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CHAPTER TWO

PAUL'S CROSS AND NATIONWIDE SPECIAL WORSHIP, 1533–1642¹

Natalie Mears

Paul's Cross, one of the most important outdoor public preaching places in England and able to accommodate audiences of approximately 6,000 people, is well known as a 'site of persuasion'. It was there that 'free-standing' sermons—that is to say, sermons not delivered as part of a religious service—were preached on issues of government policy as well as on doctrine; where public penance and recantations were performed; where prohibited books were publicly burned, and where proclamations were published. It was also an important venue for public discourse and protest, and a centre for news-gathering.² Less well known is a particular 'form of persuasion': occasions of special worship. These were petitionary prayers, liturgies and fasts ordered by the crown for observance in all churches in the kingdom at times of natural or man-made disasters—famine, disease, bad weather, earthquakes or war—and the prayers and services in thanksgiving for divine intervention in overcoming these troubles. At these times of crisis or celebration, the crown sought to persuade

¹ I would like to thank Torrance Kirby for inviting me to the conference 'Paul's Cross and the culture of persuasion' which stimulated me to explore the issues in this essay and also the other conference delegates, especially Mary Morrissey and Peter McCullough, for their comments and thoughts on my paper. I would also like to thank my colleagues Alex Barber and Philip Williamson for their comments on earlier drafts of the essay, and Mary Morrissey for her advice and help regarding the Corporation's records in the London Metropolitan Archives. Most of the research for this essay was conducted as part of the project 'British state prayers, fasts and thanksgivings, 1540s to 1940s', led by Philip Williamson, Stephen Taylor and Natalie Mears, and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council grant E007481/1. I would also like to acknowledge additional financial support provided by the Department of History, University of Durham, which enabled further research to be conducted in London.

² Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2–8, 105–106, 108–109; Thomas Cogswell, *The blessed revolution: English politics and the arming of war, 1621–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 20–36; Millar MacLure, *Register of sermons preached at Paul's Cross, 1534–1642*, revised and expanded by Peter Pauls and Jackson Campbell Boswell, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Occasional Publications 6 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1989).

its subjects to participate in collective worship on designated days, either to petition or to thank God for mercy and protection.³

Mary Morrissey has done much to dispel older arguments that Paul's Cross was a 'national pulpit', where preachers acted as mouthpieces of the government.⁴ Nevertheless, as the Cross was a place where important sermons were preached, it might be expected that it would be a leading location for preaching on occasions of special worship. Strikingly, however, of the ninety-eight known occasions of fasts, special prayers or thanksgivings ordered in England from 1533 to 1642, only eleven are known to have prompted a sermon or sermons at Paul's Cross. Only on a further two occasions was the Cross a place where important announcements were made about special worship.⁵ This is puzzling: why, when special worship was observed in all, or in large parts, of the kingdom, are so few sermons known to have been preached from one of the realm's foremost pulpits?

The answer to this question does not lie solely, or principally, in problems in the sources: in the register of sermons preached at Paul's Cross, and in the texts of the sermons themselves. The register is not comprehensive,⁶ and texts have survived for only three sermons preached at the Cross

³ John Cooper has used the term 'strategy of persuasion' to describe special worship and argued, based on a selective survey of certain occasions, that it was used to 'shore up' the Tudors' authority: J.P.D. Cooper, "Oh Lorde save the kyng": Tudor Royal Propaganda and the Power of Prayer,' in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays presented to C.S.L. Davies*, ed. G.W. Bernard and S.J. Gunn (Aldershot, 2002), 179–196. As I have explained elsewhere, a more comprehensive analysis of all occasions and attention to the widespread belief in divine providence suggests instead that special worship was a shared political enterprise in which the crown sought the participation of its subjects, through prayer, fasting and almsgiving, in helping to remedy the realm's problems: Natalie Mears, 'Public worship and political participation in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012), 4–25.

⁴ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons*. Contrast to Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 20, 55, 87; Patrick Collinson, *The birthpangs of protestant England: religion and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London: St Martin's Press, 1988), 20; Joseph Black, 'The rhetoric of reaction: the Martin Marprelate tracts (1588–89): Anti-Martinism, and the uses of print in early modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997), 711.

⁵ I exclude the sermon preached by an unknown cleric on 30 May 1630 at which Charles I and the Privy Council were present to offer thanks for the birth of the king's first son, later Charles II (MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 135). As the child had only been born the previous day and as Charles came privately to the cathedral to offer thanks, subsequently remaining for the sermon, it seems unlikely that the preacher had time to rewrite his sermon to re-orientate it to the subject of the prince's birth. Arthur Hopton, *Hoptons concordancy enlarged* (London: Anne Griffin for Andrew Hebb, 1635; STC 13781), sig. Q3r.

⁶ MacLure, *The Paul's Cross sermons*; Mary Morrissey, 'Elect nations and prophetic preaching: types and examples in the Paul's Cross Jeremiad', in *The English sermon revised: religion, literature and history, 1600–1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 43–58; Mary Morrissey,

at times of special worship.⁷ The text of a fourth, which was summarised by a preacher at the Cross, has been identified, though in what ways it was abridged are unknown.⁸ Just one of the announcements made at Paul's Cross in times of special worship is extant.⁹ Despite the possible gaps in the evidence, it seems clear that the answer lies elsewhere: in the nature of special worship itself and the purpose of the sermons ordered to be preached at these occasions. These issues not only change understandings of how the crown—and its subjects—used Paul's Cross as a 'site of

'Presenting James VI and I to the Public : Preaching on Political Anniversaries at Paul's Cross', in R.A. Houlbrooke, (ed.), *James VI and I: ideas, authority, and government* (Aldershot, 2006), 107–22; Torrance Kirby, 'The Public Sermon : Paul's Cross and the culture of persuasion in England, 1534–1570', *Renaissance and Reformation* 31 (2008), 3–30; Torrance Kirby, 'Signs and Things Signified: Sacramental Hermeneutics in John Jewel's "Challenge Sermon" and the "Culture of Persuasion" at Paul's Cross', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 11 (2009), 57–89; MacLure, *Register of sermons*; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons*, 42.

⁷ The three sermons are William Barlow, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse, on the first Sunday in Lent: Martij 1. 1600* (London: Mathew Law, 1601; STC 1454); William Hampton, *A proclamation of vvarre from the Lord of Hosts. Or Englands warning by Israels ruine shewing the miseries like to ensue vpon vs by reason of sinne and securitie* (London: John Norton for Mathew Lawe, 1627; STC 12741), and Thomas Fuller, *A sermon intended for Paul's Crosse, but preached in the Church of St Paul's, London, the III. of December, M.DC.XXXV.* (London: Nathaniell Butter, 1626; STC 11467). It is unclear how far the printed text of Barlow's sermon fully represents what was preached. On this issue see: Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons*, ch. 2; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English preachers and their audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 3.

⁸ On 21 July 1549, in his sermon on the gospel prescribed for the day (John 9), John Joseph summarised the substance of Cranmer's sermon given earlier that day in the Cathedral: *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors, from AD 1485 to 1559 by Charles Wriothesley, Windsor Herald*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (2 vols, Camden Society, old series, Westminster, 1875–77), II, 16–18. The text of Cranmer's sermons survives: 'A sermon concerning ye tyme of rebellion' now in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC MS 102, 411–19). Though Torrance Kirby has demonstrated that this sermon was written by Peter Martyr Vermigli in *The Zurich connection and Tudor political theology* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 125–30, with the text of the sermon transcribed 149–80, the similarities between 'A sermon' and the accounts of Cranmer's sermons in Wriothesley's chronicle and the Grey Friar's chronicle are striking (compare Wriothesley, 2, 17 to CCCC MS 102, 462–8, 474–5, and J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (Camden Society, old series, 53, London, 1852), 60 to CCCC MS 102, 423–40, 454, 443–50, 455–6). It is possible that Cranmer either commissioned Vermigli to write a sermon he could use at St Paul's, or that the archbishop made use of an existing sermon by Vermigli when he 'came sodenly to Powles' (*Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 60). Cranmer did delegate the preaching of a third sermon on the rebellions on 31 August to Joseph, which may indicate that the archbishop was too busy to write his own sermons at this time: *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 62. Cranmer had invited Vermigli to England in October 1547 and was resident at Lambeth Palace in the summer of 1549 during the rebellions (Pietro Martire Vermigli [Peter Martyr Vermigli], *ODNB*).

⁹ John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes touching matters of the Church* (London: John Day, 1563; STC 11222), 1286.

persuasion', but also gives wider indications on the crown's 'communicative practice', that is to say, the ways in which it sought to inform and persuade its subjects.

This essay begins by identifying the occasions of special worship when sermons are known to have been preached at Paul's Cross, or for which announcements were made there. It then considers the purpose of sermons ordered to be preached during special worship, and uses this analysis not only to reflect upon the apparent disjuncture between Paul's Cross and special worship but also, more broadly, to challenge current definitions of 'political sermons'. The essay then re-examines how the crown used Paul's Cross as a 'site of persuasion', and offers suggestions on the crown's changing communicative practice. In contrast to much work on Paul's Cross, this essay considers the sermons preached during the Catholic restoration under Queen Mary as well as the evangelical and protestant sermons before and after her reign. Catholics, evangelicals, and protestants had broadly shared beliefs in divine providence—the belief which underpinned special worship—and the preaching of sermons in the vernacular had been a common part of Catholic special worship since at least the reign of Edward I.¹⁰ Reflection on similarities or contrasts between sermons delivered under confessionally different regimes are potentially fruitful.

I

From 1533 to 1642, eleven occasions of special worship are known to have prompted at least one sermon at Paul's Cross. During Edward VI's reign, on 21 July 1549, John Joseph, chaplain to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, summarized his master's sermon against the South Western and Kett's rebels which had been preached earlier that day in the Cathedral.¹¹ The following year, on 31 March, an unknown preacher delivered a thanksgiving sermon for the peace with France (the Treaty of Boulogne).¹² Under

¹⁰ J. Robin Wright, *The church and the English crown, 1305–1334: a study based on the register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds* (Toronto, 1980), 351, 358; W.R. Jones, 'The English church and royal propaganda during the Hundred Years War', *Journal of British Studies* 19.1 (1979), 22–23, 27–8; D.W. Burton, 'Requests for prayers and royal propaganda under Edward I', *Thirteenth Century England III: proceedings of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference*, ed. P.R. Cross and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), 32; David S. Bachrach, 'The *Ecclesia Anglicana* goes to war: prayers, propaganda, and conquest during the reign of Edward I of England, 1272–1307', *Albion* 36.3 (2004), 398–9.

¹¹ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 30; Wrioth. 2, 16–18.

¹² MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 31; Wrioth. 2, 34; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 66.

Mary I, on 2 December 1554, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, announced England's formal reconciliation to Rome during his sermon at the Cross;¹³ the reconciliation was formally celebrated across the kingdom in January and February 1555.¹⁴ On 15 August 1557, after Te Deums for the victory at St Quentin had been sung at the Cathedral and a procession conducted to Cheapside and back, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, preached a sermon of thanksgiving.¹⁵ During Elizabeth I's reign, Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, preached at Paul's Cross on 1 November 1562 on English support for the Huguenots in France, a month after petitionary services had begun in the parishes.¹⁶ On 26 January 1564, Thomas Cole, archdeacon of Essex, delivered a sermon 'to rejoice that ye plage wasse cleane sesyd, and that God had takyn it away from us';¹⁷ this may have been part of a larger thanksgiving service at the Cathedral planned by Grindal.¹⁸ Five thanksgiving sermons were preached for the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.¹⁹ The fifth of these, on 24 November,

¹³ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 31; Wrioth. 2, 124–5.

¹⁴ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 37; Wrioth. 2, 126; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 94; Diary of Henry Machyn, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius, F. V, fol. 42r (available online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>). A proclamation ordering this occasion is cited in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, relating chiefly to religion, and the reformation of it, and the emergencies of the Church of England* (3 vols, London, 1721; 3 vols in 6; Oxford, 1822), III: 1, 264–6, but this now either untraceable or no longer extant.

¹⁵ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 38; Machyn's diary, fol. 77v.

¹⁶ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 47; Grindal to Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, 9 Oct. 1562, Guildhall Library, London [hereafter, GL], MS 9531/13: 1, fol. 26r.

¹⁷ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 47; John Stowe, 'Historical memoranda in the handwriting of John Stowe, from the same MS [Lambeth MS. 306]', in *Three Fifteenth-century chronicles with historical memoranda by John Stow, the antiquary, and contemporary notes of occurrences written by him in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. James Gairdner, Camden Society, new series, 28; Westminster, 1881), 128. The sermon proved premature, as deaths from the plague rose again the following month: Grindal to Cecil, 22 February 1564, BL, Lansdowne MS 7, fols. 141r–141v.

¹⁸ Grindal to Cecil, 15 December 1563, BL, Lansdowne MS 6, fol. 192r. Grindal told Cecil that 'I entende att that time, to have a sermon & some solempne assemblye off the Companies att powles on some wednesdaye, to geve godde thanks'. There is some confusion over when thanksgivings were formally ordered to be observed in London and elsewhere. This is examined in *National prayers: special worship since the Reformation. Volume 1: Fasts, thanksgivings and occasional prayers in the British Isles, 1533–1688*, eds Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffe, Stephen Taylor and Philip Williamson with Lucy Bates (Church of England Record Society, forthcoming, 2013), see occasion 1564-E.

¹⁹ The sermons were preached on 20 August (Alexander Nowell); 8 September (unknown preacher, though not, according to his *ODNB* entry, Nowell who preached in the Cathedral on this day), 17 November (Accession Day; Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester); 19 November (unknown preacher) and 24 November (John Piers, bishop of Salisbury). MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 66. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and establishment of religion, and other various occurrences in the Church of England, during Queen Elizabeth's happy reign* (London: John Wyat, 1709; 4 vols in 7; Oxford, 1824), II:2, 27–31.

followed a thanksgiving service in the cathedral which was attended by the queen.²⁰ On 8 August 1596, William Barlow, Archbishop John Whitgift's chaplain, preached a thanksgiving sermon for the victory of Lord Admiral Howard and the earl of Essex at Cadiz.²¹ Three sermons were preached at the Cross between 15 February and 1 March 1601, after the defeat of Essex's rebellion.²² Under James VI and I, there were no sermons at Paul's Cross during periods of special worship. Under Charles I, a sermon at Paul's Cross was preached on 3 December 1625 by Thomas Fuller in celebration of the retreat of the plague; thanksgivings in the parishes were not ordered until the following month.²³ On 23 July 1626, William Hampton, chaplain to the earl of Nottingham, preached on the subjects of war and famine. This occurred after the fast ordered by the crown had been observed in London, Westminster and their environs (5 July) but before the fast was observed across the rest of England and Wales (2 August).²⁴

In addition to these sermons, important announcements about special worship were made on two occasions at Paul's Cross. On 26 May 1555, William Chedsey, priest of All Hallows Bread Street, London, was ordered to declare on behalf of the privy council that there would be a sermon and a general procession through the city on Wednesday, 29 May, 'for the obtaynyng and concludynge of peace, betwene the Emperours Maiestye,

The thanksgiving service (for 19 November) was not ordered until late in the autumn: privy council to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the dean and chapter of York, 3 Nov. 1588, described in *Acts of the Privy Council of England, new series*, ed. J.R. Dasent (46 vols; London: HMSO, 1890–1964), XVI, 334; Aylmer to Hutchinson, 5 Nov. 1588, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, ASA 5/2/84, 441–2.

²⁰ Huntington Library, California, MS EL 118, fols. 17v–18r.

²¹ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 72–3. The thanksgiving was ordered in c. August: Burghley to Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, 2 Aug. 1596, in *The correspondence, with a selection from the letters, etc. of Sir Timothy Hutton* (Surtees Society, XVII; London, 1843), 111–12; Edward Reynoldes to Essex, 1596, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 658, fols. 259r–60v.

²² The preachers were John Hayward, rector of St Mary Woolchurch, London (15 February); unknown (22 February) and, on 1 March, William Barlow, rector of St Dunstan-in-the-East and Orpington, Kent. MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 75–7; Strype, *Annals*, IV, 495–7; John Strype, *The life and acts of John Whitgift, D.D.* (London: T. Horne et al, 1718; 4 vols, Oxford, 1822), II, 441; Richard Bancroft, bishop of London, to Sir Robert Cecil, 15 February 1601, Hatfield House, Herts, CP 76/75; same to same, 21 February 1601, HH, CP 180/27; William Barlow (d.1613), *ODNB*; Barlow, *A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse*. No order for the official thanksgiving for the failure of the rising is extant though a form of prayer was issued. See *Certaine prayers collected out of a forme of godly meditations, set forth by his maiesties authoritie* (London: Robert Barker, 1603; STC 16532).

²³ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 129–30; Fuller, *A sermon intended*; Royal Proclamation, 22 Jan. 1626, STC 8821.

²⁴ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 131; Hampton, *A proclamation of vvarre*; Royal Proclamation, 30 June 1626, STC 8834.

and the Frenche Kynge.²⁵ The second announcement was made on 1 October 1562 to inform London citizens of Elizabeth's recovery from smallpox; thanksgiving prayers were then recited.²⁶

On this evidence, it would appear that sermons during periods of special worship were preached at Paul's Cross primarily in the mid-Tudor period, from 1549 to 1564. After 1564, few sermons were ordered there at times of special worship, and these were clustered around the periods 1588–1601 and 1625–26. It would also appear that, throughout the 16th and early-17th century, Paul's Cross tended to be used to mark thanksgivings (eleven sermons and both announcements) rather than petitionary worship;²⁷ and that it was only from 1588 that Cross sermons for special worship became fully 'free-standing'. Before this, they tended to be connected to the Cathedral service: summarising sermons preached there earlier (as in 1549), acting as the final part of the cathedral service (1557, 1564), or notifying citizens of forthcoming services in the cathedral (1555).

This is a deceptive impression, however, because it records only those sermons which explicitly addressed the events which had prompted special worship. If we consider the purpose of sermons delivered during times of special worship and, indeed, the very purpose of special worship itself, a significantly different account emerges. The main purpose of these sermons, and of special worship itself, was either to exhort listeners to repent and confess their sins, or to thank God for his merciful intervention in the realm's affairs. It was widely believed that events such as wars, plagues, famines, and bad weather were signs of divine providence: divine warnings against the realm's sins. Conversely, military victories, royal childbirth and the cessation of plagues and famines were regarded as signs of God's favour or forgiveness. Without confession and repentance, God could never be persuaded to intervene in the realm's problems nor could he be properly thanked for his mercy. Consequently, though ministers were instructed in their sermons to 'entreate of such matters especially as be meete for this cause of publique prayer' during both petitionary and thanksgiving services, they were expected to emphasise the need for their

²⁵ Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, 1286. In addition to making this announcement, Chedsey was ordered to read out a letter from Philip and Mary admonishing Bonner and other clergy for failing to punish heretics but which also defended Bonner from accusations of cruelty against those in prison.

²⁶ This occasion has been classed as special worship by the investigators of the State Prayers project. Privy Council to Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, 17 October 1562, GL, Guildhall MS 9531/13.1, fol. 26r.

²⁷ It is unclear whether Grindal's sermon in 1562 was petitionary or thanksgiving. Hampton's sermon in 1626 had a thanksgiving element.

parishioners to confess and repent of their sins.²⁸ When special worship was ordered in 1586 in response to war and famine, Archbishop Whitgift told John Aylmer, bishop of London, ‘to give order ... specially to suche as occupie the Crosse that in all their Sermons and exhortacons they will earnestlye move and perswade the people to hartye repentaunce prayers fastinge and amendement of life and liberalitey to the pore, nedye, and afflicted members of Christe.’²⁹ John Rainolde, lecturer in theology in Oxford and later president of Corpus Christi College, preaching in the university town on the thanksgiving for the discovery of the Babington Plot in 1586, urged his congregation to ‘confess him [God] sincerely and faithfully not onely in wordes, but in deeds ... cast away profane songes of wantonness, of lightness, of vanity’, and pressed them to amend their ‘slackness in frequenting of sermons, of praiers, of celebrating the Lordes Supper.’³⁰

Sermons at Paul’s Cross which addressed the key themes of special worship—sin, godliness, confession and repentance—are, therefore, as relevant to an understanding of its role in special worship as those sermons which explicitly addressed the events that prompted this worship. Like sermons which provided explicit information or news on the events which had prompted the special worship, the purpose of these types of sermons was to encourage listeners to confess and repent of their sins in order to assuage God’s wrath or thank him for his mercy. Anthony Gibson, for instance, preaching at Paul’s Cross during a period of special worship ordered in response to heavy rain in 1613, began his sermon by stating, ‘if euer there were a time when, if euer a place where, *Gods Ministers and Watch-men ... had need to cry aloud and not to spare, to speak boldly and not to feare, to shew the people their transgressions, and to the House of Iacob their sinnes*; then now is the time, here is the place: the time is now, in this our age, the place is here, in this our Land.’ He emphasised the ungodliness of the realm: ‘how many vngodly *Ahabs*, that haue *solde themselves to worke wickednesse in the sight of the Lord?* how many wicked *Ieroboams*, that *cause others to sinne?* ... how few amongst vs Faithfull, as *Abraham* was? Righteous, as *Lot* was? Zealous, as *Iosiah* was? Religious, as *Dauid* was? True harted, as *Ionathan* was? Couragious, as *Paul* was? and Deuout as *Cornelius* was?’. He reprimanded his audience for their neglect

²⁸ *A fourme to be vsed in common prayer twice a weeke* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1563; STC 16505), sig. Aiii^v.

²⁹ John Aylmer, Bishop of London, to [William] Hutchinson, Archdeaconn of St Albans, 14 May 1586, HALS, ASA 5/2/54, 329.

³⁰ John Rainoldes, *A sermon vpon part of the eighteenth psalm: preached to the public assembly of scholers in the Vniuersity of Oxford the last day of August, 1586* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586; STC 20621.5), sigs. C1^v–C2^r, C2^v–C3^r.

of God's word, 'hee hath giuen vs his Mercies, but these wee haue abused: hee hath warned vs by his Iudgements, but those wee haue neglected.'³¹ And he justified his exhortations on the grounds that 'The pleasantest Potion doth seldome purge so kindly as the bitterest Pill.' Accordingly, 'Euery one of vs (that are the Surgeons of soules) had neede to cut and lance these festered sores, and by sharpe Corrasiuues make them smart at the quicke, though our Patients be impatient'.³² His message was the same, for instance, as Thomas Fuller's, preaching during the outbreak of plague in 1625. Fuller berated his audience for their sins—'sinnes which in former ages were but in their Infancy, are now in ours, growne to their full height and strength'—which were the cause of the plague. God had shown them much favour—'this little fleece of ours hath beene dry, when all the earth round about vs hath been ouerwhelmed with the Deluge and Inundation of Warre'—but they had become complacent and corrupt.³³ '[L]et vs resolute a Christian alteration and reformation,' he extolled his audience, 'otherwise though this bee remoued, yet a worse thing will befall vs, which surely must be in the other life, for here naught worse can come'.³⁴

Including these types of exhortatory sermons into examination of the relationship between Paul's Cross and special worship shifts the understanding of how, when and by whom the Cross was used during such worship. First, it becomes clear that sermons preached at Paul's Cross during periods of special worship did not decline in number after 1564. It is difficult to quantify this precisely, because there is no comprehensive list of exhortatory sermons preached at Paul's Cross. Nevertheless, exhortatory sermons were a staple genre of the Cross, notably the 'Jeremiads', 'prophetic sermons' or sermons of 'national warning', that is to say, sermons on Old Testament prophetic texts, usually Jeremiah or Hosea, which used the histories of nations of Israel and Nineveh, as well as those of contemporary realms, as examples the fate of sinful people.³⁵ These developed in the 1540s and 1550s, became more common in the 1580s, and increased in number in the early 17th century.³⁶ Therefore, to the tally of eleven

³¹ Abraham Gibson, *The lands mourning, for vaine swearing* (London: T. S[nodham] for Ralph Mab, 1613; STC 11829), 2–4.

³² Gibson, *The lands mourning*, 5–6.

³³ Fuller, *A sermon intended*, 9[printed as 1]–10, 11–17, 20, 24–5, 31–33.

³⁴ Fuller, *A sermon intended*, 28–9. See also 33–6, 40, 42–3.

³⁵ For the different terms used to describe this genre of sermon, see Morrissey, 'Elect nations and prophetic preaching', 54 n1, and for a discussion of 'examples', as opposed to 'types', see 43–57.

³⁶ Joy Shakespeare, 'Plague and punishment', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the national church in sixteenth-century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 101–23.

sermons preached at Paul's Cross during special worship from 1565 to 1642 and which explicitly addressed the events which prompted such worship, can be added sermons by Adam Hill (September 1593) during the outbreak of plague;³⁷ Richard Jefferay (7 October 1604) as the first Jacobean outbreak of plague declined;³⁸ Robert Milles (25 August 1611) during petitionary services during the summer's drought;³⁹ Gibson (11 July) and Sampson Price (10 October) during petitionary worship after heavy rainfall in 1613;⁴⁰ and Anthony Fawknor (21 May 1626) during the outbreak of plague in 1625–26.⁴¹

Second, including exhortatory or 'prophetic sermons' in the relationship between Paul's Cross and special worship shows that, after 1564, sermons preached at Paul's Cross during special worship were delivered as often, if not more often, during petitionary worship than for thanksgivings. Third, it also indicates that sermons preached during periods and on the themes of special worship were not ordered solely by the crown. Price, for instance, had been appointed to preach by John King, bishop of London.⁴² Fourth, such sermons provided an opportunity for preachers, as well as the crown, to convey arguments about which sins had caused God's wrath. For Hill, these sins included idolatry (including Catholicism), blasphemy, profanation of the Sabbath, murder, sodomy and lust.⁴³ For Gibson, 'Amongst other the sinnes of our Land and crimes of our age, I finde, as none more haynous, so none more common then the abuse of Gods holy Name, by prophane Swearing.'⁴⁴ It should be noted that some preachers who preached explicitly on the subject of special worship were

³⁷ Adam Hill, *The crie of England. A sermon preached at Paules Crosse in September 1593* (London: E[dward] Alde for B. Norton, 1595; STC 13465); *Certaine prayers collected out of godly meditations, set foorth by her Maiesties authoritie in the great mortalitie* (London: Ed[ward] Alde, for B. Norton, 1593; STC 16524).

³⁸ Richard Jefferay, *The sonne of Gods entertainment by the sonnes of men* (London: T. P[urfoot] for Henrie Tomes, 1605; STC 14481).

³⁹ Robert Milles, *Abrahams suite for Sodome* (London: William Hall for Mathew Lawe, 1612; STC 17924); *A forme of praier to be vsed in London, and elsewhere in this time of drought* (London: T. S[nodham] for Ralph Mab, 1611; STC 16538).

⁴⁰ Gibson, *The lands mourning*, with specific references to the weather on 98; Sampson Price, *Londons warning by Laodicea's luke-warmnesse* (London: T. Snodham] for Iohn Barnes, 1613; STC 20333); *A forme of prayer to be publike v[er]sed in churches, during this vnseasonable weather, and aboundance of raine ... Hosea 5.15...* (London: Robert Barker, 1613; STC 16539).

⁴¹ Anthony Fawknor, *Comfort to the afflicted* (London: [by H. Lownes] for Robert Milbourne, 1626; STC 10718).

⁴² Price, *Londons warning*, sig. A2r.

⁴³ Hill, *The crie of England*.

⁴⁴ Gibson, *The lands mourning*, 7.

also not always appointed by the crown, and may also have used the Cross to articulate their own grievances. Thomas Cole was appointed to preach by Grindal in 1564. Although he was archdeacon of Essex and dean of Bocking, he was also a vocal opponent of the Elizabethan Settlement, and his sermon may not have taken an official line.⁴⁵ Indeed, Grindal's own sermon in 1562 may not have been 'official': the bishop informed Cecil of his plans to preach on Antoine de Bourbon, the king of Navarre's political and religious vacillations and only asked the Principal Secretary if 'ther be anie other matter which ye wisshe to be vttered ther for the present state'.⁴⁶

This re-examination of the sermons preached at Paul's Cross during periods of special worship raises doubts about current definitions of 'political sermons'. It suggests that 'political sermons' cannot be defined solely as those that addressed explicitly political figures and events, such as Mary queen of Scots or the proposed Spanish Match, and/or those that delivered news to their audiences. Because divine providence was the dominant contemporary explanation of causation, sermons—and, indeed, the homilies prescribed to be read if parishes lacked a preaching minister—that addressed issues of sin and repentance were also 'political sermons'. These sermons addressed both the root of the realm's problems—sin—manifested in war, famine and disease, and encouraged subjects to participate in resolving such problems through confession and repentance of sins.⁴⁷ Such sermons were also 'political' because they provided opportunities, both for the crown and for its subjects, to articulate a range of views about what constituted 'sin', whether this was, according to Joseph in 1549, the 'neglecting [of] his worde and commandment' or, for Gibson, profane swearing.⁴⁸ This definition of 'political sermon' is not only relevant to those exhortatory or 'prophetic' sermons delivered during periods of special worship. Because divine providence was the dominant theory of causation, any sermon that attributed local or national disasters to sins and called on parishioners to repent can be regarded as a 'political sermon', whether or not such disasters had prompted the crown to order special worship. Thus, for instance, the 'prophetic sermons' preached at Paul's Cross by Thomas White and Oliver Whitbie during outbreaks of

⁴⁵ Thomas Cole (c.1520–1571), *ODNB; APC*, VII, 145; *Three fifteenth-century chronicles*, 128.

⁴⁶ TNA: PRO, SP12/25/23, fol. 44r.

⁴⁷ On the 'political' nature of prayer, fasting and other activities ordered during special worship, see: Mears, 'Public worship and political participation', 4–25.

⁴⁸ Wriothe. 2, 17.

plague in 1577 and 1637 respectively can be considered to be 'political sermons'.⁴⁹

II

By redefining what 'political sermons' were, the disjuncture between sermons preached at Paul's Cross and occasions of special worship appears less marked. Although the number of sermons preached at Paul's Cross which explicitly discussed the event that had prompted special worship declined after 1564, from the 1580s the number of 'prophetic sermons' preached at Paul's Cross appears to have increased.⁵⁰ Strikingly, however, based on the numbers that were printed, after the mid-1560s more sermons appear to have been preached in the parish churches of London and elsewhere during (and relating to) special worship; sermons that either addressed explicitly the events which prompted special worship, or were 'prophetic sermons'.⁵¹ This increase cannot be attributed solely to the

⁴⁹ Thomas White, *A sermo[n] preached at pawles Crosse on Sunday the thirde of November 1577. in the time of plague* (London: [Henry Bynneman for] Francis Coldock, 1578; STC 25406); Oliver Whitbie, *Londons returne, after the decrease of the sicknesse* (London: N. and I. Okes, 1637; STC 25371). Though petitionary prayers had been ordered on the outbreak of plague in 1636, no thanksgivings appear to have been ordered when the disease declined the following year: royal proclamation, 18 October 1636, STC 9075.

⁵⁰ For instance, Thomas Hopkins, *Tvo godlie and profitable sermons* (London: M. Baker, 1611; STC 13771); Robert Abbot, *Bee thankfull London and her sisters* (London: P. Stephens and C. Meredith, 1626; STC 56).

⁵¹ Robert Wright, *A receyt to stay the plague* (London: Mathew Lawe, 1625; STC 26037); Sampson Price, *Londons remembrancer: for the staying of the contagious sicknes of the plague by Dauids memorial* (London: Edward Allde, for Thomas Harper, 1626; STC 20332); Christopher Hooke, *A sermon preached in Paules Church in London and published for the instruction and consolation of all that are heauie harted, for the wofull time of God his general visitation* (London: E. Allde, 1603; STC 13703); William Cupper, *Certaine sermons concerning the pestilence* (London: R. Dexter, 1603; STC 6125.3); John Rainolde, *A sermon vpon part of the eighteenth psalm: preached to the public assembly of scholers in the Vniuersity of Oxford the last day of August, 1586* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586; STC 20621.5); John Udall, *The true remedie against famine and warres Fiue sermons vpon the firste chapter of the prophesie of Ioel* (London: Robert Waldegrave, [1588]; STC 24507); Richard Leake, *Foure sermons preached and publikely taught by Richard Leake ... immediately after the great visitation of the pestilence in the fore-sayd countie* (London: Felix Kingston, 1599; STC 15342); Nicholas Bownd, *Medicines for the plague that is, godly and fruitfull sermons vpon part of the twentieth Psalme ... very fit generally for all times of affliction, but more particularly applied to this late visitation of the plague* (London: Cuthbert Burbie, 1604; STC 3439); John Dod, *Foure godlie and fruitfull sermons two preached at Draiton in Oxford shire, at a fast, enioyned by authority, by occasion of the pestilence then dangerously dispersed, likewise* (London: W. Hall for W. Welbie, 1610; STC 6937.5 and subsequent reprints); John Sanford, *Gods arrowe of the pestilence* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1604; STC 21734). 'Prophetic sermons' include Thomas

general increase in the publication of sermons from the late 16th century; there must have been a reason why more of these sermons were available for print, and why printers thought there was a sufficient market for them to make their publication commercially viable.

It appears, instead, that the crown's communicative practice—the ways in which it informed its subjects of important crises and celebrations, and encouraged them to participate in them through confession and repentance of sins—changed from the 1560s. After 1564, and especially from the 1580s, the crown sought to communicate directly with subjects by ordering sermons to be preached regularly in parish churches during special worship. Sermons delivered at Paul's Cross were reserved for the provision of additional persuasion, admonition and celebration during times of particular crisis—such as the Essex Rebellion or the plague in 1625–26—or thanksgiving (Cadiz, 1596; the Armada, 1588). In 1587, for instance, the privy council ordered the bishops to ensure that 'all parsons, vicars, Curates, and preachers with in your dioces ... vse their best indeuoure in exhorting, and instrucinge the people committed to their charge, to the charitable relieving of the poore ... and to the performance of everie other pointe of their sayd Lordships letters ... even where there are no preachers'. Conveying these instructions to William Hutchinson, the archdeacon of St Albans, Bishop Aylmer of London reiterated the council's urgency, instructing 'preachers and others to take more then ordinarie paines therein'. Hutchinson was also told to ensure that all ministers were resident in their parishes to provide services and leadership during times of special worship.⁵² In 1589, Aylmer told Hutchinson that 'yow shall also admonishe the ministers once in the weeke att the leaste to preache; that the people maye be stirred vpp to prayer and fastinge accordinge vnto their Christian devotion'.⁵³ And in 1590, in preparation for petitionary services expected to be ordered in response to the threat of a Spanish invasion, Hutchinson had to report to Aylmer the parishes within his archdeaconry that lacked a preaching minister.⁵⁴ In parishes without a licensed preacher, ministers were ordered to read from the

Hopkins, *Two godlie and profitable sermons* (London: M. Baker, 1611; STC 13771); Abbot, *Bee thankfull London*.

⁵² Although the archdeaconry of St Albans was a peculiar, Aylmer's exhortations to Hutchinson seem to have had little do with jurisdictional anomalies but were standard letters sent out to a range of ecclesiastical officials. Aylmer to Hutchinson, 8 Jan 1587, HALS, ASA 5/2/68, 369–71.

⁵³ Aylmer to Hutchinson, 3 May 1589, HALS, ASA 5/2/89, 457.

⁵⁴ Hutchinson to Aylmer, 4 April 1590, HALS, ASA 5/3/104, 497.

Book of Homilies. '[W]here there be no preachers', Whitgift told the bishops in 1586, 'that the parsons Vicar or Curate doe Reade to the people suche homilies as are sett forthe in the booke which herewithall I sende vnto yow.'⁵⁵ Indeed, as Whitgift's instructions show, the specific homilies chosen to be read during periods of special worship were sometimes printed in the official forms of prayer ordered to be used instead of the Book of Common Prayer.⁵⁶

The shift from Paul's Cross to the parish church as the principal 'site of persuasion' for special worship from the 1560s was brought about principally by changes made in the liturgical provision for such occasions. Between 1560 and 1564, liturgical formats for petitionary and thanksgiving services were developed which became firmly established for use in post-Reformation special worship until, in September 1641, set forms of prayers for special worship were abandoned altogether (with their revival, in 1660, after the civil war and interregnum).⁵⁷ The first format, established either in 1560 or 1563,⁵⁸ made significant changes to the daily service in the Book of Common Prayer, and required different liturgical formats for different days of the week (Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays).⁵⁹ The second format, established in 1564 for the thanksgiving for the end of the plague, provided a single liturgy based on the Common Prayer service but with specially composed psalms, prayers and collects and specially selected biblical readings to replace those prescribed in the Prayer Book.⁶⁰ In addition, the Elizabethan and early Stuart regimes continued the Edwardian

⁵⁵ Aylmer to Hutchinson, 14 May 1586, HALS, ASA 5/2/54, 329–30.

⁵⁶ For example, see *A forme of common prayer; to be used upon the eighth of July: on which day a fast is appointed by His Majesties proclamation, for the averting of the plague, and other judgements of God from this kingdom* (London: Robert Barker, 1640; STC 16557).

⁵⁷ This development is described and analysed in detail in Mears, 'Special nationwide worship', 31–72.

⁵⁸ Only the text of the opening of the preface of the liturgy for 1560 is extant: *A short form and order to be vsed in Common prayer thryse a Weeke, for seasonable wether, and good successe of the com[m]on affayres of the Realme* (London, 1560; not STC); see John Strype, *The life and acts of Matthew Parker, the first archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London: John Wyat, 1711; 3 vols, Oxford, 1821), I, 179). But, because it is the same as that for *A fourme to be vsed in common prayer twice a weeke* (STC 16505) and the liturgical format remained the same throughout Elizabeth's reign, it is likely that the two texts were broadly similar or the same.

⁵⁹ *A fourme to be vsed in common prayer* (STC 16505), sigs. Aiii^v-Aiiii^r.

⁶⁰ *A short fourme of thankesgeuyng to God for ceassing the contagious sicknes of the plague, to be vsed in Common Prayer, on Sundayes, Wednesdayes, and Frydayes, in steade of the Common prayers, vsed in the time of mortalitie* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1563; STC 16507); *A short forme of thankesgeuing to God for the dehyuerie of the Isle of Malta* (London: William Seres, 1565; STC 16509).

practice of commissioning individual prayers to be recited in the daily BCP service.

These liturgical developments changed the crown's use of Paul's Cross as a 'site of persuasion' in four ways. First, they distinguished between different types of special worship, particularly between those occasions which were ordered to be observed only once (mainly thanksgivings) and those ordered to be observed multiple times (daily, thrice weekly, weekly, monthly). Before 1564, sermons at Paul's Cross had usually been preached at large, one-off (thanksgiving) services or when special worship was observed only at St Paul's Cathedral, on occasions when the Cathedral was evidently being used to represent the kingdom as a whole. After 1564, large, one-off occasions of special worship became less common and the cathedral was not used to represent the nation as a whole again until 1872.⁶¹ Second, although sermons had been a part of special worship since the early 14th century, and although 'exhortations' had formed part of evangelical and early protestant services from 1544, the liturgical changes in the 1560s made sermons for the first time a common and integrated part of special worship in the parishes. Third, the sermon was not the only activity in which parishioners were expected to participate. In petitionary services, they were expected to listen to biblical readings, join in singing or reciting of psalms, and undertake silent meditation, fasting, alms-giving, and reading and studying of the scriptures. For thanksgivings, they were expected to undertake bell-ringing and organise bonfires as well. These activities were 'an helpe to prayer' or the 'wings of prayer', which humbled the flesh, made the heart contrite, brought prayers to the attention of God.⁶² However, such activities were at odds with Paul's Cross which largely, and especially after the mid-1560s, provided a 'free-standing sermon', divorced from other religious activities. Fourth, the new liturgies officially allowed sermons to be replaced by homilies, taken from the Book of Homilies, if the parish lacked a licensed preacher.⁶³ This also militated against Paul's Cross which had been used to provide London citizens with a weekly sermon at a time when the number of licensed preachers was

⁶¹ Order of the lords of the council, 2 Feb. 1872, *London Gazette*, 23825, 6 Feb. 1872.

⁶² Thomas Becon, *A new pathway vnto praier ful of much godly frute and christen knowledge, lately made by Theodore Basille* (London: John Gough, 1542; STC 1734), sigs. Lvii^v, CCCiv^r [note this is misprinted and is the second CCCiv in this gathering], Lviii^v-Miii^r, Cccci^r; Richard Whitforde, *The pomander of prayer* (London: Robert Redman, [1530]; STC 25421.3), sigs. Gii^v-Giii^r.

⁶³ HALS, ASA 5/2/84, 441; *A fourme to be vsed in common prayer* (STC 16505), sigs. Aiii^r-Aiii^v.

small; morning services on Sundays were ordered to end by nine o'clock in order for parishioners to attend the sermon at Paul's Cross.⁶⁴

By shifting from Paul's Cross to the parish church as the principal 'site of persuasion', the crown was able to reach its subjects both more directly and more widely. However, parish sermons were more difficult to 'control'. Some forms of prayer provided extended prefaces or admonitions describing the events which had prompted special worship, and which were to be used as the basis of sermons.⁶⁵ Even so, the crown could not exercise the same oversight it could, when it wished to, over the appointment of preachers and the content of sermons at Paul's Cross. So, when, from the 1580s and the growing strength and vociferousness of puritanism, the crown became increasingly concerned about 'sermon-gadding', and the 'political' content of sermons, it had to attempt to monitor or circumscribe both the number of sermons being preached in parishes and their content, both in times of special worship and generally. For instance, when petitionary prayers were ordered in the summer of 1588 in response to the Spanish Armada, the bishops were instructed to 'give strait charge vnto your ministreye that they have not above one Sermon at ons anye one daye nor that anye doe resorte from their one parrishe Church to here prechers in other places which hath heretofore bred great contempte amongst the ministreye and therefore was by my Lord his grace and other her maiesties Commissioners forbidden the last Lente'.⁶⁶ In 1622, James I's 'Directions for preachers' further circumscribed preaching, prohibiting sermons on Sunday afternoon other than on subjects related to the catechism, and preventing all clergymen from preaching on the royal prerogative and 'matters of state'.⁶⁷ Indeed, these concerns may explain, on the one hand, why admonitions in special forms of prayer in the 1590s became longer, and, on the other, why more occasions in the same decade were ordered to be observed only with additional prayers incorporated in the Common Prayer service and not with whole new liturgies.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons*, 24.

⁶⁵ *A fourme to be vsed in common prayer twice a weeke* (STC 16505), sig. Aiii^v.

⁶⁶ Aylmer to Hutchinson, 12 Jul 1588, HALS, ASA 5/2/78, 421.

⁶⁷ *Documentary annals of the reformed Church of England, being a collection of injunctions, declarations, orders, articles of inquiry &c.*, ed. Edward Cardwell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1839; 2 vols, 1844), II, 198–206.

⁶⁸ For the extended admonitions see: *An order of praier and thankes-giuing, for the preservation of the Queenes Maiesties life and safetie ...* (London: R. Newberie, 1585; STC 16516); *An order for prayer and thankes-giuing (necessary to be vsed in these dangerous times) for the safetie and preservation of her Majesty and this realme* (London: C. Barker, 1594; STC 16525); *An order for prayer and thankes-giuing (necessary to be vsed in these dangerous times)*

III

It would be easy to conclude that, despite the growing number of 'prophetic sermons' at Paul's Cross in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Paul's Cross became a less important 'site of persuasion' for the crown, at least for a particular 'form of persuasion', special worship. Although the crown did not have full control over the appointment of preachers at the Cross and was not able to vet the content of their sermons (at least until the 1630s),⁶⁹ successive monarchs seemed increasingly unwilling or uninterested in competing with the dean, the bishop of London and the city's Corporation in appointing preachers for the Cross, other than during a very small number of notable crises or celebrations. This would, however, be a simplification of both the practice of, and the reasons for, ordering special worship itself and the crown's use of Paul's Cross as a 'site of persuasion'. It would also neglect the large number of 'political' sermons, both 'official' and 'independent', preached at Paul's Cross from the 1530s which were not connected with special worship and about which Mary Morrissey has written so eloquently, including Edwin Sandys's sermon on Mary, queen of Scots in 1571; the series of sermons on Thomas Cartwright and the *Admonition to Parliament* in 1572, and those on the Spanish Match in the 1620s.⁷⁰ From the Break with Rome until the outbreak of civil war, the crown's use of Paul's Cross as a 'site of persuasion' evolved. During periods of special worship, it was often used to inform the inhabitants of London of events of major political, constitutional or religious significance;⁷¹ to quash rumours;⁷² to interpret the crises and to persuade subjects to accept these interpretations;⁷³ and, on occasions, it was used to influence the behaviour of the City's inhabitants

(London, 1594; STC 16525.7); *An order of prayer and thankesgiuing (necessary to bee vsed in these dangerous times) for the safetie and preseruation of her Maiestie and this realme* (London, 1598; STC 16529). For occasions for which only prayers were ordered, see the table at the end of Mears, 'Special nationwide worship', 31–72. This increase was partly because special worship was regularly ordered in the 1620s and 1630s for Henrietta Maria's pregnancies, but the commissioning of prayers was still common in the 1590s for events such as war and plague which had previously warranted liturgies.

⁶⁹ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons*, 97–101.

⁷⁰ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 52–4, 116–17, 121, 123; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons*, 85 and *passim*.

⁷¹ MacLure, *Register of sermons*, 66; Strype, *Annals*, II:2, 27.

⁷² GL, MS 9531/13, part 1, fol. 26r.

⁷³ Richard Bancroft to Sir Robert Cecil, 15 Feb 1601, HH, CP76/75; same to same, 21 Feb 1601, HH, CP180/27; [Instructions about a sermon regarding the earl of Essex], [nd; 1601?], LPL, LPL MS 2872, fols. 57r–58r.

specifically.⁷⁴ But Paul's Cross was also used by the crown to encourage parishioners to participate in the resolution of political problems, or the celebration of their resolution, through confession and repentance. It was also used by some of the crown's subjects to articulate criticisms of public behaviour and to effect change. Moreover, the crown also expanded its communicative practices by ordering regular parish sermons (or homilies) during periods of special worship, rather than relying on those at Paul's Cross. Though by no means unproblematic, parish sermons provided the crown with more direct and nationwide means of persuasion.

The incidence of sermons at Paul's Cross during periods of special worship points to three important issues about its role as a 'site of persuasion', and about the use of sermons as 'forms of persuasion' in early modern England. First, the meaning of 'political sermon' needs to be reassessed. Because divine providence was the dominant contemporary explanation of causation, 'political sermons' were not just those sermons that addressed particular figures or crises, such as Mary Stuart or outbreaks of plague. They also included those that addressed the root cause of the realm's problems: sins and the need for confession and repentance. Thus, 'prophetic sermons' and, indeed, the homilies prescribed during special worship, were also 'political'. Second, it follows that more attention should be given to the relationship between sermons delivered at Paul's Cross and the services in St Paul's Cathedral and in London parish churches, as well as the sermons delivered at the Inns of Court. In special worship at least, Paul's Cross was used as one venue for the performance of a series of related activities—services, sermons, processions, and announcements—which were to be performed by all in the Cathedral, the Cross Yard and the

⁷⁴ For instance, in 1549 the Corporation of London feared insurrection would break out in the City and so instigated curfews, established night watches, repaired the City gates and commandeered ordinance and gunpowder. See LMA, Court of Aldermen, Repertories 12 (1), fols. 91v, 95r, 98v–99r, 100r, 102r, 103r, 104r–105v, 107v, 110r–110v, 111r, 112r, 113v, 114v–115v, 117r–117v, 118r, 120r, 122r. For the regime's concern about the popularity of Protestantism in the city and Edmund Bonner, bishop of London's 'slacknesse' in effecting reform see: The king to [Edmund bonner], bishop of London, 2 Aug 1549, TNA: PRO, SP10/8/36; TNA: PRO, SP10/8/36; Articles to be sent to the bishop of London, [? 9 Aug 1549], TNA: PRO, SP10/8/37; Commission by letters patent to [Thomas Cranmer], archbishop of Canterbury [and others], [8 Sept 1549], TNA: PRO, SP10/8/57; Questions put to the bishop of London, 13 Sept 1549, TNA: PRO, SP10/8/58; Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, 18 Jan 1550, in 'The letters of Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, September 1549–March 1555', ed. Susan Brigden, *Camden Miscellany XXX*, Camden Fourth series, 39 (1990), 109–10. On the possible unpopularity of the war in 1550, especially the financial burden it placed on the City, see: LMA, Court of Aldermen, Repertories 13 (2), fols. 527v–528r, 531r, 533r, 538r.

City. After 1564, the balance shifted towards the parish church as the main venue in which all activities for special worship were to be conducted, including preaching. But the Cross remained an important venue for special worship at times of particular crisis or celebration. On these occasions the Cross still often worked in conjunction with the Cathedral and parish churches across the realm, providing an additional or focal point to services conducted in parish churches across the realm.

Third, the relationship between Paul's Cross and special worship may also expand current understandings of 'persuasion'. 'Persuasion' was not just about moving people to accept an 'official' (or 'unofficial') interpretation of an event, such as the rebellions of 1549. It was also concerned with convincing subjects to participate in particular ways (prayer, fasting, almsgiving etc) to help resolve the realm's problems. The sermon (or homily) was one of the persuasive tools that was used to encourage people to perform these actions and to reform their behaviour. Cranmer (and presumably Joseph) exhorted his listeners in 1549 'now let vs repent while wee haue tyme. for the axe is layd ready at the roote of the tree to fell it downe'.⁷⁵ 'Persuasion', therefore, was not just a rhetorical activity, based on the spoken or written word. It could also be a whole range of participatory actions, including, for special worship, praying, processing, singing *Te Deums* and, for thanksgivings, bell-ringing and bonfires. And, as a result, 'persuasion' by the state easily merged with independent actions, making the line between the two a thin and porous one. For instance, Oliver Pigg, a member of the Dedham Conference, wrote prayers for himself and his friends to supplement the official ones during the summer of 1588.⁷⁶ Others independently organised feasts, mock-battles and other celebrations on 19 November 1588, the day of the thanksgiving for the defeat of the Spanish Armada.⁷⁷

Of necessity, this essay has been able to address these issues only briefly and broadly, and a number of avenues for further research suggest themselves. In particular, more attention is required on the period before 1549 which has been relatively neglected by scholars and which falls outside the scope of this essay because no sermons appear to have been delivered at Paul's Cross during periods of special worship during these years.

⁷⁵ CCC MS 102, 485–6, 494–5.

⁷⁶ Oliver Pigg, *Meditations concerning praier to almightie God for the saftie [sic] of England* (London: R. R[obinson] for Thomas Man, 1589; STC 19916).

⁷⁷ David Cressy, *Bonfires and bells: national memory and the protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989; Stroud: Sutton, 2004), ch. 7.

Although this is the period for which evidence is scarcest, it is also the period when political debate was at its most vociferous, contentions between the crown and its subjects (and, indeed, within the regime) were at their sharpest, and when it was paramount for the crown to win over its subjects to a new constitutional and religious order.