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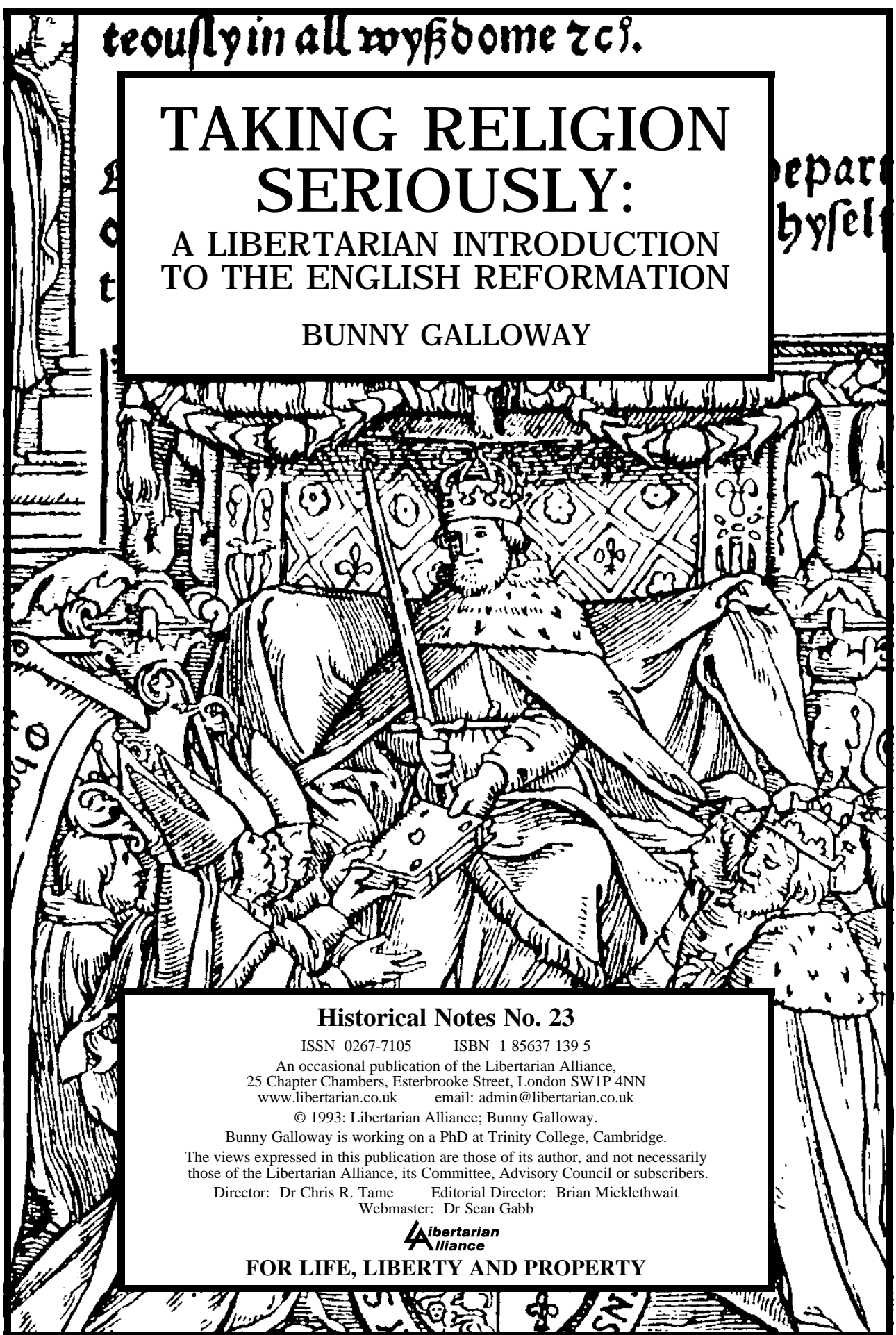
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TAKING RELIGION SERIOUSLY:

A LIBERTARIAN INTRODUCTION
TO THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

BUNNY GALLOWAY

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FOR LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

TAKING RELIGION SERIOUSLY: A LIBERTARIAN INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

BUNNY GALLOWAY

INTRODUCTION

Sixteenth century church history might seem an unlikely field for libertarian revisionism. Libertarian history assumes that man is a rational actor who, using the knowledge available to him, pursues his own best interests; such history helps to demonstrate that coercive institutions are neither necessary nor beneficial.¹ Hence many libertarians shy away from the history of pre-modern Europe. They view the centuries between antiquity and modernity as a Dark Age of ignorance and stagnation, ending only late in the seventeenth century with the birth of science and 'reason'. They are interested the Industrial Revolution, John Locke, and perhaps even the Levellers, but are content to leave pre-modern history, replete with rural idiocy and false consciousness, to Marxists historians. Further, libertarians tend to avoid church history. Libertarians lack a coherent theory of religion, tending to borrow the critiques of non-liberals like Durkheim, Weber, or Marx.² They are thus especially uncomfortable with the importance of 'the Church' in medieval Europe, identifying it anachronistically with the unitary, authoritarian national and papal churches which arose from about 1550 onwards, re-formed in the image of the absolutist nation state. For such libertarians reformation history is at best an irrelevance, and at worst an embarrassment; it is certainly not a crucial area for libertarian study.

I want to argue that such a view is wrong: that it rests upon an inaccurate understanding of sixteenth century English society and religion derived both from uncritical readings of contemporary accounts, and from statist assumptions. Instead, I want to present an account of the English reformation as an attempt by a rather fragile dynasty to destroy competing sources of authority, and to control the production and distribution of ideology for its own ends. It should be noted that this essay will not be concerned with the relative credal merits of Catholicism and protestantism. In general, both Catholic and protestant doctrine contain conflicting strands of individualism and corporatism. Whether either is 'true' is an altogether different topic. It is the state's attempt to control the production and dis-

tribution of ideology — rather than the nature of that ideology — which is the focus of this essay.

Pre-modern individuals inherited ideological structures, modified them, and made decisions based on what they believed to be true. Many of the categories in which we think today — philosophy, science, sociology, economics and political theory — had no independent standing in the late middle ages; they existed within the confines and constructs of a complicated theological system. (Anyone who believes that modern people are now too rational to accept unproven 'doctrine' should consider the influence of 'junk science' and the general acceptance of concepts like 'a fair wage' and 'social justice'.) In pre-modern England, to control men in their religious pursuits was to control them in everything. And from about 1527 to 1570, the state in England set about doing just that.³

THE TUDOR STATE

The Wars of the Roses had ended with the formation of the Tudor dynasty in 1487; already these were becoming part of a cultural myth, perhaps best articulated in Shakespeare's histories, which held that firm monarchical government was necessary to prevent constant civil war amongst aristocratic rivals and hence the dissipation of national wealth and energy. To the Tudors, 'anarchy' was a dirty word. In general, the Tudor governments tried to limit the power of the major magnates, directing responsibility and patronage towards client gentry families instead. Furthermore, what has come to be called the Renaissance was well underway in England, and there was great interest in educated circles in theoretical works on government. The relative roles of church and state was central to this interest, with particularly important contributions coming from the Italian humanists and from continental 'protestant' theorists.

Yet the Tudor state was hardly a state in any modern sense. There was no standing army, no police force, and only a small central bureaucracy. For proclamations or legislation to mean anything, the central government had to count on individual persons in the lo-

calities to enforce them; to find out what was happening in the localities, they required individuals to report back from them. Part of the function of the Commons was to express to the Crown how difficult it might be to enforce a particular policy in their own regions, and indeed the Tudors had several experiences of serious rebellions in response to unpopular policy. And plenty of Tudor legislation — notably on ‘moral’ offences — was meant less to be enforced than as a sort of national statement of purpose, to prevent God’s wrath from falling upon the nation in the form of civil disorder, disease or famine.⁴ The effectiveness of a state rests on its monopoly of the means of coercion; Elton’s ‘bureaucratic revolution’ reveals more about Thomas Cromwell’s aspirations than about government in practice.⁵ Hence the Tudor state was deeply concerned with public opinion, with persuasion, and with its own legitimacy. The Tudor period saw the concerted use of propaganda — in the form of books, ballads, plays and songs — to put forward the government line on a wide range of subjects. Indeed, it could be argued that the nationalisation of religion in England would not have happened had it not been for Tudor governments’ pervasive sense of their own precariousness, not helped by the complicated succession arrangements for the later Tudor monarchs: Edward VI was a minor, Mary and Elizabeth both women and arguably bastards. Each had at least one possible rival waiting in the wings.

It is important to stress the limited abilities of Tudor government for several reasons. First, the reliance of the government on at least some measure of consensus shows that Tudor England was no absolutist police state, no matter how much some of its rulers may have wished it to be one. Second, it suggests why the impact of policy could be very different in different localities, depending on the attitudes of the various responsible people in a particular area.

Reformation history has long been driven by the need to create ‘useful myths’. In the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) the first histories of what is now called ‘the Reformation’ began to appear. In every case they were written with a polemical purpose, to shift the religious settlement of 1559 in a particular direction. Many of the authors had been persecuted under Mary; all had an eye on Elizabeth’s interest and approval, and most were concerned with demonstrating to the public the nature of God’s scheme for England.⁶ As time passed, the purpose driving the polemic changed, but the polemical nature did not. In 1688 David Hume stressed ‘irrational’ aspects of late medieval religion, but also drew attention to the despotic nature of Tudor rule. In the nineteenth century, the debate over Catholic emancipation and the rise of the Oxford Movement caused some historians to trace continuities between the pre-reformation church and the Elizabethan settlement, and hence move England closer to

Rome; the Evangelical Movement and the Whig view of English constitutional history produced accounts which portrayed the Crown as the benevolent executor of the national will as expressed through the Commons, and hence glorified England’s distance from Rome.⁷

In the majority of these narratives it has been assumed that the English people wanted the reformation that the Crown gave them. But more recently, historians have begun to look more closely at how reformation legislation was received, enforced, and sometimes ignored at a parish level. It is now broadly accepted that, although there was obviously some reforming enthusiasm in England prior to the reformation, for most people the reformation was a succession of acts of official policy, imposed from above, and that for at least some people it was highly unpopular.⁸

The next few paragraphs will survey, very briefly, the actual events of the official reformations. They will begin with the basic situation before the reformation began, and then, for the sake of simplicity, the Tudor reforms will be divided into four phases. In the first, Henry VIII rejected papal supremacy, nationalised the monastic lands, and began liturgical reform. In the reign of his son Edward VI more radical, interventionist reforms were begun, nationalising a great deal of parochial property and effectively removing England from the Catholic church. During the reign of Mary Tudor, the English church became Catholic again, and protestants were persecuted. In the reign of Elizabeth I the church broke with Rome again, and a more stable national church was established. The one thing uniting these policies was increased state intervention into the lives of ordinary English men and women.

BEFORE THE REFORMATION

The first point to make about the ‘pre-reformation church’ — a shockingly teleological phrase, but convenient short-hand — is that it is not the same as the Catholic church today, or that of the nineteenth century, or even that of 1600. By about 1600, the Catholic and protestant churches of the West had begun to reform in each others’ image. As the national churches became more centralised and standardised in their practice, so did the post-Tridentine Catholic church. But in 1500, there was a great deal more to English Catholicism than the Pope. The church in England had evolved over centuries, and had come to reflect a diversity of interests and aspirations in its institutions to the point where the phrase ‘church’ is almost too unitary to express the chaotic, decentralised reality. There was the parochial structure, moving up from the parish church through the hierarchy of archdeacons, bishops, and cardinals to the councils and the Pope. But the Pope was not the supreme and infallible pope of the nineteenth century; the conciliar

movement had not entirely finished, the Great Schism (1378-1449) was recent history, and within England the Crown and papacy continued to argue over their jurisdictions as they had done since the time of Becket. Church courts competed not only with various civil courts but with the law merchant, borough and manorial custom.⁹

Further, there were a variety of devotional products on offer to tempt the religious consumer. At the local level there were guilds, a way of clubbing together to afford the services of priests, which might or might not revolve around an occupation or status; guilds were often energetic voluntary associations which included social activities and charitable projects. Wealthier people could endow their own chantry chapels or secure the services of their own priest or priests. There were monastic houses and colleges of friars; there were hermits and anchorites. Relics and the sites of miracles became objects for pilgrimage. Rites of passage were integrated into the devotional system. The year was divided into feasts and fasts, and the cycle of these holy days — rather than our system of weeks and months — was the way time was reckoned.

The interior of a pre-reformation English church would probably surprise many of us. The walls were often brightly painted with religious scenes and with abstract designs; there were painted images, sometimes dressed in gowns and jewellery, with candles burning before them. A screen, topped with an image of the Crucifixion flanked by the Virgin Mary and St John, separated the chancel from the nave, but often — even in quite small churches — there were also other altars throughout the church which belonged to guilds or to families, each with its own images, candles, and priests. Plays, processions and music were integral to parish worship. Finally, many of those attending church would bring their own devotional texts and follow along. We are used to thinking of late medieval people as basically illiterate, and of course many were; we are also used to thinking that literacy and protestantism necessarily went hand-in-hand. But it is now very clear that, by 1520 or so, there was a huge commercial market in orthodox devotional texts. In considering the impact of these texts, we must remember that contemporary readers may, like classical Romans, have read aloud rather than silently; and we must also remember that reading and writing are entirely different skills, and that in the sixteenth century there were plenty of men and women who could read, but could not write. Finally, the images and phrases in the books might already be quite familiar to readers, which would allow reading to be integrated within the whole devotional experience, rather than working in conflict with it.

Available evidence increasingly suggests that religious life on the eve of the reformation offered a rich diver-

sity of activities and institutions to the religious ‘consumer’; these were often shaped and selected by laypeople. England did not have much of a tradition of persecuting heretics; much pre-reformation ‘heterodoxy’ could to some extent be assimilated into mainstream religious life, and it might be noted in passing that virtually all ‘religious’ persecution was carried out by the State, not the church. Of course medieval life must not be idealised in the way that some nostalgic authoritarians occasionally try to do. Especially in small, highly personalised communities there was a lack of privacy, intense social surveillance and a pressure to conform which most modern people would find repugnant. The crucial point is that the decentralised, diverse nature of pre-reformation religion did offer, very nearly, something for everyone — not just something for people to receive and accept, but something for them to control and shape to their own needs. ‘The church’ competed for authority and interest not just with the state (or various segments of the state) but with other facets of the church as well. Then, around 1527, the state began the business of nationalising religion.

HENRY VIII

Henry VIII was no radical. He had acquired the title ‘defender of the faith’ for a tract against Luther. During the earlier parts of his reign he persecuted both the old Lollards and newer Lutherans, continued to persecute Anabaptists throughout his reign, and seems to have had no great personal objection to what we now think of as basic features of the unreformed church: the veneration of images and relics, the cult of saints, indulgences and pilgrimages. Throughout his reign he infuriated his more radical advisors by engaging in practices which his government had either discouraged or outlawed. His own funeral arrangements were those of an orthodox Catholic, including sung requiem masses and the burning of votive candles. His objection to the *status quo* was, from beginning to end, primarily political rather than doctrinal.¹⁰

Yet in 1533-34 Henry VIII effectively launched the reformation by rejecting the supremacy of the bishop of Rome and by making himself head of the church in England. Now, there was no necessary connection between rejecting papal supremacy and the destruction of traditional religious practices and institutions which followed. The Catholic church had already experienced several ‘reformations’, which is to say periods of active internal reform. The fact that Erastianism soon turned to real protestantism is probably due to the reforming zeal of Thomas Cromwell, for many years a powerful influence on government policy, and to the protestant beliefs of the men whom he employed. Some of these were passionate, committed protestants, and lobbied energetically at court to

achieve the broader liturgical reforms which they desired; the Crown needed their expertise to manage the royal divorce and the rejection of Rome, and therefore had to take their ideas on board. In 1535 the first legal English Bible was published. In 1536 and the years following, the Crown 'dissolved' the monasteries. The government sacked the employees of the monastic houses, paid them off with pensions, and nationalised the considerable monastic lands, goods, and prerogatives, which the King proceeded either to sell or to give away, in order to enhance his own patronage. The institution of a draconian Treason Act pre-vented open criticism of these changes.

Yet for ordinary people, the greatest impact of government intervention was probably felt when the state suddenly began to change the times in which they could work and play, eat and drink, and the ways in which they could worship. Many holidays, especially during harvest and the Westminster law term, were banned, as were many strictly local holidays. This was a standardisation of practice; Cromwell liked standardisation, removing peculiar jurisdictions, and insisting that the royal writ run the same way throughout the land. It also mirrors later Catholic practice, in that the Council of Trent tended to standardise local religious practice in a rather similar way. Finally, during Henry's reign pilgrimages and the veneration of relics and images were banned, and an English liturgy, rather than the traditional Latin services, was introduced.

Yet side-by-side with the reforming zeal of Cromwell, Cranmer and Latimer, was the conservative influence of other bishops, of international opinion, and sometimes of the King himself. This was especially true after 1540 when Cromwell began his fall from power. In 1543, the 'Act for the Advancement of True Religion' complained of heretical views expressed in books, ballads, plays and songs, and banned all women, and all laymen below the rank of gentleman, from reading the Bible. There was still a thriving commercial market for devotional works and Henry — like many Catholic rulers — showed a desire to make this teaching uniform; books had to be officially approved and preachers had to be licensed, a practice which continued beyond the reign of Elizabeth I. A consistent feature of Henry's policy was a concern with religious disunity. One of the most important innovations of his reign was the creation of royal injunctions and visitations, which made it easier for the state to supervise reform in the localities, and this machinery, too, continued during subsequent reigns. The fact that the Crown was able to secure obedience to these reforms has often been taken to imply that — as Foxe and others would write — the people wanted reform, to be freed from a decrepit and corrupt church, and the Crown gave it to them. I think it more likely, however, that since respect for temporal

authority was a very prominent strand of late medieval religion, insofar as people accepted the King's injunctions, they did so because of their traditional faith, not despite it.

EDWARD VI: THE RADICAL REFORMATION

Henry died in 1547; Edward VI succeeded his father at the age of nine, and died of tuberculosis in 1553, reigning for only six years. Throughout his reign, the real political power was in the hands of radical reformers, principally the Duke of Somerset. Under Henry VIII, it had still been possible for devout Catholics to worship legally; the conservative Bishop Gardiner had told scandalised reformers that he could find the doctrine of the mass in the new English liturgy, and it is clear that those far less learned than he were doing much the same. But under Edward, protestant doctrine was established by law and traditional worship effectively made illegal. Edward was, in the minds of John Foxe and others, a model of the godly prince in effect forcing his people to be godly; in doing so, his government was held back only by the fact that Edward, young and sickly, lacked the popularity and forceful image of his father.

Basically, Edward's government abolished images, shrines, votive candles, processions, chantries, guilds, prayers for the dead, paintings and music in churches, and most of the features of liturgy familiar to contemporary worship. Parish churches were to be left with one surplice, a few tablecloths, a cup, and a bell. Several sets of visitations sought to ensure the enforcement of these injunctions. This had several implications. The first was that the Crown had once again laid claim to types of property which had in no sense previously belonged to it. Parish property belonged to the corporate parish, not the Crown. The chantries, guilds and parish churches yielded up immense wealth for the Exchequer. Yet in many towns and villages, the abolition of chantries and guilds deprived the people there of the funds for their grammar schools and for charitable ventures such as medical care, as well a vital commercial and social organisation. The parish churches where these laws were obeyed were altered almost beyond recognition: white-washed, deprived of candles and colour, with their images and stained glass removed, they would have looked very bare to those who had seen them a decade before. The church furnishings were sold off and the proceeds sent down to London. Those who obviously resisted were persecuted. Yet in many cases, it appears that parishioners evaded these laws as best they could, lying about the number and quality of church possessions, burying liturgical items in gardens or hiding them in lofts. They were also slow in putting the more positive Injunctions into action, waiting years before buying Bibles or books of homilies. Yet just as the enforcement of this wave of reforma-

tion was well underway, the time came to undo it all again.

MARY: CATHOLIC RESTORATION

Edward died on 6 July 1553. A plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne briefly promised to prolong the reforming slant of Edward's reign, but in a matter of days Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII and his divorced wife Katherine of Aragon, had demonstrated public enthusiasm for her legitimacy, if not explicitly for her religious views. Mary ruled for about five years. A devout Catholic, she returned England to the Church of Rome, repealed the Edwardian statutes, and ordered the restoration of Catholic rites and furnishings in the parishes. For those who had not welcomed the Edwardian reforms, the restoration of Catholicism must have been very welcome, and in many parishes the change was made quickly.¹¹

Yet once again the brutal reality of state control of religion became obvious from 1555 onwards, when Mary followed the lead of her brother and father, and of her husband Philip II of Spain, and began to burn heretics. About 282 men and women died at the stake, in richly theatrical displays of official orthodoxy. Protestant English history has not been kind to 'Bloody' Mary or to her advisors, treating her reign as a particularly repressive and dogmatic 'reaction' on the road to a reformed church. Yet this is a highly determinist perspective which ignores at least two points. The first is that Mary's reign, appalling though aspects of it were, was hardly more repressive and violent than those of her predecessors or her successor. The salient point is that those who wrote the influential early histories of her reign were exiled or persecuted during it, and moreover were writing with an eye on the favour of Elizabeth, who might have been expected to appreciate a fairly negative picture of Mary's activities. Secondly, historians have tended to ignore the fact that Marian Catholicism was in some ways crucially different from the 'traditional' faith in operation at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. Although the Council of Trent would not end until after Mary's death, her religious policy manifests some features which are generally associated with the Counter Reformation: an interest in standardisation which included discouraging the more disorderly ceremonies, esoteric local cults and holidays; an increased emphasis on salvation through Christ's passion rather than through the intercession of saints; an emphasis on the sacrament of penance; and indeed some sophisticated vernacular devotional works. Indulgences were not reintroduced. In other words, 'reformation' features had been absorbed into the religion of her reign.

Mary was a Catholic, but no reactionary. During her reign, the relationship between church and state, even

after the reconciliation with Rome, was fundamentally changed. The state, not just the church, felt a need to declare on the nature of true religion, and to promote and even enforce it. What has recently been called 'the formidable apparatus of official reform' was simply now turned to different cause; and the worst excesses of Mary's reign should be seen as an extension of previous reforming policy, not a 'reaction' to it.

ELIZABETH I: THE SETTLEMENT

Mary died in 1558, along with 13 bishops and her cousin Cardinal Pole, in an epidemic. Her half-sister, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, succeeded her. Elizabeth's first move was to revoke the Papal supremacy again, pending a proper settlement. Basically, the Settlement confirmed the Henrician and earlier Edwardian reforms by ruling that ceremonies which had been legal in 1548 were to remain legal; shrines and pilgrimages were outlawed; parishes were to decide whether they wanted a communion table or not. Yet the reality was, at least in some areas, rather more authoritarian. It appears that the machinery of supervision begun under Henry had acquired a life of its own, and successive panics about the quality of reformation in various localities led to fairly harsh enforcement. Visitations had grown more frequent: in the diocese of Norwich in 1520 a parish might expect a visitation every seven years or so; by the 1570's parishes were having to deal with several visitations in a single year. In some parishes, the offences discovered at visitations were trivial — Sunday trading and working, or the odd case of absence from church. Yet up through the 1570's cases were still coming to light of the trappings of traditional religion still in place; and in other parishes, the reformation had done such damage to the organisation of parochial activities that the church was becoming literally a ruin. State action rarely achieves what it sets out to do.

It is often said that England never had a reformation in the sense that parts of continental Europe had one, or that the reformation was not finished until the Restoration Settlement in 1662. The Elizabethan settlement left several key features of religion unreformed: the episcopal structures, the ancient parishes, and enough echoes of the old liturgical practice remained to worry the more radical reformers up to the Civil War and beyond. Yet much was gone. In the place of an evolved multiplicity of activities and options, there stood a unitary, centrally regulated, established church. The neatest example of this was played out in the chancel arches of parish churches across England. Before the Reformation, many churches had a rood loft, which was a sort of pierced screen between the nave and the chancel, usually surmounted with a statue of Christ crucified, flanked by the Virgin Mary and St John. The screen would be decorated, and filled with candles given by guilds or by individuals; it

was incorporated into many key liturgical moments. In some churches the chancel arch itself was painted, often with painting of the last judgement. Edward required the demolition of these screens. Mary required their replacement. Elizabeth required their demolition, but she also required that the royal arms be hung up in their stead. The One Saviour and Redeemer was replaced by an heraldic statement of the legitimacy of the ruling monarch. November 17 — the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession — became, after the defeat of the Armada, a holiday, complete with feasting and ringing of bells. After a generation of trying, the state had virtually killed off its most formidable domestic rival, and appropriated its resources to the promotion of yet more state.¹²

RESISTANCE

Of course there was also resistance to the Elizabethan settlement. On one hand there were those who felt that the Elizabethan settlement had gone too far. Some were conservatives and traditionalists; other may have been converted to a new-style, post-Tridentine Catholicism by the Jesuits and other orders who began appearing in England soon after 1570. Some refused to attend their parish church altogether. They were registered as recusants, and suffered financial penalties and imprisonment. Others, called 'church papists' might attend their parish church as rarely as possible, and might seek access to Catholic rites from the priests who circulated around the country in an 'underground railroad' of sympathetic gentry. In time special seminaries were set up on the continent to educate English Catholics and to train them as priests or to take religious orders. Especially after the excommunication of the Queen and the defeat of the Armada, however, Catholicism came to be regarded by some not as the religion of their grandfathers, but as something foreign and traitorous.¹³

On the other hand, for some the Elizabethan settlement had not begun to go far enough.¹⁴ The liturgy, with its music and processions and the wearing of certain vestments reminded some of the Catholic church; some retreated into smaller, voluntary religious groups, with varying degrees of official sanction, while others tried to infiltrate themselves into positions of authority. Some pressed for a more 'Continental' model of protestantism, looking to Geneva or Zurich for inspiration. And many got to work on the rich fund of imagery and vocabulary available in the vernacular Bibles, and began to take seriously the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers — a doctrine which, not surprisingly, the official reformations had never been in a great hurry to promote. It must be said that many who had really wanted reformation had not got the sort of reformation they wanted: one non-scriptural source of authority had been replaced by another, and even matters which the established

church admitted were non-essential for salvation could be fairly harshly enforced. As the reformation became a myth which the English used to understand themselves and their nation, such radicalism can be seen as leading to the numbers of bizarre and volatile sects of the Civil War, when this relation between church and state fell apart once again.

CONCLUSION

In nationalising the church, the state did at least three things. First, it secured a vast fund of revenue which it could use to build up a new class of local leaders and persuade them to enforce the policies of the Tudor regime. Second, it appropriated the rival hierarchy, rival judicial system and rival revenue-raising structure which might have competed with the nation-state for the loyalties of Englishmen. Third, it acquired a remarkably powerful propaganda weapon. At least once a week everyone in the entire nation would have to sit in his or her parish church for several hours, perhaps looking up at the royal arms, listening to whatever the state had proclaimed he or she ought to hear. The officially-sanctioned homilies stressed obedience, deference to one's superiors, and the integration of the social and political *status quo* into the whole cosmic plan of creation. John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, lavishly illustrated with 1500 woodcuts and easily available, proclaimed an historical myth in which Britain, as God's elect nation, had been rescued by a succession of godly princes from the grip of the papal Antichrist. One set of myths — one set of patterns for the imaginative life of individuals — had been removed by the state, and replaced by another; reformation history to this very day has not been able to escape aspects of this particular myth.¹⁵

I have phrased the case rather strongly in an attempt to begin to question this myth. I want to conclude by making a plea for libertarians to begin to take pre-modern history a little more seriously, and in particular to accept church history as a legitimate subject for study. We need to know what various strands of religious doctrine were about, how they changed over time, who produced and who consumed them, and how they relate — both positively and negatively — to the historical pursuit of individual liberty. Religion could shore up state authority, but it could undermine and challenge it as well. Tudor governments, like many others, clearly considered religion too powerful to be left to individuals, and too dangerous to be left to compete with the state.

NOTES

1. This point is made at greater length by F. A. Hayek, 'History and Politics', *Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics*, Chicago, 1967; and in a bibliographic essay by Sheila Ogilvie, 'Toward a Critical Classical Liberal History', *Humane Studies Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring 1987).
2. Starkly Marxist/Weberian accounts include R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, John Murray, London, 1926, and Christopher Hill's *Economic Problems of the Church*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1956, or the way Rodney Hilton treats the religious content of popular rebellion in works such as *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381*, Methuen, London, 1973. Some foundations a more liberal theory already exist, however. David Hume's *History of England from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the Abdication of King James II*, 1688, stresses the irrational aspects of Christianity, but is also highly critical of the despotic nature of Tudor rule. More generally, both von Mises and Hayek have adumbrated their conceptions of the role of religion in society.
3. A good survey of reformation scholarship to 1986 is provided in Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, Methuen, London, 1986. A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, Batsford, London, 1964, revised 1989, is a classic work, but has been seriously criticised, notably in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*, Cambridge University Press, 1987; the first essay in this collection provides a neat summary of the basic lines of attack.
4. Sean Gabb's study of legal attitudes towards homosexuality provides an illustration of this point, forthcoming from the Libertarian Alliance, London, in 1993.
5. G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police: Enforcement of the Reformation of in the Age of Cromwell*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972, is a classic study. For a broader view of early modern English government, and especially the relationship between the localities and the centre, see Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, Hutchinson Education, London, 1982.
6. The most influential of these was John Foxe, whose *Acts and Monuments* (or 'Book of Martyrs') of 1563/1570 was soon required to be available in every parish church in England. Written in an emotive and vivid manner and illustrated with 1500 woodcuts, this work of popular propaganda became the virtually official reformation history; its influence on popular perceptions of the reformation continues to this day.
7. A basic account of the history of reformation scholarship is Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, op. cit.; the section treating eighteenth and nineteenth century scholarship is particularly interesting.
8. Two general sources for the impact of Tudor legislation in the localities are Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations' in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*, Cambridge University Press, 1987; and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, Yale University Press, 1992.
9. Cf. the excellent chapter on Thomas Becket and Henry II in Harold Berman, *Law and Revolution*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1983.
10. The personal role of Henry VIII in creating what became the English reformation is still very much a matter of debate. For the events of his reign and some sense of his personality, see J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1968; G. R. Elton, *Henry VIII: An Essay in Revision*, Historical Association, London, 1962, reprinted 1965, provides a rather different view of his significance. An excellent, and inexpensive, introduction to Henry VIII's reign is Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, Macmillan, London, 1993.
11. For a biography of Mary see David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989; for a sympathetic appraisal of her reign, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, Yale University Press, 1992.
12. This may have something to do with 'generational' history: the idea that the official reformation could not completely succeed until there was almost no one alive who could remember the whole apparatus of pre-reformation Catholicism, and since this ended around 1534 it is interesting to note that the reformation is generally accepted to have been complete by circa 1580.
13. For English Catholicism during the reign of Elizabeth and beyond, see John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, Darton Longman & Todd, London, 1986; Patrick McGrath, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: a reconsideration' in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 35 no. 3, July 1989, pp. 414-428; Christopher Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation' in *Past & Present*, xciii, 1981.
14. Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982, is an illuminating survey of Elizabethan religion.
15. This is one reason why libertarians need to take the history of religion, and of ideologies, more seriously: we need to discover the rational calculations of value that lie behind seemingly 'irrational' decisions.