, to see his English bookes, and especially to gette some thyng of his wrytyng against the vi Articles'. This enlightening story suggests that, even in Henry VIII's reign, there was a sense of confraternity amongst young people regarding Evangelical instruction. In this story, Alice was clearly aware that John was more likely to share his reformist knowledge, be it through oral or written instruction, with another young person. In both of these vignettes, young people were directly and indirectly providing religious instruction for one another outside the authority of

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[289] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2288.
[290] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2277.

their elders. Although it is impossible to prove, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the communal learning experienced in Edwardian catechisation may have further galvanised this youthful confraternity.

There is also evidence to suggest that young people were using their religious knowledge to educate their elders outside of the formal channels such as catechisation. There are a number of examples in Foxe that reveal the young as educators or instructors for elders within the same household. A famous instance of this is the case of Rawlins White, a fisherman from Cardiff, who was 'altogether learned and... very simple'. However, during Edward's reign, Rawlins wanted to know more about Evangelical doctrine and sent his son to school in order to acquire literacy. When this was achieved, the son would 'euery night after supper, sommer and winter... read a piece of the holy scripture' to his father.[291] In a similar example, the bed-ridden James Trevisam, who thirsted for scripture even though he was 'impotent and lame', asked his young servant, James Small, to 'red on the Bible for him'. This arrangement was only uncovered in 1555 when 'berde the promoter' stumbled upon a session and sent them to be examined at Newgate.[292] In these examples, young people are inverting the social order by educating their elders but their behaviour is not disorderly or riotous, but it is rather instigated and sanctioned by elders. Indeed, such instances were replicated in Lutheran Germany where texts such as Jordan's *Leyenschul* suggested that a layman could achieve functional literacy 'with some initial help from a practiced reader (even a child would do)'[293]. Strauss also notes that 'nearly everywhere [had] regulations [that] required children to share

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[291] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2277. As previously outlined, the Edwardian reformers linked schooling, literacy and Evangelicalism. This is highlighted by Foxe's marginalia for this story: 'The godly intent of Rawlins in setting his sonne to schoole'.
[292] Ibid., p.1843.
[293] G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.195.

with their parents the fruits of their learning' including that, on every Sunday evening, 'children should read the Sunday gospel to their parents and the whole household".'[294]

However, in practice, it may have been difficult to control the educating role of young people as much as reformers would have liked. On a domestic scale, the aforementioned William Maldon used his religious knowledge, which was gained from the recently purchased New Testament, to inform his mother that she was in direct contravention of the Second Commandment when she adored the crucifix, including 'of the knelyng downe to it, and knokeynge on the breste, and holding up our handes to it when it cam by on procession'. Foxe also includes the story of John Alcocke, a young shearmen from Hadleigh, who delivered the reading of the 'seruice in English' for his parish after Richard Yeoman, the previous incumbent, was removed by the Marian authorities.[295] It would seem that religious education provides an alternative explanation for why young people were attracted to Protestantism that, whilst still relying on notions of confraternity and social inversion, moves beyond the current rhetoric relating to riot and disorder.

V.   The Educational Programme 1553-1558

After the accession of Mary, there was a general feeling that the Edwardian reformers had made (unwelcome) progress regarding the religious education of young people. In 1555, Bonner explicitly stated that 'of the late days, the youth of this realm have been nuzzled with ungodly catechisms, and pernicious evil doctrine, which is to be feared, they will not forget, in as much, as the new vessel long doth keep the scent or savour, of the first liquor, wherewith it was seasoned'.[296] Nicholas Ridley bemoaned the state of affairs in Mary's reign

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[294] Ibid., p. 131.
[295] Foxe *A&M* (1570), p.1694.
[296] Edmund Bonner, *An honest godlye instruction and information for the tradynge, and bringinge vp of children* (1555) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

where 'the aged are afraid of their higher powers, and the youth is abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and do no more meddle'.[297] Ridley clearly felt that young people acquired much valuable religious education in Edwardian England whilst, in contrast, the educational programme of Mary's reign is described as sterile and impotent resulting in a subdued and unengaged youth. This section will assess Ridley's argument in more detail. Firstly, it will analyse the comments of Catholic polemicists regarding religious education in Edwardian England in order to understand how the Marian establishment approached this topic. Secondly, it will survey the educational developments of Mary's reign which have often been neglected in the historiography. In particular, it will analyse the Marian approach to catechism classes and highlight the ideological restrictions placed on the reading of religious texts.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the writings of Catholic polemicists must be treated with caution. As evidence, this material may hint at how young people were behaving but the overriding objective of the polemicists was to instil fear into the Marian public. The descriptions of youthful disorder in Edward's reign, such as young people rebelling against masters and attacking priests, allowed the polemicists to construct a dystopia whilst also positioning Catholicism as the antidote. In other words, by describing instances of riot and social inversion due to Edwardian Protestantism, polemicists could portray Marian Catholicism as stable and hierarchical. In many ways, rather than describing the behaviour of people in Edwardian England, these texts cast light on the hopes and fears of the Marian establishment. On this premise, it is possible to analyse the works of Marian polemicists in order to understand better their attitude towards the religious education of young people. In a general sense, it would seem that these polemicists depicted young people who had acquired

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[297] Christmas (ed.), *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p.49.

religious knowledge as a negative influence on society. In Miles Huggarde's *Displaying of the Protestantes*, he laments how the reformers had undone 'the ancient trade of this realm in education of youth (before the late time replenished with all mischief) [which] was to yoke the same with the fear of God'.[298] Huggarde claims that the educational developments of Edward's reign encouraged liberty amongst young people. This link is also made in the writing of Christopherson, produced in 1554, who explains how 'lightness ruled gravity [and] youth ruled age' because young Englishmen 'had been brought up in school a while with some lewd Lutheran'[299]. MacCulloch observes that Marian polemicists often aimed to frame liberty as a 'foreign import – one which they particularly feared and detested', a theme emphasised by Huggarde's cries of 'O devilish liberty... I would to God Germany might have kept thee still: so England had never been troubled with thee'.[300] However, for this study, it is important to note the disdain with which polemicists viewed young people who had acquired a religious education. Although such disdain fits into the polemicists' topoi of foreign liberty and youthful disorder, it also suggests that Huggarde and Christopherson did not have the same approach to the religious instruction of young people as reformers such as Allen and Latimer.[301]

Christopherson also describes how young people, with their knowledge of the Protestant faith, were constantly trying to "teach" and advise their elders in matters of religion. He wrote that young people badgered their parents and 'if the parents would not follow this, their childish advice [to convert to Protestantism], straight away would they not talk with their

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[298] Huggarde, *The displaying of the Protestantes*. (1556).
[299] Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554).
[300] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p.127.
[301] In his catechism, Cranmer asks 'what can lead them [young people] a ryghter way to god, to thobedience of theyr prince and to al vertue and honestie of lyfe, then the syncere understanding of Gods worde?': *Catechismus* (1548). Such an approach is in contrast to Christopherson's fear that 'the English catechisme... [will] grafte in chyldrens hartes their blasphemous and abhominable heresye': Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554).

companions, and tell them, that their parents were blind papists'.[302] Physical distance did not curtail the Evangelical youths who would 'write letters to their catholic parents, and exhort them in the Lord's name to leave their papistry and blind ignorance, that they were in, and fall at length to follow God's word, and gladly to receive the truth'.[303] In describing the religious education of young people and their desire to proselytise elders, the Marian polemicists were portraying a social inversion based on the traditional channels of knowledge. However, perhaps more importantly, the writings of the Marian polemicists suggest there was a seismic shift in relation to the policy of religious education. Rather than encouraging young people to access and acquire religious knowledge, their comments hint at a more cautious approach to religious instruction which had, in their eyes, fostered youthful pride and disorder.

In the pre-revisionist historiography, the Marian policies regarding religious education were often viewed through a lens of negativity. Philippa Tudor has argued that 'the accession of Mary Tudor brought this programme [of Edwardian religious-instruction] to an abrupt halt; no new programme of comparable scope appeared in its place'.[304] Joan Simon is perhaps even more damning. In the otherwise comprehensive monologue *Education and Society in Tudor England*, Simon devotes four chapters to pre-Reformation education, three to Henry's reign, four to Edward's reign and four to the Elizabethan period: the reign of Mary is omitted without rationale. One of the main reasons that the Marian educational policies were viewed so negatively is due to the restrictions regarding access to religious texts. In 1555, Edmund Bonner wrote how 'so many as divide themselves from this open known Church of Christ, and refuse the doctrine thereof, though they be never so diligent in reading of scripture, yet shall they never truly understand scripture, but run continually farther and farther into error

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[302] Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554)
[303] Ibid.
[304] Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents', p.391.

and ignorance.'[305] Bonner's cautious approach to allowing access to religious texts was based on the conservative consensus derived in Henry's reign. For example, in 1536, Richard Morison asserted that nobles and masters should be taught, rather than the young or the poor, 'for as the noble men be, so theyr servants are'.[306] Ideally, Morison wanted widespread religious instruction but the perceived dangers of free-for-all Bible-reading marred his humanist ideals. Similarly, the conservative preacher Roger Edgeworth was vocal about the problem of allowing the laity access to religious texts in English. Edgeworth considered that 'all yonge menne and women, whether they be yonge in age, or yonge in maners and condicions... be no conveniente hearers of Morall Philosophye' and should wait until 'God send the[m] a true instructour' who is not 'infected with wilful and newfangled heresyes'.[307] In this light, historians have viewed many of the Marian policies as regressive or 'an educational step backwards'.[308] This was exacerbated by the early actions of the Marian establishment which were predominantly destructive rather than constructive. Immediately after Mary's accession, the weekly Sunday schools were cancelled, the catechism was abandoned, and the young's access to Scripture was preached against.

In more recent scholarship, however, there has been a reappraisal of the Marian educational policies which notes a number of proactive measures. This reassessment has been led by Nicholas Orme who has described the Marian period as 'bold and innovative' in terms of religious education.[309] Orme argues that Mary adopted a hands-on approach regarding teachers and schoolmasters by ensuring that any educator had to be licensed by the bishop.

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[305] Bonner, *A honest godlye instruction* (1555).
[306] R. Morison, *A remedy for sedition vvherin are conteyned many thynges, concernyng the true and loyall obeisance* (1536) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[307] Edgeworth, *Sermons fruitfull, godly and learned*, p.139. Edgeworth, an admirer of John Colet and Desiderius Erasmus, did not 'reprove the studye of scriptures' but actually praised it 'above all other studye'. The issue for Edgeworth was regarding open access to the scriptures in the vernacular.
[308] Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents', p.392.
[309] Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England*, p.20.

This allowed the Marian establishment to weed out those teachers who were not suitably Catholic and plant satisfactory schoolmasters in their place.[310] There is evidence that this policy was strictly enforced, such as the visitation articles of Bonner, produced in 1554, which enquired as to whether 'any teacher or scholemayster do teache any hys scholers to holde, mayntayne, send, or beleue any heresy, error, false doctrine, or opynyons, contrary to the catholike fayth, and deter mynatyon of the same'.[311] It was this policy more than any other that prompted Orme to suggest that 'more was done in Mary's short reign than ever before to create a relationship between government and the schools'.[312] In addition, Bonner's visitation articles display a keen interest in what was being taught in schools and churches. This had both a positive dimension, such as encouraging the instruction of 'children so as they may be able to answer the priest at Mass', and a more prohibitive aspect, such as the inquiries as to whether teachers:

> do teache and instructe any hys scholers in any poynte of heresye, eyther in the Articles of our
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> fayth, or the tenne commaundementes, eyther in the sacramentes of the churche, or other thynges,
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> recea|ued and beleued in the catholike churche... [or] whether anye teacher or scholemayster doo
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> teache or reade to any hys scholers any euyl or noughty corrupte boke, ballade, or wrytyng, or do
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> interpretate and sette for the vnto any of them the newe testamente in Englishe or Latyne, or anye
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> other bokes Englishe or Latyne, concernyng scrypture, not expedient for yonge children to medle
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> with all.[313]

Eamon Duffy has also defended the Marian educational policies and outlined that there were significant continuities between the reigns of Edward and Mary. In particular, Duffy highlights the continued use of English in religious instruction and the use of catechesis,

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[310] *Articles to be enquired of in the generall visitation of Edmonde Bisshoppe of London* (1554) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[311] *Articles* (1554).
[312] Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance*, p.21. This policy would also be appropriated by Elizabeth.
[313] J. Simon, 'The Reformation and English Education', *Past and Present*, 11 (1957), p. 13. *Articles* (1554).

specifically through Bonner's *A honest godlye instruction*.[314] This catechism, which was not

produced until 1555, follows a similar style and format to Cranmer's catechism, included in

the *Book of Common Prayer*, although there were obviously alterations to the theological

content. However, it should be noted that it is difficult to ascertain precisely how Bonner's

text was to be delivered in churches, or how often, because there is no prescription in the

preface of the text and Bonner's visitation articles predate its production. Nevertheless, the

work of Orme and Duffy has provided a more nuanced assessment of the Marian approach to

religious instruction.

In relation to this study, the integral question regarding the Marian educational policies is not

necessarily whether they were positive or negative, destructive or constructive, but how they

were experienced by young people. Despite the continuities outlined by Duffy, there does

appear to be a shift in the way that the Marian clergy viewed the role of the young in

religious instruction. This chapter has highlighted how, during the Edwardian period, young

people were at the heart of religious education, and especially catechisation, which was a

distinctively youthful activity. In addition, it has been argued that young people were a

vehicle for disseminating knowledge to their elders and were encouraged to access religious

texts and sermons. If we regard these developments as positive for young people, which

appears to be the case in the descriptions of youthful engagement by both reformers and

conservatives, then the curtailing of these developments in the Marian period should be

viewed as having a negative impact on opportunities for the young. For example, the loss of

catechism classes from July 1553 to 1555 led to young people no longer congregating

communally for this activity whilst also diminishing their role as disseminators of religious

knowledge within the parishes. Furthermore, the Marian restrictions regarding access to

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[314] Bonner, *An honest godlye instruction* (1555).

religious texts, such as Bonner's article which prohibited the young from reading the 'newe testamente in Englishe', were a loss to those young people who had enjoyed 'readynge gods word' during the 1530s and also Edwardian England. The educational developments of Edward's reign were constructed to control the behaviour of young people but, within this framework of authority, there were still untypical and exclusive roles for the young to fulfil. Although the Marian establishment was proactive in its approach to the religious instruction of young people, it would seem that its initial interventions removed many of the activities that young people had found engaging in the preceding reigns.

In summary, this chapter has argued that the Edwardian educational policies surrounding oral catechisation and access to religious texts have not been emphasised as strongly as they deserve in the historiography of young people. Although catechising was authorised and circumscribed by an adult, it still offered the young a distinctive role as disseminators of religious knowledge within the parish whilst the promotion of religious texts appears to have been embraced by young people such as John Davis and William Maldon. By acquiring religious knowledge, these young people could invert the social order, both directly and indirectly, which provides an alternative explanation for the popularity of Protestantism amongst young people beyond explicit disorder. In Elizabeth's reign, the reformers would again implement catechisation for young people but, as will be examined in Chapter Five, this was accompanied with a more conservative ethos. Therefore, it seems that the Edwardian educational programme had particular popularity amongst the young. The subsequent chapter will explore the theme of education and obedience in the Tudor interludes, an underused historical source, in order to understand better this complex relationship between young people and Protestantism.

Chapter Three

"All you that be young, whom I do now represent":

Young people and religion in the mid-Tudor interludes

I.

In recent years, there has been much work on Tudor drama. For example, in his *Drama and Religion in English Provincial Society*, Paul Whitfield White has surveyed the course of parochial and civic drama throughout the early-modern period including an assessment of how the English Reformation affected the mystery cycles.[315] There is also *Interludes and Early Modern Society*, a collection of essays edited by Peter Happe and Wim Husken which focuses on themes such as ceremony and gender within the dramatic texts.[316] However, historians of the Reformation have not fully exploited this material, even though several of the extant mid-Tudor interludes focus on religious behaviour. In a thesis focussing on soteriology, Jeffrey Leininger has observed that 'there has not yet emerged a full theological examination of the extant popular plays written and staged by evangelicals throughout England from the 1530s to the 1570s'.[317] In relation to this thesis, it is also important to note that a significant proportion of the Reformation interludes – roughly one quarter – relate to young people. However, this material has been significantly under-explored by historians. Exceptions to this rule include the insightful study of Fiona Dunlop on the dramatic depictions of holiness and masculinity in the *The Interlude of Youth* and also Martin Bainton's research on the role of 'generational politics' in the drama of late-Elizabethan and

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[315] P.W. White, *Drama and Religion in English Provincial Society, 1485-1660* (Cambridge, 2008).
[316] P. Happe, & W. Husken (eds), *Interludes and Early Modern Society* (Amsterdam, 2007).
[317] J.W. Leininger, *The reformation of English Reformation drama* (2002, University of Cambridge thesis), p.1.

early-Jacobean England.[318] Unfortunately, these studies are not typical and bookend the key

years of religious turmoil during the English Reformation.

In the major works on early-modern youth, the dramatic texts are used in a perfunctory

manner. For example, Paul Griffiths' wide-ranging study *Youth and Authority* rarely engages

with drama and, when it does, the references are to the Shakespearean plays of *As You Like It*,

All's Well That Ends Well and *Cymbeline*, which are used to outline the different stages of the

life-cycle rather than investigate the representations of young people.[319] Ilana Ben-Amos'

study *Adolescence and Youth* also omits the dramatic representations of young people in

sixteenth-century England. In the chapter 'Images of Youth', Ben-Amos draws on literature

and ballads to describe how the young could be depicted as pietistic, sinful and insubordinate

without referencing the Tudor dramas.[320] Even when historians have engaged with the

dramatic texts relating to youth, the young people are treated as an ancillary issue of the

primary topic. Thus, in Paul Whitfield White's *Theatre and Reformation*, the analysis of the

extant "youth plays" focuses on the theme of predestination rather than how young people

were portrayed, or may have experienced, the Tudor interludes.[321] Similarly, although

Darryll Grantley notes that 'the bringing up of youth is a recurrent theme of the sixteenth-

century interlude', his focus is not the young people themselves, but the rise of educational

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[318] F.S. Dunlop, 'Making Youth Holy: Holiness and Masculinity in *The Interlude of Youth*', P.H. Cullum & K.J. Lewis (eds), *Holiness and Masculinity in medieval Europe* (Cardiff, 2004); M. Bainton, '"Good Tricks of Youth": Renaissance Comedy, New Comedy and the Prodigal Son Paradigm', *Renaissance Forum*, 5:2 (2001).
[319] Throughout Griffiths' monograph, the dramatic texts would have added an interesting counter-balance to the evidence garnered from seventeenth-century biographies and the civic records; Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, pp.1-17.
[320] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, pp.183-207. Brigden briefly assesses drama as a spectacle for young people but does not analyse the dramatic representations of youth in the interludes; S. Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation'.
[321] P.W. White, *Theatre and Reformation* (Cambridge, 1993), p.109.

provision throughout the period and the relationship between the early modern plays and their classical antecedents.[322]

The aim of this chapter is to redress the lack of research on the representations of youth in mid-sixteenth-century interludes in order to understand better how young people experienced and responded to the religious changes of the English Reformation. The first section will explore how historians have used dramatic texts as evidence for other social groups in addition to outlining how young people, and their governors, would have experienced these performances. Secondly, the chapter will analyse the sixteenth-century interludes that focus particularly on youth in order to assess the portrayals of young people and their religious behaviour. Susan Brigden has argued that attending interludes was one of the rebellious acts frequently undertaken by the young throughout the English Reformation and this section will outline the recurring messages to which young people were being exposed.[323] This chapter will demonstrate that, by examining the content of the dramatic interludes, alternative depictions of young people emerge which challenge the Catholic polemical evidence and its accounts of opportunistic riot, and which can provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between Protestantism and the young.

II.   The Dramatic Form of the Interlude and Young People

The notion of expounding religious and social messages through the medium of drama was well developed before the advent of the English Reformation. In the fifteenth century, the medieval morality play, *The Castle of Perseverance*, explained to its audience how to be a good Christian. It advised that people must eschew vice and instead display:

<div style="text-align:center">Mekenesse, Pacyense, and Charyte</div>

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[322] D. Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage: Drama and the Social Impact of Education in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2000), p.135.
[323] Brigden, 'Youth and English Reformation', p.58.

Sobyrnesse, Besynesse, and Chastyte,

And largyte, vertuys of good degree.[324]

In addition to these morality plays, drama would also be provided by religious guilds in late-medieval parishes. For example, in pre-Reformation York, both the Pater Noster guild and Corpus Christi guild actively produced cycles of religious drama throughout the year.[325] However, it has been noted that the popularity of these parish dramas was declining by the early sixteenth century and, although not as a direct replacement, there was an increase in the production of another form of drama: the interlude.[326] In its early manifestations, the interlude was typically a short play which was 'performed by troupes of four to six players... who worked under the auspices of the court, noble households, and even ecclesiastical households'.[327] Perhaps one of the most famous examples of the early interlude can be found in the set of performances commissioned by Cardinal Wolsey in 1513. Wolsey patronised these interludes for a specific purpose, namely to highlight his indispensable role in any future peace negotiations between the English and the French, and invited a select audience which included King Louis XII of France and many English nobles. As with many of the early interludes, the performances occurred between courses at a banquet.[328]

By the late 1530s, interludes had become an accessible medium and expanded beyond the houses of the nobility into civic events such as Lord Mayors' shows and guildhall

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[324] J. Q. Adams (ed.), *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston, 1924), ll.49-51.

[325] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.67. In addition to the religious guilds, one must remember that some trade guilds also produced drama, like the Mechanicals who are mockingly depicted in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

[326] L. S. Marcus, 'Dramatic Experiments in Tudor Drama', 1540-1567 in A. F. Kinney (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1500 – 1600* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 134. Whilst scholars have urged caution not to exaggerate the extent of this decline, there is general agreement that parish and guild funded dramas were on the wane by the 1520s.

[327] M. Giles-Watson, 'The Singing 'Vice': Music and Mischief in Early English Drama', *Early Theatre*, 12:2 (2009), p.58. In terms of the interlude as a dramatic form, literary scholars have found the genre a 'slippery' subject to define: see Happe & Husken, *Interludes in Early Modern Society*, p.7. There is so much variation regarding the performance of interludes in terms of venues (noble houses, schools, street corners), players (pupils, professional troupes or both) and content (ranging from classical texts to slapstick farces) that the term 'interlude' remains contested.

[328] R.S. Sylvester (ed.), *The life and death of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1959), pp.108-10.

productions. Perhaps most importantly, this period also witnessed the rise of travelling interludes which were performed in towns and cities throughout England by mobile players 'belonging to the households of territorial magnates'.[329] The staging required for performing an interlude was minimalist and lent itself to these travelling troupes. As stated by Craik, the stages were often basic and 'not representational so much as suggestive', offering little demarcation between the players and the audience, with characters often emerging from the crowd to blur the boundaries further.[330] This is certainly how Wrath appears to make his entrance in *The Longer Thou Livest*:

> WRATH
>
> Make room! Stand back in the devil's name!
>
> Stand back or I will lay thee in the face.
>
> INCONTINENCE
>
> Merry, stand thou back with a very shame.
>
> Is there not room enough in the place...
>
> He is as hot as vengeance –
>
> [Aside] Stand back and give him liberty.[331]

It was the mobility of the interlude and its ability to spread messages of religious reform which initially prompted Thomas Cromwell to patronise the playwright John Bale. Between the years 1533-1537, Bale produced the interludes *King Johan* and *Three Laws* for his travelling troupe who, through this entertaining form of oral dissemination, promoted Cromwellian reform to both the literate and the illiterate. As observed by Andrew Pettegree,

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[329] Marcus, 'Dramatic Experiments in Tudor Drama', p.134.

[330] T.W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting* (1958), p.8. The 'props' used by players were also basic. These visual symbols have been analysed by various historians including White and Happe. In an analysis of the biblical interludes produced during the English Reformation, White aimed to ascertain whether the character of Robin Goodfellow would have been visually represented by 'a candle or broom': P.W. White, 'The Bible as play in Reformation in England', J. Milling & P. Thompson (eds), *The Cambridge history of British Theatre* (Cambridge, 2004), p.94. In a similar approach, Peter Happe, in an article studying the continuity and changes within drama from the late-medieval period to the Interregnum, analysed the importance of the character Avarice, in *Respublica*, performing with 'a large collection of money about his person... presumably in pockets in his gown or hanging from his person': P. Happe, 'Drama in 1553: continuity and change', J. Milling & P. Thompson (eds), *The Cambridge history of British Theatre* (Cambridge, 2004), p.136.

[331] *The Longer Thou Livest* (available on: http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk), ll.567-8

these interludes would have been, for many people, 'the first visible sign of the new ideological wind blowing from court'.[332]

The flexible nature of the interlude has encouraged historians to use the extant texts as a means of analysing the society that produced them.[333] In this approach, the texts are used as a double-sided mirror that reflects both the opinions of the writer and the expectations of the audience. In relation to the English Reformation, this approach can identify the changing orthodoxies of the period. For example, in the pre-Reformation dramatic interludes, such as *The Castle of Perseverance*, performed in the late fifteenth century, the texts contain material that promotes traditional religion, such as the focus on the sacraments of penance and confession.[334] The tenets of traditional religion were then attacked in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI through interludes such as Bale's *King Johan*, which questioned papal authority, and *Lusty Juventus*, which poured scorn on priests, saints and relics. The subsequent Marian era has not left historians with a wealth of dramatic material relating to religion: no doubt many of the printed texts failed to survive the lengthy reign of Elizabeth. But the Marian interlude *Respublica* openly condemns the religious changes of the Reformation and shames those people who had 'church goods scrapped up without a law, for which was as quick a scrambling as ever I saw'.[335] Interestingly, in the Marian interlude of *Jack Juggler*, it would seem that its author, Nicholas Udall, was forced to frame his religious

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[332] A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 90. [cf.] Happe & Husken, p.354.

[333] In 1958, Craik warned the next generation of historians that, in order to utilise successfully dramatic texts as evidence, it must be remembered that they were originally 'written for actors to perform and audiences to watch'. Craik viewed the dramatic text as a monument of past performances; the text provides scholars with the integral link between the surviving document and its historical manifestation. This approach has enabled subsequent scholars to re-imagine the dramatic performances of sixteenth-century England: see Craik, *The Tudor Interlude*, p.118.

[334] 'Unless Penance and Confession with Mankind intercede/The Vices are full likely the Virtues to oppress/without doubt': Adams (ed.), *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*.

[335] In *Respublica*, Reformation is character who has the alternate persona of Oppression: W.W. Greg (ed.), *Respublica* (Cambridge, 1952), ll. 868-7.

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views in a way that avoided censorship from the Catholic authorities. In a passage that

playfully attacks transubstantiation, the character of Boungrace jokes;

> Why you naughty villain darest you affirm to me
>
> That which was never sin nor hereafter shall be
>
> That one man may have two bodies and two faces
>
> And that one man at one time may be in two places
>
> Tell me, drankest thou anywhere by the way.[336]

Finally, after the accession of Elizabeth, the religious dramas strongly promote Protestantism

with interludes such as *The Longer Thou Livest* openly attacking Catholic beliefs: the

'greatest heresy that ever was'.[337]

However, the dramatic texts yield more information when they are subjected to a close

reading. Early modern historians have scrutinised plays in order to cast light on themes as

diverse as music, education, the economy and the religious beliefs of William Shakespeare.[338]

As stated by Peter Happe:

> the fascination inherent in this material lies in the ways dramatic forms may be made entertaining,
>
> and also how, by means of such key devices as impersonation, disguise, plot and theatrical
>
> language, a dramatic event may *present as well as comment* upon the opinions and aspirations of
>
> people in a social context.[339]

This dual function of drama, to present and to comment, was utilised by Jean-Christophe

Mayer in a study of Shakespeare's plays. By analysing both the playwright's opinion and the

social comment within the text, Mayer could explain both the author's religious preference

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[336] Udall is clearly being disingenuous in the prologue when he writes: 'Therefore I tell you all, before it bee gone / That no man look to heare of matters substanciall'. This disingenuousness is confirmed in the epilogue when Udall concludes: 'As this trifling enterlude that before you hath been rehersed / May signifye sum further meaning if it be well serched': W.W. Greg, *Jack Juggler* (Oxford, 1937), ll.73-4, 1152-3.

[337] *The Longer Thou Livest*, ll.225.

[338] For music, see M. Giles-Watson, 'The Singing 'Vice'. For education, see D. Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage*. For Shakespeare's alleged Catholicism, see P.S.J. Milward, 'Shakespeare's Jesuit schoolmasters', in R. Dutton, A. Findlay & R. Wilson (eds), *Theatre and Religion* (2003).

[339] Happe, 'Drama in 1553', p.136 [my italics].

and describe the 'hybrid' religion of late-Elizabethan society. As stated by Kenneth Graham, such sensitive inquiries lie 'at the center of current historical research'.[340]

In light of such a fertile academic environment, it is remarkable that there has not been a sustained analysis of the religious representations within the Tudor interludes.[341] In recent scholarship on sixteenth-century plays, there is a preoccupation with the production of drama, including interludes, rather than its content. For example, in the *Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, there is analysis on the relationship between drama and specific social groups - including women and apprentices - but the focus is on the role of these social groups in producing drama, rather than their representations within it. In terms of analysing the narratives within the interludes, the most consistent approach has been undertaken by Paul Whitfield White. In an attempt to answer the question 'to what extent did Reformation theatre not merely convey but shape Protestant beliefs, attitudes, and modes of behaviour in Tudor England?', White includes three short case-studies on the Tudor interludes.[342] Although the texts are not subjected to a close reading, White uses the narratives to illustrate the messages that were conveyed to audiences. In relation to *Jack Juggler*, White assesses Udall's usage of the term 'juggler' throughout the interlude in order to provide a greater understanding of its attack on priests and transubstantiation. Similarly, White analyses the text of *Jacob and Esau* for the theme of predestination: 'Jacob was chosen, and Esau

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[340] J-C, Mayer, *Shakespeare's hybrid faith: history, religion and the stage* (Basingstoke, 2006); K.J.E. Graham, & P.D. Collington (eds), *Shakespeare and Religious Change* (Basingstoke, 2009), p.3.

[341] This historiographical gap is perhaps more surprising when one considers that more specific groups have been researched. For example, *The Merchant of Venice* has been mined for a more detailed understanding of how Jewish people were viewed in Renaissance society whilst the dramatic depictions of Muslim women in early-modern texts have also been fruitfully explored. For Jewish perspectives, see J. Adelman, *Blood relations : Christian and Jew in The Merchant of Venice (Chicago, 2008); B.D Hirsch, "'A Gentle and No Jew : The Difference Marriage Makes in The Merchant of Venice', Parergon, 23:1 (2006), pp.119-129;* for Muslim perspectives, see N.I. Matar, 'The representation of Muslim women in Renaissance England', in *Muslim World*, 86:1 (1996), pp.50-6; J.H. Degenhardt, *Islamic conversion and Christian resistance on the early modern stage* (Edinburgh, 2010).

[342] White devotes twenty pages to the content of the three case studies. The interludes are *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene, Jacob and Esau* and *Jack Juggler*: White, *Theatre and Reformation*.

reprobate'. In this sense, although the sections of narrative analysis are short, White has

engaged with the material and the notion that interludes are both 'a product of the Protestant

Reformation – a reformed drama – and a producer of Protestant habits of thought – a

reforming drama'.[343] This chapter will adopt this same notion and build on the existing

research by undertaking a close reading of the religious portrayals of young people in the

extant "youth" interludes.

In terms of the performances of interludes, it would seem that early modern audiences, and

particularly young people, understood the conventions of the genre and found the

performances enjoyable. The close proximity of the players and the audience meant that

performances were a typically lively and occasionally rowdy event which actively

encouraged audience participation.[344] For example, in the play *Jack Juggler*, the character

Jenkins Careaway moves into the crowd and cries

> Send you all many a good even
>
> And you to sir, and you, and you also
>
> Good even to you an hundred times, and a thousand mo.[345]

Further audience participation is also evident in *The Longer Thou Livest*, written by William

Wager between the years 1559 and 1566, when the character Fortune makes a grand entrance

and interacts directly with the audience as she haughtily implores them for an appropriate

response to her arrival, probably in the form of a bow or salutation.[346] However, although the

form appears to lend itself to the 'fraternal and subversive mentality' of the young, Ian

Archer has wisely urged caution in terms of estimating the number of young people that

would have attended interludes. Archer has argued that the evidence used to link young

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[343] H. Diehl, *Staging reform, reforming the stage : Protestantism and popular theater in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 1997), p.1.
[344] G. Walker, *Plays of Persuasion*, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 78-80.
[345] *Jack Juggler*, ll.538-41.
[346] R.M. Benbow, *The Longer Thou Livest and Enough Is as Good as a Feast* (London, 1968), p.17.

people to interludes is often taken from the records of 'grave city fathers' who naturally

peddle the well-worn rhetoric, and perhaps embellishment, that only the "evil disposed and

ungodly people" in society would attend such performances, which would typically include

the young.[347] Archer is correct in identifying young people in the local and national statutes

against drama. In *The Act for the Advancement of True Religion*, which prohibits the

performance of plays and other 'crafty' media, it is stated that interludes misinform 'his

highness' people... and especially the youth of this realm'.[348] In addition, the records of the

Court of Aldermen highlight that young people and servants were prohibited from enjoying

'any May games, or to resort to any such unlawful assemblies and gatherings of people

together at any interludes or other unlawful games'.[349] Although these national and civic

prohibitions may draw on archetypal fears, there is other evidence to suggest that young

people attended interludes, such as the deposition of John Alforde, age eighteen, who

witnessed a performance of Bale's *King John* in 1538.[350] Furthermore, it is clear that the

writers of the interludes expected young people to be in the audience. In *Lusty Juventus*, an

interlude by Richard Wever, dated 1547-1550, the performance is concluded with an epilogue

from Juventus who exclaims to the audience, 'all you that be young, whom I do now

represent'.[351] It seems safe to reiterate Susan Brigden's observation that the irreverent and

jocular performances of urban interludes would have frequently attracted 'the susceptible

youth of London'.[352]

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[347] I.W. Archer, 'The City of London and the Theatre', R. Dutton (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford, 2009), p.398.
[348] *Act for the advancement of True Religion* (1543).
[349] LMA, Repertory 12, fo, 91ᵛ, 99, 162.
[350] White, *Theatre and Reformation*, p.29. It would seem that Bale's interlude was having the desired effect as Alforde worried that the 'Bisshop [of Rome] wold do with our King [Henry VIII] as he did with King John'.
[351] *Lusty Juventus* (available on: http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk), l.1101.
[352] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.58; Brigden, *London and the Reformation* p.493.

In addition to attending the performances, young people were also the primary focus in the narratives of many Tudor interludes. Out of the 61 interludes that survive for the period 1522-1580, either in whole or fragmented form, it is possible to identify nine interludes that were primarily focussed on young people and youth.[353] Although this represents a sizeable proportion, the percentage rises when the field is narrowed to those interludes that focus on religious matters. Peter Happe has assigned the sixteenth-century interludes to four categories: those that comprise local drama and paradramatic activities, drama with a distinctly academic or educational context, drama whose context is primarily the court, and drama of a primarily religious nature.[354] Using Happe's categories, it is possible to separate the 61 extant interludes into sub-divisions. Approximately 32 extant interludes can be termed 'primarily religious' using Happe's criteria. Of the extant youth interludes (nine), approximately eight fall into the category of 'primarily religious'; this is roughly one-quarter of all extant interludes primarily relating to religious matters.[355] The high proportion of interludes that focus on youth, in addition to the high visibility of young people attending performances, further emphasises the historiographical need for sustained research on the representations of young people in sixteenth-century drama. Happe and Husken have stated that 'like any other sort of artistic production, the interlude was the product, though not the passive mirror, of a particular time and society'.[356] Therefore, a close reading of the interludes can shed light on how young people behaved throughout the English Reformation and aid our understanding of how they were targeted by the reformist playwrights.

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[353] I have identified the interludes relating to young people as: *Nice Wanton, The Glass of Government, Jacob and Esau, The Disobedient Child, Misogonus, Jack Juggler, The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene, The Longer Thou Livest The More Fool Thou Art* and *Lusty Juventus*.

[354] Happe, 'Drama in 1553', p.117.

[355] The youth interlude that I have not identified as primarily religious is *The Disobedient Child* which rarely links education to Protestantism and focuses heavily on young men choosing the correct wife.

[356] Happe & Husken (eds), *Interludes in Early Modern Society*, p.23.

III.   The Texts

This chapter will primarily focus on four sixteenth-century interludes of youth: *Lusty Juventus, Nice Wanton, The Longer Thou Livest The More Fool Thou Art* and *The Disobedient Child.* These interludes span the key years of early Protestant ascendency, namely the Edwardian and early Elizabethan periods, thus allowing for a thorough understanding of the reformers' evolving messages for young people. These four interludes are also important because they attempt to portray contemporary society. Unlike the "timeless" Christianity or bounded theology that is expressed in the biblical interludes of *Mary Magdalene* or *Jacob and Esau*, the aforementioned interludes aim to embody and depict the Edwardian and Elizabethan worlds. This is evident from the outset of *Nice Wanton* when Barnabas, the young hero, informs the audience that he attended school 'yesterday'.[357] This places the ensuing action directly in Edwardian England and, for contemporary audiences, affected to depict the current state of society. Another example of this can be found in the prologue of *The Disobedient Child* which explicitly states its intention to portray the happenings of 'these latter days'.[358] In addition, these four interludes all engage with the themes of obedience and education which are particularly prominent in the youth interludes.[359] In order to provide context for the subsequent close reading of these texts, this section will outline the playwrights, players and early performances of the four interludes whilst providing a brief synopsis of their narratives.

Lusty Juventus was written by Richard Wever for 'a local professional playing troupe catering to the large audiences of apprentices and other youth flocking to plays during the

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[357] *Nice Wanton,* (Cambridge, 1994) (available on: http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk), l.25.
[358] T. Colwell, *Ingeland: The Disobedient Child* (London, 1569), l.1.
[359] These themes are not prevalent in *Jack Juggler*. In addition, *Misogonus* and *The Glass of Government* were performed slightly later than the other interludes (post-1568). However, these three texts are still used in what follows to provide broad examples of the themes.

early part of Edward's reign'.[360] The interlude has an urban setting and, whilst it is not known if the play was performed outside of London, the original text describes how 'four may play it easily' which indicates that it could have been performed by even the smallest travelling troupe. The first performances of *Lusty Juventus* occurred during the early years of Edward VI's reign, probably between the years 1547 and 1550. The narrative focuses on the character of Juventus who is converted to Protestantism twice in the interlude. On the first occasion, Juventus is instructed by Good Counsel and Knowledge who both encourage the young protagonist to fight his natural tendencies by embracing scripture and the catechism. However, Juventus is soon dissuaded from this earnest path by the Catholic characters of vice: Hypocrisy and Devil. They lure him to meet Abominable Living who not only woos the lusty Juventus, but she also encourages him to defend her dubious honour in a brawl. The interlude climaxes with the reappearance of Good Counsel and Knowledge who preside over Juventus' second conversion to Protestantism. The text of *Lusty Juventus* was printed by William Copland 'during the early 1560s' although the earliest extant copy dates from 1565.[361] In recent scholarship, Helen Thomas has described *Lusty Juventus* as an 'amusing and dramatically well-constructed play as well as being morally and religiously enlightening.[362] White also briefly refers to the interlude in *Theatre and Reformation* stating that it neither fits the category of a 'school play' nor the drama produced for the 'privileged classes'. Although White acknowledges that Juventus is a 'generic character representing all youth', he does not analyse the dramatic representations of young people within the interlude.[363]

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[360] White, *Theatre and Reformation*, p.112.
[361] White, *Theatre and Reformation*, p.72-3.
[362] H.S. Thomas (ed.), *An Enterlude Called Lusty Juventus* (London, 1982), p.xxxix.
[363] White, *Theatre and Reformation*, p.112.

The author of *Nice Wanton* is unknown but it is likely that he was a teacher in an urban school. There are many features that suggest *Nice Wanton* was the product of an educational institution including its focus on attaining an education and its inclusion of the Prodigal Son theme. Furthermore, the interlude requires a large cast and does not allow for double casting; in one court scene, there are twelve jurors. Finally, Craik has argued that *Nice Wanton* was performed with elaborate props and detailed scenery which suggests that the interlude was originally written as a school play.[364] White has suggested that the school was probably a unisex 'city grammar school' owing to the interlude's urban setting and its promotion of education for both genders (through the siblings of Ismael and Dalila).[365] The dating of *Nice Wanton* is rather vague with most scholars being reluctant to refine further its 'Edwardian' label.[366] The narrative describes the lives of three siblings in a 'citizen', as opposed to noble, family: Barnabas, Ismael and Dalila. Barnabas is a godly child who respects his elders and enjoys his schooling. Ismael and Dalila are riotous young people who have been spoiled by their indulgent mother (their father is absent). Lured by ale and dice, Ismael and Dalila abandon their education and become a thief and a prostitute respectively. Both siblings suffer humiliating deaths in the interlude and, if it was not for the saintly Barnabas' intervention, the mother would also have committed suicide due to the social shame. Barnabas saves his mother by reciting scripture to her. The interlude was recorded by John King in the Stationer's Register in 1560.[367] White refers to the interlude, alongside the other 'youth plays', in *Theatre and Reformation* but he is more interested in the genre than the intricacies of *Nice Wanton*. Similarly, Tennenhouse discusses the extant manuscripts of *Nice Wanton*,

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[364] Craik, *The Tudor Interlude*, pp. 5, 45, 58.
[365] White, *Theatre and Reformation*, p.110.
[366] Craik suggests that it was first performed in 1550 but does not explain his reasoning.
[367] L. Tennenhouse, *The Tudor Interludes Nice Wanton and Impatient Poverty* (London, 1984), p.40.

and how the two versions were registered separately by John King and John Allde, but does not explore the dramatic content of the interlude.[368]

The Longer Thou Livest The More Fool Thou Art was written by William Wager, the son of Lewis Wager, during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. Craik suggests that the interlude was first performed in 1564 but this is questioned by White who claims that it could have been performed as early as 1559.[369] There is more agreement on the original performances of the interlude. Craik, White and Benbow concur that the Latin quotations and teacher-like beatings of young Moros indicate that the interlude was probably written for performance in a school.[370] However, it appears likely that Wager intended for the interlude to travel beyond the school hall. Unusually for a "school" drama, the interlude can be performed by four players due to its intricate doubling of characters, a format that is typically linked to the travelling troupes. Furthermore, Craik argues that the blunt reference to the audience of "all you present" suggests the interlude was intended for popular, urban performances.[371] The narrative focuses on the importance of youth and the role of education but there are also strong soteriological undercurrents. The interlude focuses on the life of Moros and is divided into three sections; youth (ll.71-1005), adulthood (ll.1202-1684) and senility (ll.1743-1890). As a young man, Moros is skittish and fickle. He initially comes into contact with the characters of Discipline, Piety and Exercitation who persuade Moros to read the catechism and eschew folly. This work is overturned by the next three characters that Moros meets: Wrath, Idleness and Incontinence. Moros is encouraged:

> to kiss, to clip, and in bed to play.
>
> O, with lusty girls to sing and dance,

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[368] Ibid.
[369] White, *Theatre and the Reformation* (Appendix A).
[370] Craik, *The Tudor Interlude*, p.34; White, *Theatre and the Reformation*, p.111; Benbow, *The Longer Thou Livest*, pp.xiii-xv.
[371] Craik, *The Tudor Interlude*, p.22.

To have a more pleasant life no man may.[372]

The 'Youth' section of *The Longer Thou Livest* concludes with Moros rejecting the characters of virtue in order to have fun with his new friends. This youthful decision eventually leads to Moros being carried to the Devil in his old age. The interlude was entered in the Stationers' Register by Richard Jones in 1569.[373] More recently, Benbow has discussed the manuscript of the interlude, especially focusing on the stage-directions in the marginalia, and has surveyed the theme of predestination within the text. In addition, White refers to *The Longer Thou Livest* as a 'popular interlude' with a 'flawless' doubling convention.[374]

The Disobedient Child was written by Thomas Ingeland. The only information known regarding Ingeland is found on the title page of the extant manuscript of the interlude, namely that he was a 'late student in Cambridge'. The first performance of *The Disobedient Child* is also uncertain with White proffering a cautions range of 1547-1560.[375] Indeed, the lack of direct religious content within the narrative makes it particularly difficult to date the interlude to a specific reign. However, it is known that the drama was entered into the Stationers' Register in 1569.[376] In White's list of extant Reformation plays, he suggests that the interlude was potentially intended to be performed by students at a grammar school and, I would suggest, the noble characters and themes within the narrative would indicate a relatively prestigious institution.[377] The narrative focuses on the disobedience of a wealthy young man who, against his father's advice to attend school, marries in haste. It transpires that the wife is a shrew and the young protagonist is disinherited from the family's fortune.

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[372] *The Longer Thou Livest*, ll.811-3.
[373] Ibid., p.ix.
[374] White, *Theatre and the Reformation*, p.71.
[375] Ibid., (Appendix A).
[376] Ibid., pp.109-10.
[377] Ibid., p.110. *The Disobedient Child* requires 10 players which suggests that it was originally written to be performed in a school.

Out of the four interludes analysed in this section, *The Disobedient Child* has attracted the least scholarly attention. A modern edition has not been produced and the text receives only cursory remarks in the historiography of theatre and drama. This may be due to the slightly pedestrian plot and bullish language but the interlude still provides a valuable insight into patriarchal control and the behaviour of young people.

IV. Obedience and Disobedience

For young people, the simple act of attending an interlude is often viewed as an insubordinate action. In many of the years between 1543 and 1573, young people would have been in contravention of a prohibition if they had attended an interlude. From Henry VIII onwards, each Tudor monarch forbade the attendance of drama at some stage in their reign.[378] On a civic scale, it is also likely that many young people were disobeying their masters by attending interludes. In the daytime, apprentices and servants were expected to work whilst there was light and attending any form of drama would breach this duty. In addition, if the performance was after dark, the apprentice may have been breaking a civic curfew, such as the orders of 1569, which stated that interludes must be performed between 15:00 – 17:00.[379] Therefore, there was a pervading sense that attending an interlude was in some way disorderly and, in the current historiography, it is the 'subversive' nature of the interludes which is cited as being popular amongst the young.[380] However, there is a striking paradox in the relationship between the young and the Tudor interludes. From the extant texts, it is clear that their content contains very little 'subversive' material. Instead, the interludes strongly promote obedience and discipline amongst the young. The following section will analyse the

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[378] *An Act for the Advancement of True Religion* (1543); *A Proclamation for punishment of Vagabonds, Ruffians, and Idle Persons (including common players)* (1545); *First Proclamation of Edward VI against dramatic performances* (1549); *Second Proclamation of Edward VI relating (among other matters) to dramatic performances* (1551); *Proclamation of Queen Mary* (1553); *Queen Elizabeth's First Proclamation against Plays* (1558); and *Queen Elizabeth's Second Proclamation against Plays* (1559).
[379] Archer, 'The City of London and the Theatre', pp.403-4.
[380] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.58.

messages within the interludes relating to young people and will argue that, apart from the act of being at an interlude, young people were rarely exposed to controversial or explicit anti-hierarchical material at these performances.

In all four of these interludes, it is viewed as vitally important that young people showed obedience to their elders and there is a preoccupation with creating an obedient youth. This stems from the belief that, once immorality takes seed in young people, it becomes almost impossible to rectify in adulthood. Powerful imagery is used to illustrate this fear which compares the life-cycle stages of a person with that of a tree. As a sapling, a tree is easily pruned and can be manipulated to appear as one would wish. Similarly, children and young people can be moulded for 'youth is frayle and easy to draw'.[381] However, as the sapling becomes a tree, its roots become firm and deep meaning that any correction is complicated and prone to failure. Similarly, as a young person becomes an adult, it is much more difficult to change their entrenched nature.[382] This concept is exemplified in *The Longer Thou Livest* when the young protagonist, Moros, fails to recover from the ignorance and squander of his youth. Moros is told that he was:

> a fool in childhood, a fool in adolency,
>
> in man's state thou wilt play a fool's part.[383]

In order to stop other young people becoming like Moros, the Tudor interludes required the young to show obedience to every level of the social hierarchy encompassing 'princes, rulers, elders and parentes'.[384] The interludes illustrate the repercussions for young people if they displayed disobedience to their elders. For example, in the Edwardian interlude *Nice Wanton*, it is clear that Dalila, a young lady who falls into prostitution before dying of 'the

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[381] *Lusty Juventus*, Prologue.
[382] An example of this can be found in *The Longer Thou Livest*: 'But after the plant is grown to a tree/To any bowing it will not give place/So young folks, when to age grown they be,/Wax stubborn and be of an indurate face'; *The Longer Thou Livest*, ll.472-5.
[383] Ibid., ll.947-8.
[384] *Lusty Juventus*, l.72

pox taken at the stews', realizes that she did 'not set a straw' by her father and mother when she was young. Dalila links this lack of obedience to her unseemly demise.[385] The same phrase is used to describe the disobedient youth in *Misogonus*, an interlude dated at 1560 and probably written by Laurence Johnson, where the father, Philogonus, laments that his son 'esteemed me not the value of a straw' which ultimately led to his offspring's indulgent and selfish character in adulthood.[386]

The interludes also require young people to be obedient to specific virtues. For example, in *Lusty Juventus*, the young protagonist is admonished to show obedience to Knowledge whilst, in *The Longer Thou Livest*, Moros could have improved his future if he had remained obedient to the virtue of Discipline, which is a prominent theme in the interludes relating to young people.[387] Disciplining the young is portrayed as an essential element of raising youth. This is evident in the prologue of *Nice Wanton*, where it is stated from the outset that:

> The prudent Prince Solomon doth say,
>
> "He that spareth the rod, the child doth hate",
>
> He would youth be kept in awe always
>
> By correction in time at reasonable rate.[388]

Similarly, the later interlude *Misogonus* also promotes discipline and contains the lamentation of a father who had failed in this task;

> I cockled and dandled him a great while the longer...
>
> Without happing and lapping my youngling too much.
>
> What correction was he never did know.
>
> No man durst scarce my wag-wanton touch..
>
> An unwise man I was, for thus then I thought:
>
> What needs he tutors or masters to have?[389]

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[385] *Nice Wanton*, ll.295, 443.
[386] L. E. Barber, (ed.), *Misogonus* (London, 1979), pp. 94-5.
[387] In *The Longer Thou Livest*, other virtues include Piety and Exercitation.
[388] *Nice Wanton*, (Cambridge, 1994) (available on: http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk), ll.1-4.

The extant interludes suggest that young people were regularly admonished to show obedience to both their earthly elders and also virtues such as Discipline and Knowledge. For such an apparently riotous form, the interludes contained predominantly authoritarian messages.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, these interludes also promote the need for young people to be obedient to God. In the extant interludes, obedience to God is equated to the observation of biblical precepts. In the prologue of *Lusty Juventus*, the young protagonist reminds his audience to remain 'in God's fear everywhere' whilst Juventus himself is advised that 'to God's word you must only incline'.[390] *The Longer Thou Livest* is even more explicit in promoting this form of spiritual obedience due to the inclusion of five separate admonitions to 'love and fear God above all'.[391] The aforementioned quotations highlight that, above all else, young people were encouraged to show obedience to a 'Protestant' God but there is an inherent tension in this request. Young people were required to 'fear god and their parents obey' but, for some, these requirements were mutually exclusive and, in order for conversion to occur, young people would have to display disobedience to their Catholic elders.[392] It is significant that this tension is rarely addressed in the interludes. For example, in *Nice Wanton*, Barnabas is portrayed as 'godly' from the outset meaning that his conversion to Protestantism occurred prior to the narrative. In *The Longer Thou Livest*, Moros is converted to Protestantism but, throughout the interlude, there is no reference to his parents or masters which means that Moros does not have to exhibit disobedience to earthly elders but, instead, he is portrayed rejecting Catholic vices such as Impiety, Idleness and Ignorance. In most of the interludes, the process of a young person having to disobey their Catholic parents or

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[389] *Misogonus*, p. 94.
[390] *Lusty Juventus*, l.1143.
[391] *The Longer Thou Livest*, ll.138, 213, 269, 314, 342,
[392] *Nice Wanton*, l.5.

master occurs outside of the performance. By not explicitly depicting the religious disobedience of young people, it would seem that the writers were aware that such portrayals may communicate a false message to the young - that Protestantism liberated them from the authority of their elders – and provide ammunition for the Catholic polemicists.[393]

An exception to this rule is *Lusty Juventus* which is highly unusual in its more robust approach to portraying the religious disobedience of young people. At the beginning of the interlude, it is clear that Juventus and his parents were 'Catholic'. When Knowledge asks Juventus the extent of his learning, he replies:

> What? am I bound as wel as the cleargy,
>
> To learne and follow his preceptes and lawe?[394]

Juventus blames this ignorance on his parents who 'neuer taught me so before'.[395] At this point in the interlude, Knowledge is beginning to convert Juventus but any future religious disobedience between the young protagonist and his parents could still be diluted. For example, it could occur offstage, as in *Nice Wanton*, or to abstractions of vice, as in *The Longer Thou Livest*. However, the interlude proceeds to portray the young protagonist's religious disobedience head-on. Juventus exclaims that:

> I know right well my elders and parentes.
>
> Haue of a longe tyme deceuid be,
>
> With blynd hypocrisy and supersticious ententes,
>
> Trusting in theyr owne workes, which is nothynge but vanyte
>
> Their steppes shall not be folowed for me.[396]

Later in the interlude, Juventus' religious disobedience towards his parents is questioned by Hypocrisy who asks:

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[393] See Chapter One for a full discussion of how writers such as Miles Huggarde and John Christopherson used this topos.
[394] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.81-2.
[395] Ibid., l.198.
[396] Ibid., ll.220-4

> Can you denye, but it is your dutye
>
> Unto your elders to be obedient[397]

To this, Juventus replies that:

> I graunt I am bound to obay my parentes
>
> In al thynges honest and lawful?[398]

Juventus' situation neatly outlines the inherent tension that some young people may have experienced in having to display obedience to both God and their parents. Juventus has already promised Knowledge that he will read the Bible in order to understand better how he can please God. However, Hypocrisy is outlining to Juventus, and the audience, that following Protestantism may be in direct contravention of another Tudor expectation: the need for young people to be obedient to their parents and masters. Hypocrisy highlights that Juventus has ideas beyond his youthful station believing, as he does, that he is more knowledgeable than the 'wel lerned men before as now'.[399] This dialogue is unique in its direct confrontation of the issues surrounding the religious disobedience of young people and, in some scenes, Hypocrisy's argument is so orthodox that one could be forgiven for thinking that the interlude contains a Catholic agenda. However, later in the interlude, it becomes apparent that young people should not reject the authority of their Catholic parents but their Catholic parents' blindness to truth. There are numerous references to the need for young people to proselytise, rather than reject, their Catholic elders in order to lead them out of darkness. One of the first is spoken by Devil, who states:

> Oh oh, ful well I know the cause,
>
> that my estimacion doth thus decay,
>
> the olde people woulde beleue stil in my lawes,
>
> But the yonger sort leade them a contrary way.[400]

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[397] Ibid., ll.606-7.
[398] Ibid., ll.609-10.
[399] Ibid., l.596.
[400] Ibid., ll.302-5.

Later in the interlude, the same character bemoans that:

> Gods worde is so greatly sprong vp in youth
>
> That he litle regardeth my lawes or me,
>
> He telleth his parentes that is very truth,
>
> That they of longe tyme haue deceyued be.[401]

The crux of the message is that young people should only reject the 'olde popysh priestes [who] mocke and despise' but not the 'the ignoraunt people that beleue theyr lyes'.[402]

In many ways, *Lusty Juventus* is unique in its explicit portrayal of religious disobedience amongst young people. It may be that *Lusty Juventus* is a product of its time. It is estimated that its first performances date from 1547-1550: the dawn of the Edwardian Reformation and, in this sense, the interlude reflects the energy and optimism of the emerging religious landscape.[403] In addition, *Lusty Juventus* was always intended to be performed in an urban setting, rather than originally being a "school" play or an aristocratic drama which was subsequently adapted for urban audiences, hence its earthy language and explicit depictions. There is the possibility that *Lusty Juventus* is the only extant text of a more cavalier form of Protestant interlude which was written for 'local professional playing troupes catering to the large audiences of apprentices and other youth'.[404] Indeed, Paul Whitfield White has described the character of Juventus as having 'much in common with the restless young apprentices of Edwardian London'.[405] However, it should be emphasised that, although *Lusty Juventus* is unique in its explicit *depiction* of religious disobedience amongst the young, it still contains the overarching theme that young people should be governed:

> Gyue hym no libertie in youth, nor hys foly excuse,
>
> Bowe doune his necke, and kepe him in good awe,

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401 Ibid., ll.415-8.
402 Ibid., ll.646-7.
403 MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*.
404 White, *Theatre and Reformation*, p.112.
405 Ibid., .p111.

> Least he be stubburne: no laboure refuse,
>
> To trayne hym to wisedome, and teache him Gods lawe.[406]

Furthermore, the epilogue of the play reinforces the social hierarchy in its declaration that:

> In your tender age, seke for knowledge, & after wisedom rune
>
> & in iour old age, teach your famili, to do, as you haue du[n][407]

Lusty Juventus may differ in its approach to portraying the religious disobedience amongst young people but, as an overarching theme, they are still expected to be obedient to their parents, elders and sober virtues.

The Edwardian and Elizabethan interludes promote obedience and discipline whilst denouncing riot, pleasure and idleness. In addition, many of the interludes refrain from even depicting youthful disobedience by carefully constructing the performances to avoid portraying religious conversions and using abstract Catholic vices as substitutes for earthly elders. This is further outlined by the explicit depiction of religious disobedience in *Lusty Juventus* which, by its uniqueness, highlights the rigid and authoritarian content of the other interludes of youth. The conservative nature of these interludes, a form noted for its rowdiness, adds a greater understanding of how the Protestant reformers were communicating with young people in Edwardian and Elizabethan England. By explicitly condemning disobedience amongst young people, the interludes were not only trying to control the 'untamed horse' of youth, they were also rebutting the claims from Catholic polemicists who were associating the new creed with disorder.[408] As Susan Brigden has shown, Catholic writers aimed to 'discredit the movement [Protestantism] by ascribing all responsibility to the habitually anarchic' including 'radical youth'.[409] The Protestant interludes address these claims head-on by frequently characterising riot as a vice and prohibiting the young from

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[406] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.8-9.
[407] Ibid., ll.1105-6.
[408] Ibid., l.6.
[409] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.39.

undertaking any form of leisure or misrule. Although visiting an interlude may have been a disobedient act for a young person, many of the extant interludes contain messages that reinforce social hierarchies. If young people were attracted to Protestantism due to its opportunity for riot and disobedience, as is often claimed by contemporaries and scholars, it was not something that was explicitly promoted, and was rarely depicted, in the Protestant interludes.

V.   Education

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Protestant reformers understood that, in order to promote the religious orthodoxy of the future, the education of young people was of paramount importance. The reign of Edward VI ushered in a period when this theory was transformed into practice. Young people were encouraged to read the Bible and were required to attend catechism classes where they became vehicles for educating their elders. After the delayed re-introduction of catechising and restricted access to scripture that characterised Mary's reign, the early Elizabethan reformers - no doubt sensing the fragility of their situation – again focussed on the practical methods of educating the young and reintroduced the requirements of 1552. In both periods of Protestant ascendancy, the urgency surrounding the education of young people pervades the interludes and it is a central theme in *Nice Wanton, Lusty Juventus, The Longer Thou Livest* and *The Disobedient Child*. These interludes provide vivid depictions of how young people were expected to gain a godly education. However, the interludes do more than reflect the methods of teaching; they also portray the impact of educating young people and depict the reformers' hopes for the wider dissemination of such knowledge throughout society. In these interludes, it is possible to view young people being portrayed as educators of their elders, adding dramatic depictions to the themes outlined in the previous chapter. This section will analyse the interludes in order

to shed further light on how young people interacted with their educational tools whilst outlining the wider repercussions of using young people as educators for their elders.

It has been observed that the interludes which promote the importance of providing young people with a religious education were also 'strongly Protestant in character'.[410] Therefore, it is not surprising that the Edwardian interludes of *Lusty Juventus* and *Nice Wanton* both contain youthful education as a central theme. For example, in *Lusty Juventus*, it is stated that the purpose of the interlude is 'to trayne hym [youth] to wisedome, and teache him Gods lawe'.[411] The plays frequently portrays a religious education as an antidote to the ills of youth and, in a message that must have resonated with any parents or masters in the audience, suggests that Knowledge (both the character and the concept) will 'instruct youth a right, that he shal liue accordyng to Gods pleasure'.[412] Similarly in *Nice Wanton*, the prologue explains that the interlude will demonstrate how 'lernyng bringeth knowledge of god & honest liuing to get'.[413] It is the godly young protagonist Barnabas who outlines that young people must create time for 'good learnyng & qualities to attayne' and, through his dramatic example, it is clear that godly young men could be a benefit to the entire commonwealth.[414] These Edwardian interludes signify a clear shift in their focus 'from royal absolutism, anti-popery, and scriptural authority under Henry VIII... to the godly education of youth'.[415] In the Edwardian interludes, educating young people was an important theme which could foster a number of positive social outcomes and, perhaps primarily, could act as 'a means to religious reform'.[416] Later, in the Elizabethan period, education remains a prominent theme in the

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[410] Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage*, p.135.
[411] *Lusty Juventus*, l.11.
[412] Ibid., ll.145-6.
[413] *Nice Wanton*, l.23.
[414] Ibid., l.513.
[415] White, *Drama and Religion in English Provincial Society*, p.174.
[416] U. Potter, 'To School or Not to School : Tudor Views on Education in Drama and Literature', *Parergon*, 25:1 (2008), p.118.

interludes. In the prologue to *The Longer Thou Livest*, it is clear that the interlude aims to promote education and good schoolmasters. Similarly, *The Disobedient Child* aims to get young people 'vnto the Schole to moue thy feete... with studious Laddes, there for to be'.[417]

In the interludes under consideration, a religious education is depicted as a mighty weapon in a young person's armoury which could be used to slay the spectre of Catholicism and achieve religious reformation. It is explicit that, if a young person is educated to understand more about scripture and God, they will be better placed to attack the superstitions of Catholicism. In *Lusty Juventus*, the character Devil views religious education as a threat because, once knowledgeable, young people:

> wyl not beleue they playnly say,
>
> In olde traditions and made by men,
>
> But they wil lyue as the scripture teacheth them.[418]

There is a direct link between religious knowledge, which is gained from scripture, and the ability to repel Catholic "superstitions" in the interlude. For this reason, many of the Catholic characters, including Devil and Hypocrisy, would rather retain young people in ignorance and attempt to deprive them of a religious education. For example, Devil aims to:

> ...worke some craft, feate or policye,
>
> To set knowledge and hym [Juventus] at contrauersie,
>
> And hys company thy self greatly vse
>
> That Gods worde he may cleane a buse.[419]

Devil's policy is to ridicule Juventus and his quest for knowledge. For example, on seeing Juventus walking to a sermon, Hypocrisy leers 'is Juventus become so tame?'.[420] A little later in the interlude, Hypocrisy mocks Juventus for reading a catechism by calling him

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[417] *The Disobedient Child*, l.15.
[418] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.306-8.
[419] Ibid., ll.435-8.
[420] Ibid., ll.423-4

'master doctor', 'sirra', and 'gentle Sir John'.[421]   At the conclusion of the play, Juventus

finally understands that the vices had wanted to keep him in ignorance and had:

> brought me into the path, whych leadeth vnto hel:
>
> And of an earnest professor of chrystes gospell
>
> Thou madest me an ypocrite, blynd and peruert,
>
> And from vertue vnto vice, y^u hadst cleae turned mi hart...[422]

This dichotomy of knowledge/superstition is also present in the Elizabethan interlude *The*

Longer Thou Livest. Discipline, one of the interlude's virtues, advises Moros to seek 'true

teachers' who denounce non-scriptural errors such as the Mass and 'praier to Sainctes that be

dead'.[423]   These interludes portray religious education, and particularly knowledge of the

scriptures, as a way of ensuring that young people could repel the "superstitions" of

Catholicism.

Another advantage of an educated youth was their ability to reject earthly sins.   In *Nice*

Wanton, a religious education is positioned as the remedy to youth's propensity for vice.   The

interlude's young hero, Barnabas, regularly attends school and is the epitome of a good

young Protestant.   In contrast, Barnabas' brother and sister, Ismael and Dalila, avoid school

and consequently succumb to carnal vices such as gambling, sex and theft.   The interlude

makes it clear that education is the difference between Barnabas and his siblings.   In a pivotal

scene, Ismael and Dalila toss aside their schoolbooks in order to enjoy some 'pastyme'.[424]

Ismael joyously cries:

> Fare well our scoole,
>
> Away with boke and all,
>
> I wyll set my heart,

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[421] Ibid., ll.573, 576, 579.

[422] Ibid., ll.162-5.

[423] *The Longer Thou Livest*, ll.119-236.

[424] We know that the two players toss aside their books due to the fortunate survival of a note in the extant text: 'They caste awaye their Bookes': Tennenhouse, *Nice Wanton*, p.69.

> On a mery pynne,
>
> What euer shall be fall.[425]

Later in the interlude, both Ismael and Dalila experience shameful deaths. In contrast, Barnabas leads a godly life. It would seem that a godly education enables Barnabas to reject vice in two ways. Firstly, Barnabas is knowledgeable regarding vice and has been taught its manifestations and repercussions:

> My mayster in my lesson yester day,
>
> Dyd recite this text of Ecclesiasticus,
>
> man is prone, to euil, fro hys youth, did he say
>
> Whych sentence may wel be verified in vs[426]

Secondly, the time spent attending school restricts his opportunities for misrule; 'they sit a[t] scoole all day... in feare of a churle & yf a lytle they play'.[427] A similar theme is evident in *Lusty Juventus* where the young protagonist promises Knowledge that he will devote his spare time to learning God's will. At this point, Devil sees that Juventus is on a godly path and vows:

> I must nedes fynd some meanes this matter to swage,
>
> I meane to turn theyr hartes from the scripture quite,
>
> that in carnal pleasurs they may haue more delyght.[428]

Devil is briefly successful in this venture and lures Juventus from his catechism to the pleasures of food, dice and women.

This juxtaposition of education and disorder is also a prominent feature in the early-Elizabethan dramas, such as *The Longer Thou Livest*, where wayward Moros is described as:

> Ill-willing to learn and therefore unapt,
>
> All his senses he applied to vice

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[425] *Nice Wanton*, ll.53-7.
[426] Ibid., ll.1-4.
[427] Ibid., ll.85-6.
[428] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.313-5.

> Anon with such companions he was wrapt,
>
> As no young man will be that is wise.[429]

The Protestant interludes therefore portray religious education as an important asset in the young's ongoing battle to reject destructive recreations. The emphasis placed on education, in opposition to riot, is important when considering how young people engaged with Protestantism. Although the Catholic polemicists highlighted the disorder of young Protestants, the interludes suggest that the reformers wanted young people to undertake religious education, not religious riot, and succumb to its authoritarian message.

The Protestant interludes offer glimpses of what the reformers were seeking to achieve by educating young people. The dramas often contain the image of an Edwardian or early-Elizabethan utopia, where young people use the weapon of religious education to emerge victorious from the duel with heresy and vice. However, the interludes also deepen our understanding of the pedagogical methods that were used to educate young people during the English Reformation. For example, the interludes refer to formal schooling and depict its educational role in communities. In the interlude *Nice Wanton*, which deals with schooling in the most detail, it is clear that attending school was an integral factor in forming the godly character of Barnabas. The text indicates that the school which Barnabas attended was a free school which suggests that the family were not particularly prosperous and certainly not noble.[430] Although there are not any scenes that occur within the school, Barnabas informs the audience that he has a schoolmaster and that, in one lesson, he 'did recite this text of Ecclesiasticus'.[431] Such passages within the interlude offer glimpses of a typical mid-Tudor education where learning by rote was the preferred method and the curriculum mixed

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[429] *The Longer Thou Livest*, ll.1515-18.
[430] During the interlude, Barnabas comments that 'our parentes to theyr cost to scoole do fynde' which may be a reference to the loss of income due to attending school, rather than having to pay a fee: *Nice Wanton*, l.6.
[431] Ibid., l.2.

religion, languages and moral guidance. *Nice Wanton* promotes school as the primary means to a godly education, in addition to being a place where young people learnt letters and numbers, and it is where Barnabas learns 'god's law'.[432] School reappears in the Elizabethan interlude *The Longer Thou Livest* where, as with *Nice Wanton*, it is directly linked to a godly education. From the outset, the interlude promotes schools and 'good schoolmasters' who should be 'sage, sober, expert, learned, gentle and prudent'.[433] The interlude does not describe the modes or methods of teaching within schools but it does suggest that they were perceived as being successful in creating godly youths. For example, in the interlude, the characters of virtue temporarily persuade Moros to pursue a godly education which included attending a school. During this section of the interlude, the vice of Idleness remarks:

> Where the devil is the whoreson fool [Moros]?
>
> He bad me even now come hither.
>
> Doubtless he is gone to school...
>
> Little will he stick to play the truant.[434]

A little later in the interlude, it is observed that Moros has embraced godly living and 'goeth to school no[w] with a vengeance'.[435] It is clear that Idleness felt that, unless he acted swiftly, schooling would achieve the outcome of transforming Moros into an upstanding and Protestant member of society.

Perhaps the most interesting reference to schools in the interludes is the alternative, presumably Catholic, establishments which are described in *The Longer Thou Livest*. The first suggestion that some schools were not adhering to a "godly" education occurs in a speech of Discipline who exclaims that:

> Better it were to have no education

---

[432] Ibid., Prologue.
[433] *The Longer Thou Livest*, Prologue.
[434] Ibid., ll.512-35.
[435] Ibid., l.88.

Than to be instructed in any part of idolatry[436]

At first, this remark could be interpreted as a general reference to any residual Catholic knowledge being imparted to young people through priests or family members. However, it becomes clear that such instruction was occurring on a more formal and grander scale when Ignorance boasts that young Catholics:

> ...after heresy and popery they are running,
>
> And delight daily to learn at new schools.[437]

It is unclear whether this is a reference to unreformed Catholic schools in England or whether it means the well-known "schools" for young exiles on mainland Europe. In either instance, it is clear that schools were viewed as an important means for educating young people and, if the nervousness shown by the Catholic vices and the Protestant virtues is an indicator, it seems that schools were viewed as successful in fulfilling their educational function.

In addition to schooling, another educational tool described in the mid-Tudor Protestant interludes is the catechism. However, although catechisms as a text have a prominent role in the interludes, there is no reference to the communal form of oral recital either at school or in church. There may be practical considerations for this omission such as the high number of players that would be required to recreate a communal scene of catechisation. Indeed, the only reference to the teacher/pupil process of catechising occurs in *The Longer Thou Livest*:

> DISCIPLINE
>
> Except you will speak rightly after me:
>
> I will love and fear God above all.
>
> MOROS
>
> I will love and fear God above all.
>
> DISCIPLINE
>
> He might vouchsafe to give me sapience.

---

[436] Ibid., ll.96-7.
[437] Ibid., ll.1212-3.

MOROS

He might vouchsafe to give me sapience.

DISCIPLINE

I shall not cease on his holy name to call.

MOROS

I shall not cease on his holy name to call.

DISCIPLINE

That he will open mine intelligence.

MOROS

That he will open mine intelligence.[438]

This passage is clearly an unsubtle parody of communal catechizing which culminates in Moros receiving a severe beating from Discipline due to his continued parroting after the exercise had finished. It would seem that this scene is a jocular means of expressing the extent of Moros' foolishness. However, it is also important that the form of catechising must have been instantly recognisable to Elizabethan audiences. Catechising is not explicitly referred to in the play and yet it must have been clear to the audience that Discipline was deploying that pedagogical tool.

The catechisms that appear in the mid-Tudor interludes often refer to the actual texts and young people are often depicted as having direct access to these documents. This is portrayed in *Lusty Juventus* when Knowledge gives a copy of 'God's testament', which has been identified as the Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* catechism, to Juventus. Good Counsel informs Juventus that:

Here you shall reseaue Christes testament
To comfort your consience when nede shal requyre

---

[438] Ibid., 11.269-76.

> To learne the contentes there of, se that you be dilygent
>
> The which all chrystian men ought to desyre[439]

Later in the interlude, Juventus is depicted reading this text alone, rather than as part of the communal recitals in church or school, which allows Hypocrisy to draw on the earlier Henrician belief, enshrined in statutes such as the *Act for the Advancement of True Religion*, that it was inappropriate for young people to read religious texts. Hypocrisy aims to scare Juventus:

> In that matter [reading the catechism] you should not be so busy
>
> Was not your father as wel learned as ye?
>
> And if he had sayd then as you haue now done
>
> I wisse, he had ben like to make a burne[440]

Similarly, in *The Longer Thou Livest*, Moros is given a catechism by Piety. Again, Moros is depicted reading the text without adult supervision and is subsequently ridiculed by Idleness:

> See, see! Would you judge him a fool
>
> So sadly as he readeth on his book?[441]

The interludes reinforce the important role that religious texts had for young people which was outlined in the previous chapter. In both interludes, the characters of Knowledge and Piety decide that the first step in providing a religious education for a young person should be to issue a catechism. From this text, the young person can begin to learn the basics of the reformed faith which presumably complements the communal catechising within the parish churches.

In *Lusty Juventus*, there is evidence to suggest that owning a catechism may have been more widespread amongst young people than is currently documented.[442] After Juventus has been

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[439] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.240-3.
[440] Ibid., ll.586-9.
[441] *Longer Thou Livest The More Fool Thou Art*, ll.625-6. Benbow suggests that here the word 'sadly' translates to the modern-day equivalent of 'resolutely': Benbow, *The Longer Thou Livest*, p.31,

given his catechism, Hypocrisy attempts to stop his learning and suggests that the young

protagonist should:

> Let your boke at your gyrdle be tyed,
>
> Or els in your bosome that he may be spyed,
>
> And then it will be sayd both wyth youth and age
>
> yonder felow hath an excellent knowledge.[443]

Hypocrisy refers to the act of tying a catechism to one's girdle as a typical sight. There is

also no suggestion that this would be an extraordinary sight on a young person.[444] Indeed,

later in the interlude, when Hypocrisy is trying to ingratiate Juventus with the character of

Fellowship, Hypocrisy remarks on the catechism, which is tied to the young man's girdle,

saying that it proves Juventus is a person:

> ... that hath excellent learnyng
>
> At hys gyrdle he hath such a boke
>
> That the popysshe priestes dare not in hym loke.[445]

This passage raises two important issues. Firstly, it suggests that it was not unusual for

young people to have access to catechisms and other religious texts which were transportable

and read alone. The second issue is that Hypocrisy appears to suggest that these transportable

texts became an identity badge for young Protestants. Hypocrisy advises Juventus not to

waste time reading the catechism, which is obviously his ulterior motive, but gives the reason

that simply having the text on display would be enough to receive admittance into the

friendship group. This interlude suggests that young people were assembling into groups

based on the notion, if not the practice, of Protestant learning. In a strongly Protestant

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[442] Green states the difficulty of identifying catechism ownership, particularly before Elizabeth's reign: Green, *The Christian's ABC*.
[443] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.650-3.
[444] In Huggarde's *Displaying of the Protestantes* (1556), he also describes how young people would have Protestant books in their girdles. He claims that young people were used to transport these books to adults: 'Iacke prentise [a term for apprentices] was called in for his testament, who reaching the same from his girdle, deliuered it to his maistres'. I have not found any references to this theme, that is young people converging around the theme of education (albeit in a tokenistic sense) in the historiography.
[445] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.696-8.

interlude, which *Lusty Juventus* most certainly is, the inclusion of this theme serves the purpose of criticizing those young people who failed to read their religious texts. Juventus could perhaps be added to the list of Exercitation, a character of virtue from *The Longer Thou Livest*, who could 'rehearse by name... [those who] have pretended a great perfection'.[446] However, its importance in this study relates to the suggestion that some youthful networks were defined by a Protestant education, even if these educational activities were being used in a tokenistic sense, and highlights the importance of religious knowledge amongst the young. This evidence reinforces the role of education in the relationship between young people and Protestantism whilst suggesting that, in addition to opportunities for riot, there were other influences coming to bear in Edwardian England.

In addition to the catechisms and treatises that circulated in mid-Tudor England, the interludes were another medium through which Protestant-minded reformers could promote the education of adults via the young. Indeed, the Edwardian and early-Elizabethan interludes refer to this process on numerous occasions. For example, the interlude of *Nice Wanton* contains a scene where the young protagonist Barnabas uses his acquired literacy and subsequent Bible-reading to educate his mother by highlighting her parental mistakes. Drawing on his religious knowledge, Barnabas informs his mother that:

> God doth punysh you for your negligence:
>
> Wherfore take his correction with pacience,

---

[446] This criticism is further outlined later in *Lusty Juventus* when the young protagonist is exposed as a fraud: someone who displays the accoutrements of knowledge whilst, in reality, they are not properly studying the catechism. In this scene, the three males (Juventus, Hypocrisy and Fellowship) begin to argue over the affections of the female, Abominable Living. During this dispute, Juventus aims to defend the dubious honour of Abominable Living by threatening that, if anyone shall question her morals, he shall 'runne thorow his chekes with my sword'. Fellowship, presumably in a sarcastic tone, sneers: 'This is an ernest felow of gods word / Se I pray you, how he is disposed to fight. Juventus' response highlights his lack of learning and the little amount of time that he has devoted to reading the catechism. Juventus misuses his 'godly' position and ignorantly retorts: Why, should I not [fight] and if my cause be right / What, and if a knaue do me begyle? / Sall I stand crouching like an owle, / No, no, then you myght count me a very cowe, / I know what belongeth to gods law as well as you'. There is perhaps a subliminal message here that, although this outrageous cause is clearly not something worth fighting for, other causes, for example Protestantism, may fit this criteria: *Lusty Juventus*, ll.820-7.

And thanke him hertely, that of his godnes

He bringeth you in knowledge of your trespas.[447]

Barnabas proceeds to give his mother godly consolation 'by the scriptures' and identifies the error of her ways.[448] *Lusty Juventus* also contains references to young people educating their elders but, interestingly, these are often delivered as criticism from the Catholic characters in the drama. In this interlude, instances of young people acting as educators are equated to the erosion of society's *status quo*, such as when Hypocrisy remarks that:

Now euery boy wil be a teacher

The father a foole, and the chyld a preacher[449]

Lusty Juventus is unique as it explicitly encourages young people to invert the social order and educate their ignorant elders. For this, Hypocrisy reproaches Juventus:

Lawful quod ha, a foole foole

Wil thou set men to scoole

when they be olde

I may say to you secretly

The worlde was neuer meri

Since chyldren where so boulde[450]

The interlude is almost boastful of the role played by young people in the spread of Protestantism. Once again, *Lusty Juventus* is more explicit than other extant interludes in its depiction of young people as educators and does not flinch from its message that young people should provide a:

...godly example [that] shal other men procure

To learne and exercyse the same also

I praye God strengthen you so for to do.[451]

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[447] *Nice Wanton*, ll.474-7.
[448] Ibid., ll.470-80.
[449] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.616-7.
[450] Ibid., ll.610-5.
[451] Ibid., ll.258-60.

It would seem that, as outlined in the previous chapter, reformers strongly promoted the benefits of a religious education to young people. After gaining this knowledge, which was acquired through rigid structures such as a school, a catechism class, or a book, young people were encouraged to educate their elders and hereby temporarily invert the traditional hierarchy of Tudor society. However, this inversion was controlled by other reformist adults, represented in the interludes as schoolmasters or Protestant virtues, which created a formal framework within which the youthful "disobedience" could occur.[452]

VI. Conclusions

The Edwardian and early-Elizabethan interludes have been under-utilised by historians of the English Reformation. Through analysis of their narratives and dialogue, interludes can provide insight into the society that produced them. In relation to young people, this has proved a fruitful exercise because, as well as being identified as frequent attenders of interludes, youth was also the primary focus for many of the narratives. It is evident that, as with the sermons and catechisms produced by reformist writers, youthful obedience is a prominent theme in the selected interludes. Protestant playwrights were keen to depict the obedience of young people, even to the extent of diluting their religious disobedience to Catholic elders, which meant that conversions occurred "offstage" or the Catholic adults were represented by abstract vices. In *Lusty Juventus*, the most direct and bullish interlude, young people are advised not to reject their elders but their elders' Catholicism. If young people were engaging in religious riot due to Protestantism off the stage, this was certainly not portrayed on the stage, and the young protagonists were frequently chastised for engaging in disorder of any kind. The authoritarian content of the interludes contrasts with the writings of Catholic polemicists, as one would expect, but only by engaging with both sets of material can a more balanced analysis of young people and Protestantism be obtained.

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[452] There are clear links with the method of catechising here, see Chapter Two.

A prominent theme within the youth interludes is the benefit of a religious education which is portrayed as a means of repelling both earthly vices and Catholic "superstitions". Attending school had the dual benefit of teaching a young person how to identify corruption, both spiritually and recreationally, whilst also restricting the young's opportunities to indulge in games and sport. However, more importantly, the interludes highlight how education could allow young people to invert the social order, by educating their Catholic elders, even though this behaviour was subject to strict adult control. Building on the content of the catechisms and visitation articles, the interludes depict young people being used as disseminators of Protestantism. In *Nice Wanton*, Barnabas teaches his mother how to be a 'godly' parent whilst in *Lusty Juventus* there are numerous references to young people teaching ignorant adults the errors of Catholicism. I would argue that this opportunity to educate elders presented an attractive proposition to young people who could obtain a social status that was usually denied to the young. However, it is clear that Protestants wished to control this behaviour and, in the youth interludes, such actions are always instigated by a Protestant elder (be it a person or a virtue) and centre on a recommended text: either scripture or the catechisms.

It is also remarkable that, in *Lusty Juventus*, a Protestant education is portrayed as a unifying force for young people but, rather than being associated with co-operative learning, it is merely tokenistic. When Juventus seeks admission into a group of young men, he is advised to tie a catechism to his girdle, in order to prove his credentials. The interludes suggest that education was a cohesive force amongst young people and this offers an alternative, though not mutually exclusive, explanation for the young's attraction to Protestantism beyond the historiographical maxim relating to riot and disorder. If viewing Protestant interludes was a

subversive act for a young person, the messages to which they were exposed were carefully crafted to promote obedience, disarm Catholic polemicists and offer controlled opportunities for the young to transcend their typical status in society.

Chapter Four

"I cannot persuade myself to go from the truth that is taught me":

The young martyrs in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*

I.

Due to John Foxe's inclusive approach to creating martyrs, *Acts and Monuments* contains the

'histories' of numerous individuals and social groups. Surprisingly, for many of these

groups, including young people, there has yet to be a focussed and sustained analysis of their

narratives and entries.[453] When one considers the advances that historians have made in

analysing the narratives of females in *Acts and Monuments*, the historiographical gap

regarding young people becomes even more intriguing. One of the first historians to interpret

the female narratives was Ellen Macek who, having interrogated the text for the 'spiritual

journeys... [of] Tudor Protestant women', concluded that *Acts and Monuments* 'provides the

reader with more information about female participants in the English Reformation than any

other work'.[454] In more recent scholarship, the narratives have been scrutinised by Megan

Hickerson, Susannah Monta and Christine Peters in order to cast light on the role of female

disobedience within the text. Hickerson undertook a close reading of the narratives and has

shown how the female martyrs, who often displayed disobedience to their husbands, became

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[453] Susan Brigden used *Acts and Monuments* to assess how young people were behaving in Marian England but mines the text for examples of misbehaviour rather than a close reading of the narratives. Brigden found interesting examples of young people physically opposing the mass, throwing stones at the Catholic clergy and shaving a dead cat's fur to look like a massing priest: S. Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', pp. 37-67. This approach also extends beyond social groups to the literary functions within the narratives. For example, William Wizeman has recently analysed the narratives of the Marian martyrs, and the anti-martyrs, in order to highlight how they were constructed to appeal to an Elizabethan audience: see W. Wizeman, 'Martyrs and Anti-martyrs and Mary Tudor's Church' in T.S. Freeman and T.F. Mayer (eds.), *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c.1400-1700* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.166.79.

[454] E. Macek, 'The Emergence of Feminine Spirituality in the Book of Martyrs', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19:1 (1988), pp.63-80. Macek observed that females were portrayed 'carefully weighing family obligations in the light of their commitment to their God and sometimes facing a variety of crises, [as] they submitted to the solitude of prison life and, in many cases, death at the stake'.

'politically dangerous symbols' in the hands of Foxe.[455] Monta has reached similar

conclusions and observes that Elizabethan readers would have had to 'reconfigure their

understanding of gender' when reading the female martyrologies. The research of Peters,

however, which focuses on the 'bride-of-Christ' imagery within *Acts and Monuments*,

suggests that the spiritual marriage of the females to Christ would have offset their more

challenging behaviour.[456] In addition to these enquiries, Thomas Freeman has studied *Acts

and Monuments* to highlight the historical role played by a specific group of females: namely

the 'sustainers' of the godly. Through analysis of Foxe's narratives and letters from the

martyrs, Freeman has concluded that the Marian female sustainers 'obtained status and

influence, at least among their coreligionists, normally denied to women, even of wealth and

gentle birth'.[457] It is clear that analysing the female narratives within *Acts and Monuments*

has proven a fruitful exercise for historians and this has led to a better understanding of how

women experienced the English Reformation. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to

transpose this methodology to the narratives of young people in John Foxe's 'Book of

Martyrs'. A close reading of the text(s) will be undertaken in order to analyse the role of the

young martyrs in Marian England and also assess the Elizabethan reformers' views on

youthful disobedience.

Before studying the individual female narratives, Hickerson felt that it was necessary to

understand Foxe's view of females in a more global sense.[458] It would appear that, perhaps

unsurprisingly, Foxe viewed women as 'weaker than men... both physically and mentally'

but, by emphasising Foxe's default view, Hickerson could outline his more remarkable

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[455] M.L. Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England* (Basingstoke, 2005), p.161.

[456] S.B. Monta, 'Foxe's Female Martyrs and the Sanctity of Transgression', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 25:1 (2001), p. 3; C. Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, pp.281-3.

[457] T.S. Freeman, '"The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuouse Women": The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs', *Journal of British Studies*, 39:1 (2000), p.33.

[458] Hickerson was unsurprised to uncover Foxe's 'obvious misogyny and patriarchal ethic' in relation to females: Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*, p.77.

portrayals of the female martyrs. In relation to young people, John Foxe held similarly uncontroversial views regarding the life-cycle stage of youth which oscillated between depictions of carnality/riot and innocence/purity.[459] On the one hand, there is an expectation in Foxe's writings that young people are disposed to actions of lasciviousness, greed and pride. For example, Foxe writes how Bartlett Green, a young martyr from London, was in the 'continual accompanying and fellowship of such worldly (I will not say too much youthful) young Gentlemen' where he became 'by little and little a compartner of their fond follies and youthful vanities'.[460] Similarly, Roger Holland, when he was a young man, was described as prone to partaking in 'licentious liberty' such as 'riot... dancing, fence, gaming [and] banqueting' with wanton company.[461] On the other hand, there are occasions when youth is portrayed in a positive light, such as the martyrdom of Richard Mekins (aged 15). In Mekins' narrative, Foxe attributes his recantation of the teaching of Dr Barnes to his 'childish innocence and fear ... [for he was an] ignorant soul that he knew not what the affirming of an heresy was'.[462] In the narrative of John Alcock, a young man from Suffolk, Foxe enthusiastically portrays another positive representation of youth when describing how he preached to the parish of Hadleigh after the minister had been removed.[463] Foxe portrayed youth as a period of both positive and negative attributes including riot, innocence and strength; these views were typical within early-modern society.

In analysing the specific narratives and entries referring to young people in *Acts and Monuments*, it is sometimes difficult to know the precise age of a person. Fortunately, Foxe

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[459] Paul Griffiths describes the two opposing images as 'contested territory'. For early-modern society, Griffiths observes that youth could be both a 'dark and dangerous' age and also a time of 'beauty, vigour and strength': see Griffiths, *Youth and Authorith*, pp.34-54.

[460] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2022 [modern].

[461] Ibid., p. 2237 [m]. In the famous case of Patrick Hamilton, the young Scotsman with royal blood who was executed by Cardinal Beaton, Foxe felt it necessary to praise him for not enjoying 'all kind of licentious riotousness... in that his flourishing age': Foxe, *A&M* (1563), p.460.

[462] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1376 [m].

[463] Alcock is described as honest, intelligent and faithful: Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2285 [m].

had a tendency to refer to some of the people as 'lad', 'young man', 'maid' or 'young woman'; labels which Griffiths has defined as the vocabulary of age for young people.[464] In these instances, Foxe did not need to identify a more accurate age because these people only played a minor role within a narrative or could be simply referenced in a table of events. For example, under the year 1531, there is an entry reading

> A *boy* of Colchester or Norfolk brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of books about iiii days
>
> before the said Bayfield was taken: for the which the *lad* was taken and laid in the Counter by M.
>
> More Chancellor, and there died.[465]

Similarly, there is mention of John Clark, 'a tender young man' from Cambridge, who was placed in prison by Cardinal Wolsey, due to his religious beliefs, where he subsequently died. This story of Clark is merely an aside that occurs within the broader section of Wolsey's downfall; the specific age of Clark is irrelevant to Foxe. In the narratives that focus specifically on a young martyr, Foxe often attempts to identify their age. There are 27 people within the Tudor section of *Acts and Monuments* who Foxe identifies as being aged between 13 and 28.[466] However, as argued by Susan Brigden

> Since there were vastly more young people than old in early modern England, where perhaps half
>
> the population was under twenty, it proves nothing to show that very many young people were
>
> won early to the new faith.[467]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to undertake an analysis of the percentage of Foxe's martyrs that were aged 13-28 because the data is inadequate. Freeman has recently compiled a database of the Marian martyrs in *Acts and Monuments* which includes a column for their age.[468] Out of the 312 martyrs, there is an age (at times this is approximate) for 78 people:

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[464] Foxe used these labels on at least eleven separate occasions in 1570. It would seem reasonable to suggest that Foxe was hereby describing a person between the ages of 13-28.

[465] Foxe, *A&M* (1570). p.1189.

[466] William Hunter, John Leaf, Joan Horns, George Searles, Robert Purcas, Elizabeth Folkes, Rose Allin, Thomas Hinshaw, Thomas Hawkes, John Launder, Patrick Pachingham, George Tankerfield, John Went, John Tudson, Bartlett Green, William Halliwell, Ralph Jackson, Laurence Pernam, Lyon Cawch, John Routh, Agnes George, Adam Foster, Julius Palmer, Thomas Moor, Joan Waste, Jeffrey Hurst and Roger Holland.

[467] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.37.

[468] T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe's Marian Martyrs: a chronological table, (available on http://www.johnfoxe.org).

this means that it is not possible to put an approximate age to 75% of the Marian martyrs. This amplifies the need for a close reading of the narratives relating to those young people who can be confidently identified.

In order to encompass the different types of young people in *Acts and Monuments*, this chapter will contain four case studies.[469] The first section will focus on the young male martyrs as illustrated by the case study of William Hunter. Unlike the accounts of William Maldon and John Davis, Hunter did not submit information detailing his suffering to Foxe. Instead, in the 1563 edition, Foxe had a blank canvas on which to draw his "godly" young martyr. Therefore, this case study will outline how Foxe portrayed Hunter and demonstrate how this account displays Foxe's ideal model for a young male martyr. The second case study will focus on two young female martyrs: Rose Allin and Elizabeth Folkes. As has been discussed, there is a burgeoning literature relating to Foxe's depictions of female Protestants. However, the current historiography does not distinguish between these females in terms of their age. Therefore, the narratives of Allin and Folkes will be assessed to gauge how female martyrs were portrayed when they were too young for a husband and, in addition, this section will evaluate whether age or gender was more important in narratives of disobedient females. The third case study will draw together the accounts of three young gentlemen in order to outline the class-related topoi deployed by Foxe. This thesis has highlighted the issue of the necessary religious disobedience that must occur for young people to convert to Protestantism. As outlined in the previous chapter, Tudor interludes were cautious in their references to this act. However, in Foxe's text, the young gentlemen often have to battle Catholic parents and this section will assess how Foxe used this situation to his advantage.

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[469] The following analysis will focus on the editions of 1563 and 1570. In the time range of this thesis, there were three editions of *Acts and Monuments* in 1563, 1570 and 1576. This chapter will not include the third edition (1576) because there are no significant changes to the narratives of the case studies. It is widely acknowledged that the 1576 edition was produced to generate income for John Day whilst also providing his son, Richard, with a project to enhance his printing skills: see King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, pp.123-6

The final case study will analyse the depiction of young people in the illustrations of *Acts and Monuments*. In addition to being an integral aspect of the work, the illustrations also reveal the conservatism of the Elizabethan audience regarding the young martyrs. Through these case studies, it is possible to analyse the consistencies and the contrasts both within Foxe's text and also the Elizabethan psyche.

II.   The Case of William Hunter

The narrative of William Hunter's martyrdom is unusual in *Acts and Monuments* because it is a detailed account of a young person who, in terms of social status and educational background, was relatively typical. Other young men with humble backgrounds, such as Patrick Packingham, generally received brief entries in Foxe's text.[470] In the case of Packingham, Foxe does not construct a narrative for the martyr and instead simply includes the extant transcript of Bonner's questioning. Furthermore, Packingham's responses are subsumed under the answers of John Denley, a wealthier fellow-martyr of Patrick.[471] Indeed, it is often the wealthier young gentlemen, such as Julius Palmer and Bartlett Green, who receive the extensive narratives. In contrast, William Hunter was merely the apprentice of Thomas Tailor, a silkweaver in London, perhaps in or around Cheapside, from 1553.[472] The way that Foxe changed the content of *Acts and Monuments* throughout the various editions has attracted particular attention from historians. For example, Lander feels that scholars can only assess the text's role in forming a language of national election 'by paying careful attention to changes, large and small, between the many editions'.[473] Similarly, King has

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[470] There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, such as Richard Wilmot and Thomas Green. However, neither of these young men suffered martyrdom at the stake.

[471] See the section 'Representations of Young Gentlemen' for a discussion of why the wealthier martyrs often subsumed the accounts of their social inferiors.

[472] William Hunter was 'commaunded at the Easter next following, to receaue the communion at a Masse, by the Priest of the parish where hee dwelt, called Colman streete'. The only corresponding Coleman street in London is in Cheapside, adjacent to the old poulterers' stalls.

[473] J. Lander, '"Foxe's" Book of Martyrs: printing and popularising the Acts and Monuments', in C. McEachern & D. Shuger (eds), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge, 1997), p.89.

analysed the prefaces throughout the various editions of *Acts and Monuments* in order to gauge Foxe's evolving religious outlook.[474] Although these examples focus on broad changes throughout the editions, it is equally fruitful to analyse the variations within specific narratives and, as it has been noted, the account of Hunter changed significantly between the first and second editions of *Acts and Monuments*. Evenden and Freeman observe that 'Hunter's martyrdom more than doubled in length in the 1570 edition'.[475] King explains that this extension occurred because Foxe received a testimony that was 'faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own brother (who being present with his brother William, and never left him till his death, sent the true report thereof unto us)'.[476] Therefore, this case study will analyse the account of William Hunter's martyrdom and specifically the changes that occurred between the 1563 and 1570 editions of *Acts and Monuments*. This analysis will improve our understanding of how young Protestants were expected to behave in Elizabethan England whilst, at the same time, it demonstrates Foxe's desire across both editions to portray a young man who was both well educated and a model of obedience.

In the 1563 edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, just over one page is devoted to the martyrdom of William Hunter. In the account, William is portrayed as a son as much as a martyr. In the opening paragraph, Foxe reminds the reader that William exists as part of a family:

> William Hunter was a very yonge man, but borne of very good parents, of whom he was not only instructed to godliness, but also confirmed to death: surely after a rare example, yet most notable

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[474] J.N. King. 'Guides to Reading Foxe's Book of Martyrs', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68:1/2 (2005), pp.133-50; T. Betteridge, 'From the prophetic to the apocalyptic', D. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997).

[475] E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge, 2011), p.144.

[476] King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p.57. Evenden & Freeman also describe how the extended narrative was 'thanks to testimony from William Hunter's brother': Evenden & Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p.144.

and worthy to be had in admiration of all parents. Wherein was a notable sight, to behold nature overcome by godliness.[477]

Foxe is here keen to promote William as a good young Protestant who has absorbed his parents' faith and teachings. William is not fighting against his parents due to his Protestantism and neither do they oppose him for seeking martyrdom. On the whole, this provides Foxe with the ideal template for a young martyr which is based on concord and avoids the potential for youthful disobedience. As in the Tudor interludes, the narrative is constructed in a manner that does not challenge the expectations of how young people should behave in Elizabethan England. William is portrayed as both obedient to his faith and also his parents.

Foxe goes further than simply including William's story as a neat, clear-cut, youthful martyrdom. Instead, Foxe turns the account into a lesson for Protestant parents. He warns parents to 'hereby learn, what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time require, that godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man, against natural affection'.[478] What is to be expected of a young martyr's parents is described explicitly through the actions of the Hunters. On seeing their son being marched toward the fire, the Hunters

> did not follow him with lamentation, neither laboured by their words to draw him from his godly purpose, neither took pity of his fortune, but (setting aside all private affection of natural love, forgetting nature, and as it were, forgetting themselves, neither yet following that common affection of parents at this day, but the example of that holy mother of the Maccabees) encouraged their son as much as they could, and rejoicing with wonderful gladness, exhorted him to go through [it] valiantly.[479]

In this passage, Foxe is describing the ideal scenario for how a family should respond to a young martyr. The whole account is based on family unity, obedience and reciprocal strength. With the support of his parents, William Hunter was able to face his martyrdom

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[477] Foxe, *A&M* (1563), p.1178.
[478] Ibid., p. 1179.
[479] Ibid.

with courage and perspective: 'for he indeed died with great constancy, and after he had recited the 84th psalm, as he was a dying, doubtless obtained the crown of blessed martyrdom'.[480] However, in many ways, William is overshadowed in his own martyrdom story. He died for the Protestant cause with constancy but this is the minimum requirement for any potential candidate who might be included in John Foxe's martyrology. Perhaps tellingly, instead of including William's exposition of the Protestant faith, Foxe curtly instructs the reader to refer to the examination of Thomas Tomkins as both are nearly identical. The main protagonists in this story are undoubtedly William's parents. Foxe writes that 'truly I cannot tell, whether I should rather praise the virtue of the son, or of the parents' before deciding that 'no less constancy (as I think) appeared in them [the parents]: and they are no les to be counted martyrs, in the martyrdom of their son'.[481] It is clear that Foxe not only views the parents as an emotional aide to their martyred son but that their suffering is equal to his. Although William overcame the physical torture of the stake, it was his parents who overcame the natural urge to protect a child and who were left behind with their grief whilst William was awarded the eternal delights of heaven.

In promoting the Hunters to quasi-martyrs simply for showing encouragement and restraint throughout their son's martyrdom, John Foxe has diluted the importance of William and, perhaps more importantly, his age. The main way that Foxe marginalises young William is by removing from him the key decisions and agency within the narrative which is instead assigned to his parents. The parents adopt an authoritative role in the drama which is far from inevitable when one analyses the actual sequence of events. The most important decision in the narrative is William's conviction that he will not relinquish his Protestantism for his life. Even under interrogation from Bonner, William will not be persuaded to believe

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[480] Ibid.
[481] Ibid.

in transubstantiation. In contrast, William's parents remained calm and supported their son in his conviction but they did not offer themselves as genuine Protestant martyrs who would willingly burn at the stake next to their courageous son. However, Foxe expresses the parents' acquiescence as some sort of legitimacy: they provide a seal of approval where none is needed. In this way, Foxe marginalises William and young people. William is not portrayed as the architect of his own fate but as a consenting member of a family where the parents have made the decisions. He is no longer a martyr but the son in a martyred family. Interestingly, Foxe reports William's final words as

> I cannot persuade myself to go from the truth that is taught me, and I will continue in the same so long as I live: for if I do otherwise, I shall perish both body and soul: and I had rather my body to perish, then my soul.[482]

Foxe writes that William must remain obedient to the truth 'that is taught me'. Therefore, after the passage that describes how William resisted Bonner, it is clear that William is remaining obedient to another adult figure, namely his teacher; whether that be a local priest, a school master, a preacher or God (via scripture). I would argue that Foxe is intimating that William was taught by his parents. The Hunters are the only characters in the narrative who are not villains and it is stated at the beginning of the narrative that William had been 'instructed to godlines' by his parents.[483] If this is the case, even in his final words, William is reaffirming the legitimacy sanctioned by his parents and behaving within both a religious and social framework which has been constructed by his mother and father.[484] It would seem reasonable to surmise that, given the lack of information Foxe had concerning William, the narrative was regarded as a blank canvas, and the portrait that Foxe wanted to depict had William in a subservient role whilst his parents provided an example to be followed by other Protestant mother and fathers.

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[482] Ibid.

[483] Ibid., p.1178

[484] Even if it was a local priest, a school master or a preacher who taught young William his Protestantism, he would still be acting within the rigid framework of Tudor obedience. The final words of William reconfirm that he is not pushing any authoritative boundaries in this narrative.

The 1570 edition of William Hunter's martyrdom is four pages long, dwarfing the sole page allocated in the first edition. It becomes clear that Robert Hunter, William's brother, had submitted a fuller account of the martyrdom and its precursory events to John Foxe after the 1563 edition of *Acts and Monuments* had been published. Foxe was forced to engage with Robert's material and the new narrative contains a depiction of William that is certainly less passive. Father Atwell, a Summoner, stumbled upon William reading the Bible in a local chapel.[485] Atwell says that it was 'never merry since the Bible came abroad in English' but William quickly corrects him:

> say not so for Gods' sake, for it is God's book, out of the which every one that hath grace may
>
> learn to know what things both please God, and also what displeases him.[486]

Throughout the 1570 narrative, Foxe does not avoid portraying William as the more knowledgeable figure, despite his age. William is questioned by Father Atwell, Thomas Wood, Justice Brown and Bishop Bonner but he competently resists their theological reasoning. During these discussions, the interrogators often refer to William's age as a means to ridicule his argument. At one point, Father Atwell seems to suggest that William is too young to read the Bible: 'it becomes not thee nor none such [like you], to meddle with the Scriptures'.[487] William's illegitimacy appears to stem from his age. Brown calls him a 'naughty boy' who will 'not take things as they are, but expound[s] them as thou wants'.[488] Similarly, when Thomas Wood is called to question William (Foxe could not resist mentioning that Wood was in the alehouse), he mockingly cries, 'it becomes thee well to tell me what I have to do' and that 'it is a merry world when such as thou art, shall teach us what

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[485] It is notable that William accessed the Bible in the parish church. As with the 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*, the Bible was to be accessible to parishioners who would read sections of the text when desired or required. Unless a person owned a Bible or *Acts and Monuments*, it is unlikely that it would be read from beginning to end and more typical for readers to choose certain passages. Foxe and Day understood this pattern and included marginalia in *Acts and Monuments* to aide such reading.

[486] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1751.

[487] Ibid., p.1752.

[488] Ibid.

is the truth'.[489] It is clear that the older men's age is symbolic of their authority and this works inversely for William. However, by putting these common Catholic arguments in the mouths of unsavoury and ignorant characters, Foxe is able to discredit them. In addition, the youthfulness of William allowed Foxe to 'emphasise the ubiquity of God's faithful and the savagery of Antichristian persecution'.[490]

Foxe includes detailed accounts of William's examinations. In these exchanges, William is depicted as an educated and confident young Protestant who clearly understands the theological debate surrounding subjects such as transubstantiation. Moreover, in a significant change from the 1563 narrative, William exhibits behaviour that, on occasions, could be interpreted as anti-hierarchical. For example, during an interrogation by Thomas Wood, the vicar of South Weald, Foxe describes the following exchange:

> Then sayd the Vicar: canst thou serue God wyth heresie? But William aunswered, I would that you and I were even now fast tyed to a stake, to proue whether that you or I would stand strongest to our fayth. But the Vicar aunswered: It shal not so be tryed. No, quoth William, I thinke so: for if it might, I thinke I know who would soonest recant, for I durst set my foote against yours euen to the death. That we shall see, quoth the Vicar, and so they departed, the Vicar threatning William much, how that he would complaine of hym: with much other communication, which they had together.[491]

William's challenge to Wood is certainly brash and the fact that Foxe includes such a strong statement from a young man to his elder is worthy of remark.[492] However, such instances of disobedience are only aimed at members of the Catholic clergy. In a similar manner to Wever's interlude of *Lusty Juventus*, where Juventus is portrayed as being disobedient to

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[489] Ibid.
[490] T.S. Freeman, 'The Power of Polemic: Catholic Responses to the Calendar in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61:3 (2010), p.481.
[491] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1572.
[492] Not all of Hunter's exchanges have this tone. For example, on his first two meetings with Father Atwell and Thomas Wood, William rejects their notion that he expounds the scriptures: "I take not upon me to expound the scriptures" William says, "except I were dispensed withal, but I finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort": ibid., p.1751.

spiritual rather than secular figures, Foxe constructs the narrative so that William can attack Catholic figures whilst remaining within a wider framework of obedience. This is neatly illustrated in Foxe's introduction to the 1570 narrative. Foxe begins the account by introducing William, his dwelling, his trade and his master. This is the first time that the reader is informed of William's occupation as an apprentice to Thomas Tailor, a silkweaver, in London. After this introduction, the first section of the narrative addresses William's expulsion at the hands of Tailor. Foxe writes that William had refused to attend the communion mass at Easter which had come to the attention of the local priest. William continued to resist the wishes of the priest which eventually forced Tailor to ask Hunter to leave his house 'lest that he [the master] should come in danger, because of him'.[493] In this passage, Foxe cleverly constructs the narrative so that William remains obedient to his master, even to the point of leaving his apprenticeship, whilst displaying quite explicit spiritual disobedience to the Catholic priest. Having analysed the role of female martyrs in *Acts and Monuments*, Thomas Freeman has suggested that Foxe heavily edited their narratives in order to conceal or divert attention from their worldly disobedience (usually against husbands).[494] In the opening section of William Hunter's martyrdom in the 1570 edition, it is clear that Foxe was equally judicious in pruning the texts concerning young people in order to counter religious disobedience with worldly obedience.

Indeed, Foxe includes several other counterbalances to the religious disobedience of Hunter. As in the 1563 narrative, William's role as a son also acts as proof of his obedience within the 1570 narrative. In an interesting sub-plot, Foxe describes how William's father was ordered to find his errant son by Justice Brown. When the father finds William, the son pledges to come home to Brentwood in order to save his father from returning empty-handed.

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[493] Ibid.
[494] Freeman, 'The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuouse Women', pp.8-33.

In this section, William is not portrayed as a disobedient and uncontrollable youth but rather a considered and respectful young man who is loyal to his father. Similarly, when William's mother becomes upset prior to his execution, he reassures her by saying 'for my little pain which I shall suffer... Christ hath promised me, mother... a crown of joy'. His mother responds by saying 'I pray God strengthen thee my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed, as any child that ever I bore'.[495] William does not challenge his parents at any point in the narrative. Foxe uses this domestic hierarchy as a metaphor for wider society. During a debate with Bonner, William asks if it would be possible to live as a Nicodemite so that he can lead a normal life and return 'to my father and dwell with him, or else with my Master again [Tailor]'.[496] Rather than Protestantism offering young people an opportunity for riot, which is a prominent theme in the current historiography, it is Catholicism which is stopping William Hunter from following an orderly and obedient life.

In conclusion, when John Foxe had a clean canvas for William Hunter in 1563, he depicted him as a subservient member of a godly family. Foxe used the story to praise William's mother and father, and to provide a model for other godly parents. In many ways, Foxe reverted to his default view of an ideal Protestant family with strong-willed parents and obedient offspring. However, Foxe engaged with the information supplied by Robert Hunter and the 1570 version of William Hunter's martyrdom depicted a protagonist who was more confident and perhaps more challenging. William now debated with his social superiors and dared vicars to die for their faith. However, even in the second edition, Foxe constructed the narrative so that William was only disobedient to the villains of the piece, namely Father Atwell, Justice Brown and Bishop Bonner. In the other sections of the account, William is portrayed as an obedient son and even an obedient apprentice. Although Hunter was forced

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[495] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1754.
[496] Ibid., p.1753.

to leave his master at the beginning of the narrative, Tailor makes a final appearance when Hunter is tied to the stake. This is Foxe's final flourish to show that William had not transcended the framework of obedience but, instead, Catholicism had stopped him for living a normal and subordinate life, either with his father or his master.

III.   The Cases of Elizabeth Folkes and Rose Allin

In the previous chapter focussing on Tudor interludes, there were only three female characters in the four chosen dramatic texts.   In *Lusty Juventus*, there was Abominable Living, a female character with loose sexual morals who managed to woo Juventus.   In *Nice Wanton*, there were Xantippe and Dalila, a mother and daughter respectively.   Xantippe spoiled her children through a lack of discipline whilst Dalila was a prostitute who died of the pox caught in the stews.   These three female characters played secondary roles in the interludes, represented some of the worst vices in sixteenth-century society, and were often merely narrative vehicles for the male protagonists.   In contrast, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* contains 48 female martyrs from the Tudor period.   These female martyrs have received much scholarly attention and particularly from historians who focus on gender. Perhaps the most prominent historian on this subject has been Megan Hickerson.   In *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*, Hickerson has specifically analysed Foxe's representations of female martyrs within *Acts and Monuments* and argued that they 'clearly exceed the boundaries of acceptable female behaviour'.[497]   Difficult female characters like Prest's wife, who left her family due to Protestantism, are described by Hickerson as 'politically dangerous symbols' because of their outright disobedience to the religious authorities, their social patriarchs and their husbands (although this excludes their spiritual husband, Christ).[498]   Susannah Monta has also noted the challenging behaviour of female

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[497] Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*, p.77.
[498] Ibid., p.161.

martyrs within *Acts and Monuments* which forced its readers to 'reconfigure their understanding of gender'; John Foxe frequently depicted women having more doctrinal understanding, and the verbal reasoning to express this understanding, in comparison to their male superiors.[499] As a consequence, Monta has theorised that the female martyrs were sometimes more unorthodox than the Catholic interrogators for an Elizabethan readership. Although both Hickerson and Monta observe that Foxe included the challenging behaviour of female martyrs, they also state that he often deployed techniques to dilute this disobedience. Foxe depicted female martyrs being obedient to their spiritual husband of Christ and labelled the women through their relationships with men (such as Prest's wife). As with young males, Foxe constructed the female martyrologies to include at least one acceptable figure of (male) authority.[500] Freeman has argued that Foxe had to pay a 'polemical price' when using young or female martyrs as it 'opened the door for attacks on the lowly status and education' of these people.[501] This case study will build on the existing research surrounding female martyrs but narrow the focus to those that were young.[502] Through analysing the martyrdoms of Elizabeth Folkes and Rose Allin, it is possible to identify the parameters within which their disobedience was framed whilst also evaluating whether age or gender was more important in the construction of their narratives.[503]

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[499] Monta, 'Foxe's Female Martyrs and the Sanctity of Transgression' (2001), p.18.

[500] On rare occasions, if Foxe felt that none of these techniques were plausible, such as with Elizabeth Young – an intelligent women of low birth – he reduce the entry to 'only the briefest introduction... otherwise supplying simply the bare transcripts of the dialogues as recorded by her interrogators': see S. Mullaney, 'Reforming Resistance: class, gender and legitimacy in Foxe's Book of Martyrs' in A.F. Marlotti & M.D. Bristol (eds) *Print, Manuscript and Performance: the changing relations of the media in early modern England* (Columbus, 2000), p.247.

[501] T.S. Freeman, 'The Power of Polemic', p.481.

[502] The females aged between 13-28 include; Joan Warren (or Lashford), Joan Horns, Agnes George, Joan Waste, Rose Allin and Elizabeth Folkes.

[503] Rose Allin and Elizabeth Folkes have full accounts in both the 1563 and 1570 editions of *Acts and Monuments*. Joan Horns does not receive a narrative whilst the Joan Warren and Agnes George receive only brief accounts.

As with the narratives of William Hunter, the martyrdom of Rose Allin is a family affair. The family consisted of 'William Mount of Muchbentley in Essex, husband man, and Alice, his wife, and Rose Allin maid, the daughter of the said Alice Mount'.[504] The family is nearly always described as a unit, even in the archival records included by Foxe. For example, Thomas Tye, the minister of Great Bentley, wrote letters to both Lord Darcy and Bishop Bonner which described the family as 'three seditious persons' who have shown 'manifest signs and tokens of disobedience'.[505] Foxe revels in the familial nature of William, Alice and Rose which extends to their 'faithful brother', John Johnson, who was also imprisoned in Colchester Castle. When Foxe describes the detention of 'Mount and his family', he also mentions that 'brother' Johnson had 'no wife alive but three young children ... and so all these iiii. lay together in Colchester Castle'.[506] Foxe is keen to use a familial rhetoric throughout the martyrdom of Rose Allin which both outlines her ties to her family but also highlights the bond between the persecuted Protestants. Consequently, Thomas Tye, the architect of Rose and her family's execution, is described as 'a false brother'.[507] Foxe recalled that Tye used to frequent 'the company of Godly men and women' but he used this knowledge to uncover the "secret" conventicles of the Marian Protestants.[508] The familial labels used in Allin's martyrdom were deployed to refer to the wider family of Protestants but they also characterised Rose as a loyal daughter.

This familial rhetoric helps to counterbalance other acts, which could have been construed as disobedient, within the narrative. Rose is portrayed as subservient to her step-father and mother in the familial sphere which allowed Foxe to portray her as combative and

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[504] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2238. 'Much Bentley' is identified as Great Bentley. Also, it should be noted that Rose was Alice's daughter from a previous marriage.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid., p. 2239.
[507] Ibid., p. 2238
[508] Ibid.

challenging in the religious sphere. Rose's most explicit show of disrespect was in her encounter with Edmond Tyrrel, a Justice of the Peace, Bailiff of St Osyth and MP for Maldon. William and Alice Mount were visited by Tyrrel who wanted to imprison them in Colchester Castle. However, Alice was very ill and asked Tyrrel if her daughter, Rose, could first fetch her a drink. As Rose was returning to the house, with the drink in one hand and a candle in the other, Tyrrel approached her and 'willed [her] to give her father and mother good counsel, and to advertise them to be better Catholic people'.[509] Rose retorted that her parents 'have a better instructor then I... for the holy Ghost doth teach them I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err'.[510] This confident response threw Tyrrel into a rage and, grabbing the candle that Rose was carrying, he 'held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross wise over the back thereof, so long till the very sinews cracked asunder'.[511] Rose did not flinch and withstood the pain of the ordeal. Afterwards, she even managed to refer mischievously to her own constancy and no doubt irked Tyrrel when she remarked 'if ye think it good [to burn me], begin at the feet, and burn to the head also'.[512] Although Rose's response may be termed by Monta as 'challenging', Bowler argues that this sort of behaviour should be labelled 'resistance' rather than 'disobedience'.[513] Foxe constructs the narrative in a manner that portrays Rose as confrontational in her response to Tyrrel, without fully transgressing the social hierarchy.

It is clear that Rose is well informed regarding religious doctrine and she confidently denounces confession, the mass, the 'popish seven Sacraments' and papal primacy claiming

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[509] Ibid., p. 2239.
[510] Ibid. It is interesting that Tyrrel presumed Rose might have influence over her parents in this sphere. This theme is further explored in Chapter Two.
[511] Ibid., p. 2240.
[512] Ibid.
[513] Monta, 'Foxe's Female Martyrs and the Sanctity of Transgression', p.7; G. Bowler, 'Marian Protestants and the Idea of Violent Resistance to Tyranny', in P. Lake & M. Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987), p.127.

that they all 'stank in the face of God'.[514] She also manages to show a steely restraint against

her persecutor. Rose remembered that

> while my one hand... was a burning, I having a pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the
> face with it, if I had would: for no man held my hand to let me therein. But I thank God (quoth
> she) with all my heart, I did it not.[515]

Hickerson has claimed that Foxe 'relished' the opportunity to portray young females, such as

Rose, with a sharp intellect and confident manner in their challenges to male superiors.[516]

However, the aforementioned quote focuses on Rose's restraint and ability to challenge an

elder with resistance rather than riot. Furthermore, Foxe also offsets Rose's spiritual

disobedience with the portrayal of her subordination within the family. Directly after Rose's

conflict with Tyrrel, Foxe reminds the reader of her subjection to her parents. After warning

Tyrrel that his actions will be judged by God, Foxe writes that Rose 'went and carried her

mother [the] drink as she was commanded'.[517] The final action of Rose is to obey the order

of her parents. In this sense, Rose's obedience to her parents frames the argument with

Tyrrel: after all, it was her refusal to 'break ranks' and offer them religious counsel, as

suggested by Tyrrel, which started the whole ordeal. Monta has argued that Foxe 'celebrates

the defiance of women like Allin' but it would seem that Rose's narrative contains many of

the topoi relating to obedience that are also evident in the martyrologies for other young

people, such as William Hunter.[518]

The martyrdom of Elizabeth Folkes highlights another technique, often used by Foxe, to help

limit the female martyrs' disorderliness: the spiritual marriage with Christ. Elizabeth was a

twenty-year-old servant to Nicholas Clere, a wealthy clothier in Colchester, and she was born

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[514] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2241.
[515] Ibid., p.2240.
[516] Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*, p. 161.
[517] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p2240.
[518] S.B. Monta, 'Foxe's Female Martyrs and the Sanctity of Transgression', p.9.

in Stoke Nailond, Suffolk.[519] The first reference to Elizabeth simply states that 'the sixth of this company was Elizabeth Folkes, a young maid, and servant in Colchester, of the age of xx years'.[520] In stark contrast to the narrative of Rose Allin, there is no reference to any of Elizabeth's blood family, or her role within a family, in Foxe's introduction to the account. Instead, Elizabeth is introduced simply as part of the group of persecuted Protestants in Colchester. Out of these six martyrs, Elizabeth is the sixth person to be listed. Foxe starts with the men (William Bongeor, Thomas Benold and William Purcas) before moving on to the women who are listed from the oldest to the youngest (Agnes Silverside, Ellen Ewring and Elizabeth Folkes). Even within the 'family' of martyrs, Foxe appears keen to retain the typical social-order corresponding to gender and age.

The only reference to Elizabeth's family, before she is tied to the stake, relates to her 'uncle Holt'. After including the exposition of Elizabeth's faith, Foxe writes that

> the day before she was condemned, [she] was examined only upon this article, whether she believed that there was a Catholic Church of Christ, or not. Unto which she answered, yes. Then was she immediately (by Boswell's means, the Scribe) delivered unto her uncle Holt of the same town of Chichester, to keep.[521]

Foxe includes this description of Elizabeth's condemnation to combat the contemporary accusations that, during this examination, Elizabeth had 'yielded to the Pope'.[522] Also, Foxe removes a letter which was present in the 1563 edition of *Acts and Monuments* written by John Boswell, Bonner's scribe, to Edmund Bonner, which stated that

> She [Elizabeth] is a tall well favoured yong wench, and willing to be reformed: whereupon at the request of certaine of her friends, she is delivered, and committed to the safe keeping of one Henry Ashby of Colchester, a good Catholic man. Who hath taken upon him to reconcile her accordingly, or else to feed her with barley bread till she be reconciled.[523]

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[519] 'Stoke Nailond' is listed as unidentified in the commentary of http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe.
[520] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2240.
[521] Ibid,. p.2241.
[522] Ibid.
[523] Foxe, *A&M* (1563), p.1689.

Foxe's motives for removing this letter are obvious. Elizabeth is described as 'willing to be reformed' which is not appropriate for one of Foxe's martyrs. In addition, such remarks could add legitimacy to the claims, which are acknowledged by Foxe in the later narrative, concerning Elizabeth's possible recantation.[524] The other important aspect of the letter is the comment that Elizabeth was sent to Henry Ashby and not, as Foxe later reveals, her uncle Holt. It could be that either Foxe or Boswell was misinformed concerning where Elizabeth was dwelling but it is important that Foxe includes references to older males in both instances. It could be argued that, perhaps in light of Elizabeth's lack of a father or mother, in addition to the rumour of her recantation, the narrative needed a traditional figure of authority, even before Elizabeth's marriage to Christ at the stake.[525]

The narrative of Elizabeth Folkes only contains tenuous references to natural figures of authority and yet Foxe still portrays Folkes as a combative and feisty female. Elizabeth openly declared that she 'did detest and abhor them [the Catholic rites] from the bottom of her heart... and all such like trumpery' at which words 'the priests and others chafed very much'.[526] Elizabeth is also depicted displaying 'utter defiance' to the Catholic rites in the White Hart Inn of Colchester and passionately imploring the Queen's Bench to show repentance for the innocent blood that they had spilled. Elizabeth's mother is mentioned near the end of the account but she does not fill the authoritative void within the narrative. Foxe mentions the mother coincidently when Elizabeth is already tied to the stake; he simply states that Elizabeth was eager to give her petticoat to her mother but the crowd prevented her from passing over the garment. As a consequence, and with dramatic aplomb, Elizabeth tosses the petticoat from the fire shouting 'farewell all the world, farewell faith, farewell hope'.[527] For a

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[524] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2241.
[525] Hickerson does not refer to Folkes in her article: Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*.
[526] *A&M* (1570), p.2201.
[527] Ibid. p.2242

20 year-old-female, the lack of an authoritative figure in the narrative is striking. It is not until Elizabeth's final moments that Foxe identifies her source of legitimate authority. As Elizabeth approached the unlit pyre, she held 'the stake in her hand, [and] said: welcome love. &c'.[528] Christine Peters has placed this act in the wider context of female martyrs who treated their execution as a wedding and substituted the stake for Christ. Peters has highlighted that 'the equation of martyrdom with meeting the Bridgroom [Christ] is clearly expressed' in the account of Folkes.[529] In effect, what Elizabeth is doing through offering her petticoat to her mother and physically embracing the stake is confirming her marriage to Christ, her spiritual husband. She is removing her petticoat, a symbol of her earthly existence, and shouting 'farewell all the world', before devoting herself to Christ, who is potently signified as the stake. Therefore, when Elizabeth is struck on her shoulder with a hammer by an officer trying to chain the martyrs to the stake, she felt nothing and instead 'suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord and prayed smilingly'.[530] Interestingly, Hickerson observes that, in the narrative of Prest's wife, Foxe 'textually' returns the female to her husband at the end of the account.[531] It would seem that Foxe deploys the same method for Folkes but, rather than being textually returned to her earthly husband, she is reunited with her ghostly husband. In addition, this spiritual union also acts as Elizabeth's authoritative anchor, providing a legitimate conclusion for her previous unruliness.

Although both Rose and Elizabeth had different sources of authority within their narratives, namely a family structure and a marriage to Christ respectively, it is their gender, more than their age, which was being legitimated. This is most evident in Edmund Tyrrel's attack on

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[528] Ibid.
[529] Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, p.282.
[530] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2242.
[531] Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*, p.14.

Rose Allin. Tyrrel is almost comically misogynistic in the narrative. In the early exchanges, Tyrrel refers to Rose as a 'gossip' and a 'naughty housewife'. However, when in the strongest throes of his rage, Tyrrel calls Rose a 'whore', a 'young whore', a 'strong whore', a 'shameless beast' and a 'beastly whore'.[532] It is clear that the focus of Tyrrel's attack is Rose's gender and, more specifically, the negative stereotypes associated with femininity in the Reformation period. Tyrrel's attack plays on fears relating to females and the potential for women to subvert men and, consequently, the normal social order.[533] In this sense, Tyrrel's language provides further evidence that the narratives of the female martyrs challenged 'contemporary expectations'.[534] However, in relation to this thesis, it is important to note that Tyrrel's attack also suggests that gender was viewed as a more threatening aspect of Allin than her age. Only one of Tyrrel's outbursts refers to Rose's youthfulness, that of 'young whore', which still includes an attack on gender. Interestingly, unlike the attack of Justice Brown on William Hunter which revolved around age, in this account, Foxe concentrates on Rose's femininity.

Hickerson's concludes that Foxe 'did not design these women to serve as models of virtuous behaviour for living female members of a godly community' but rather 'they are models for disobedience to authority, whether marital, ecclesiastical or royal'.[535] My analysis of young female martyrs suggests that these models of disobedience were counterbalanced by the inclusion of a typical source of authority, be it familial or through a spiritual marriage to Christ. Rose is confrontational towards Edmond Tyrrel but this is countered with Foxe's stress on her willing subjection to her parents. Elizabeth is disobedient to the local authorities

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[532] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2240.
[533] The whore is lustful and can lure men away from a moral living. The gossip can indulge in political rumour or religious teaching and spread the news as fact without referring to their husbands or fathers. The naughty housewife can be the dominant cuckold who makes a fool of her husband.
[534] Monta, 'Foxe's Female Martyrs and the Sanctity of Transgression', p.18.
[535] Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*, p.160.

but this is explained through her final act: marrying, and in essence pledging obedience to Christ. In both accounts, Foxe constructed parameters within which the young female martyrs could disrespect their elders or civic institutions. However, unlike William Hunter, Folkes and Allin are not attacked by their elders in the narrative because of their age. Instead, Foxe frames the attacks to focus on gender; hence William Hunter's critique of being a 'naughty boy' is replaced with Allin's label of 'beastly whore'. In this sense, although the young female martyrs' youthfulness is not totally ignored in the accounts, it is their gender which is more prominent within Foxe's construction of the narratives.

IV.   Representations of Young Gentlemen

Foxe devotes more space to the wealthy young martyrs, including Bartlett Green, Roger Holland and Julius Palmer, than those further down the social scale.[536] This can be partially explained through the amount of evidence that Foxe could accrue for the wealthier martyrs.[537] In the story of Bartlett Green, Foxe had at his disposal letters to Bishop Bonner, a book of Bartham Calthorp, a letter written by Green to John Philpot, a draft of Green's confession, a book of Thomas Hussey and a book of William Fleetwood. In this sense, the wealthy young men were more accessible to Foxe as a martyrologist. They moved in influential circles and left indelible footprints which Foxe could trace. However, this does not mean that the young gentlemen had an easier route to martyrdom in comparison to the apprentices and labourers within the text. Indeed, Foxe constructed these narratives to include a number of tests that were specific to wealthy young gentlemen. For difficult characters like Julius Palmer, a staunch Catholic until Mary's reign due to a habit of supporting whichever religion was out

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[536] Bartlett Green is described as 'a gentlemen and a lawyer'. He attended Oxford University during the period that Peter Martyr lectured there. Julius Palmer was the son of Roger Palmer, the sheriff of Coventry for the years 1525-1533. Julius was educated in Magdalen College, Oxford. Roger Holland was a merchant tailor and his father was a gentleman in Lancashire.

[537] This also, of course, explains why some of the poorer young men included in *Acts and Monuments* have such sparse narratives.

of favour, Foxe used these tests to authenticate his martyrdom. However, even Bartlett Green, a wealthy intellectual and consistent Protestant since his conversion at university, had to conform to Foxe's motifs. This case study will analyse these tests in order to assess their role in the narratives and will evaluate whether they replaced the traditional figures of authority that were included in the martyrdoms of less wealthy young people.

A recurring theme in the narratives of Foxe's wealthy young martyrs is greed and, more specifically, the rejection of this greed as part of their journey towards Protestantism. Bartlett Green's narrative begins with a description of his partaking in

> fond follies and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings and other
> superfluous excesses, which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful correction) did
> sore lament and bewail.[538]

Green's official lamentation is found in a book of Bartham Calthorp, a fellow student at the Inns of Court. Green wrote that, during his time at the Inns, he was a follower of

> Pride and Gluttony, which under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from
> God... against both there is one remedy, by prayer earnest and without ceasing.[539]

In this section of Bartlett Green's martyrdom, Foxe is laying the foundations for the young man's first test regarding his allegiance to the gospel. After identifying greed as Green's weakness, Foxe introduces the story of how Green's grandfather, Dr Bartlett, offered him great livings if he would recant his Protestantism. Bartlett Green rejected this offer and, interestingly, it is this action which Foxe uses to prove Green's commitment to the Protestant cause. There is a similar example in the martyrdom of Julius Palmer.[540] In return for his recantation, Sir Richard Abridges offered Julius

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[538] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2061.
[539] Ibid. Foxe wrote in the margins that Green's advice was a good lesson for all 'young lawyers to mark'.
[540] It is believed that Julius Palmer was 30 or 31 when he died at the stake which makes him slightly older than some of the other martyrs analysed in this study. This would mean that Palmer's conversion occurred when he was 27 or 28. However, Palmer's story is so detailed that there many details of his youth are included in the narrative which should not be overlooked and cause him to be included here.

meat, drink, and books, and x. l' yearly as long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set

thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife, and a farm, and help to stuff & fit thy farm for

thee.[541]

Foxe alleges that Dr William Geffre, the chancellor of Salisbury, also offered Julius a 'good

living' if he would 'at least declare that he doubted which was the truest doctrine'.[542] Julius

rejected both offers. Finally, it is clear that Roger Holland was a greedy young man before

embracing Protestantism. As an apprentice in London, Holland was known for his riotous

living and spent £30 of his master's money during a game of dice. Luckily for Roger, a

fellow servant of Master Kempton called Elizabeth offered him a loan. In return, Roger had

to promise Elizabeth that he would

> refuse all lewd and wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk... [and] resort every day to the
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> lecture at All Hallows, and the sermon at Pauls every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of
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> papistry and vain ballets, and get thee the testament and the book of service, and read the
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> scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his grace to direct thee in his truth.[543]

It appears that Foxe was using the entrenched stereotype that wealthy young gentlemen were

prone to greed and gluttony as a way of testing, and confirming, their commitment to the

Protestant cause.

Another trait that John Foxe attributed to these young gentlemen was humility. Bartlett

Green is described as having 'a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all'.[544]

Indeed, Green actively endeavoured to possess these characteristics and wrote in Calthorp's

book that he 'ought so much the rather by continual prayer to labour for humbleness of

mind'.[545] If there was still any doubt concerning Green's genuinely unassuming personality,

Foxe makes this explicit by writing in the scholia: 'The singular modesty and humble nature

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[541] John Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2162.
[542] Ibid.
[543] Ibid., p.2277.
[544] Ibid., p.2061.
[545] Ibid.

of M. Grene'.[546] Similarly, Foxe framed Julius Palmer as humble through his rejection of Sir Richard Abridge's offer and also in his debating, where he would 'defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modesty, and without al ostentation'.[547] Roger Holland visually expressed his humility when he

> very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees and said: God by the mouth of his servant S. Paul hath said: *Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers, and he that resists receives his own damnation:* and as you are a Magistrate appointed by the will of God, so do I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for Magistrates.[548]

It is tempting to speculate that young aristocrats – whose own social position is based on deference – would be particularly keen not to undermine traditional structures of authority. In rejecting pride and greed, and in embracing humility and moderation, the young gentlemen were not only rejecting two stereotypically Catholic sins, they were also rejecting their Catholic youth. Through these narrative tests, Foxe could prove the martyrological worth of these young gentlemen.

In contrast to the less wealthy young martyrs, there is often a familial tension in the narratives of young gentlemen. As has been shown, William Hunter and Rose Allin had positive relationships with their parents which counterbalanced their more challenging responses to Catholic elders. However, many of the young gentlemen are depicted in spiritual conflict with their families. On his return to Lancashire, Holland was aware that he would clash with his Catholic father and brought 'diverse good books' in order to convert him.[549] Bartlett Green is also depicted as having to battle against his parent's ignorance, 'in which he was

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[546] Ibid. It is interesting that Foxe described Green's modesty as 'rare & maydenly'.
[547] Ibid., p.2156.
[548] Ibid., p.2280.
[549] Roger Holland was successful in this endeavour and converted 'his father and others', providing an example of a young person proselytising their 'ignorant' elders as promoted in the contemporary interlude of *Lusty Juventus*. Cf Chapter 2.

trained up from his youth', in order to embrace the teachings of the 'True' church.[550] The most embittered familial tension occurs in the narrative of Julius Palmer. After embracing Protestantism, Palmer was forced to leave Reading, where he was working as a teacher, and returned home in order to claim his portion from his father's will. Despite Julius' gentle entreaties, he was resoundingly rejected by his mother. She shouted that Julius 'does not believe, as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done: but as we were taught by the new law in king Edwards days, which is damnable heresy'. Unsurprisingly, the only gift she offers Julius are the 'faggots I have to burn thee' because his father 'bequeathed nought to heretics'.[551] Foxe uses familial tension in these narratives as a means of confirming the martyrs' religious commitment but these ancestral issues are not present in the narratives of the young martyrs from more modest backgrounds, which suggests that family tradition mattered most strongly to those of aristocratic descent, whose power and legitimacy was grounded on their heritage.

As with the other young martyrs, Foxe is keen to depict the young gentlemen debating with their interrogators. Julius Palmer is called a 'beardless boy' by Dr Geffre, who is shocked that Julius wishes to dispute with such a learned doctor. Julius responds by saying

> Remember M. Doctor... *The spirit breaths where it pleases him. Out of the mouth of infants. And thou have hidden these things from the wise. &c.* God is not bound to time, wit, learning, place, nor person. And although your wit & learning, be greater than mine, yet your belief in the truth & zeal to defend the same, is not greater than mine.[552]

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[550] After attending a number of 'inferior schools', Green attended Oxford University where he was converted through the lectures of Peter Martyr.
[551] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2159.
[552] Ibid., p.2161.

In the cases of Green and Holland, the examinations run to numerous pages. Their arguments are often based on scripture, as with Hunter and Allin, and attack Catholic tenets such as the Mass and papal primacy. However, Foxe still constructs these narratives to include a source of legitimate authority. For example, in the final scene of Holland's narrative, Roger seeks the approval of his father:

> And ye my dear friends (turning him to his kinsmen) I pray you show my father what I do say, that he may understand I am a Christian man: I say & believe & am therein fully persuaded by the Scriptures... And as for the Masse, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the Sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.[553]

In the narrative of Bartlett Green, Foxe describes him as a child through which we can see the 'fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God'. As Green is condemned, he exclaims: 'O CHRIST my God, sure hope of health, besides thee have I none... by thee my guide alone'.[554] This scene has strong similarities with the aforementioned spiritual marriage of Rose Allin. In both examples, the dying words of the young person outline their ultimate obedience, whether this is to Christ the husband or Christ the father, which places them back within the framework of Tudor obedience.[555] Foxe does not wish to portray the young gentlemen as masterless or unruly and constructs the narratives in a way that portrays Protestantism as unthreatening to social sensibilities. This is neatly outlined by Roger Holland who retorted to Bonner: 'youth delights in vanity [but] my wildness has been somewhat the more by your doctrine, then ever I learned out of this book of God [the Bible]'.[556]

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[553] Ibid., p.2280.
[554] Ibid., p,2066.
[555] I would argue that this is an interesting addition to the historiography regarding the Bride-of-Christ imagery.
[556] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2279.

In conclusion, the narratives of the wealthy young martyrs had distinctive features which separated them from the martyrdoms of their young contemporaries. Foxe constructed a set of tests within the narratives which the wealthy young martyrs must 'pass' in order to display their commitment to the Protestant cause. The tests focused on the rejection of greed and pride, be it the spurning of a generous offer for recantation or a formal submission to the magistrates. However, Foxe still constructs the narratives so that the behaviour of young gentlemen remains firmly within the framework of Tudor notions of obedience. Therefore, although Palmer may have challenged his superior and Holland converted his father, there is still a traditional source of authority within the narratives, which is usually present at the time of execution, whether a worldly father or the spiritual father of Christ.

V.   Images of Youth

In addition to the narratives in *Acts and Monuments*, the illustrations can also cast light on how Elizabethan reformers viewed the role of young people in the emergence, and consolidation, of Protestantism. Evenden and Freeman have stated that 'none of the physical aspects of the book are more important or more conspicuous than the scores of woodcut illustrations that accompanied the text of each edition'.[557] In total, there were 57 illustrations in the 1563 edition and 149 illustrations in the 1570 edition.[558] It is widely believed that John Day was responsible for commissioning the woodcuts due to their popularity amongst readers/viewers. As in many other instances, it would seem that Day's intuition was correct and it has been noted that the illustrated pages were 'subject to a much higher degree of wear-and-tear' than other pages whilst also being prone to excision.[559] The illustrations also

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[557] Evenden & Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p.186.
[558] Ibid., p.205.
[559] The illustrated pages have much higher levels of detritus suggesting they were more frequently gazed upon: King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p.232.

played an important role in widening the access of the text to illiterate and semi-literate "readers". In an article that suggested the 1570 edition was specifically produced to be child-friendly, Warren Wooden stated that 'the extensive use of illustrations... extends the range of appeal of Foxe's book even to the illiterate labourers and housewives and... to the preliterate audience of children from toddlers to apprentices'.[560] More recently, John King has urged caution regarding the tendency to draw neat distinctions between literate and illiterate because, more than any other aspect of Foxe's text, the illustrations represent 'the circuit of communication' that occurred during oral transmission.[561] It would seem that the popularity of the illustrations was noted by Foxe's contemporaries, such as Robert Parsons, who complained that the images had led to the 'poisoning of the *simple souls*... by the deceptive lure of the representation of martyrdoms, which delighted the gaze of those unable to read the text'.[562]

The editorial control of the illustrations has caused much debate in the recent historiography and the main point for discussion surrounds the extent to which John Foxe contributed towards the design of the woodcuts. Although there is agreement that Day commissioned the woodcuts, King has argued that Foxe had an integral role in formulating the designs because, 'not only did the compiler know how to draw... but the survival of a sketch in his hand or that of one of his associates suggests that he played a role in designing the drawings that artisans

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[560] Warren W. Wooden, *Children's Literature of the English Renaissance* (Kentucky, 1986), p. 73.
[561] King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p.242.
[562] M. Aston, 'The Illustrations: Books 10-12' (available on: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe). Proving that the images and scholia were aimed specifically at young people, rather than at the larger populace of illiterates, which obviously included the young, is almost impossible. What is important in Wooden's argument is the fact that the second edition of *Acts and Monuments* was more palatable for the general population. This is an important development because it is the second version of *Acts and Monuments* which 'received the official seal of approval' and was 'set up alongside the bible in all cathedral churches, and in the homes of senior and cathedral clergy' as well as within some parish churches. For this see: David Loades, 'The Early Reception', (available on: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe).

cut into wooden blocks'.[563] Evenden and Freeman have cast doubt on this theory and have

argued that, although Foxe and Day may have determined the subject of the illustrations, the

design 'would have been left to the craftsmen'.[564] Similarly, Rankin has highlighted that the

'images always exist at varying levels of remove from the contents of the text proper' due to

the jarring presence of the woodcutters that separate Foxe and Day from the final design.[565]

Indeed, the woodcutters may have been more integrated into the design process than scholars

have previously expected if King is correct in his conclusion that they probably resided in

Day's house.[566] There is a strange dissonance in the notion that Foxe, whose proof-reading

of the 1570 edition bordered on obsessive, would not have exerted some authorial control

over the illustrations which, it must be remembered, would amount to nearly 120 pages

within his text. Furthermore, Margaret Aston has highlighted that Foxe must have

'collaborated closely over the provision of the illustrations as the book developed' and visited

Day's house, where perhaps the woodcut craftsmen were residing, on a weekly basis.[567]

Therefore, I would argue that it is reasonable to surmise that Foxe and Day worked

collaboratively regarding the illustrations in order to organise both the content of the images

and how they were to be deployed.

The images included within Foxe's text fall into two main categories. Firstly, there are those

images that are repeated on many occasions in the text and for numerous different martyrs,

sometimes having only the faintest relation to the martyrdom story they supposedly represent.

For example, in the martyrdoms of William Seaman (aged 26), Thomas Hudson (30) and

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[563] King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p.167.
[564] Evenden & Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p.198.
[565] M. Rankin, 'The Pattern of Illustration', in T.P. Andersen & R. Netzley (eds), *Acts of Reading: interpretation, reading practices, and the idea of the book in John Foxe's Acts and Monuments* (Newark, Del., 2010), p.88.
[566] King, *Foxe's Book of*, p.169.
[567] M. Aston, 'The Illustrations: Books 10-12'; J. Roberts and E. Evenden, 'Bibliographical Aspects of the Acts and Monuments' (available on: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe).

Thomas Carman (age unknown) an image was used that represented only two men, not three, and both figures appear much older than the martyrs' actual ages (see Figure One). The second type comprises those images which are unrepeated and clearly represent a specific martyrdom narrative. The image of the preacher John Bradford and John Leaf, an apprentice, is an original illustration which was designed for this particular story and used only once in the whole text (see Figure Two). This case study will analyse how youth is represented in the second type of image within John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and will assess how this affected the visual portrayal of the young martyrs.

The depiction of John Leaf (Figure Two), an apprentice dwelling in London, displays many typical features of how young people are visually represented in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Leaf is beardless, slightly shorter than the other males in the image and free of wrinkles. In comparison, John Bradford, who was supposed to be around 45 years-old, sports a full beard, is taller and broader, and possesses a more furrowed brow. Bartlett Green, a young martyr aged 26, also possesses the same features of youth evident in Leaf's image (see Figure Three). Green is depicted as slightly shorter and slimmer than the other, older males in the illustration. He is also beardless and has a smooth complexion. However, on occasion, it appears that some of these features which visually represent youthfulness are absent from the images of young people. An interesting example of this can be seen in the image of William Hunter (see Figure Four). This illustration is unusual in that it is stylistically very similar to the type of images that were repeated on numerous occasions (such as Figure One). However, this image was created specifically for Hunter's martyrdom and is used only once throughout *Acts and Monuments*.[568] Therefore this illustration of Hunter fits into the category

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[568] Margaret Aston described the illustration as 'an example of the small woodcuts added in *1570* ... [and] among those that were not put to repeated use.' She added: 'Allowance should be made for the possibility (as with the small cut of Rawlins White) that this woodcut was tailored to Foxe's account of the martyr, in this case the teenage apprentice who lifted up his hands to heaven immediately before he died'. See M. Aston, 'The

of the 'small tailor-made woodcuts aimed, within their limits, at individual portraits'.[569]

Hunter has the clean-shaven face, like Leaf and Green, but his shape is very different, he appears strong and thickset. Interestingly, this image of Hunter first appears in the 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*. This fits with extended edition of Hunter's narrative, after extra information was supplied by his brother, and which shifted the focus from his parents in 1563 to William himself in 1570.[570] Perhaps the image of a strong, strapping William reflects the alterations within his narrative which included a much more detailed account of his interrogation and resistance to the arguments of his Catholic elders. In addition, unlike Leaf and Green, Hunter is the main protagonist in the image of the burning. Leaf is merely the side-show for John Bradford's martyrdom and Green is one of seven martyrs represented in his illustration; they are both young in comparison to some of the other figures in the images. In the case of Hunter, he is the sole figure in the illustration and, as a consequence, needs to be depicted as a worthy martyr. Despite his youthful age, represented in his beardless face and his innocent prayer, Hunter had to appear to be a strong and confident character, and this is evident in the decision to portray him as a young man with an untypically powerful physique.

Another image which contains an unusual depiction of youthfulness is the scourging of Thomas Hinshaw in Bishop Bonner's orchard (see Figure Five). Hinshaw was an apprentice and was 19 years-old, younger than Bartlett Green and roughly the same age as John Leaf and William Hunter. However, Thomas Hinshaw is depicted as much older in the image.[571] He has a full beard, a highly unusual feature for someone of this age, and he appears to have

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Illustrations: Books 10-12'. Furthermore, Hunter would have his own unique image right through to the 1684 edition: see Rankin, 'The Pattern of Illustration', pp.107-9.

[569] M. Aston, 'The Illustrations: Books 10-12'.

[570] See 'The Case Study of William Hunter' above, for more details of this shift and why it happened.

[571] Margaret Aston wrote that: 'In conflating the accounts of this episode in the text the illustrators took some liberties, for instance with the 'lad' bringing the new birch rod, and the victim, Thomas Hinshaw - reported as aged 19 or 20 - both of whom appear older'. See: Aston, 'The Illustrations: Books 10-12'.

a muscular body-shape in addition to the face of a much older man. The important question is whether Hinshaw's depiction was illustrational liberty or intentional editing? It is understandable why portraying Hinshaw in the same vein as Leaf or Green might have worried the illustrator. In a scene which is already humming with sexual undertones, especially regarding Bonner's explicit enthusiasm for the scourging, depicting Hinshaw as a clean-shaven young man in the picture might have implied an allegation even Foxe was unwilling to pursue. In addition, portraying Hinshaw as an older man also allows the scene to avoid becoming a conventional encounter between a naughty youth and a figure of authority. The literature of discipline within Protestant rhetoric would have strongly advised Hinshaw's whipping if his disobedience had been in any sphere other than the religious. Adding age to Hinshaw helps to add gravitas to his cause and removes from the scene any factors that may have inadvertently encouraged the Elizabethan reader to sympathise with the older, Catholic figure of authority. Although it has been strongly argued that Foxe had no qualms in representing socially weaker groups as combative and knowledgeable,[572] which would suggest that Foxe could have happily retained Hinshaw's youthfulness in the image, this argument only relates to the text of the martyrdoms. Through text, Foxe can construct young people as obedient to their elders in subtle sub-plots and carefully constructed quotes. In contrast, the semantics of an image need to be more obvious as the medium is prone to being misconstrued. Therefore, Thomas Hinshaw may have been depicted as an older man because this helped to avoid the possibility that readers might have felt sympathy for Bonner who was simply trying to instil obedience into a young apprentice. Although Foxe was not afraid to describe young people as courageous and confident in his text, the images had to be edited so that there was no possibility the viewer might feel anything other than what Foxe desired: admiration for the Protestant martyrs and contempt for the Catholic villains.

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[572] See Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*; Also, see 'The Case Study of William Hunter' and 'The Case Study of Elizabeth Folkes and Rose Allin' above.

The illustration depicting the imprisonment of Robert Smith, a painter by trade but an itinerant Protestant preacher by night, displays a more orderly encounter between the young and the old (see Figure Six). The image shows Robert Smith (over-30), George Tankerfield (28), John Simson (34) and John Newman (age unknown) along with three other, unnamed prisoners. These are probably Steven Harwood, Thomas Fust and William Hales.[573] Of the unnamed prisoners in the image, two appear to be young men: the figure on the far left and the figure who is seated with his head in his hand. The image neatly outlines the ideal channels of authority with the older man, Robert Smith, reading aloud to the other prisoners, including the two youths. It appears that Smith, Tankerfield and Newman all possess books within the image. In comparison, the two young figures are clearly recipients of the older men's preaching although they do appear to be exhibiting rather different reactions. The young man on the left appears to be holding his hands together in prayer at the words of Robert Smith whilst the young man sitting down appears to be, at best, worried about his predicament and, at worst, bored by the impromptu sermonising. This scene represents an ideal model for young men: these figures are listening to, and following, the words of their elders. In this case, the illustrator found no need to make the youths bearded or appear older than their actual ages.

Although the previous illustration depicted the young men without books, this is reversed in a different image within the *Acts and Monuments* (see Figure Seven). The text contains a number of examples where young people appear to be disseminators of Protestant literature.[574] Foxe describes John Davis as a twelve year old in Worcester, passing on copies

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[573] Unfortunately, the ages of these young men are unknown.

[574] Chapter Two and Chapter Three contain more information on what kind of literature and messages young people were consuming. This section will focus solely on Foxe's description of young people moving books around.

of the New Testament and other 'good English bookes', particularly to his young contemporaries.[575] The apprentices Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who were training to be drapers, had access to a Bible, or at least sections of it, as they were certain Dr Crome's sermon was faithful to the Scriptures. In addition, Thomas Green, the apprentice of John Wayland, the famous Catholic printer, explained how he had received a book called *Antichrist* from a Frenchmen and had distributed it to 'certeine honest men' including another apprentice called John Bean.[576] It is perhaps this close association between young people and Protestant texts which prompted the illustrator of the image depicting the 22 prisoners of Colchester to place a book in the hands of a young man. In this sense, the scene reflects many of the other martyrdoms within the text by highlighting the recurring link between youth and the dissemination and the reading of Protestant material.

The representations of youth and young people within the illustrations of *Acts and Monuments* reaffirm many of the conclusions reached during the analysis of the textual narratives. Foxe and his illustrators were not afraid to portray the young people as combative and knowledgeable. This is highlighted through the simple fact that young men like William Hunter were assigned illustrations regardless of their calculated confrontations with social superiors. The images also portray the young men as knowledgeable, reflecting their well-informed examinations, by depicting them with books, listening to itinerant preachers like Robert Smith or developing friendships with men like John Bradford. However, the images are sometimes edited to remove or dilute certain unwanted "readings". Hunter, the only young person to be represented alone in an illustration, is noticeably larger than contemporaries such as John Leaf and Bartlett Green. Rather than celebrating Hunter's young age, the image detracts from it. The most striking misrepresentation of youth is that of

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[575] John Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p. 2277.
[576] Ibid., p.2263.

Thomas Hinshaw who appears much older than his nineteen years. The only young person to be represented with a beard, Hinshaw appears more like John Bradford than John Leaf. It is the case of Hinshaw which best highlights some of the issues Foxe faced concerning the representation of his young martyrs and, in addition, the constraints of the illustration as a vehicle for communication. I am proposing that Hinshaw is portrayed as an older man because such a depiction was more palatable for the essentially conservative Elizabethan audience. In this sense, it seems that youthfulness was not as confidently portrayed in the illustrations of *Acts and Monuments* as it was in the actual text itself.

Three godly Martyrs burned at Norwich.

Figure One shows the potential for false representation due to the repetition of images in *Acts and Monuments*. This image needs an extra figure and the men appear much older than the martyrs they are supposed to represent.

Figure Two shows an original image specifically devised to represent a martyrdom; in this case for John Bradford and John Leaf.

⌘ Seuen godly and conſtant Martyrs, ſuffering at one fire together in Smithfield.

Figure Three is the image of seven godly martyrs which included Bartlett Green, a young man aged 26.

The burning of William Hunter Martyr.

Figure Four shows the burning of William Hunter.

The right Picture and true Counterfet of Boner, and his crueltie, in scourging of Gods Sainctes, in his Orcharde at Fulham.

Figure Five is the striking image of Bonner scourging Thomas Hinshaw.

A Picture defcribing the maner and place of them which were in
bondes for the teftimony of the truth, conferring together among themfelues.

Figure Six is a depiction of Robert Smith giving a lesson to his fellow prisoners who clearly include two younger men.

¶ The Picture of xxij. godly and faythfull Chriſtians, apprehended
about Colcheſter, priſoned together in one band, and ſo with three
leaders at the moſt, brought vp to London.

Ye ſhalbe led before Princes
and rulers for my names ſake.
Math. 10.

Figure Seven shows the 22 prisoners from Colchester. Notice the young
man carrying the book; the penultimate figure in the procession.

VI.

John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* has proven to be a treasure trove for historians of the sixteenth century. Its mixture of episcopal records and personal letters, the monuments, and narratives of the martyrs, the acts, have enabled historians to develop an understanding of how the Marian martyrs behaved whilst also outlining what an Elizabethan reader/hearer would expect to encounter. In analysing the narratives relating to the young martyrs, it is possible to build a more nuanced evaluation of the relationship between Protestantism and its young followers. As with the Tudor interludes, it is clear that *Acts and Monuments* is a more complex text than simply being a record of disobedience. Foxe carefully constructs the narratives of the young martyrs to include in every case a legitimate source of authority. This function may be fulfilled by different entities such as William Hunter's parents, Christ the husband and Christ the father, but it is a recurrent topos across the different groups of young people. Interestingly, Foxe is consistent in the way that he frames the actions of young people to fit within the framework of Tudor obedience. Young males from a citizen background, young females, and young gentlemen are viewed as needing a legitimising entity regardless of their gender or status. Foxe is equally judicious in his portrayal of youthful disobedience. Following the approach used by Wever in *Lusty Juventus*, young martyrs are only depicted showing disobedience, and in some cases it is merely resistance, to figures from the 'False' church.[577] Villains like Bonner, Edmund Tyrel and Justice Brown were safe targets for such behaviour.

In all of the narratives analysed in this chapter, there is no reference to physical anticlericalism or youthful misrule. Foxe only refers to youthful riot when it was undertaken prior to the martyr's conversion to Protestantism. Bartlett Green wore extravagant apparel

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[577] See Chapter Three for a description of this technique within the mid-Tudor interludes.

and feasted to excess before his conversion at the hands of Peter Martyr whilst Roger Holland was fond of dice and wild company before he embraced the gospel. As with the work of Huggarde and Christopherson, Foxe's text must be approached with caution as a record for youthful behaviour. It is perhaps not surprising that Catholic writers denounced young Protestants as a threat to the commonwealth, whilst Protestant writers idolised their young brethren. The importance of this analysis lies in redressing the historiographical imbalance outlined in Chapter One. By exploring the messages for young people that were conveyed in reformist material, such as *Acts and Monuments*, it is apparent that opportunities for riot or misrule were not part of their dialogue with the young people. Instead, obedience was heavily promoted by the Edwardian and Elizabethan reformers. This is not to argue that young people did not engage in religious riot, which has been highlighted throughout the thesis, but to suggest that the emphasis on such youthful disorder has restricted additional, perhaps even complementary, explanations.

Indeed, one such explanation that has been forwarded in this thesis is that of religious education. In these case studies, the religious knowledge of the young martyrs is prominent and, perhaps more importantly, implicit throughout the narratives. It is clear that the young martyrs had a thorough understanding of the key tenets of Protestantism. As one would expect, there is a thorough theological debate in the examinations of the young gentlemen. In Holland's examination, Foxe writes that the young man frequently pointed out which Catholic practices were not in the Bible, such as 'the Sacrament of the altar is no Sacrament approued by the word of God'. In addition, Holland is often portrayed quoting scripture, such as in his response to Bishop Chedsey: 'I learne of S. Paul to the Romaines the xiij. chap.

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and so he recited the text'.[578] However, Foxe keenly portrays all of the young martyrs as well educated, not just the gentlemen. Hunter and Allin are both intellectually superior to their interrogators. For example, when being examined on transubstantiation by Brown, Hunter replied:

> the text sayeth, how Christ tooke bread, but not that he chaunged it, into an other substaunce,
> Bread broken, but not chaunged. but gaue that which he tooke, and brake that which he gaue,
> which was bread, as is euident by the text. For els he should haue had two bodyes, which to
> affirme I see no reason.[579]

It would seem reasonable to conclude that the religious education of young people, which was acquired during the reign of Edward, and their use of this knowledge in Marian England, was an aspect that Foxe could confidently portray in his narratives. The descriptions of young people such as William Hunter reading the Bible in a church or the illustrations depicting young people with books and listening to orations from religious texts both outline the important role of religious knowledge for young Protestants. However, young people were not depicted as acting without legitimacy and their actions were often circumscribed by adults in Foxe's text. In many ways, this reflects the model of catechising and the depictions in the interludes: young people acquired a religious education, which may have offered direct or indirect opportunities for inverting the social order, but there was always a figure of authority to legitimise this action.

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[578] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2278.
[579] Ibid., p.1753.

"Forbidden Fruit": Young people in the Early Elizabethan Period

I.

The 17th of November 1558 would have a profound and immediate impact on the religious

identity of England. London was in the grip of an influenza epidemic that would claim two

significant victims. The first was Queen Mary. As late as 1557, Mary still believed that she

may be pregnant but, when it became evident that she would die childless, she was forced to

accept her sister Elizabeth as the lawful successor to her throne. The second victim of that

day was Cardinal Pole, the archbishop of Canterbury. Pole had adopted a long-term strategy

to undo the Protestant progress of the Edwardian reformers. He believed that, over a period

of time, a diet of forgiveness and reconciliation would bring harmony to a Catholic

England.[580] In his own words, Pole believed that the way to reconvert the multitude was to

promise those who had erred 'no more iudgment upon him than wolde the cowe or the asse

comyng to the stall where meate were putt for them'.[581] Mary and Pole's deaths signalled an

abrupt change to England's religious dynamic. In the year that followed, the new queen,

Elizabeth I, appointed Matthew Parker as the archbishop of Canterbury and Parliament

passed the Act of Uniformity. This Act required people to attend church services on Sundays

and holy days where they would hear readings from the Book of Common Prayer (1559); a

re-working of the 1552 edition.

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[580] Pole's approach is discussed in R.H. Pogson, 'Reginald Pole and the Priorities of Government in Mary Tudor's Church', *Historical Journal*, 18:1 (1975), pp.3-20. Pogson's argument has been nuanced by McCoog who argues that, whilst Pole had chosen a path of patient reconciliation, even he had wanted to implement a more proactive campaign, and that the Jesuits 'did not have the men who could start a conflagration in England': T.M. McCoog, 'Ignatius Loyola and Reginald Pole: a reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47:2 (1996), p.272. Duffy has noted that Pole implemented this same approach to young people. Duffy comments that, in Pole's sermon on St Andrew's Day in 1557, when he preached '"they are most apt to receive light, that are obedient" what he meant was the "obedience in ceremonies is the mark of the pavuli", the little ones to whom (unlike the assertive youth of Reformation London) belongs the kingdom': Duffy, 'Cardinal Pole Preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557', pp.195-8.

[581] Duffy, 'Cardinal Pole Preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557', p.196.

Although the accession of Elizabeth signified a new religious direction, there were many consistencies which linked Elizabeth's reign with those of her father and siblings, especially concerning young people. The general perception of youth as a life-cycle stage had changed very little from Henry's reign. Young people were still perceived as the preferred vehicle for creating a better future. Matthew Parker's visitations of Canterbury, undertaken throughout the 1560s and 1570s, highlight that young people remained a strategic priority. In Parker's visitation articles, Items 16 and 22 inquired as to 'whether your ministers do call upon fathers, mothers and masters of youth to bring them up in the fear of almighty God' and also 'whether your schoolmasters be of a sincere religion and be diligent in teaching and bringing up of youth'.[582] Furthermore, Queen Elizabeth's teacher, Robert Ascham, felt that any utopian future could only be realised through young people because 'there is the place, in youth is the time'.[583] However, the young were still perceived as a difficult group to mould due to their inherent idleness and lewdness. In a sermon of Thomas Becon, published in 1566, he noted that 'many young men now a days, gevying themselves rather to idleness then to labour, to wickednesse then to godlyenesse, are forsaken to God'.[584] Like the reformers in Edward's reign, it would appear that the Elizabethan Protestants viewed order and stability as the solution to youth's wayward behaviour. During this period, Griffiths noted that 'obedience, morality and piety were drummed into people by catechisers, preachers, teachers, parents, masters and anyone else who cared enough to give local black sheep warning words'.[585] This approach is outlined in Becon's *The Principles of Christian Religion* which

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[582] *Articles to be enquired of in the visitation of the moste Reuerend father in God, Matthew, by the sufferaunce of God Archebyshop of Canterbury* (1563) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com). It is important to note that this requirement regarding the orthodoxy of schoolmasters is appropriated from Bonner's visitation articles of 1554.

[583] P. Griffiths, 'Tudor Troubles: Problems of youth in Elizabethan England' in S. Doran and N. Jones (eds), *The Elizabethan World* (London, 2011), p.317.

[584] Thomas Becon, *A postil conteinying most godly and learned sermons* (1566).

[585] Griffiths, 'Tudor Troubles', p.321.

was published in 1569. Speaking to an imagined young person, a literary representation of England's entire youth, Becon advises that young people should

> keepe company with the multitude of such elders as have understanding, and consent unto their wisdom with thine hart: that thou mayest hear all godly sermons, and that the worthy sentences escape thee not... if you be among men of higher authoritie, desire not to compare thyself unto them: and when an elder speaketh make not thou many wordes.[586]

These Elizabethan perceptions differ little from those of the earlier reigns of Henry, Edward and Mary. Youth was still viewed as a 'deadly age' but, because they represented hope for the future, there was a concerted effort to instil in young people the 'correct' religious beliefs and a respect for their natural patriarchs.[587]

Amongst these consistencies, Paul Griffiths has argued that there was one considerable change during the Elizabethan period. Griffiths has observed a detectable increase in the feeling that young people's behaviour was deteriorating as the sixteenth century progressed. Griffiths writes that, 'real or imagined... the problems of youth became sharper in each new decade of the Elizabethan age'.[588] In particular, it was the increasing number of young people that was unsettling the Elizabethan authorities and it has been estimated that 40% of the population was under 15 years of age in 1576.[589] In order to regulate the behaviour of an increasingly visible youth, the Elizabethan government focussed on controlling the market for apprenticeships through statutes such as the Act of Artificers (1563). Theoretically, ensuring that young people remained under the supervision of their masters for a longer period of time should have helped to instil good behaviour. However, Keith Thomas has argued that the Elizabethan strategy to 'subordinate persons in their teens and early twenties and to delay their equal participation in the adult world' only served to exacerbate existing problems and

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[586] Thomas Becon, *The principles of Christian Religion necessary to be knowen of all the faythful: set forth to the great profite in trayning vp of all youth* (1569) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[587] Griffiths, 'Tudor Troubles', p.318.
[588] Ibid.,
[589] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.5.

placed increased pressure on the system of apprenticeship and its related social structures.[590] Therefore, throughout Elizabeth's reign, apprentices were finding it increasingly difficult to exit the stage of youth due to the 'frustration of being denied economic independence'.[591]

Interestingly, as the socio-economic situation led to increased fears surrounding the behaviour of young people, their religious roles were also being reassessed. Cranmer's eulogistic praise for young people, who were viewed as the solution to the Edwardian reformers' problem, was replaced by conservatism. Similarly, there was a reassessment of the indirect use of young people, who had acquired a high level of religious knowledge through religious instruction, to educate their elders. In the Elizabethan period, there appears to be a more cautious approach. This is evident in Alexander Nowell's *A catechism or first instruction and learning of Christian religion* (1570) which expressed concern regarding the young's proselytising of their elders: a major shift from the central role afforded to the young in Edwardian England.[592] This is not to argue that Elizabethan Protestants did not focus on the religion of young people; it has already been outlined that the young were viewed as strategically important for the future of Protestantism. Rather, it would appear that the Elizabethan Protestants deployed different messages and promoted different roles for the young in comparison with their Edwardian counterparts.

This chapter will analyse the evolution of the relationship between young people and the Elizabethan Protestant establishment whilst also assessing the role of more marginalised creeds such as Puritanism and Catholicism. It has been argued above that, throughout the

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[590] Thomas, 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', p.214.
[591] I.K. Ben-Amos, 'Failure to become Freemen: apprentices in early modern England', *Social History*, 16:2 (1991), p.157.
[592] Alexander Nowell, *A catechisme, or first instruction and learning of Christian religion* (1570) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com). The role of young people in catechising during Edwardian England is discussed in Chapter Two.

reigns of Edward and Mary - albeit for different reasons - Protestantism evolved in such a

way as to make it attractive to many young people. Edwardian England flirted with a social

egalitarianism that curried favour with the dispossessed and, as it has been argued in this

thesis, the Edwardian reformers viewed the religious education of the young as paramount for

the future and, as a result, young people were used as vehicles for disseminating knowledge

to parents and masters.[593] Although some outcomes were perhaps unintended, the Edwardian

reformers' focus on young people proved to be empowering and liberating. In Marian

England, Protestantism was the persecuted minority. Young people have been identified as

undertaking anti-Catholic gestures, although this has perhaps been overemphasised in the

historiography, and were amongst those martyrs who were burned at the stake. However, the

early years of Elizabeth's reign removed many of these links between young people and

Protestantism. As the initial years of Elizabeth's reign passed, Protestantism was no longer

viewed as the radical creed of Edward's reign, which was determined to provide religious

instruction for the young, and nor was it the subversive underdog of Mary's reign. As

Catharine Davies and Jane Facey have noted, during Elizabeth's reign, Protestantism, 'whose

progress hitherto had been based on cells of true believers, who had often seen themselves as

operating within and in opposition to a corrupt, indifferent and sometimes hostile mass' had

to 'transmute itself into the official ideology of an inclusive national church'.[594]

Therefore, the first section of this chapter will focus on how the relationship between

Protestantism and young people evolved during the reign of Elizabeth. This evolution can be

neatly outlined through a study of catechising, the main form of religious education in Tudor

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[593] For the egalitarian morals of Edwardian England, particularly under Somerset, see MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*. This theme is also addressed in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp.502-5. For resistance and collaboration regarding iconoclasm during in Edward's reign, see Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* pp.257-269.

[594] C. Davies and J. Facey, 'A Reformation Dilemma: John Foxe and the problem of discipline', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39:1 (1988), p. 163.

England, which provides a noticeable distinction between the approaches of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Protestants. In addition, this section will explore the Elizabethan authorities' censorship of activities and pastimes, many of which were known to be popular with young people, and how this further recast the relationship. The second section will assess whether young people in Elizabethan England increasingly turned from mainstream Protestantism to Puritanism or Catholicism, as has sometimes been suggested.[595] It has been argued in this thesis that, during the early Reformation, religious education, in addition to riot, attracted young people to the oppositional creed of Protestantism. It is therefore important to analyse the extent to which both of these factors drew the young to Puritanism and Catholicism in Elizabethan England, as the Protestant authorities became more cautious.

II.   Catechising: reconfiguring the role of youth

The catechising of young people remained an important, formal contact between young people and Protestant clerics during Elizabeth's reign and there are many consistencies that link Elizabethan catechising to its Edwardian predecessor.[596] Firstly, the catechisms remained an exclusively educational tool. The authors of Elizabethan catechisms continued to refrain from using the 'armoury of polemical weapons that... [they] might be prepared to use in a sermon or treatise'.[597] Secondly, the theological content of the catechisms remained similar. For example, the official catechisms included within the Book of Common Prayer in 1552 and 1559 both implement the same structure: an exposition on the Creed, the Ten

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[595] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation'; A. Shell, 'Furor juvenilis: post-Reformation English Catholicism and exemplary youthful behaviour', in E.H. Shagan (ed) *Catholics and the Protestant Nation* (Manchester, 2005), pp.185-206; A. Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, age and religious change in England, c.1500-1700' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (2011), pp.93-121.

[596] The catechism produced by Bonner, *A honest godlye instruction* (1555), which was discussed in Chapter Two, also showed numerous consistencies regarding format. However, due to a lack of descriptive or prescriptive evidence, it is difficult to ascertain the method or frequency that was used in terms of instructing young people with this catechism.

[597] Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p.39.

Commandments and finally the Lord's Prayer in English.[598] In these expositions, the Elizabethan version is taken verbatim from the Edwardian edition. However, despite these similarities, catechising would significantly evolve in a number of different ways during Elizabeth's reign. This section will analyse the evolution of catechisms and its implications for the young.

In Elizabethan England, there was a gradual increase in the number of hours that a curate was required to catechise his flock. The royal injunctions of 1559 stated that catechising should be undertaken on a fortnightly basis on Sundays and every holy day.[599] However, after the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, Ian Green observed that curates were encouraged to implement the 'ideal of 1552' which meant teaching on every Sunday and every holy day.[600] This increased requirement is evident in Edmund Grindal's visitation articles for York in 1571. It is inquired as to whether curates do

> every Sunday and holy day openly in your church or chapel call for, hear, and instruct the children
>
> and servants, both mankind and womankind, that be of convenient age within your parish (at least
>
> so many of them at once by course as the time will serve, and as you may well hear and instruct
>
> for an hour at the least) before evening prayer, in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Belief,
>
> and the Lord's Prayer in English, and diligently examine and teach them the Catechism set forth
>
> in the Book of Common Prayer.[601]

Similarly, Matthew Parker's visitation articles for Winchester in 1575 included the article: 'whether they [the curates]... instruct and examine the youth of their parishes in the catechism at Evening Prayer *on Sundays and holy days* [my italics]'.[602] This is a

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[598] There is one significant difference: the 1559 edition contains a section on the two sacraments after the Lord's Prayer, an addition to the Edwardian text.

[599] H. Gee & W.H. Hardy (eds), 'The Injunctions of 1559', *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York, 1896), pp.417-42.

[600] Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p.114.

[601] W. Nicholson (ed.), *Remains of Edmund Grindal* (Cambridge, 1843), p. 124.

[602] *Articles to be enquired of within the dioces of Winchester, in the Metropoliticall visitation of the most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew by the providence of God, Archbyshop of Canterbury* (1575) (available on

modification to Parker's articles for Canterbury in 1563 which, apart from asking whether a register was being kept with the names of catechumens ready for confirmation, did not inquire about the frequency of the curate's catechising.[603]

For Protestant clerics, increasing the quantity of catechising for young people was a logical step. It provided a structured framework through which young people could be taught the basics of the faith within a communal environment. However, it would appear that there was a significant unintended consequence of this strategy. The evidence suggests that, as the hours of catechising increased, so did the apathy of the young for the exercise.[604] This growing indifference is visible in the visitation articles of the Elizabethan bishops. Grindal's visitation articles for York in 1571 contain the first reference to 'young folks [who] shall refuse to be examined and instructed'.[605] In other cases, bishops had to encourage parents and masters to send their charges, which suggests a decrease in the self-motivation of young people to attend the classes for themselves. Grindal ordered that 'if any of the said fathers, mothers, or other governors of youth, shall refuse or neglect so to send their children or servants unto the minister to be examined and instructed at the times appointed' they shall be sent 'to the ordinary, to be by him punished accordingly'.[606] Beyond the visitation articles, John Peacock of Essex declared to his minister during a catechism class that he 'do nothing but

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EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com). The ideal of 1552 was not fully implemented due to the death of Edward. Consequently, the extent of these changes cannot be tracked due to the lack of visitation articles.

[603] *Articles* (1563).

[604] Judith Maltby noted that, during this period, 'teenage servants' were the most difficult group to persuade to attend catechism classes: J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 68.

[605] *Remains of Edmund Grindal*, p.137.

[606] Ibid., p.137. It is also worth noting that, during his visitation of Winchester (1575), Matthew Parker included an item concerning parents who 'neglect or refuse to bring or send their children and servants to be catechised'. Interestingly, Parker had not included this article in the previous visitations of London (1563) or Norwich (1567) suggesting its inclusion was due to an increase of absenteeism amongst young people: Matthew Parker, *Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of Winchester* (1575).

prattle'.[607] It would be reasonable to suggest that the increase in the time required for this exercise alone would have decreased the allure of catechising for the young. Not including Edward's reign, reciting the Book of Common Prayer's catechism had been a staple of church life for over a decade by the 1570s. Therefore, the increased schedule of formal catechising in churches must have acted as a catalyst for the erosion of the medium's novelty. Wright has noted this shifting mood and suggests that catechism classes were starting to be viewed as 'a means of enforcing order and instilling in the young and potentially unruly a sense of respect for their elders'.[608] Perhaps unsurprisingly, these changes appear to have created a lull in the enthusiasm of young people for this type of religious instruction.

There was also an increase in the number of catechisms that were published for use in schools and homes during the 1570s. John Ponet's *A short catechism*, the authorised catechism for schools during Edward's reign, was accompanied by John Calvin's *The catechisme or manner to teach children* in 1560 and Alexander Nowell's *A catechisme or instruction of Christian religion* in 1572.[609] Readers would typically make the transition to these texts after they had mastered the catechism within the *Book of Common Prayer*. In addition, these texts were printed in Latin, as well as English, so as to provide a tool for learning the language. It was not only schools that could choose from an extended suite of catechisms: the market for personal use also flourished in the 1570s.[610] Interestingly, Green defines this period as the moment when authors of

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[607] Griffiths, 'Tudor Troubles', p.322.
[608] S.J. Wright, 'Confirmation, Catechism and Communion: the role of the young in the post-Reformation Church' in S.J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and People* (London, 1988), p. 205.
[609] John Calvin, *The catechisme or maner to teach children the Christen region* (1560) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com); Alexander Nowell, *A catechisme, or first instruction and learning of Christian religion* (1572) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[610] Examples of this include Thomas Becon's *The demands of holy scripture* (1577) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com); Theodore Beza's *A book of Christian questions and answers* (1572) (available on

catechisms started to write for a wider audience than simply the young. Green states

that it is 'beyond reasonable doubt' that from the 1570s onwards there was 'a much

greater concern with instructing youth *and ignorant adults as well* [my italics]', an

extension of the pre-1570 'preoccupation' with teaching young people.[611]

Typically, when historians have approached the targeting of adults as primary catechumens, it

is usually analysed in terms of how this would have affected the adult. For example, Green

concentrates solely on the implications for adults when he suggests that 'the older members

of a congregation may have resisted instruction' because the catechism would have been

viewed as 'beneath their dignity'.[612] However, this widening of scope also had a profound

impact on young people and, in particular, it may have contributed to the young's growing

apathy towards catechising. As highlighted in Chapter Two, the Edwardian catechism classes

allowed young people to become active participants in the religious education of their elders

and the congregation as a whole. Prefaces of catechisms extolled the virtue of educating

young people and, during church catechising, young people were used as a vehicle for

educating their parents and masters. In the 1570s, however, Elizabethan Protestants diluted

the young's educational role by encouraging the use of catechisms outside of the church and

promoting their suitability for adults. Ian Green touches on this transition when he states

that, during this period, Protestant clergymen increasingly spent their time searching for 'a

form [of catechism] that would be more suitable or acceptable to older catechumens'.[613] This

highlights the steady erosion of young people as the primary targets and disseminators of

catechising. This repositioning was not simply a case of adults being positively included in

catechising; there is a tangible sense that young people were being purposefully marginalised.

EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com); and Christopher Watson's *Brief Principles of religion* (1578) (available on
EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).
[611] Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p.73-5.
[612] Ibid., p.75.
[613] Ibid.

Perhaps the best example of this can be found in Alexander Nowell's *A catechism or first instruction and learning of Christian religion* (1570). This text displays an explicit concern regarding young people educating their elders. Its preface is almost apologetic for placing the correct answers in the mouth of the young person rather than the master. Nowell explains that 'it may not be thought that the master here enquireth of the scholar as desirous to learn of him... [instead] the master opposeth the scholar to see how he hath profitted'.[614] Nowell's fear that the young person might be perceived as educating an elder is in stark contrast to Cranmer's hope that, through the young, the wider parish could be instructed.

It is important to note that this transformative process was not specific to Elizabethan England. Other reformed creeds also adopted a more formalised and authoritarian approach to young people after becoming part of the establishment. For example, there are striking similarities in this regard between the Elizabethan Protestants and earlier Lutheran reformers. In the earliest stages of Lutheranism, reformers understood that young people were of paramount importance for a successful reformation. In his tract *To the Councilmen of all Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), Luther wrote that it is 'a grave and important matter and one which is of vital concern to both Christ and the world at large, that we take steps to help the youth'.[615] Initially, Luther had hoped that the familial home would be the centre of youthful learning but this model was abandoned in the mid-1520s due to a visible lack of success and the turmoil of the German Peasants' War.[616] Instead, the Lutheran reformers hoped to implant the faith through catechising. As has been explained, this was to be achieved by publically catechising young people in order

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[614] Nowell, *A catechisme* (1570).
[615] *To the Councilmen of all Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524) cf. G. Strauss, 'Success and Failure in the German Reformation', C.S. Dixon (ed.), *The German Reformation* (Oxford, 1999), p.221.
[616] The Peasants' War was influenced by evangelical ideas which is evident in 'the repeated appeals to the authority of scripture': Strauss, 'Success and Failure', p.85.

to instruct the 'simple of mind' in the adult congregation.[617] In the late 1520s, the Lutheran catechising movement reached its 'zenith' with a state-endorsed and formalised programme of weekly catechising.[618] However, as with Elizabethan England, it appears that, over time, this approach became sterile for the young. Strauss emphasises this transformation and observes that

> it is one thing to be carried along by the surge of a young cause in its heroic phase, and
> quite another to champion a creaking orthodoxy.[619]

This statement is as true for the young people of Lutheran Germany as it is for those in Elizabethan England. By the mid 1570s, a visitation of Wolfenbüttel recorded that the 'people stay away from service, at most two or three souls turn up for weekday catechism sermons, no children come to catechism class and it is a pity to see the poor sexton stand there, all by himself in the empty church'.[620]

In Scotland, Protestant adherents also placed catechising at the centre of their programme for religious education. In *The First Book of Discipline* (1560), it is stated that every Sunday afternoon 'must the young children be publicly examined in their catechism in audience of the people' which 'shall be great instruction to the aged'.[621] Once again, young people were to be the vehicles through which the community would be educated. However, it appears that young people in Scotland had a different engagement with catechising from the outset. Writing in more general terms about the Scottish Reformation, Kellar has observed that:

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[617] Strauss, 'Success and Failure', pp.221-2. This model is evident in Andreas Osiander's *Catechism Sermons for Children* (1534): see Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.209.
[618] Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, p.156. Luther was the author of two catechisms during this period.
[619] Ibid., p.299.
[620] Strauss, 'Success and Failure', p.247.
[621] Cameron (ed.), *The First Book of Discipline*. In addition, young people were encouraged to read the Bible because, as it was, young people 'lack the profound interpretation of the scriptures; and so it shall be long before that your gardens send forth many plants'.

the regent's policy of toleration may have actually done something to undermine Protestant resolve by depriving reformers of the sense of fortitude in adversity, which was such a prop to the English.[622]

In relation to Scottish catechising, the lack of a sense of 'fortitude in adversity' may have resulted in the young people viewing catechism classes as an orderly, authoritarian and orthodox exercise from its inception. It could be argued that the young's educative role in catechism classes was more attractive when having a sense of operating within a minority or emerging creed.

The evolution of catechising neatly illustrates how the Elizabethan Protestant establishment gradually reconfigured its relationship with young people. The clerics undertook a two-pronged approach to religious education. Firstly, they formalised and increased catechism classes for young people. Secondly, they widened the scope of catechising to adults. For young people, Protestantism now represented orthodoxy and authority rather than opposition and opportunity. This evolution is neatly described by Collinson who notes that Protestantism's popularity was 'in the beginning as a movement of protest, a radical, irreverent cocking of a snook at the symbols of religious tradition and authority' but, during Elizabeth's reign, it came to be a symbol for 'order, discretion, age, and dominance'.[623]

III.   Elizabethan Youth: a declining role

In addition to the increased programme for catechising, the Elizabethan period also witnessed the withdrawal or regulation of many opportunities and pastimes that were typically associated with the young. It would seem that Protestant clerics were keen to reduce the opportunities for young people to create disorder or invert the social hierarchy. Interestingly,

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[622] C. Kellar, *Scotland, England, and the Reformation 1534-1561* (Oxford, 2003), p.151.
[623] P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: the church in English society, 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), p.238.

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as the young's educational role in catechism classes was being reassessed, young people were also being marginalised from another religious activity: the Rogationtide procession. During Rogation Week, it was customary for the local curate to lead the community around the parish's boundaries. This perambulation had two main functions. In a spiritual sense, the procession was used by the curate as an opportunity to bless the land in order to increase its crop and general fertility. In a territorial sense, the walk would identify the parish's boundaries and highlight the potential for encroachment from neighbouring communities. Prior to Elizabeth's reign, young people were part of this procession, although they were prone to extending this territorial ritual by engaging in 'a rousing brawl with the lads of the adjacent parish'.[624] As Davenport has shown, during Elizabeth's reign, young people became excluded from the Rogationtide procession. This marginalisation stems from a misreading of Article XVIII in the 1559 Injunctions:

> But yet for retaining of the perambulation of the circuits of parishes, they *[the Queen's Majesty's subjects – not present in the original form]* shall once in the year at the time accustomed, with the curate and substantial men of the parish, walk about their parishes, as they were accustomed, and at their return to the church, make their common prayers.[625]

The Injunction clearly states that lesser members of the community, which would include the young, were to join the perambulation 'with the curate and substantial men of the parish'.[626] However, whether intentional or accidental, many bishops and curates interpreted this clause to mean that the perambulation must be undertaken by the curate and substantial men of the parish to the exclusion of all others. This misinterpretation is evident in the letters of Bishop Bentham (Coventry and Lichfield) and Archbishop Grindal (York) to their archdeacons, the

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[624] W. Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, 1983), p.132.

[625] E. Davenport, 'Elizabethan England's other Reformation of Manners' in ELH, 63:2 (1996), pp. 255-278; 'The Injunctions of 1559' in Gee & Hardy (eds), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp.417-42. Italicised words are not present in the original form. The actual subject of this sentence, that is the Queen's Majesty's subjects, appears three sentences before the clause on communal processions.

[626] 'The Injunctions of 1559' Gee & Hardy (eds), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp.417-42. Many of the Elizabethan proclamations explicitly segregated society into those people who were allowed to undertake certain leisure activities and those who were prohibited. It is unsurprising that young people, unless they were gentlemen, fell into the category that was disallowed from certain games and pursuits: see Davenport, 'Elizabethan England's other Reformation of Manners', pp.255-278.

latter of which specifies that 'no multitude of light young folks' must join the perambulation.[627] Regardless of whether the bishops accidently misread or intentionally corrupted the injunctions, the notion that the Elizabethan authorities would want to exclude young people from such an event was expected, or at least comprehensible. Such a restriction dovetails with the aforementioned formalisation of the catechism classes and reflects the young's narrowing role in the established church of Elizabeth.

Outside of religious spaces, many social pastimes of young people were also attacked during the Elizabethan period. These attacks were part of a wider phenomenon labelled the 'Reformation of Manners': a term that refers to the attempted elimination of immoral activities and acts from early-modern society. The rise of the movement has been attributed to both the ghost of Catholicism and the rise of Protestantism without being mutually exclusive. In relation to the former explanation, Ingram has described the reformation of manners as a delayed Protestant response to the Catholic polemicists such as Miles Huggarde and John Christopherson.[628] These Marian writers successfully managed to forge a link between Protestantism and social subversion. According to Ingram, 'such accusations stung the Elizabethan government to search for means "whereby the reformation of religion may be brought in credit, with the amendment of manners, the want whereof hath been imputed as a thing grown by the liberty of the gospel"'.[629] In addition to this explanation, many historians have linked the reformation of manners to the rise of Puritanism. In his study of Terling (Essex), Wrightson claimed that the attacks on sinfulness and immorality occurred with more

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[627] Davenport, 'Elizabethan England's Other Reformation of Manners', p.264. In a letter of 1561, Bishop Bentham of Coventry asked the archdeacons of Stafford and Derby to ensure that 'none do go about [the procession]... [except] substantial men of the parish'. In a letter of Bishop Grindal to Thomas Cole, the Archdeacon of Essex, young people were specifically singled-out as unfit to join the procession.
[628] The provocative works of these authors has been examined in detail throughout this thesis and particularly in Chapter One and Chapter Two.
[629] M. Ingram, 'Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England' in P. Griffiths, A. Fox & S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 77.

vigour when a Puritan was in office.[630] Whilst it should be noted that other historians,

primarily led by Margaret Spufford, have posited a more complex relationship between

Puritanism and the reformation of manners, there is still a general agreement that extra

fervour was applied by Puritan officeholders.[631]

In relation to young people, the reformation of manners attacked many activities of which

they were known to be fond.[632] For example, there was a sustained attack on gambling,

lavish apparel, dancing ('the vilest vice of all')[633], the theatre, non-marital sex and the

alehouse.[634] These sins were not only odious in isolation but were also blamed for the

absence of youth from church. During Bishop Freke's visitation of Rochester in 1572, he

asked 'whether there be any that... receive into their houses... mens servants or children in the

sermon or divine service time... to eat, drink hop, pipe, sing, dance, dice, card, or to use any

other unlawful game or exercise'.[635] This juxtaposition is also represented in John

Northbrooke's treatise against leisure on the Sabbath printed in 1577. The text consists of a

dialogue between Youth and Age. On the subject of attending church, Youth informs Age

that the church 'is more fitte for suche olde fatherly men as you are than for such young men

as I am... cannot I finde Christe as well in a tavern as a temple?'[636] In addition, when

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[630] K. Wrightson, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (London, 1979).

[631] For links between the reformation of manners and Puritanism see C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964) and Wrightson, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village*. For other explanations and rebuttals, see M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and Social Control' in A. Fletcher (ed.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.41-57; Hunt, *The Puritan Moment*; and Ingram, 'Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England'. For example Spufford highlights that moral drives, such as the reformation of manners, often correlate with economic austerity.

[632] Ingram notes that 'writers on the subject of 'reformation of manners' sometimes had young people especially in mind': Ingram, 'Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England', p.53.

[633] John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, vaine plays...* (1577) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[634] The alehouse aroused particular hatred as it was viewed as the precursor to many other sins and was particularly linked to the corruption of young people. Indeed, MacCulloch has suggested that in order to find a 'youth culture' in Elizabethan England, one must look in the alehouse: D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (London, 1990), p. 166.

[635] W.H. Frere & W.P.M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol.3 (London, 1910), p.344.

[636] Northbrooke, *Spiritus est vicarius* (1577).

minstrels played at a Bethersden alehouse in 1578, the youth of the parish are said to have found the show so enjoyable that they failed to attend Evening Prayer.[637]

The Elizabethan period therefore shut down many opportunities and pastimes that had been available to young people during the early Reformation. In Edward's reign, young people were used to educate their elders through catechism classes. By the 1570s, catechising was no longer a novelty and the notion of having young people teach their elders, regardless of the formal framework provided by the curate, was re-evaluated. Furthermore, young people were excluded from religious rituals, such as the Rogationtide procession, due to the caution of Protestant clerics. Outside of religious spaces, local magistrates were attacking activities that were popular amongst the young. Dancing, drinking and sexual relations were targeted as part of the reformation of manners. Griffiths has defined this period, 'between the legislative pillars of 1563 and 1598', as the 'drive to tame and train the youth... [which] became national in scope and scale.[638] Taking a broader view of the Reformation, it is also possible to define this period as a natural plateau for a previously marginalised creed that found itself the orthodoxy of a nation. The consolidation of Elizabeth's religious settlement forced the Protestant church to recast its relationship with young people by placing an even greater emphasis than hitherto on control, stability and hierarchy.

IV. Young people and Puritanism: a hotter sort of youth?

In his seminal work *The Religion of Protestants*, Patrick Collinson began tentatively to categorise society in terms of those more or less inclined to Puritan sensibilities. Collinson started the section with a caveat: the attraction of Puritanism is complex, sophisticated and, ultimately, the choice of an individual or family unit. Nevertheless, it would seem that a

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[637] Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p.206.
[638] Griffiths, 'Tudor Troubles', p.320.

picture can be painted with broad strokes. For example, the evidence suggests that the middle and upper classes were more likely to accept godly notions. It would also seem that women had particularly strong relationships with their Puritan pastors. However, in relation to young people, Collinson suggests that they were unlikely to find Puritanism an attractive proposition. The main reasons for this include the aforementioned restriction of leisure pursuits, increased catechising and its dependence on texts.[639] This section will assess the role of youth in the rise of Puritanism and suggest on the contrary that the creed may have offered some young people opportunities for activism and disorder.

The historiography is sparse concerning the complex effects of Puritanism on young people. Recent research includes Alexandra Walsham's analysis of some Puritan biographies in an attempt to identify any patterns or shared experiences amongst the young. Although further research is required, these biographies suggest that young Puritans sought the same carnal pleasures as their peers.[640] Nehemiah Wellington described his adolescent years as a 'most vile and sinful corruption' which suggests that, despite a godly childhood, the allure of youthful pleasures had been victorious.[641] Another interesting approach to the subject of Puritanism and the young can be found in the research of James Sharpe into early modern witchcraft. Having noted the high number of cases of youthful possession within Puritan households, Sharpe analysed how this affected social and familial hierarchies. It was apparent that, during a bout of demonic possession, the 'normally subordinate young person' had an opportunity to 'effect a temporary inversion of normal authority'.[642] From the middle

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[639] Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, pp.230-241.
[640] Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations', pp.113-4.
[641] C. Durston & J. Eales, *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (London, 1996), p. 12. Many of these writers were using a common topos of conversion from unstable youth to virtuous maturity and consequently their accounts must be read with caution.
[642] J.A. Sharpe, 'Disruption in the Well-Ordered Household: Age, Authority, and Possessed Young People' in P. Griffiths, A. Fox & S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), p.207.

of Elizabeth's reign, these afflicted adolescents used this platform as to challenge their elders and as an opportunity to reject their parents' religion: in this case Puritanism. It is tempting to compare the possession of young Puritans to the catechetical role of the young Protestants in Edward's reign. In both senses, young people were using a religious framework, created by their elders, through which they could temporarily invert the social hierarchy and become religious educators/messengers. As Sharpe concludes:

> The challenges to authority offered by possessed adolescents were, therefore, like so many challenges in the early modern period, short-lived and doomed to failure. And again, like so many such challenges, they were unable to break-out of current frames of thought and modes of expression, and hence, in their disorder, showed considerable order.[643]

There are few examples of young Puritans targeting their religious opponents with misrule and riot. The case of Peter Birchett only serves to highlight the rarity of such incidents. In 1573, Birchett, a young man of the Inner Temple, mistakenly stabbed the merchant John Hawkins. Birchett had hoped that the victim was Christopher Hatton, a new favourite of Queen Elizabeth. The main motive for this attack was religion. Hatton was unpopular with the Puritans due to his Catholic sympathies and, if further proof of his motivations were needed, Birchett had attended a lecture of Thomas Sampson just hours before the attack. Although the incident heightened fears surrounding the country's religious divisions, it was not viewed as indicative of Puritan youth. Indeed, Birchett's age was not a key factor in this incident and his psychological wellbeing has been called into question.[644] Therefore, this example cannot be considered equivalent to the examples of youthful religious riot that occurred in Marian England.

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[643] Sharpe, 'Disruption in the Well-Ordered Household', p.208.
[644] P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p.150.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the rise of Puritanism may have offered young people new opportunities through which they could pursue activism and "disorder". Rather than the targets being specifically religious, in the sense of the time and the place of the riot, youthful activism was sometimes permitted as part of the reformation of manners and its attack on sinfulness and immorality. An example of this can be found in the infamous Shrove Tuesday riots. During Shrovetide, it became customary for young people, and especially apprentices, to attack the brothels of London and to humiliate publically the city's prostitutes who were 'beaten and forced to ride through the streets to the accompaniment of the apprentices' taunts'.[645] Importantly, the apprentices' attacks on brothels and prostitutes are first recorded in the 1570s which corresponds to the first phase of the reformation of manners. Griffiths has identified the mid-1570s as the point when the attacks started to enter the journals and repertories of London, whilst Hunt notes that the disorder was first mentioned in Parliament in 1576.[646] There are other comparable examples of young people participating in organised misrule during this period. Bernard Capp has argued that a seventeenth-century chapbook, *The Pinder of Wakefield* (1632), alludes to the existence of formal youth groups in late sixteenth-century England.[647] In this 'fictitious but comprehensive and circumstantial' account, young people are depicted policing society against cuckolds, usurers and thieves.[648] In these instances, the youth group's preferred method of punishment drew upon the rituals of skimmingtons and charivaris which added an element of misrule and boisterousness to the proceedings.[649] Steven Smith described this period as the beginning of apprentices acting as 'moral agents', defending the morality of

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[645] A. Yarbrough, 'Apprentices as Adolescents in Sixteenth Century Bristol' in *Journal of Social History*, 13:1, (1979), pp.70-1. By the seventeenth century, this disorder had become so ritualised that it was preceded by a number of ceremonies such as a communal breakfast for the apprentices and an accompanying sermon.

[646] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p.152; Hunt, *The Puritan Moment*, pp.79-81.

[647] Capp, 'English Youth Groups', p.129. Capp writes that the chapbook had previously existed as a 'play, romance and ballad concerning the same hero were well-known in the later sixteenth century'.

[648] Ibid., p.129.

[649] Interestingly, Ingram sees little difference between charivaris and calendar customs (such as Shrove Tuesday) with both involving an element of moral condemnation: M. Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 105 (1984), p. 95.

society, whether this were 'the "right" religion, or the "right" behaviour of London's prostitutes'.[650]

In these examples, it is clear that the young people were not acting without a mandate. The Elizabethan governors, on both a national and local scale, had the capability to quash these youthful disorders at any given time. Therefore, it is apparent that an implicit collaboration must have existed between the young 'moral agents' and the Elizabethan authorities. This collaboration often depended on the target of the youthful disorder. In other words, the objective had to be one that was shared: be it attacking a London brothel or shaming a Wakefield cuckold. Paul Seaver has described this process as young people 'carrying out by demonstrative and violent means objectives and ends of which the magistrates thoroughly approved, however much they might deplore the illegal actions by which it was pursued'.[651] Seaver suggests that other shared objectives included foreign competition and a hatred for the pretences of gentlemen and their servants.[652] Within this framework of tacit legitimacy, it was possible for young people to participate in organised disorder.

Young people also played a role in the more radical elements of Puritanism. For example, the Presbyterian faction was contemporaneously categorised as a movement of the young: the 'restless innovators'.[653] This statement is not without foundation. In the universities, it is possible to draw a crude distinction between the young Presbyterians who wished to push for further reformation and their older, conformist masters. For example, it is known that, during the late 1560s, a group of 'godly young men' sustained the Presbyterian lectures at the parish

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[650] Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', p.161.
[651] Seaver, 'Apprentice Riots in Early Modern London', p. 22.
[652] Ibid., p.22. In 1576, attacks on gentlemen's lackeys were occurring with such frequency that the Lord Mayor of London ordered apprentices to halt their mobbing and mistreating. Seaver notes that, due to the tacit collaboration, such recommendations were 'seldom invoked with any rigor'.
[653] This phrase is attributed to John Foxe in Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p.257.

of St Antholin in London.[654] Two of these godly young sustainers were John Field and

Thomas Wilcox, the authors of *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572). This document argued

for a return to the purity of the New Testament and, consequently, an alternative system of

ecclesiastical governance with elders replacing the bishops who were viewed as popish

inventions. The *Admonition* was an 'outspoken presbyterian manifesto' and needed a formal

reply.[655] The response was penned by John Whitgift who, at the time, was the master of

Trinity College (Cambridge). Whitgift clearly linked the desire for further ecclesiastical

reform with the younger scholars. According to Whitgift, the presbyterian faction consisted

of 'saucy boys', 'beardless boys' and those birds 'new out of shell'.[656] John Foxe also

described this Presbyterian intelligentsia as a collection of 'thoughtless youths', a stark

contrast to the thoughtful scholars included in *Acts and Monuments*. In the latter work, Foxe

portrays the early reformers Tyndale, Frith and Barnes as young students who, on many

occasions, were forced to confront their conservative masters in order to forward the true

gospel. Foxe writes that Tyndale openly questioned his academic elders. If Tyndale's

teachers did

> at any time... varie from Tyndal in opinions and iudgement, he would shew them in the
> booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to
> confute their errors, and to confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine
> season, reasoning and contending together diuers and sondry times, till at lengthe they
> waxed weary, and bare a secrete grudge in their hearts against him.[657]

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[654] Only those curates with a benefice were questioned by Elizabeth's commissioners. Therefore, these godly young men found a loophole in the statute: see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p.85. The St Antholin lectures were founded in 1559 and followed the Genevan pattern of worship: morning prayer and psalm singing at 5 o'clock in the morning followed by a lecture at 6 o'clock. St Antholin had a lecture every week day. See T. Liu, *Puritan London: a study of religion and society in the City parishes* (London, 1986), pp. 86-7.

[655] P. Collinson, 'Wilcox, Thomas (c.1549–1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford, 2004). In 1572, Field and Wilcox were 26 and 23 respectively.

[656] Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp.130, 254. It is interesting to see the shared rhetoric deployed by both Whitgift in Elizabethan England and Thomas More in Henrician England, as described in Chapter One.

[657] Foxe, *A&M* (1583), p.1072. This quote highlights an interesting theme regarding the way that Foxe anchors narratives through religious texts. In the same way that Tyndale is described arguing via the veracity of scripture, Foxe also depicts William Maldon and William Hunter as arguing through the truth of religious texts, as described in Chapter Two and Chapter Four respectively.

Despite the clear parallels between the early Protestant reformers and the Elizabethan Presbyterian scholars, Foxe did not edit his text. It would seem that Foxe was comfortable portraying the Henrician reformers challenging elders to progress Evangelicalism whilst contemporaneously denouncing the Presbyterian "youths".

This evidence suggests that there was a complex interface between Puritanism, the reformation of manners, and youthful "disorder". For many young people, the second decade of Elizabeth's reign could be defined as a period of reduced opportunities in terms of both religion and recreation. The moral attacks on alehouses, theatres and sports can largely be attributed to the reformation of manners which, in a recent article by Alexandra Walsham, has been identified as 'a further index of Protestantism's advance into middle age'.[658] However, the slippery 'reformation of manners' straddles not only a Protestant agenda but also a Puritan one and the movement may have represented a new form of religious radicalism which appealed to some young people, even if others were alienated by attacks on the alehouse culture and traditional festivities. On a national and local scale, it is possible to see the more puritanical wing of the church allowing opportunities for organised youthful riot as long as it corresponded with their social and/or economic objectives. Such an explanation displays the fluidity of youth as a concept and contributes to the paradox that, during Elizabeth's reign, there could be 'godly apprentices arranged [in] religious assemblies while their reprobate contemporaries took part in an annual and almost institutionalized Shrove Tuesday riot'.[659]

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[658] Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations', p.110.
[659] Capp, 'English Youth Groups', p.129.

V.   Young People and the 'Forbidden Fruit' of Catholicism

In Susan Brigden's seminal article 'Youth and the English Reformation', she concludes that, before Elizabeth's accession, the link between young people and Protestantism could be largely explained by the life-cycle stage of youth. Young people were naturally drawn to marginalised, oppositional and subversive movements: Protestantism ticked all of these boxes.[660] Many other historians have followed Brigden's lead.[661] However, as the reign of Elizabeth progressed, Protestantism became the orthodox religion of England. Even Eamon Duffy, perhaps the most vigorous critic of Protestantism's success, acknowledges that, by the 1570s, England was a Protestant nation.[662] Instead of English Bibles being censored, it was the Catholic Mass. This transition has profound implications for any hypothesis that explains Protestantism's popularity with young people through a prism of novelty and opposition. One would expect that, as Protestantism became the orthodox religion, young people would begin to embrace the marginalised creed of Catholicism. In her article, Brigden argued this to be the case, asserting that during Elizabeth's reign, young people were 'at the forefront of the mission' to restore 'the old faith, which now had the appeal of exotic and forbidden fruit'.[663] Similarly, Alison Shell, who has undertaken the most comprehensive work on the subject of Catholicism and youth in early modern England, argues that 'many youthful converts were proactive in seeking out Catholicism, defining themselves against a religious norm just as their forbears had done in the earliest years of the English Reformation'.[664] However, this thesis has argued that, whilst young people certainly participated in religious disorder, and this may have allowed young people to oppose their elders, there were also

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[660] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', pp.37-67.
[661] See Introduction for a detailed analysis of how this hypothesis has become a historiographical maxim.
[662] Duffy concludes that 'by the 1570s, whatever the instincts and nostalgia of their seniors, a generation was growing up which had known nothing else, which believed the Pope to be Antichrist, the Mass a mummery, which did not look back to the Catholic past as their own, but another country, another world': Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.593.
[663] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.67.
[664] Shell, 'Furor juvenilis', p.185.

more subtle ways that young people could invert the social hierarchy, such as through religious education. Therefore, this section will assess how young people responded to the marginalisation of Catholicism in Elizabethan England.

It is clear that the majority of examples cited in the articles of Shell and Brigden refer to a specific type of youthful activity: continental exile for an appropriate religious education. During Elizabeth's reign, England was an inhospitable place for Catholic students of any status. Schoolmasters were required to have a licence in order to teach, which was granted from the government, whilst in the English universities, undergraduates had to recite the Oath of Supremacy in order to attain their degree. These punitive restrictions forced English Catholics to travel for a suitable education to colleges such as Douai on mainland Europe, which was established by William Allen in 1568. Although Allen did not create statutes stating the purpose of the college, Duffy considered that its main objective was to train priests for service in England. He notes that the financial contributions of John Vendeville, a friend of Allen who was initially interested in financing a Catholic mission into the Muslim world, suggest that a 'missionary dimension' for Douai must have been explicit.[665] Similarly, Holt has deduced that the primary function of the college was to 'to educate priests for the English mission'.[666] This raises the question of how these continental colleges impacted on young people in Elizabethan England both in terms of their input, that is the young exiles from England seeking a Catholic education, and their output, that is the missionary priests and educational material that was produced abroad and smuggled into England.

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[665] Allen managed the Douai college for nearly twenty years without any formal statutes which has cast doubt on his original intention for the institution: A. Beales, *Education Under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II 1547-1689* (London, 1963), p.40; E. Duffy, 'Allen, William (1532–1594)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford, 2008).
[666] G. Holt, 'Education of Catholics from the Act of Uniformity to the Catholic Relief Acts' in *Recusant History*, 27:3 (2005), p.349.

The first influx of exiles predominantly consisted of young scholars from Oxford University. Bossy calculates that 'over a hundred fellows and other senior members left Oxford during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign'.[667] This initial phase was followed by something of a recruitment drive which, as explained by Haigh, typically involved a recusant schoolmaster in England who identified pupils with the greatest potential and, after gaining parental consent, organised for their travel to the continental colleges. An example of this process is evident in Burnley where the recusant schoolteacher Laurence Yates had supplied five of his pupils to Douai by 1580.[668] As stated by Brigden and Shell, the young exiles who escaped to the English colleges in Europe were clearly displaying their favour for Catholicism. Brigden concludes that:

> Once Catholicism became an evangelical faith young disciples were at the forefront of the mission; like the apprentices "enticed from their maisters to goe . . . into Italy to cardynall poole" in 1551; like those who went to Louvain "to make forts in that university against the open truth of Christ's gospel", or later fled to the capital of the Elizabethan mission at Douai.[669]

Shell also cites those young Catholics who rebelled against the authority of their parents or masters by running away to European schools 'in the teeth of full-scale parental opposition', whilst Walsham claims that 'the mantle of youthful illegitimacy had passed to other quarters as early as the 1570s and 1580s, when young men and women in their hundreds left England for continental seminaries and convents in search of foreign adventures and in pursuit of a religious vocation'.[670] However, there is a question regarding the number of young exiles that emigrated before 1580. It is noticeable that, apart from the initial influx of Oxford

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[667] J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1976), p.12.
[668] Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp.278-9.
[669] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.67. In this citation, it could be suggested that Brigden is conflating some of the issues. The apprentices that fled to Cardinal Pole in 1551 were acting in the reign of Edward VI rather than Elizabeth I which requires a slightly different method of interpretation. Secondly, the young people quoted by Foxe as making 'forts in that university [Louvain] against the open truth of Christ's gospel' were, as Foxe himself terms, 'foreign examples'. Foxe does not claim that Arnold Baumel or Guarlacus were English exiles.
[670] Shell, 'Furor juvenilis', p.185; Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations', p.116.

alumni, many of the examples occur after the first decade of Elizabeth's reign.[671] For

example, Shell evidences the 'full-scale parental opposition' of young exiles with the account

of three young Scottish men who fled to Douai against their parents' wishes in 1664. In

addition, Haigh writes that Christopher Thompson, one of the first seminarians to work in the

strongly Catholic county of Lancashire, did not move to Douai until at least 1575.[672] There is

also an issue surrounding the impact of continental exile for the poorer sections of society. It

would appear that exile was an option only for relatively wealthy families. It was the gentry

that had the resources and connections to provide 'sons, shelter and money' for the

seminaries.[673] This questions the impact that exile would have had for the majority of young

people who remained in England and suggests that there is an inherent difference between, on

the one hand, the young Protestants who stayed in Marian England and opposed the Mass or

covertly read reformist texts, and on the other hand, those young people who left Elizabethan

England for a Catholic education and primarily to become missionary priests.

Although the primary function of the English colleges was to create missionary priests, they

also aided those Catholics still living in England by exporting educational literature.[674] As

with Edwardian Protestantism, Shell has argued that Elizabethan Catholics understood the

need to 'instruct each succeeding generation in the faith from an early age'.[675] Therefore,

catechisms were produced abroad in the hope that they might be smuggled into England.

Perhaps the most well-known catechism of this period is Laurence Vaux's *A catechism, or a*

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[671] This is particularly interesting because Walsham has suggested that 'recent work on the *Responsa Scholarum* of the English College at Rome promises to reveal more about how Catholic youths conceived of momentous life decisions that often involved an overturning of patriarchal norms and how far these patterns of religiously inspired juvenile delinquency *declined over time as Catholicism became an increasingly endogamous and inward-looking community* [my italics]'. Walsham is citing from Lucy Underwood's forthcoming Ph.D. on post-Reformation Catholicism and childhood: Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations'.
[672] Shell, 'Furor juvenilis, p.190; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp.278-9.
[673] Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p.279.
[674] In terms of the English college at Douai, this primary function was successful. Over its course, the college sent one cardinal, 33 archbishops and bishops, 169 writers and 160 martyrs to England: Beales, *Education Under Penalty*, p.41.
[675] Shell, 'Furor juvenilis, p.190.

Christian doctrine necessary for children and ignorant people (1567), which was produced in

Douai. It is clear that Vaux viewed young people as his primary audience.[676] In addition to

the expositions of the Creed, Ten Commandments and Pater Noster, the catechism contains

explicitly Catholic doctrine on purgatory, images, exorcisms and the Pope (the 'one head in

earth, Gods Vicar in the apostolic see, successor to St Peter').[677] The catechism bucks the

trend of the Elizabethan Protestant writers, who refrained from incorporating polemic, by

explicitly referring to Protestantism and other heresies.[678] Vaux writes that 'the Catholic

Church does disallow or condemn' any heresy and warns that people who will 'not confess

the Catholic faith with their mouths, although they believe it in their hearts' are breaking the

first Commandment.[679] It would seem that, as in Marian England, there was a desire to

prevent Nicodemism within the marginalised creed. Finally, there is also the inclusion of

material that implicitly promotes and advertises the role of the continental colleges. For

example, Vaux devotes much space to explaining the process, responsibilities and benefits of

the sacrament of Holy Orders. It would be reasonable to suggest that this extended section

was a means of persuading more young Catholics in England to flee to colleges such as

Douai.

It is clear that Vaux's catechism aimed to embolden young people in England and attract any

potential exiles. However, it is impossible to judge whether this catechism placed young

people at the centre of the learning process. The format consists of succinct question-and-

answer sections (perhaps for oral teaching) but also much longer expositions that are

seemingly designed for contemplative reading. Although there is the possibility that the text

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[676] In a later edition, Vaux describes the 1567 catechism as 'set forth for the instruction of young children in matters of the faith': L. Vaux, *A catechism, or a Christian doctrine necessary for children and ignorant people* (1567) (available on EEBO: http://eebo.chadwyck.com).

[677] Ibid.,

[678] Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p.39.

[679] A Catholic should rather 'suffer his life to be taken from him, than his faith': Vaux, *A catechism* (1967).

was surreptitiously used in England's clandestine schools, it is more likely that such catechisms were to be read in the familial home.[680] Nevertheless, Shell has argued that young people did have an important role in the religious education of their elders, whether it was fathers receiving proselytising letters from exiled sons or portrayals of youthful exemplars in playlets and poems.[681] Interestingly, Shell suggests that 'Catholics may have found it easier than Protestants to be edified by children' and that 'if one considers it normal in this period for parents to exhort their children rather than the other way round, then youthful Catholics routinely overturned expected familial hierarchies'.[682] This thesis has already outlined the inversion of these hierarchies in Edwardian Protestantism, where young people disseminated knowledge as catechumens and were carefully portrayed as religious educators in Protestant interludes and martyrologies. Is Shell correct to assert that young English Catholics were undertaking a comparable educational role in this period? As with the young followers of Protestantism, did the young educators of Elizabethan Catholicism experience a similar sense of empowerment and importance?

In the Catholic literature, the case of Edward Throckmorton is the most explicit example of a young person acting as a religious educator.[683] The activities of Throckmorton are detailed in an account penned by Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the Rector of the English College in Rome. Throckmorton was a young man who devoted his short life to educating and supporting people with Catholic sympathies.[684] In Agazzari's account, Throckmorton is a member of a class of young people who were under the supervision of a 'tutor of high

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[680] 'Examples would include schools at Tideswell in Derbyshire, at York, at Lancaster, Tunstall, Blackburn, Urswick, Warton, Thornton, Grange-over-Sands, Much Woolton, Ormskirk, Scarisbrick, Wigan and Farnworth in Lancashire, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, North Laffenham in Rutland and Wye in Kent': Holt, 'Education of Catholics; p.352.

[681] Shell, 'Furor juvenilis'. It must be noted that Shell's article is largely suggestive and many of the examples are taken from the seventeenth century. More research is needed on this subject to highlight the variations that will no doubt exist for Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline roles for young Catholics.

[682] Ibid., pp.186, 199.

[683] Ibid., p.186. It should be noted that even this example is rather late. Throckmorton was operating in 1582.

[684] Throckmorton was twenty years of age in 1582.

character'.[685]   Having acquired his knowledge from this adult teacher, Throckmorton proceeded to act as an informal religious instructor within his parish. Agazzari states that Throckmorton often 'went round the neighbouring houses asking parents to send their sons to him on feast days' in order to be edified.[686] During these impromptu lessons, Throckmorton would remind his young followers to receive the Mass and would 'advise the boys to run away from home' if their parents were heretics; unfortunately there is no reference to where these young runaways would go.[687] In the account, it is also stated that Throckmorton 'taught some uninstructed men and women who could not read' and instructed elderly women in 'the method of saying the Rosary'.[688]

There are striking parallels between the account of Throckmorton and the behaviour of young Evangelicals during the early English Reformation.[689] In a similar way to John Davis in Henry's reign, Throckmorton is clearly well-known for offering religious instruction to other young people.   Furthermore, echoing the behaviour of Barnabas in *Nice Wanton*, Throckmorton attends school and uses this learning to educate his elders.[690] In addition, Throckmorton's narrative stresses that he only taught people younger than himself and only educated adults on request. This suggests that Agazzari was keen to portray Throckmorton as an obedient youth even though, in some cases, he was encouraging young people to abandon their heretical parents. Indeed, when Throckmorton is questioned on his religious activity by an adult in the parish, he meekly states that 'it is easy to overcome with reasons a boy like me but if such a priest [naming some learned man] were here, he would have no difficulty in

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[685] H. Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 4 (1877-1883), p.292.
[686] Ibid., p.293.
[687] Ibid., p.294.
[688] Ibid.
[689] The behaviour of the young Evangelicals is described in Chapter Two.
[690] See Chapter Three for dramatic portrayals of young people educating their elders.

showing all your arguments to be empty and worthless'.[691] Agazzari's framing of the

narrative is perhaps even more cautious than that of Foxe who, in the accounts of young

martyrs such as William Hunter, portrays them openly and successfully debating on

theological matters with their elders.[692] Unfortunately, the account of Throckmorton is rare

and, without the types of evidence that are available for the young Evangelicals, such as the

mid-Tudor interludes and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, it is difficult to gauge the extent to

which young Catholics undertook the role of religious educators within their communities.

Shell cites the case of Throckmorton as evidence for the tantalising suggestion that, in

Elizabethan England, there were youthful 'gangs and secret societies to promote the true

religion [Catholicism]'. However, such glimpses of this behaviour are fleeting and sporadic.

There is the example of George Gilbert and Thomas Pound, two young men who formed a

"youth group" in 1580 with over twenty members, who vowed to 'content themselves with

food and clothing and the bare necessities of their state, and to bestow all the rest for the good

of the Catholic cause'.[693] This financial contribution enabled Fr Parsons and Fr Campion to

undertake their English mission and the young men also guided them about the country'.[694]

Young people may have also participated in the smuggling of Catholic material such as the

haul found at Dover in 1580 which consisted of letters 'from many young Papists and others

abroad to their friends in England, together with two books, some crucifixes, a picture of

"Mary Mawdlin, and certen other "tryffles"'.[695] Therefore, it would seem that some

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[691] Ibid., p.295.
[692] On a wider scale, the evidence highlights the lack of an *Acts and Monuments* text which collected and commemorated the resistance of Catholics in Elizabethan England. As has been analysed in this thesis, John Foxe's martyrology is frequently mined for examples of how certain sections of society behaved, including young people, females and merchants to name only a few.
[693] T. Cooper, revised by T. Clancy, 'Gilbert, George (*d.* 1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford, 2004). As observed by Cooper, these young men were 'of birth and property without wives or offices'.
[694] P. McGrath & J. Rowe, 'The Elizabethan Priests: their harbourers and helpers' in *Recusant History*, 19:3 (1989), p.227.
[695] G. Scott, 'The Poor Man's Catechism', *Recusant History*, 27:3 (2005), p.373.

opportunities were available for young people to support the Catholic cause in Elizabethan England but, in terms of the particular ways that this youthful support was undertaken, the evidence is only suggestive, particularly for the period of 1560-1580.

VI.

The transformation of Protestantism from an oppositional and marginalised creed to the orthodox religion of Elizabethan England resulted in a reconfiguration of its relationship with young people. As Elizabeth's reign progressed, catechism classes were no longer a novel experience for young people and nor were they distinctively youthful. In addition, the educational opportunities for young people, including their role as disseminators of religious knowledge, were re-evaluated by the Elizabethan Protestants. This period can be defined as a time when the Protestant establishment grew into a middle-aged sensibility, shedding its previous skin of innovation and empowerment, but retaining the hope that a better future would be realised through the formal indoctrination of the young.

Historians have also viewed the emergence of Puritanism and the marginalisation of Catholicism as influencing the religious allegiance of young people in Elizabethan England. It would seem that there are examples of young people engaging with these creeds. The reformation of manners may have targeted many of the pastimes typically enjoyed by the young, but it also appeared to offer opportunities for controlled and supervised disorder through the policing of cuckolds, usurers and London's prostitutes. Similarly, Catholicism appears to have held attractions for some young people who collected the religious material smuggled from Europe or assisted the missionary priests in England. Furthermore, the evidence tentatively suggests that some young Catholics became religious instructors in their local communities, such as Edward Throckmorton, who mirrored the behaviour of his

Edwardian predecessors by disseminating Catholic doctrine to his peers and his elders. However, the evidence for a strong association between young people and either Puritanism or Catholicism is not plentiful, and there does not appear to be the hope and vigour evident in the words of the early Protestant reformers.

Conclusions

Explanations that focus on generational concepts assume that specific groups of people will behave in certain ways.[696] These shared assumptions are not formed arbitrarily; they are based on observation and experience. For young people, it is expected that they will display behaviour such as greed, lust, flippancy and unruliness.[697] Therefore, when there is a period of significant upheaval or transformation, such as the religious and social changes that occurred in the years of 1530-1580, there is likely to be a heightened awareness surrounding those groups that are perceived as being volatile and subversive, such as the young. The problem with a generational explanation, however, is that young people can become a mere reduction of their life-cycle attributes; they are portrayed as reckless, pugnacious and disorderly. Indeed, the Catholic polemicists of the English Reformation suggested that these "youthful" behaviours were escalating throughout the period due to the emergence of Protestantism. Therefore, when these polemical sources are taken at face value by historians, they encourage a focus on the 'push' factors, that is young people looking outwards for an opportunity to indulge their age-specific attributes, rather than the 'pull' factors, that is the alternative opportunities offered by the emergence of Protestantism that may have attracted young people. Since Brigden's influential article, scholars of the English Reformation have generally focused on the subversive possibilities offered to the young by the spread of religious reform.

It would be foolish and inaccurate to argue that the opportunity for misrule or disobedience was not a contributing factor towards the appeal of Protestantism amongst some young

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[696] A. Spitzer, 'The Historical Problem of Generations', *American Historical Review*, 78:5 (1973), p.1353. Spitzer describes generational history as 'a vague, ambiguous, and stretchable concept to the explanation of past events'.
[697] This is true for both early-modern contemporaries and the early-modern historian.

people. The authority of priests was severely undermined during Edward VI's reign and it would seem that young people were directly involved in this process. In 1549, apprentices were admonished for their behaviour towards priests including the 'reviling, tossing of them, [and] taking violently their caps and tippets from them'.[698] During Mary's reign, the records for the Court of Aldermen also include instances of young people throwing stones, caps and puddings at Catholic clergymen.[699] It is evident that young people undertook these actions, but whether such behaviour was disproportionately or distinctively youthful is much less clear. There is little evidence that acts which have been attributed to young people in the historiography, such as the shaving of a dead cat to look like a priest, were actually the work of youths, while Ethan Shagan has outlined that anticlerical attacks were often communal in their nature.[700] For example, although it was young people who desecrated an "abused" chapel in Buxton (Derbyshire), the act was initiated and supervised by Roger Cottrell, a local adult with a grudge to bear. Similarly, it would seem that Rowland Taylor was an active promoter of anticlericalism to the young people in Cheapside.[701] In the reign of Elizabeth, youthful disorder, such as the Shrove Tuesday riots, appears to be supervised and directed by the mature.[702] The role of adults in such misrule casts doubt on the argument that religiously-oriented riot was a distinctively youthful act.

The most persuasive evidence that links youthful riot to Protestantism emanates from the pens and pulpits of Catholic polemicists and preachers. John Christopherson, Miles Huggarde and Roger Edgeworth energetically described the anticlericalism of young people, and particularly the London apprentices, who would continually mock priests with cries such

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[698] Hughes & Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* i, no. 292.
[699] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.58.
[700] Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation,* pp.135-8.
[701] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.1732
[702] Griffiths, *Youth and Authority,* p.152; Hunt, *The Puritan Moment,* pp.79-81.

as 'go walk in a mischief you bald headed knave'.[703] For such Catholic polemic to be effective, Brigden has observed, it must 'play upon real suspicions or desires'.[704] However, this thesis has urged caution in terms of using this material to plug the hole in the judicial evidence. These texts contain an inherent bias and reduce the behaviour of young people to a propagandistic topos. In many ways, historians' interrogation of the aforementioned evidence has led to circular conclusions. Just as sixteenth-century writers expected young people to be drawn to the riotousness of Protestantism, modern scholars have used this evidence to substantiate the theory. This thesis has questioned whether such misrule or anticlericalism was a distinctively youthful activity and suggests that its prominence in the historiography has restricted research into finding additional, perhaps even complementary, causes and effects.

In surveying the Protestant material for the period, it is clear that the reformers did not promote unruliness amongst young people. Writers and preachers were keen to uphold the traditional social hierarchy and required youthful obedience to elders even if they 'be evill and froward'.[705] Sermons and interludes, genres which were considered to be particularly subversive, included strict authoritarian messages. The mid-Tudor interlude *Lusty Juventus* advised young people to show obedience to every level of the social hierarchy, encompassing 'princes, rulers, elders and parents', whilst adults in the audience were encouraged to give their charges 'no liberty in youth, nor his folly excuse, [but to] bow down his neck, and keep him in good awe'.[706] Throughout the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, reformers were acutely aware that the Catholic polemicists would attempt to discredit Protestantism by linking the movement to marginalised groups. As a consequence, Protestant writings handled

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[703] Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne* (1554).
[704] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', p.39.
[705] *The Book of Homilies* (1547), p.72.
[706] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.72, 8-9.

the theme of youthful disobedience with great care, in an effort to minimise any anti-hierarchical messages. In the interlude *Nice Wanton*, the conversion of young Barnabas is not depicted whilst *The Longer Thou Livest* substitutes abstract vices for Catholic elders in order to dilute the visual impact of the young protagonist's religious disobedience. It was much more palatable for an audience to witness a young person reject "Catholic" vices such as Wrath and Idleness than a father or master, even if they were not Protestants.

In the early editions of his *Acts and Monuments*, John Foxe similarly portrays young people as part of the Protestant 'family', but accords no place for unambiguously riotous or unruly behaviour in their stories. Time and again, Foxe consciously constructs the narratives of his young martyrs to include figures of legitimate authority. In particular, their dying words typically place their actions within the accepted Tudor framework of obedience as the young person refers to a parent or invokes Christ. In addition, the illustrations of *Acts and Monuments* attempt to nullify any potential readings of youthful impertinence by depicting the young martyrs as much older, such as William Hunter's manly stature and Thomas Hinshaw's beard. In this sense, Foxe was not only editing the image of young people during Mary's reign, he was also establishing a model for how young people should behave in Elizabethan England. It is clear that the messages for young people within the reformist interludes, texts and martyrologies focused not on unruliness but obedience and authority. This evidence suggests that, if young people viewed the emergence of Protestantism as an opportunity for riot and disorder, this was not an aspect with which the reformers wanted to engage.

In addition to obedience, another prominent theme in the reformers' material is the religious education of young people. Education was viewed as integral to the success of religious

reformation by Lutheran reformers and this ethos was transposed into Edwardian England. The interludes *Nice Wanton* and *Lusty Juventus,* a school drama and a non-school drama respectively, both highlighted the importance of educating young people: governors should 'instruct youth a right, that he shall live according to God's pleasure'.[707] The Edwardian government and bishops transformed this theory into a reality by erecting schools in dissolved chantries and implementing a nation-wide programme of catechesis. Initially, young people were to be taught Cranmer's catechism on alternative Sundays and every holy day but, in 1552, this was increased to every Sunday and every holy day as a minimum requirement. The authorised catechisms were uncontroversial in terms of content covering the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. However, it was the method of catechising that offered young people the unique and previously unobtainable role of educators of their elders within the parish. On becoming the bishop of London in 1550, Ridley ordered that clergy within his diocese should 'whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holy-day, and at least every six weeks once... call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same'.[708] Throughout Edward's reign, reformers had been urging that this form of instruction should be used, with the clergy 'examining the youth in the church before the face of the whole parish' so that the older members of the congregation might 'by hearing of their children, learn in their age, that which passed them in their youth'.[709] The model of utilising young people to disseminate religious knowledge through the catechism classes was both appealing to the young, who were inverting social and familial norms, and also attractive to reformers, who remained in authority and controlled the catechesis.

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[707] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.145-6.
[708] Christmas (ed.), *The Works of Nicholas Ridley* , p.320.
[709] Allen, *A catechism* (1548); Cranmer, *Catechismus* (1548).

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The notion that young people could act as educators for their elders was also promoted beyond the formal catechism classes. Young Protestants were actively encouraged to educate one another and also their ignorant elders. In *Lusty Juventus*, the Catholic character Devil acknowledges that 'God's word is so greatly sprung up in youth... [and] he tells his parents that is very truth', whilst, in *Nice Wanton*, there is a vivid depiction of young Barnabas teaching his mother 'by the scriptures'.[710] Similar portrayals are evident in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* where young people, such as the son of Rawlins White, become the religious educator for their parents.[711] This thesis has argued that becoming religious educators was likely to have appealed to young people who thereby obtained a more prominent social role than was ordinarily accorded to them. It also allowed the young to invert the social order, at least temporarily, as they disseminated religious knowledge to their elders. Indeed, this role extended to the depictions of young people 'teaching', or perhaps more accurately correcting, their adult interrogators in *Acts and Monuments*. William Hunter, Elizabeth Folkes and Julius Palmer are all depicted engaging in theological debate with high-ranking clergyman and civic officials. Therefore, amongst their rhetoric of obedience, the reformist interludes and texts actively promoted a novel and positive role for young people as educators fit to instruct their elders regardless of their age or social status.

However, in the same way that Protestant clergymen controlled the catechism classes, the role of the young educators was ultimately circumscribed by an authoritarian figure, or entity, which legitimized this temporary reversal of the social hierarchy. In mid-Tudor interludes, young people were sanctioned to become educators by a prominent elder, such as the schoolteacher in *Nice Wanton*, or the virtues of Knowledge and Exercitation in *Lusty Juventus* and *The Longer Thou Livest*. Protestant texts such as the

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[710] *Lusty Juventus*, ll.415-8; *Nice Wanton*, ll.474-7.
[711] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p.2277.

Bible and Edwardian catechism also have an important legitimizing role for the young educators. Not only are these texts gifted to the young protagonists as part of their learning, they provide an authoritative touchstone for the apparently insubordinate young educators who are debating with their superiors. By analysing the works of the Evangelical reformers, in addition to the works of Catholic adherents, it is therefore possible to develop a more nuanced explanation for how young people experienced, and in some cases reacted positively to, the religious changes of the sixteenth century.

As Elizabethan Protestantism became the orthodox religion of England, these educational opportunities for young people gradually became either sterilized or reduced. The catechism classes, which were distinctively youthful and novel in Edwardian England, were extended to adults and, moreover, the young's role as disseminators of religious knowledge was reassessed. In addition, historians have viewed the marginalisation of Catholicism and the emergence of Puritanism as important developments in terms of the religious allegiance of young people.[712] Having adopted a generational explanation in her article, Brigden concluded that 'once Catholicism became an evangelical faith young disciples were at the forefront of the mission'. Similarly, the puritanical wing of the 'reformation of manners' may have offered young people an opportunity for controlled disorder, whilst other evidence tentatively suggests that young Catholics became religious instructors for their peers and elders, perhaps in a similar way to their Edwardian predecessors. But although there are signs that both Catholicism and Puritanism had some appeal to young people in Elizabethan England, the evidence for a close association of the young with these movements is not abundant. This may be because the clear 'push' factors – such as the opportunity for youthful

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[712] Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation'; Shell, 'Furor juvenilis'; Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations'.

rebellion – were not matched by 'pull' factors comparable to those offered by early Protestantism.

Ultimately, this thesis has demonstrated that, in order to understand how young people experienced the religious changes of the English Reformation, it is necessary to analyse the messages for, and depictions of, young people by both conservative and reformed writers. This approach can develop a more nuanced explanation for the religious behaviour of the young, such as the importance of religious education for young people in Edwardian England, and help move beyond circular explanations based in stereotypes for the life-cycle stage of youth. This thesis has not been able to utilise every source available for the history of young people in the English Reformation, and there remains much we can learn about the religious experiences and responses of this group of society. But it has sought to show that our understanding of the Reformation story is incomplete without the integration of the young, and that the research possibilities opened up by the pioneering work of Susan Brigden are many.

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