

PERSONAL RELIGION DURING THE REIGNS OF
MARY TUDOR AND ELIZABETH I:
TESTAMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE
RESTORATION OF PROTESTANTISM

A PhD Dissertation

by
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Ankara
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Bilkent University 2025

To my beloved family

Hasan Hüseyin Çelik, Nurdan Çelik and Dilan Çelik

Also, to my beloved friend, Tamer Pekalp,

whom I lost to the devastating earthquake in 2023,

You will always be remembered...

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PROTESTANTISM

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

OĞULCAN ÇELİK

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By Oğulcan Çelik

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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ABSTRACT

PERSONAL RELIGION DURING THE REIGNS OF MARY TUDOR AND ELIZABETH I: TESTAMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE RESTORATION OF PROTESTANTISM

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December 2025

This dissertation focuses on the investigation of religious expressions and personal piety of testators through 1624 wills from the counties of Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. The sample utilised in this dissertation is collected from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills in series PROB 11. Drawing upon the collected primary sources, wills, this dissertation aims to categorise the wills under Protestant, Traditional (Catholic), Ambiguous, and a recently established category by myself, Crypto-Protestant and Catholic, to provide an insight into the changing personal piety and attitudes of laymen towards the policies of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. Previous historians predominantly focused on the committal of the wills, specifically where a testator bequeaths his or her soul to the entity, to identify possible expression of personal piety to understand the possible religious affiliations of the testators from their secret voices reflected in wills. This research expands the interpretation of possible religious expressions

and provides a new and unstudied analytical lens to the field by investigating and testing a variety of elements in wills, such as the entity to which the testator entrusted his or her soul to, reference to the title Supreme Head of the Church of England, Preambles, Verbs and Nouns utilised in the comittal part, presence and omission of the title Defender of the Faith and presence and omission of Acknowledgement of Monarchs. The study of these elements demonstrates changing use of religious and legal vernacular through lexical preferences of testators across regions and monarchs. This study not only tests these new elements for possible religious expressions and the identification of personal piety but also proposes a new interpretation for understanding the secret voice of testators. This dissertation also contributes to the overall debate on the validity and reliability of wills as religious sources for religious identity in Early Modern England.

Keywords: The English Reformation, Personal Piety, Religious Expression, Voice of Testators, Early Modern Wills, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I, Kent, Gloucestershire, Religious Language.

ÖZET

MARY TUDOR VE I. ELIZABETH HÜKÜMDARLIKLARINDA KİŞİSEL DİN: PROTESTANLIĞIN RESTORASYONUNUN VASIYETNAMELER ÜZERİNDEN KANITI

Çelik, Oğulcan

Doktora, Tarih Anabilim Dalı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. David E. Thornton

Aralık 2025

Bu tez Mary Tudor ve I. Elizabeth hükümdarlıklarında Kent ve Gloucestershire bölgelerinde yazılmış olan 1624 vasiyetname üzerinden vasiyet sahiplerinin dini ifadelerini ve kişisel dindarlıklarını incelemeye odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada kullanılan örneklem, İngiltere Ulusal Arşivleri'nden, Canterbury Başpsikoposluk Mahkemesine ait PROB 11. Serisindeki vasiyetnamelerden derlenmiştir. Tez, toplanan bu birincil kaynaklara dayanarak vasiyetnameleri Protestan, Geleneksel (Katolik), Belirsiz ve yakın zamanda tarafımdan oluşturulan bir kategori olan Kripto-Protestan ve Katolik olarak sınıflandırmayı amaçlamakta; böylece Mary Tudor ve I. Elizabeth'in politikalarına karşı halkın değişen kişisel dindarlığı ve tutumlarını ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Önceki tarihçiler çoğunlukla vasiyetnamelerin vasiyet sahiplerinin ruhlarını teslim ettikleri bölüme ve bu bölümdeki varlığa odaklanarak bu belgelerdeki kişisel dindarlık ifadelerini analiz etmeye çalışmışlardır. Bu çalışma ise vasiyetnamelerdeki olası dini ifadelerin yorumunu

geniřletmekte ve alana yeni, daha nce alıřılmamıř analitik bir perspektif sunmaktadır. İnelenen unsurlar arasında, vasiyet sahibinin ruhunu teslim ettięi varlık, İngiltere Kilisesinin En Yce Bařı nvanına yapılan gndermeler, vasiyetnamelerin girizgah (giriř cmlesi) kısmı, ruhların teslim edildięi kısımda kullanılan filler ve isimler, İmanın Savunucusu nvanının kullanımı ya da gzardı edilmesi ve hkmdarlara yapılan atıfların varlıęı ya da gz ardı edilmesi yer almaktadır. Bu unsurların incelenmesi, vasiyet sahiplerinin blgesel ve dnemsel tercihlerine gre deęiřen dini ve hukuki dilin kullanımı hakkında bilgi saęlamaktadır. Bu tez, sz konusu yeni unsurlar zerinden dini ifade biimlerini ve kiřisel dindarlıęın tespit edilmesini test etmekle kalmayıp, aynı zamanda vasiyet sahiplerinin gizli seslerinin anlařılması iin yeni bir yorumlama biimi sunmaktadır. Bu alıřma, Erken Modern İngiltere’de dini kimliklerin anlařılması baęlamında vasiyetnamelerin gvenirlięi ve geerlilięine dair genel tartıřmalara da katkı sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İngiliz Reformasyonu, Kiřisel Dindarlık, Dini İfade, Vasiyet Sahiplerinin Sesi, Erken Modern Dnem Vasiyetnameleri, Mary Tudor, I. Elizabeth, Kent, Gloucestershire, Dini Dil.

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CHAPTER I: 16TH-CENTURY WILLS

This dissertation will examine evidence for the personal piety and religious expression of laymen and women as reflected in over 1,600 wills from the counties Gloucestershire and Kent during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. The testamentary samples utilised in this dissertation have been accessed from The National Archives, PROB 11¹ series. The study aims to enhance the identification of the religious leanings of testators by moving beyond the focus on committals that has dominated scholarship to-date. It analyses a variety of elements in the wills, such as the entity, references to the title Supreme Head of the Church of England, preambles, verbs and nouns in the committals, and utilisation and omission of the title Defender of the Faith, and acknowledgement of monarchs. By examining and testing these elements, it is aimed to identify changing religious patterns across regions and monarchs during the English Reformation. In addition, the dissertation focuses on proposing a new way of analysing the secret voices² of testators and their possible religious identities in 16th-century England. It argues that the evidence in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills from Gloucestershire and Kent reveals shifting religious expression and identity patterns during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I through an analysis of the elements given above. Although historical wills are complex and sometimes ambiguous sources, they can be useful and illuminating when analysed in

¹ The sample utilised in this dissertation belongs to the gentry and middling classes.

² For the use of the term “voice”, see Susan E. James, *Women’s Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485–1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315546483>.

conjunction with additional, external evidence, allowing for the reconstruction of early modern religious expression and identities.

This chapter will examine the function of Early Modern wills and the changes in their form and language during the period of religious transformations under Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. In addition, a review of how previous historians have interpreted wills and their methodology will be considered in detail. Moreover, in the methodology section, a textual and contextual analysis of each element selected for this dissertation is explained, accompanied by a set of data, to reflect the possible voices of testators and their personal piety. This chapter forms the basis for the following chapters and the analysis of wills as evidence for the religious expression and personal piety of the testators. The chapter provides a discussion of sixteenth-century wills and changes in will-writing that will illuminate in terms of changing formula as well as the selection of verbs, nouns and clauses. The literature review on Medieval and Early Modern Wills presents the most recent research on the identification of personal piety and value of wills as primary sources specifically. The methodology sub-section provides the basis of the analyses of the dissertation, and presents the elements to be tested for religious expression and personal piety of testators both depending on external evidence such as State Papers and Journals of House of Commons and Lords. The elements in the methodology section will be considered in detail in the following chapters.

1.1. Sixteenth-Century Wills and Changes in Will-Writing

Wills provide ecclesiastical historians with a means of following the evidence of religious upheaval and the Reformation. They provide a way for testators to distribute their assets

and possessions to organisations and their surviving loved ones. The purpose and function of the Last Will and of the Testament are different. The testament deals with personal and movable property, including money, while the will, or last will, deals with immovable property, such as land, real estate, houses, etc. Nonetheless, the word "will" here refers to both the testament and the last will, particularly in the 16th century. Originally, “wills were spoken in the presence of witnesses, rather than written”,³ they are nuncupative wills “written down from evidence given by witnesses.”⁴ However, the final testaments and wills during the early modern era were written records rather than oral ones. There are two types of wills, which are registered copies and original wills. Original wills are traditionally written by scribes on a piece of parchment. Therefore, registered copies are more likely to survive. They are “usually signed by the testator”.⁵ Registered copies are acquired following the completion of the probate process. “These registers are large bound ledgers with wills copied into them page after page. It is these that many archives have microfilmed, not the original wills.”⁶ The testator's signature or seal, as well as occasionally the scribe's signature or seal, can be found in the original will; in contrast, neither a seal nor a signature can be found in the registered copy. In order to have a copy of the original will, the selected executors were required to pay the necessary fee. Since the original will and the copied will were written by different scribes, errors could be made by the scribe while copying the original will. For instance, in the will of George Brammage⁷ from

³ A. Raymond Stuart, *Wills of Our Ancestors - A Guide for Family & Local Historians* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2012), 3.

⁴ Karen Grannum and Nigel Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records: A Practical Guide to Researching Your Ancestors' Last Documents* (National Archives, 2004), 5.

⁵ Karen Grannum and Nigel Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 18.

⁶ Karen Grannum and Nigel Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 18.

⁷ TNA PROB 11/75/330, for the list of testamentary evidence, see appendices (Appendix I – Gloucestershire, Appendix II – Kent)

Gloucestershire, all surnames were miswritten and then crossed out and corrected. This minor incident demonstrates the fact that it is possible for the scribe to make errors while copying the will. For this reason, if the registered copy of the will is illegible, it should be compared with the original one. “A will is a provisional document which becomes effective only when its maker dies, since it can be revoked at any time before that happens”.⁸ Therefore, wills were written on a person's deathbed during the Middle Ages and mostly during the Early Modern period. It was customary for a testator or testatrix to provide a description of their physical and mental health in a Medieval will in England. The 16th-century saw an alteration to this common structure. The common form was *whole of mind and sick in body*, which changed into “*whole of mind and of good remembrance*” as I indicated in my master's thesis.⁹ Such a structural change raises the question of whether the making of a will changed in the 16th century or not, which will be discussed in detail further below. In the Middle Ages, testators made their wills when they were close to death or on their deathbeds. The reason for including the information and current statement of health, both physically and mentally, was to prove the validity of the will, because if the testator was not healthy, s/he could not make a will. In the 16th century, physical statements underwent a significant change when they disappeared from testamentary documents, bringing new criticism as to whether people made their wills when they were healthy and intact. Generally, the testator dies a year after the date of the will, and most medieval wills date the will no later than a year later, but there are instances of testators who made their wills and did not die in the immediately following years.

⁸ Nicholas Orme ed. *Cornish Wills: 1342-1540* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2007), 3.

⁹ TNA PROB 11/17.

There were customary rules for inheriting and donating/transferring property upon death. According to the law, there are three layers for disposing of property. A third of the assets are automatically allocated to the widow, a third to the children, and the final third is allocated as "the death's" personal portion in accordance with the testator's wishes. Hereditary property also consists of houses and land, but inheritance laws protect it and do not require a will. The majority of wills were written in Latin during the Middle Ages, but this began to change in the Early Modern era, and testators began writing their wills mostly in English even before the Reformation. Testators or the scribe may write the preamble in Latin, as per their preferences, but the other parts of the wills are mostly in English.

The tradition of will-writing was altered during the Reformation period, starting with the reign of Henry VIII. Even though it mostly remained the same, there were certain changes in the phraseology and statement of the testators. Some of the alterations were in the preambles, committals and bequests.¹⁰ There are several changes available for the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I as well. During the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, as discussed in my master's thesis,¹¹ there is no evidence of nuncupative wills from the studied wills. This situation changed between the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. During the reign of Elizabeth I, between the years of 1597 and 1601, there were 8 nuncupative wills from the county of Kent. For Gloucestershire, the number of nuncupative wills was 12, written between 1574 and 1602. Even though the total number of nuncupative wills is low, it may reflect a slight change in the tradition of will-writing for at least Kent

¹⁰ See Oğulcan Çelik, "The Religion of the Gentry and Middling Classes: The English Reformation as Reflected in Wills, 1509-1553." Master's Thesis, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2019.

¹¹ Çelik, "The Religion of the Gentry and Middling Classes."

and Gloucestershire. It should be noted that the shift in tradition may be reflected in different counties of England as well, which is not covered in this dissertation.

In the dating clause of the wills, the date, month and year were written in letters, but the evidence provides a change in the traditional way. It is evident that Arabic numbers were utilised in some wills. In Gloucestershire, out of 689 wills, Arabic numbers were used in 138 wills, which means 20% of the wills were written in Arabic numbers. In Kent, out of 935 wills, Arabic numbers were used in 168 wills, which refers to almost 18% of the wills. Another change in the dating clause is the replacement of “in the year of our Lord God” with “in the year of our saviour Jesus Christ” or “in the year from the incarnation of Jesus Christ” sometimes with an addition of “according to the... Church of England”. In Kent, the percentage of referring to Jesus Christ rather than God is 2.25%. In the same clause, the Church of England was referred to with the percentage of 0.75. In Gloucestershire, the percentage of the use of “in the year of our saviour Jesus Christ” is lower than in Kent, with the percentage of 0.58. In the same clause, the Church of England was referred to with the percentage of 1.16. Even though these numbers do not reflect a significant change in the will-writing, there is some small evidence of a change in the traditional formula in Kent and Gloucestershire. In addition, after the dating clause, the sentence mostly begins with “first”, but there are some instances where the scribe used “principally” with or without “first”. On the other hand, for the first time, in the Will of Sir Nicholas Poyntz from Gloucestershire, the exact age of a testator and the religion he practised was explicitly stated as “I was about 50 years... in religion Christian”¹²

¹² TNA PROB 11/68/530.

One of the significant changes in wills is the selection of pronouns in the committal. Even though the scribe writes the will on behalf of the testator, the most common pronoun utilised was “I”. During the reign of Mary and Elizabeth, a small number of wills reflect the change that in 1.07% of wills, “HE” or “SHE” were utilised. Therefore, the clauses were phrased as “he or she bequeaths his/her soul” instead of “I bequeath my soul”. The percentage is even lower for Gloucestershire, and only three wills utilised “he or she” rather than “I”. Another change in Kent and Gloucestershire is that testators used the phrase “I bequeath my spirit and/or soul” and committed their “bodies to the earth”. In a typical will, the most common phrase is “I bequeath my soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried in the churchyard of...” During the reign of Elizabeth I, this standard formula changed, and testators committed their bodies to the earth or both earth and the churchyard. In addition, bequeathing the soul and body was always stated in one sentence, but during the reign of Elizabeth I, the bodies of testators were committed or yielded separately. A particular change in phraseology may reflect a slight change in the traditional will-writing process. The small number of evidence also proposes that some of the testators did not refer to God when committing their souls, but rather referred to him as maker, saviour or redeemer. Considering the fact that the majority of the wills referred to Jesus Christ as saviour and redeemer, these specific wills may also refer to Jesus Christ rather than God. In addition, even though small in number, in Gloucestershire, testators “bequeathed self to God” rather than body and soul.

The evidence from 1624 wills collected from TNA covering the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I demonstrates that there are several changes in traditional will-writing in the 16th-century England. These changes will be discussed in the following chapters of

this dissertation. In addition to the meaning of each element used in the wills, it may possibly enlighten whether the will was written under the influence of the scribe.

1.2. Literature Review: Medieval and Early Modern Wills

For the Church, “as God’s steward on the earth, it was the Christian’s duty to use the last will and testament as a means of promoting and supporting God’s work in the world”.¹³ As the duty of the Christian, wills are individual documents that may help ecclesiastical historians to study personal piety and belief from the ground. As stated by Burgess, “wills provide historians with a detailed understanding of one aspect at least of the lives and beliefs of ordinary men and women”.¹⁴ The will and last testament proposes a variety of aspects of the life of an individual in the Early Modern period. Not only does it allow historians to study personal piety, but it also allows them to observe the life of an individual. There are several arguments by scholars regarding the validity of wills in ecclesiastical research and whether it truly reflect the personal piety of the testator. One of the questions was directed by Dr Champion, stating that “how much do these wills truly reflect actual wishes of testators and, therefore, reflect attitudes to lay piety in general.”¹⁵ There are several elements that influence a will. The fact that a will was written by the scribe, the influence of the scribe cannot be underestimated, and this influence also cannot make a will invalid to study. In addition, since wills were written at the deathbed, the

¹³ Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 171.

¹⁴ Clive Burgess, “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered”. In *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks, (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 14.

¹⁵ Matthew Champion, “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion: Evidence of Pilgrimage Bequests in the Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474”, *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3, 3, (2012): 71.

physical condition of the testator, his or her psychology, fear of purgatory, his or her family and friends are some of the elements that may influence the last will and testament. As these influential elements may play a key role in identifying the validity of a will, the uncertainty of their influence cannot affect the overall study. Questioning the validity of the information obtained through primary sources will always be the key question for every source, since each source only reflects a specific account of an event. On the other hand, wills are valuable sources to study personal piety from the ground, but one must be cautious while making statements from the evidence of wills. It is possible to study wills with a proper methodology, and some scholars have provided specific methods to retrieve the necessary data from the wills by trying to minimise the influences on wills.

16th-century wills are quite standardised, such as preambles and committals, but it is not possible to say that the document itself is quite standardised. The fact that there is no certainty and an easy way to determine whether the will was written by the testator or if there was an influence of the scribe, Dr Burgess stated that “the historian relying upon wills never enjoys certainty.”¹⁶ This uncertainty may be eliminated by comparing the wills written in each towns or cities in the same or following years by trying to identify the formulae that was used and assessing the overall structure. In addition, for ecclesiastical studies, wills are quite advantageous since they are categorizable and relatively easy to analyse in a particular context. Wills are the mediators between the testator and the historians. They help scholars to track the evidence of the Reformation from the ground and changing religious beliefs during the 16th-century England. Wills enable historians to pursue the evidence of the influence of the monarch, his or her religious, economic or

¹⁶ Burgess, “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention”, 15.

political policies and the consequences of those policies on a specific region, and the resistance or adaptation of a particular region. Therefore, regional studies and comparison of different regions from the evidence of wills may illuminate historians regarding the influence of the monarch and changing religious beliefs on laymen in 16th-century England.

It is significant to note the previous views of the scholars who guided and shaped our understanding and interpretation of the wills being utilised as primary sources that may reflect the personal piety of a testator and overall personal beliefs. This part will focus on the discussion of historians on wills and using wills as sources in early modern England. It is significant to underline that in my master's thesis, "The Religion of the Gentry and Middling Classes: The English Reformation as Reflected in Wills, 1509-1553", I have discussed the use of preambles and committals in identifying and categorising wills as per the personal piety of a testator as well as the reliability and validity of wills as primary sources. It is evident that the recently published articles, books and dissertations do not provide a method for the analysis of the wills but rather pursue the same method for the analysis of the personal piety. Therefore, my categorisation of the wills, building upon the other scholars, is still the most recent method to analyse personal piety in the literature. The part below will focus on the ideas of historians on studying wills and using wills as sources.¹⁷

In "Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources", Michael L. Zell stated that "religious preambles can be used by historians as a good guide to changes in

¹⁷ See Oğulcan Çelik, "Erken Modern Dönem İngiltere'sinde Vasiyetnamelerin Kaynak Olarak Kullanılması," *Tarih ve Gelecek Dergisi* 6, no. 4 (December 2020): 1537–54, <https://doi.org/10.21551/jhf.839231>.

popular religious beliefs.”¹⁸ He clearly underlined the use of preambles to track the evidence of personal piety and changing religious beliefs but he also highlights that “historians must handle these preambles with great caution, most particularly because one cannot usually be certain exactly who wrote them”.¹⁹ Many historians discussed and argued about the reliability of wills due to the fact that the certainty of whose product of a certain will is ambiguous due to the influence of the scribe. Specifically, for the preamble, scholars’ approach should be cautious, and the categorisation of the preambles for ecclesiastical studies must be conducted with a comparative approach, meaning that whether the preambles followed the same structure in a village in the same year or whether nearby villages had different variations of the preambles which may illuminate personal preference or the preference of the scribe in wills. As one of the scholars, Zell researched committals of the wills; he categorised committals to identify the reflection of personal piety in the 16th-century. He indicated that:

Beginning in the late 1530s testaments began to drop the conventional Roman Catholic formula, which invoked the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints. This began to be replaced by a rather non-committal formula, which simply does not mention the Virgin or Saints, and by formulae which suggest specifically Protestant ideas about salvation.²⁰

According to Zell, the conventional formula of bequeathing one’s soul to God, the Virgin Mary and the Saints was altered to only God by dropping the Virgin Mary and the Saints. He clearly explains that this change appears after 1530, when Henry VIII began to challenge the Catholic Church and her practices and doctrines, and the Roman Catholic

¹⁸ Michael L. Zell, “Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources”, *Archives* 14, no. 62 (1979): 69.

¹⁹ Zell, “Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wills as Historical Sources,” 69.

²⁰ Zell, “Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wills as Historical Sources,” 69.

formula consists of God, the Virgin Mary and the Saints. The drop of Virgin Mary and Saints from the committal may be a reflection of changing religious beliefs and indicate that the testator is Protestant. According to him, dropping Virgin Mary and Saints, and bequeathing the soul to God is not a simplified form but rather a reflection of the changing personal piety.

In his article “The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century”, Zell categorises the preambles:

Usually the preambles take one of three forms. The first, usually referred to as traditional or Catholic, has a formula in which the testator asks for the intercession on his behalf of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints – the Holy Company of Heaven. The second formula, often called non-traditional, omits mention of the Virgin and the saints, and usually takes the simple form, “I command my soul to Almighty God”. Finally, there are preambles which depart altogether from the traditional format and reflect Protestant theological ideas in that they stress the inherent sinfulness of the testator and his role reliance on the mercy of Christ for his salvation.²¹

According to his categorisation, there are three different forms: Catholic/Traditional, Non-Traditional and Protestant. The Catholic preambles follow the traditional formula, which includes God, the Virgin Mary and the Saints or the Holy Company of Heaven. The Non-Traditional form is quite ambiguous. The formula takes a simple form, and the testator commands his or her soul to Almighty God only, which is disputable since God is categorised differently by other scholars. The third categorisation relied on the mercy of Christ and his salvation, which reflects Protestant ideas. According to his categorisation, the simplified table is given below.

²¹ Michael L. Zell, “The Use of Religious Preambles as a measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century”, *Historical Research*, 50 (1977): 246. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2281.1977.tb01720.x.

Catholic/Traditional	God, Virgin Mary, and the Saints / Holy Company of Heaven
Non- Traditional	God
Protestant	Jesus Christ

Table 1– Categorisation of Preambles by Zell

It must be highlighted that Zell does not categorise the preambles but the committals in wills. 16th-century preambles do not have the phraseology of “I command my soul” as Zell indicated, but the committals. Therefore, although he mistakenly used the term preamble, he described the categorisation of the committals. Another significance of his categorisation is the fact that he mentioned Christ’s salvation. This evidence shall only be pursued in the committals by analysing the verbs and nouns, which will be explained in the methodology part.

In his book *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Martin Heale stated that:

Other surviving wills of the last years of Henry VIII’s reign point to an innate conservatism on the part of ex-abbots and priors. The majority included traditional preambles that bequeathed the testator’s soul to God, the Blessed Virgin, and the company of heavens.²²

In his book, Heale remarks on the traditional way of will-writing in the committal. He explicitly indicates that in the Catholic or traditional wills, the testator bequeaths his or her

²² Martin Heale, *Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 366.

soul to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Company of Heaven. Therefore, Heale shares the same idea of the categorisation of the Catholic wills.

In her article “The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull”, *1520-1640: The Evidence from Wills*, Claire Cross underlines that “despite these very real reservations on the reliability of the evidence, in the absence of personal correspondence, wills remain the only reasonable comprehensive source from which to gauge religious trends.”²³ Cross, here, indicates that although many scholars are sceptical, wills are the only sources to illuminate the changing religious trend and personal piety of testators. It is not reasonable to be completely sceptical of a source that may necessarily provide insight from the ground that may reflect the overall trend. She further discusses that:

Testator after testator until around 1540 bequeathed his soul to God, St Mary and all the saints in heaven at Leeds, or to God, our Lady, and the celestial court of heaven at Hull. With the dissolution of chantries in the reign of Edward VI the Virgin and the saints disappeared from many, though not all, will preambles in both towns: they returned in most Leeds wills on the restoration of Queen Mary.²⁴

Cross does not explicitly categorise wills in her article, but makes a very crucial point that supports my own methodology. She indicates that until 1540, mainly before the Act of Supremacy, testators used the traditional formula which included bequeathing the soul to God, the Virgin Mary and the Court of Heaven. She underlines that after the dissolution, the dedication of the soul in the Catholic formula mostly disappeared and mostly returned with the reconciliation with the Roman Church during the reign of Queen Mary. There are four outputs from her article that firstly, testators committed their souls in the Catholic formula, which was altered after the Act of Supremacy, and reflect the suppression and the

²³ Claire Cross, “The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520-1640: The Evidence From Wills”, *Northern History*, 18:1 (1982): 230. DOI: 10.1179/007817282790176681.

²⁴ Cross, “The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520–1640,” 231–323.

policy of the monarch. Secondly, even though the laymen accepted the new faith, Protestantism, with the influence of the monarch, the fact that during the reign of Queen Mary, not all wills followed the Catholic formula may indicate that some laymen converted into Protestantism with freewill. Thirdly, as Cross underlined, the fact that the majority of the wills return to the Catholic formula may give an insight into the Crypto²⁵-Catholics, as I have defined them, who used a Protestant formula or a mixed formula to hide their identities. The fourth output is the laymen who began to use the Catholic formula due to the fact that Queen Mary reconciled with Rome, which will be discussed in this dissertation, whether it is the case or not. Unlike Zell, Cross underlines that testators who bequeath their souls to only God are “explicitly Protestant”²⁶ which undermines the categorisation of Zell since it is not the simplified or non-traditional way but rather a signal to identify Protestants.

In his work “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered”, Clive Burgess, one of the leading researchers on wills, discussed the reliability of wills.

Wills appear to yield abundant information, so much so that it is all too easy to assume that each provides a relatively realistic impression of a testator’s pious intent. Historians extrapolating from this premise, who have sought to establish the characteristics of contemporary religious behaviour by, for instance, analysing all the wills surviving for certain towns, have been so engaged sorting and interpreting wills’ minutiae that they have neglected to question basic assumptions concerning the reliability of their evidence.²⁷

²⁵ The term “crypto” is linked with the term “nicodemite” introduced by John Calvin in his work *Excuse à messieurs les Nicodémistes*.

²⁶ Cross, “The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520–1640,” 232.

²⁷ Clive Burgess, “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention,” 15.

Wills are historical sources²⁸ that have uncertainty and ambiguity in their cores due to the fact that they were written on a deathbed and may have several influences on the uncertainty. As discussed above, the influential elements should always be taken into consideration while studying wills, but the fact that it is inscribed by a priest²⁹ does not make a will unreliable. This generalisation is due to a lack of reading and studying only a small number of wills and not being aware of the variety of formulae used in both preambles and committal. Committal as a part has different elements in it to be assessed carefully. Therefore, even though Burgess' concern is reasonable, with a proper methodology, it is possible to obtain certain data for the changing religious beliefs during the Reformation period. In addition, like every historical source, wills were written by humans, which makes the source biased due to the fact that it only provides one account of the event. Wills in this regard are more reliable since it is a personal declaration, unlike other sources in history. It is not reasonable to expect 100% reliability from any historical sources, and the overall pattern of the changing formula in wills may somehow represent the personal belief of the testators during the upheaval.

²⁸ In relation with wills as historical sources and its formula, see Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans, "Wills as an Historical Source," in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2004), 38-71; Noman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984); Clive Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 837-858; B.Capp, "Will Formularies," *Local Population Studies*, 14 (1975): 49-50; G. Mayhew, "The Progress of the Reformation in East Sussex 1530-1559: the Evidence from Wills," *Southern History*, 5 (1993): 36-67; John Craig and Caroline Litzenberger. "Wills as Religious Propaganda: The Testament of William Tracy." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44, no. 3 (1993): 415-31. doi:10.1017/S0022046900014160.

²⁹ See Christopher Marsh, "Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England," in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2004), 158-175 and Margaret Spufford, "Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire, 1570-1700," in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2004), 144-157; R. Whiting, "For the Health of my Soul: Prayers for the Dead in the Tudor South-West", *Southern History* 5 (1983): 68-94.

In addition to Burgess, J.D Alsop in his article “Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae” discussed the reliability of wills:

In terms of individual belief, the religious preamble is an untrustworthy guide to the religion of the testator – or at least a guide for which the trustworthiness is suspect and, in most instances, impossible to establish.³⁰

Due to the nature of the historical sources, the possibility of being tampered with or manipulated, a scholar may not conduct his or her research with 100% reliability, but I strongly disagree with the generalisation of the impossibility of obtaining data through preambles. During the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, several different variations of preambles were utilised and ignoring this change after comparing the wills with the first two quarters of Henry VIII is simply due to working with a small number of wills or only focusing on certain eras.

In his article “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion: Evidence of Pilgrimage Bequests in the Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474”, Matthew Champion also discussed the validity and reliability of wills and possible external influences:

The wills appear to have the potential to shed light upon individuals’ attitudes towards pilgrimage and add an often forgotten voice to the complex debate that forms the core of any study into the religious belief of the lower orders during the later Middle Ages.³¹

In his article, Champion discusses the potential of wills reflecting the personal attitudes toward certain events. As this dissertation focuses on the attitude towards the religious policies of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I from the evidence of will as well, it may shed light upon personal piety. Dr Champion also stated that:

³⁰ J. D. Alsop, “Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae”, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40, no. 1 (1989): 19–27. doi:10.1017/S0022046900035405.

³¹ Champion, “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion,” 71.

It must be remembered that all wills, virtually without exception, were not the result of free-form creative act by the individual. They followed a standardized formula and were created in an environment where a number of elements and individuals would also have had influence.³²

Dr Champion highlights that there is a formula to follow for wills. There may be a formula for the structure of the wills, such as starting with a preamble and which is followed by a dating clause, but still, there isn't an explicit formula, especially after 1534, since the variety of elements in wills changed in 16th-century England, which will be discussed below in this dissertation. Therefore, even though Medieval wills followed a particular formula, it is not possible to say that Early Modern wills followed precisely the same formula due to several changes in will-writing tradition. Champion probably refers to the traditional way, which was "commending their soul to Almighty God, the Virgin and the Saints of Heaven"³³ as he also mentioned in his article.

In his article "Community, Piety, and Family in Yorkshire Wills between the Reformation and the Restoration", Will Coster stated that "an examination of the preamble as a whole can be revealing about testamentary behaviour"³⁴ unlike scholars who are more sceptical about using wills as primary sources and tracking the personal attitudes, religion and piety. She further discusses that "they could also be taken to suggest support for the long-recognised appeal of Reformed Protestantism to certain socio-economic groups."³⁵ Coster suggests that the evidence from wills may enlighten the attitudes toward the Protestant Reformation, and the evidence may also illuminate the attitudes of certain socio-

³² Champion, "Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion," 72.

³³ Champion, "Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion," 73.

³⁴ Will Coster, "Community, Piety, and Family in Yorkshire Wills Between the Reformation and the Restoration." *Studies in Church History. Subsidia* 12 (1999): 522. doi:10.1017/S0143045900002647.

³⁵ Coster, "Community, Piety, and Family in Yorkshire Wills," 523.

economic groups, such as the gentry and the middling class, as I have covered in this dissertation.

Eamon Duffy, who is a prominent scholar of the Reformation period in England, in his book *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, discussed the impact of reform from the evidence of wills.

Historians looking for evidence of religious change have tended more particularly to focus on the preambles to Tudor wills, in which the testator committed his soul to God, but often also to the saints before going on to dispose of his or her property “for the health of my soul”. Shifts in the phrasing of such preambles, for example, the omission of any mention of the saints, the expression of reliance solely on the merits of Christ, the repudiation of the value of good works, have all been taken signs of Protestant conviction on the part of the testator.³⁶

Duffy does not explicitly categorise the preambles and committal. Still, as he remarked in his article, he seems to support the idea that the omission of particular elements from the wills, such as saints or reliance on Jesus Christ, may demonstrate a decline in traditional will-writing, which further may suggest the sign of Protestant conviction, as he phrased it. He underlines that “preambles have been heavily relied on by historians arguing for the rapid progress of Protestantism among laity of mid-Tudor England”, and further indicates that, as stated by other scholars, wills should be handled with care.³⁷

As one of the pioneers of using wills as sources for the analysis of personal piety and beliefs, A.G. Dickens, in his article “The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558” stated that:

Traditional wills begin with the testator leaving his soul to the company of the saints in heaven, while Protestant-type wills naturally discard this practice and show testator bequeathing his soul to God or to Christ.³⁸

³⁶ Eamon Duffy, *Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-C.1580* (Yale University Press, 2005), 505.

³⁷ Eamon Duffy, *Traditional Religion in England*, 506.

³⁸ A. G. Dickens, “The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78(jg) (1978): 187-222, from doi:10.14315/arg-1987-jg10.

Dickens categorises wills in two forms and states that Catholic or Traditional wills refer to the Company of Heaven in the committal, while in Protestant wills, testators omit the Company of Heaven from the wills and bequeath his or her soul to God or Jesus Christ.

Catholic/Traditional	Company of Heaven
Protestant	God or Jesus Christ

Table 2– Categorisation of Committal by Dickens

Dickens does not refer to the Virgin Mary in his categorisation, which is a very strong Catholic element in wills, as Zell also discussed. He also rejects the idea of God being a simplified version of the Catholic will-writing.

One of the leading scholars on the Reformation who utilised wills as primary sources and categorised³⁹ them in three different forms is Caroline Litzenberg in her book *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540 – 1580*. Her categorisation of preambles and committals is tabulated below.

Traditional	Virgin Mary and/or Holy Company of Heaven
Ambiguous	Almighty God and/or Jesus Christ
Protestant	Testator directly addressing God

³⁹ Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 172.

Table 3– Categorisations by Caroline Litzenberger

Unlike Dickens and Duffy, Litzenberg categorised Almighty God and Jesus Christ as Ambiguous. She categorised God as a Protestant element, which indicates that if God takes an adjective, it becomes ambiguous. Her distinctive categorisation is Jesus Christ, which does not align with other scholars and does not really reflect the changing will-writing tradition, and remains idle during the Reformation period since Jesus Christ and the idea of Salvation became a part of the theological idea of Protestantism in the 16th-century.

1.3. Methodology

This research is based on 1624 wills from between 1553 and 1603 written during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I that were collected from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury in PROB 11 series. This research focuses on two significant counties of the kingdom: Kent and Gloucestershire. The sample of wills collected for this study is mainly in Early Modern English and Latin, which was used less especially after 1500.⁴⁰

This research proposes to examine and analyse the evidence collected from wills for possible religious changes, especially after the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, in two of the significant counties of the English Reformation, Kent and Gloucestershire. The research is based on 1624 wills in total, 116 wills from the reign of Mary Tudor, and 1508 wills from the reign of Elizabeth I, which have not been studied in detail before. This may reflect the changing personal piety and religious upheaval between 1553 and 1603. This research expands the interpretation of possible religious expressions and provides a new

⁴⁰ Judith Ford, *The Decline in the Use of Latin for Will- and Testament-making in Early Sixteenth- Century Bedfordshire*, *Reformation* 1 (1996), 138-148.

and unstudied analytical lens to the field by investigating and testing a variety of elements in wills, such as the entity to which the testator entrusted his or her soul to, reference to the title Supreme Head of the Church of England, Preambles, Verbs and Nouns utilised in the comittal part, presence and omission of the title Defender of the Faith and presence and omission of Acknowledgement of Monarchs. The study of these elements demonstrates changing use of religious and legal vernacular through lexical preferences of testators across regions and monarchs. This study not only tests these new elements for possible religious expressions and the identification of personal piety but also proposes a new interpretation for understanding the secret voice of testators. The breakdown of wills is given below.

County	Reign of Mary Tudor	Reign of Elizabeth I
Kent	81	854
Gloucestershire	35	654

Table 4– Breakdown of Number of Wills

To increase the reliability and validity of these personal documents for the reign of Mary Tudor, wills are to be analysed in yearly period as well as covering the whole reign between 1553-1558 considering the number of wills collected from the National Archives and for the reign of Elizabeth I, wills are to be analysed in 5-year periods that may reflect the personal piety of respective of testators. Respective wills are sorted into 4 different categories: Traditional, Protestant, Ambiguous and Prot/Cat. Certain elements will be evaluated to categorise the wills. Various elements of wills have already been studied to track the secret voice of testators for possible religious leanings, or they have external

evidence that may possibly help scholars to reveal any religious implications. The remaining elements have never been studied to pursue the possible voice of testators for any religious leanings. It is aimed that with the evidence of already studied elements, the remaining elements will be tested to see whether they align with the structured categorisation. The part below aims to demonstrate the already studied elements and the elements to be tested in this dissertation. In order to avoid any terminological confusion, even though many scholars named the committal as preambles, in this dissertation, the term preamble covers the opening part of the will, such as In the Name of God Amen or In Dei Nomine Amen. The committal is where the testator bequeaths his soul to such as “I bequeath my soul to Almighty God”. The current literature depends on categorising committals but solely focuses on the entities to whom the soul is entrusted. My own method does not only imply to draw the possible information of the personal piety through the entities but also highly focusing on the interpretation of the reference to the monarch, the use of the titles Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church of England, Preambles, exploring the meaning behind the verbs and nouns utilised by the testators due to vast amount of combinations and the meaning behind these combinations from both emotional and ecclesiastical perspective. My method may illuminate the core discussion of the reliability and validity of the wills since it assesses different elements of the wills to reveal the secret voices of the testators and their personal piety.

1.3.1. The Entity to which the Testator Entrusted His/Her Soul:

The entity in the committal is widely discussed by many scholars to pursue the possible evidence of any religious leanings in the 16th-century wills from England. As already

discussed in the part on Wills in Literature, the entity's identity may give a clear sense of Catholic or Protestant leaning from the evidence of wills. In addition, some scholars categorised some elements as ambiguous. Building upon the previous scholars, I also formed my own categorisation, which has never been studied before: Crypto-Catholics and Crypto-Protestants, aiming to reveal the voice of testators who were under governmental suppression and somehow mixed the use of entities to hide their religious identities. The table below demonstrates the combination of the categorisation of preambles by previous scholars. I had the privilege to implement my own categorisation, which is reflected in the explanation part below.

Entity	Religious Implication	Explanation
God Alone	Protestant	Direct relationship with God without any intermediaries.
Jesus Christ Alone	Protestant	Believing in the Christ-centred salvation.
Holy Trinity	Protestant	If there is no Mary and the Saints. If there, it may be Crypto-Catholics or Protestants depending on the reign of the monarch.
God, Mary, Saints	Catholic	Mary and Saints as intercessors.

Company of Heaven	Catholic	Strong Catholic phrasing.
Mix use of entities	Protestant, Catholic or Crypto-Protestant or Crypto-Catholics	Mix use of entities depends on the reign of the monarch and the combination of the entities.

Table 5– Categorisation of Entities in Wills

1.3.2. Reference to the Supreme Head of the Church of England

The title was created in 1531 for Henry VIII to separate the Church of England from the authority of the papacy. In 1534, the title and the supremacy of Henry VIII were confirmed with the Act of Supremacy. Edward VI also utilised the title and was referred to as Supreme Head of the Church in the official documents. The title was utilised during the reign of Edward VI and during the first year of Mary Tudor, who wasn't happy about the title and wished for its abolition. The disappearance of the title has four different layers, which begin with its use by Mary Tudor, its replacement with "etc." in official documents, as well as wills, non-use of the title after the marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain and its complete abolishment. The title Supreme Head has not been studied before as an implication of Protestant sympathy until my upcoming article "Mary Tudor as Supreme Head of the Church of England: The Evidence of Wills".⁴¹ The title Supreme Head will be

⁴¹ Oğulcan Çelik, "Mary Tudor as Supreme Head of the Church of England: The Evidence of Wills," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 89 (forthcoming 2026).

evaluated as an element of Protestantism, which will be discussed with historical evidence in the following parts.

1.3.3. Verbs Used in the Committal

The verbs employed in the committal of wills are one of the elements that have not been studied previously to study the secret voice and devotions of testators in 16th-century England. In Early Modern wills, verbs may function more than just legally but may also reflect the personal piety and the level of devotion of the testator. Drawing upon the external evidence, the verbs may play a significant role in the religious identification of the testators. Before 1534, the most common verb used in the committal was “bequeath”, which varied after the 1530s, and during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, along with “bequeath”, “commend” and “recommend” were primarily utilised, and the verb “give” was occasionally employed in wills. During the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, the verbs “will” and “yield” also began to be used.

VERBS
Bequeath, Commend, Give, Commit, Yield, Will, Recommend, Beseech, Betake

Table 6– Verbs Utilised in Wills

It must be underlined that the Verbs ought to be evaluated with different elements in order to increase the reliability of each element, as well as the possibility of any orientation to Catholicism or Protestantism.

1.3.4. Nouns Used in the Committal

16th-century wills not only served as a legal instruments for the disposition of movable and immovable property but also for spiritual expressions and personal piety of testators. The nouns that were used in the committal to qualify the entities God and/or Jesus may provide an insight into the changing religious beliefs and the personal expressions of testators. These elements have not been studied previously for this purpose. As one of the possible elements that may reveal the secret voices of testators, nouns may play a pivotal role in the religious identity of testators. During the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the nouns “creator”, “saviour”, “maker” and “redeemer” were mainly utilised in wills. It should be noted that the nouns “saviour” and “redeemer” were used where the testator also referred to Jesus Christ in his or her wills. The nouns such as saviour and redeemer, along with the entity Jesus Christ, will be evaluated as Protestant due to their definite theological implication. During the reign of Elizabeth I, the nouns “sanctifier” and “mediator” appeared in wills for the first time between 1557 and 1602. The table below demonstrates the utilised verbs and nouns during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

NOUNS
Creator, Saviour, Maker, Redeemer, Sanctifier, Mediator

Table 7–Nouns Utilised in Wills

It must be underlined that the Nouns ought to be evaluated with different elements in order to increase the reliability of each element, as well as the possibility of any orientation to Catholicism or Protestantism.

1.3.5. Preambles

Preambles have various forms, but the commonly used formula is “In the name of God Amen”⁴² or “In dei nomine Amen.”⁴³ According to the collected wills, the used formula for the preambles is In the Name of God Amen, In Dei Nominine Amen, Be It Known Unto All Men, Impirimis, In the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, In the Name of Jesus and God, Memorandum, This is the Last Will, The Testament, This is the Will Nuncupative, Testamentum Nancupatium or No Preamble. Traditionally, the preambles were written in Latin, but with the Reformation in England, this practice began to change. The form of the preamble that was utilised until the 1530s was In Dei Nominine Amen, and with the increasing number of English wills, especially after the 1530s, it was In the Name of God Amen. There is no external evidence for preambles for any religious sympathies. Therefore, the preambles will be tested along with the title Supreme Head, Entities and the Nouns such as saviour and redeemer to see whether they align with the already identified categorisation. One significant idea is that the fact that Jesus Christ is the sole mediator in Protestant theology and through whom salvation becomes possible, reflects the idea of Martin Luther’s *Sola Fide* as discussed before. Also, as underlined in Romans 3:23-24, “All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, and are justified freely by His grace through the redemption that came by Christ Jesus.”⁴⁴ The quotation from Romans explains how redemption is possible solely through Jesus Christ, as Luther also protested, which is one of the central theological beliefs of Protestants. The idea of referring to Jesus Christ in the preamble will also be tested along with other elements.

⁴² TNA PROB 11/19/21.

⁴³ TNA PROB 11/22/96.

⁴⁴ Romans 3:23-24.

1.3.6. Acknowledgement of Monarchs

Acknowledgement of Monarchs is very common in the wills that testators either referred to the monarchs with their full titles, such as “Sovereign Lord and Lady King Philip and Queen Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Spain, France, Jerusalem, Ireland” or omitted the titles and referred to them as only King or Queen.⁴⁵ Interpreting Acknowledgement of Monarchs in wills, along with other elements, may provide an avenue for reflecting political and religious statements of the testators. Intense changes in religious and political policies during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I may be reflected in testators’ use of royal titles. It may also reflect a possible interpretation of personal piety due to the religion of the monarch. Out of 1624 wills, 621 wills did not mention the monarch, which represents more than 38% of the overall wills.

1.3.7. Use of the title “Defender of the Faith” or “Fidei Defensor”

This honorary title was given to Henry VIII due to his services to the Pope against the heresy of Martin Luther. Therefore, the title holds a Catholic power and was used by Tudor monarchs. The fact that the title Defender of the Faith was utilised by both Catholic and Protestant Tudor monarchs, the Catholic meaning of the title may have possibly altered, and it may be employed as the defender of the true faith, which, of course, may be interpreted differently according to the reigning monarch and his or her religious policies. Although the title symbolised loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church as the protector of

⁴⁵ TNA PROB 11/39/21.

Catholicism before the break with Rome, the meaning may have altered since the title was not omitted but used by the following Tudor monarchs as well. One example is that Henry VIII might have become the Defender of the Faith of the true faith after the 1530s, which was Protestantism and might have utilised the title to promote the new religion as he was the Supreme Head. It must be underlined that the Defender of the Faith ought to be evaluated with different elements in order to increase the reliability of the element, as well as the possibility of any orientation to Catholicism or Protestantism.

1.4. Thesis Plan

This dissertation consists of 7 chapters that aim to demonstrate the long effect of The English Reformation after the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI from the evidence of wills, mainly focusing on the restoration of Catholicism during the reign of Mary Tudor and the Elizabethan Reformation after the union with the Catholic Church along with political and religious changes and turmoil in personal piety from the eyes of laymen in Kent and Gloucestershire.

The first chapter has focused on the function of Early Modern wills and the change of the form and language of the wills during the religious transformations under Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. In addition, a review of how previous historians have interpreted wills and their methodology has been provided. Lastly, in the methodology part, textual and contextual analysis of each element selected for this dissertation has been provided with a set of data to illuminate the possibility of the voice of testators and their personal piety.

In chapter two, the broader aspects of the European Reformation will be presented. The religious policies of Henry VIII and the break with Rome and Protestant policies under Edward VI will provide an historical background for further analysis of the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. As this dissertation specifically focuses on the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, the Marian Catholic restoration and unification with Rome, and the Elizabethan Settlement, along with religious policies, will be presented. This chapter will also focus on exploring and analysing how the English Reformation emerged in Gloucestershire and Kent with testamentary evidence from the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. In addition, the reason for the selection of the Counties of Kent and Gloucestershire will be provided to assess the attitudes of laymen.

Chapter three will explore and analyse the elements such as the use of entities, the title Supreme Head and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, mainly focusing on the external evidence and possible indication of religious leanings. The attempted categorisation of the wills will be given under this chapter. The chapter will be concluded with the regional analysis of these elements in Gloucestershire and Kent.

Chapter four will focus on the elements: Preambles, Verbs and Nouns, Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchs during the reign of Mary Tudor. In addition, the regional differences and the possible interpretation of Preambles, Verbs and Nouns and Defender of the Faith in Kent and Gloucestershire will be provided with the categorisation already formed in chapter two to see possible variations.

Chapter five will focus on the elements: Preambles, Verbs and Nouns, Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchs during the reign of Elizabeth I. In addition, the regional differences and the possible interpretation of Preambles, Verbs and Nouns and

Defender of the Faith in Kent and Gloucestershire will be provided with the categorisation already formed in chapter two to see possible variations.

Chapter six will focus on the analysis of whether the categorisation of elements such as Entities, Supreme Head and the Nouns Saviour and Redeemer are equal to the repetitive use of Defender of the Faith, some Verbs and Nouns, Acknowledgement of Monarchs and Preambles. The unique use of each element and its combination with other elements will be analysed in this part of the dissertation. Finally, with the constructed formula and methodology that are discussed in the related chapters, the possible voice of testators and personal piety of laymen will be analysed from testamentary evidence in Kent and Gloucestershire along with the concluding remarks on the impact of the Catholic reign of Mary Tudor and the Protestant reign of Elizabeth I with a specific focus on the changing religious belief and the attitudes of laymen towards the religious policies of the monarchs will be highlighted.

Chapter seven, the last will and testament, will summarise the key findings and implementation of the new methodology formed by myself, along with the discussions of previous historians. The chapter will also discuss the implementation of the new methodology, the changing religious beliefs and personal piety in Kent and Gloucestershire, and how different geographies reflected their attitudes towards the policies.

CHAPTER II: THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

This chapter focuses on aspects of the European Reformation and the English Reformation, including the religious policies of Henry VIII and the break with Rome, as well as the Protestant policies under Edward VI. These will provide an historical background for further analysis of the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. As this dissertation specifically focuses on the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, the Marian Catholic restoration and reunification with Rome, as well as the Elizabethan Settlement, and its associated religious policies, will be presented. This chapter also focuses on exploring and analysing how the English Reformation emerged and developed in Gloucestershire and Kent as reflected in testamentary evidence from the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The detailed historical survey in this current chapter is intended to provide relevant background for the analysis of the various elements in wills in the subsequent chapters, as it reveals the connection between official policies and the personal attitudes and beliefs of laymen.

2.1. Sixteenth-Century Reformation

As in England, historians of the English Reformation have been divided over the popularity and speed of the religious changes.⁴⁶ Earlier Whig-Protestant or traditional accounts, like

⁴⁶ See Ethan H. Shagan, "Hypocrisy and Humour in the English Reformation," *Studies in Church History* 60 (2024): 176–96, <https://doi.org/10.1017/stc.2024.5>; Joe Chick, "Reading: The Reformations," in *Reading the Reformations: Theologies, Cultures and Beliefs in an Age of Change*, ed. Anna French, St

A. G. Dickens, highlighted that the Reformation was a progressive movement that was largely welcomed⁴⁷. Revisionist scholars, such as Christopher Haigh,⁴⁸ J. J. Scarisbrick,⁴⁹ and Eamon Duffy,⁵⁰ have stressed that traditional religion was widely supported, and the religious changes in England were slow and uneven, often met with resistance. The revisionist approach also highlights the significance of lived religion and, studying from the ground perspective, focuses on territories rather than high politics. The post-Revisionist approach has also been associated with Peter Marshall⁵¹ and Diarmaid MacCulloch,⁵² who sought to explain that, despite resistance, uncertainty, and ambivalence, Protestantism significantly shaped the English religious culture. The fact that this dissertation focuses on lived religion and religious expression and personal religion of testators, the Revisionist approach will be taken into consideration and sources utilised in the dissertation will be based on leading Revisionist scholars of the English Reformation.

The English Reformation, being a part of the broader Protestant Reformation, was a revolution and a challenge against the Catholic Church and its theological and doctrinal

Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 151–74, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004521247_008; Polly Ha, “Reorienting English Protestantism,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 53, no. 1 (2023): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-10188987>; Benjamin M. Guyer, *How the English Reformation Was Named: The Politics of History, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Robert O. Bucholz, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History*, 3rd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2020); Diarmaid MacCulloch, “The Great Transition: 1530–1603,” in *Westminster Abbey: A Church in History*, ed. David Cannadine (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in association with the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St Peter Westminster [Westminster Abbey], 2019), 135–78; Robert Armstrong, “Introduction: Protestant England and the English Bible,” in *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*, ed. Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1–28, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004347977_002.

⁴⁷ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964).

⁴⁸ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁴⁹ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

⁵⁰ Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

⁵¹ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁵² Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

entity that supposedly represented those who put their faith in the Catholic Church and the Papacy. It was broadly discussed by many scholars that the main concern of the Reformation was religious as well as political, economic, and social, considering the policies of Henry VIII in England. It was highlighted by the ecclesiastical historians that it was “the end of a united Christendom”.⁵³ 16th-century England was an age of division due to changes in religious beliefs, ideologies, and practices, considering the social and political instability. As Cameron underlined, it was a rebellion of the society, including some privileged classes as well as a few churchmen, “against their own superiors”.⁵⁴ The fact that well-known theologians such as Martin Luther, Jean Calvin and Huldrych Zwingli played pivotal roles by rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church as well as questioning practices and doctrines of the Papacy created a turmoil in the Christian world which led to the counter attacks from the Church to “defend their status”⁵⁵ This doctrinal and theological alteration divided the Christian world into two. The ground of this movement by both laymen and churchmen was the abuses of the Church that deceived people through the power of saints, relics and shrines that were considered as a bridge between the dead and the living. Practising religion with those material entities and considering them as mediators between the prayer and God was considered blasphemy, which discredited Christianity since it was a part of a pagan belief system. Practices in Christianity and new ideas on how to be a proper Christian had been proposed by many Reformist theologians to eliminate the corrupted practices imposed by the Catholic Church in the 16th century.

⁵³ 1 A. G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970), 3; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

⁵⁴ Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1.

⁵⁵ Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 1.

One of the leading theologians during the 16th century was Martin Luther. He questioned the Church due to its abuses of people's personal piety and belief. Even though Luther's ideas were rooted in the abuses of people, another leading factor was "his own personal anxiety about salvation".⁵⁶ He mainly focused on the doctrine of Justification and questioned and studied righteousness in a way unlike the Church. Referring to Romans 4:1-5,⁵⁷ Luther believed that the term righteousness was a declaration of God that may only be earned with true faith, which became his doctrine of Justification by Faith. His approach led him to question the Church's doctrines and her legitimacy. Questioning the Papal authority urged him to compose his Ninety-Five Theses, or Disputation on the Power of Indulgences (*Disputatio Pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum*) in 1517. The theses clearly question the authority of the Catholic Church, its false practices and teachings and the indulgences that the Papal authority abuses laymen with. In these articles, he underlines several contradictory points, including repentance being in the hands of Christians rather than being acquired by the Church through a certain token that was against the orders of God,⁵⁸ as well as the Pope's power to remit the sins of Christians⁵⁹ which can only be the act of God. Due to false practices of the Church, he stated that he was "a sworn doctor of Holy Scripture, and beyond that a preacher each weekday whose duty it is on account of his name, station, oath, and office, to destroy or at least ward off false, corrupt, unchristian doctrine".⁶⁰ Luther's personal views on the Pope is him being a hypocrite due to his practices and doctrines imposed on the Christians that were considered as abuses. As the

⁵⁶ Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 62.

⁵⁷ Romans 4:1-5.

⁵⁸ Martin Luther, "Original 95 Theses", accessed April 20, 2025. <https://www.luther.de/en/95thlat.html>.

⁵⁹ Luther, "Original 95 Theses."

⁶⁰ Martin Luther, "Why the books of the Pope and his disciples were burned" (1520) in Luther's Works 31:383.

Pope represents God on earth, his service for the Christians must be without earthly expectation. Due to his interpretation of the Scripture, he failed to follow the guidance of the Bible. Failing to do so, he manipulated and deceived Christians with indulgences and became a heretic.⁶¹ The fact that he wrote his 95 Theses to criticise the teachings and the doctrines of the Papacy, he was excommunicated by Pope Leo X. Luther was accused of being a heretic and On 23 January 1521, before the assembly – the Diet of Worms – Luther was to be denounced publicly as excommunicated, accursed, condemned, interdicted, deprived of possessions and incapable of owning them. They are “to be strictly shunned by all faithful Christians”.⁶² Luther marked the Reformation period with his doctrine of *Sola Scriptura*, which means Scripture alone. He stressed that the sole authority is the scripture and the only reliable source for matters of faith. He rejected the supremacy of the Pope as the mediator between God and the people and underlined the significance of the justification by faith alone, which is the doctrine of *Sola Fide* (see chapters 1, 3, 4, 5 for the analysis of elements within the doctrine of *Sola Fide*). Therefore, he condemned the Pope as the Antichrist in Rome and criticised the authority of the Pope.

Huldrych Zwingli was also one of the leading theologians in Switzerland, who was influenced by Erasmus. As one of the reformists in the 16th century, he began to preach his ideas in 1519. He likened the scripture to bread and believed that it was the duty of the preachers to feed the souls of Christians and to instruct them. Due to the fact that a great number of people did not own a bible or even if they had, they could not read Latin during the 16th century and beforehand, as his duty, he preached the Book of Matthew, the New

⁶¹ Martin Luther quoted in Carter Lindberg, “Prierias and His Significance for Luthers Development.” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, no. 2 (1972): 55, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2540104>.

⁶² “Decet Romanum Pontificem” Papal Encyclicals, accessed April 20, 2025, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo10/110decet.htm>.

and Old Testament, so that those who could not read Latin or had a Bible could hear the commands of God. He believed that “all of life, personal and communal, is to be normed by Scripture”.⁶³ He believed that ecclesiastical authorities such as bishops, priests and monks were corrupted and blinded by the material entities and rewards that they could not see “the spiritual nature of God”.⁶⁴ One of his main concerns was the Freedom of Christians, which he protested against the tradition of fasting during Lent. He believed that it was each individual’s personal decision to fast or not to fast; in addition, the Bible has no reference to “interdicting the eating of meat during Lent”.⁶⁵ His other concern was clerical marriage. Those who put their faith in the Catholic Church and its teaching and practices should follow clerical celibacy and be cleansed from earthly desires. Therefore, it was forbidden to have sexual intercourse, get married and have children. Zwingli, unlike the Catholic Church, promoted the marriage of clergymen, and he himself got married to Anna Reinhart, who was a widow with a son, in 1524. As Luther, he also believed in the doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone and repentance. He officially broke with the Roman Catholic Church after his sermon on the *Eternal Pure Virgin Mary* in 1522. He was against the idea of interpreting the Bible due to the fact that the Bible needed no interpretation since “the Word of God is crystal clear, certain and unequivocal”.⁶⁶ The fact that Pope interpreted the Holy Scripture and manipulated laymen with indulgences,⁶⁷ Pope Leo X was depicted as a beast and “the Antichrist in Rome”⁶⁸ in one of the 16th-century

⁶³ Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 174.

⁶⁴ Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2008), 52.

⁶⁵ Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 169.

⁶⁶ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 56.

⁶⁷ For more information, see Ulrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and G. W. Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006).

⁶⁸ “The Pope as the Antichrist” The First Lutheran Church of Boston, accessed April 20, 2025, <https://www.flc-boston.org/tag/antichrist>.

illustrations. He also protested the use of images and attacked them in one of his sermons due to honouring saints. As Martin Luther stated, Zwingli also believed that honouring the saints and putting faith in their power was a form of idolatry. Therefore, starting from 1523, the act of iconoclasm took place in Zurich. In the sixteen-article composed by him, he stated that in the gospel we learn that human teaching and statutes are of no use to salvation”.⁶⁹ By human teachings, he meant the interpretation of the Holy Scripture, and the statutes were the icons that people put their faith in for salvation, which meant idolatry for Zwingli. With his preaching, iconoclasm spread in Switzerland and all material entities that interrupt the direct connection between God and his subjects, such as images of saints, banners, shrines, altars, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ, were banned. Another step to remove the direct connection between God and his subjects was to form a group of visitors to visit the Churches to remove the icons in Zurich. All icons found during the visits were burnt, and the valuable ones were melted down to make money, and the related amounts were utilised to help poor people, which was one of the reformist ideas during the 16th century. As Zwingli’s main concern was the freedom of Christians, he wrote his 67 Articles. It was proposed to the council of the town in the First Disputation of Zurich and was accepted by the council. By the order of the council, in 1524, religious and monastic houses began to be suppressed for poor relief. As Luther condemned the Pope as the Antichrist and criticised the authority of the Pope, Zwingli also criticised and denied the divine basis of papal authority.

In Geneva, John Calvin, who was a French pastor, theologian, and lawyer, was the leading reformist. His close liaison with Edward Seymour, Edward VI and Thomas

⁶⁹ Ulrich Zwingli, H. Wayne Pipkin, and E. J. Furcha, *Huldrych Zwingli Writings* (Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1984), 62.

Cranmer, who was the Archbishop of Canterbury, had an impact on shaping the Reformation in England. Calvin sent letters to Seymour and warned him regarding those “who under the guise of the gospel throw everything into disorder, and about those who persist in the superstitions of the Antichrist in Rome”.⁷⁰ John Calvin’s reformist ideas were consisting of three steps, that were “the right manner of instructing the people, the abolition of abuses and to fight against sin”.⁷¹ Calvin shared the same approach with Luther and Zwingli regarding the abuses of laymen through indulgences as well as instructing people to follow the Holy Scripture as it was their duty as the preachers to echo the voice of God. He believed that the Church was manipulating people by feeding on their worldly fears and abusing them with indulgences, which kept them away from the true way of Christianity. In order to cleanse England from the false practices of the Roman Catholic Church as well to make sure that England was purified by the Antichrist in Rome and his manipulations, he sent letters to several authorities in England including Edward VI, the King of England, the King’s Tutor, Sir Thomas Cheke, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Edward Seymour, the Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset. In one of his letters, he stated that;

Or au pseaulme présent il est parlé de la noblesse et dignité de l'Eglise, laquelle doit tellement ravir à soy et grans et petits que tous les biens et honueurs de la terre ne les retiennent, ny empeschent qu'ils ne prétendent à ce but d'estre enrolléz au peuple de Dieu. C'est grand chose d'estre Roy, mesme d'un tel païs; toutefois je ne doute pas que vous n'estimiez sans comparaison mieux d'estre Chrestien. C'est doncq un privilège inestimable que Dieu vous a faict, Sire, que vous soiez Roy Chrétien, voire que vous luy serviez de lieutenant pour ordonner et maintenir le Royaulme de Jésus Christ en Angleterre.⁷²

⁷⁰ Wulfert De Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994), 217.

⁷¹ Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin*, 217.

⁷² Letters of John Calvin, (The Project Gutenberg), Volume 1 of 4 by Jules Bonnet, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45423/45423-h/45423-h.htm>. Translation: Now in this present psalm it

He referred to Edward VI as the Sire and highlighted that it was God's wish to make Edward VI a Christian King to follow the right path and show true Christianity. As an answer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in one of the letters sent to Calvin, stated that he would "vigorously carry on the Reformation in England"⁷³ due to the fact that Calvin believed that the Church was an institution of corruption and the only authority must be the Scripture itself. Even though Calvin had no impact on the Henrician Reformation, he had an influence on the Edwardian Reformation, especially on the *Book of Common Prayer of 1552* and the *Forty-Two Articles of 1553* and the *First Book of Homilies of 1547*. The 16th-century Reformation was shaped by the leading ecclesiastical scholars, pastors, and theologians such as Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. Their approach to Christianity was finding the true meaning rather than abusing laymen with indulgences and purely following the Holy Scripture and its commands without any interpretation. Another significant approach was not having intermediary materials between God and his subjects. Their personal piety and the understanding of Christianity had shaped the understanding of the Holy Scripture and overall belief system in Christendom, including some of the doctrines and practices.

2.1.1. Henry VIII

The English Reformation was characterised by the Reformation in Europe and the ideas of reformists such as Calvin. Even though the core understanding of the Reformation was to

speaks of the nobility and dignity of the Church, which ought so to carry away both great and small that all the goods and honours of the earth neither hold them back nor hinder them from aiming at this goal: to be enrolled among the people of God. It is a great thing to be a king, especially of such a realm; nevertheless I do not doubt that you deem it beyond comparison better to be a Christian. It is therefore an inestimable privilege that God has granted you, Sire, that you are a Christian king—indeed, that you serve Him as His lieutenant to order and uphold the kingdom of Jesus Christ in England.

⁷³ Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin*, 217.

return to the guidance of the Holy Scripture and to eliminate the abuses of the Pope, Henry VIII's understanding of the Reformation did not rely on ecclesiastical concerns. He was believed to be a righteous Christian "his beliefs remained largely unchanged throughout his adult life"⁷⁴ As stated by Alec Ryrie, "he was the ideal Renaissance king".⁷⁵ During the first decades of the reign of Henry VIII, England was mostly a Catholic Kingdom from the testamentary evidence⁷⁶ due to the fact that people were devoted to the religion of their forefathers.⁷⁷ From the testamentary evidence, testators bequeathed some of their movable property⁷⁸, which was a significant source for the Church since people were afraid of damnation of their souls as well as the idea of Purgatory. As a part of Catholic doctrine, people believed in the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.⁷⁹ During the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, clergy and laymen were following the teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church.⁸⁰ After Luther's Ninety-Five Theses, the Reformation began to spread in Europe and in England as well. Henry VIII, as a devoted Catholic, was gainst the ideas of Martin Luther and as the supporter of the Papacy, Henry VIII composed his well-known work, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Adversus Martinum Lutherum* or "Defence of the Seven Sacraments" as he fought against the heretic ideas of Luther who questioned the authority of the Papacy and its teachings and practices. As one

⁷⁴ Keith Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 17.

⁷⁵ Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485-1603* (Harlow: Pearson, 2009), 83.

⁷⁶ Dorothy Edwards, *Early Northampton Wills: Preserved in Northamptonshire Record Office* (Northamptonshire: Publication of the Northamptonshire Record Society, 2005), 67.

⁷⁷ See Oğulcan Çelik, "The Religion of the Gentry and Middling Classes: The English Reformation as Reflected in Wills, 1509-1553." Master's Thesis, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2019.

⁷⁸ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 3.

⁷⁹ Brian Moynahan, *Book of Fire - William Tyndale, Thomas More and The Bloody Birth of the English Bible* (London: Little, Brown Book Group, 2011), no pagination.

⁸⁰ For more information, see A. G Dickens, "The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987): 187-222, <https://doi.org/10.14315/arg-1987-jg10>.

of the soldiers of the Papacy, Pope Leo X rewarded him with the title of *Fidei Defensor*, “Defender of the Faith (this is one of the elements to be discussed in the following chapters, see chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6) on 11 October 1521. Henry VIII wrote to Pope Leo X in one of his letters:

Most Holy Father, As we Catholic sovereigns should uphold religion, when We saw Luther's heresy running wild, for the sake of Germany, and still more for love of the Holy Apostolic See, We tried to weed out this heresy.⁸¹

As indicated by the letter Henry VIII wrote to the Pope, he was a devout Catholic, and accused Luther of heresy, which demonstrates that in his early reign, England mostly followed the traditional belief.⁸² As the Defender of the Faith, he echoed the words of the Pope in England as the soldier of Catholicism. The title represents the devotion of Henry VIII to the Papacy and the Catholic Church. One of the significant steps taken during the reign of Henry VIII was the translation of the New Testament into English by William Tyndale. Considering people could not read the Scripture in Latin and understand the

⁸¹ Henry VIII, King of England, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: Or Defence of the Seven Sacraments* (Forgotten Books, 2015), 20.

⁸² For more information on the reign of Henry VIII, see Paul Kendall, *Henry VIII in 100 Objects: The Tyrant King Who Had Six Wives* (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2020); J. F. Hadwin, “Leviticus, Deuteronomy and Henry VIII,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70, no. 3 (2019): 487–506, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046918002609>; Mark R. Horowitz, *Daring Dynasty: Custom, Conflict and Control in Early-Tudor England* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2018); G. W. Bernard, “Henry VIII and the Royal Supremacy,” *History Today* 68, no. 4 (2018): 52–61; Steven J. Gunn, *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); G. W. Bernard, ““A Water-Spout Springing from the Rock of Freedom”: Corruption in Sixteenth- and Early-Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Anti-corruption in History: From Antiquity to the Modern Era*, ed. Ronald Kroeze, André Vitória, and Guy Geltner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 125–38, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198809975.003.0009>; Charles Giry-DeLoison, “Henri VIII, Luther et les prémices de la réforme anglaise,” *Revue du Nord* 99, no. 421 (2017): 517–36; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016); Richard Rex, “Councils, Counsel and Consensus in Henry VIII’s Reformation,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 204 (2016): 135–50; Steven J. Gunn, *Henry VII’s New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Susan Loughlin, *Insurrection: Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Stroud: History Press, 2016); Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Henry VIII*, (London: Routledge, 2015); J. A. Guy, *Henry VIII: The Quest for Fame* (London: Penguin Books, 2018); Frank Dwyer, *Henry VIII* (New York: Chelsea House, 1988); Michael Denison Palmer, *Henry VIII* (London: Longman, 1983); Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971).

meaning and the commands of God, they were deceived by the Papacy. Tyndale stated that “I defie the Pope and all his lawes . . . if God spare my lyfe ere many yeares, I wyl cause a boye that dryveth the plough, shall knowe more of the scripture then thou doest”.⁸³ The initial motivation for translating the New Testament into English was to provide a source for laymen who could not read Latin and to protect them from the abuse of the Church. It was a movement against the power of the Papacy. The translation of the New Testament spread with the speed of the printing press. Another leading factor in the spread of the English Reformation was Simon Fish, who was known as a Protestant reformer, fought against the Papacy. He wrote his *A Supplication for Beggars* in 1529 and dedicated his work “to the king ovre souereygne lorde”⁸⁴ His work criticised the idea of Purgatory, the power, and the wealth of the Church as well as the idleness of the clergy. He accused clergy of “gredy sort of sturdy idell holy theues”.⁸⁵ In addition, he blamed the clergy for deceiving laymen and stated that those who followed the Pope were heretics as well:

I wote that this purgatory and the Popes pardons is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome.⁸⁶

Fish believed that the idea of Purgatory was one of the key elements to deceive and frighten people. The idea of Purgatory became a tool and a power to frighten laymen. With the power of fear and the fear of damnation of the soul Papacy and the Church’s doctrines and false teachings would remain unchanged.

⁸³ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes* (London: John Day, 1563), 570.

⁸⁴ Simon Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars* (London: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2001), 1.

⁸⁵ Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, 6.

⁸⁶ Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, 6.

Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor until 1532, wrote his *Supplication of Souls* in response to Luther and Tyndale and stated that:

For albeit this beggars' proctor saith that right wise and cunning 30 men will say that there is no purgatory at all... by which wise men he meaneth Luther and Tyndale and himself—yet was there never any of them all that yet laid any substantial thing, either reason or authority, for them... but only jest and rail, and say that purgatory is a thing of the pope's own making, and that souls do nothing till Doomsday but lie still and sleep. And thus telling such wise tales for their own part... and making mocks and mows at everything that maketh against their folly for our part, they go forth in their evil will and obstinacy, and with murmur and grudge of their own conscience..⁸⁷

Thomas More was against the idea of the denial of Purgatory, unlike Fish, Tyndale, and Luther, as well as against the idea of the Reformation. He believed that the works of the reformers were against the Church and its doctrines. During the course of the 16th-century, many literary works⁸⁸ were composed and published for the justification of the Catholic and Protestant doctrines and the power of the Papacy. There are many studies conducted, and discussions still go on regarding the starting point of the Reformation and the idea of reforming the Church during the reign of Henry VIII in England. Unlike Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin, the propensity of Henry VIII wasn't rooted in his anxiety for salvation, but rather political, considering the fact that he was a trustworthy supporter of the Pope, as he was the Defender of the Faith. Comparing the reformative movements in Germany and Switzerland, it should be underlined that the Reformation in England was not a decision due to religious purposes but a process that evolved along with

⁸⁷ Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter against Frith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 177-178.

⁸⁸ Some of the examples are: *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* written in 1523, *Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio Contra Lutherum* written in 1525, *Defensio Regie Assertionis Contra Babylonicam Captiuitatem* written in 1525 and *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* written in 1527, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* in 1528, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* in 1528, *Rede Me and Be Nott Wrothe for I Saye No Thyng but Trothe*, *The Practice of Prelates* in 1530, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* in 1531, *The Exposition of I John* in 1531 and *the Exposition of Matthew V-VII* in 1533, *A Supplication for Beggars* in 1529 in English.

Henry VIII's political and economic views, as well as his desire to become the Supreme Head of the Church (this is one of the elements to be discussed in the following chapters, see chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6) to justify his own agenda. His agenda was to produce a male heir to the throne who would succeed Henry VIII. The fact that he had no living son, since his first son, Henry, the Duke of Cornwall, who died in 1511, led him to question his marriage with Katherine of Aragon⁸⁹ as well as her condition "to conceive a child".⁹⁰ His will to have a male heir resulted in seeking a way to prove the invalidity of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon⁹¹, after he fell in love with beautiful Anne Boleyn, whom she promised a male heir, that Henry VIII desired the most. He sought answers, and tried to find ways to divorce from Katherine, from biblical texts and in *The Book of Leviticus*, it was stated that:

Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness and if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness: and they shall be childless.⁹²

The nakedness of thy brother's wife symbolises the sexual intercourse between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon. As stated in the book, it is against the Catholic tradition that the brother-in-law should not consummate with his brother's wife and or he would be childless. Even though Henry VIII had two children, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth I, he interpreted the verse as "lack of surviving legitimate male children was God's punishment for marrying in defiance of divine law".⁹³ The fact that the biblical text could not justify the cause of Henry VIII, he sought ways to prove his supremacy over the Church in

⁸⁹ Prince Arthur who was the elder brother of Henry VIII had married Katherine of Aragon. The fact that he died before the marriage was not consummated, as per the Book of Deuteronomy, Henry VIII got married Katherine of Aragon to fulfil his duty as the brother-in-law.

⁹⁰ Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 92.

⁹¹ See Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993).

⁹² The Book of Leviticus: 18:16, 20:21.

⁹³ Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 10.

England so that the decision of his marriage would remain in his hands. “Scholars and royal agents gathered together and studied manuscripts that would provide evidence to buttress Henry’s claims that his annulment of marriage to Katherine was justified and that his matrimonial case ought to be determined in England rather than Rome”⁹⁴ These collections were *Collectanea Satis Copiosa* or *The Sufficiently Abundant Collections*.

In order to prove his supremacy over the Church in England and to revoke the need of permission from the Pope regarding the invalidity of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII regarding the religious policies, The Act of the Pardon of The Clergy was passed by the parliament that was an “important episode in the story of Henry’s overthrow of the medieval Church”⁹⁵ The Supplication the Commons, prepared by Thomas Cromwell in 1529, was submitted to the House of Commons in 1532. This document is significant because “the opening paragraphs suggest that reform of the clergy is needed if Protestant opinions are to be effectively dealt with”.⁹⁶ One of the significant steps that was considered an economic attack against the power of the Pope was the Act for the Conditional Restraint of Annates, which was passed by the parliament in 1532 and restricted the share to be given to the Roman Catholic Church.

The power of literature was significant during the Reformation period, which Henry VIII also believed to be, and he utilised this power to justify his wish for the annulment. Therefore, he wrote his book *A Glasse of the Truthe* to prove that his marriage was illegal and “should never have been permitted”.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “Collectanea Satis Copiosa,” The British Library, accessed April 20, 2025, <https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/henryviii/greatmatter/collsatis/index.html>.

⁹⁵ J. Scarisbrick, “The Pardon of the Clergy, 1531,” *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 12, no. 1, (1956): 22-39, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3021051>.

⁹⁶ Lewis, Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 51.

⁹⁷ G. W. Bernard, *The Kings Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 9.

The Divine. Fyrste it is to vnderstande, that accordynge to the sayleng of the prophet Dauid.* The worde of our lorde god is mooste sure and euer abyddeth. Syns that so is infallible, it must nedes folowe, that it, whiche he vtterly forbyddeth in the negatiue, may no wyse be attempted.* Thanne in this case, that is to saye. A man ought nat to mary his brothers wyfe: It is in the Negatyue forbodden, in the Leuityke bothe .xviiij. and .xx. chapitres. And therfore in no wyse hit is to be attempt|ed / specially with vs that be chrysten people.*

The Lavyere I thynke this hardde to be assoyled: ne|uerthe lesse the lawe Deuteronomyke se|meth to assoyle the same.

The Divine. Nay surely, if hit be well vn|derstande...⁹⁸

The book presents dialogues between the Divine and the Lawyer. Two personas in the book argue the validity of the marriage of Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII, which ends with a bilateral understanding that the marriage was illegal and supports the annulment. The selection of the characters plays a significant role. The Divine explains the reasons for the illegality of the marriage by underlining the verses and sharing the ecclesiastical knowledge as s/he represents the religious power and view of the marriage between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. It creates a solid ground for those having religious concerns about the annulment of the marriage. On the other hand, the Lawyer represents a tone for the juridical part of the discussion as well as religious, considering the fact that s/he gives an example from the Book of Deuteronomy and as the figure of justice, s/he justifies the annulment.

One of the significant steps to spread Protestantism in England was the appointment of Thomas Cranmer who was the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. Following his appointment, the Act in Restraint of Appeals was passed by the Parliament in 1533, as this act was his product to spread Protestantism in England. The act highlights that the authority solely resides in the monarch, Henry VIII, and any authority imposed outside of the kingdom was considered invalid, which invalidates the authority of the Papacy in England.

⁹⁸ Henry VIII, King of England, *A Glasse of the Truthe*, (London, 1532?), no pagination.

With the act, the final decision on the marriage was in the hands of Henry VIII. Following the Act in Restraint of Appeals in 1533, the Archbishop of Canterbury announced the annulment of Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII.

Today, 23 May, I have given sentence in your great and weighty cause. I send a copy thereof by the bearer, Ric. Watkyns. As I was advertised by the letters of Mr. Thurlesbye, your chaplain, that it was your pleasure that I should cause your counsel to conceive a procuracy concerning the second marriage, I have sent the letters to them, and required them to act accordingly. I desire to know your pleasure concerning the second matrimony as soon as you and your counsel are perfectly resolved therein, for the time of the coronation is so near at hand that the matter requires good expedition. Dunstaple, 23 May. Signed. P. 1. Add. Endd.⁹⁹

The annulment was a clear sign of revoking and eliminating the authority of the Pope, as well as indicating the progress of the spread of Protestantism in England. In 1534, the Act of Supremacy was passed by the Parliament. The act was the sign that Henry VIII had the ecclesiastical power in England over the Church, and he became the Supreme Head of the Church of England.¹⁰⁰ England officially broke with Rome since the kingdom was freed from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Papacy. The title Supreme Head of the Church represented not only a break with Rome but a rivalry against the abuses of the Catholic belief as well. “The Pope’s name was erased by most monks”¹⁰¹, and the Pope was denounced as the “biblically predicted antichrist, thief, hireling, boar from the wood and whore of Babylon.”¹⁰² The depiction of the Pope by the ordinary people in England

⁹⁹ “Henry VIII: May 1533, 21-25,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 228-234.

¹⁰⁰ “Act of Supremacy 1534”, UK Parliament, accessed April 20, 2025,

<https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/privatelives/religion/collections/common-prayer/act-of-supremacy/>. See G. W. Bernard *The Kings Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 225.

¹⁰¹ Robert Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 12.

¹⁰² Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*, 14; See Martin Luther’s *Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* written in 1520.

demonstrates that laymen began to accept the supremacy of Henry VIII.¹⁰³ It is stated in the Book of Revelation 18:3 that “the kings of the earth committed adultery with her”.¹⁰⁴ Since the Pope was likened to the Whore of Babylon, the kings of the earth committed adultery due to the fact that they followed the Pope and his false teachings and doctrines. Adultery represents the evil against true Christianity that was corrupted by earthly desires and abuses of the Pope and those who followed his authority. There were a few supporters of the Pope, and the idea was “Rome shall be up again”.¹⁰⁵ After Henry became the Supreme Head of the Church of England, anticlericalism¹⁰⁶ was spread in England. The Act of Succession and the Oath of Allegiance to Henry VIII and His Successors¹⁰⁷ were passed by the parliament to secure Henry VIII’s supremacy over the Church.

Ye shall swear to bear your Faith, Truth, and Obedience, alonely to the King's Majesty, and to the Heirs of his Body, according to the Limitation and Rehearsal within this Statute of Succession above specified, and not to any other within this Realm, nor foreign Authority, Prince, or Potentate.¹⁰⁸

In the original document, there is a list that provides the names of people who put their faith in Henry VIII. Even though Henry VIII secured his power among some of his subjects, his most trusted man, Thomas More, refused to sign the document since he was a Catholic

¹⁰³ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 203-243.

¹⁰⁴ The Holy Bible: New International Version. Colorado Springs, CO: International Bible Society, 1984.

¹⁰⁵ Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*, 13.

¹⁰⁶ See Ethan H Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁷ Jonathan Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 116-227.

¹⁰⁸ “Oath of Allegiance to Henry VIII and His Successors”, The National Archives, accessed April 20, 2025, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/citizen_subject/transcripts/oath_allegiance.htm.

and was against the idea of Henry VIII being Supreme Head of the Church.¹⁰⁹ As many others, he¹¹⁰ was accused of treason and was beheaded. He stated that “Nowe, my Lordes, quoth he, it lyeth not in my power but that they may deuoure me; but God being my good Lorde, I will provide that they shall neuer deflower me”¹¹¹. His words explain that nothing would change his devotion to the old religion. In January 1535, Thomas Cromwell was appointed as vicar general and vicegerent “without reference to any other authority” which was granted by the Papacy before.¹¹² With the ecclesiastical power he gained, Thomas Cromwell conducted visitations by organising a group of people. The aim of the visitations were to record the wealth of the monasteries in Wales and England on behalf of Henry VIII.¹¹³ These visitations were referred as *Valor Ecclesiasticus* or *A Valuation of the Church* and the aim was to justify Henry VIII’s view of the Church’s enormous wealth which would be transferred to the crown and become an income due to the fact that in England and Wales, the number of religious houses “was more than 850”.¹¹⁴ Another type of visitation had been conducted to inquisition clergy regarding their morality.¹¹⁵ This practice was to make sure that clergy followed the Catholic tradition. The break with Rome caused Henry VIII to lose the payment of annates from Rome. The Act of Statutes of Uses

¹⁰⁹ See Steven M. Foster, “Divine Kingship, Royal Supremacy, and Romans 13 (1526–36),” in *Reading the Reformations: Theologies, Cultures and Beliefs in an Age of Change*, ed. Anna French, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 74–98, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004521247_005.

¹¹⁰ Thomas More, *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, ed. Mary Gottschalk (New York: Scepter, 2006); Thomas More “Utopia Book II, The Religions of the Utopians,” in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, vol. 1, ed. Stephen Greenblatt. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012), 634–645.

¹¹¹ Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, Knight, Sometyms Lord High Chancellor of England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 40.

¹¹² A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 120.

¹¹³ Anthony N. Shaw, “The Northern Visitation of 1535/6: Some New Observations”, *The Downside Review* 116, no. 405 (October 1998): 279–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001258069811640504>.

¹¹⁴ Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 61.

¹¹⁵ See Knudsen Christian David, “Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks: Monastic Sexual Misconduct in Late Medieval England.” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012), 1–262.

was passed by the parliament in 1536 to claim his lost revenues. The act is considered one of the motives for the rebellion the Pilgrimage of Grace.

During the reign of Henry VIII, many significant works were published, and many acts were passed by the parliament to justify and support the supremacy of Henry VIII and repel the authority of the Papacy, such as *the Ten Articles* written in 1536.

After the completion of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, The Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries Act was passed by the parliament in 1536. “The act stipulated that all religious houses with an annual income of less than 200 pounds (as assessed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) should be dissolved and that their property should pass to the crown.”¹¹⁶ One of the main reasons for dissolving¹¹⁷ the monasteries was to obtain the wealth of each monastery as well as to identify and remove the clergy who were still devoted to the authority of the Papacy. The change in religion, doctrines, practices, break with Rome and removing the authority of the Pope in England, as well as the dissolution of the monasteries and obtaining the wealth of the monasteries created a turmoil among the laity that caused local and regional raisings¹¹⁸ against the authority of Henry VIII due to his religious policies against the old religion. The first rising due to the religious policies of Henry VIII was the Lincolnshire Rising in 1536. Against the policies, Darcy wrote a letter to the King on 6 October 1536 stating that,

On Wednesday last a friend wrote to me from Lincolnshire that there in Louth and along the Humber your subjects had rebelled against your commissioners, chased away lord Burgh and taken Sir William Askew and Sir Robert Tirwhit, &c. My

¹¹⁶ Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 64.

¹¹⁷ See Sybil Jack, “The Last Days of the Smaller Monasteries in England”, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21, no. 2 (1970): 97, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002204690004865X>; Sybil Jack, “Dissolution Dates for the Monasteries Dissolved under the Act of 1536”, *Historical Research* 43, no. 4 (1992): 169-181. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.1970.tb01660.x>.

¹¹⁸ Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Routledge, 2016), 19-61.

fellow, Sir Ralph Ellercarr, jun., who dwells on the other side of the Humber from the rebels, sent word that on Wednesday night they burned beacons.

More than 20,000 people protested the policies of Henry VIII including the suppression of religious houses and the new practices and doctrines against the Old Tradition, the king sent “the Duke of Suffolk thither as his lieutenant, and joined with him the earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon, the lord Admiral, lord Talbot, lord Borough, lord Clinton, Sir John Russell, Sir Fras. Brian, Ric. Cromwell, and all who have lands or rule thereabouts.”¹¹⁹ The riot was repressed successfully. Following the riot, *The Lincoln Articles* were written on 9 October 1536, addressing to “to the King our Sovereign Lord” and in the first article, it is stated that “by the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the people unrelieved”.¹²⁰ The fact that monasteries were the bridge between God and his subjects, people lamented due to not receiving the services and felt in a limbo, yet monasteries were dissolved. Following the Lincoln Articles, Henry VIII wrote his petitions as an answer to the riot “*Ansvvere Made by the Kynges Hyghnes to the Petitions of the Rebelles in Yorkeshire*”,

FYRSTE AS TOVCHYNGE the mayntenance of the faythe, the termes be so generall, that it wolde be very harde to make certaine an|swere to the same, but if they mean the faithe of Christe, to the whiche all christen menne be only bounde, We declare and proteste our selfe to be that prince, that dothe en|tende and hath always mynded to lyue and dye in the mayntenaunce defence and obseruation of the puritie of the same, And that no man can or dare set his fote by vs in prouynge of the contrary. We meruayle therfore moche, that ignoraunt people woll go about to take vpon them, to instructe and teche vs, which haue ben noted somthyng lerned, What the feyth shuld be, and also that they being ignorant people, be so presumptuous (seinge that we and our hole clergy in conuocation haue in ar|ticles declared it) to take vpon them to correcte vs all therin: or that they wold be so ingrate and vn|naturall towardes vs, theyr moste rightfull kyng and soueraigne

¹¹⁹ “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), 257-284. British History Online, accessed April 20, 2025.

¹²⁰ “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” in Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 11:257-84.

lorde, without any our deserte, v|pon fals reportes or surmyses, to suspect vs of the same, and gyue rather credence to forged lyght ta|les, than to the very trouthe by vs these .xxviii. ye|res vsed, and by our dedes approued.¹²¹

In his petition, he warned those who rioted against the authority of Henry VIII and the followers of the Papacy. He underlined that rumours were to amuse the Antichrist because the aim of the rebellion was to disrupt the unity of Englishmen and women. After the rising in Lincolnshire, another riot broke out in Yorkshire, “the rebels chose to think of themselves as Pilgrims and marched under the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ”.¹²² The Pilgrimage of Grace¹²³ was one of the significant rebellions against the policies of Henry VIII, specifically against the dissolution of monasteries, the idea of iconoclasm¹²⁴, and the doctrines of the Protestant belief in the Ten Articles. In addition to the policies of Henry VIII, those who put their faith in Catholicism were against the replacement of Catholic Queen Katherine of Aragon with Anne Boleyn, who was beheaded due to adultery, which harmed the reputation of the king. Robert Aske, who led the rebellion for the preservation of the old faith, along with those against the religious policies of the monarchy, took *the Oath of Honourable Men*.

The othe of all men sworne unto theym. Ye shall not entre to this our pilgramage of grace for the commine welthe but oonly for the love ye bere to goddess faithe and church mylitant and the mayntenaunce therof, the preseruacyon of the kinges person his issue and the purifying of the nobilitie and to expulse all vilaynes bloode and eveill councesaliours against the comen welth of the same. And that ye shall not entre into our said pylgremaige for no peculyar profet to yor selves ne to do no dyspleasure to not private personne but my counsaile of the comen welthe nor sle nor murdre for no envye but in yor hertes to put away all feare for the comen

¹²¹ Henry VIII, King of England, *Ansvere Made by the Kynges Hyghnes to the Petitions of the Rebelles in Yorkeshire 1536*, (London, 1536), no pagination.

¹²² Newcombe, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 60.

¹²³ See Manchester University Press, 1995); R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹²⁴ See Margaret Aston, “Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine,” in *The Impact of the English Reformation 1500-1640*, ed. Peter Marshall, (London: Arnold, 1997), 167-92; Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation: Down Went Dagon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

welthe. And to take before you the crosse of cryste and yor hertes faithe to the restitucyon of this church and to the suppressyon of heretykes opynyons by the holy contentes of thys boke.¹²⁵

As underlined in the oath, the purpose of the rebellion was not to profit but for the faith of individuals and the commonwealth as well as purifying England from the heresy of Protestantism and to reconcile England with Rome once more. Those who took part in the rebellion were pardoned as per the discussed terms with Robert Aske. Even though Henry VIII promised concessions in 1536, he did not fulfil the demands, and therefore, another rebellion broke out in 1537 under the leadership of Sir Francis Bigod in Cumberland and Westmoreland, which was suppressed successfully. Following those two rebellions in 1536 and 1537, those responsible for the rebellions were executed. In 1539, the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries Act was passed by Parliament, which increased the wealth of the crown. The last and one of the most significant products of the Henrician Reformation was the *The Great Bible*,¹²⁶ which was the translation of Holy Scripture into English as authorised by Henry VIII in 1539. The English Bible includes the translations of Coverdale and Tyndale's Old Testament and Apocrypha from Latin and German that were to be read in the Church of England. The English Bible represented the authority of Henry VIII as the Supreme Head of the Church of England, which challenged the authority of the Antichrist in Rome.

2.1.2. Edward VI

¹²⁵ Bernard, *The Kings Reformation*, 330.

¹²⁶ "The Great Bible, Probably Henry VIII's Own Copy", The British Library, accessed April 20, 2025, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-great-bible-probably-henry-viii-own-copy>.

After the death of Henry VIII, his son Edward VI carried out the Reformation more radically as he was the first king of England who was raised as a Protestant.¹²⁷ As he was a 9-year-old boy when he was crowned, Henry VIII ordered in his will¹²⁸ that the executors were to “form his son’s privy council”¹²⁹ that would support Edward VI to rule the kingdom. During the reign of Edward VI, with the support of Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church became more Anglicised, especially after the Great Bible, along with the influence of foreign theologians as well as foreign Protestant governments. Pollard states that “England never became Lutheran, Zwinglian or Calvinistic”¹³⁰, but considering alteration in religious practices including the communion service, liturgy and the mass, it may be indicated that England was influenced by foreign theologians. Throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, Catholic teachings, doctrines, and traditions began to be removed step by step. As one of the iconoclasts, Edward VI also forbade the use of icons in England, as it was an act of heresy and idolatry. During the Protectorate of the Duke of Somerset, the action on eliminating the Mass, images, shrines, Catholic superstitions, and the idea of Purgatory caused turmoil in the

¹²⁷ For the reign of Edward VI, see Stephen Tong, *Building the Church of England: The Book of Common Prayer and the Edwardian Reformation*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Leiden: Brill, 2023).; Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Printing and the Printers of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549–1561* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).; Mark Stoyle, “The Execution of ‘Rebel’ Priests in the Western Rising of 1549,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 71, no. 4 (2020): 755–77, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046919001775>.; Diarmaid MacCulloch, “Parliament and the Reformation of Edward VI,” *Parliamentary History* 34, no. 3 (2015): 383–400, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1750-0206.12165>.; Stephen Alford, *Edward VI: The Last Boy King*, Penguin Monarchs (London: Allen Lane, 2014).; John Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).; Roger Turvey and Nigel Heard, *Change and Protest 1536–1588: Mid Tudor Crises?*, Access to History (London: Hodder Education, 2009).

¹²⁸ The National Archives, *Will of Henry VIII, King of England, France, and Ireland*, accessed April 20, 2025, Catalogue Reference: E/23/4; For the validity of the will of Henry VIII, see Lacey Baldwin Smith, “The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Question of Perspective,” *Journal of British Studies* 2, no. 1 (1962): 14–27; E. W. Ives, “Henry VIII’s Will: The Protectorate Provisions of 1546–7,” *The Historical Journal* 37, no. 4 (1994): 901–14; R. A. Houlbrooke, “Henry VIII’s Wills: A Comment,” *The Historical Journal* 37, no. 4 (1994): 891–99.

¹²⁹ Jennifer Loach, G. W. Bernard, and Penry Williams, *Edward VI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 17.

¹³⁰ A. F. Pollard, *Reformation under Edward VI* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Pub., 2017), 5.

kingdom and provoked some of the extremist groups, including both Catholics and Protestants. The king's reign under the Protectorate of the Duke of Somerset was considered tolerative¹³¹, which did not last long. During the reign of Henry VIII, the Duke of Somerset sent commissioners to religious houses to control ordinaries and bishops.¹³² "Under the pretext that controversial preaching was stirring up civil disorder, all preaching licenses were suspended".¹³³ Clergy needed to be authorised to preach, and those who did not have authorisation were forbidden to do so. The main motive was to control clergy who put their faith in the authority of the Pope and Catholicism. On 31 July 1547, the *Book of Homilies* was published.¹³⁴ The book was partly a product of the Archbishop of Canterbury and supported the key Protestant doctrine of *Justification by Faith Alone*. The authorised clergy were expected to read the sermons from the Book to laymen. Using the English language rather than Latin was to Anglicise the kingdom and create an English characteristic in the Church. Another step to anglicise England by the regime was to "take away and destroy" tables, shrines, candlesticks which were used for liturgy, images, paintings that were considered idolatry and pilgrimages so that there would be "no memory to remain in the Churches and houses"¹³⁵ In the chronicle of Charles Wriothesley, it was stated that:

This yere, in August, the Kinges Majestic, with the advise of my Lord Protector and other of his Counsell, sent out throughe this realme of Englande certayne godlie injunctions for reformation of the cleargie, the true preaching and settinge fourth of Godes worde, and utter abolishing of idolatrie, which were clene putt downe in

¹³¹ W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King; the Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968), 127.

¹³² Loach, Bernard, and Williams, *Edward VI*, 47.

¹³³ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 155.

¹³⁴ Thomas Cranmer, *Certaine Sermons, or Homelies Appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie, to Be Declared and Redde, by All Persones, Vicars, or Curates, Euery Sondaye in Their Churches, Where They Haue Cure. Anno 1547*, accessed April 20, 2025, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A03519.0001.001?view=toc>.

¹³⁵ Edward VI, King of England, *Iniunccions Geuen by the Kynges Maiestie Aswell to the Clergie as to the Laitie of This Realme. Anno. M.D.XLVII. (1547)*, 1-36.

everie parish church of this realme of Englande, and also the going in procession was left [off], the gospel and epistle read in Englishe everie holidiaie, with divers other, as in the said proclamation or injunction appeareth.¹³⁶

The material between God and his subjects was made holy by the Church, which was against the idea of true Christianity and belief and was interrupting the direct connection between God and his subjects. These objects were blasphemy against Christianity. Thomas Cranmer stated during the coronation of Edward VI that “God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed”.¹³⁷ One of the significant steps for the Reformation was to remove the use of images that began during the reign of Henry VII and continued with Edwardian Injunctions. The movement against the icons made people remove the images but during the reign of Mary Tudor, “hundreds of images reappeared from barns and lumber rooms”¹³⁸ which demonstrates the fact that for those who hid the icons had never changed their personal piety but hid their religious beliefs not to be harmed by the regime which could be tracked during the reign of Mary Tudor. One of the religious policies during the reign of Edward VI was the Sacrament Act that was passed by the parliament in 1547, and “it was agreed that Communion should be received in both kinds”,¹³⁹ which demonstrates a tolerative policy during the reign of Edward VI. As stated by Colinson, the Dissolution of the Chantries continued during 1548, as one of the significant financial sources of the kingdom, which weakened the spirituality of the Church by removing the traditional

¹³⁶ Charles Wriothesley and William Douglas Hamilton, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, From A.D. 1485 to 1559*, vol. 1 (Westminster: Sagwan Press, 2015), 185.

¹³⁷ Thomas Cranmer and John Edmund Cox, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 127.

¹³⁸ Jordan, *Edward VI*, 184.

¹³⁹ “Sacrament Act 1547”, Legislation.gov.uk, accessed April 20, 2025, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/Edw6/1/1/introduction>.

structure.¹⁴⁰ The main aspect of the act was “to vanish phantasing vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, to be done for them which be departed”.¹⁴¹ The first prayer book in English was written by Thomas Cranmer in 1549, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer*, where liturgy was in English as well. As a significant Protestant product, it constituted the Anglican perspective of practising the religion. “It was a version of Latin liturgical books with a Protestant touch and differed considerably from the Roman ritual”.¹⁴² Changes in the religious policy, especially the closure of the chantries, triggered local people due to the fact that the justification of the closure of the chantries was economic, but imposed by the crown as religious, that caused instability in the kingdom.¹⁴³ Duffy states that the Edwardine Chantries Act justified the dissolutions.¹⁴⁴ In many counties such as Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Kent, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, preachers and local people assembled to present their demands to Edward Seymour. People rebelled against Edward Seymour and his religious policies in Devon and Cornwall. One of the depictions of the Roman Catholic Church was *A Tragoedie or Dialoge or the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* by Bernardino Ochino, which demonstrates the dialogue between Lucifer and Beelzebub.

Beelze. Me thinketh that I heare the liuely image of Antichriste hymselfe handsomly and properly de|scribed of you.
 Luci. It is euen so in dede as thou sayest.

¹⁴⁰ Patrick Collinson and John Craig, *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*. (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 160.

¹⁴¹ Henry Gee and William John Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History: Compiled from Original Sources* (London: Forgotten Books, 2019), 328.

¹⁴² Charles Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 228.

¹⁴³ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 159.

¹⁴⁴ Duffy, *Traditional Religion in England*, 455.

Beelze. But who is (I praye you) so shamelesse to receyue so wicked a dignitie?
As farre as my wit wil serue me, I thynke the Bishoppe of Rome the moste mete
in|strument to bringe about the thyng that we intend.¹⁴⁵

As indicated in the text, the Pope and his followers are the most trusted followers to spread the words of Lucifer and Beelzebub. They are the instruments of evil to spread the voice of evil. What is intended by Lucifer and Beelzebub could be brought by the Bishop of Rome, the Pope. It may be inclined that people who rebelled against the Protestant regime and followed the Pope and the Catholic Church, regardless of the abuses and indulgences, were against the true way of practising Christianity since the Pope was depicted as the servant of evil, which makes his followers evil as well.

Many Protestant extremists, during the reign of Edward VI, considered the progress of the policies as rather “unsatisfactory in many respects”;¹⁴⁶ on the other hand, for many Catholic extremists, the policies were quite provoking. In 1549, many people, including the clergy and laymen, rebelled against the policy of the crown in Cornwall and then in Devon. Following these rebellions, King Edward VI, wrote *A Message Sent by the Kynges Maiestie to Certain of his People, assembled in Devonshire* stating that:

You as our subjects thinking that devil hath not that power in you, to make you, of naturall borne Englishmen, so suddenly become enemies to your own native country or of our subjects to make you traitors: or under pretence your selves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities, of this your life.¹⁴⁷

Edward VI explained that those who turned their back on their own country and did not resist the manipulation of the Antichrist in Rome were considered traitors. Those involved

¹⁴⁵ Bernardino Ochino, *A Tragoedie or Dialoge or the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (London, 1549), no pagination.

¹⁴⁶ D. M. Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504-1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 195

¹⁴⁷ Edward VI, King of England, *A Message Sent by the Kynges Maiestie to Certain of His People, Assembled in Devonshire* (London, 1549), no pagination.

in the raisings were executed and hanged, especially the clergymen, as they were the ones to disseminate the false knowledge received from the Papacy. Due to rebellions, the authority of the Duke of Somerset was taken from him as he was arrested for reasons of rebellion on 11 October 1549.

After the fall of the Duke of Somerset, John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland came into power. He never became the Lord Protector and had the absolute authority to rule as the Duke of Somerset.¹⁴⁸ Once he came into power, he took the advice of Thomas Cranmer to link England with Protestants abroad by “consulting with governments and scholars abroad”.¹⁴⁹ The aim of Northumberland was to empower the idea of Protestantism in England due to the fact that the communion service, the liturgy and the doctrines were in discussion even among the well-known scholars such as John Calvin, Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli. The discussions were causing problems amongst Protestants since the Protestant world could not unite its practices and doctrines under one roof, and there wasn’t a global approach in the liturgy. After the visit of Bernardino Ochino and Martire Vermigli, Italian theologians, to England, Ochino, who “ministered to the Italian Protestants in Augsburg”¹⁵⁰ advised the Archbishop of Canterbury on doctrines and practices in the Book of Common Prayer of 1552 that changed the course of the Reformation in England with foreign influence. In 1549, the “Act to Take Away All Positive Laws Against Marriage of Priests”¹⁵¹ was passed by the parliament, which allowed priests to marry.¹⁵² There were still citizens of England believing that the clergy shouldn’t get married and should be

¹⁴⁸ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 167.

¹⁴⁹ Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 231.

¹⁵⁰ Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 232.

¹⁵¹ Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 279.

¹⁵² See Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation : Precedent Policy and Practice*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Ashgate, 2000).

celibate, as it represented the purity of those who devoted themselves to God and followed his commandments. A pure body and a pure soul should represent the true religious man who spreads the word of God. The English Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity in 1552, introducing a more Protestant version of The Book of Common Prayer¹⁵³, which Thomas Cranmer had radically altered. The new version proposed that there was no longer a Mass but a communion service instead, which was to be celebrated at the “Holy Table” instead of the “Altar”. Another significant change was the presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. It was stated in the Book of Common Prayer 1552 that:

And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say. Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving. And the Minister that delivereth the cup, shall say. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.¹⁵⁴

The publication of the Second Prayer Book in 1552 was another step to anglicise the Church of England. The way Thomas Cranmer expressed the proper way of communion was to remember that Jesus Christ died for Christians, and people should honour him in their hearts for his sacrifice. He indicated that the Eucharist should be the “faith in the heart rather than having the power of sacrament in the mouth”.¹⁵⁵ In 1553, the Forty-Two Articles, the statements of Anglican doctrines, was composed by Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was considered to be a purely Protestant product that aimed to instruct laymen in the true way of practising Christianity as well as denying masses, transubstantiation in the Eucharist, Catholic liturgy and doctrines. One of the significant

¹⁵³ See Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Printing and the Printers of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549–1561* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Cranmer, “Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552) The Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion Church Society - Issues - Doctrine - BCP - 1552 – Introduction”, churchsociety.org/issues_new/doctrine/bcp/1552/iss_doctrine_bcp_1552_intro.asp.

¹⁵⁵ Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 168.

articles of the text is the first one that introduces the “Faith in the Holy Trinity” (see Preambles in chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6).¹⁵⁶ In article 37, it was stated that “*Civilibus Magistratibus*”, “*Romanus Pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc Regno Angliae*”.¹⁵⁷ As noted in the Act of Supremacy during the reign of Henry VIII and as Thomas Cranmer stated during the reign of Edward VI, the Pope had no authority in England. The significance of this article is that it was not a political but a religious statement, which demonstrates the fact that, compared to the policies of Henry VIII, during the reign of Edward VI, Protestantism took place not as a political but a religious course.

2.1.3. Mary Tudor

Mary Tudor was born on 18 February 1516 and was the only surviving child of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon¹⁵⁸ and “heir to the English throne between 1516 and 1537”¹⁵⁹. Although she was not a boy, she was a disappointment for both Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon due to Katherine’s miscarriage and the death of Henry VIII’s firstborn son; she was loved by her parents.¹⁶⁰ In her early years, Mary had a peaceful childhood as the possible heir to the English throne. “At a very early age, Mary became accustomed to putting on public performances for the court and its visitors”.¹⁶¹ As her mother was very well educated,¹⁶² Mary also received a comprehensive traditional Catholic humanist and

¹⁵⁶ Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 285.

Latin: Fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem

¹⁵⁷ Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 308.

¹⁵⁸ Ann Weikel, “Mary I,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, 1, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18245>.

¹⁵⁹ John Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 3.

¹⁶⁰ David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 14.

¹⁶¹ Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 7.

¹⁶² Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941), 15, for more information on Katherine of Aragon, Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010); Francesca Claremont, *Catherine of Aragon* (London: Robert Hale,

princely¹⁶³ education, mainly characterised and orchestrated by her mother, as it was a tradition for Catholic monarchs to be educated, including Latin as well.¹⁶⁴ “In 1523, with Mary approaching the age of seven, serious attention was paid to her future instruction”.¹⁶⁵ She was expected to become a woman and a mother and, therefore, would receive the necessary training for motherhood; still, as the only heir to the English throne and the sole heir of Henry VIII, she was expected to become the Queen of England and educated¹⁶⁶ as expected. According to Juan Luis Vives¹⁶⁷ and Richard Fetherstone, “she was to read the Gospel day and night as well as the Act of Apostles and Epistles and some passages from the Old Testament, Fathers of the Church, and some of the works of Plato, Seneca, Lucian, Horace, Valerius Maximus, Justin, Erasmus and Thomas More”.¹⁶⁸ She was also highly engaged in Latin and Greek pronunciation as well as translation from Latin to English.¹⁶⁹

1939); Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Knopf, 1992); Theresa Earenfight, "Regarding Catherine of Aragon," in *Scholars and Poets Talk about Queens*, ed. Carole Levin and Christine Stewart-Núñez (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 137-157. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137534903_14; Michelle L. Beer, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2018), 240; T.G. Elton, "Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives," in "*High and Mighty Queens*" of *Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, James E. Carney, and Deborah Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11, 26. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-10676-6_2; Amy Licence, *Catherine of Aragon: An Intimate Life of Henry VIII's True Wife* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2019); Theresa Earenfight, "'By Your Loving Mother': Lessons in Queenship from Catherine of Aragon to Her Daughter, Mary," in *Mary I in Writing*, ed. Virginia Schutte and Jennifer S. Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 19-39. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-95128-3_2.

¹⁶³ Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 202–3.

¹⁶⁴ David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 17.

¹⁶⁵ Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 8.

¹⁶⁶ Juan Luis Vives, *J.L. Vives: De Institutione Feminae Christianae, Liber Secundus & Liber Tertius* (Leiden: Brill, April 19, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004452701>.

¹⁶⁷ Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 21. Juan Luis Vives, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁸ Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 10; Julia A. Hickey, *Preparing Tudor Kings and Princes to Rule: The Men and Women Who Trained the Royals*, 1st ed. (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword History, 2025).

¹⁶⁹ Maria Jesus Perez Martin, *Maria Tudor: La gran reina desconocida* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 2008), 95-96; Matthew Tibble, "Princely Humanism at the Accession of Mary Tudor," in *Mid-Tudor Queenship*

As the sole heir of Henry VIII and a prospective candidate for the English throne, the princess “became a pawn in the European dynastic games”.¹⁷⁰ She was linked with the eldest son of Francis I of France. At the age of two, she was playing the role she was assigned to during the first years of Henry VIII; Cardinal Wolsey was trying to draw up a treaty between England and France, trying to settle the disputes with diplomacy, which ended up with the betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin of France that did not last very long due to changing political agenda of Wolsey and Henry VIII. 1525 was the year of change for Mary, full of political agendas, including the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI’s decision to marry Isabella of Portugal instead of Mary Tudor, following whom was dispatched to the March of Wales¹⁷¹.

Forasmuch as by reason of the longe absence of any Prince making continual residence either in the Principalite of Wales or in the marches of the same, the good order quiet and tranquillitie of the countrys theaboutes hath greatly been altered and subverted, and due administration of Justice by means of sundry contrarieties hitherto hindered and neglected.¹⁷²

Mary’s life in the Marches was depicted as;

That is to say at due tymes to serve God, from whom all grace and goodness procedeth. Semblably at seasons convenient to use moderate exercise for taking open air in gardens, sweet and wholesome places and walkes which may confer unto her health, solace and comfort... And likewise to pass her tyme most seasons at her virginals or other instruments musical, so that the same be not too much and without fatigation or weariness. To intend to her learning of latin toungue or French. At other seasons to drawe [and to take care with her diet and personal cleanliness].¹⁷³

and Memory: *The Making and Re-making of Lady Jane Grey and Mary I*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S. Hower, *Queenship and Power* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 15–39, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-35688-9_2.

¹⁷⁰ Edwards, *England’s Catholic Queen*, 15.

¹⁷¹ Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 36.

¹⁷² BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.i, f.23, in David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 36.

¹⁷³ BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.i, f.23, in David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 42.

Mary's position was contradictory to her father due to the fact that he had three courses of action to follow. He could accept Mary as his sole heir apparent to the throne, which would bring political problems. If she were to marry the ruler of another country or the heir of the ruler, England's independence would be compromised, which was not favourable to either Henry VIII or his subjects. If she were to get married within the realm, possible factional strife would be a serious risk.¹⁷⁴ The third option was to recognise Henry Fitzroy as the heir to the throne, who was the illegitimate son of Henry VIII. Even though Mary was sent to the Marches "in the same way as Prince Arthur had been sent in 1501"¹⁷⁵, and she was referred to as the Princess of Wales, she was not bestowed upon any title or accompanying perquisites. On the other hand, Henry Fitzroy was not included in the succession. This may demonstrate Henry VIII's indecision about the future of the crown. Mary's succession and her future position as the Queen of England were a problem for Henry VIII, since his desire was for autonomy. By 1527, Henry VIII's desire to end his marriage to Katherine of Aragon began to be known, and as per his plans for the succession to the throne, he was deeply concerned about the fact that Mary was his only heir. He began to question whether his marriage with Katherine of Aragon was valid due to not being able to conceive a child"¹⁷⁶ in addition to the overwhelming European Diplomacy, and to preserve the dynasty.¹⁷⁷ Given the significance of the events that followed, Henry VIII's decision not only affected the couple but also Mary Tudor directly, along with English and international history. If the marriage between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon was unlawful, that would explain the miscarriages that Katherine had and the reason for not having a male

¹⁷⁴ J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 149-150.

¹⁷⁵ Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 37.

¹⁷⁶ Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (Vintage Books, 1994), 92.

¹⁷⁷ J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 24.

heir to the throne.¹⁷⁸ Henry took a formal step to divorce Katherine of Aragon in 1527 and permanently changed the lives of Katherine and Mary Tudor. Mary's role in Henry VIII's agenda of divorcing Katherine was central due to the fact that Henry VIII's concern was having an heir for the succession to the English throne rather than his marriage to Katherine. In 1531, Henry separated Mary and her mother: "Katherine was sent to the More, and Mary was dispatched to Richmond Palace"¹⁷⁹. Henry VIII's agenda on the separation of Mary and Katherine may be due to preventing any influence of Katherine on Mary, as well as not firsthandly experiencing the process of the divorce. As underlined by John Edwards, "In March, Mary was at last given permission to visit her mother, and after leaving her mother, she had severe stomach pains, inevitably put down to hysteria"¹⁸⁰. Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine and marriage to Anne Boleyn directly affected both Katherine and Mary, since Anne Boleyn became the Queen of England, and Katherine was referred to as the Dowager Princess of Wales¹⁸¹ as the widow of Arthur.¹⁸² Henry's decision for the annulment had a variety of life-changing effects on Mary's life. Primarily, the decision brought the questioning of the legitimacy of her right to the throne, in addition to choosing between accepting her father's Supremacy over the Church or disobeying and rejecting the Catholic Church and the supremacy of the Pope, as well as her mother.¹⁸³ In the letter by Ambassador Eustace Chapuys on 1 January 1535:

¹⁷⁸ See Oğulcan Çelik, "The Religion of the Gentry and Middling Classes: The English Reformation as Reflected in Wills, 1509-1553." Master's diss., (Bilkent University, 2019), 41-45.

¹⁷⁹ David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 330-332.

¹⁸⁰ Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 33.

¹⁸¹ Jonathan Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 116-227.

¹⁸² *Calendar of State Papers, Spain IV*, ii, p. 625; *LP VI*, p. 296, in David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 42.

¹⁸³ Melita Thomas, *The King's Pearl: Henry VIII and His Daughter Mary* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2017), 202.

The Princess has been warned that the King, her father, in virtue of the rigorous statute lately made against all those refusing to take the oath on the occasion of his new marriage, is about to summon her, immediately after these festivals, to renounce her title, and swear to the said statute, bidding her on pain of death no longer to take, or allow any one to give her, the title of "Princess," or call Madame, her mother, "Queen." But I take it that even if she should be sent to the Tower, or put to death, with which she is frequently threatened, the Princess will never change her purpose.¹⁸⁴

The letter clearly demonstrates that Mary was willing to die rather than accept and sign the oath of succession. In addition, in the letter dated 15 July 1536, it was described how Mary endured the torment and threats of Henry's men:

One of them said that since she was such an unnatural daughter as to disobey completely the King's injunctions, he could hardly believe... that she was the King's own bastard daughter. Were she his or any other man's daughter, he would beat her to death, or strike her head against the wall until he made it as soft as a boiled apple; in short that she was a traitress, and would be punished as such. Many other threats of the same sort did the said deputies utter on the occasion.¹⁸⁵

Even though she received brutal threats that affected her safety as well as her well-being, she refused to cooperate, which may demonstrate the significance of Henry's decision that held to her. Despite her life being in danger, accepting Henry's Supremacy was a betrayal to her salvation, as well as demonstrating the fact that it was an act of betrayal to her mother, which she eventually did and wrote to his father:

"Eftsones therefore most humbly prostrate before your noble feet your most obedient subject and humble child, that hath not only repented her offences hitherto, but also decried simply from henceforth and wholly, next to almighty God, to put my state, continuance, and living in your gracious mercy."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ "Spain: January 1535, 1–5," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 5, Part 1, 1534–1535*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1886), 354–72, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no1/pp354-372>.

¹⁸⁵ "Spain: July 1536, 1–5," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 5, Part 2, 1536–1538*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), 170–87, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp170-187>.

¹⁸⁶ Thomas Hearne, *Sylloge epistolarum*, in *Titus Livius, Vita Henrici Quinti* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1716), 124.

The letter demonstrates the desperate position Mary was in and asks for repentance for her previous opposition. Mary was reluctant to sign the articles due to the fact that she was against the idea of Henry VIII being the Head of the Church of England. In another letter from Mary to Cromwell:

That I be not moved to agree to any further entry in this matter than I have done. For I assure you by the faith, that I owe to God, I have done the uttermost, that my conscience will suffer me; and I do neither desire nor intend to do less than I have done. But if I be put to any more... my said conscience will in no ways suffer me to consent thereunto.¹⁸⁷

The letter clearly underlines that Mary had already done more than she would and would not be compromised any further; any additional demands would not be accepted by her, as she already suffers due to accepting her father's supremacy and her illegitimacy. This may imply that her unwillingness to give up her title, as well as accepting that her parents' marriage was unlawful, heavily weighed on her, which may demonstrate her religious surrender. In the letter from Chapuys to the Emperor:

After signing the paper as above said, the Princess fell suddenly into a state of despondency and sorrow; but I have since removed all her conscientious scruples by assuring her that not only will the Pope not condemn her action, but will highly approve of it under the circumstances.¹⁸⁸

Mary's despondency and sorrow highlight her internal conflict between accepting the Supremacy of his father and the betrayal to the Pope. As she was in emotional distress, her action demonstrates her struggle with moral and religious implications as well as her forced submission to her father. The word sorrow suggests a sense of loss, loss of her devotion to

¹⁸⁷ Hearne, *Sylloge epistolarum*, in Titus Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, 125.

¹⁸⁸ Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain V ii*, 170-187.

the old religion as well as the legitimacy of her father and mother's marriage and the rejection of the Pope's authority. Her sorrow may be rooted in her fear of damnation for accepting her father's Supremacy and signing the document. Chapuys's attempt to ease Mary by indicating that the Pope would approve her action may demonstrate that her safety as the possible future Catholic Queen was more significant, as there were both political and religious tensions.

As quickly as the annulment was executed, Henry VIII's problem was not finalised yet; he was at the age of forty-two, and Mary was seventeen, at the age of both marriage and motherhood. As joyous as he was to hear the pregnancy of Anne Boleyn, awaiting a son to succeed him after his death, a daughter named Elizabeth was born on 7 September 1533, who displaced Mary as she was the Princess of England, and Mary was designated as Lady Mary¹⁸⁹. The succession marked the omission of Mary from the line and Elizabeth to be the Queen of England if no male heir were born. The Act of Supremacy received the royal assent on 30 March 1534, and both Mary and Katherine received visitation to hear the Act and swear the oath. It seems that their royal blood protected them since "their servants were not given the same immunity"¹⁹⁰ but received threats from Henry VIII as he did not want his ex-wife to be a martyr, and Mary was still a prospective candidate for marriage until Anne Boleyn bore him a child.¹⁹¹ Mary was defiled by his father, forced to accept her sister as the princess of England and call her the "princess", and move to Elizabeth's household. According to John, "the Duke of Norfolk refused to take a message from her to her father, in which she described herself as the princess."¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 35.

¹⁹⁰ Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 39.

¹⁹¹ Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 89-90.

¹⁹² Edwards, *England's Catholic Queen*, 36.

On 7 January 1536, Katherine of Aragon passed away and “she received ceremonial honours due to her position as the dowager princess of Wales.”¹⁹³ The successor of John Fisher, John Hilsey, the Bishop of Rochester, preached against Katherine of Aragon on the “orders of the Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England”¹⁹⁴ and claimed that on her deathbed, Katherine admitted that she was not the Queen of England. Mary had to face difficulties as a young princess. What she had to endure may have directly and indirectly affected her both psychologically and physically, which would influence her reign once she was crowned. It is evident that the grotesque experiences she had during her childhood and youth would mark the decisions of her reign against Protestants.

After the death of her father, Henry VIII, and her brother, Edward VI, Mary became the first Queen of England in 1553. She was 37 years old when she ascended to the throne. Once she was crowned, she inherited the years of ecclesiastical uncertainty as well as conflict from her father and brother. This religious conflict was never fully resolved until her death in 1558, and was inherited by her sister Elizabeth I as well. She was the first Queen Regnant to rule England in her own right, and traditional gender roles were not the only problem she dealt with. Her Catholicism and devotion to the old religion were already well-known, and her desire to reconcile England with Rome would create more turmoil after her brother’s reign. According to Loades, those who did not share the same religious view were virus to Mary.¹⁹⁵ He also stated that “To eradicate such a virus, which threatened the souls of all whom it infected, no measures were too extreme. To punish such heretics

¹⁹³ Edwards, *England’s Catholic Queen*, 39.

¹⁹⁴ Edwards, *England’s Catholic Queen*, 39; David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 553.

¹⁹⁵ David Loades, “Introduction: The Personal Religion of Mary I,” in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot and Hants: Ashgate, 2006), 28.

was not a policy, but a duty solemnly enjoined by God.”¹⁹⁶ The description of Mary Tudor by Loades may be extreme, but it also demonstrates the Marian regime and religious tolerance towards Protestants, considering the fact that almost 300 Protestants were burnt during her reign. It is evident that her Catholic devotion remained unchanged and undeniable. Victor Houlston stated that “What ever one felt about the burning of heretics, there was never any doubt that Mary’s faith was genuine and her concern for the spiritual health of her people was passionate.”¹⁹⁷ Houlston believes that regardless of Mary’s methods, her personal piety was the root of her actions, and she was concerned about the salvation of the souls of his subjects. Therefore, her action seems not to be due to cruelty against Protestants but a necessity to save their souls. This argument demonstrates her extreme dedication to the true religion, Catholicism. On 21 October 1553, in the letters of Henry Penning to the Pope, it was stated that:

The Queen, who said she had always been most obedient and most affectionate towards the Apostolic See, and that “interiormente” his Holiness had no more loving daughter than herself (non haveva figliuola più affettionata di lei), and that within a few days she hoped to be able to show it openly to the whole world; and that thus far, she thanked our Lord God that she had never consented in any way to the heresies and impious laws made and published in England of late years, but had always been, and would continue, firm in that same religion in which she had been educated from her girlhood, as she hoped in a few days to show his Holiness and the whole world; but that it was first necessary to repeal and annul by Act of Parliament many perverse laws made by those who ruled before her.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Loades, “Introduction: The Personal Religion of Mary I,” 28.

¹⁹⁷ Victor Houlston, “Her Majesty, Who Is Now in Heaven: Mary Tudor and the Elizabethan Catholics,” in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, eds. Susan S. Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 37.

¹⁹⁸ “Venice: October 1553, 16-31”, in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 5, 1534-1554*. Edited by Rawdon Brown (London, 1873), *British History Online*, accessed May 27, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol5/pp426-440>.

The letter indicates the loyalty of Mary Tudor as well as her love for the Catholic Church and the Pope. Following, her relationship with the Pope is linked to the relationship between father and daughter, which indicates her obedience and spiritual kinship. The letter illuminates that Mary Tudor would take necessary actions to match her faith with England, which refers to the conciliation of England with Rome and the restoration of Catholicism in England. She further states that she never consented to the laws enacted under Henry VIII and Edward VI, which she saw as heresy and impious laws. Therefore, she claims that she is pure and has never been a part of these ungodly policies. The letter further indicates that she was devoted to the religion she was taught when she was a girl, referencing to the Pre-Henrician Reformation period as well as her mother as a Catholic figure who played a pivotal role in Mary's piety. It is stated that her personal piety has never changed since her girlhood. Furthermore, it is indicated that her aim was to restore Catholicism in England¹⁹⁹, which would be announced to the Pope and the whole world. It was further stated that she acknowledged the fact that she needed to repeal and annul the Acts of Parliament under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Therefore, she was committed to changing the policies to restore Catholicism.

Queen Mary²⁰⁰ commenced a systematic reversal of the acts passed by the Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The very first act was *An Act*

¹⁹⁹ For Mary Tudor's Church, see William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church*, Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700 (Routledge, 2006); Robert Scully, "The Marian Catholic Revival: A Review Essay," review of *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades, and *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church*, by William Wizeman, *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (Fall 2008): 344–49, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23541557>.

²⁰⁰ See Frederick E. Smith, "Reinventing the Counter-Reformation in Marian England, 1553–1558," *Historical Journal* 62, no. 1 (March 2019): 1–27. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S. Hower, eds., *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, Queenship and Power (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).; Valerie Schutte, "A Ballad of Treason for Queen Mary I's Accession," *Sederi* 31 (2021): 145–58, <https://doi.org/10.34136/sederi.2021.7>.; Matthew Tibble, "Sovereignty and Spectacle in

repealing certain Treasons, Felonies etc. and to revive the Laws against Heresies in December 1553.²⁰¹ The act promulgated that all ecclesiastical legislations in the reign of Edward VI were repealed, including the Book of Common Prayer of 1549 and 1552, and The Act of Uniformity, the Forty-Two Articles, and laws on clerical marriage. The act reversed the status of the Church to 1547, the Henrician Church. The Church was still not under the control of the Pope, but was still conservative. The Six Articles of 1539 were still legit, promoting Catholic teaching and doctrines such as clerical celibacy and transubstantiation. The act marked the official reversal of Edwardian Protestantism in England. The significance of the Book of Common Prayer was that it was the first prayer book in English, and it also had Protestant liturgy. “It was a version of Latin liturgical books with a Protestant touch and differed considerably from the Roman ritual”.²⁰² The 1549 Book of Common Prayer was an attempt to Anglicise the Church, and the 1552 Book

1557: The Reunion of Philip II and Mary I,” *Historical Research* 92, no. 256 (2019): 305–17, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12268>.; Martin Skoeries, *Flye or Dye for the Truith: Vernetzung englischer Protestanten während der Regentschaft Maria Tudors (1553–1558)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2017).; Paulina Kewes, “The 1553 Succession Crisis Reconsidered,” *Historical Research* 90, no. 249 (2017): 465–85, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12178>.; Anna Santamaría Lopéz, “Philip II (1527–98), King of Spain and England: ‘Great Faith Is Necessary to Drink from This Chalice’: Philip II in the Court of Mary Tudor, 1554–58,” in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez, Transculturalisms, 1400–1700 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2016), 115–38.; Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, eds., *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I, Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).; Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook, eds., *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).; Gregory Slys, *Mary Tudor: England’s First Queen Regnant: Truth Is the Daughter of Time* (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, 2015).; Elizabeth Evenden, “Spanish Involvement in the Restoration of Catholicism during the Reign of Philip and Mary,” in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook, Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 45–64.; Dale Hoak, “The Succession Crisis of 1553 and Mary’s Rise to Power,” in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook, Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 17–42.; Stephen Bates, “Mary, Gender, and the English Reformation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Mary I*, ed. Chris Maunder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 409–22, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198792550.013.3>.

²⁰¹ “House of Commons Journal Volume 1: 05 December 1553”, in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547-1629* (London, 1802), British History Online, accessed May 27, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol1/pp32-33>.

²⁰² Charles Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 228.

of Common Prayer was seen as a Protestant document that shaped Reformed Protestant theology. The reversal of the Act of Uniformity of 1552 was a mandate to use the 1552 Book of Common Prayer in all churches in England by making it illegal to use other worship forms. The Forty-Two Articles were the statements of Anglican doctrines by Archbishop Cranmer. The significant part of the article is the first one that commences with “Faith in the Holy Trinity”.²⁰³ The following move of Mary Tudor was her marriage to Philip of Spain. Due to the controversy, the idea of the marriage between Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain received both public opposition and parliamentary debate.²⁰⁴ Many were not keen on the idea of having a Spanish King. The marriage of Mary Tudor was unavoidable due to the fact that “government was not woman’s work and Mary needed the support of a husband.”²⁰⁵ Mary Tudor issued a Royal Proclamation regarding the marriage, which would limit the powers of Philip of Spain as the future king, which would preserve the customs and laws of England. After the royal proclamation, in early 1554, conspiracies arose against the infamous marriage between Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain. A significant uprising in Kent, also known as Wyatt’s Rebellion²⁰⁶, against the proposed marriage took place. It was claimed that the rebellion was only against the marriage and was not related to overthrowing the Queen.

Syr, is your quarell onely to defend vs from ouerrunning by straū•gers, and to aduaunce libertie, and not agaynst the Queene? No, quod Wyat, we mynde no

²⁰³ Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 285.

Latin: Fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem

²⁰⁴ See Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, January 22, 2020), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526142245>.

²⁰⁵ Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 65.

²⁰⁶ William H. Wiatt, “The Lost History of Wyatt’s Rebellion,” *Renaissance News* 15, no. 2 (1962): 129–33, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2857425>; William Baxter Robison, “Wyatt’s Rebellion: History, Memory, and Representation,” in *Mid-Tudor Queenship and Memory: The Making and Re-making of Lady Jane Grey and Mary I*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S. Hower, *Queenship and Power* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 119–144, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-35688-9_6.

thynges lesse, than anye wise to touche her grace: but to serue her, and honour her accordyng to our duties.²⁰⁷

Even though there is the first account of Wyatt, this declaration does not seem honest due to Wyatt's view on the Catholic monarch in England, since "God had testified against the whole innovation of the reformers and had raised up Mary to be the instrument of His will."²⁰⁸ After the rebellion, with the Acts of Attainder, the lands and titles of the rebels were confiscated. Following the proclamation against Wyatt's rebellion, the Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain (An Act, touching the Articles of the Queen's Highness's most Noble Marriage), 1 Mar. Sess. 3 c. 2, was passed by the parliament in May 1554. The act ensured that Philip would be given the title King of England, but to be jointly used with Mary. Following the act, Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain married on 25 July 1554. One of the most significant religious legislations of Mary Tudor was the Second Act of Repeal. The letter of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain to the Pope Julius III indicated that:

A law of XXVI, Henry VIII, to the effect that the King is Supreme Head of the Church in England and has authority to deal with all errors, heresies and abuses.

A law of XXVIII, Henry VIII, called a statute, abolishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

A law of XXXVII, Henry VIII, called law of the kingdom, confirming the title and style of the King's Majesty.

²⁰⁷ John Proctor, *The historie of Wyates rebellion with the order and maner of resisting the same, wherunto in the ende is added an earnest conference with the degenerate and sedicious rebelles for the serche of the cause of their daily disorder* (London: Robert Caly, December 1554), Early English Books Online, University of Michigan, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A10150.0001.001>.

²⁰⁸ John Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion, wherein are set forth the causes, that commonlye moue men to rebellion, and that no cause is there that ought to moue any man thereunto. With a discourse of the miserable effectes, that ensue thereof, and of the wretched ende, that all rebelles comme to, moste necessary to be redde in this seditious and troublesome tyme, made by Iohn Christopherson. At the ende whereof are ioyned two godlye prayers, one for the Quenes highnes...* (London: [printer not identified], 1554), Early English Books Online (EEBO), University of Michigan, accessed July 8, 2025, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A18700.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

A law of XXXV, Henry VIII, containing among other things a form of oath by which all subjects are required to renounce the authority of the Bishop of Rome. A law of I Edward V (sic, i.e. VI) providing penalties for any who may state in public, in speech or writing, that the King ruling in England is not Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, or that the Bishop of Rome or anyone else than the King of England is entitled to that style. All these laws, promulgated since the twentieth year of Henry VIII, have now been repealed, and the Pope's authority in England has been restored as it was before the said twentieth year of Henry VIII.²⁰⁹

The act repealed all religious laws passed by the parliament since the 20th year of the reign of Henry VIII. The act promulgated that England once more reconciled with Rome and Catholicism restored. After the revival of the heresy law that was repealed during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, which provided a basis for the persecution of Protestants, almost 300 Protestants were burned at the stake, which is also known as the Marian persecution.²¹⁰ Following the persecutions, several proclamations on Religious Uniformity were issued to ban Protestant books and practices, which also banned the use of the Book of Common Prayer. In order to further prevent the dissemination of Protestant propaganda, proclamations on Regulating the Press and Preaching were issued to censor heretical literature. Preachers also required a special license from bishops to preach, to eliminate Protestant preachers. It is evident that Mary successfully reconciled England with Rome, and through her religious policies, she made sure that England became devoted to the old religion as before.

2.1.4. Elizabeth I

²⁰⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. Tyler, 13:132–149.

²¹⁰ See Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

Elizabeth Tudor was born on 7 September 1533. She was the only child of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, who was the second wife of Henry VIII. Her arrival was a disappointment for Henry VIII, who was expecting a son for the sake of the English throne.²¹¹ It must be underlined that when Henry VIII wanted to end his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, the proof was her inability to provide a healthy son, which was considered against the laws of God and was considered as God's displeasure.²¹² Her mother, Anne Boleyn, was executed on 19 May 1536. Princess Elizabeth was 2 years old when her mother was executed. Therefore, it could be indicated that Anne Boleyn did not have any influence on the little princess. After the execution of her mother, with the Second Succession Act, 28 Hen. 8. C. 7., both Mary Tudor and Elizabeth Tudor were removed from the line of succession on 18 July 1536. Henry VIII's sixth wife, Katherine Parr, was influential on the life and education²¹³ of the little princess. Katherine Parr²¹⁴ brought William Grindal as a tutor to Princess Elizabeth, who would take charge of her education until his death in 1548.²¹⁵ After his death, his tutor, Roger Ascham became the tutor of young Elizabeth. He believed that "if taught well by a good teacher at a young age, a child will grow up to serve God and country by virtue and wisdom."²¹⁶ She was born into a place where religion was the major concern. She was the first Princess of England who was born as a Protestant²¹⁷.

²¹¹ Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 9.

²¹² Judith M. Richards, *Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 2012), 5.

²¹³ Alice T. Friedman, "The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in Tudor England," *History of Education Quarterly* 25, no. 1/2 (Spring–Summer 1985): 64.

²¹⁴ Linda Porter, "An Ideal Stepmother," *History Today* (March 2010), 19.

²¹⁵ See Alison Plowden, *The Young Elizabeth* (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), 75; Clark Hulse, *Elizabeth I: Ruler and Legend* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 11.

²¹⁶ See Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (London, 1589; repr., 2012).

²¹⁷ For her personal belief and voice, see Susan Doran, "Elizabeth I's Religion: The Evidence of Her Letters," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51, no. 4 (2000): 699–720, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046900005133>. For the religion and Elizabeth I as politique, see: Malcolm B. Yarnell III, "The Theology of Elizabeth I: Politique or Believer?" *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 62, no. 1 (Fall 2019): 3–31, accessed January 9, 2026, https://equipthecalled.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/62.1_Yarnell.pdf.

It was expected of a woman to be silent unless they expressed their religious devotion.²¹⁸ As a royal child, as reflected by William Camden, “she was indefatigably given to the study of learning”.²¹⁹ She was not specifically educated for the throne, but her remarkable skills in languages eventually made her better than Mary for the English throne.²²⁰ In one of the translations of Princess Elizabeth, the English translation of Marguerite de Navarre’s *Glass of the Sinful Soul*, the princess states that:

...even as an instrument of iron or of other metal waxeth soon rusty unless it be continually occupied, even so shall the wit of a man or a woman wax dull and unapt to do or understand anything perfectly unless it be always occupied upon some manner of study.²²¹

As an 11-year-old girl, the passage demonstrates her rhetorical skills, her humanist education and more significantly her intellectual maturity. She was well aware of her skills when Edward VI requested her portrait. Elizabeth answered that “For the face, I grant, I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present.”²²² It could be possible to interpret that the young princess was not fully confident regarding her appearance, but she was proud of her mind and intelligence, which would befit a ruler.²²³

²¹⁸ Margaret P. Hannay, ed., *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 4.

²¹⁹ William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England: Containing All the Most Important and Remarkable Passages of State, Both at Home and Abroad (So Far as They Were Linked with English Affairs) During Her Long and Prosperous Reign* (London, 1675).

²²⁰ See Kathi Vosevich, “The Education of a Prince(ss): Tutoring the Tudors,” in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. Mary E. Burke et al. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

²²¹ Elizabeth Tudor, “Letter to Katherine Parr, 31 December 1544,” in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, edited by Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 20–30.

²²² Elizabeth Tudor, *Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI, May 15, 1549*, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 35.

²²³ Linda Shenk, “Turning Learned Authority into Royal Supremacy: Elizabeth I’s Learned Persona and Her University Orations,” in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 78–79.

In 1543, Elizabeth, along with her sister Mary, was returned to the line of succession by the Third Succession Act. According to the act, Edward VI would succeed Henry VIII, and if Edward had an heir, the heir would succeed him. In case of the absence of the heir of Edward VI, the crown would pass to Mary Tudor and then Elizabeth I. When Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547, Edward VI succeeded him as his father desired. Lady Elizabeth's life was relatively stable and secure. She was 14 years old when Edward VI was crowned. The most serious threat against Lady Elizabeth, during her brother's reign, was the Scandal of Thomas Seymour, who desired Lady Elizabeth and was later executed for treason in 1549.²²⁴ After the death of her brother, Mary Tudor became the first Queen of England in July 1553. Once Mary became the Queen, Elizabeth "travelled to London with a large escort of horsemen to acknowledge her sister as Queen."²²⁵ During the Catholic reign of Mary Tudor, Elizabeth "declined to attend the Mass at court at first declaring that she could not while she remained Protestant."²²⁶ The early account demonstrates the view of Lady Elizabeth in personal piety. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to the Tower, and it was considered by Simon Renard that Elizabeth was to be sent to the Tower as well, as her Protestant sympathies were well known.²²⁷ Hibbert underlined that Elizabeth "pleaded that she had been brought up as a Protestant and had never been taught the doctrines of the ancient religion and asked for Catholic books to guide her."²²⁸ As a threat to the Catholic reign of Mary Tudor, Elizabeth's request for Catholic books demonstrated her wit to prolong her participation in the Mass. The rebellion against the

²²⁴ David Loades, *Elizabeth I* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 64–66.

²²⁵ Christopher Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen: The Personal History of Elizabeth I* (London: Viking, 1992), 40.

²²⁶ Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen*, 41.

²²⁷ Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen*, 41.

²²⁸ Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen*, 41.

marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain by Thomas Wyatt, who was the son of a poet who was in love with Anne Boleyn, drew the attention to Elizabeth, since the aim of the rebellion was to overthrow Mary and replace her with Elizabeth. Even though there was no explicit evidence of Elizabeth's involvement in the rebellion, the Privy Council brought her to the court, and she was taken to the Tower and remained there for two months.²²⁹ She wrote her famous *The Tide Letter* to Queen Mary:

If any ever did try this olde sayinge that a kinges worde was more than a nother mans othe [oath] I most humbly beseche your Majestie to verifie it in me and to remember your last promis and my last demaunde that I be not condemned without answer and due profe wiche it semes that now I am for that without cause provid [proved] I am by your counsel from you commanded to go unto the tower a place more wonted for a false traitor, than a tru subject wiche thoght I knowe I deserve it not, yet in the face of al this realme aperes that it is provid. wiche I pray god I may dye the shamefullst dethe that ever any died afore [if] I may mene any suche thyng; and to this present hower I protest afor God (Who shall judge my trueth, whatsoever malice shall devis) that I neither practiced, conciled nor consented to any thinge that might be prejudicial to your parson any way or daungerous to the state by any mene [means].²³⁰

The letter demonstrates Princess Elizabeth's plea to her sister, Queen Mary, regarding the false accusations made against her. She asserts her innocence and uses her wit, beginning with a well-known proverb, "a king's word is worth more than another man's oath". She asks to speak with the Queen and underlined her dismay due to being sent to the Tower, where traitors were sent. She insists that there was no such evidence that proved her betrayal.

Therefor ons [once] again kneling [kneeling] with humblenes of my hart, bicause I am not suffer'd to bow the knees of my body I humbly crave to speke with your highnis wiche I wolde not be so bold to desire if I knewe not my selfe most clere as I knowe my selfe most tru, and as for the traitor Wiat [Wyatt] he migh [might] paraventur [peradventure] writ me a lettar but on my faithe I never receved any

²²⁹ Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen*, 45.

²³⁰ TNA SP11/4/2, fo. 3r-v.

from him and as for the copie of my lettar sent to the frenche kinge I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token or lettar by any menes, and to this my truth I wil stande in to my dethe. I humbly crave but only one worde of answer from your selfe. Your hignes most faithful subject that hathe bine from the beginnunge, and wylbe to my ende. Elizabeth.²³¹

In addition, even though physically impossible, she humbly demonstrates her loyalty by kneeling with humility of her heart. She denies any correspondence with Thomas Wyatt. Her self-curse, “God confound me eternally”, illustrates her intense denial and divine judgement. She concludes the letter, declaring that she was loyal and will always be loyal to the Queen and will remain her faithful subject. The letter illustrates Elizabeth’s rhetorical mastery and her ability to express herself. She was removed from the Tower on 19 May 1554. Elizabeth remained suspicious in the eyes of the Queen. Therefore, she was under house arrest and supervision.

After the death of Queen Mary, Elizabeth became the Queen of England on 17 November 1558.²³² When she became the Queen of England, laymen experienced the fourth religious change and upheaval, Henry VIII’s conversion to Protestantism, Edward VI’s extreme Protestant policies, Mary Tudor’s counter-reformation and reconciliation of England with Rome and Elizabeth I’s Protestant policies. The Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth was more moderate. Especially with the Elizabethan Religious

²³¹ The National Archives, “The Tide Letter.”

²³² For the reign of Elizabeth I, see Carole Levin, *The Reign and Life of Queen Elizabeth I: Politics, Culture, and Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), ISBN 978-3-030-93009-7; Alison Weir, *The Life of Elizabeth I* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999); William Camden, *History of Princess Elizabeth* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970); Arthur F. Kinney, *Elizabethan Backgrounds: Historical Documents of the Age of Elizabeth I* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1975); Carolly Erickson, *The First Elizabeth: The Life of Elizabeth I* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997); Stephen J. Lee, *The Reign of Elizabeth I: 1558–1603* (London: Routledge, October 29, 2007); Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London and New York: Longman, 1988); *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, edited by Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Alexandra Gajda, “‘A Wall of Defence unto this Realm’: William Cecil, Conformity and the Protestant State in Early Elizabethan England,” *English Historical Review* 139, no. 596 (2024): 60–93, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cead215>.

settlement, a middle way for both Catholics and radical Protestants was tried to be established. The Church, during the reign of Elizabeth I, not only faced opposition from the Catholics but also from radical Protestants. Therefore, the Elizabethan Religious Settlement aimed to address both Catholics and Protestants in services and beliefs. It was an attempt to unite the kingdom, which was in religious turmoil due to changing religious beliefs under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary Tudor.

The first attempt under the Elizabethan Religious Settlement was in April 1559, when the Act of Supremacy was passed by the parliament. The Act re-established the independence of the Church of England, and the Church was broken from the Papacy once more. The act ensured that all government officers, as well as clergymen, took the Oath of Supremacy. The oath also ensured that Elizabeth I was recognised as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England (for the analysis of the title, see chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6). The selection of the title demonstrates that Elizabeth I did not want any theological confrontation due to the title Supreme Head, which was utilised by Henry VIII and Edward VI. Following the Act of Supremacy, the Act of Uniformity was passed by the Parliament in April 1559.²³³ The act mandated the use of the Book of Common Prayer of 1552, but with minor revisions. 1559 Book of Common Prayer was compulsory to be utilised in all church services. It was also mandatory to attend the services, and absence from the services was punished with fines. The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity were supported by the Royal Injunctions in July 1559. The aim of the injunctions was to enforce the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. As during the reign of Edward VI, but in a more moderate manner, visitations were conducted during the Elizabethan regime to ensure that

²³³ J. E. Neale, "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity," *The English Historical Review* 65, no. 256 (July 1950): 304–32, accessed July 14, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/LXV.CCLVI.304>.

the title Supreme Governor of the Church of England was acknowledged, 1559 Book of Common Prayer was utilised, Latin Mass was banned, altars were replaced with communion tables and the English Bible was used.²³⁴ In addition the Catholic elements such as shrines and relics were removed. In the Injunctions Given By the Queen's Majesty Concerning Religion, it was stated that:

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol the dignity of any images, relics, or miracles; but, declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author and Giver of the same, and of none other.²³⁵

Even though the injunctions were not as radical as they were during the reign of Edward VI, she tried to reshape the Church of England by avoiding extremes, as his brother and sister did. One of the most significant products of the Elizabethan regime regarding religious identity was the 39 Articles established in 1563. It was a product of doctrinal statements which later became a cornerstone for Anglican doctrine.²³⁶ In Article 6, it was stated that:

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.²³⁷

²³⁴ Charles B. Jewson, "The Injunctions of 1547 and 1559 in Relation to Our Traditions of Worship," *Baptist Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (January 1949): 34–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0005576X.1949.11750745>; Carole Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 25.

²³⁵ *Injunctions Given by the Queen's Majesty Concerning Religion* (1559), item II, in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. Henry Gee and W. H. Hardy (New York: Macmillan, 1896), accessed via Hanover Historical Texts Project, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/engref/er78.html>.

²³⁶ See *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, explained with an introduction by Edgar C. S. Gibson (London: Methuen & Co., 1896), accessed via Internet Archive, PDF, <https://dn790003.ca.archive.org/0/items/thirtyninearticl01gibsuoft/thirtyninearticl01gibsuoft.pdf>.

²³⁷ *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, Anglican Communion, accessed July 15, 2025, PDF, <https://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/109014/Thirty-Nine-Articles-of-Religion.pdf>.

The article illustrates the sufficiency of the Holy Scripture for salvation. It reflects the idea of *Sola Scriptura* that the scripture is crystal clear and it alone contains all necessary knowledge, which is one of the core doctrines of Protestantism. The fact that no other men are required, the article rejects the Roman Catholic tradition of papal teaching. It also underlines that if it is not read in the Scripture, it is not required by men. It also aligns with Lutheran theology regarding the abuses of the clergy and relying only on the words of the scripture. In Article 11, it was stated that:

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.²³⁸

The term righteousness in the text aligns with Lutheran theology, and it refers to imputed righteousness. The article highlights Christ's merit, his sacrifice, the basis of justification and his role as the Saviour. There is also a direct reference to Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone. Through faith, the gift of salvation is to be earned. In Article 22, it was stated that:

The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relics, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.²³⁹

The article is a direct rejection of the Roman Catholic doctrine regarding the use of relics, images and underlines the restriction of the use of icons as well as veneration of saints. As Christ is the sole mediator, the intermediary role of saints, which is the core Catholic belief,

²³⁸ *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, art. 11.

²³⁹ *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, art. 22.

is denounced. In addition, the idea of purgatory and pardon illustrates the Lutheran idea of the corrupted church through abuses of indulgences. It was underlined that these practices were invented and were not supported by the Scripture. In addition, Article 22 rejects the Roman practice of transubstantiation. Article 37, represents the relationship between Church and State:

The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction. Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers. The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England. The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences. It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.²⁴⁰

The first paragraph indicates that The King's Majesty, Henry VIII, declared the royal supremacy in England and became the Supreme Head of the Church of England, who had the authority over religious matters. It explicitly declares that the Pope has no power over the English Church and England is free from foreign interventions. One of the significant parts of the article is the role of the monarch. The monarch is not responsible for performing religious rites; she or he is only responsible for governance, which includes ecclesiastical governance as well. The article echoes the position of Elizabeth I as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England and justifies governance of the Church. Key doctrines of the 39 Articles define the stance of the Church of England and Anglicanism.

²⁴⁰ *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, art. 37.

In 1566, the first Puritan attack against the Elizabethan Religious Settlement occurred due to the dissatisfaction of Puritans regarding vestments.²⁴¹ As highlighted by Gunther, “The controversy swirled around the legal requirement for the Church of England’s ministers to wear a square cap and surplice, a white linen gown with drooping sleeves.”²⁴² These garments were the uniform of the clergy devoted to Catholicism; therefore, the traditional clothing was refused by Protestant ministers since these garments were thought to be “adiaphora”.²⁴³ The below text illustrates the refusal of the clergy to clothe in garments.

Sir, I have thought good to advertise [explain] you of things passed a late [recently]. One Barthlett [John Bartlett, evangelical preacher] a reader off a divinity lecturer in St. Giles parish without [outside] Cripplegate notwithstanding he was suspended [for not wearing the correct clerical vestments] with the rest,[1] took upon him to read again [read the service again] without license. I sent for him and willed him to surcease [stop] seeming to offer impunity for the matter past,[2] so he would promise silence for the time to come. He refused so to promise: alleging that in conscience he was forced to instruct the ignorant desirous to learn, and now destitute [without a minister]. Where upon, I with two other commissioners yesterday afternoon committed him to his own house, where he still remains. This day before noon came into my house sixty women of the same parishes to make suit for him: to whom I sent answer, that I would *not* in such case *deal* with such numbers of women, as much disliking such kind of assembly: but willed them to send me half a dozen off their husbands and with them I would talk etc. One Mr Philpott, who is also suspended, but of more quiet disposition than some other, hearing of it came to my house and persuaded them to depart. His authority was greater with them, than mine could have been: otherwise I feared I should have prayed aid of some magistrates off the City: but by Mr Philpott’s persuasion they went away quietly: but yet so as it seems they moved at some hands compassion. By this beginning, I suppose ye will consider of that I moved you: which is, that some assistance of yet Council must be had in Execution off those matters, if ye will have them to take effect. On Wednesday next I hope to see you at the Star Chamber or sooner, if you come to your house at the Strand. I shall then further open mine opinion herein. God keep you...²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Karl Gunther, “Catholics and the Elizabethan Vestments Controversy,” in *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 189–217.

²⁴² Gunther, “Catholics and the Elizabethan Vestments Controversy,” 189.

²⁴³ Gunther, “Catholics and the Elizabethan Vestments Controversy,” 190.

²⁴⁴ TNA SP12/39/66, fo. 176r-v.

The letter demonstrates John Barlett's suspension due to the Vestiarian Controversy. The letter was written by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, to William Cecil, who was the Chief Advisor to Elizabeth I. The case illustrates that Barlett was suspended due to not complying with the order of the monarchy. The letter indicates that a few ministers were suspended due to not wearing the correct vestments. He insisted on preaching without a license, demonstrating the Puritan argument on the supremacy of Scripture over ecclesiastical law. Even though he was tolerated and requested to be silent, the request was refused. This case may illustrate the contradiction between religious and political authorities. One of the most interesting parts of the letter is the gendered protest. This demonstrates public female ecclesiastical opinion regarding the vestment that 60 women desired to make a suit to get rid of the popish vestment. This also illustrates the attachment to the Puritan preachers in the public eye.

On 25 February 1570, Elizabeth I was excommunicated by Pope Pius V and stated that:

Therefore, resting upon the authority of Him whose pleasure it was to place us (though unequal to such a burden) upon this supreme justice-seat, we do out of the fullness of our apostolic power declare the foresaid Elizabeth to be a heretic and favourer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid to have incurred the sentence of excommunication and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ.²⁴⁵

After the re-establishment of Protestantism in England, Elizabeth I was declared a heretic and a favourer of heretics in the eyes of the Pope. Muller argues that the excommunication had a short-term impact in England, but the long-term impact was the resistance of Catholic

²⁴⁵ Pope Pius V, *Regnans in Excelsis* (25 February 1570), accessed July 15, 2025, Papal Encyclicals Online, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius05/p5regnans.htm>

laymen.²⁴⁶ The excommunication also worsened the relationship with Catholic Europe, especially with Spain, but strengthened the alliance with Protestant states. Following the Papal Bull in 1570, in response, the Treason Act was passed by the parliament in 1571.²⁴⁷ The act was a direct response to the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pope Pius V. It was an act of treason to possess or distribute the papal bulls, to harm the Queen or question her rightful succession or call her a heretic. Due to her religious policies, Elizabeth I was threatened, and plots were devised against her. One of the early plots was the Ridolfi Plot in 1571 that aimed to replace Mary, Queen of Scots with Elizabeth I. Roberto di Ridolfi, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Mary, Queen of Scots, King Philip of Spain and Pope Pius V were involved in the plot to restore Catholicism. William Cecile and Sir Francis Walsingham discovered the plot, which caused the execution of Norfolk and led to the stricter anti-Catholic laws with the Act of Treason in 1571.

The only criticism against the policies of the Elizabethan regime was not only from Catholics but also from Puritans. Thomas Cartwright was an academic and preacher who became a professor at Cambridge and lost his position due to his criticism of the governance of the Church of England. He rejected episcopacy and favoured presbyters in the governance.²⁴⁸ Even though he was not the author, he defended the Admonition to Parliament, which was a Puritan pamphlet. In *An Admonition to the Parliament*, it was stated that:

Concerning Seniors, not onely theyr office but their name also is out of this english church vtterly remoued. Theyr offyce was to gouerne the church with the rest of the

²⁴⁶ See Aislinn Muller, *The Excommunication of Elizabeth I: Faith, Politics, and Resistance in Post-Reformation England, 1570–1603* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

²⁴⁷ A comprehensive discussion on the Treason Act of 1571 is available at Hannah Jennie Wygiera, “Traitors to the Queen and the Realm”: *Treason and Catholics in Elizabethan England, 1569–1590* (master’s thesis, University of Calgary, 2023), <https://prism.ucalgary.ca/handle/1880/116124>.

²⁴⁸ See Andrew Forreth Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925).

ministers, to consult, to advise, to correct, and to order all things appertaining to the state of the cōgregatyon. In frede of these Segnyors in euery church, the pope hath brought in and we yet mayntayne, the Lordshyp of one men oluer many churches, yea ouer sondry Shyeres. These Seygnyors then, dyd execute theyr offyces in theyr owne persones wythout substytutes.²⁴⁹

The text indicates that seniors (elders) were removed from the English Church and criticises the centralisation of power through Bishops who are responsible for a variety of Churches. The passage highlights the inclusion of seniors and underlines shared governance. The structure of the governance of the Church of England is criticised due to the influence of the Papacy. The text reflects the Puritan belief and underlines the failure of the Church of England, which could not reform the governance of the Church. In 1580, Jesuits began to arrive in England secretly to support the Catholic cause, including Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, who also challenged the legitimacy of the reign of Elizabeth I.²⁵⁰ The arrival of Persons and Campion was viewed as a threat. Campion's *Ten Reasons (Decem Rationes)*²⁵¹, in which he defended Catholic doctrines and criticised Protestantism, was a key point for the resistance. The work was written in 1581 and printed and distributed secretly at Oxford University. Decem Rationes includes the Church's antiquity and its continuous tradition, universality, unity of doctrine, holiness, miracles, biblical prophecies, apostolic succession, perpetuity, council support regarding the Catholic belief and preservation of the true meaning of the Scripture. The work was a

²⁴⁹ *An Admonition to the Parliament*. In the digital collection *Early English Books Online*. University of Michigan Library Digital Collections. Accessed July 15, 2025. <https://name.umd.umich.edu/A00718.0001.001>.

²⁵⁰ James E. Kelly, "Conformity, Loyalty and the Jesuit Mission to England of 1580," in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*, ed. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 149–70.

²⁵¹ Edmund Campion, *Ten Reasons*, in defense of Catholic doctrine (c. 1581), accessed July 15, 2025, PDF, <https://dn720006.ca.archive.org/0/items/tenreasonspropos00campuoft/tenreasonspropos00campuoft.pdf>.

political threat against Elizabeth I, and it was a public support of Catholicism, as well as further inspiration for recusants and Jesuits, which was an act of treason. Campion was arrested and executed in December 1581. Following, An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience was passed by the parliament in 1580. It was considered high treason not to pledge allegiance to the Queen and the Church of England. In addition, absenteeism from the Anglican Church was fined, and those who celebrated mass were imprisoned.²⁵² In 1583, there was another attempt to depose Elizabeth I. Sir Francis Throckmorton plotted to free Mary, Queen of Scots, who was under house arrest and replace her with Elizabeth I to restore Roman Catholicism once more. Throckmorton was arrested and executed. After the failure of the Throckmorton plot, *The Bond of Association* was formed by Francis Walsingham and William Cecil in 1584. It was an agreement to execute those who attempted to overthrow Elizabeth and assassinate her.

And if any such wicked attempt against her most royal person shall be taken in hand, or procured, whereby any that have, may or shall pretend title to come to this crown by the untimely death of Her Majesty so wickedly procured (which God of His Mercy forbid!) that the same may be avenged, we do not only bind our selves both jointly and severally never to allow, accept or favour any such pretended successor, by whom or for whom any such detestable act shall be attempted or committed, as unworthy of all government in any Christian realm or civil state: But do also further vow and protest, as we are most bound, and that in the Presence of the eternal and everlasting God, to prosecute such person or persons to death, with our joint and several forces, and to act the utmost revenge upon them, that by any means we or any of us can devise and do, or cause to be devised and done for their utter overthrow and extirpation.²⁵³

²⁵² See Glen Bowman, "Elizabethan Catholics and Romans 13: A Chapter in the History of Political Polemic," *Journal of Church and State* 47, no. 3 (2005): 531–44, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23920607>.

²⁵³ *The Instrument of an Association for preservation of the Queen's Majesty's Royal Person*. The original minute, corrected by Mr. Secretary Walsingham. The first minute. [See further, Vol. CLXXXIV.] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590*, ed. Robert Lemon (Burlington, ON: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2005), entry for 19 October 1585.

The document demonstrates that no one will be acknowledged as a legitimate successor even though he or she has a hereditary right if they are to benefit from assassinating Elizabeth I. In addition, those who attempt to assassinate the Queen will be prosecuted and the Queen will be avenged. In 1585, An Act Against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Such Other Like Disobedient Persons was passed by the parliament. It was stated that:

For reformation whereof be it ordained, established, and enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same Parliament, that all and every Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests whatsoever made or ordained out of the realm of England or other her highness's dominions, or within any of her majesty's realms or dominions, by any authority, power, or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the see of Rome, since the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in the first year of her highness's reign, shall within forty days next after the end of this present session of Parliament depart out of this realm of England, and out of all other her highness's realms and dominions, if the wind, weather, and passage shall serve for the same, or else so soon after the end of the said forty days as the wind, weather, and passage shall so serve... after the end of the same forty days, other than in such special cases, and upon such special occasions only, and for such time only, as is expressed in this Act; and if he do, that then every such offence shall be taken and adjudged to be high treason; and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, as in case of high treason... after the end of the same forty days, and after such time of departure as is before limited and appointed, shall wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, being at liberty, or out of hold, knowing him to be a Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, shall also for such offence be adjudged a felon, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death, lose, and forfeit, as in case of one attainted of felony.²⁵⁴

The act ensured that Roman Catholic Priests were ordered to leave the realm within 40 days or would be punished for high treason. For special cases, such as swearing the oath

²⁵⁴ *An Act Against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Such Other Like Disobedient Persons* (1585), in *The English Reformation: A Documentary Collection*, Hanover Historical Texts Project, accessed July 15, 2025, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/engref/er85.html>.

and putting allegiance to the Queen, would stay. Those who did not leave would suffer death. In 1586, another plot, the Babington Plot, was planned to assassinate Queen Elizabeth and crown Mary, Queen of Scots. The plot was eliminated by spymaster Sir Francis Walsingham. Once the letters were deciphered, Mary, Queen of Scots, was accused of being involved in the plot. She was later beheaded on 8 February 1587. Following the death of Mary, Queen of Scots, the turmoil became even greater, and King Philip II of Spain waged war against Queen Elizabeth to overthrow her. The victory of England marked the independence of England from foreign Catholicism. In 1588, at Tilbury, Essex, she stated that:

I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.²⁵⁵

Queen Elizabeth acknowledges her physical weakness as a woman, but with her rhetorical skills, she transforms herself into a king with courage and legitimises her position as a king. She also challenges foreign powers such as Parma and Spain, and threatens Catholic forces and illustrates herself as a warrior queen. In 1593, An Act for the Preventing and Avoiding of Such Great Inconveniencies and Perils as Might Happen and Grow by the Wicked and Dangerous Practices of Seditious Sectaries and Disloyal Persons was passed by the parliament. The act indicates that:

...If any person or persons which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, and shall forbear by the space of a month to hear divine service, as is aforesaid, shall after the said forty days, either of him

²⁵⁵ Elizabeth I, *Speech to the Troops at Tilbury*, August 19, 1588, in *Archives of Women's Political Communication*, Iowa State University, accessed July 15, 2025, <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2017/03/09/speech-to-the-troops-at-tilbury-aug-19-1588/>.

or themselves, or by the motion, persuasion, enticement, or allurement of any other, willingly join, or be present at, any such assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any such exercise of religion, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, as is aforesaid; that then every such person so offending as aforesaid, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison...²⁵⁶

The act promulgated that those who failed to attend the Church would be imprisoned. If the offender did not conform and did not attend, he or she would be exiled from England.

This act ensured the repression of Puritans. In 1595, the Lambeth Articles were issued by Archbishop Whitgift due to tension between Anglicans and Calvinists.²⁵⁷ It must be underlined that even though nine articles were in the form of an addendum to the 39 Articles, it was not authorised by Elizabeth I. Almost at the end of the reign of Elizabeth I, in 1601, the Essex Rebellion broke out under the leadership of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. Due to his loss of political power as well as his failures in foreign policy, he was placed under house arrest, which later motivated him to rebel against the government. On 25 February 1601, he was beheaded. On 24 March 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, and her death marked the end of the Tudor dynasty. Her legacy lasted for the preservation of Protestant England.

2.1.5. The Reformation in Gloucestershire and Kent

The 16th-century was an era of turbulence in England, specifically starting from the reign of Henry VIII to Elizabeth I, which was experienced in the counties in England, specifically Kent and Gloucestershire, which this dissertation focuses on. As Caroline Litzenberger

²⁵⁶ *An Act for the Preventing and Avoiding of Such Great Inconveniencies and Perils as Might Happen and Grow by the Wicked and Dangerous Practices of Seditious Sectaries and Disloyal Persons* (1593), in *The English Reformation: A Documentary Collection*, Hanover Historical Texts Project, accessed July 15, 2025, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/engref/er86.html>.

²⁵⁷ *The Lambeth Articles of 1595*, Reformed Anglican Church, accessed July 15, 2025, <https://www.reformedanglican.us/lambeth-articles-of-1595>.

also underlined, “the laity experience a series of major upheavals, some would welcome the new religion each time it was promoted; others would rejoice in every swing back to the old. The anguish experienced by those who were trying to be obedient subjects and faithful Christians must have been excruciating”.²⁵⁸ It is evident that due to the changes of the state religion, the religion of the laymen was rather complex. Requirement of dealing with the change of religion may have a variety of responses from the laymen and individuals. There were probably people who denied it due to their devotion to the old religion and their resistance to the changes. There were also people who accepted the new religion due to their loyalty to the crown or simply due to their faith in the new religion. “People’s response to change varied dramatically, depending on their experience, knowledge, preferences and personalities. In the case of religious change, this is especially true”.²⁵⁹ Therefore, the purpose of selecting these two counties is to assess the changing religious beliefs of the people of the Eastern county of Kent and the Western county of Gloucestershire. Both people of Kent and Gloucestershire experienced a dramatic shift in their religious lives due to the policies of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. The primary purpose of selecting those counties is to compare one county from the North and one county from the South of England. During the Reformation Period, the County of Gloucestershire experienced significant changes.

As underlined by Litzenberger, the reason for the involving Gloucestershire²⁶⁰ to this dissertation is due to its “conservative nature of most of the residents of

²⁵⁸ C. J. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540–1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

²⁵⁹ Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 2.

²⁶⁰ For more information regarding Gloucestershire, see Ben Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale, 1483–*

Gloucestershire”.²⁶¹ She also highlights that in the 1530s, “there is considerable evidence of the vigour of traditional lay piety among both the elite and the ordinary people.”²⁶² After the Act of Supremacy, once the Parliament passed the First Suppression Act in 1535 and the Second Act in 1539, monasteries were dissolved at the authority and request of Henry VIII and their wealth, as well as the land, were redistributed. After the dissolution, significant institutions such as Gloucester Abbey, Tewkesbury Abbey and Cirencester Abbey were dissolved, which may have led to social and economic disruption for the locals. The Pilgrimage of the Grace²⁶³ was also a conservative uprising in the North against the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The conservative approach from Gloucestershire and how, under the influence of the policy, it became a Protestant county and more significantly, the evidence of this change throughout the time through wills will aid scholars to track the local response towards the Reformation and the statistical analysis of personal piety. As Litzenberger also outlined, “historians have done research on particular regions in England; however, religion in sixteenth-century Gloucestershire has received little attention”.²⁶⁴ The purpose of this dissertation is to draw attention to one of the northern and conservative counties in England and to study the Reformation and religious

1560 (London: Routledge, 2020); Kirsty Owen, “The Reformed Elect: Wealth, Death, and Sanctity in Gloucestershire, 1550–1640,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10, no. 1 (March 2006): 1–34, DOI: 10.1007/S10761-006-0001.

²⁶¹ Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 4.

²⁶² Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 23.

²⁶³ See M. L. Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536* (Manchester University Press, 1995); R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

²⁶⁴ Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 5. R. A. Holt, “Gloucester: An English Provincial Town during the Later Middle Ages” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1987); R. A. Holt, “Gloucester in the Century after the Black Death,” in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200–1540*, ed. R. A. Holt and G. Rosser (London and New York: Longman, 1990), 141–59; P. Clark, “‘The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good’: Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester, 1540–1640,” in *The English Commonwealth, 1547–1640*, ed. P. Clark, A. G. R. Smith, and N. Tyacke (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), 167–87.

changes from the ground. In addition, the work of Litzenberger provides information regarding the personal piety until 1580 and the remaining period of Elizabeth I will be covered in this dissertation.

The county of Kent, as the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was significant for both ecclesiastical and economic reasons. It played a pivotal role in the Henrician Reformation and later the Edwardian, Marian and Elizabethan Reformations. It was also significant for broader religious and political upheavals in England. Its geopolitical location was strategic for its closeness to continental Europe and the religious developments. As it was the Archepiscopal See of Canterbury, it was the religious heartland. After the Dissolution of the Monasteries Act, numerous houses were dissolved, including St. Augustine Abbey, Rochester Priory and Malling Abbey, and the lands were passed on to the gentry. “As a coastal county, through its ports, it was open to the influence of the foreign reformers and ideas, especially to Lutheranism”.²⁶⁵ After the appointment of the first Protestant Archbishop, Thomas Cranmer in 1533, the county remained loyal to the crown. One of the most significant events for Kent is Wyatt’s Rebellion in 1554 against the marriage between Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor. Under Queen Mary, the county saw brutal suppression and persecution of Protestants, especially in Canterbury.²⁶⁶

The following chart demonstrates the percentage of traditional wills in the county of Gloucestershire between 1509 and 1553, covering the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI during the Reformation period. As analysed in my master’s thesis, the data

²⁶⁵ Michael Zell. *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1640*. (Kent History Project: 5. Boydell Press/Kent County Council, 2000). p. 183.

²⁶⁶ See Peter Clark, “Popular Protest and Disturbance in Kent, 1558–1640,” *The Economic History Review* 29, no. 3 (August 1976): 365–82.

below were obtained through 224 wills from The National Archives PROB 11 series that may reflect the personal piety of the respective testators. In order to see the decline in the old religion, only traditional wills, also known as Catholic wills, were taken into account for further analysis.

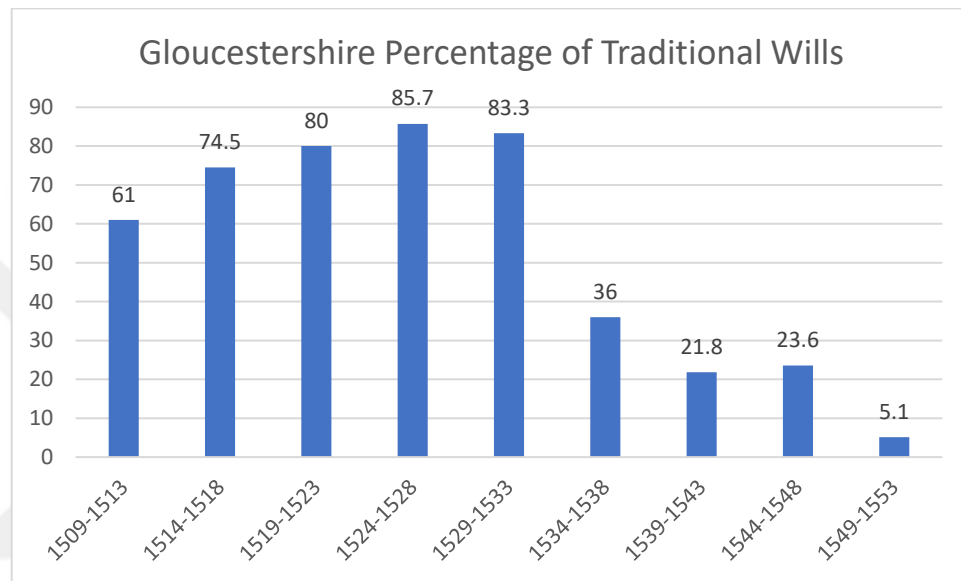


Figure 1– Percentage of Traditional Wills in Gloucestershire

The data indicate a gradual increase in the percentage of traditional wills from 61% to 85.7%, which is the highest percentage during the reigns of both Henry VIII and Edward VI. During the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, England remained a Catholic kingdom, and in the case of Gloucestershire, the population remained Catholic as reflected in wills. The increase in the traditional wills indicates the fact that people of Gloucestershire commit themselves to Catholicism and its practices. The gradual increase may also imply a stable religious environment in Gloucestershire until 1534, where the gradual decline in traditional wills becomes visible. Henry VIII began challenging the Church and the Papal authority, and the data between 1529 and 1533, and the 5% drop may

be due to his challenge against Roman Catholicism. Following, between 1534 and 1538, the significant drop and decline in traditional wills demonstrates the onset of the Reformation. The dramatic drop in the traditional wills may demonstrate the effect of the Act of Supremacy, Henry VIII becoming the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Religious turmoil during the reign of Henry VIII could have had an overall effect on the traditional way of will-writing as well. This change may occur due to either voluntary or involuntary reasons, considering the religious policies of Henry VIII. Regardless of his inconsistent religious policies, breaking up with Rome but retaining many Catholic practices, the momentum of the Reformation carried on. The reign of Edward VI demonstrates a more radical approach in the Protestant Reformation. The drastic drop to 5.1% between 1549 and 1553 illustrates a vivid transformation as reflected in the wills. The drop indicates that testators adopted a more Protestant way of format for will-writing, which may imply their personal piety as well. As illustrated in the chart, it may suggest that Gloucestershire experienced a rapid shift in personal piety or religious identity, considering the percentage of wills before and after 1534. It should be highlighted that the drastic shift does not necessarily reflect the change in personal piety but also social and political pressure of the crown, as well as local factors, which may include the influence of Protestant reformers or Catholic resistance. From the evidence of the decline of the traditional wills, it may be suggested that Gloucestershire became a more Protestant county during the reign of Edward VI.

The following chart demonstrates the percentage of traditional wills in the county of Gloucestershire between 1509 and 1553, covering the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI during the Reformation period. As analysed in my master's thesis, the data below were

obtained through 298 wills from The National Archives PROB 11 series that may reflect the personal piety of the respective testators. In order to see the decline in the old religion, only traditional wills, also known as Catholic wills, were taken into account for further analysis.

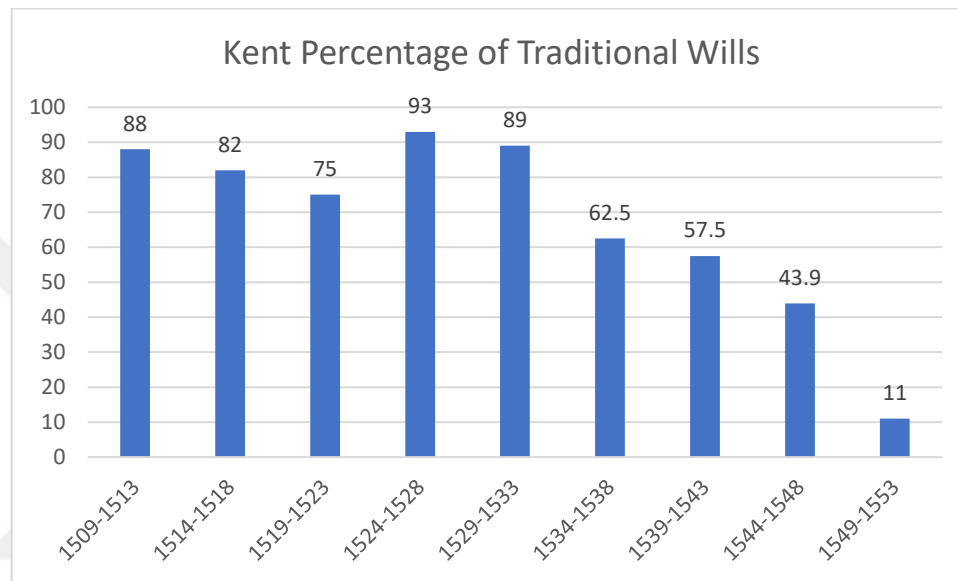


Figure 2– Percentage of Traditional Wills in Kent

Starting with 88% between 1509 and 1513, the data demonstrate a certain fluctuation in the percentage of traditional wills that relatively remains high compared to Gloucestershire. As the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Kent remained relatively conservative against the religious turmoil in England. The data demonstrate an adherence to the traditional way of will-writing that may reflect the personal piety of individuals in Kent. During the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, there is a slight decrease in traditional wills up to 1523 and a sudden increase between 1524 and 1528, which is the highest percentage of Catholic wills during the reign of Henry VIII. The fact that Henry VIII began to challenge the authority of the Pope in 1529, and the slight decline in the traditional wills, may

demonstrate an alignment between the people of Kent and Henry VIII. Starting from 1529, the gradual decline of the traditional wills, as illustrated in the chart, may reflect the piety of the locals along with the policies of Henry VIII. Unlike Gloucestershire, Kent remained more resistant to the policies of Henry VIII. As Thomas Cranmer became the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury on 3 December 1533, the sudden decline in traditional wills between 1534 and 1538 may demonstrate the influence of Thomas Cranmer in the county. With Edward VI and his more radical Protestant reforms, especially with the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and 1552, the data illustrate a more anglicised Kent as reflected in the decline of the traditional wills. The 11% and the dramatic decline from 43.9% may mirror the Protestant push from the crown, along with its religious and political policies.

The data from Gloucestershire and Kent, as illustrated in both charts, illuminate the local differences in the impact of the Reformation in England. Even though similar to the overall trend in Gloucestershire, it is possible to pursue the changing effects of the Reformation in different counties. The data may illuminate the local challenges and resistance to the changing religious policies of both Henry VIII and Edward VI. The comparative analysis of Kent, as the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Gloucestershire may demonstrate how changing religious influence affects the laity in different regions and how the laity responded. These differences and influences may illustrate the spread of the Reformation and the specific regional dynamics of the shift from Catholicism to Protestantism.

This chapter outlines the political landscape and shifting religious policies of sixteenth-century England during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth I, with a special emphasis on the counties of Gloucestershire and Kent. The chapter

provides a detailed historical background for further analysis of the wills and selected elements within them, exploring possible religious expressions and leanings within the context of the Revisionist approach to the Reformation. The chapter illustrates the gradual shift/slow change in lived parish religion and how the slow process of the English Reformation had a profound impact on laymen.



CHAPTER III: PERSONAL PIETY IN WILLS: THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

This chapter proposes to analyse the following elements in the wills, in the light of the external evidence: entity, Supreme Head of the Church of England and the Nouns Saviour and Redeemer. The argument in the chapter also draws on my categorisation of entities that builds upon the categories offered by previous scholars. The title Supreme Head of the Church of England as an element has not been studied previously and is based on the evidence of State Papers, Spain and Journals of House of Commons and House of Lords. It must be stressed that the title Supreme Head of the Church of England is discussed in detail within my forthcoming article “Mary Tudor as Supreme Head of the Church of England: The Evidence of Wills”. Moreover, this chapter further focuses on the use of the Nouns "Saviour" and "Redeemer" which have not been examined before. The two nouns are analysed and categorised depending on the Tyndale's translation of the Bible since such nouns may indicate Protestant soteriology. In addition, the interpretation of nouns by historians such as Margaret Spufford supports the external evidence and categorisation of these specific nouns. This chapter further provides an analysis of personal piety in Gloucestershire and Kent and religious implications and categorisation of wills as Traditional, Protestant and Ambiguous through external evidence that will be base for the following chapters.

3.1. Wills as a Medium of Reflecting Personal Piety: The Case of Entity, Supreme Head and Nouns

Wills were not just a legal instrument for the distribution of wealth, but were possibly a way of reflecting personal piety. The language embedded in these documents, including the variety of the use of entities, the use of titles, and the formulation in committals, may provide valuable insight into the religious leaning of testators. This section focuses on the attempt to categorise certain elements in order to reflect possible religious leanings of testators offered by Zell, Dickens, Litzenberger, Cross and Heale. Different or similar frameworks proposed by previous scholars formed a particular method to assess possible attitudes towards Catholicism or Protestantism. The current literature interprets the explicit use of a formula that may reveal the expression of testators. Building upon the previous scholars, my own method aims to pursue both the explicit and cryptic language of testators that may illuminate further studies. This section focuses on the use of entities, the title Supreme Head and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer as a medium of reflecting personal piety.

3.1.1. Entity

Wills were not just a legal instrument for the distribution of wealth, but were possibly a way of reflecting personal piety. The language embedded in these documents, including the variety of the use of entities, the use of titles and the formulation of preambles, may provide a valuable insight for the religious leaning of testators. There are several elements in wills that may enlighten scholars for possible orientation towards Catholicism and

Protestantism. As already discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, some scholars have conducted research on the utilisation of entities to identify possible orientations to Catholicism or Protestantism. The following tables demonstrate the interpretation and categorisation of the entities as a medium of reflecting personal piety.

Conventional/Traditional	Protestant
Virgin Mary and Saints	Omitting Virgin Mary and Saints Only God

Table 8– Categorisation of Entities by Zell

Zell further develops his categorisation as Catholic/Traditional, Non-Traditional and Protestant. Even though Zell states that he categorises preambles, the fact that preambles do not begin with “I command my soul” illuminates that the categorisation is for the committal.

Catholic/Traditional	God, Virgin Mary, and the Saints / Holy Company of Heaven
Non- Traditional	God
Protestant	Jesus Christ

Table 9– Categorisation of Entities by Zell

Heale provides his categorisation for the committals as well. The only categorisation he provides is the Catholic or Traditional one, which already shares the same categorisation with Zell.

Catholic/Traditional
God, Blessed Virgin and the Company of Heaven

Table 10– Categorisation of Entities by Heale

Even though she does not explicitly provide a categorisation, Cross underlines the majorly used traditional formula, especially before 1540.

Catholic/Traditional
God, the Virgin and the Court of Heaven

Table 11– Categorisation of Entities by Cross

Duffy is also one of the scholars who does not explicitly categorise the entities, but he supports that omission of some elements from the wills may demonstrate a decline in traditional will writing.

Catholic	Protestant

Saints	Omission of Saints and referring Jesus Christ

Table 12– Categorisation of Entities by Duffy

As one of the pioneers of using wills as sources for personal piety, Dickens provides traditional/Catholic and Protestant categorisations.

Catholic/Traditional	Company of Heaven
Protestant	God or Jesus Christ

Table 13– Categorisation of Entities by Dickens

The last categorisation was generated by Litzenberger, she categorised the use of entities as follows:

Traditional	Virgin Mary and/or Holy Company of Heaven
Ambiguous	Almighty God and/or Jesus Christ
Protestant	Testator directly addressing God

Table 14– Categorisations of Entities by Litzenberger

After Litzenberger, there has not been any scholarly research on the categorisation of wills for a possible track of personal piety. In my master's thesis, I have generated the last

categorisation in literature by building upon the existing ones and providing a new category that aims to pursue the evidence of Crypto-Catholics and Protestants. It must be underlined that categorisation of Cryptos must be handled with caution due to the fact that the use of entities and their interpretation alter in line with the reigning monarch.

Crypto-Catholics and Protestants	1. Holy Trinity, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven 2. God, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary 3. God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven 4. God, Virgin Mary, Company of Saints in Heaven, Jesus Christ Passion 5. The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost, Holy Company of Heaven

Table 15– Categorisation of Cryptos by Çelik

Considering the studies of previous scholars, including my own interpretation and study, the table below demonstrates the possible interpretation of entities towards personal piety.

Entity	Religious Implication	Explanation

God Alone	Protestant	Direct relationship with God without any intermediaries.
Jesus Christ Alone	Protestant	Believing in the Christ-centred salvation.
Holy Trinity	Protestant	If there is no Mary and the Saints. If there, it may be Crypto-Catholics or Protestants depending on the reign of the monarch.
God, Mary, Saints	Catholic	Mary and Saints as intercessors.
Company of Heaven	Catholic	Strong Catholic phrasing.
Mix use of entities	Protestant, Catholic or Crypto-Protestant or Crypto-Catholics	Mix use of entities depends on the reign of the monarch and the combination of the entities.

Table 16– Categorisation of Entities in Wills

The above table demonstrates the categorisation of entities as indicators of possible personal piety. The scholarly interpretation of the previous historians evoked the voices of the testators and reflected the religious and political environment of a certain period.

Drawing upon the framework and categorisations generated by scholars, the consensus suggests that God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity may indicate a leaning towards Protestantism and Mary, Saints, and the Company of Heaven may indicate Catholic sympathy. The explanations given in the table also suggest a method to identify crypto voices of the testators as well.

Before diving into the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, the tables below from Kent and Gloucestershire demonstrate the entity to whom the testator bequeathed his soul and the reflective number of uses in the committal in wills in total out of 934.

KENT	
Entity	# of use
Blessed/Holy Trinity	3
God	443
God and Trinity	1
God, Blessed Lady, Saints of Heaven	2
God, Blessed Lady/Virgin Mary and Holy Company of Heaven	12
God, Blessed/Holy Company of Heaven	3
God, Jesus Christ	307
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost	1
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit	1

God, Jesus Christ, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	2
God, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary	1
God, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
God, The Father, his only Son Jesus Christ and Holy Company of Heaven	1
God, the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	3
Holy Trinity, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
Jesus Christ	47
Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1
Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	2
No Reference	63
The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	37
Trinity, the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	1

Table 17– Bequeath the Soul to the Entity in Kent

The table proposes to summarise the frequency of different uses of entities to whom souls were bequeathed in Kent. The most referenced entity is “God”, which occurred in wills with a number of 443. This demonstrates the fact that the majority of the testators bequeathed their souls directly to God. The second most common entity form is “God,

Jesus Christ” with the occurrence of 307 in wills. The phrasing “The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost” appears 37 times, underlining the trinitarian doctrine's significance in Kentish wills. Jesus Christ, alone, was referenced 47 times, which indicates that Christ is the only recipient of the soul, mostly emphasising his role as a saviour or redeemer. References to Virgin Mary and Saints were referenced 14 times in total, which is less common in Kent. There are also rare and ambiguous phrasings such as Holy Trinity, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven, and Father, Holy Ghost, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven. The selection of entities may reflect the testator’s theological priorities, which may also give an insight into the personal piety of the respective testator. The data also demonstrate that 63 testators preferred not to refer to any entity.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE	
Entity	# of use
Almighty/Mighty	2
Father, Holy Ghost, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
Father, Holy Ghost, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
God	362
God, Blessed Lady, Blessed Company of Heaven	1
God, Company of Blessed Saints	1
God, Holy Company of Heaven	7

God, Holy Ghost	2
God, JC, Holy Company of Heaven	3
God, Jesus Christ	193
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Saints	1
God, Saint Lady, Company of Heaven	2
God, The Son, The Holy Ghost	1
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	12
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Saints in Heaven	2
Heavenly Father	1
Holy Trinity	1
Jesus Christ	22
Lord	3
The Father of Heaven, Holy Company of Heaven, Jesus Christ	1
The Father, The Son, Holy Spirit	1
The Father, The Son, Holy Three	1
The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	35
The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost, Holy Company of Heaven	1

Table 18– Bequeath the Soul to the Entity in Gloucestershire

The table proposes to summarise the frequency of different uses of entities to whom souls were bequeathed in Gloucestershire out of the total number of 657. The most referenced entity is “God”, which occurred in wills with a number of 362. This demonstrates the fact that the majority of the testators bequeathed their souls directly to God. The second most common entity form is “God, Jesus Christ” with the occurrence of 193 in wills. The phrasing “The Trinity” appears 35 times, underlining the trinitarian doctrine. It is followed by “Jesus Christ with the occurrence of 22. The data also demonstrate that 63 testators preferred not to refer to any entity. Considering the total use of different combinations, it is paramount to reflect the use of entities in specific reigns to provide a more solid interpretation. Therefore, the tables below demonstrate the utilisation of entities in various combinations during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I in Kent and Gloucestershire. In addition, specific categorisations for each reign are also listed below, which provide possible interpretations to pursue personal piety.

Entities in Kentish Wills from the Reign of Mary Tudor	
God	52
God, Blessed Lady and Company of Heaven	10
God, Jesus Christ	4
God, Blessed Lady, Saints of Heaven	2
God, Holy Company of Heaven	2
Jesus Christ	2

Trinity, Father, Son, Holy Ghost	1
No Reference	2
God, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
Holy Trinity, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1

Table 19– Entities in Kentish Wills during the reign of Mary Tudor

The table provides a valuable lens for the personal piety of testators during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent. The majority of testators bequeathed their souls to God alone out of the total number of 78, followed by God, Virgin Mary and the Company of Heaven. According to the categorisation of entities given above, it is possible to identify possible religious leanings of the testators. There is only one phrase that does not fit into the existing categories. The Trinitarian Formula, such as Holy Trinity or Father, Son and the Holy Ghost, is utilised along with the Virgin Mary and the Holy Company of Heaven. This mixed expression of piety may be identified under my own Crypto categorisation. Even though scholars identified possible religious leanings as discussed above, they did not study every possible unique combination of entities. Therefore, the table below promotes the categorisation of unique combinations of entities and their possible religious implications for the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent.

Entities	Catholic/Traditional	Protestant	Crypto	Ambiguous
God		X		
God, Jesus Christ		X		
Jesus Christ		X		
God, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	X			
God, Mary, Saints of Heaven	X			
Holy Trinity or Father, Son, Holy Ghost		X		
Holy Trinity, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven			X	
God, Jesus Christ, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven			X	
No Reference				X

Table 20– Categorisation of Entities in Kentish Wills during the reign of Mary Tudor

The table demonstrates the religious expression of a unique combination of entities. The identification of possible religious leanings is interpreted according to the current literature, except for the “Holy Trinity, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven”. According to my own categorisation, the unique combination has both elements of possible Catholic piety with Mary and the Holy Company of Heaven, and elements of Protestant piety with the Trinitarian formula, which is Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The fact that the testator bequeathed his soul to the Holy Trinity first, which was then followed by the Catholic formula of Mary and the Holy Company of Heaven, may demonstrate a Crypto-Protestant piety.

Entities in Kentish Wills from the Reign of Elizabeth I	
God	391
God, Jesus Christ	302
No Reference	62
Jesus Christ	45
The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost	32
God the Father, The Son, Holy Ghost	3
God, JC, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	2
Blessed/Holy Trinity	3
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost	1
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1

God, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary	1
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit	1
The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost	1
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1
God, The Father, His Only Son Jesus Christ and Holy Company of Heaven	1
God, Blessed Company of Heaven	1
Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1
God and Trinity	1

Table 21– Entities in Kentish Wills during the reign of Elizabeth I

The table above provides an insight into the possible reflection of personal piety; the majority of the testators bequeathed their souls to God with 391 references out of the total number of 850. The second most mentioned entities are the combination of God and Jesus Christ, with 302 references. The overall unique combinations for entities align with the already existing categorisation. The table below demonstrates the interpretation of unique combinations from the reign of Elizabeth Tudor in Kent.

Entities	Catholic/Traditional	Protestant	Crypto	Ambiguous
God		X		
God, Jesus Christ		X		

Jesus Christ		X		
Holy Trinity or Father, Son, Holy Ghost		X		
God, JC, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven				X
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	X			
God, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary			X	
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven			X	
God, Blessed Company of Heaven				X
Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven				X
God and Trinity		X		

No Reference				X

Table 22– Categorisation of Entities in Kentish Wills during the reign of Elizabeth I

The table demonstrates a possible interpretation of the personal piety of testators. There are several unique combinations of entities categorised under Ambiguous and Crypto. When categorising certain entities, it is significant to consider the government's view on religious policies. The fact that the above table shows the utilisation of entities during the reign of Elizabeth I, categorisations and interpretations ought to be conducted accordingly. One of the phrases under Crypto is "God, Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary". The fact that God and Jesus Christ are categorised under Protestant implication and Virgin Mary under Catholic, the combination does not give an explicit leaning in terms of personal piety. The same case is applied to the combination of God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Company of Heaven. The interpretation of ambiguous combinations must be handled with caution. The fact that the Elizabethan government broke with Rome after the reign of Mary Tudor, and she became the Supreme Governor of the Church of England and Ireland, those who supported her religious policies mostly followed several formulas that may imply a leaning towards Protestantism, such as God and Jesus Christ. The case demonstrates that the addition of a Catholic element to the Protestant phrasing may imply a Catholic devotion at heart, but due to governmental policies, it could not be an open declaration and use of the Catholic formula.

The tables below provide a variety of uses of entities and respective numbers in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor out of the total number of 35.

Entities in Gloucestershire Wills from the Reign of Mary Tudor	
God	15
God, Jesus Christ	6
Jesus Christ	1
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	9
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1
The Father of Heaven, Holy Company of Heaven, Jesus Christ	1
God, Virgin Mary, Company of Saints in Heaven, Jesus Christ Passion	1
God, Blessed Lady, Blessed Company of Heaven	1

Table 23– Entities in Gloucestershire Wills during the reign of Mary Tudor

Locals of Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor mainly preferred to entrust their souls to God, with 15 references in number. It is followed by God, the Virgin Mary and the Company of Heaven, which is a typical Catholic formula. There are 8 unique combinations utilised by testators.

Entities	Catholic/Traditional	Protestant	Crypto	Ambiguous
God		X		
God, Jesus Christ		X		
Jesus Christ		X		
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	X			
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven			X	
God, Virgin Mary, Company of Saints in Heaven, Jesus Christ Passion			X	
No Reference				X

Table 24– Categorisation of Entities in Gloucestershire Wills during the reign of Mary Tudor

The table demonstrates the combinations of entities utilised by testators during the reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire. The entities were categorised according to the studies of previous historians. The current literature does not provide any insight for certain combinations of the elements. One of the examples is the use of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Company of Heaven. The utilisation of God alone and Jesus Christ was categorised

as a Protestant element by some scholars, and the Holy Company of Heaven, on the other hand, was categorised as a Catholic element. The testator explicitly used Protestant elements and combined them with a Catholic element. The fact that this will was written during the reign of Mary Tudor, the testator may be a Protestant, but with the influence, he could have added a Catholic element, which is the Holy Company of Heaven. Another crypto case is the utilisation of God, the Virgin Mary, the Company of Saints in Heaven and Jesus Christ Passion. Until the very last element, the entities demonstrate the use of the Catholic formula. The last element of the committal is Jesus Christ and, more significantly, passion, which may give a strong signal for Crypto-Protestantism.

Entities in Gloucestershire Wills from the Reign of Elizabeth I	
God	347
God, Jesus Christ	187
No Reference	32
The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost	27
Jesus Christ	21
The Father, The Son, Holy Ghost	8
God, Holy Company of Heaven	7
Lord	3
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	3
God, Saint Lady, Company of Heaven	2
God, JC, Holy Company of Heaven	2

God, Holy Ghost	2
God, JC, Holy Company of Saint	1
Heavely Father	1
The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost, Holy Company of Heaven	1
Mighty Only	1
The Father, The Son, Holy Three	1
Father, Son, Holy Ghost	1
God, The Son, The Holy Ghost	1
Holy Trinity	1
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Saints in Heaven	1
God, Company of Blessed Saints	1
Father, Holy Ghost, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1
Almighty	1
The Father, The Son, Holy Spirit	1

Table 25– Entities in Gloucestershire Wills during the reign of Elizabeth I

The reign of Elizabeth I marked the re-establishment of Protestant policy in England following the short Catholic restoration under Mary Tudor. The table presents entities

named in Gloucestershire wills that may allow the interpretation of possible leanings in personal piety out of the total number of 656.

Entities	Catholic/Traditional	Protestant	Crypto	Ambiguous
God		X		
God, Jesus Christ		X		
Jesus Christ		X		
Holy Trinity / The Father, the Son, Holy Ghost		X		
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven/Saints	X			
God, JC, Holy Company of Heaven/Saints			X	
God, Holy Company of Heaven				X
The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost, Holy			X	

Company of Heaven				
God, Company of Blessed Saints				X
Father, Holy Ghost, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven				X
God, Holy Ghost		X		
Lord/Almighty		X		
No Reference				X

Table 26– Categorisation of Entities in Gloucestershire Wills during the reign of Elizabeth I

The table demonstrates a variety of leaning towards Catholicism and Protestantism. Plenty of combinations could be categorised under the definitions of preliminary scholars. On the other hand, there are ambiguous and crypto cases. One of the crypto examples is the combination of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Company of Heaven/Saints. Considering the fact that the above tabulation is based on the categorisation of Elizabethan wills, the testator's use of God and Jesus Christ is somehow expected. The fact that the testator utilised the Holy Company of Heaven or Saints demonstrates a Crypto-Catholic leaning. The same case could be applied to the combination of The Father, The Son, The Holy

Ghost, Holy Company of Heaven. The Trinitarian formulae may reflect Protestant piety but the use of Holy Company of Heaven may reflect, again, Crypto-Catholicism.

3.1.2. Supreme Head of the Church of England

The title Supreme Head is one of the elements in wills that has not been studied before for the possible reflection of personal piety or the attitudes of laymen towards the policies of certain monarchs. As part of my methodology to identify possible leanings by studying either the use or omission of the title is paramount to track the evidence of piety. The title Supreme Head of the Church of England was formally utilised after the Act of Supremacy was passed by the parliament in 1534, marking the break with Rome, and the monarch becoming the ecclesiastical authority in England. The historical evidence for the use of the title Supreme Head by Tudor monarchs is significant in determining whether the title really implies a religious orientation or is solely for political authority. In order to identify the significance of the title, Parliamentary records ought to be provided to pursue the use of the title by Tudor monarchs starting from Henry VIII after 1534. The last time the House of Lords convened was before the Act of Supremacy and was on 15 January 1534.

Primo die Parliamenti. MEMORANDUM, quod quinto decimo die mensis Januarii, ad quem diem prorogatum suit presens Parliamentum, convenerunt Proceres, tam Spirituales quam Temporales, (quorum nomina subscribuntur,) ad Domum consuetam, anno regni Domini nostri Domini Henrici Octavi, Dei gratia, Anglie et Francie, Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hibernie illustrissimi, post Conquestum Anglie vicesimo quinto.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ *House of Lords Journal Volume 1: 15 January 1534*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509–1577* (London, 1767–1830), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/pp58-59>.

The parliamentary evidence demonstrates that Henry VIII was referred to as Defender of the Faith, and there was no reference to the title Supreme Head. The first gathering of the House of Lords after the Act of Supremacy was on 10 June 1536, but the first time Henry VIII was referred to as Supreme Head of the Church of England was on 3 November 1539.

Commission for proroguing the Parliament. "Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Anglie et Francie Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hibernie, et in Terra Supremum Caput Anglicane Ecclesie..."²⁶⁸

The parliamentary evidence demonstrates that Henry VIII was referred to as the Supreme Head of the Church of England starting from 1539. The title Supreme Head was then utilised in parliamentary documents. The first opening of the Parliament for the reign of Edward VI was on 4 November 1547.

Commission for the Protector's Precedency in Parliament. "EDWARDE the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of Englande, France, and Irelande, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of Englande, and also of Irelande, in Earth the Supreme Head."²⁶⁹

From the very first convening of the Parliament, Edward VI was referred to as both Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church of England and the title was used in official documents. Therefore, after the Act of Supremacy in 1534, the parliamentary evidence demonstrates that Henry VIII and Edward VI utilised the title Supreme Head.

As I have discussed in my upcoming article "Mary Tudor as Supreme Head of the Church of England: The Evidence of Wills", once Mary Tudor was crowned, she was acknowledged as the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

²⁶⁸ *House of Lords Journal Volume 1: 3 November 1539*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509–1577* (London, 1767–1830), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/p126>.

²⁶⁹ *House of Lords Journal Volume 1: Parliament opened*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509–1577* (London, 1767–1830), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/pp293-294>.

Marie by the grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendour of the faith, and in the earth Supreme hed of the Churches of England, & Irelande: To all our most louing, faithfull, and obedient subiectes greting...Dated at London the .xix. daie of Iulie, in the first yere of our reigne.²⁷⁰

Unlike Henry VIII and Edward VI, the use of the title was controversial for Mary Tudor. The fact that the title represented the supremacy in religious matters in England, she did not want to use it, and as a Catholic, she was not happy with the title. The letter between Simon Renard and Charles V, dated 23 September 1553, demonstrates that Mary Tudor did not wish to use the title.

She entertained scruples concerning the title of Head of the Church which was given her in documents and despatches, and had been incorporated with the Crown by statutes and acts of Parliament; and she would not be able to avoid the use of it at the coronation.²⁷¹

One of the agendas for not using the title Supreme Head was to replace it with et cetera.

Henceforward the Queen will not be styled Supreme Head of the Church in despatches; the title will be replaced by an etcetera, and the difficulty thus obviated. The Cardinal's messengers gave the Queen a certain bull granting indulgences in return for prayers to God for peace and righteous inspiration in matters of religion for the people of this kingdom. They have not dared to publish it. London, 20 December, 1553.²⁷²

Before it was officially abolished, the title was replaced by et cetera on official documents and wills. After her marriage to Philip of Spain, the title was completely abandoned, and Charles Wriothesley recorded Queen Mary and King Philip's joint title as given below.

The masse done the Kinge of Herroldes openlye in the churche, and in presence of the King, the Queen, the lordes and ladies, and all the people, solemnlye proclaymed their Maiesties Kinge and Queene, with their title and style, in manner as folioweth: Philippe and Marie, by the grace of God Kinge and Queene of The Kinge and Englande, France,

²⁷⁰ England and Wales, Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I) and Mary I, Queen of England, *Marie by the Grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendour of the Faith, and in the Earth Supreme Hed of the Churches of England and Irelande to All Our Most Louing, Faithfull, and Obedient Subiectes Greting* (Oxford, 2008); Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2, *The Later Tudors, 1553–1587* (Yale University Press, 1969).

²⁷¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, vol. 11, 1553, ed. Royall Tyler (London, 1916), 250–261.

²⁷² *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. Tyler, 11:413–418.

Naples, Jerusalem, and Irelande, Defenders of the Faythe, Princes of Spayne and Sicilie, Archdukes of Austriche, Dukes of Mylane, Burgundye, and Brabant, Countes of Aspurge, a Flaunders, and Tyrrole. Which proclamation ended, the trumpetts blue and other noyses playde. And then the Kinge and Queene came furthe hand in hand, with their lordes, ladies, and gentlemen waytinge on them, and 2 swordes borne afore them in mannerafore- sayde; and so went on foote to the courte, and there dined openlye in the hall, both together at one table.²⁷³

The evidence from Parliamentary records also demonstrates that between the sessions of 12 November 1554 and 16 January 1555, the title was officially abolished and the Queen and the King were entitled as follows:

Annis Regnorum *Philippi et Marie*, Dei Gratia, Regis et Regine *Anglie, Francie, Neapolis, Jerusalem, et Hibernie*, Fidei Defensorum, Principum *Hispaniarum et Cicilie*, Archiducum *Austrie*, Ducum *Mediolani, Burgundie, et Brabantie*, Comitum *Haspurgi, Flandrie, et Tirolis*, Primo et Secundo, hujusque itidem Parlamenti die primo, Proceres tam Spirituales quam Temporales, quorum nomina subsequuntur, presentes fuerunt:²⁷⁴

On 21 February 1555, Queen Mary and King Philip sent a letter to the Pope underlining that:

A law of XXVI, Henry VIII, to the effect that the King is Supreme Head of the Church in England and has authority to deal with all errors, heresies and abuses... All these laws, promulgated since the twentieth year of Henry VIII, have now been repealed, and the Pope's authority in England has been restored as it was before the said twentieth year of Henry VIII.²⁷⁵

The personal letter from the Queen and King to the Pope regarding the use of the title and ensuring that the Pope's authority was restored in England demonstrates the fact that the title Supreme Head represents the break with Rome and Protestant authority over the Pope

²⁷³ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, vol. 2 (London, 1875), 121.

²⁷⁴ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 1 (2012), 465. English translation: MEMORANDUM, that on Monday, namely, the twelfth day of November, in the years of the reign of Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Habsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol, First and Second, and on the first day of this present Parliament, the Lords, both spiritual and temporal, whose names follow, were present.

²⁷⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. Tyler, 13:132–149.

in England. Therefore, testators utilising the title Supreme Head may have had Protestant sympathy and were categorised accordingly. After the abolishment of the title, Elizabeth I was not referred to as Supreme Head during the very first parliament of her reign on 23 January 1559.

Elizabetha, Dei Gratia, Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Regina, Fidei Defensor, etc. Predilectis et Fidelibus Nostris Prelatis, Magnatibus, et Proceribus Regni Nostri Anglie, ac Dilectis et Fidelibus Nostris Militibus, Civibus, et Burgensibus, dicti Regni Nostri, ad Parlamentum Nostrum, apud Civitatem Nostram Westmonasterii, 23 die instantis mensis Januarii, inchoandum et tenendum, convocatis et electis, et eorum cuilibet, Salutem.²⁷⁶

The evidence from the House of Commons Journal demonstrates that on 30 January 1559, the validity of the Parliament was discussed due to the omission of the title Supreme Head.

Validity of Parliament. and also for the Validity as well of the Parliaments lately had, as this Parliament, lacking, in the Writ of Summons, " Supremum Caput."²⁷⁷

On 17 April 1559, the Bill on Queen's Supremacy was read in the House of Lords and then became An Act restoring the Supremacy to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and repealing divers Acts of Parliament made to the contrary.

Queen's Supremacy. Item 2a vice lecta est Billa, restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the same, que commissa est Duci Norff. Comitibus Arundell, Salopp. Wigorn. Rutland, Sussex, Bedford, ac Vicecomiti Mountague, Episcopis Elien. ac Carliolen. ac Domino Admirallo, et Domino Camerario, ac Dominis Riche, Hastings de Loughborowe, ac St. John de Bletsoo.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ *House of Lords Journal Volume 1: 23 January 1559*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509–1577* (London, 1767–1830), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/pp542-543>.

²⁷⁷ *House of Commons Journal Volume 1: 11 October 1553*, in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547–1629* (London, 1802), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol1/p27b>.

²⁷⁸ *House of Lords Journal Volume 1: 17 April 1559*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509–1577* (London, 1767–1830), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/p574>.

After the act was passed by the parliament, and in the following parliaments, the title was shortened with the use of “etc”.

Anno Quinto Regine Elizabeth. MEMORANDUM, quod hodie, 2 die Octobris, Anno Regni Elizabethæ, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regine, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Quinto, in quem diem, 10 die Aprilis ultimo elapso, prorogatum fuit hoc presens Parliamentum, ex Mandato dicte Domine Regine, convenerunt Domini tam Spirituales quam Temporales, quorum nomina subsequuntur:²⁷⁹

After the Act of Supremacy, Elizabeth was entitled as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Even though the title was replaced with “etc”, it is evident that the title represents Ecclesiastical Supremacy in England.

Drawing upon the parliamentary evidence, the tables below reflect the data on the use of the title Supreme Head during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, with possible interpretation of religious leanings.

KENT during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
# of Supreme Head of the Church used	5
# of non-usage of Supreme Head of the Church	75

Table 27– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor

²⁷⁹ *House of Lords Journal Volume 1: Anno Quinto Regine Elizabethæ*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509–1577* (London, 1767–1830), British History Online, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/p619>.

The table of Kentish wills during the reign of Mary Tudor demonstrates a collective approach in the non-use of the title Supreme Head. The fact that the Catholic Queen Mary personally did not wish to utilise the hereditary title and abolished it may be reflected in the wills as well. The history of the title represents Ecclesiastical Supremacy in England, which means the break with Rome and rejection of the authority of the Pope. Therefore, as discussed before, the use of the title may represent Protestant piety. The table explicitly demonstrates that even though there were instances, the title was not utilised during Mary's reign.

KENT during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
# of Supreme Head/Governor of the Church used	6
# of non-usage of Head/Governor of the Church	849

Table 28– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head/Governor of the Church in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The above table demonstrates the use and non-use of the Supreme Head during the reign of Elizabeth in Kent. It is paramount that the Supreme Head was only utilised in 6 wills. The fact that the Supreme Head or the Supreme Governor were replaced with “etc” according to parliamentary evidence, the interpretation could be that either laymen did not support the Elizabethan Settlement or the use of “etc” was the reason for not explicitly mentioning the Supreme Head or Governor.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
# of Supreme Head of the Church used	1
# of non-usage of Supreme Head of the Church	34

Table 29– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor

In Gloucestershire, a small number of wills propose the use and non-use of the title Supreme Head during the reign of Mary Tudor. Testamentary evidence shows that only 1 will referred to Mary Tudor as the Supreme Head. The remaining 34 align with the policy and preference of Mary Tudor.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
# of Supreme Head/Governor of the Church used	4
# of non-usage of Supreme Head/Governor of the Church	650

Table 30– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head/Governor of the Church in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I

Lastly, in Gloucestershire wills, during the reign of Elizabeth I, only 4 wills referred to Elizabeth I as the Supreme Head or Governor. As already underlined above, even though the title was utilised after the Act of Supremacy of 1559, it was replaced with “etc” in

parliamentary records. The explicit use of the title demonstrates a Protestant piety, but using etc instead of the title could be either interpreted as avoiding the use of the title or following the formula of the government. Therefore, the omission of the title for the reign of Elizabeth I does not necessarily mean Catholic orientation.

The parliamentary evidence of the use of the title Supreme Head or Governor demonstrates that after the Act of Supremacy of 1534, the title began to be utilised, and the testamentary evidence supports the use of the title during the reign of Henry VIII, which indicates a Protestant leaning. The reign of Edward VI follows the same structure in the use of titles, and he was referred to as the Supreme Head of the Church. Along with the parliamentary evidence, the utilisation of the title in wills supports the possible increase of Protestantism during his reign. Once Mary Tudor was crowned as the Queen of England, she was the Supreme Head of the Church of England. The evidence from State Papers and Letters, Foreign, demonstrates that she was not happy about the use of the title since it represented the break with Rome and invalidity of the authority of the Pope in the realm. Therefore, the title was replaced with “etc” in official documents, and following the marriage with Philip of Spain, the couple was referred to as Defenders of the Faith and the title Supreme Head was omitted and finally abolished in 1555. Therefore, the use of the title was blasphemous for the old religion, and as a devoted Catholic, Mary Tudor abolished the title and reconciled with Rome. Once Elizabeth I was crowned, she was the Defender of the Faith without the title of Supreme Head. The parliamentary evidence provided above also demonstrates that the validity of the Parliament was discussed due to the omission of the title Supreme Head. As a Protestant Queen, she broke with Rome as her father, Henry VIII, did, and with the Act of Supremacy of 1559, she became the Supreme Governor of

the Church of England. Even though the title was commonly replaced with “etc” in Parliamentary documents, the re-creation of the title represents Protestant leaning among laymen.

3.1.3. Nouns: Saviour and Redeemer

The 16th-century wills offer an insight into the possible personal piety of the testators. The nouns Saviour and Redeemer are among the elements that have not been studied before to track the evidence of personal piety in wills. These nouns are Christological terms that emphasise the relationship with the testator and Jesus Christ, emphasising his role as the saviour of humankind and the idea of salvation. These terms underline the idea of *Sola Fide* and *Solus Christus* by Martin Luther, as discussed in Chapter 1. Justification by faith alone and believing in Christ alone are two central Protestant doctrines. As already explained, in Romans 3:23-24, “All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, and are justified freely by His grace through the redemption that came by Christ Jesus.”²⁸⁰ Salvation through Jesus Christ without any intercession, such as the Virgin Mary or the Saints, highlights Protestant theology. As indicated before, the Catholic formulations include references to the Virgin Mary, the Company of Saints/Heaven and the absence of such elements, as well as reliance on Jesus Christ as the Saviour or Redeemer, may indicate the decline of Catholic sacramental theology and may emphasise Protestant theology during the Reformation period. William Tyndale was a Protestant reformer in the 15th-century who translated the New Testament into English. He believed that it was significant to read the Scripture in the language of the laymen so that they could understand its

²⁸⁰ Romans 3:23-24.

meaning. He stated that, “I defie the Pope and all his lawes . . . if God spare my lyfe ere many yeares, I wyl cause a boye that dryveth the plough, shall knowe more of the scripture then thou doest”.²⁸¹ His purpose was to awaken the laymen against the heresy of the Pope by providing the Scripture in English. In Tyndale’s New Testament of 1526, Luke 1:47, it is stated that: “And my sprete reioyseth in god my savioure”²⁸² The same line in Latin Vulgate is “et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo.”²⁸³ Here, the direct translation of *salutaris* is salutary, meaning healthful, health-giving, wholesome or beneficial. In order to stress the role of Jesus Christ in redemption, Tyndale translated the noun as Saviour instead of health or salvation, which makes the translation doctrinally aligned with Protestant theology. In Titus 2:13-14, it is stated that:

Lokinge for that blessed hope and glorious apperenge of ye myghty god and of oure savioure Iesu Christ which gave him silfe for vs to redeme vs from all vnrightewesnes and to pouрге vs a peculiar people vnto him silfe fervently geven vnto good workes.²⁸⁴

The line in the Scripture from the translation of Tyndale is one of the examples that refers to Jesus Christ as the saviour and redeemer, which reflects Protestant soteriology, the doctrine of salvation. In addition to the Scriptural evidence, scholars such as Margaret Spufford, in her work *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, highlighted that “the use of Redeemer in wills occurred in the areas influenced by evangelical preachers or where the policies of the crown were enforced”.²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes* (London: John Day, 1563), 570.

²⁸² William Tyndale, *The New Testament*, trans. William Tyndale (1526; repr., Bible Hub), Luke 1, <https://biblehub.com/tyndale/luke/1.htm>.

²⁸³ *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Luke 1:47, Bible Study Tools, accessed May 17, 2025, <https://www.biblestudytools.com/vul/luke/1-47.html>.

²⁸⁴ William Tyndale, *The New Testament*, trans. William Tyndale (1526; repr., Bible Hub), Titus 2, <https://biblehub.com/tyndale/titus/2.htm>.

²⁸⁵ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

Clive Burgess, in his work “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered”, highlighted that the increasing use of terms such as Redeemer in certain areas may be due to the Reformation ideas and implementation of Protestant doctrines.²⁸⁶ Even though both Spufford and Burgess did not explicitly work on the nouns as possible voices of the testators for the analysis and categorisation of wills, their initial studies enlighten scholars for the possible research on personal piety through nouns.

The appearance of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in wills, therefore, could be interpreted as a sign of Protestant sympathy since they indicate personal faith in Jesus Christ and his role that aligns with the Reformed theology. One significant ambiguity is that not every appearance of Saviour and Redeemer indicates Protestant sympathy if there is a hybrid formula in entities.

The tables below demonstrate the use of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

KENT during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
# of Saviour used	7
# of Redeemer used	16
# of Saviour and Redeemer used	13

Table 31– Use of Saviour and Redeemer in Kentish Wills during the Reign of Mary Tudor

²⁸⁶ Clive Burgess, “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered,” in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Gloucester: Sutton Publishing, 1990), 14–33.

The table demonstrates the unique number of nouns utilised in reference to an entity. Out of 81 wills, 7 testators utilised Saviour only, 16 used Redeemer only, and 13 of them utilised both Saviour and Redeemer.

KENT during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
# of Saviour used	78
# of Redeemer used	199
# of Saviour and Redeemer used	214

Table 32– Use of Saviour and Redeemer in Kentish Wills during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The table demonstrates the unique number of nouns utilised in reference to an entity. Out of 854 wills, only 78 testators utilised Saviour only, 199 used Redeemer only, and 214 of them utilised both Saviour and Redeemer.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
# of Saviour used	4
# of Redeemer used	11
# of Saviour and Redeemer used	6

Table 33– Use of Saviour and Redeemer in Gloucestershire Wills during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The table demonstrates the unique number of nouns utilised in reference to an entity. Out of 35 wills, only 4 testators utilised Saviour only, 11 used Redeemer only, and 6 of them utilised both Saviour and Redeemer.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
# of Saviour used	58
# of Redeemer used	234
# of Saviour and Redeemer used	120

Table 34– Use of Saviour and Redeemer in Gloucestershire Wills during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The table demonstrates the unique number of nouns utilised in reference to an entity. Out of 654 wills, only 78 testators utilised Saviour only, 199 used Redeemer only, and 214 of them utilised both Saviour and Redeemer. As highlighted before, it is paramount to see the overall use of Saviour and Redeemer with the entity to eliminate possible ambiguity of the hybrid formula. Therefore, the tables below demonstrate the unique and combined use of nouns Saviour and Redeemer with entities in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, with possible categorisation. It should be noted that the fact that this part only deals with the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, any Catholic formulation and mixed formulation are categorised under *Ambiguous*.

Entity	Saviour and Redeemer	Redeemer Only	Saviour Only	Religious Implication

Blessed Trinity	0	1	0	Protestant
Father, Son, Holy Ghost	0	0	1	Protestant
God	94	124	16	Protestant
God, the Father, the Son, Holy Ghost	2	1	0	Protestant
God, Blessed Company of Heaven	0	1	0	Ambiguous
God, Blessed Lady and Company of Heaven	0	2	0	Ambiguous
God, Blessed Lady, Saints of Heaven	1	0	0	Ambiguous
God and Jesus Christ	110	55	54	Protestant
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	0	0	1	Ambiguous

God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit	0	1	0	Protestant
God, Jesus Christ, Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1	0	0	Ambiguous
God, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary	1	0	0	Ambiguous
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	1	1	0	Ambiguous
Holy Trinity	0	1	0	Protestant
Jesus Christ	12	6	12	Protestant
Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1	0	0	Ambiguous
Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	0	1	0	Ambiguous

No Reference	0	2	0	Protestant

Table 35– Categorisation of the Nouns Saviour and Redeemer in Kentish Wills during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

The categorisation presents the use of nouns, Saviour and Redeemer, or both, with unique combinations of entities in the committals of the wills, along with their possible religious implications. The data illustrate how the voice of the testators and their personal piety could be interpreted along with the entities to which they refer. In order to avoid circularity of the methods, I did not refer to the categorisation of entities in this part but solely relied on the use of the nouns, Saviour and Redeemer with God, Jesus Christ and Holy Trinity. The remaining combinations, even though they provide Catholic or Crypto-Catholic and Protestant sympathy, are excluded from the above table.

Entity	Saviour and Redeemer	Redeemer Only	Saviour Only	Religious Implication
Almighty	1	1	1	Protestant
God	40	168	70	Protestant
God, Blessed Lady, Blessed Company of Heaven	1	0	0	Ambiguous

God, Holy Company of Heaven	2	2	0	Ambiguous
God, Holy Ghost	0	2	0	Protestant
God, Jesus Christ	61	50	40	Protestant
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Heaven	1	0	2	Ambiguous
God, Jesus Christ, Holy Company of Saints	0	1	0	Ambiguous
God, Virgin Mary, Holy Company of Heaven	2	6	0	Ambiguous
Jesus Christ	5	2	8	Protestant
Lord	0	1	0	Protestant
Mighty	1	0	0	Protestant

The Father of Heaven, Holy Company of Heaven, Jesus Christ	1	0	0	Ambiguous
The Father, the Son, Holy Ghost	8	13	5	Protestant
The Father, the Son, Holy Spirit	1	0	0	Protestant
The Father, the Son, Holy Three	1	0	0	Protestant
The Father, the Son, Holy Ghost, Holy Company of Heaven	1	0	0	Ambiguous

Table 36– Categorisation of the Nouns Saviour and Redeemer in Gloucestershire Wills during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

The table presents the use of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer within the committal clauses in Gloucestershire wills during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. The dominant entity is God, appearing with the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, with 168 references, which may suggest a strong association with Protestant theology. Similarly, God and Jesus Christ or the Trinitarian formulae have the highest number of occurrences in Gloucestershire wills that may demonstrate Protestant influence. As explained above, the remaining formulations are categorised as ambiguous to solely relying on the doctrine of Salvation in Protestant theology.

3.1.4. Analysis of Personal Piety in Kent and Gloucestershire: Religious Implications of Wills through External Evidence

This part focuses on the analysis of the external evidence of the use of entities, the title Supreme Head, and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. Based on the established methodological criteria given above, it is aimed to analyse the patterns in Kent and Gloucestershire and changing religious beliefs during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I from the evidence of wills. It should be noted that the identification of possible personal piety is solely based on qualitative data. Even though the above criteria and categorisations are based on external evidence, it does not necessarily mean that in a will, every Protestant formulation in the committal also has the use of the title Supreme Head or the nouns Saviour or Redeemer. Therefore, the wills were sorted based on whether they had mostly a Catholic or a Protestant formula. For instance, even though the testator bequeathed his soul to God,

which is a Protestant formula, if there is no use of the title Supreme Head or the nouns Saviour or Redeemer, the will is sorted as Catholic because the omission of the title Supreme Head refers to Catholic sympathy and the omission of thereference to Jesus Christ and omission of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer may mean non-Protestant use in wills. Therefore, for this case, the use of two possible Catholic criteria and one Protestant criteria results in the will being sorted as Catholic.

3.1.5. Personal Piety in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor

The reign of Mary Tudor, between 1553 and 1558, marked a change in religious policies with the reconciliation with Rome as well as a return to the Catholic doctrine and practices after the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. This part focuses on the investigation of personal piety from the evidence of wills, based on the categorisation of entities, the Supreme Head and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, in Kent and Gloucestershire. The tables given below demonstrate the number of wills and those categorised as Protestant, Traditional or Ambiguous. My own categorisation of Crypto-Protestants and Catholics was also included in these categorisations.

KENT during the Reign of Mary Tudor				
Year	# of Wills	# of Protestant Wills	# of Traditional Wills	# of Ambiguous Wills
1553	6	3	3	0
1554	12	8	3	1

1555	5	5	0	0
1556	17	9	6	2
1557	18	6	12	0
1558	23	8	15	0

Table 37– Data on Personal Piety in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Mary Tudor				
Year	# of Wills	# of Protestant Wills	# of Traditional Wills	# of Ambiguous Wills
1553	2	1	1	0
1554	1	1	0	0
1555	3	1	2	0
1556	9	3	6	0
1557	13	7	6	0
1558	7	2	5	0

Table 38– Data on Personal Piety in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The above tables present the qualitative data on possible expression of personal piety in Kent and Gloucestershire from the evidence of wills during the reign of Mary Tudor. Drawing from the external evidence, the use of entities, the title Supreme Head and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, the categorisation of wills possibly represents the changing

religious beliefs in Kent and Gloucestershire. Based on the categorisations of wills under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous, the data on Kent reveal fluctuation from the beginning and end of the reign of Mary Tudor. The number of wills increases especially after 1556. Gloucestershire, on the other hand, provides more data on personal piety compared to Kent. Even though small in number, it somehow represents the attitudes of laymen towards the complex policy of Mary Tudor. The graphs below demonstrate the % of traditional wills during the reign of Mary Tudor

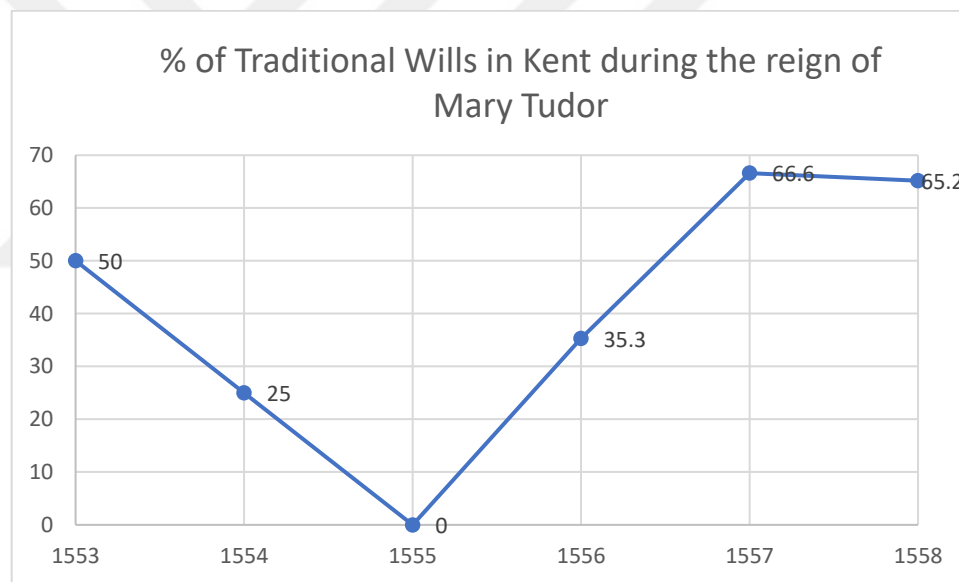


Figure 3— Percentage of Traditional Wills in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor

The graph presents the percentage of Traditional wills in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. It should be underlined that, as I explained in Chapter 2, as per the data provided in my master's thesis, between 1549 and 1553, the percentage of Traditional wills in Kent was 11. Therefore, there was an immediate change of personal piety with 39% either due to the fact that Mary Tudor, the Catholic Queen, was crowned, and testators followed the

religion of the government, or there were Crypto-Catholics during the reign of Edward VI, and testators hid their identities and eagerly waited for the Catholic monarch to reveal their true belief. The data are based on the categorisation of external evidence such as the use of entities in the committal of the will, the title Supreme Head and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer. The table reveals a notable fluctuation, which may represent the complex policies and the attitudes of the locals during the reign of Mary Tudor. In July 1553, when Mary Tudor ascended to the throne, 50% of the wills utilised the Catholic language. This may suggest that, considering the religious policies of Edward VI, half of the testators remained Catholic or rapidly conformed to the new regime. The following year, in 1554, the graph demonstrates a dramatic decline in Catholic language in wills, with 25%. This decline may be due to Wyatt's Rebellion originated in Kent. The rebellion was due to the Catholic policies of Mary Tudor and her willingness to marry a Spanish Catholic man. The rebellion and executions after the rebellion may have encouraged some Protestants as well as some Catholics who wished Mary Tudor to marry an Englishman. The significant drop in traditional wills may be a way to protest the Marian regime either permanently or temporarily. Even though small in number, and do not necessarily reflect the personal piety in Kent, it is evident that wills in 1555 omitted to use the traditional language. This dramatic drop to 0% may reflect a persistence in Protestant culture in Kent. The following year marks an increase in the use of traditional language in wills. In 1556, 35.3% of testators demonstrate a shift from Protestant culture to Catholic culture. This may be due to the execution of heretics such as Thomas Cranmer, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, who was burned at the stake. The increase may be due to Mary's policy against the heretics, in this context, Protestants, which may have influenced locals. In the year 1557, more than

half of the population demonstrated their devotion to the old religion, with 66.6%, which is the highest percentage for Marian Catholicism during her reign in Kent. The regime's court politics, as well as the Spanish alliance, may have encouraged the visibility of the Catholic expression. The personal piety and the attitudes of laymen in Kent seem to be stabilised due to the fact that in 1558, the percentage of traditional wills remained almost the same, with a minor drop to 65.2. The data reflect the changing religious belief and personal piety along with the attitudes of laymen towards the Marian regime in Kent. The alteration of the percentage of traditional wills, as illustrated in the graph, may also represent regional alliance or resistance towards the Marian government due to changing policies that may cause political turbulence. It should be underlined that personal piety was not only shaped by belief but also by fear and changing religious authority as well.

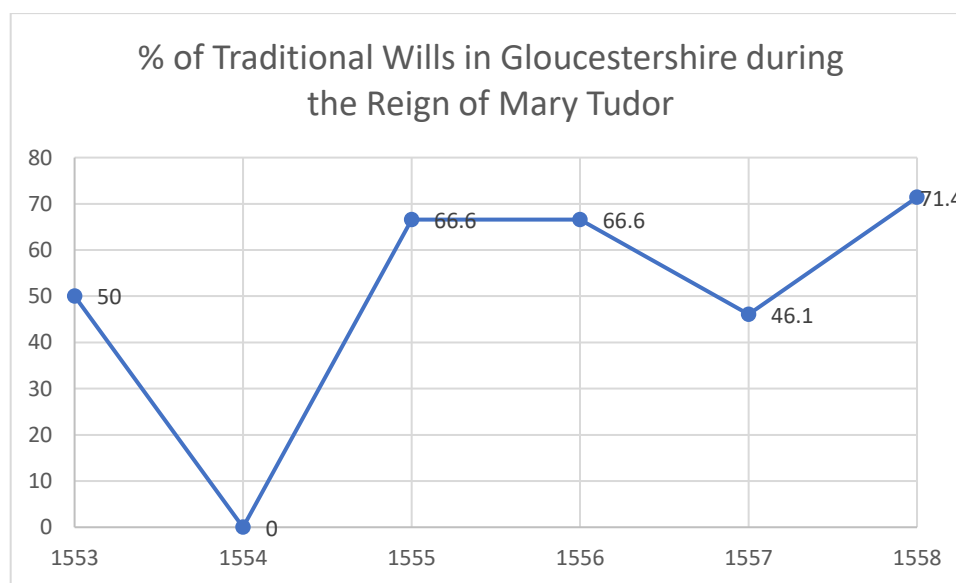


Figure 4– Percentage of Traditional Wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor

The above graph demonstrates the percentage of Traditional wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor, between 1553 and 1558. As per the data provided in my master's thesis, between 1549 and 1553, the percentage of Traditional wills in Gloucestershire was 5.1%. After the Edwardian Reformation, the use of traditional language dramatically decreased. The beginning of the reign of Mary Tudor presents a considerable increase in the traditional language. This may be due to the reveal of Crypto-Catholic during the reign of Edward VI. The year 1553 marks the devotional plurality. The following year demonstrates a sharp decline in the traditional wills with 0%. It must be noted that this data does not necessarily reflect the personal piety of Gloucestershire since there is only one available will from the year 1554. Therefore, the significant drop does not reflect any attitudes towards the Marian regime, even though the one will was categorised as Protestant. In 1555, the percentage of traditional will increases to 66.6, probably with the re-establishment of Catholic episcopal authority and the heresy law, which marked the beginning of Protestant persecutions. The year 1556 demonstrates a stability in personal piety in Gloucestershire with 66.6, the same percentage as the year 1555. In the following year, a modest decline is visible according to the graph, with 46.1%. It demonstrates a disruption in the Marian regime after 1555 and 1556. This may be due to the alliance with Spain and the war against France, which may have changed the religious focus. In addition, the ongoing persecutions of Protestants may have influenced the drop. In 1558, the use of traditional language reached its highest point in Gloucestershire with 71.4%, which is even higher than the first years of Henry VIII. The data present an increase in Catholic piety among the locals in Gloucestershire.

The analysis of the traditional wills from Kent and Gloucestershire between 1553 and 1558 offers an insight into the regional attitudes towards Mary Tudor's Catholic restoration, which underlines the significance of local religious culture and patterns in wills and political turbulence. The data on Kent reveal a certain fluctuation in personal piety due to significant unrest, such as Wyatt's Rebellion and Spanish marriage. As the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the piety of the locals and will-writing tradition could be influenced by Thomas Cranmer. On the other hand, Gloucestershire data represent a more stable and gradual increase in the use of traditional language and Catholic expression. The evidence demonstrates that traditional religious practices were re-established during the reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire. Drawing from the data, both Kent and Gloucestershire reflect the increase of Catholic piety under the Marian regime.

3.1.6. Personal Piety in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I

This part focuses on the analysis of the entities in the committal, the title Supreme Head of the Church and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in the counties of Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. The reign of Elizabeth I, between 1558 and 1602, marked a change in religious policies after the reign of Mary Tudor. The doctrinal and political shift under the Elizabethan Religious Settlement, after a short Catholic reign of Mary Tudor, could be pursued from the evidence of wills that may provide a valuable insight into the changing beliefs of testators at the local level. The analysis of the wills in Kent and Gloucestershire will illuminate how locals' attitudes changed after the Marian regime and how testators navigated the tension with the new religion individually, whether

they were confronted with the new religion or remained devoted to the old religion. In order to analyse the possible changing voice of the testators, wills from the reign of Elizabeth I were organised into five-year intervals. The tables given below demonstrate the number of wills and those categorised as Protestant, Traditional or Ambiguous. My own categorisation of Crypto-Protestants and Catholics was also included in this categorisation.

KENT during the Reign of Elizabeth I				
Year	# of Wills	# of Protestant Wills	# of Traditional Wills	# of Ambiguous Wills
1558-1562	52	33	16	3
1563-1567	51	31	17	3
1568-1572	51	34	17	0
1573-1577	58	45	11	2
1578-1582	63	43	16	4
1583-1587	117	88	22	7
1588-1592	161	121	29	11

1593- 1597	179	130	26	23
1598- 1602	114	80	23	11

Table 39– Data on Personal Piety in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The data present an increase in the total number of wills during the reign of Elizabeth I. In addition, there is a gradual increase in wills categorised as Protestant and Traditional as well. One of the significant aspects is the increase in the number of ambiguous wills between 1588 and 1602.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Elizabeth I				
Year	# of Wills	# of Protestant Wills	# of Traditional Wills	# of Ambiguous Wills
1558- 1562	27	15	10	2
1563- 1567	33	22	10	1
1568- 1572	43	29	12	2
1573- 1577	62	44	15	3

1578- 1582	66	47	17	2
1583- 1587	86	55	25	6
1588- 1592	118	95	18	5
1593- 1597	121	90	26	5
1598- 1602	96	71	17	8

Table 40– Data on Personal Piety in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I

In Gloucestershire, the above table presents the number of Protestant, Traditional Ambiguous wills. The data are categorised into five-year intervals that reflect the breakdown of changing religious beliefs and personal piety. Drawing the numbers from the above tables, the following diagrams represent the percentage of traditional wills in Kent and Gloucestershire with historical analysis.

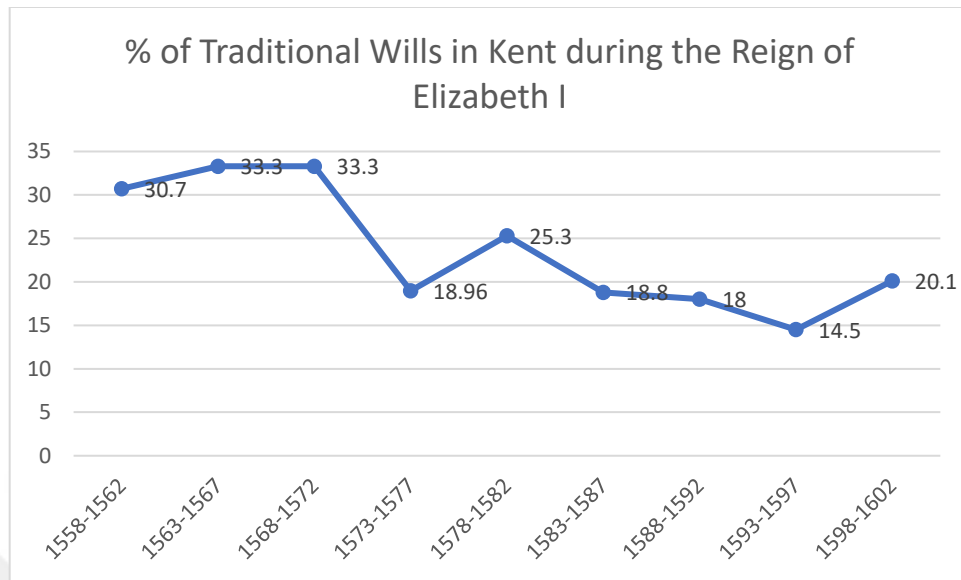


Figure 5– Percentage of Traditional Wills in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I

The above graph presents the percentage of traditional wills in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I. It displays a clear pattern of decline of traditional wills over the years. Even though there is a certain fluctuation, the highest percentage is 33.3 and the lowest is 14.5. It is paramount that during the last year of the reign of Mary Tudor, the percentage of traditional wills was 65.2 in Kent. The diagram between the years of 1558-1562 demonstrates a dramatic decline in the traditional will-writing and the use of traditional formulae. The accession of Elizabeth I marked a return to Protestantism after the restoration of Catholicism during the reign of Mary Tudor. Considering England's instability and the division in piety according to the reigning monarch may have influenced laymen to follow the religious practices and the beliefs of the existing government. Approximately 30% decrease in traditional wills and the omission of Catholic language may either demonstrate Crypto-Protestants returning to their true belief during the Protestant reign of Elizabeth I, or acceptance of Protestantism or

suppression of Catholicism under the existing government. It must be highlighted that, in 1559, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity were passed by the parliament, meaning that Elizabeth I became the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and the realm once again broke with Rome. The Act of Uniformity mandated the use of the 1559 version of the Book of Common Prayer. In addition, it became compulsory to attend Anglican services. The Royal Injunctions, issued by the Royal Authority, made sure that clergy acknowledged Elizabeth I as the Supreme Governor, mandated the use of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer by banning any other prayer books, forms of worship and Catholic rites. In addition, it provided control over the sermons to promote Queen's Supremacy and Protestant doctrine, elimination of certain images that were actively venerated. Most significantly, it was required that every Church had the English Bible. The policies in 1559 demonstrate that Elizabeth ensured uniformity in religious matters. In 1562, the Thirty-Nine Articles were begun to be drafted, which were the doctrinal foundation of the Church of England. Therefore, the overall religious policies of Elizabeth I explain the decline of traditional wills between 1558 and 1562.

Between 1563 and 1567, the percentage of traditional wills increased to 33.3. There may be several reasons for this minor increase. In 1563, the Religion Act, also known as the Second Act of Supremacy, was passed by the parliament, which reaffirmed the Oath of Supremacy of 1559. Those who refused to take the oath for the second time were charged with high treason, which could lead to execution. This act signalled a growing intolerance towards Catholic recusants and resistance. In the same year, the Act for the Assurance of Queen's Royal Power was passed by the Parliament. The act

aimed to target those who questioned the Queen's right to rule and the legitimacy of her power, both spiritually and politically. With the Act of Uniformity Enforcement, the first financial penalty for not attending Anglican Church services was introduced. Between 1563 and 1567, testamentary evidence demonstrates that the county of Kent was more receptive to the new religion compared with the more conservative North and West of England. The fact that Kent saw a significant resistance to the return of the old religion during the reign of Mary Tudor, with Wyatt's Rebellion in 1554, a minor increase depending on the testamentary evidence, may illustrate the attitudes of laymen, not necessarily towards the new religion but to the policies of Elizabeth I. Several acts of the parliament that aimed to target the Catholics of the county of Kent may have triggered those devoted to the old religion to protest their positions in the county. It must be underlined that the growing division among Protestants, between moderate Anglicans and Puritans, caused more turmoil in the realm. Seeking a more radical reform in the matters of religion also divided the new religion. In addition, the arrival of Mary Stuart in England in 1568 may be a source of the increase in traditional wills, since, as the Catholic Queen of Scots, she was a threat to Elizabeth I. The alteration in testamentary language, even though low in percentage considering the radical policies of Elizabeth I, may illustrate the increasing attitudes of Catholics in the country against the policies of the government. This minor increase could be due to the division between Protestants and Puritans, the ecclesiastical policies of Elizabeth I, or the arrival of the Queen of Scots as a monument of hope in the eyes of Catholics.

The following years, between 1568 and 1572, the testamentary evidence presents that the percentage of traditional wills in the county of Kent remained exactly the same,

at 33.3. The data may demonstrate the continuing attitude of the laymen of Kent towards the policies of Elizabeth I. The continuing presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, may have fuelled the hopes of Catholics and could have radicalised the Catholics of the county. Even though Kent did not join the Northern Rebellion of 1569, the continuation of the traditional wills may demonstrate an attitude towards the Elizabethan regime, and the data could be interpreted as a silent protest, unlike in the northern part of England. Another influencing element for the continuation of the minor increase in the traditional language in wills may be due to the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth I in 1570. As a result of the Papal Bull, the parliament convened for the third time and passed new religious legislation. The Treason Act was passed by the parliament in 1571, and those who denied the legitimacy of Elizabeth I were accused of high treason. In addition, the act ensured that any possession of the Papal Bull or its dissemination was considered treason. In addition, the Thirty-Nine Articles was finalised in 1571, which defined doctrines and practices of the Church of England.

In the following years, between 1573 and 1577, the percentage of traditional wills decreases from 33.3 to 18.96. Considering the overall minor fluctuation, the significant drop resonates with both internal and external policies and conflicts. Even though there were major ecclesiastical statutes passed by the parliament, the increasing pressure on the Catholics with the Act of Uniformity and the following acts overall affected the laymen in Kent. Due to its geopolitical position, Kentish laymen could be affected by the ongoing Wars of Religion in France. In 1572, French Protestants, Huguenots, were massacred during St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The external policies against

Protestants may have strengthened Protestant uniformity in England and created fear among Catholics. The policy of France could be a model for Catholic persecution, and this idea, especially after the execution of rebels after the Northern Rebellion, may have caused fear, which could be reflected in wills as well.

Between 1578 and 1582, the percentage of traditional wills increases from 18,96 to 25.3. In 1576, Edmund Grindal was ordered to suppress prophesyings, which were the conventions of Puritan ministers to discuss theology and preachings. Grindal did not obey the order of the Queen and refused to suppress the meetings, in his long letter, he stated that:

If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will with all humility yield thereunto, and render again to your Majesty that I received of the same. I consider with myself, Quod horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis. I consider also, Quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis iuribus nixam) wdificat ad geliennam. "And what should I win, if I gained" (I will not say a bishoprick, but) " the whole world, and lose mine own soul!" Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God. And now being sorry, that I have been so long and tedious to your Majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same well to consider these two short petitions following...²⁸⁷

The opening part of the quotation indicates that Grindal seems obedient and submissive to the authority of the Queen, as this was necessary with the Act of Supremacy. He cited Hebrews 10:31 in his letter and underlines that he is loyal to God and ready to lose his office to betray God. Use of the Scripture in his letter demonstrates his theological prioritisation and his devotion to God over man. It could be implied that he

²⁸⁷ Edmund Grindal, *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D.: Successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury*, ed. William Nicholson (Cambridge University Press, 1843), <https://archive.org/details/theremainsofedmu00grinuoft>.

feared divine judgment more than royalty. He cited Matthew 16:26 and declared his fear of his own soul's salvation. He explicitly stated that he chose God over the Monarch. Due to his refusal to suppress the meetings, Grindal was suspended from his office, and the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury remained empty until his death. In 1581, the Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their Due Obedience was passed by the parliament. Conversion to Catholicism became high treason; fines or imprisonment were applied to those who said or heard the Mass, and those who did not attend Church were fined. The religious policies of Elizabeth I and the execution of Jesuit priest Edmund Champion for defending Catholicism demonstrated the regime's zero tolerance toward the promotion of Catholicism, which could be reflected in wills and explain the sudden decrease in traditional language.

Between 1583 and 1587, the percentage of traditional wills decreased from 25.3 to 18.8. It is possible that, especially after the Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in Their Due Obedience, the legislative implementations under the Elizabethan regime had an impact on the decline in traditional language. In addition, in 1583, the Throckmorton Plot occurred as a major Catholic conspiracy. The aim of the plot was to assassinate Elizabeth I and crown Mary, Queen of Scots, as the Queen of England to restore Catholicism in England. Even though it failed, it was an attempt by an English Catholic who was supported by the Spanish crown as well as the Pope and the Catholic Duke of Guise. Certain attempts and their reflections could be tracked in the wills. As one of the outcomes, the parliament passed the Act against Jesuits and Seminary Priests, which restricted Catholic priests to be in England. It was high treason to shelter them as well. In addition, England's foreign policy regarding her alignment

with Protestant rebels was unofficially the turning point for war with Spain. This turning point could also be interpreted as a direct anti-Catholic policy of the Elizabethan regime and a support for the promotion of Protestantism. This could also be interpreted as the reason for the decline in traditional wills.

Between 1588 and 1592, there is a minor decline in traditional wills, the percentage decreased from 18.8 to 18. One of the significant events was the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. It was one of the dramatic events due to the fact that she remained a hope for Catholics. As the cousin of Elizabeth I and as a Catholic heir to the throne, Mary, Queen of Scots, was a threat to Elizabeth I and her Protestant rule. Mary was accused of being involved in the Babington Plot of 1586, which plotted to assassinate Elizabeth I and release Mary, Queen of Scots. She was tried, found guilty and executed. With the elimination of the last alternative to Elizabeth I, the hope to restore Catholicism under a Catholic Queen was demolished. It is possible that Mary, Queen of Scots, could be seen as a Catholic martyr in the eyes of the laymen. Following the support of Pope Sixtus V, the Spanish Armada was formed to restore Catholicism in England. The Spanish Armada was defeated by Protestant England, which strengthened the image of Elizabeth I as the Protestant Queen. The struggle between the Catholic Spanish Armada and Protestant England and the defeat of Catholic power could be interpreted as the divine answer of God, and the true piety resided in Protestantism. This could be interpreted as, with the defeat of the Catholic power, the national identity of England is equal to being Protestant.

The decline in traditional wills between 1593 and 1597 may demonstrate the defeat of the Catholic forces against Protestant England. The decrease to 14,5 is the lowest

percentage of the reign of Elizabeth I, which could be due to the loss of hope with the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots and the defeat of the Spanish Armada and directly the defeat of the restoration of Papal authority. Even though Elizabeth I faced several attempts to be dethroned, the elimination of each attempt, especially the defeat of the Spanish Armada, could be interpreted as she was the Protestant Queen divinely protected by God. In 1593, the Act Against Popish Recusants was passed by the parliament. This act promoted a certain suppression of Catholics in the realm. It was to restrict the mobility of the recusants. They were unable to move or travel without permission from a magistrate or a bishop. This was an Early Modern attempt to surveil Catholics and to prevent possible rebellions. The decline of traditional wills could be a possible reflection of the suppression of Catholics under the Elizabethan regime.

Between 1598 and 1602, the percentage of traditional wills increased to 20.1. There might be several reasons for this specific increase. The suppressions towards Catholics could break out as a type of Catholic protest in the wills. The Essex Rebellion in 1601, considering its geographical closeness to the county of Kent, against Elizabeth I, could be the last attempt and hope for Catholics for the restoration of Papal authority.

The data illustrate the percentage of traditional wills in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I and provide the alteration of religious piety from the evidence of wills. These self-expressions, in addition to the policies of Elizabeth I, imply the complex but slow link of Protestantism with English identity. The decline in traditional language, along with the enforcement of the Elizabethan regime against Catholics, demonstrates Protestant conformity in the realm.

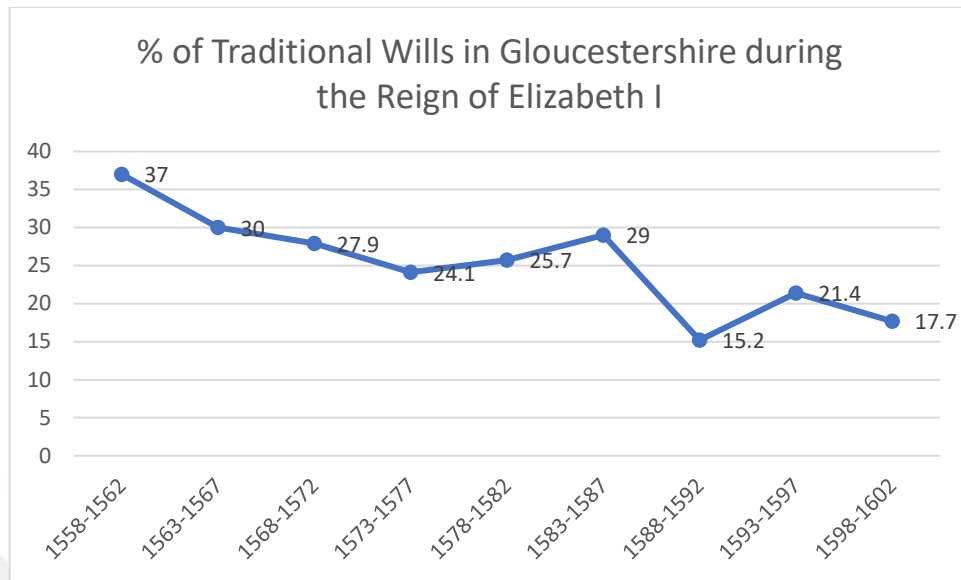


Figure 6— Percentage of Traditional Wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I

The above diagram illustrates the percentage of traditional wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. The data demonstrate the local attitudes towards Elizabethan policy and possible changing personal piety. One of the significant changes is the decline of traditional wills after the reign of Mary Tudor until 1562. The data on the percentage of traditional wills during the reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire illustrates that in 1558, the percentage was 71.4. The percentage dramatically dropped to 37. This drop may be due to the Elizabethan Settlement and policies of the regime, and possibly the suppression of Catholics. Another reason might be Crypto-Protestants, who altered the language used in their wills after the Catholic reign of Mary Tudor. 37% also illustrates the lingering Marian influence, continued preservation of the old religion and its traditions in Elizabeth I's Protestant reign.

Between 1563 and 1567, the gradual decline in traditional wills begins, and the percentage drops to 30. This notable change may represent the enactment of the 1559

Elizabethan Settlement. In addition, the Treason Act of 1563 and financial enforcements for not attending the Church may be one of the leading influences for the decline of the traditional wills. Compared with the county of Kent, interestingly, there is no testamentary evidence of local attitudes against the policies of Elizabeth I. The arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots, in England in 1568 influenced the overall language of wills. In the case of Gloucestershire, the arrival of the Catholic Queen seems not to have triggered the hope of laymen. This may be due to local dynamics, considering the fact that Kent was more apt to follow the policies of the Protestant government, and even a minor influence could have triggered the Catholics as a last hope. More conservative Gloucestershire, on the other hand, seems to adapt to the policies of the regime. The persistent decline in the traditional language may imply the weakening and decreasing Catholic influence in Gloucestershire. The rising of the Northern Rebellion of 1569 and its failure, as well as the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* of 1570, two paramount events, seem not to be reflected in Gloucestershire wills. This may be due to Protestant enforcements of the Elizabethan regime.

Between 1573 and 1577, the gradual decline continued, and the percentage of traditional wills dropped to 24.1. The gradual decline from 1558 to 1577 may illustrate the growing policies and suppression toward Catholics in England. Gloucestershire is a county of conservative rural communities, and the fact that the gradual decline continues, testators may begin to censor themselves in their wills to avoid any suspicion. This censorship may be beyond Crypto categorisation, and testators may intentionally use the Protestant formulae. Between 1578 and 1582, there is a slight increase in the traditional language with 25.7%. This may be the implication of a minor

resistance towards the policies or the arrival of key figures like Edmund Campion, a Jesuit missionary, in 1579. The rise of a critical conflict between the old and the new religion during the Elizabethan Reformation, due to the Catholic Counter-Reformation, could be the representation of a minor increase in the traditional language of wills. The continued rise of the traditional wills from 25.7% to 29%. This specific date range includes the Throckmorton Plot of 1583, which raised the tension between Spain and England. The aim was to assassinate Elizabeth I and replace her with Mary, Queen of Scots. The reflection of the increase of traditional wills could be a response to claim the Catholic Queen and the attitude towards Elizabeth I from laymen. This response dropped dramatically to 15.2% with the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587, with whom the last Catholic hope was demolished. Following the execution, with the support of the Pope, the Spanish Armada claimed to overthrow the Protestant Queen and restore Catholicism once more. The defeat of the Spanish Armada marked the victory of the Protestant Queen against external Catholic forces. The testamentary evidence illuminates that the changing policy of the Elizabethan regime toward the Catholics and foreign interventions also influenced laymen. Between 1593 and 1597, the percentage of traditional wills increased to 21.4. This increase may be due to legislation introduced in 1593, the Act Against Popish Recusants. The increasing preventive measures by the Elizabethan regime, including the requirement for registration of Catholics to restrict their mobility, could have been the triggering point since it was not only about limiting religious practices and belief of Catholics, but also personal freedom. Between 1598 and 1602, the percentage of traditional wills drops to 17.7, which may demonstrate Protestant conformity. The diagram illustrates the

percentage of traditional wills during the reign of Elizabeth in Gloucestershire, one of the conservative counties, as already discussed by scholars. Testamentary evidence between 1558 and 1602 reveals the gradual decline of traditional language and expression of personal piety over time. The notable decline of consistent possible Catholic devotion until 1577 demonstrates the ongoing successful ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth I. Certain fluctuations in the diagram illuminate the attitudes of laymen of the county of Gloucestershire with testamentary evidence towards Elizabeth I. It is evident that the Elizabethan Church was mostly successful in shaping the language and personal piety of testators.

Diagrams illuminate the regional differences and trends of locals and their attitudes to several responses of the monarchy. As a conservative county, Gloucestershire demonstrates a higher percentage of traditional wills than Kent. It may indicate a more vigorous Catholic devotional habit.

Period	Kent	Gloucestershire
1558-1562	30.7%	37%
1563-1567	33.3%	30%
1568-1572	33.3%	27.9%
1573-1577	18.96%	24.1%
1578-1582	25.3%	25.7%
1583-1587	18.8%	29%
1588-1592	18%	15.2%
1593-1597	14.5%	21.4%

1598-1602	20.1%	17.7%

Table 41– Percentage of Traditional Wills in Kent and Gloucestershire

After the reign of Mary Tudor, there was a dramatic decline in the use of the Catholic formulae in wills. Nevertheless, both counties had relatively high percentages of traditional wills during the first year of the reign of Elizabeth I. It may be indicated that laymen retained their religious practices and Catholic habits. Even though there was a gradual decline in traditional wills, the changing percentage and fluctuations as a response to changing policies illustrate how personal piety and the attitude of laymen change regionally. It also demonstrates the culture of the geography and cultural memory that influence the overall attitudes towards the Elizabethan regime.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate how the three elements – the entity, Supreme Head of the Church of England and the nouns Saviour and Redeemer – illuminates Tudor religious culture and personal piety through external evidence. Building upon the existing scholarly methods, I proposed my own categorisation for the element of entity that may shed light on confessional expression in a more broader context. I introduced the title Supreme Head of the Church of England as an element for analysing personal piety through external evidence which is discussed in detail in my forthcoming article "Mary Tudor as Supreme Head of the Church of England: The Evidence of Wills". The discussion presents how the title could be interpreted in testamentary evidence as reflecting Protestant sympathy. In addition, an analysis of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in wills is offered for the first time as evidence of personal piety and religious expression, in light of Tyndale's biblical translation and

interpretations of scholars, and indicates how testamentary language may reveal possible Protestant leaning. Based on the external evidence, the wills are categorised as Traditional, Protestant and Ambiguous in order to track the changes in personal piety during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I in Gloucestershire and Kent and thus to identify differences in attitudes across reigns and regions. These data are significant for the following chapters since the categorisations through external sources will be tested by comparison with other elements to determine whether certain elements – without external evidence – may or may not reflect any personal piety in the wills.

CHAPTER IV: THE MARIAN REFORMATION AND PERSONAL PIETY IN WILLS

This chapter aims to analyse the possible expression of personal piety among testators during the reign of Mary Tudor by testing and examining the elements in wills that have not been studied before to track changing religious beliefs. Building upon the possible external evidence and the methodology established and applied in Chapters 1 and 3 to identify the wills as Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous, this chapter aims to investigate and test whether certain elements in wills may be a medium for tracking the changing religious beliefs in England and whether there is a consistent pattern for the identification of Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills. Therefore, based on the external evidence, Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, and the title Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchs will be filtered under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills to demonstrate possible patterns that may either align with the external evidence and methodology that, at the end, may offer an unstudied element/source from the will to track religious identity to the overall literature.

4.1. Preambles

The preambles are one of the elements that have not been studied before for the identification of possible personal piety and beliefs from the evidence of wills. As underlined before, in this thesis, the Preamble is the first part of a will that begins with In the Name of God Amen. It should be highlighted that, as done by previous scholars before,

the Preamble part should not be confused with the committal in wills. Many scholars named the committal as the Preambles in wills, which is corrected in this dissertation. During the reign of Mary Tudor, the preamble part demonstrates the use of various phrases, and it is possible to see the changing use of unique forms depending on the reigning monarch. The table below demonstrates the preambles utilised in wills with respective numbers in Kent and Gloucestershire out of the total number of 925.

KENT	
Preamble	# of time used
In the Name of God Amen	871
In Dei Nomine Amen	13
In the Name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	18
In the Name of Jesus and God	1
In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen	1
In the Name of God Amen, the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit	1
Memorandum	10
Be It Known Unto All Men	1
Ipirimis	1
Testamentum Nuncupatium	1
The Testament	1
This is the Last Will	1

This is the Will Nuncupative	2
No Preamble	3

Table 42– Preambles in Kentish Wills

The various use of preambles demonstrates the changing formula according to the specific reign of monarchs. For instance, during the reign of Edward VI, in one of the preambles, the formulae of “In the Name of the High and Blessed Trinity” was utilised, which is not in the list for the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, which reflects the changing formula of preambles.²⁸⁸ In addition, there are several new formulae utilised in Kent, including Memorandum, Be It Known Unto All Men, Impirimis, Testamentum Nuncupatium, This is the Will Nuncupatice or The Testament.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE	
Preamble	# of time used
In the Name of God Amen	633
In Dei Nomine Amen	35
In the Name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	1
In the Name of God, the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost	1
Memorandum	11
The Testament	1

²⁸⁸ TNA PROB 11/33/288.

The Will Nuncupative	1
This is the Last Will	1
This is the Last Will and Testament	1
No Preamble	2

Table 43– Preambles in Gloucestershire Wills

In Gloucestershire wills, the changing formula of the preambles, such as Memorandum, The Will Nuncupative, is also traceable. The tables below demonstrate the formulae used in preambles during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire.

Preambles in Kentish Wills from the Reign of Mary Tudor	
In the Name of God Amen	77
In Dei Nomine Amen	1
In the Name of Father, Son, Holy Ghost	1
This is the Last Will	1

Table 44– Preambles in Kentish Wills from the reign of Mary Tudor

The table demonstrates the changing use of preambles from the reign of Mary Tudor. The most common formulae, even from the reign of Henry VIII, is In the Name of God Amen and In Dei Nomine Amen. The use of a Latin preamble may suggest a devotion to the old religion since the language majorly changed to English, especially after the 1530s, as discussed by previous scholars.

The table below demonstrates the use of preambles in Gloucestershire wills from the reign of Mary Tudor. Compared with Kent, the variety of formulas used by testators is quite low in number, and the formulas used are the conventional ones.

Preambles in Gloucestershire Wills from the Reign of Mary Tudor	
In the Name of God Amen	33
In Dei Nomine Amen	1
No Preamble	1

Table 45– Preambles in Gloucestershire Wills from the reign of Mary Tudor

The aim of examining the preambles with the support of external evidence is to track the changing language during the reign of Mary Tudor. The preambles from the reigns of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire are assessed to identify possible religious leanings. It is evident that the frequency and variety of preambles alter across time and location. The analysis of the preambles during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire reflects regional religious attitudes and expression as well as changes in traditional language. Preambles serve as a valuable indicator for personal piety since they encompass the reference to the entities which may provide theological declarations by testators.

Drawing upon the external evidence and established categorisation of wills, such as Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous, the table below demonstrates the number of wills with their religious identification along with the Preambles utilised in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor.

Preambles in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Preamble	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
In the Name of God Amen	38	36	3
In the Name of Father, Son, Holy Ghost	1	0	0
In Dei Nomine Amen	0	1	0
This is the Last Will	0	2	0

Table 46– Preambles in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor

The table above demonstrates the frequency of the use of preambles during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent. The already categorised wills in chapter 1 were filtered to identify whether certain preambles align with the Protestant, Traditional or Ambiguous wills. The most common formula used in the preamble is In the Name of God Amen. Out of 77 wills, the preamble appeared 38 times in Protestant wills and 36 times in Traditional wills and 3 times in Ambiguous wills. Among the three categorisations, the formula was almost equally utilised between Protestant and Traditional wills, which may suggest its neutrality during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent. It is evident that the function of the preamble is a conventional opening sentence in wills rather than a distinctive phrase to pursue changing religious beliefs. On the other hand, the phrase In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy

Ghost appears once in a Protestant will. The Trinitarian form in the committal is an identifier for Protestant wills. Therefore, even though low in number, the Trinitarian formula in the preamble may also suggest a devotion to the new religion as well. The Latin preamble In Dei Nomine Amen appears once and in a Catholic will. As already underlined several times, the changing use of language in wills may demonstrate certain leanings in personal piety. Even though there is only one Preamble written in Latin, the fact that it is in the will, which was categorised as Catholic, may support the idea of the correlation between language and personal piety. The phrase This is the Last Will appeared two times, and both are in Catholic wills. The phrase itself does not have any religious implications, but rather it is a legal form or bureaucratic. In order to identify the phrase as a Catholic element, the phrase needs to be assessed in Gloucestershire wills, or the use of the phrase must be available for further research during the reign of Elizabeth as well. The lack of invocation of the divine may suggest that it is either standardised and utilised in every will as such or even non-personalised.

Drawing upon the external evidence and established categorisation of wills, such as Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous, the table below demonstrates the number of wills with their religious identification along with the Preambles utilised in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor.

Preambles in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Preamble	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
In the Name of God Amen	14	19	0

In Dei Nomine Amen	0	1	0
No Preamble	0	1	0

Table 47– Preambles in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor

The table above demonstrates the frequency of the use of preambles during the reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire. Even though smaller in number, preambles in Gloucestershire demonstrate a valuable insight for the possible religious identification of testators. It also provides a comparative insight during the reign of Mary Tudor. As in Kent, the most conventional form of preambles utilised in wills in Gloucestershire is In the Name of God Amen. Out of 33 wills, the preamble appeared 14 times in Protestant wills and 19 times in traditional wills. Even though it seems neutral as it was in Kent, the use of In the Name of God Amen is higher in number in Traditional wills in Gloucestershire, unlike in Kent. This may demonstrate changing use of preambles by Catholics and Protestants in different regions, as well as their interpretation. If I am to disregard the small differences in numbers for the use of the preamble, In the Name of God Amen, for Kent, the preamble may give a Protestant leaning, and in Gloucestershire, it may give a Catholic leaning. This may raise another matter of changing interpretation of certain elements in wills according to certain regions, which is not covered in this dissertation. Even though previous historians explored the possible ways to identify the religious identity of testators, in regional works, they also relied on external evidence discussed in chapter 1. The elements discussed in Chapter 3 may enlighten historians to seek further evidence from wills that may vary regionally, along with their changing interpretation. The phrase In Dei Nomine Amen

appeared once in a will identified as Catholic. Even though small in number, this aligns with the same phrase utilised in the Kentish will as well, which was also identified as Catholic. During the reign of Mary Tudor, there is one will where no preamble was used, which is marked as Traditional. The fact that the year of the will is 1555, when certain laws were passed by the parliament to reconcile England with Rome once again, the omission of the preamble may not be a protest since the preamble was omitted in a will identified as Catholic.

The examination of various Preambles in wills from Gloucester and Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor may demonstrate and support further categorisation of wills, in addition to the already established method. Some of the Preambles may not serve as clear indicators of personal piety, but rather conventional and institutional practice. On the other hand, certain formulas may reveal the secret voice of the testators to identify their personal piety. Therefore, the table below demonstrates the possible categorisation of Preambles based on external evidence.

Categorisation of Preambles during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
Preambles	Religious Implication
In the Name of God Amen	Conventional / No Religious Implication
In the Name of Father, Son, Holy Ghost	Protestant
In Dei Nomine Amen	Catholic
This is the Last Will	No Religious Implication
No Preamble	No Religious Implication

Table 48– Categorisation of Preambles during the Reign of Mary Tudor

Drawing upon the external evidence, the above table suggests that most Preambles may function as a conventional opening in wills during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire. Even though they are conventional, further regional analysis must be conducted to have a certain categorisation of Preambles, which has not been studied before. Even though the phrase In the Name of God Amen was categorised as conventional for Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor, the categorisation may be different in other counties of England or during the reign of other monarchs of England. A rare case is for the use of In Dei Nomine Amen, which was the conventional form before the Reformation, remained Catholic, relying on the external evidence. In addition, the Trinitarian formula reflects a possible Protestant leaning, as the external evidence from the committal also reflects the same.

The categorisation of Preambles during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire provides a limited indication of the personal piety and religious beliefs of testators. While formulas like In Dei Nomine Amen and In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost may imply stronger religious associations, the remaining Preambles, such as In the Name of God Amen, functioned as a conventional formula and do not provide any doctrinal alignment. It is paramount that the Preambles should be interpreted with caution for any religious implications and should be compared with other elements in wills.

4.2. Verbs

The verbs in the committal of the wills are one of the elements that have not been studied before to reveal the secret voices and devotions of the testators in 16th-century England. In Early Modern wills, verbs may function more than legally, but also reflect the personal

piety and the level of devotion of the testator. Drawing upon the external evidence, the verbs may play a significant role in the religious identification of the testators. Before diving into the use of certain verbs in wills, it is significant to understand the meaning of the verbs and the implications they provide. The verb *bequeath* is an Old English verb with Germanic origin, and according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the verb's origin is "becwethan, from be- 'about' (expressing transitivity) and cwethan 'say'".²⁸⁹ The meaning of the verb is "to say in a will that you want somebody to have your property, money, etc., after you die."²⁹⁰ The verb is directly associated with transferring the property to somebody; therefore, it does not require further analysis. The verb *recommend* is also a late Middle English verb "originally meaning to commend or entrust someone or something to someone): from medieval Latin *commendare*, from Latin *re-* (expressing intensive force) + *commendare* 'commit to the care of'".²⁹¹ The meaning of the verbs is "to tell somebody that something is good or useful, or that somebody would be suitable for a particular job, etc."²⁹² The testators who selected to use the verb *recommend* actually offer his or her soul to be taken care of and declare that he or she was a good person that followed the steps of Jesus Christ as his or her soul was good and they obeyed the orders of God. Therefore, the verb has a strong connection with personal piety. The verb *give* is an Old English verb and the origin of the verb "is *giefan*, *gefan*, of Germanic origin; related to Dutch *geven* and German *geben*".²⁹³ The meaning of the verb is "[transitive] to hand

²⁸⁹ Oxford University Press, s.v. "bequeath," *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/bequeath?q=Bequeath>.

²⁹⁰ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, s.v. "bequeath."

²⁹¹ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, s.v. "recommend," accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/recommend?q=recommend>.

²⁹² Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, s.v. "recommend."

²⁹³ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, s.v. "give," accessed June 16, 2025, https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/give_1?q=give.

something to somebody so that they can look at it, use it or keep it.”²⁹⁴ The verb *give* may demonstrate a direct relation with God. The soul is treated as if it were an object and possession received from God and then returned, which may underline the stewardship between God and the testator. It also may demonstrate the value of the soul in the eyes of laymen. The fact that testators give the soul to God may suggest trust and gratitude towards the divine. The verb *commit* is a late Middle English verb “from Latin *committere* ‘join, entrust’ (in medieval Latin ‘put into custody’), from *com-* ‘with’ + *mittere* ‘put or send’.”²⁹⁵ The meaning of the verb is “[transitive, often passive] to promise sincerely that you will definitely do something, keep to an agreement or arrangement, etc.”²⁹⁶ The verb conveys the meaning of a promise or dedication. Unlike bequeath or give, the verb *commit* suggests surrendering the soul deliberately, which emphasises the obligation or bond to God. The verb *will* is an Old English verb from “*willa* (noun), *willian* (verb), of Germanic origin; related to Dutch *wil*, German *Wille* (nouns).”²⁹⁷ The meaning of the verb is “to want or like.”²⁹⁸ The verb gives a personal desire or intent in the context of early modern wills. It both underlines the earthly desire and spiritual commitment of the testator. The verb is not just a legal agency, but it also provides personal conviction.

It is paramount to understand the meanings and the interpretation of the verbs in a theological context. Each verb may align with either Catholic or Protestant doctrine and emphasise an emotion or theological devotion. In Early Modern England, during the reign

²⁹⁴ Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, s.v. “give.”

²⁹⁵ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, s.v. “commit,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/commit?q=commit>.”

²⁹⁶ Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, s.v. “commit.”

²⁹⁷ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, s.v. “will,” accessed June 16, 2025, https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/will_1?q=will.

²⁹⁸ Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, s.v. “will.”

of Mary Tudor, the verbs bequeath, give, commit, will and recommend were utilised in wills. The table below demonstrates the number of each verb that appeared in Kent and during the reign of Mary Tudor.

Use of Verbs during the Reign of Mary Tudor in Kent	
Verb	# of Times Used
Bequeath	53
Give	7
Commit	1
Will	1
Recommend	21

Table 49– Use of Verbs during the Reign of Mary Tudor in Kent

The above table demonstrates that the verb bequeath is mostly used in Kentish wills during the reign of Mary Tudor, which is followed by the verb recommend. It is paramount to provide the table of verbs and their total count according to the categorisation of Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills in respective counties before any interpretation.

Verbs in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Verb	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Bequeath	19	33	1
Recommend	12	8	1

Give	5	1	1
Commit	1	0	0
Will	0	1	0

Table 50– Verbs in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor

The above table demonstrates that bequeath is the most common verb used in wills out of the total number of 83, and according to the data, it is mostly associated with Traditional wills. This may indicate the conservative choice of the testator since it is a legal form utilised by testators before the Reformation period as well. The appearance of the verb in Protestant wills may also indicate that the verb is functional in testamentary documents, and it is accepted by the majority of the testators. Due to its standard legal use, the verb may not provide any doctrinal meaning. The verb recommend is more common in Protestant wills. Even though there is not much difference in number since the verb was utilised in Catholic wills as well, the verb has a theological significance since it emphasises the direct relationship with God, recommending the soul to God without any mediator such as the Virgin Mary or the Saints. The almost even distribution of the verb in Protestant and Catholic wills may demonstrate its transitional function, considering the continuously changing religious beliefs in England. The verb give is mostly utilised in Protestant wills. The verb may emphasise the bilateral relationship with God and highlight personal agency. As discussed before, the soul is treated as if it were an object to be returned, like a valuable possession borrowed from God. The verb commit was utilised once in a Protestant will. Even though small in number, and there is no 100% certainty, the meaning and the interpretation of the verb may suggest a Protestant leaning. The verb also emphasises the

bilateral agreement with God, which underlines the direct relationship with God. The testator surrenders his or her soul to God to be taken care of, which could represent the obligation to God alone. Lastly, in Kentish wills, the verb *will* appears once in a Catholic will, and it provides a personal conviction. The distribution of wills in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor demonstrates the use of Reformatory language such as recommend, give and commit. Even though the traditional/conventional verb bequeath is mostly used, the utilisation of a variety of different verbs may highlight the non-unity of religious identity in England after the re-establishment of Catholicism. The language of Kentish wills represents the turmoil between the Church as an institution and personal beliefs, which demonstrates the valuable insight into the English Reformation.

The table below demonstrates the number of each verb that appeared in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor out of the total number of 44.

Use of Verbs during the Reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire	
Verb	# of Times Used
Bequeath	20
Give	8
Commit	3
Recommend	13

Table 51– Use of Verbs during the Reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire

The table above demonstrates that, as in Kent, the most frequently used verb in Gloucestershire is bequeath, which may maintain its legal function due to the continuing utilisation of the verb. The second most commonly utilised verb is recommend. The dataset of Kent and Gloucestershire demonstrates that the frequency of the use of the verbs is the same in both counties, irrespective of regional differences, which demonstrates that both Kent and Gloucestershire share the same linguistic culture in wills.

Verbs in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Verb	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Bequeath	6	14	0
Recommend	8	5	0
Give	5	3	0
Commit	1	2	0

Table 52– Verbs in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor

The above data demonstrate the number of each verb utilised in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills in Gloucestershire. The verb bequeath seems to retain its conventional position as it mostly appeared in Traditional wills as in Kent, which may highlight that it may be unaffected by theological change and has remained as a standard legal term for the disposition. The verb recommend is particularly high in number in Protestant wills in Gloucestershire, as it was in Kent. This may align with the Reformed idea of the direct liaison with God by eliminating intercessory figures such as the Virgin Mary and the Saints. The appearance of the verb recommend in wills during the reign of Mary Tudor may be

due to the enduring effect of the Edwardian Reformation and language, which may suggest that even though under a Catholic reign, testators continued to express their personal piety through the Reformation language. Even though small in number, the verb give also provides an insight into the spiritual language of Gloucestershire wills. As discussed in Kentish wills, the verb reveals personal agency without intercessory commitment to God. The individual spiritual experience highlights the tone of the verb, which is also reflected mostly in Protestant wills. The verb commit has a diverse use in wills in Gloucestershire. In Luke 23:46, it was stated that “Jesus called out with a loud voice, “Father, into your hands I commit my spirit.” When he had said this, he breathed his last.”²⁹⁹ Also in Psalm 31:5, it was stated that “Into your hands I commit my spirit; deliver me, LORD, my faithful God.”³⁰⁰ The external evidence also suggests a direct relationship with God, which may support the personal agency and full entrustment of the soul to God.

The data on the use of verbs in wills in Gloucestershire and Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor demonstrate regional consistencies in the interpretation of the language of the testators that may reveal theological devotion with the support of external evidence. Even though some of the verbs are detached from theological interpretation, such as bequeath, and were utilised not to express any religious meaning but to legally complete the will-writing process, some other verbs underscore the enduring influence of the Reformed traditions. In both regions, the verbs commit, give and recommend are mostly associated with Protestant wills, which may suggest that even though Mary Tudor re-established Catholicism, the spiritual language of the Henrician or Edwardian Reformation

²⁹⁹ *Bible Hub*, “Luke 23:46,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://biblehub.com/luke/23-46.htm>.

³⁰⁰ *Bible Hub*, “Psalm 31:5,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://biblehub.com/psalms/31-5.htm>.

may be reflected in wills. The fact that direct relation with God and condemnation of the soul lay in the meaning of the verbs like recommend, it bypasses the intercessory figures and demonstrates a personal trust in God alone.

Percentage of the Use of Verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire		
Verbs	% in Kent	% in Gloucestershire
Bequeath	63.9	45.5
Recommend	25.3	29.5
Give	8.4	18.2
Commit	1.2	6.8
Will	1.2	0

Table 53– Percentage of the Use of Verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire

The table demonstrates that the percentage of the use of bequeath is higher in Kent compared to Gloucestershire, which may be interpreted as the majority of the testators preferred the conventional language rather than religious expression. For the case of verbs give and recommend, it is evident that Gloucestershire is more expressive in theological language than Kent. The individual's relationship with God is proportionally greater in Gloucestershire, which may indicate that regional differences and local variations are possible in the use of verbs, as in the other parts of the wills. The verbs utilised in the wills may offer more than a formula; self-understanding of spirituality may open a window for the evidence of personal piety in England. It may be suggested that the use of certain verbs may either have a legal intention or a religious identity that may be a supportive element

for the identification of religious belief in England during the ambivalent religious character of 16th-century England.

4.3. Nouns

16th-century wills not only served as a legal instrument for the disposition of movable and immovable property but also for spiritual expressions and personal piety of testators. The nouns may provide an insight into the changing religious beliefs and the personal expressions of testators, which have not been studied before. As one of the possible elements for revealing the secret voices of testators, nouns may play a pivotal role in the religious identification of testators. This section focuses on the use of nouns in the Marian regime in Kent and Gloucestershire, and the distribution and examination of nouns in a regional context in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills. Drawing upon the external evidence, the nouns may play a significant role in the religious identification of the testators. Before diving into the use of certain nouns in wills, it is significant to understand the meaning of the nouns and the implications they provide.

The noun *saviour* is a Middle English noun “from Old French sauveour, from ecclesiastical Latin salvator (translating Greek sōtēr), from late Latin salvare ‘to save’.”³⁰¹ According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the meaning of the noun is “[singular] used in the Christian religion as another name for Jesus Christ.”³⁰² As discussed in chapter 1, the noun *saviour* is a distinctive element for the religious identification of testators, which has not been studied before to track the evidence of personal piety and changing religious

³⁰¹ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, s.v. “saviour,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/saviour?q=saviour>.

³⁰² Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, s.v. “saviour.”

beliefs in 16th-century England. The noun emphasises Christ's role as a saviour. In addition, the noun redeemer is directly associated with Jesus Christ; for further explanation, see Chapter 1. While saviour and redeemer are centred on Jesus Christ's redemptive role, the nouns maker and creator are associated with God as the creator or the maker. The noun creator is a Middle English noun, from Old French creatour, creatur, from Latin creator, from creat- 'created', from the verb creare 'to produce'.³⁰³ Even though the nouns maker and creator were used interchangeably, the sub-meanings of these nouns are different from my own interpretation. The noun creator suggests the universal role of God as he is the source of all living and unliving on the earth. The noun underlines God's divine authority and his omnipotence. Maker, on the other hand, has a different connotation; God as the maker is the craftsman for all existence, which highlights his personal involvement in the formation of life.

The table below demonstrates the total use of nouns in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor out of the total number of 67.

Use of Nouns in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
Noun	# of Times Used
Saviour	20
Redeemer	20
Maker	19
Creator	8

³⁰³ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, s.v. "creator," accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/creator?q=creator>.

Table 54– Use of Nouns in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The table presents the frequency of the use of nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator in the committal of wills during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent. The table demonstrates the significance of clauses and the pattern of the use of nouns for religious expression in testamentary writing. The majority of testators preferred to use the nouns saviour and redeemer, which were mostly used together when referring to Jesus Christ. Following the two dominant nouns in wills, the maker is the frequently utilised and very close to Saviour and Redeemer in number. Lastly, the noun creator was utilised in 8 wills. The data highlight the selection of theological terminology to express possible religious identity before death.

The table below presents the distribution of the nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator in Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. The table illustrates the frequency of the use of the nouns in different categorisations of wills in order to identify whether certain nouns may have a theological pattern for confessional identity.

Nouns in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Noun	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Saviour	18	2	0
Redeemer	16	4	0
Maker	16	3	0
Creator	7	1	0

Table 55–Nouns in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor

As already discussed in Chapter 1, the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, drawing upon the external sources, are distinctive nouns for the identification of Protestant leaning. The data support that the confessional identity and the external evidence align with each other. Therefore, it is evident that the noun Saviour is a Protestant element in wills to highlight the role of Jesus Christ in salvation, which is one of the Protestant doctrines. The data illustrate that the use of Christocentric nouns may not only be formulaic but also provide a strong spiritual expression for tracking the religious identity of the testator. The noun Redeemer is also one of the key markers for spiritual expression that is Christocentric and highlights the role of Jesus Christ as the sole redeemer for the soul. As also discussed in Chapter 1, the strong association of the noun to Jesus Christ emphasises Protestant leaning in spiritual expression. Considering the Protestant idea of Solus Christus, the use of nouns such as Saviour and Redeemer highlights spiritual expression with doctrinal alignment to express personal piety. The noun Maker, on the other hand, in contrast to Saviour and Redeemer, is not Christocentric but refers to God as the origin of life. Considering its theological neutrality, God was referred to as an entity in the committal of the wills and overwhelmingly in Protestant wills in Kent. The noun maker, in a different confessional context, feels accessible, which underlines the direct relation with God. It gives the sense of a personal bond since God beautifully crafted the body and the soul of a person; he will be the one to receive the soul after death since he is the originator of this piece of art. Therefore, Kentish data provide the selection of the noun in Protestant wills. The noun creator, on the other hand, attributes God as the divine authority and omnipotent. It

highlights God's sovereignty. Creator was also overwhelmingly preferred by the testators whose wills were categorised as Protestant.

The analysis of the nouns in Kentish wills during the reign of Mary Tudor offers a lens to understand the changing religious beliefs of testators during the era of turbulence. The continuous appearance of nouns such as Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator illuminates and reveals the role of language in will-writing as well as the expression of personal piety in a changing political and doctrinal environment. The utilisation and the dominance of nouns such as Saviour and Redeemer underscore the role of Jesus Christ in salvation, which aligns with Reformation theology; *Solus Christus* and *Sola Fide*, which distinguish Protestant expression from the Catholic one. The frequent use of the noun in Kent may demonstrate Edwardian practice under the Marian regime, even though she restored Catholicism in England. This may also demonstrate regional attitudes towards the policy of the monarchy.

The nouns Maker and Creator, though, seem theologically more neutral, offer a certain pattern for personal piety. Maker, with its intimate tone, illustrates a personal relationship with God, with its frequent appearance in Protestant wills. Creator, on the other hand, provides a more formal attribution that emphasises the sovereignty of God and is less common in Kentish wills. It appears mostly in Protestant wills. The lexical preference of laymen in Kentish wills illustrates how certain nouns were utilised as a vehicle of spiritual expression and personal piety. The linguistic evidence demonstrates that nouns could be a promising indicator for religious identification during the complex religious landscape in 16th-century England.

The table below illustrates the frequency of the nouns, Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator, utilised in Gloucestershire wills during the reign of Mary Tudor out of the total number of 45.

Use of Nouns in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
Noun	# of Times Used
Saviour	10
Redeemer	17
Maker	13
Creator	5

Table 56– Use of Nouns in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The table demonstrates the use of nouns with respective numbers. Unlike in Kent, there is an uneven distribution of Saviour and Redeemer, and the noun Maker is preferred more than the noun Saviour. This also indicates regional preferences and differences in lexical selection in devotional language.

The table below presents the data on the use of nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator in Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. The breakdown of the use of nouns offers an insight into how confessional nouns, depending on the preference of the testators, align with religious categorisation and how these devotional terms were distributed while referring to the entity.

Nouns in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Noun	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Saviour	8	2	0
Redeemer	10	7	0
Maker	8	5	0
Creator	3	2	0

Table 57–Nouns in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor

The distribution of the nouns offers a distinctive pattern in Gloucestershire compared with Kent. The data present that the noun Saviour enforces a strong Protestant Christocentric figure in wills. The majority of the testators whose wills were categorised as Protestant utilised the noun Saviour compared with the Catholic ones. The noun Redeemer, on the other hand, was distributed almost evenly in both Protestant and Traditional wills. This raises the question of the influence of external elements. Even though linguistically conservative, Catholic wills somehow included the Redeemer. According to the data, 7 wills that were categorised under Traditional wills utilised the Catholic formula of bequeathing the soul to God, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Company of Heaven. This raises the question of whether the testators referred to Jesus Christ as God and used the nouns Maker, Saviour or Redeemer combined to both refer to him as the God the Creator and Maker and the Redeemer as well. The noun Maker was mentioned 13 times in Gloucestershire wills, and 8 of them were under Protestant and 5 of them were in Catholic categorisation. Relatively balanced distribution of the noun Maker in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor, compared with Saviour, may suggest that the term was

utilised flexibly in Gloucestershire. The noun Creator appears less in number compared with Saviour, Redeemer and Maker. As it carries a more formal expression, its use may be formulaic rather than devotional in Gloucestershire.

The distribution and the use of nouns in Gloucestershire and Kentish wills during the reign of Mary Tudor offer a valuable insight into the linguistic and spiritual practice of the testators. Considering the complex religious landscape of 16th-century England, the counties of Gloucestershire and Kent provide a new way of interpreting the meaning of the language of wills. The nouns utilised in the committal of the wills may illustrate individual lexical choices of testators that may reshape the identification of possible personal piety and religious beliefs of laymen.

The data of Kent demonstrate a greater use of Christocentric nouns such as Saviour and Redeemer in a Protestant context. The strong alignment of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in Protestant wills may offer the fact that these terms may be reliable indicators for the Protestant belief and categorisation of wills. The noun Maker was also predominantly used in Protestant wills, but its use in Catholic wills in Gloucestershire may offer its cross-confessional utilisation and highlight regional practice as well. The noun Creator, on the other hand, is less frequently used in Kentish wills. As underlined before, the term has a more formal tone and is mostly visible in Protestant wills in Kent. The data of Gloucestershire present a different distribution and the use of nouns. Saviour remained more common in Protestant wills in Gloucestershire. Even though higher in number in Protestant wills, the use of Redeemer and Maker in Catholic wills is visible, which demonstrates the influence of regional variations. As in the wills of Kent, the noun Creator remains the least utilised noun in both counties.

The comparison of the use of nouns in Kent and Gloucestershire, as per the provided data, reveals that certain confessional terminology is consistent in both counties, but there are contrasts, especially in the use of the noun Redeemer. The county of Kent demonstrates a more rigid pattern in the use of nouns and Protestant terms such as Saviour and Redeemer are distinctive elements in the county. The appearance of such terms in Gloucestershire wills demonstrates a more blended pattern in lexical preference. The use of nouns in different religious leanings and the regional differences underscore the significance of local practices and habits of laymen. It also underscores changing confessional language and spiritual expression in the Catholic reign of Mary Tudor. Therefore, the study of nouns for the possible expression of piety from the testamentary evidence may not be formulaic but rather theological and a vehicle for reflecting the personal piety of the testator.

4.4. Defender of the Faith

The title Defender of the Faith is one of the uncovered elements in 16th-century wills that has not been studied before for the evidence of personal piety. The title Defender of the Faith has a paramount theological and political meaning in Tudor England, starting from Henry VIII. The title was granted to Henry VIII by Pope Leo X due to Henry VIII's defence of the Catholic Church against the heresies of Martin Luther in 1521. In a typical 16th-century will, the title was used after the indication of the calendar or regnal year and acknowledgement of the monarch. The meaning of the title Defender of the Faith may have altered during the Tudor period due to the fact that, even though it symbolised the defence of Catholicism against heresy, after the Act of Supremacy, it may be utilised to highlight

the defender of the new religion. The aim of this part is to reveal whether Defender of the Faith was utilised to indicate loyalty towards the monarchy and/or to express any religious affiliation.

The table below illustrates the number and frequency of the title Defender of the Faith during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent. Out of 80 wills, the title appeared 31 times in testamentary evidence. The remaining 49 wills do not include the title.

KENT during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
# of Defender of the Faith used	31
# of non-usage of Defender of the Faith	49

Table 58– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The presence and the omission of the title demonstrate the regional pattern of Kent. The overall interpretation of the use of the title may suggest that, even though close in quantity, 61.25% of the testators did not prefer to utilise the title in their wills, which might be interpreted as a collective protest against the religious policies of Mary Tudor due to the fact that laymen might not support the faith of the Queen.

Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor			
Defender of the Faith	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous

Mentioned	20	10	1
Not Mentioned	19	29	2

Table 59– Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor

The table above demonstrates the frequency of the utilisation of the title Defender of the Faith in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. The data present that testators who referred to Queen Mary or Queen Mary and King Philip as Defender(s) of the Faith were mostly categorised under Protestant wills. In 10 Catholic wills, testators referred to the monarch as the Defender of the Faith, which is exactly half of those who referred to the monarch with the title in Protestant wills. Considering the fact that Mary Tudor was a Catholic Queen and the title was mostly utilised in Protestant will raises the question whether this occasion was due to the continuing influence of Edward VI, as he was the Defender of the Faith of the Protestant belief, considering the complex and changing religious beliefs in 16th-century England. Else, the frequency of the use of the title in the wills where testators did not mention the Defender of the Faith is quite different. Those who did not refer to the monarch as the Defender of the Faith are more frequent in Catholic wills in Kent. This may indicate that the title may be associated with Protestant belief in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor, as per the data. In order to have a comprehensive interpretation of the presence and the omission of the title, and the possibility of studying the title to track the evidence of personal piety or the attitude of laymen towards the monarch, it is paramount to compare Kent with Gloucestershire.

The table below illustrates the number and frequency of the title Defender of the Faith during the reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire. Out of 36 wills, the title appeared 9 times in testamentary evidence. The remaining 27 wills do not include the title.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Mary Tudor	
# of Defender of the Faith used	9
# of non-usage of Defender of the Faith	27

Table 60– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The presence and the omission of the title demonstrate the regional pattern of Gloucestershire. Unlike Kent, the frequency of the utilisation of the title is quite different.

Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor			
Defender of the Faith	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Mentioned	5	4	0
Not Mentioned	10	16	0

Table 61– Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor

The above table illustrates the presence and omission of the title Defender of the Faith in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills in Gloucestershire. The number of testators who referred to the monarch with the hereditary title is almost the same in Protestant and Catholic wills. Therefore, it is not possible to indicate that the use of the title implies any religious identity or expression. On the other hand, testators who referred to the monarch with the title are more frequent in Catholic wills. The analysis of the title Defender of the Faith in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor offers an unexplored meaning of the use of the title, considering regional variations. Even though, due to the origin of the title and how it was bestowed upon Henry VIII, the initial assumption would be that the use of the title could be more frequent in Catholic wills, but this is not the case. The appearance of the title in Protestant wills may suggest that, despite the Catholic restoration of Mary Tudor, the title might have retained its association with Protestantism due to its use under Edward VI. In Kent, a high number of testators did not prefer to utilise the title in Catholic wills. Even though there is a more balanced distribution in the presence and the omission of the title in Gloucestershire, the number of testators who did not utilise the title in Catholic wills is higher in number. The data may suggest that it may be possible for the title to carry a confessional connotation.

4.5. Acknowledgement of Monarch

Acknowledgement of the Monarch in 16th-century wills is one of the unexplored elements for the possible and secret voice of the testators for confessional evidence. Reference to the monarchs or their omission from the wills may be an invocation of personal piety or local attitudes towards the reigning monarch and the policies. This part focuses on the analysis

of the acknowledgement of the monarch and its possible indication of personal piety in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. Further, it aims to analyse the possible pattern and frequency of the acknowledgement in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills to offer an insight into whether the acknowledgement suggests any spiritual expression.

The tables below represent the frequency of the use of the references in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. The data illustrate that testators referred to the monarch as Lady Mary, Mary, Philip and Mary after the marriage, and there are also wills that testators did not refer to the monarch.

KENT during the Reign of Mary Tudor	Reference to the Monarch	# of references used
	Lady Mary	4
	Mary	2
	Philip and Mary	35
	No Reference	38

Table 62– Reference to the Monarchs in Kent during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The table demonstrates that Lady Mary and Mary were used interchangeably. Referring to Mary as “Lady” might be a local habit or a form of distancing the Queen for possible veneration. It might be a habit from the Edwardian regime as well, since she was Lady Mary before she was Queen. The data illustrate that considering the total reference to the monarch(s), the percentage of those who did not refer to the monarch is relatively high,

almost the same as those who referred to the monarch in their wills. Even though the first impression and the interpretation of the omission of the monarch is a form of protest to the monarchy, it is paramount to support the argument since the direct omission of the monarch from the will may not imply anything.

Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Kent During the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Acknowledgement of Monarchs	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Lady Mary	2	2	0
Mary	1	1	0
Philip and Mary	22	12	1
No Reference	13	23	2

Table 63– Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Kent During the Reign of Mary Tudor

The above table demonstrates the distribution of the acknowledgement of monarchs in wills in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. Each form of acknowledgement in wills is matched with already identified religious categorisations. The table offers a particular framework for the relationship between the acknowledgement of the monarch and personal piety, whether mentioning Queen Mary or Philip and Mary may indicate devotion to Catholicism, or the omission could be interpreted as an attitude towards the monarch and the policies. The data demonstrate that Lady Mary and Mary are distributed evenly in Catholic and Protestant wills. Furthermore, Philip and Mary jointly referred 22 times in

Protestant wills and 12 times in Catholic wills. In addition, those who did not refer to either Mary or Philip are high in frequency in Catholic wills in Kent. The data reveal that the initial interpretation does not align with the data since it suggests that Philip and Mary were highly utilised in Protestant wills, and the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch is higher in Catholic wills. Therefore, for Kentish wills, it does not seem possible to indicate that reference to Mary could be interpreted as a leaning to Catholicism, or the omission of the monarchical acknowledgement means devotion to Protestantism. This may be a local habit, and in order to conclude, the acknowledgement part should be assessed in different countries or during the reign of various monarchs.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE	Reference to the Monarch	# of references used
during the Reign of Mary Tudor	Mary	1
	Philip and Mary	15
	No Reference	19

Table 64– Reference to the Monarchs in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Mary Tudor

The tables below represent the frequency of the use of the references in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. The data illustrate that testators referred to the monarch as Mary, Philip and Mary after the marriage, and there are also wills that testators did not refer to the monarch. Out of 35 wills, 1 testator referred to Mary directly, 15 referred to Philip and Mary, and 19 of them did not acknowledge the monarch. As discussed before,

the initial interpretation of the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch may imply a protest against the monarchy and its policies, but this is not the case for Kentish wills.

Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Gloucestershire During the Reign of Mary Tudor			
Acknowledgement of Monarchs	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Mary	0	1	0
Philip and Mary	8	7	0
No Reference	7	12	0

Table 65– Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Gloucestershire During the Reign of Mary Tudor

The above table demonstrates the distribution of the acknowledgement of monarchs in wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. Each form of acknowledgement in wills is matched with already identified religious categorisations. The table suggests that Mary was referred once, and it is in a Catholic will. Philip and Mary jointly referred in both Protestant and Catholic wills, and the acknowledgement is distributed almost evenly. Those who did not acknowledge the monarch are higher in Catholic wills. It is evident that monarchical acknowledgement does not align with the identified categorisation of wills for the reign of Mary Tudor. It seems that both Kent and Gloucestershire have the same pattern for both monarchical acknowledgement in Protestant and Catholic wills and in the wills where there is no reference to the monarch at all.

The analysis of the presence and the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch in wills in Gloucestershire and Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor may reveal that any form of references to the monarch do not necessarily offer an insight into the religious expression, personal piety or attitudes of testators towards the monarchy and the policies. While it was initially expected that acknowledgement of Mary or Philip and Mary would indicate loyalty to Catholicism and the policies of the monarchy, and the omission of the acknowledgement would indicate a leaning to Protestantism, the data do not align with such assumptions. In Kent, Lady Mary and Mary were referred to equally, and Philip and Mary were referred to more in Protestant wills, while the omission of the acknowledgement is higher in Catholic wills. A similar pattern is visible in Gloucestershire wills. The omission of the acknowledgement is higher in number in Catholic wills. The findings may suggest that the acknowledgement of monarchs does not necessarily convey spiritual expression and personal piety of the testator, but it seems rather formulaic. It is paramount to test the acknowledgement of monarchs for the reign of Elizabeth to have a comparative analysis and to reveal whether it is possible to utilise the acknowledgement of monarchs as confessional evidence.

This chapter has tested whether the language utilised in testamentary sources during the reign of Mary Tudor in Gloucestershire and Kent may serve as a means of tracking the confessional expression and personal piety as well as shifting religious beliefs. The methodology outlined in chapter 1, and the external evidence discussed in chapter 3, are here applied to test whether the Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, the title Defender of the Faith, and the Acknowledgement of Monarchs follow patterns that more or less agree with the categories established in chapter 1. The analysis suggests that some of these elements may

align with the external evidence and the categorisation of wills and thus may serve to further explain and identify confessional expression and personal piety of testators. To increase the reliability of these elements, and to determine whether specific elements may provide a different interpretation, the same elements will be tested in the following chapter for the reign of Elizabeth in Gloucestershire and Kent.



CHAPTER V: THE ELIZABETHAN REFORMATION AND PERSONAL PIETY IN WILLS

This chapter aims to analyse the possible expression of personal piety among testators during the reign of Elizabeth I by testing and examining the elements in wills that have not been studied before to track changing religious beliefs, as was done in Chapter 4 for the reign of Mary Tudor. Building upon the possible external evidence and the methodology established and applied in Chapter 1 and 3 to identify the wills as Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous, this chapter aims to investigate and test whether certain elements in wills may be a medium for tracking the changing religious beliefs in England and whether there is a consistent pattern for the identification of Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills. Therefore, based on the external evidence, Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, and the title Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchs will be filtered under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills to demonstrate possible patterns that may either align with the external evidence and methodology that may, at the end, may offer an unstudied element/source from the will to track religious identity to the overall literature.

5.1. Preambles

As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, the preamble part demonstrates the use of a variety of phrases, and it is possible to see the changing use of unique forms depending on the reigning monarch. The tables below demonstrate the preambles utilised in wills with

numbers in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. A significant change in phraseology occurs during the reign of Elizabeth I.

Preambles in Kentish Wills from the Reign of Elizabeth I	
In the Name of God Amen	794
In the Name of Father, Son Holy Ghost	17
Memorandum	10
In Dei Nomine Amen	12
This is the Last Will	7
No Preamble	5
This is the Will Nuncupative	2
In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen	1
In the Name of Jesus and God	1
Be It Known Unto All Men	1
In the Name of God, The Father, The Son and Holy Spirit	1
The Testament	1
Testamentum Nuncupatium	1
Impirimis	1

Table 66– Preambles in Kentish Wills from the reign of Elizabeth I

Compared with the reign of Mary Tudor, the Kentish wills had a variety of formulas in preambles during the reign of Elizabeth I. The majority of testators utilised In the Name of God Amen in their wills, which was followed by In the Name of Father, Son, Holy Ghost. The different uses of formulas include Memorandum, This is the Will Nuncupative, Be It Unto All Men, Testamentum Nuncupatium, Impirimis, In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen, In the Name of Jesus and God Amen and the Testament. One of the intriguing formulas includes In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen and In the Name of Jesus and God Amen which highlight a Christocentric approach and could possibly offer a religious expression.

Drawing upon the external evidence and established categorisation of wills, such as Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous, the table below demonstrates the number of wills with their religious identification along with the Preambles utilised in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I out of the total number of 1,049.

Preambles in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Preamble	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Be It Known Unto All Men	0	0	1
In Dei Nomine Amen	8	3	0
In the Name of Father, Son, Holy Ghost	13	3	1

In the Name of Jesus and God Amen	1	0	0
In the Name of God Amen	585	165	44
In the Name of God Amen, The Father, The Son, The Holy Spirit	0	1	0
In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen	1	0	0
Impirimis	0	0	1
Memorandum	0	3	7
Testamentum Nuncupatium	0	0	1
The Testament	0	0	1
This is the Last Will	1	1	5
This is the Will Nuncupative	0	0	2
No Preamble	1	2	2

Table 67– Preambles in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I

The table illustrates the categorisation of preambles as Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous in Kentish wills during the reign of Elizabeth I. The preambles may offer a valuable insight into the personal piety of laymen. The fact that with the Elizabethan Religious Settlement, the official religion of the country became Protestantism, the preambles may serve as valuable indicators for religious expression.

One of the most frequently utilised preambles is In the Name of God Amen. The phrase was used in 585 Protestant wills. As one of the standardised formulas, the occurrence in 585 wills may suggest that the phrase was mostly preferred by Protestants in the county. In addition, the phrase was used in 165 Catholic wills that may suggest a sentiment towards the old religion. The occurrence of the same phrase in 44 Ambiguous wills highlights the uncertainty regarding doctrinal alignment. Interestingly, In Dei Nomine Amen, even though the effect of the language was discussed by previous scholars, occurred more in Protestant wills. These data break the previous assumption of the effect of the language in wills in at least Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I, which, of course, needs further research to indicate such a break. The phrase In the Name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Trinitarian formula, was mainly used in Protestant wills. A small number of the phrase was used in Catholic and Ambiguous wills. The trinitarian formula and Protestant doctrine align with the data and suggest that the formula may be utilised for the identification of confessional expression. Even though small in number and the phrase In the Name of Jesus and God occurred in one Protestant will. It is not representative in number, but the phrase aligns with a Christocentric approach and could be an indication of Protestant leaning. Preambles such as Be It Unto All Men, Impirimis, Testamentum

Nuncupatium, The Testament, This is the Last Will, This is the Will Nuncupative and Memorandum, on the other hand, are quite ambiguous due to the fact that they do not offer any religious connotation. Non-use of preambles is also quite ambiguous since out of 5 wills, 1 is categorised under a Protestant will, 2 of them under Catholic and the remaining 2 under Ambiguous wills that do not offer a certain confessional identity.

The table below illustrates the frequency of the use of preambles in Gloucestershire wills during the reign of Elizabeth I out of the total number of 654.

Preambles in Gloucestershire Wills from the Reign of Elizabeth I	
In the Name of God Amen	600
In Dei Nomine Amen	34
Memorandum	11
This is the Last Will and Testament	2
No Preamble	2
In the Name of The Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost	1
In the Name of God Amen, The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost	1
The Testament	1
This is the Last Will	1
The Will Nuncupative	1

Table 68– Preambles in Gloucestershire Wills from the reign of Elizabeth I

One of the most frequent phrases is In the Name of God Amen in Gloucestershire wills, as it was in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I, which was followed by In Dei Nomine Amen and Memorandum. The different uses of formulas include Memorandum, This is the Last Will and Testament, In the Name of the Father, The Son, The Holy Ghost, In the Name of the Father Amen, The Father, The Son, and the Holy Ghost, The Testament, This is the Last Will and The Will Nuncupative. A small number of testators also did not use any preamble. One of the major differences between Kent and Gloucestershire is that there is no specific preamble dedicated to Jesus Christ or Jesus Christ and God in Gloucestershire. This may be due to the more conservative habits of laymen and demonstrates the regional differences in the use of preambles.

Preambles in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Preamble	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
In Dei Nomine Amen	26	7	1
In the Name of The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost	1	0	0
In the Name of God Amen	483	139	23

In the Name of God Amen The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost	1	0	0
Memorandum	0	4	7
The Testament	0	1	0
The Will Nuncupative	1	0	0
This is the Last Will	0	0	1
This is the Last Will and Testament	1	0	1
No Preamble	0	1	1

Table 69– Preambles in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I

The table illustrates the categorisation of preambles as Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous in Kentish wills during the reign of Elizabeth I. One of the most frequently utilised preambles is In the Name of God Amen. The phrase was used in 483 Protestant wills. As one of the standardised formulas, the occurrence in 483 wills may suggest that the phrase was mostly preferred by Protestants in the county. In addition, the phrase was used in 139 Catholic wills, which may suggest a sentiment towards the old religion. The occurrence of

the same phrase in 23 Ambiguous wills highlights the uncertainty regarding doctrinal alignment. As in Kent, the use of the phrase *In Dei Nomine Amen* is quite high in number in Protestant wills. This either might be a scribal influence or habit, since it challenges the previous scholars on the use of Latin that changed after the 1530s, which may indicate that English became a more preferred language in the Last Will and Testament during and after the Reformation. The data do not align with this assumption; therefore, it might be a local habit or another external influence. The Trinitarian formula occurred only in Protestant wills, which might support its alignment with Protestant doctrine since there is no use of the phrase in Catholic wills. Preambles such as *Memorandum*, *The Testament*, *The Will Nuncupative*, *This is the Last Will*, and *This is the Last Will and Testament*, on the other hand, are quite ambiguous due to the fact that they do not offer any religious connotation; the only interpretation could be that the preamble was omitted in a Catholic will during the reign of Elizabeth I which could be the influence of the scribe. One of the paramount approaches is that the changing use of the preambles is visible through a regional focus. In Preambles such as *Be It Known Unto All Men*, *In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen*, *In the Name of Jesus and God*, *Impirimis*, *Testamentum Nuncupatium*, and *This is the Will Nuncupative* were only used in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I. On the Other Hand, preambles such as *This is the Last Will and Testament* and *The Will Nuncupative* are unique to Gloucestershire that may demonstrate the significance of regional habits in will-writing.

The examination of various Preambles in wills from Gloucester and Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I may demonstrate and support further categorisation of wills, in addition to the already established method. Some of the Preambles may not serve as clear indicators

of personal piety, but rather conventional and institutional practice. On the other hand, certain formulas may reveal the secret voice of the testators to identify their personal piety. Therefore, the table below demonstrates the possible categorisation of Preambles based on external evidence.

Categorisation of Preambles during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
Preambles	Religious Implication
In the Name of God Amen	Conventional / No Religious Implication
In Dei Nomine Amen	No Religious Implication / Ambiguous
Trinitarian Formula	Protestant
In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen	Protestant
In the Name of Jesus and God	Protestant
Memorandum, This is the Last Will and Testament, The Testament, This is the Last Will, The Will Nuncupative, This is the Will Nuncupative, Be It Known Unto All Men, Testamentum Nuncupatium, Impirimis	No Religious Implication
No Preamble	No Religious Implication

Table 70– Categorisation of Preambles during the Reign of Elizabeth I

Drawing upon the external evidence, the above table suggests that most Preambles may function as a conventional opening in wills during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire. The phrase In the Name of God Amen, as it was in the preambles during the reign of Mary Tudor, is a conventional opening in wills during the reign of Elizabeth I as well. In Dei Nomine, on the other hand, even though it was categorised as a Catholic formula during the reign of Mary Tudor, the phrase was mostly utilised in Protestant wills. This might be either a local or scribal habit, or may refer to Crypto-Catholicism; therefore, the phrase is listed as Ambiguous. As they align with Protestant doctrine and also occurred in Protestant wills, the Trinitarian formula and phrases such as In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen and In the Name of Jesus and God demonstrate Christocentrism. Such use of phrases in wills in preambles may be an indicator of personal piety.

5.2. Verbs

As discussed before, the verbs in the committal of the wills are one of the elements that have not been studied before to reveal the secret voices and devotions of the testators in 16th-century England. In Early Modern wills, verbs may function more than legally, but also reflect the personal piety and the level of devotion of the testator. Drawing upon the external evidence, the verbs may play a significant role in the religious identification of the testators. Since some of the verbs and their meanings are provided in Chapter 3, the verbs during the reign of Elizabeth I will be analysed in this part. The verb *commend* is a Middle English verb “from Latin *commendare*, from *com-* (expressing intensive force) + *mandare* ‘commit, entrust’.”³⁰⁴ The meaning of the verb is “to give somebody/something to

³⁰⁴ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, s.v. “commend,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/commend?q=commend>.

somebody in order to be taken care of.”³⁰⁵ The verb *commend* sounds submissive since the testator expects that whoever she/he commends his/her soul to should take care of the soul. It is a humble request from the testator since he or she desires the soul to be taken care of. The verb has a modest sense of meaning and expects the superior to take care of the soul like a parent, which demonstrates the liaison between the father and the child. The verb *beseech* is a Middle English verb “from be- (as an intensifier) + Old English *sēcan* (see seek).”³⁰⁶ The meaning of the verb is “to ask somebody for something in an anxious way because you want or need it very much.”³⁰⁷ The verb conveys a sense of humility and submission; in addition, the testator conveys his or her distress and cry for his or her helplessness. The verb has the sense of vulnerability, acknowledging God’s divine authority and human vulnerability. The verb *betake* is a Middle English verb meaning “to go somewhere.”³⁰⁸ Since the verb is reflexive, it may provide a conscious movement. It is paramount to understand the meanings and the interpretation of the verbs in a theological context. The verb *yield* is an Old English verb from “g(i)eldan ‘pay, repay’, of Germanic origin. The senses ‘produce, bear’ and ‘surrender’ arose in Middle English.”³⁰⁹ The meaning of the verb is “to allow somebody to win, have or take control of something that has been yours until now.”³¹⁰ The verb conveys a sense of unwilling surrender and fear. The fact that the Germanic origin of the verb means to repay, the testator accepts the fact

³⁰⁵ Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, s.v. “commend.”

³⁰⁶ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, s.v. “beseech,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/beseech?q=Beseech>.

³⁰⁷ Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, s.v. “beseech.”

³⁰⁸ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, s.v. “betake,” accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/betake?q=betake>.

³⁰⁹ Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, s.v. “yield,” accessed June 24, 2025, https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/yield_2?q=yield.

³¹⁰ Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, s.v. “yield.”

that the soul is to return to God. It highlights the limited life of humans and the superiority of God. Each verb may align with either Catholic or Protestant doctrine and emphasise an emotion or theological devotion. In Early Modern England, during the reign of Elizabeth I, the verbs bequeath, give, commit, will, recommend, commend, yield and betake were utilised in wills. The table below demonstrates the number of each verb that appeared in Kent and during the reign of Elizabeth I out of the total number of 940.

Use of Verbs during the Reign of Elizabeth I in Kent	
Verb	# of Times Used
Bequeath	521
Give	74
Commit	78
Will	33
Recommend	206
Commend	20
Yield	4
Betake	2
Beseech	2

Table 71– Use of Verbs during the Reign of Elizabeth I in Kent

The above table demonstrates that the verb bequeath is mostly used in Kentish wills during the reign of Elizabeth I, which is followed by the verb recommend. It is paramount to

provide the table of verbs and their total count according to the categorisation of Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills in respective counties before any interpretation.

Verbs in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Verb	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Bequeath	388	129	4
Give	61	12	1
Commit	68	9	1
Will	25	8	0
Recommend	170	34	2
Commend	16	4	0
Yield	2	2	0
Betake	1	1	0
Beseech	2	0	0

Table 72– Verbs in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I

The above table demonstrates that bequeath is the most common verb used in wills, and according to the data, it is mostly associated with Protestant wills. The appearance of the verb in Traditional wills may also indicate that the verb is functional in testamentary documents, and it is accepted by the majority of the testators. Due to its standard legal use, the verb may not provide any doctrinal meaning. The frequency of the use of the verb give is higher in Protestant wills, which may support the bilateral relationship with God and highlight personal agency. The verb commit was mainly utilised in Protestant wills in Kent.

As discussed before, the verb suggests a direct relationship with God, which may support the personal agency and full entrustment of the soul to God. Therefore, it may convey a Protestant devotion. The verb *will* conveys a personal conviction, and it was mostly utilised in Protestant wills. One of the most frequently used verbs is *recommend*. The verb appeared in 170 Protestant wills and 34 Catholic wills. Its high number in Protestant wills may align with the Reformed idea of the direct liaison with God by eliminating intercessory figures such as the Virgin Mary and the Saints. The verb *commend* was utilised only during the reign of Elizabeth I and appeared in 16 Protestant wills and 4 Traditional wills. As discussed before, the verb conveys a meaning of a liaison between the father and the child that emphasises the direct relationship with God. The verb *yield* also appeared during the reign of Elizabeth I, and the verb was evenly distributed in Protestant and Catholic wills; therefore, it is not possible to indicate any religious expression. The verbs *betake* and *beseech* also appeared during the reign of Elizabeth I. The verb *betake* was also evenly distributed in Protestant and Catholic wills. On the other hand, the verb *beseech* appeared only in 2 Protestant wills. Even though small in number, the occurrence of the verb only in Elizabethan Settlement and its use in Protestant wills may indicate that it may convey a Protestant sentiment.

The analysis of the verbs used in Kentish wills during the reign of Elizabeth I demonstrates that linguistic conventions may be an indicator of spiritual expression. Even though some of the verbs, like *bequeath*, were commonly utilised as a standardised legal formula, the preference of testators may suggest a specific alignment with Protestantism or Catholicism.

The table below demonstrates the number of each verb that appeared in Gloucestershire and during the reign of Elizabeth I out of the total number of 465.

Use of Verbs during the Reign of Elizabeth I in Gloucestershire	
Verb	# of Times Used
Bequeath	256
Commend	123
Commit	45
Recommend	28
Give	8
Yield	4
Will	1

Table 73– Use of Verbs during the Reign of Elizabeth I in Gloucestershire

The table above demonstrates that, as in Kent, the most frequently used verb in Gloucestershire is bequeath, which may maintain its legal function due to the continuing utilisation of the verb. Following, the verb commend is the most frequently utilised verb after the verb bequeath. The changing frequency of the use of certain verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire demonstrates regional preferences and differences in linguistic culture during the reign of Elizabeth I.

Verbs in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Verb	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous

Bequeath	181	73	2
Commend	95	28	0
Commit	33	11	1
Recommend	20	8	0
Give	6	3	0
Yield	4	0	0
Will	1	0	0

Table 74– Verbs in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I

The above data demonstrate the number of each verb utilised in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills in Gloucestershire. The verb bequeath is the most frequently used in 181 Protestant, 73 Traditional and 2 Ambiguous wills. This distribution suggests that bequeath was widely utilised as a standard legal formula. The verb commend, as in Kent, is highly used in Protestant wills and conveys a direct entrustment to God that highlights unmediated liaison with God. The verb commit appears in 33 Protestant and 11 Traditional wills that highlight its cross-religious use. The verb also seems to underline personal relation with God, which is a core Protestant theology that there is no intermediary. Unlike Kent, the verb recommend is less frequent in Gloucestershire, and it appeared in 20 Protestant and 8 Traditional wills. Although less common, the verbs give, yield and will offer almost exclusive utilisation in Protestant wills. The verb give appeared in 6 Protestant and 3 Catholic wills; on the other hand, the verbs yield and will appeared purely in Protestant wills. The verb give suggests a more personal offering of the soul to God, but yield, on the other hand, underlines a submission to the entity, and both align with Protestant theology.

The analysis of the verbs used in Gloucestershire wills during the reign of Elizabeth I demonstrates that linguistic conventions may be an indicator of spiritual expression. Even though some of the verbs, like bequeath, were commonly utilised as a standardised legal formula, the preference of testators may suggest a specific alignment with Protestantism or Catholicism.

The analysis of the verbs in wills from Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I suggest that linguistic culture from testamentary evidence could be utilised as a religious expression by testators. The pattern of the use of the verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire offers both the confessional meaning of the verbs and their standardised use in wills, as well as changing regional expressions. The verbs commit, commend, recommend, will, give, and yield appeared more in Protestant wills during the reign of Elizabeth I, which may highlight theological implications. Recurrence of such verbs may indicate entrustment, conviction or submission to God that aligns with Protestant theology.

Percentage of the Use of Verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire		
Verbs	% in Kent	% in Gloucestershire
Bequeath	55.43	55.05
Beseech	0.21	0.0
Betake	0.21	0.0
Commend	2.13	26.45
Commit	8.3	9.68
Give	7.87	1.72
Recommend	21.91	6.02

Will	3.51	0.22
Yield	0.43	0.86

Table 75– Percentage of the Use of Verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire

The table demonstrates that the verb bequeath was almost evenly used in Kent and Gloucestershire, which indicates that more than half of the laymen preferred the standardised formula in their wills. On the other hand, a minority of Kentish laymen preferred to use Beseech and Betake in their wills, where there is no use in Gloucestershire. There is a significant increase in the use of commend in Gloucestershire wills, with 26.45%. This may be due to the decreasing use of the verb recommend in Gloucestershire, since the verb recommend is highly used in Kent, which may highlight regional habits in lexical context. The verbs commit and yield were almost evenly distributed in both counties. Lastly, the verb will is higher in usage in Kent rather than Gloucestershire. The significance of studying the frequency of the verbs used in wills is to compare regional habits in religious expressions. Not only the frequency but also their meanings may offer a window for the evidence of personal piety in England along with regional preferences due to local attitudes. As underlined before, the use of certain verbs may either have a legal intention or a religious identity that may be a supportive element for the identification of religious belief in England during the ambivalent religious character of 16th-century England.

5.3. Nouns

This section focuses on the use of nouns in the Elizabethan regime in Kent and Gloucestershire, as well as the distribution and examination of nouns in a regional context in Protestant, Catholic, and Ambiguous wills. Drawing upon the external evidence, the nouns may play a significant role in the religious identification of the testators. Before diving into the use of certain nouns in wills, it is significant to understand the meaning of the nouns and the implications they provide.

As the implications of the nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator have already been provided (see Chapter 3), the implications of Sanctifier and Mediator will be provided. The noun mediator is a Middle English word from “mid-14c., *mediatour*, “one who intervenes between two parties (especially to seek to effect a reconciliation),” from Late Latin *mediator* “one who mediates,” agent noun from stem of *mediare* “to intervene, mediate,” also “to be or divide in the middle,” from Latin *medius* “middle” (from PIE root **medhyo-* “middle”).”³¹¹ The meaning of the noun is “a person or an organisation that tries to get agreement between people or groups who disagree with each other.”³¹² The noun mediator has a specific purpose in a theological context; it symbolises the intermediary act between God and man. As reflected in wills, it could be the Virgin Mary, the Saints of Heaven and Jesus Christ. According to 1 Timothy 2:5, it is stated that “For there is one God and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.”³¹³ The noun Sanctifier is a Middle English word, originated from the verb sanctify “from late 14c., *seintefien* “to consecrate, set apart for sacred use;” c. 1400, “to render holy or legitimate by religious

³¹¹ Online Etymology Dictionary, s.v. “mediator,” accessed June 24, 2025, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/mediator>.

³¹² Oxford University Press, *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, s.v. “mediator,” accessed June 24, 2025, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/mediator?q=mediator>.

³¹³ Bible Gateway, “1 Timothy 2:5,” accessed June 24, 2025, <https://www.biblegateway.com/verse/en/1%20Timothy%20%3A5>.

sanction;" from Old French saintefier "sanctify" (12c., Modern French sanctifier), from Late Latin sanctificare "to make holy," from sanctus "holy" (see saint (n.)) + combining form of facere "to make, to do" (from PIE root *dhe- "to set, put"). The form was altered in English c. 1400 to conform to Latin. From 1520s (Tyndale) as "to free from sin." The transferred sense of "to render worthy of respect" is from c. 1600.”³¹⁴ The meaning of the noun is the one who makes holy. In Romans 16:16, it was stated that “to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles. He gave me the priestly duty of proclaiming the gospel of God, so that the Gentiles might become an offering acceptable to God, sanctified by the Holy Spirit.”³¹⁵ The noun is associated with the Holy Spirit in the Bible.

The table below demonstrates the total use of nouns in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I out of the total number of 1,065.

Use of Nouns in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
Noun	# of Times Used
Saviour	292
Redeemer	413
Maker	226
Creator	134

Table 76– Use of Nouns in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I

³¹⁴ Douglas Harper, *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. “sanctification,” accessed June 24, 2025, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/sanctification>.

³¹⁵ *Bible Hub*, “Romans 15:16,” accessed June 25, 2025, <https://biblehub.com/romans/15-16.htm>.

The table presents the frequency of the use of nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator in the committals of wills during the reign of Elizabeth I in Kent. The table demonstrates the significance of clauses and the pattern of the use of nouns for religious expression in testamentary writing. The majority of testators preferred to use the nouns saviour and redeemer, which are mostly used together when referring to Jesus Christ. Following, one of the most preferred uses of the noun is maker and then creator. The data suggest that nouns Saviour and Redeemer, drawing upon the external sources, specifically used for Jesus Christ, and mostly preferred by testators. The data reveal that testators mostly preferred to use nouns that correlate with Jesus Christ rather than God, which may be a sign of Protestant leaning. The data highlight the selection of theological terminology to express possible religious identity before death.

The table below presents the distribution of the nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker and Creator in Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I. The table illustrates the frequency of the use of the nouns in different categorisations of wills in order to identify whether certain nouns may have a theological pattern for confessional identity.

Nouns in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Noun	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Saviour	291	0	1
Redeemer	408	0	5
Maker	217	6	3
Creator	121	12	1

Table 77–Nouns in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I

As already discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, the nouns Saviour and Redeemer, drawing upon the external sources, are distinctive nouns for the identification of Protestant leaning. The data support that the confessional identity and the external evidence align with each other. Therefore, it is evident that the noun Saviour is a Protestant element in wills to highlight the role of Jesus Christ in salvation, which is one of the Protestant doctrines. The noun Redeemer, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, is also one of the markers for Protestant leaning in spiritual expression. The fact that both Saviour and Redeemer were only mentioned in Protestant wills and there is no testamentary evidence that they were mentioned under Catholic wills may suggest a strong confessional identity in Protestantism. On the other hand, the nouns Maker and Creator are directly associated with God, and even though small in number, they were used in Catholic wills as well, which highlights their cross-religious use in wills.

The analysis of the nouns in Kentish wills during the reign of Elizabeth I may offer a lens to understand the changing religious beliefs of testators during the era of turbulence. The overwhelming appearance of Saviour and Redeemer with zero emphasis in Traditional wills may suggest a strong Protestant leaning drawing upon the external sources, during the reign of Elizabeth I, which aligns with Reformation theology; *Solus Christus* and *Sola Fide*, which distinguish Protestant expression from the Catholic one. A high number of uses of the nouns Maker and Creator may offer a valuable insight for the spiritual expression of testators. Even though theologically more neutral, the attributions to God as maker and redeemer were used mostly in Protestant wills. The small number of uses in

Catholic wills also raises the question of cross-religious use of the nouns as well. The lexical preference of laymen in Kentish wills illustrates how certain nouns were utilised as a vehicle of spiritual expression and personal piety. The linguistic evidence demonstrates that nouns could be a promising indicator for religious identification during the complex religious landscape in 16th-century England.

The table below illustrates the frequency of the nouns, Saviour, Redeemer, Maker, Creator, Mediator and Sanctifier utilised in Gloucestershire wills during the reign of Elizabeth I out of the total number of 873.

Use of Nouns in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
Noun	# of Times Used
Saviour	178
Redeemer	354
Maker	242
Creator	88
Sanctifier	7
Mediator	4

Table 78– Use of Nouns in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The table demonstrates the use of nouns with respective numbers. Unlike in Kent, there is an uneven distribution of Saviour and Redeemer and the noun Maker is preferred more than the noun Saviour. This also indicates regional preferences and differences in lexical

selection in devotional language, since the same situation occurred during the reign of Mary Tudor as well. In addition, there is the use of nouns that have not been utilised before in Kent and Gloucestershire in the Tudor period: Mediator and Sanctifier. These nouns occurred during the reign of Elizabeth I in Gloucestershire.

The table below presents the data on the use of nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Maker, Creator, Mediator and Sanctifier in Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. The breakdown of the use of nouns offers an insight into how confessional nouns, depending on the preference of the testators, align with religious categorisation and how these devotional terms were distributed while referring to the entity.

Nouns in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Noun	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Saviour	176	1	1
Redeemer	351	2	1
Maker	232	10	0
Creator	84	4	0
Sanctifier	7	0	0
Mediator	4	0	0

Table 79–Nouns in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I

The data present that the noun Saviour enforces a strong Protestant Christocentric figure in wills. Out of 178 wills, Saviour was utilised in 176 Protestant, 1 Traditional and 1

Ambiguous wills. The noun Redeemer was utilised in 351 Protestant, 2 traditional and 1 Ambiguous wills. The fact that nouns Saviour and Redeemer are directly associated with Jesus Christ and convey a more reformed meaning, the occurrence of those nouns in Traditional wills may be due to local habits and external influence, like the scribe. The strong alignment of the nouns Saviour and Redeemer in Protestant wills may offer the fact that these terms may be reliable indicators for the Protestant belief and categorisation of wills. The noun Maker was also predominantly used in Protestant wills, but its use in Catholic wills in Gloucestershire may offer its cross-confessional utilisation and highlight regional practice as well. The noun Creator was also mainly utilised in Protestant wills, but a small number in Catholic wills referred to God as the creator as well. Furthermore, the occurrence of two new nouns in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I bring another perspective to the use of nouns for confessional identity. The noun Sanctifier and Mediator associated directly with Jesus Christ in wills. Both nouns were utilised only in Protestant wills in Gloucestershire. This may offer an invaluable insight into the use of these distinctive nouns in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. Even though theologically the noun Sanctifier is associated with the Holy Spirit, only 2 of the wills referred to the Holy Ghost in the committals, which may indicate that the nouns were utilised interchangeably in wills for God, Jesus Christ and in Trinitarian formula.

The analysis of the nouns, Saviour, Redeemer, Maker, Creator, Sanctifier and Mediator in the wills from Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I offer a valuable insight into the personal piety of the testators along with regional patterns. The recurrence of Saviour and Redeemer in Protestant wills underscores the linguistic culture that marks Protestant belief in light of the doctrine of Solus Christus. In addition, their

absence from Traditional wills in Kent and near-absence in Gloucestershire aligns with the external evidence of the nouns and supports the Protestant leaning of testators. Even though the nouns Maker and Creator were used in Protestant wills, their appearance in Traditional wills both in Kent and Gloucestershire highlights their broader utilisation by testators. The appearance of Mediator and Sanctifier specifically in Gloucestershire wills during the reign of Elizabeth I introduces another layer for the expression of personal piety. Even though limited in number, these nouns indicate increasing vocabulary in theology in testamentary evidence as well as linguistic evidence for certain confessional expressions. The data present that the use of certain nouns in wills is not formulaic but rather declarations of beliefs.

5.4. Defender of the Faith

The title Defender of the Faith is one of the uncovered elements in 16th-century wills that has not been studied before for the evidence of personal piety. As discussed before, the title Defender of the Faith has a paramount theological and political meaning in Tudor England, starting from Henry VIII. It is paramount to underline that the title Defender of the Faith was utilised by all Tudor monarchs starting from Henry VIII. The parliamentary evidence also demonstrates the use of the title by Tudor monarchs. The aim of this part is to reveal whether Defender of the Faith was utilised to indicate loyalty towards the monarchy and/or to express any religious affiliation.

The table below illustrates the number and frequency of the title Defender of the Faith during the reign of Elizabeth I in Kent. Out of 855 wills, the title appeared 410 times in testamentary evidence. The remaining 445 wills do not include the title in the wills.

KENT during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
# of Defender of the Faith used	410
# of non-usage of Defender of the Faith	445

Table 80– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head/Governor of the Church in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The presence and the omission of the title demonstrate the regional pattern of Kent. The overall interpretation of the use of the title may suggest that, even though close in quantity, 52.04% of the testators did not prefer to utilise the title in their wills, which might be interpreted as a collective protest against the religious policies of Elizabeth I due to the fact that laymen might not support the faith of the Queen.

Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I			
Defender of the Faith	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Mentioned	343	80	18
Not Mentioned	306	137	51

Table 81– Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I

The table above demonstrates the frequency of the utilisation of the title Defender of the Faith in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I. The data present that testators who referred to Elizabeth I as Defender of the Faith were mostly categorised under Protestant wills. In 80 wills and 18 Ambiguous wills, the testators referred to the monarch as the Defender of the Faith. Testators who did not refer to the monarch as the Defender of the Faith is quite high in number as well. In 306 wills, testators preferred not to refer to the monarch as the Defender of the Faith. For Traditional wills, even though lower than the number of Protestant wills where testators did not mention the monarch with the title, when compared with the number of Traditional wills where testators mentioned the title, in terms of percentage, the number is relatively high. The increasing number of Traditional wills where testators did not mention the title Defender of the Faith and the decreasing number of Protestant wills where testators did not mention the title may indicate that there might be a possibility of rejecting the use of title for Elizabeth I in Traditional wills that may imply that the true Defender of the Faith was not Elizabeth I. Considering that the title was also omitted by a number of Protestant wills may suggest that the title may not mean any religious expression, but the presence and absence of the title may be due to shortening the acknowledgement part or a scribal habit.

The table below illustrates the number and frequency of the title Defender of the Faith during the reign of Elizabeth I in Gloucestershire. Out of 654 wills, the title appeared 284 times in testamentary evidence. The remaining 370 wills do not include the title.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Elizabeth I	
# of Defender of the Faith used	284

# of non-usage of Defender of the Faith	370

Table 82– Reference to Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head/Governor of the Church in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The presence and the omission of the title demonstrate the regional pattern of Gloucestershire. Unlike Kent, the frequency of the utilisation of the title is quite different. There is a notable difference between those who referred to the monarch as the Defender of the Faith and those who preferred not to.

Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I			
Defender of the Faith	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Mentioned	225	49	10
Not Mentioned	243	103	24

Table 83– Defender of the Faith and Religious Identity in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I

The above table illustrates the presence and omission of the title Defender of the Faith in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills in Gloucestershire. The data suggest that in 225 Protestant, 49 Traditional and 10 Ambiguous wills, the Queen was referred to as the Defender of the Faith. On the other hand, in Gloucestershire, unlike in Kent, there is an

increase in the omission of the title in Protestant wills. As in Kent, the omission of the title in traditional wills is higher in Gloucestershire as well. High numbers for the omission of the title in Protestant and ambiguous wills may suggest that the title was omitted cross-religiously. This may be either due to shortening the acknowledgement of the monarch as referring to her as the Queen only, or a scribal habit. The high number of omissions of the title in Catholic wills may also be an indication of rejecting the religion of the Elizabethan Settlement and her position as the Defender of the Faith, since it is possible that the testators thought true faith to be Catholicism.

The data on the use of the title Defender of the Faith in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I may offer a valuable insight into the personal piety of the testators and local attitudes towards the regime. The title carries a theological as well as political meaning since it was primarily bestowed upon Henry VIII by the Pope and then retained by all Tudor monarchs. The testamentary evidence offers that, in Kent and Gloucestershire, the presence of the title from both Protestant and Catholic wills may indicate cross-religious utilisation of the title during the reign of Elizabeth I. Furthermore, the omission of the title from both Protestant and Catholic wills may be an act of resistance or only a scribal habit.

5.5. Acknowledgement of Monarchs

Acknowledgement of the Monarch in 16th-century wills is one of the unexplored elements for the possible and secret voice of the testators for confessional evidence, as discussed before. Reference to the monarchs or their omission from the wills may be an invocation of personal piety or local attitudes towards the reigning monarch and the policies. This part

focuses on the analysis of the acknowledgement of the monarch and its possible indication of personal piety in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. Further, it aims to analyse the possible pattern and frequency of the acknowledgement in Protestant, Catholic and Ambiguous wills to offer an insight into whether the acknowledgement suggests any spiritual expression.

The tables below represent the frequency of the use of the references in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I.

KENT during the Reign of Elizabeth I	Reference to the Monarch	# of references used
	Elizabeth I	559
	No Reference	295

Table 84– Reference to the Monarchs in Kent during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The data reveal that the majority of the testators referred to the monarch as Elizabeth I, and almost half of the laymen did not refer to the monarch by name and omitted her name from their wills. Even though the first impression and the interpretation of the omission of the monarch is a form of protest to the monarchy, it is paramount to support the argument since the direct omission of the monarch from the will may not imply anything.

Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Kent During the Reign of Elizabeth I

Acknowledgement of Monarchs	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Elizabeth I	425	103	31
No Reference	185	75	35

Table 85– Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Kent During the Reign of Elizabeth I

The above table demonstrates the distribution of the acknowledgement of monarchs in wills in Kent during the reign of Elizabeth I. Each form of acknowledgement in wills is matched with already identified religious categorisations. The table offers a particular framework for the relationship between the acknowledgement of the monarch and personal piety, whether mentioning Elizabeth I may indicate devotion to Catholicism, or the omission could be interpreted as an attitude towards the monarch and the policies. The data demonstrate that the majority of the testators acknowledged Elizabeth I in Protestant wills. In addition, Elizabeth I was referred to in 103 Catholic and 31 Ambiguous wills as well. This may indicate cross-religious use of the name of the monarchs regardless of personal piety. The drastic decrease occurs in Protestant and Ambiguous wills in the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch. This significant decrease in the number of Protestant wills may suggest that there may not be any correlation between the omission of the acknowledgement and personal piety, but may be a more local political attitude. On the other hand, in 610 Protestant wills, 185 of the testators did not acknowledge the monarch in their wills, which is equal to 30.32%, in 178 Catholic wills, 75 of the testators did not acknowledge the monarch in their wills, which is equal to 42%. The difference in the

proportion of the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch may signal dissatisfaction or a silent rejection of the authority of the Protestant monarch.

The data from Kent may indicate that the acknowledgement of the monarch in testamentary evidence may offer a valuable lens for local attitudes towards the monarch and personal piety in 16th-century England. The data demonstrate that the majority of the testators, especially in Protestant wills, acknowledged Elizabeth I. On the other hand, both in Protestant and Catholic wills, testators preferred to omit the acknowledgement. Therefore, reference to the monarch may not be related to religious allegiance but may be a political attitude.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE during the Reign of Elizabeth I	Reference to the Monarch	# of references used
	Elizabeth I	382
	Queen	4
	No Reference	270

Table 86– Reference to the Monarchs in Gloucestershire during the Reign of Elizabeth I

The above table represents the frequency of the use of the references in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. The data illustrate that Elizabeth I was referred to in the majority of the wills. A great number of testators omitted the acknowledgement of the monarch as well. One significant difference is the acknowledgement of Elizabeth I as the

Queen. Testators preferred to utilise only Queen instead of Elizabeth I when referring to the monarch.

Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Gloucestershire During the Reign of Elizabeth I			
Acknowledgement of Monarchs	Protestant	Catholic	Ambiguous
Elizabeth I	296	70	16
Queen	4	0	0
No Reference	170	82	18

Table 87– Acknowledgements of Monarchs and Personal Piety in Gloucestershire During the Reign of Elizabeth I

The above table demonstrates the distribution of the acknowledgement of monarchs in wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. Each form of acknowledgement in wills is matched with already identified religious categorisations. The data illustrate that Elizabeth I was acknowledged in the majority of the Protestant wills. Furthermore, she was acknowledged in Catholic wills as well. In addition, Elizabeth I was acknowledged as Queen without her name in Protestant wills. Testators who omitted the acknowledgement of the monarch are lower in number than those who acknowledged in Protestant wills. Furthermore, testators who omitted the acknowledgement of the monarch are higher in number than those who acknowledged in Protestant wills. This may indicate that monarchical acknowledgement cross-religiously utilised in wills. This may reflect local or scribal habits. On the other hand, testators who omitted the acknowledgement of the

monarch are higher in number than those who acknowledged in Catholic wills, which may suggest an attitude towards the monarchy and religious policies by Catholics. In contrast, even though small in number, the use of Queen only without referring to Elizabeth I may highlight and politicise the title regardless of who wears the crown and dehumanise the position and the status of the Queen as the political and religious leader in the realm. Therefore, the replacement of Elizabeth I with the Queen carries both theological and political connotations. The fact that the title was only utilised in Protestant wills may suggest Protestant devotion in piety.

The data from Gloucestershire may indicate that the acknowledgement of the monarch in testamentary evidence may offer a valuable lens for local attitudes towards the monarch and personal piety in 16th-century England. Although the majority of the testators acknowledged the monarch in Protestant wills, a number of them omitted the monarch in their wills as well. The fact that Elizabeth I was acknowledged in Catholic wills complicates the overall interpretation. The fact that omission of the acknowledgement is higher in number than those acknowledged in Catholic wills may indicate a quiet resistance against the policies of the monarch.

This chapter has tested whether the language utilised in testamentary sources during the reign of Elizabeth I in Gloucestershire and Kent may serve as a means of tracking the confessional expression and personal piety as well as shifting religious beliefs. The methodology outlined in chapter 1, and the external evidence discussed in chapter 3, are here applied to test whether the Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, the title Defender of the Faith, and the Acknowledgement of Monarchs follow patterns that more or less agree with the categories established in chapter 1. The analysis suggests that some of these elements may

align with the external evidence and the categorisation of wills and thus may serve to further explain and identify confessional expression and personal piety of testators. The following chapter will provide a comparative analysis of each element across reigns and regions to identify whether each element carries the same religious leaning or varies according to the reigning monarch or the region. The comparative analysis will attempt to determine whether each element may be utilised for the identification of personal piety regardless of time and region.



CHAPTER VI: ANALYSIS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF THE NEW VOICE OF THE TESTATORS

This chapter aims to evaluate the possibility of the language utilised by testators in wills as a source of the identification of personal piety through religious expressions in 16th-century England. The comparative analysis of certain elements in wills in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I may offer an insight into an unstudied interpretation of the voice of testators. Building upon the findings in Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter examines the presence or omission of certain elements of wills as an indicator of the evidence of personal piety. It is aimed to analyse whether the utilisation of elements such as Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, the title Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchy may be tools for the identification of personal piety and religious belief. After the initial testing of these elements in previous chapters and categorising them under Protestant, Catholic, and Ambiguous wills, drawing upon the external evidence, this chapter explores the consistency of these elements in certain religious categorisations that may demonstrate certain patterns to reveal the personal religion of testators. Through this comparative approach, this chapter contributes to the overall literature by evaluating the unstudied and unexamined elements and whether they may contribute to the methodology of understanding personal religion from the evidence of wills in 16th-century England.

6.1. Preambles in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

This section focuses on the analysis of the preambles used by testators in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. This section aims to explore the consistency of these aforementioned elements in certain religious categorisations formed under Chapter 1, which may demonstrate some patterns to reveal the personal religion and religious expression of testators. The preambles will be compared in two different regions and monarchs, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, one by one, to evaluate their validity for the possibility of the new voice of testators as an indication of personal piety. The table below demonstrates the use of In the Name of God Amen in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Use of In the Name of God Amen Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	38	36	3
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	14	19	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	585	165	44
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	483	139	23

Table 88– Use of In the Name of God Amen Across Regions and Monarchs

The use of the preamble, In the Name of God Amen, in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, indicate that the preamble was used by both Protestant and Catholic testators/wills, which may indicate the cross-religiosity of the preamble. The use of the preamble is dramatically increased in both Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, and these increases may indicate the adaptability of the preamble in certain religious contexts as well. Even though there is a certain dominance of the use of In the Name of God Amen in the Elizabethan Settlement, the presence of the preamble in Traditional wills may indicate theological neutrality. It is evident from the data that the preamble, In the Name of God Amen, served as a conventional formula and does not indicate any religious expression in wills.

The table below demonstrates the use of the preamble In Dei Nomine Amen in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of In Dei Nomine Amen Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	1	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	1	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	8	3	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	26	7	1

Table 89– Use of In Dei Nomine Amen Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the preamble *In Dei Nomine Amen* was utilised only in Traditional wills during the reign of Mary Tudor. In addition, the preamble was also utilised in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. This may indicate the cross-religious use and the function of the preamble. As already discussed before, even though use of Latin decreased in wills, especially after 1530, and the use of English increased, which may mean the Anglicisation of the tradition of will-writing, the data demonstrate the increased use of Latin in Protestant wills during the reign of Elizabeth I. It could be a scribal habit rather than a religious implication. Therefore, even though the preamble has a strong indication of Catholic piety for the reign of Mary Tudor, the changing habit and its utilisation in both Protestant and Catholic wills suggest that it is conventionally used by testators and does not indicate any religious expression in wills.

The table below demonstrates the use of the Trinitarian formula in preambles in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Trinitarian Formula Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	1	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	13	4	1
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	2	0	0

Table 90– Use of In Dei Nomine Amen Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the Trinitarian formula was once used in the Marian regime, and it was in a Protestant will, which perfectly aligns with the formed categorisation. In Gloucestershire, testators avoided the utilisation of the Trinitarian formula during the reign of Mary Tudor. It could be due to conservatism of the county. On the other hand, in Kent, during the reign of Elizabeth I, the Trinitarian formula was mainly used in Protestant wills. The fact that in Gloucestershire the formula was only utilised in Protestant wills may imply the use of the formula as an indicator of Protestant piety. In addition, the high number of Trinitarian formula used in Protestant wills in Kent demonstrates its affiliation with Protestant piety.

The table below demonstrates the use of the preambles This is the Last Will and Testament / This is the Last Will / The Testament in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of This is the Last Will and Testament Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	2	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	1	1	6
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	1	1	1

Table 91– Use of This is the Last Will and Testament Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that This is the Last Will and Testament / This is the Last Will / The Testament was cross-religiously utilised in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. Even though the preambles were utilised only in Traditional wills, in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor, the omission the preambles in Gloucestershire illustrates regional differences in the use of preambles as well as religious expression. The preambles were utilised in Protestant, Traditional and mainly in Ambiguous wills during the reign of Elizabeth I. The fact that the use of preambles increased in Protestant wills during the reign of Elizabeth I, as well as in Traditional wills, demonstrates ambiguity in the expression of personal piety. In addition, the presence of preambles in a high number of Ambiguous wills indicates that the aforementioned preambles do not imply any religious affiliation.

The table below demonstrates the omission of the preambles in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Omission of the Preambles Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	1	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	1	2	2
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	0	1	1

Table 92– Omission of the Preambles Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that there is no omission of the preamble in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. On the other hand, in Gloucestershire, in only one will, the preamble was omitted. The fact that this omission was during the reign of Mary Tudor and in a Traditional will, the omission does not indicate any religious expression. If it were in a Protestant will, it could have been possible to suggest that there were local attitudes towards the religious policies of Mary Tudor. The omission of the preambles is also visible during the reign of Elizabeth I. In Kent, the preambles were omitted in one Protestant and two Traditional wills. It was also omitted in two Ambiguous wills. Due to the low number of wills, the omission of the preambles in Traditional wills is not representative of religious expression. In Gloucestershire, the omission of the preambles from Traditional wills may indicate a silent rejection of Protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth I. Even though there are possible interpretations of the religious expressions for the omission of the preambles in wills, the number cannot be representative due to the low number. Therefore, for this specific study, the omission of the preambles does not have any religious affiliation. It must be underlined that the low number of evidence may result differently in different counties of 16th-century England. Further research in various counties across monarchs is paramount to illustrate the meaning of the omission of the preambles in wills for studying personal piety.

The table below demonstrates the use of the preambles In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen and In the Name of Jesus and God Amen in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of In the Name of Jesus Christ and God and Jesus Christ Amen Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	2	0	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	0	0	0

Table 93– Use of In the Name of Jesus Christ and God and Jesus Christ Amen Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate the Christocentric formula in preambles that were omitted during the reign of Mary Tudor. There is no evidence of the use of the preambles In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen and In the Name of Jesus and God Amen in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. On the other hand, the first appearance of the preambles was during the reign of Elizabeth I in Kent. In two Protestant wills, the preambles were utilised by testators. The fact that there is no evidence of the use of the aforementioned preambles in Traditional wills may highlight the Protestant affiliation of the preambles. Interestingly, the preambles were not utilised in Gloucestershire, and this may be due to the conservatism of the county as well. Even though small in number, the evidence illustrates that In the Name of Jesus Christ, Amen and In the Name of Jesus and God, Amen may indicate the use of the formulae as an indicator of Protestant piety.

The table below demonstrates the use of the preamble Memorandum in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of Memorandum Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	0	3	7
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	0	4	7

Table 94– Use of Memorandum Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the preamble Memorandum appeared during the reign of Elizabeth I, and there is no evidence of the use of the preamble during the reign of Mary Tudor. The absence of the preamble “Memorandum” from wills categorised as Protestant during the reign of Elizabeth I, both in Kent and Gloucestershire and the use of the same preamble in Traditional wills, even though small in number, may indicate that the preamble could be an indicator of Catholic piety.

The table below demonstrates the use of the preambles Be It Known Unto All Men, Imprimis, Testamentum Nuncupatium, This is the Will Nuncupative and The Will Nuncupative in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of Other Preambles Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous

Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	0	0	5
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	1	0	0

Table 95– Use of Other Preambles Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that preambles Be It Known Unto All Men, Imprimis, Testamentum Nuncupatium, This is the Will Nuncupative, and The Will Nuncupative were omitted from the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent and Gloucestershire. The omission of the preambles in Protestant and Traditional wills in Kent and the appearance only in Ambiguous wills indicates that these preambles do not imply any religious affiliation. The appearance of the preamble, The Will Nuncupative in one Protestant will in Gloucestershire, and the omission from Traditional and Ambiguous wills could imply a Protestant leaning, but the fact that the preamble does not have any religious affiliation in meaning, and there is only one example, suggests that it does not have any religious affiliation.

The above tables offer a valuable insight into the use of preambles for the indication of personal piety.

Religious Implications of Preambles	
Preamble	Religious Implication
In the Name of God Amen	No Religious Implication
In Dei Nomine Amen	No Religious Implication

Trinitarian Formula	Protestant
This is the Last Will and Testament / This is the Last Will / The Testament	No Religious Implication
Omission of Preambles	No Religious Implication
In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen / God and Jesus Christ Amen	Protestant
Memorandum	Catholic
Be It Known Unto All Men / Imprimis, Testamentum Nuncupatium / This is the Will Nuncupative / The Will Nuncupative	No Religious Implication

Table 96– Religious Implications of Preambles

The comparative analysis of the preambles illustrates that the majority of the preambles were cross-religiously utilised and rather conventional. Therefore, they do not have any religious implications. On the other hand, the Trinitarian formula, in the Name of Jesus Christ Amen / God and Jesus Christ Amen, and Memorandum offer an insight into personal piety. The continuation of certain patterns across counties and monarchs indicates that some preambles could be utilised as indicators for personal religion.

6.2. Verbs in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

This section focuses on the analysis of the verbs used by testators in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. This section aims to

explore the consistency of these aforementioned elements in certain religious categorisations formed under Chapter 1, which may demonstrate some patterns to reveal the personal religion and religious expression of testators. The verbs will be compared in two different regions and monarchs, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, one by one, to evaluate their validity for the possibility of the new voice of testators as an indication of personal piety. The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Bequeath in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Use of the Verb Bequeath Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	19	33	1
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	6	14	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	388	129	4
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	181	73	2

Table 97– Use of the Verb Bequeath Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the verb Bequeath was utilised during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I in Kent and Gloucestershire which may indicate cros-religious use of the verb. The verb was mainly used by Catholics during the reign of Mary Tudor. On the other hand, the verb was mainly used by Protestants during the reign of Elizabeth I. This confusing change in the use of the verb Bequeath illustrates ambiguity in personal piety.

In addition, since the verb Bequeath was the common verb that was utilised before the 1530s, it is a conventional lexical form rather than an indicator of personal piety.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Recommend in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb Recommend Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	12	8	1
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	8	5	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	170	34	2
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	20	8	0

Table 98– Use of the Verb Recommend Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the verb Recommend was also cross-religiously used by testators. The use of the verb in Protestant and Traditional wills is almost even during the reign of Mary Tudor. The relatively balanced distribution of the verb Recommend during the reign of Mary Tudor highlights the fact that the verb was broadly accepted by laymen. During the reign of Elizabeth I, the percentage of utilisation of the verb increases. This dramatic increase may suggest the reinterpretation of the verb with reformed theology. Therefore, the verb Recommend was initially utilised as one of the conventional verbs that were predominantly used by Protestants in the Elizabethan Settlement. The shift in the use of the verb in traditional wills may suggest confessional alteration over time in line with

the policies of the monarch. Even though it is not possible to indicate that the verb had confessional alignment during the reign of Mary Tudor, it is possible to indicate Protestant affiliation of the verb in the Elizabethan regime.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Give in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb Give Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	5	1	1
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	5	3	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	61	12	1
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	6	3	0

Table 99– Use of the Verb Give Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the verb Give was cross-religiously used by testators, but there is a certain Protestant dominance. The verb appeared in one Traditional will in Kent and three traditional wills in Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. This may suggest the neutral use of the verb and its broad acceptance by laymen. In the reign of Elizabeth I, the frequency of the use of the verb increases dramatically in Kent in Protestant wills. On the other hand, in more conservative Gloucestershire, the utilisation of the verb is similar to that of Kent and Gloucestershire in the Marian regime. This may highlight the direct relationship with God, which aligns with Protestant expression and theology, but the

overall data suggest that the verb Give does not convey an obvious religious connotation but rather demonstrates a lexical shift in Kent in the Elizabethan regime. Therefore, it is possible to indicate that the verb could be an indicator for local studies, such as Kent, but cannot be an indicator of Protestant affiliation for the overall data.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Commit in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb Commit Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	1	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	1	2	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	68	9	1
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	33	11	1

Table 100– Use of the Verb Commit Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate the frequency of the verb utilised in only one Protestant will in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor. On the other hand, in Gloucestershire, the verb was utilised in both Protestant and Traditional wills. The changing expression demonstrates regional differences and habits in will-writing. Due to the low number of examples, it is not possible to indicate any religious indication. During the reign of Elizabeth I, the use of the verb increased dramatically. The overwhelming evidence of the utilisation of the verb in Kent and Gloucestershire suggests a strong Protestant affiliation. Even though the data reveal

that for regional studies, such as Kent, the verb may be used as an indicator for personal piety, for the overall analysis, the verb does not indicate any religious identity.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Will in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb Will Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	1	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	25	8	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	1	0	0

Table 101– Use of the Verb Will Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrated that the verb Will was cross-religiously utilised. The small number of appearances of the verb in the Marian regime demonstrates the preference of the testators. In Kent, only one Traditional will, a testator used the verb. In Gloucestershire, there is no evidence of the use of the verb Will. On the other hand, during the reign of Elizabeth I, the verb was preferred by testators in Kent. The verb was also utilised in one Protestant will in Gloucestershire. The data indicate that the verb was commonly preferred by Kentish laymen in both Marian and Elizabethan regimes, which may suggest that it was rejected by the more conservative Gloucestershire. This may highlight the significance of

regional studies and local attitudes and patterns in wills. Therefore, the verb Will could be an indicator of Protestant affiliation.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Commend in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb Commend Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	16	4	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	20	8	0

Table 102– Use of the Verb Commend Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the verb Commend was completely absent in Kent and Gloucestershire, in the Catholic regime of Mary Tudor. The introduction of the verb in will-writing and the utilisation of the verb in the Elizabethan regime, both in Kent and Gloucestershire, indicate the lexical preference of testators. The overall pattern suggests that the verb Commend could be an indicator of Protestant affiliation, considering the fact that the verb reflects the direct relation with God by entrusting the soul directly to God.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb Yield in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb Yield Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	2	2	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	4	0	0

Table 103– Use of the Verb Yield Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that, even though small in number, the verb Yield is completely absent/omitted from the wills of Kent and Gloucestershire during the reign of Mary Tudor. This absence may suggest that the verb Yield was not in the religious vernacular and was not utilised by testators for religious expression during the Marian regime, at least for the case of Kent and Gloucestershire. The appearance of the verb during the reign of Elizabeth I may illustrate the changing linguistic culture in will-writing that may align with changing religious expression. In Kent, the verb was utilised evenly in both Protestant and Traditional wills during the reign of Elizabeth I, which may suggest its cross-religious function. However, in Gloucestershire, the occurrences of the verb are solely in Protestant wills. The meaning of the verb, surrendering the soul to God, aligns with the Protestant theology, and the verb's exclusive use in Protestant wills in Gloucestershire may suggest its strong association with reformed theology. Therefore, it is possible to underline that the verb could be an indicator of Protestant affiliation.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb *Betake* in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb <i>Betake</i> Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	1	1	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	0	0	0

*Table 104– Use of the Verb *Betake* Across Regions and Monarchs*

The data demonstrate that the use of the verb *Betake* is rare, and the verb only appeared during the reign of Elizabeth I in Kent. This case illustrates the religious vernacular of a specific region, which highlights the significance of regional differences. The appearance of the verb in both Protestant and Traditional wills suggests that the verb *Betake* does not carry a religious connotation for possible categorisation and interpretation. Due to the low level of samples, it is suggested that further regional studies must be conducted to reveal possible religious expression for the case of the verb *Betake*.

The table below demonstrates the use of the verb *Beseech* in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Verb <i>Beseech</i> Across Regions and Monarchs

Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	2	0	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	0	0	0

Table 105– Use of the Verb Beseech Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the rare use of the verb Beseech which only appears during the reign of Elizabeth I in Kent. This case also illustrates the religious vernacular of a specific region, which highlights the significance of regional differences. The appearance of the verb illustrates its specific use in Protestant wills in Kent. Even though small in number, it is possible to suggest that the verb could be an indicator of Protestant affiliation.

The above tables offer a valuable insight into the use of preambles for the indication of personal piety.

Religious Implications of Verbs	
Verbs	Religious Implication
Bequeath	No Religious Implication
Recommend	Possibly Protestant
Give	No Religious Implication
Commit	No Religious Implication
Will	Protestant
Commend	Protestant

Yield	Protestant
Betake	No Religious Implication
Beseech	Protestant

Table 106– Religious Implications of Verbs

The comparative analysis of the verbs Bequeath, Recommend, Give, Commit, Will, Commend, Yield, Betake and Beseech in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I offer a valuable insight into the expression of personal piety in testamentary language/evidence. The evidence suggests that verbs may carry a theological meaning. The fact that some nouns were only used in specific counties, including more diverse counties, could result in enriching the possible interpretation of the verbs and related spiritual expressions for the identification of personal piety.

6.3. Nouns in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

This section focuses on the analysis of the nouns used by testators in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. This section explores the consistency of these aforementioned nouns in certain religious categorisations formed under Chapter 1, which may demonstrate some patterns to reveal the personal religion and religious expression of testators. The nouns will be compared in two different regions and monarchs, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, one by one, to evaluate their validity for the possibility of the new voice of testators as an indication of personal piety. The table below

demonstrates the use of the noun Saviour in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Use of the Noun Saviour Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	18	2	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	8	2	8
Elizabeth I	Kent	291	0	1
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	176	1	1

Table 107– Use of the Noun Saviour Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that there is a consistent use of the noun Saviour. The appearance of the noun increases during the reign of Elizabeth I in Kent and Gloucestershire; this is, of course, due to the number of surviving wills as well. The noun has a distinctive theological connotation and highlights the role of Jesus Christ in the salvation of the soul, which is the doctrine of Protestant belief. The testamentary evidence also supports the external sources of the utilisation of the noun in Protestant wills. Therefore, the noun is an indicator of the Protestant affiliation.

The table below demonstrates the use of the noun Redeemer in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Noun Redeemer Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	16	4	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	10	7	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	408	0	5
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	351	2	1

Table 108– Use of the Noun Redeemer Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that there is a consistent use of the noun Redeemer. After the accession of Elizabeth I, the utilisation of the noun Redeemer increased dramatically in Kent and Gloucestershire. Drawing upon the external evidence, the noun is directly associated with Protestant theology, highlighting the role of Jesus Christ as the Redeemer. The overwhelming testamentary evidence also supports the external sources of the utilisation of the noun in Protestant wills. Therefore, the noun is an indicator of the Protestant affiliation.

The table below demonstrates the use of the noun Maker in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Noun Maker Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	16	3	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	8	5	0

Elizabeth I	Kent	217	6	3
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	232	10	0

Table 109– Use of the Noun Maker Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the noun Maker was utilised during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I in Kent and Gloucestershire. This may suggest that the noun was broadly accepted by laymen for religious expression. Even though it was widely adopted by laymen, the data illustrate its use mainly in Protestant wills. During the reign of Elizabeth I, utilisation of the noun Maker dramatically increased. Even though more neutral than Saviour and Redeemer due to its association with God, the noun Maker and its use provide a strong association with Protestant affiliation, according to the testamentary evidence. On the other hand, the data demonstrate that since the noun is utilised in Gloucestershire both in Traditional and Protestant wills, it could indicate the neutrality of the noun due to its cross-religious use. This may highlight regional differences in religious expression and the preference for the religious vernacular.

The table below demonstrates the use of the noun Creator in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Noun Creator Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	7	1	0

Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	3	2	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	121	12	1
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	84	4	0

Table 110– Use of the Noun Creator Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that the noun Creator was utilised across regions and monarchs. This may suggest that the noun was broadly accepted by laymen for religious or legal vernacular. Even though it was widely adopted by laymen, the data illustrate its use mainly in Protestant wills. The data illustrate that the noun Creator was mainly used in Protestant wills. Even though the frequency of the noun in Traditional wills during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent, in Gloucestershire, the noun was evenly distributed between Protestant and Traditional wills. This could be interpreted as a regional or even scribal habit of the county. The overwhelming evidence of the use of the noun and its association with God, his omnipotence and divine authority, aligns with the direct relationship with God that is central to Protestant theology. Therefore, the noun could be an indicator of the Protestant affiliation.

The table below demonstrates the use of the nouns Sanctifier and Mediator in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

Use of the Nouns Sanctifier and Mediator Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	0	0	0

Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	11	0	0

Table 111– Use of the Nouns Sanctifier and Mediator Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate the total omission of the nouns Sanctifier and Mediator from the reign of Mary Tudor. The data also illustrate the regional vernacular preferences of laymen due to the use of nouns only in Gloucestershire during the reign of Elizabeth I. This may be due to individual piety or clerical influence. The use of the nouns in only Protestant wills may suggest that the nouns Sanctifier and Mediator could be indicators for Protestant affiliation. In addition, the noun Mediator highlights Jesus Christ's intermediary role between God and humans, and the noun Sanctifier also highlights a direct relationship with God through the Holy Spirit, which emphasises Protestant theology.

The above tables offer a valuable insight into the use of nouns for the indication of personal piety.

Religious Implications of Verbs	
Nouns	Religious Implication
Saviour	Protestant
Redeemer	Protestant
Creator	Possibly Protestant
Maker	Possibly Protestant

Sanctifier	Protestant
Mediator	Protestant

Table 112– Religious Implications of Nouns

The comparative analysis of the nouns Saviour, Redeemer, Creator, Maker, Sanctifier and Mediator in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I offer a valuable insight into the expression of personal piety in testamentary language. The evidence suggests that nouns may carry a theological connotation. It must be highlighted that further regional research must be conducted to reveal the possible changes in the meaning and the use of the nouns. The fact that some nouns were only used in specific counties, including more diverse counties, could result in enriching the possible interpretation of the nouns and related spiritual expressions for the identification of personal piety. In addition, the emotions of testators, through the nouns and verbs they utilised, while they were on their deathbeds is a different field to be studied, and even though it is not detailly covered in this dissertation, I will conduct a separate research on the relationship between the emotions of testators and personal piety, which has not been studied before through testamentary evidence.

6.4. Defender of the Faith in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

This section focuses on the analysis of the title Defender of the Faith used by testators in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. This section

explores the consistency of the title, its presence or omission in certain religious categorisations that may demonstrate certain patterns to reveal the personal religion of testators. The omission and presence of the title will be compared across regions and monarchs one by one to evaluate their validity for the possibility of the new voice of testators as an indication of personal piety. The table below demonstrates the use of the title in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Presence of Defender of the Faith Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	20	10	1
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	5	4	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	343	80	18
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	225	49	10

Table 113– Presence of Defender of the Faith Across Regions and Monarchs

The presence and the omission of the title Defender of the Faith need to be evaluated separately since the title represents different meanings for each regime. For the reign of Mary Tudor, the title represents the monarch as the defender of the old religion, Catholicism. The data illustrate that in Kent, the number of Protestant wills where the title was utilised is higher than the ones in Traditional wills. It demonstrates that the title was cross-religiously used in Kent, but it is evident that it was mainly utilised in Protestant

wills. In Gloucestershire, the title was almost evenly distributed in both Kent and Gloucestershire. The high number of appearances of the title in Protestant wills during the reign of Mary Tudor could be due to the enduring influence of Edward VI. Therefore, it is not possible to indicate that the title Defender of the Faith implies Protestant affiliation.

For the reign of Elizabeth I, the data illustrate that the use of the title Defender of the Faith dramatically increased in Kent and Gloucestershire. In Kent, the number of Protestant wills where the title was utilised is higher than the number of titles used in Traditional wills. In addition, the number of Protestant wills where the title was utilised is higher than the number of titles used in Traditional wills in Gloucestershire. For the reign of Elizabeth I, the meaning of the title, as Elizabeth I was the defender of Protestant belief, perfectly aligns with the data. Therefore, the title could be an indicator of Protestant affiliation only for the reign of Elizabeth I.

The table below demonstrates the omission of the title in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Omission of Defender of the Faith Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	19	29	2
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	10	16	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	306	137	51
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	243	103	24

Table 114– Omission of Defender of the Faith Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that during the reign of Mary Tudor in Kent, the total number of wills where the title Defender of the Faith was omitted is higher than the number of Protestant wills. Considering the Catholic regime of Mary Tudor, the expected scenario was lower omission of the title in Catholic wills and higher omission in Protestant wills. Therefore, as in the presence of the title, for Kent, it is not possible to indicate that the omission of the title could reflect local attitudes towards Marian religious policies. In Gloucestershire, the number of Protestant wills where the title was omitted is again lower than the number of Catholic wills. The percentage of those who omitted the title in Protestant and Catholic wills is quite close; therefore, an indication of religious expression is not quite possible.

For the reign of Elizabeth I, the overall number of omissions of the title in Protestant wills is quite high. Even though the number of omissions of the title Defender of the Faith is relatively high in number, the overwhelming number of Protestant wills where the title was omitted illustrates that in Kent, the omission of the title could not be an indicator of religious expression but may be a silent protest towards the policies of the Elizabethan regime, not only by Catholics but also Protestants as well. The same situation occurs in Gloucestershire as well. The number of Protestant wills where the title was omitted is higher than that of Catholic wills. Even though the omission could be interpreted as an attitude towards the monarchy, the overwhelmingly high number of omissions in Protestant wills suggest that the title Defender of the Faith does not imply any religious expression and could not be an indicator of personal piety, but it could be a way of revealing local attitudes towards the monarchy regardless of any religious affiliation.

The above tables offer a valuable insight into the use of nouns for the indication of personal piety.

Religious Implications of the Presence and Omission of Defender of the Faith	
Defender of the Faith	Religious Implication
Presence in Marian Regime	No Religious Implication
Presence in Elizabethan Regime	Protestant
Omission in Marian Regime	No Religious Implication
Omission in Elizabethan Regime	No Religious Implication

Table 115– Religious Implications of the Presence and Omission of Defender of the Faith

The comparative analysis of the presence and the omission of the title Defender of the Faith in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I offer a valuable insight into the expression of personal piety in testamentary language. The evidence suggests that the title may carry a theological meaning, but the overall data suggest that the omission and presence of the title do not imply any religious affiliation but rather local attitudes towards the monarch, regardless of personal piety.

6.5. Acknowledgement of Monarchs in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I

This section focuses on the analysis of the Acknowledgement of Monarchs used by testators in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. This

section explores the consistency of the Acknowledgement of Monarch, its presence or omission in certain religious categorisations that may demonstrate certain patterns to reveal the personal religion of testators. The omission and presence of the acknowledgement will be compared across regions and monarchs one by one to evaluate their validity for the possibility of the new voice of testators as an indication of personal piety. The table below demonstrates the presence and omission of the acknowledgement of monarchs in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Presence of Acknowledgement of Monarch Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	25	15	0
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	8	8	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	425	103	31
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	300	70	16

Table 116– Presence of Acknowledgement of Monarch Across Regions and Monarchs

The presence and the omission of the acknowledgement of monarchs need to be evaluated separately, since different reigns indicate different expressions. For the reign of Mary Tudor, the monarch was acknowledged in both Protestant and Traditional wills in Kent. Cross-religious presence of the acknowledgement of the monarch indicates that Mary Tudor was referred to broadly in wills. The data suggest that Mary Tudor was

acknowledged more in Protestant wills than in Traditional wills. The expected scenario was the low number of acknowledgements in Protestant wills and a higher number in Traditional wills to reflect local attitudes of laymen. The opposite scenario in the data suggest that the acknowledgement of the monarch in Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor could not be an indicator of personal piety. In Gloucestershire, the presence of the acknowledgement of the monarch was evenly distributed in wills. Therefore, the only interpretation could be that the monarch was acknowledged by laymen regardless of their personal religion.

For the reign of Elizabeth I, the presence of the acknowledgement of the monarch is higher in Protestant wills than in Traditional wills. It needs to be highlighted that the high number of acknowledgements in Traditional wills may be regardless of personal expression but a scribal habit. The data illustrate that 76% of testators acknowledged the monarch in Protestant wills, but on the other hand, only 18.4% of testators acknowledged the monarch in Traditional wills in Kent. In Gloucestershire, 77.7% of testators acknowledged the monarch in Protestant wills, but on the other hand, only 18.1% of testators acknowledged the monarch in Traditional wills. The high number of the presence of the acknowledgement in Protestant wills during the reign of Elizabeth I suggest that the presence of the acknowledgement of the monarch could be an indicator of Protestant affiliation for the reign of Elizabeth I.

The table below demonstrates the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, categorised under Protestant, Traditional and Ambiguous wills.

Omission of Acknowledgement of Monarch Across Regions and Monarchs				
Monarch	County	Protestant	Traditional	Ambiguous
Mary Tudor	Kent	13	23	2
Mary Tudor	Gloucestershire	7	12	0
Elizabeth I	Kent	185	75	35
Elizabeth I	Gloucestershire	170	82	18

Table 117– Omission of Acknowledgement of Monarch Across Regions and Monarchs

The data demonstrate that during the reign of Mary Tudor, the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch was both in Kent and Gloucestershire. The number of Traditional wills where testators omitted the acknowledgement is higher than the Protestant wills in Kent. In Gloucestershire, even though relatively close in number, the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch is higher in Traditional wills. This may indicate that the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch may be a scribal habit rather than a confessional expression. The expected scenario for the possible religious expression for the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch would be a high number in Protestant wills and a lower number in Traditional wills.

For the reign of Elizabeth I, the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch is higher in Protestant wills. The data illustrate that with 185 wills, the omission of the monarch is higher in Protestant wills than in Catholic wills in Kent. In Gloucestershire, the same situation appears, with 170 wills, the omission of the monarch is higher in Protestant wills than in Catholic wills. The expected scenario for the possible religious expression for

the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch would be a high number in Traditional wills and a lower number in Protestant wills. Therefore, it's not possible to indicate that the omission of the monarch could be an indicator of religious expression.

The above tables offer a valuable insight into the use of nouns for the indication of personal piety.

Religious Implications of the Presence and Omission of Acknowledgement of Monarchs	
Acknowledgement of Monarchs	Religious Implication
Presence in Marian Regime	No Religious Implication
Presence in Elizabethan Regime	Protestant
Omission in Marian Regime	No Religious Implication
Omission in Elizabethan Regime	No Religious Implication

Table 118– Religious Implications of the Presence and Omission of Acknowledgement of Monarchs

The comparative analysis of the presence or the omission of the acknowledgement of the monarch in Gloucestershire and Kent during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I offers a valuable insight into the expression of personal piety in testamentary language. The evidence suggests that the acknowledgement may have carried theological connotation for some testators, but the overall data indicate that the omission or presence of the acknowledgement does not imply any religious affiliation but rather local attitudes towards the monarch, regardless of personal piety.

CHAPTER VII: HOC EST ULTIMUM TESTAMENTUM VOLUNTAS

This dissertation has investigated the religious expressions and personal piety of testators in Kent and Gloucestershire during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I through 1624 wills. The sample was collected from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11 series. This study offered a micro-historical approach to religious expressions and the political views of laymen during a period of turbulence. There were several objectives of this dissertation. The first one was to build upon the research of previous historians and historiography of Reformation, which solely focused on the committal of 16th-century wills where testators entrusted their souls to an entity that could offer possible religious affiliation. This study expanded the possible interpretation of religious expressions by including Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, the title Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church of England, and references to the reigning monarchs. The investigation of these elements according to certain categories, such as Protestant, Traditional (Catholic), Ambiguous and Crypto-Protestant or Catholic, could not only reflect personal piety of the testators but also local attitudes of laymen towards the policies of the monarchs.

The analysis of external evidence for the categorisation of wills, such as Entities, the Supreme Head of the Church of England and the Nouns Saviour and Redeemer in wills, offered a certain pattern for personal piety during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I in Kent and Gloucestershire. The pattern of Kent during the reign of Mary Tudor suggested that after the reign of Edward VI, the percentage of traditional wills during the first years

of Mary Tudor began to drop dramatically that in 1555, the percentage of Traditional wills was zero. After certain religious policies and once she was reconciled with Rome, the number of Traditional wills increased, and more than half of the laymen utilised the Traditional formula in their wills, which possibly indicates Catholic affiliation. The data demonstrate that Mary Tudor successfully united England with Rome. The county of Gloucestershire followed the same pattern. In 1554, the percentage of Traditional wills was zero. The percentage dramatically increased to 66.6% in 1555 and 1556 and in 1558, it reached 71.4%. The similar patterns for Kent and Gloucestershire demonstrate that Mary Tudor's policies, as well as her reconciliation with Rome, were successful, and at the end of her reign, laymen seem to have remained Catholic. During the reign of Elizabeth I, the data reveal a gradual decline in Traditional wills in Kent. Although the data fluctuated between 1558 and 1562, the percentage of Traditional wills was 30.7%, which decreased to 20.1% between 1598 and 1602. It must be highlighted that the sudden decrease from 65.2%, at the end of the reign of Mary Tudor, to 30.7%, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I, illustrates the influence of Elizabethan policies that affected the personal expression of testators. The data suggests that Elizabeth I successfully established her Protestant regime by breaking with Rome once more. Laymen of Kent seemed to have possibly remained Catholic at the end of her reign. The pattern of Gloucestershire suggested that, unlike in Kent, the transition was more gradual. At the end of the reign of Mary Tudor, the percentage of Traditional wills was 50%, which dropped to 37% at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I. Even though it fluctuated, the pattern suggests that with 17%, between 1598 and 1602, Gloucestershire remained Protestant. The overall data suggest that both Mary Tudor and Elizabeth were successful in their religious policies that

the data showed that there might be a transformation of the piety of laymen from the evidence of wills.

The central topic of this dissertation has been the analysis of Entities, the title Supreme Head of the Church, Nouns, Verbs, Preambles, Acknowledgements of Monarchs and the title Defender of the Faith. These previously unstudied elements, such as the Supreme Head and the Nouns Saviour and Redeemer, drawing upon external evidence, indicate that these elements have been associated with Protestant theology. Therefore, these new elements have contributed to the overall historiography and methodology for tracking the personal piety of testators during the period of turbulence. In order to reveal the secret voice of testators, unstudied elements have been tested and analysed by matching with certain categorisations. It has been aimed to determine whether elements such as Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, the title Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchy may be analysed as tools for the identification of personal piety and religious belief. The categorisation of these elements as Protestant, Catholic, and Ambiguous wills, drawing upon the external evidence, has explored the consistency of the utilisation of these elements in certain religious categorisations may illuminate certain patterns to identify the personal religion of testators. The comparative approach has suggested that these elements may contribute to a methodology of understanding personal religion from the evidence of wills in 16th-century England. Even though there has been a variety of uses of these elements, due to regional differences, the overall pattern may imply an indication of personal piety or local attitudes towards the monarch. This study suggested that certain formulas in the Preamble may indicate religious affiliation. The Trinitarian formula, In the Name of Jesus Christ Amen and In the Name of God and Jesus Christ Amen, are strongly

associated with Protestant theology and repetitive in Protestant wills. Therefore, it is possible that these elements could be indicators of Protestant affiliation in the wills. On the other hand, Memorandum were highly repetitive in Traditional wills associated with Catholic affiliation. The comparative analysis of the Verbs during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I suggested that certain verbs only appeared in specific regions and during the reign of a monarch. The pattern has illustrated that the verbs Recommend, Will, Commend, Yield, Betake and Beseech were strongly associated with Protestant affiliation since they mainly appeared in wills categorized as Protestant. Therefore, the verbs not only conveyed spiritual expression but also the emotions of the testators as well. The comparative analysis of the nouns suggested that Saviour and Redeemer were strongly associated with Protestant theology, and due to their repetitive use in Protestant wills, with the evidence of external sources, they had a strong Protestant affiliation. Even though more neutral due to their association with God, the nouns Creator and Maker were utilised mostly in Protestant wills. Due to the nature of these nouns and the utilisation of the nouns in Traditional wills, it was not evident but possible that these nouns may have Protestant affiliation. On the other hand, with their appearance in Elizabethan wills, the nouns Sanctifier and Mediator carried a strong Protestant affiliation, considering their use in solely Protestant wills. It was paramount to underline the intermediary role of Jesus Christ and the role of the Holy Ghost, who proceeds from God as sanctifier. The comparative analysis of the title Defender of the Faith suggested that the presence and omission of the title did not have any religious associations. The only evidence was from the reign of Elizabeth I, when most of the testators used the title. The high number of appearances of this title in Protestant wills could suggest a Protestant affiliation. Furthermore, the analysis

of the presence and omission of acknowledgement of the monarch suggested that, as in the analysis of the title Defender of the Faith, acknowledgement of the monarch did not imply any religious affiliation, but only during the reign of Elizabeth I. The omission of acknowledgement did not imply any religious expression, but rather it may be due to scribal habit.

In addition, this study has contributed to the overall scholarly literature regarding the methodological debate on the validity and reliability of wills for studying personal piety. The addition of new elements and their cross-check with different variables during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I in Kent and Gloucestershire established a more comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach in the interpretation of wills. The historical debate on the reliability of wills for studying ecclesiastical history was attempted to be enhanced in this dissertation. Due to will's legal use and the external influences, it was possible that wills may not 100% represent the expression of testators. This study demonstrates that with an interdisciplinary approach and linguistic and semantic analyses of various elements, the combination of different formulas and their collective use underline the potential value of wills as evidence for the personal piety of testators.

This dissertation has contributed to the analysis of unstudied elements such as the title Supreme Head of the Church of England, Preambles, Verbs, Nouns, the title Defender of the Faith and Acknowledgement of Monarchs, which may reveal the secret voice of testators for possible religious expressions. By focusing on different monarchs and different regions, this dissertation has shed light on possible local habits and cultures in will writing and the interpretation of the above-mentioned elements. It has demonstrated that some of the elements studied for the first time in this dissertation and the new historical

methodology can throw shed light in future research on religious expression and personal piety.



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APPENDICES

The appendices given below list the wills used for this dissertation. The list consists of the name and surname of the testators, the probate date of each will, the parish or residence of the testators, the date of original will itself, and The National Archives PROB 11 number for each will. The entries have been arranged according to the date of the wills, starting from 1553. The reason of providing name and surname and probate date and residence is to facilitate searching the testators via TNA online database of wills before 1858.³¹⁶

LIST OF 1624 WILLS FROM THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY (1553 – 1603)

APPENDIX I (Gloucestershire)

Name and Surname	Probate Date	Residence	Date of the Will	Reference
Robert Chambers	1557.05.29	Markefeilde	1553.02.13	PROB 11/39/202
John Palmer	1553.08.08	Lemyngton	1553.07.10	PROB 11/36/219
John Hawton	1555.10.21	Shenington	1554.11.16	PROB 11/37/458
John Pynnock	1557.04.26	Langbarouer	1555.01.30	PROB 11/39/132
Nicholas Poyntz	1557.07.03	Ironacton	1555.02.26	PROB 11/39/269
Nicholas Wyks	1563.01.29	Gloucestershire	1555.03.10	PROB 11/46/62
William Dewye	1557.11.30	Tewkesbury	1556.02.01	PROB 11/39/590
Henry Tracy	1557.09.14	Toddington	1556.02.05	PROB 11/39/380
Henrye Hunttley	1557.10.19	Boxwell Gloucester	1556.02.12	PROB 11/39/434

³¹⁶ <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/wills-1384-1858/>

John Packer	1557.11.04	Barkeleye	1556.03.12	PROB 11/39/491
John Packar	1559.11.04	Barkelon	1556.03.12	PROB 11/42B/604
Richard Colymor	1557.05.14	Chippinfodburie Gloucester	1556.04.26	PROB 11/39/174
William Trinder	1578.05.13	St Mary Ampney	1556.06.25	PROB 11/60/273
John Parslowe	1557.12.03	Horsley	1556.08.20	PROB 11/39/605
Nicholas Wykes	1558.05.27		1556.11.10	PROB 11/40/292
Richard Evette	1557.12.12	Mickelton	1557.05.05	PROB 11/39/618
Richard Fowlar	1557.10.14	Citetour	1557.05.13	PROB 11/39/426
Richard Stychall	1556.11.10	Fayrforde	1557.05.15	PROB 11/38/211
William Coleye	1557.07.01	Aldesworthe	1557.05.20	PROB 11/39/259
John Sanforde	1560.07.23	Stonehouse	1557.05.29	PROB 11/43/431
John Cooke	1558.10.05	Westbury	1557.06.20	PROB 11/41/92
Thomas Gwent	1557.07.21	Buckland	1557.07.12	PROB 11/39/299
Richard Goodrythe	1557.08.04	Chorlton	1557.07.27	PROB 11/39/312
John Johnson	1570.05.25	Tewkesbury	1557.08.02	PROB 11/52/218
John Blauncher	1558.11.06	Maxfelde	1557.08.04	PROB 11/41/256
Giles Geest	1558.08.13	Tewkesbury	1557.08.20	PROB 11/40/399
Thomas Woodward	1559.04.19	Culne Alewyn	1557.10.02	PROB 11/42B/72
Thomas Gyllam	1557.01.13	Thornebery	1557.12.15	PROB 11/40/13
Henry Stratfordes	1558.06.29	Fermecotte Gloucestershire	1558.05.08	PROB 11/40/337
William Bonner	1558.11.12	Campden Gloucestershire	1558.08.09	PROB 11/41/293
Thomas Parker	1558.09.08	Cheltenham	1558.08.16	PROB 11/41/21
Thomas Parker	1558.10.15	Notgrove	1558.08.16	PROB 11/41/142
Edmund Laurence	1559.06.10	Withington Gloucestershire	1558.08.20	PROB 11/42B/277

Thomas Hunckes	1558.11.14	Rodbroke	1558.09.06	PROB 11/41/304
Thomas Woodward	1559.04.19	Culne Alewyn	1558.10.02	PROB 11/42B/72
David Brooke	1560.01.29		1558.11.20	PROB 11/43/91
William Restell	1560.11.03	Forthampton Gloucester	1559.01.05	PROB 11/43/571
Thomas Myles	1559.03.01	Estington	1559.02.25	PROB 11/43/176
John Hewes	1559.06.09	Wotton under Edge	1559.04.10	PROB 11/42B/273
Hughe Westwoode	1560.04.05	Chedworth	1559.05.01	PROB 11/43/241
Thomas Pressie	1560.04.05	Tetbury	1559.06.16	PROB 11/43/242
Agnes Bullocke	1561.04.26	Elmer	1559.06.20	PROB 11/44/148
Thomas Payne	1560.11.08	Aldermen	1559.08.07	PROB 11/43/583
William Faunt	1559.11.10	Foston	1559.08.16	PROB 11/42B/627
Thomas Smallwood	1560.07.26	Dursley	1559.08.28	PROB 11/43/437
John Beale	1560.04.29	Trimley Gloucestershire	1559.11.07	PROB 11/43/262
Thomas Kebell	1560.03.15	Estlecheturney	1559.11.14	PROB 11/43/211
John Straunge	1560.05.15	Chesterton	1559.12.22	PROB 11/43/321
Joyce Cary	1561.10.30	Ofmonds	1560.01.26	PROB 11/44/36
Richarde Webbe	1561.05.21	Mynchen Hampton	1560.02.27	PROB 11/44/211
Richard Tylladham	1576.07.24	Thornebury	1560.03.02	PROB 11/58/294
Richarde Fowler	1560.07.19	Stonehouse	1560.06.26	PROB 11/43/429
Thomas Price	1566.02.09	Nymsfeld	1560.08.07	PROB 11/48/375
Robert Palmer	1564.06.23	Burton	1561.01.05	PROB 11/47/235
William Heringe	1562.05.27	Thornebury	1561.01.24	PROB 11/45/131
John Rogers	1566.11.14	Tevokyburn Gloucestershire	1561.04.14	PROB 11/48/617

John Rogers	1561.05.20	Tisseter	1561.04.19	PROB 11/44/208
Anthony Webb	1564.06.01	Yron Acton	1561.06.28	PROB 11/47/211
John Newton	1568.11.17	Barres Courte Gloucestershire	1561.08.23	PROB 11/50/365
John Kyete	1569.05.21	Eaton	1561.10.21	PROB 11/51/197
Margaret Hycke	1562.02.04	Tewkesbury	1562.07.07	PROB 11/46/78
Humfry Warckmen	1562.12.17	Lesborow	1562.11.28	PROB 11/45/339
John Holton	1569.10.07	Marston Lynn	1563.02.24	PROB 11/51/352
Thomas Selwyn	1563.04.28	Leathleade	1563.04.09	PROB 11/46/180
John Moulton	1563.03.07	Toddenham	1563.12.08	PROB 11/47/97
John Robins	1566.05.09	Matteson	1563.12.21	PROB 11/48/446
Patrick Biddell	1565.10.12	Alderley	1564.02.04	PROB 11/48/261
Anthony Ayleworthe	1565.07.10	Stauntone	1564.02.25	PROB 11/48/213
Henry Hokekyns	1570.02.04	Hayes	1565.03.08	PROB 11/52/53
Thomas Hawkins	1567.10.09	Conllne Allwins	1565.05.07	PROB 11/49/280
Daniel Perte	1567.05.10	Tewkesbye	1565.05.15	PROB 11/49/157
Henry Fowler	1565.10.20	Stone Howse	1565.07.01	PROB 11/48/276
Edward Browne	1566.10.29	Hankisburie	1565.08.30	PROB 11/48/599
Hugh Hyde	1566.05.13	Gloucester	1565.09.24	PROB 11/48/451
Margarett Stratforde	1566.02.12	Farmecote	1565.11.16	PROB 11/48/378
Richard Wethers	1566.06.18	Littleton	1565.12.08	PROB 11/48/496
William Romney	1566.05.11	Tedburie	1565.12.20	PROB 11/48/448
Richarde Banner	1570.09.22	Tedbury	1566.03.07	PROB 11/52/363
Henry Machin	1567.05.09	Blessed	1566.03.09	PROB 11/49/148

John Allen	1571.04.03	Anste	1566.09.16	PROB 11/53/160
Thomas Argill	1566.01.23	Littell Deane	1566.11.15	PROB 11/49/20
William Keble	1573.11.19	Southrop	1567.01.14	PROB 11/55/462
Thomas Wenyet	1571.04.09	Byworke	1567.02.10	PROB 11/53/174
Thomas Throckmerton	1568.04.29	Tortworthe	1567.02.19	PROB 11/50/110
William Cocke	1568.05.19	Forthampton	1567.03.06	PROB 11/50/146
John Elliotte	1568.02.01	Minsheford	1567.03.20	PROB 11/51/38
Thomas Somerille	1569.05.11	Marshefilde	1567.03.28	PROB 11/51/171
Richard Heydon	1572.06.27	Cirreter	1567.03.29	PROB 11/54/300
Myles Wilson	1568.05.21	Redlande	1567.04.00	PROB 11/50/155
Thomas Jurye	1569.05.12	Marsfylde	1567.04.07	PROB 11/51/177
Miles Wylson	1567.11.12	Redhande	1567.04.19	PROB 11/49/339
Edmund Parker	1567.10.27	Northlacke	1567.05.20	PROB 11/49/310
Thomas Watson	1571.02.15	Sturton	1567.06.20	PROB 11/53/92
John Blakamore	1567.10.11	Shepton Moyne	1567.08.11	PROB 11/49/283
Thomas Davyes	1568.07.16	Harstombe	1567.97.08	PROB 11/50/231
William Mabbat	1575.07.06	Badmenston	1568.00.00	PROB 11/57/347
Richard Weller	1569.01.28	Catherington	1568.01.02	PROB 11/51/27
Richard Weller	1578.04.12	Cothingington	1568.01.07	PROB 11/60/182
Richard Yarington	1568.03.27	Bisshoppes Cleve	1568.01.11	PROB 11/51/113
Walter Stephens	1570.04.11	Frocestr	1568.01.12	PROB 11/52/127
Nicholas Walshe	1568.05.17	Sudbury	1568.02.10	PROB 11/50/141
William Reed	1570.04.24	Bodingetoun	1568.02.12	PROB 11/52/155

Thomas Mychell	1569.03.29	Lorche Turvye	1568.03.01	PROB 11/51/115
Richard Tomlyns	1568.05.17	Toddenham	1568.05.10	PROB 11/50/140
Thomas Hurdeman	1569.06.17	Bradwell	1568.05.28	PROB 11/51/238
John Pratte	1570.11.13	Chepinge Campdenne	1569.01.02	PROB 11/52/466
John Gonninge	1572.09.18	Coldashton	1569.02.17	PROB 11/54/374
Thomas Cox	1570.04.24	Torlevon	1569.03.02	PROB 11/52/157
Edmond Catterall	1573.05.08	Little Bissington	1569.05.21	PROB 11/55/217
Thomas Symmes	1570.04.27	Moreton Valence	1569.06.10	PROB 11/52/169
Edwarde Barnarde	1570.04.26	Flaxley	1570.03.25	PROB 11/52/163
Isabell Wigget	1570.07.31	Shemington	1570.06.11	PROB 11/52/313
John Reade	1571.01.30	Bodington	1570.07.20	PROB 11/101/212
Richard Dyck	1570.10.06	Brownsbarrows	1570.07.24	PROB 11/52/384
John Ryley	1570.11.06	Brochcampden	1570.07.28	PROB 11/52/438
Thomas Dun	1570.11.15	Newente	1570.08.16	PROB 11/52/473
William Roberts	1571.05.08	Bengrove	1570.08.20	PROB 11/53/233
Galfri Gower	1570.11.03	Newton Undersgate	1570.08.26	PROB 11/52/433
Thomas Gowre	1572.06.12	Wotton	1570.09.04	PROB 11/54/256
Hugh Tyrrett	1571.03.29	Forhampton	1570.12.30	PROB 11/53/153
John Baker	1571.04.27	Northwiche	1570.12.31	PROB 11/53/203
Thomas Essex	1572.03.05	Avenyge	1571.01.26	PROB 11/54/104
Thomas Coxe	1571.05.12	Ublodes Courte	1571.02.04	PROB 11/53/254
Mathusaley Harbert	1571.06.26	Churberne	1571.05.10	PROB 11/53/341
Thomas Brian	1571.09.20	Tewkesbury	1571.06.07	PROB 11/53/442

William Moreman	1572.08.04	Durham	1571.08.12	PROB 11/54/347
Thomas Kynnne	1573.12.03	Minchinhampton	1571.10.30	PROB 11/55/492
William Partridge	1579.01.29	Cireter	1571.11.21	PROB 11/61/55
Walter Paine	1572.05.19	Minchenhampton	1571.12.06	PROB 11/54/222
John Veele	1574.03.05	Longeforde	1572.03.10	PROB 11/56/125
Richard Braine	1572.06.19	Lyttle Deane	1572.03.30	PROB 11/54/272
Robert Basset	1572.08.01	Uley	1572.04.14	PROB 11/54/342
William Prowte	1572.10.31	Cromehall	1572.07.14	PROB 11/54/449
Robart Ryne	1572.10.19	Saint Breanells in the Forest of Deanes	1572.08.14	PROB 11/54/419
Robert Boullock	1573.10.26	Gloucester	1572.10.30	PROB 11/55/420
Robert Hyett	1575.02.26	Mynsterworth	1572.11.03	PROB 11/57/126
Mary Gore	1572.11.25	Sudbury	1572.11.07	PROB 11/54/502
Richard Stephens	1577.01.28	Essington	1572.12.29	PROB 11/59/587
William Warren	1573.07.30	Saint Breabells	1573.02.23	PROB 11/55/321
Thomas Showell	1573.03.19	Hampton	1573.03.12	PROB 11/55/134
Thomas Horne	1575.02.12	Aston Underedge	1573.04.24	PROB 11/57/89
Walter Trigg	1573.11.06	Loade Nere Tewkisburys	1573.05.21	PROB 11/55/438
William Palmer	1573.12.19	Leamington	1573.07.22	PROB 11/55/507
John Downbell	1573.05.29	Towkesbury Glouc	1573.08.28	PROB 11/55/244
George Preste	1574.11.06	Newlandœ	1573.11.13	PROB 11/56/499
Thomas Edwards	1574.03.15	Shermington	1574.02.10	PROB 11/56/131
William Hill	1575.05.02	Henbury	1574.03.15	PROB 11/57/205
Richard Atkins	1575.06.16	Allostons	1574.04.14	PROB 11/57/308

Fraunce Chesselden	1574.04.28	Kempsforde	1574.04.16	PROB 11/56/181
Thomas Newe	1575.02.07	Kenmerton	1574.04.18	PROB 11/57/79
Anthony Freman	1575.02.07	Oxendon	1574.04.25	PROB 11/57/77
Thomas Rastell	1577.01.28	Circestor	1574.04.25	PROB 11/59/315
Alexander Standishe	1574.09.27	Faierford	1574.07.30	PROB 11/56/431
Thomas Reed	1576.10.15	Brockhinton	1574.08.25	PROB 11/58/381
Maurice Yovans	1575.05.14	Stroud	1574.12.06	PROB 11/57/234
John Skynner	1575.06.07	Dymock	1574.12.24	PROB 11/57/276
Ellen Tyssen	1576.06.22	Olvestone	1575.03.11	PROB 11/58/216
Edwarde Hill	1578.03.26	Henbury	1575.03.22	PROB 11/60/172
Richarde Lawrence	1576.11.08	Wythington	1575.09.15	PROB 11/58/425
Thomas Freman	1575.01.23	Stowe St Edwarde	1575.11.10	PROB 11/57/638
Richard Carique	1576.02.04	Tewiksburie	1575.11.12	PROB 11/57/668
George Duninge	1576.03.17	Northinbley	1575.12.06	PROB 11/58/53
John Vername	1576.04.14	Mortonne Vallarnee	1575.12.24	PROB 11/58/88
John Cartwright	1576.03.31	Abbott Wasshbourne	1576.00.00	PROB 11/58/68
William Boteler	1586.11.29	Greate Badmanton	1576.00.00	PROB 11/69/709
Thomas George	1577.01.28	Wellforde	1576.01.03	PROB 11/59/209
William Bridgeman	1582.12.31	Micheldeane	1576.01.20	PROB 11/64/574
William Horte	1577.01.28	Henbury	1576.02.10	PROB 11/59/308
Thomas Freman	1577.01.28	Malgersbury	1576.03.07	PROB 11/59/575
Roger Farre	1577.01.28	Cycester	1576.04.12	PROB 11/59/403
George A Knipe	1577.01.28	Hatherowpe	1576.06.08	PROB 11/59/373

Henry Bridgeman	1577.01.28	Mycheldeane	1576.11.25	PROB 11/59/51
John Frice	1576.01.28	Puckechurch	1576.11.28	PROB 11/59/89
Edmund Bendbowe	1577.01.28	Buckland	1576.12.28	PROB 11/59/570
Henry Barrowe	1577.01.28	Stonne	1577.01.03	PROB 11/59/147
Joan Bysshoppe	1580.05.06	Coldenchen	1577.01.15	PROB 11/62/185
William Wade	1578.11.03	Stoke Harris	1577.01.24	PROB 11/60/520
Margaret Throgmorton	1578.11.26	Corse Tourt Gloucester	1577.01.30	PROB 11/60/596
Henry Sanforde	1578.06.13	Leonarde Stanley	1577.03.06	PROB 11/60/336
Edward Poole	1578.09.27	Ciseter	1577.03.16	PROB 11/60/462
Thomas Walter	1578.04.21	Horfeld	1577.03.20	PROB 11/60/204
Christopher Wilworth	1579.02.03	Dursley	1577.03.24	PROB 11/61/68
William Berrye	1577.01.28		1577.05.01	PROB 11/59/280
John Deye	1577.01.28	Cisceter	1577.06.09	PROB 11/59/352
Maurice Bridge	1578.06.06	Wotton under Edge	1577.06.14	PROB 11/60/309
Richard Strowde	1577.01.28	Hauname	1577.07.03	PROB 11/59/434
Nicholas Weller	1578.01.27	Busshops Cleve	1577.07.15	PROB 11/60/41
Walter Fowke	1577.01.28	Thornebury	1577.07.21	PROB 11/59/470
Anthony Corbett	1577.01.28	Berkelie	1577.07.25	PROB 11/59/469
Humfrye Chambers	1578.05.03	Hawkesbury	1577.07.27	PROB 11/60/242
James Fowler	1577.01.28	Stonehouse	1577.07.28	PROB 11/59/584
John Bower	1577.01.28	Dursley	1577.07.30	PROB 11/59/467
Richard Baye	1577.01.28	Dursley	1577.07.31	PROB 11/59/417
Edward Veale	1577.01.28	Over	1577.08.22	PROB 11/59/637

William Loryng	1578.11.18	Busshops	1577.09.20	PROB 11/60/567
Thomas Perie	1580.05.06	Aldermen	1577.10.10	PROB 11/62/186
Edith Trinder	1581.06.02	Ampney Marye	1577.10.28	PROB 11/63/293
Thomas Robens	1592.06.05	St Michael	1577.11.24	PROB 11/80/18
Henrye Shawe	1578.02.01	Tewkesbury Glouc	1577.12.29	PROB 11/60/70
John Parsons	1578.01.28	Tewkesbery	1577.12.31	PROB 11/60/47
Nicholas Rippe	1581.05.06	Thorneburge	1578.01.14	PROB 11/63/250
Arthur Player	1591.11.23	Absame	1578.02.21	PROB 11/78/330
John Northbroke	1578.04.17	Henbury	1578.03.28	PROB 11/60/191
Dennys Topps	1578.11.03	Lechelade	1578.04.10	PROB 11/60/523
John Myrrie	1580.01.27	Upton St Leonardes	1578.04.11	PROB 11/62/30
John Hewes	1578.05.30	Upton Saint Leonard Glouc	1578.04.20	PROB 11/60/289
Charles Raynsforde	1581.05.10	Clifford	1578.04.22	PROB 11/63/266
Willyam Rippe	1578.06.09	Thornebury	1578.04.29	PROB 11/60/324
Edwarde Morgan	1578.11.24	Downhatherley	1578.05.20	PROB 11/60/590
Nicholas Stone	1578.09.26	Cirnter Glouc	1578.07.07	PROB 11/60/460
John Kiblewhite	1579.04.04	Ablington	1578.08.06	PROB 11/61/182
Roger Malyerde	1578.11.22	Tewekesburye	1578.09.04	PROB 11/60/586
Roger Pope	1578.10.23	Tetburye	1578.10.01	PROB 11/60/499
Richard Wood	1578.11.13	Ciceter	1578.10.01	PROB 11/60/546
John Chambers	1580.05.13	Marshfield	1579.01.01	PROB 11/62/197
John Mylls	1579.06.27	Dyrham	1579.01.02	PROB 11/61/323
James Bell	1580.11.19	Newland	1579.01.22	PROB 11/62/502
William Mors	1579.05.30	Westbury	1579.04.20	PROB 11/61/285

Peter Overbery	1579.07.24	Mickelton	1579.04.23	PROB 11/61/396
Richard Gregge	1580.02.29	Tewkesbury	1579.05.17	PROB 11/62/99
Thomas Bourcher	1580.01.29	Barndsleygh	1579.05.20	PROB 11/62/41
John Collyar	1580.10.22	Whaddon	1579.08.17	PROB 11/62/422
Thomas Orchard	1582.02.09	Littleton uppon Severne	1579.08.30	PROB 11/64/78
Anthony Bonner	1580.11.02	Camden	1579.11.16	PROB 11/62/452
Robert Carpenter	1584.05.21	Newland	1580.01.12	PROB 11/67/92
John Pearse	1581.11.06	Tuddenham	1580.01.25	PROB 11/63/525
Henry Bernard	1581.11.23	Greate Rysington	1580.02.15	PROB 11/63/591
Brice Berkeley	1583.10.29	Wotton Underhedge	1580.03.07	PROB 11/66/82
Richard Merrett	1581.04.26	Cheltenae	1580.03.22	PROB 11/63/211
George Stratford	1581.11.04	Farmecote	1580.03.24	PROB 11/63/523
Richarde Heynes	1584.02.13	Westbyrre Avon Tryme	1580.03.30	PROB 11/66/336
Sir Nicholas Arnolde	1580.05.13	Hyneham	1580.04.10	PROB 11/62/201
Giles Poole	1589.03.01	Sapperton	1580.06.06	PROB 11/73/360
Thomas Perkyns	1581.02.03	Tewkesbury	1580.06.14	PROB 11/63/58
William Townsend	1581.10.27	Morton	1580.09.26	PROB 11/63/499
William Dawbney	1588.02.14	Godrington	1580.10.19	PROB 11/73/322
Robert Wood	1582.02.07	Brockethroppe	1581.02.28	PROB 11/65/85
William Mayo	1582.07.12	Charvilde	1581.03.02	PROB 11/64/357
Henry Broughton	1581.04.20	Briseldy	1581.03.14	PROB 11/63/185
Thomas Dutton	1581.11.06	Shyreborne	1581.03.17	PROB 11/63/529
John Hungerford	1583.04.10	Dowe Auey	1581.04.01	PROB 11/65/199
John Croker	1583.01.26	Bachesoure	1581.06.03	PROB 11/65/36

Thomas Venue	1581.06.30	Ciceter	1581.06.17	PROB 11/63/379
William Laurenc	1582.06.30	Yerworth	1581.08.08	PROB 11/64/311
Thomas Marsh	1581.02.24	Alvington	1581.09.16	PROB 11/64/98
Thomas Heaven	1581.11.02	Hawkesburie	1581.09.18	PROB 11/63/512
Henry Ocfold	1582.01.25	Wesburye	1581.11.06	PROB 11/64/28
Charles Skeemo	1582.12.06	Wotton Underege	1581.11.10	PROB 11/64/546
George Wyntor	1584.02.14	Derham	1581.11.16	PROB 11/64/575
Edmunde Stichall	1581.10.31	Sayrford	1581.11.16	PROB 11/63/503
Thomas Crew	1584.05.08	Alderley	1582.01.12	PROB 11/67/30
Thomas Edmondes	1582.05.23	Eisceler	1582.03.09	PROB 11/64/241
William Pearce	1582.09.06	Busshoppe	1582.03.25	PROB 11/64/396
Richard Shipper	1582.05.15	Cathedrall Church	1582.04.08	PROB 11/64/207
Gyles Robert	1583.10.29	Wotto	1582.04.13	PROB 11/66/83
Richarde Hollyday	1583.10.17	Rodborowe	1582.04.17	PROB 11/66/50
Agnes Blackamoor	1582.07.02	Shipton Moigne	1582.04.18	PROB 11/64/319
William Halliday	1583.10.08	Mynchinhampton	1582.05.08	PROB 11/66/23
Robert Waldra	1582.06.16	Mangotsfeilde	1582.05.27	PROB 11/64/277
Thomas Downebell	1583.06.17	Tewkesbury	1582.05.28	PROB 11/65/396
William Blomer	1583.06.20	Wythington	1582.06.20	PROB 11/65/409
Dorothy Saunfor	1583.09.19	Stonehouse	1582.08.21	PROB 11/65/530
John Tratman	1592.08.09	Came	1582.09.03	PROB 11/80/175
Nicholas Morgan	1586.02.21	Cropton	1582.10.15	PROB 11/70/128
William Horsman	1599.11.08	Toddenham	1582.11.12	PROB 11/94/366
Robert Arde	1583.04.26	Westburie uppon Trime	1582.12.29	PROB 11/65/261

Johane Workman	1585.04.24	Lashebrowe	1583.01.20	PROB 11/68/209
Clemente Revel	1585.05.03	Westbury uppon Trim	1583.01.24	PROB 11/68/243
William Osburne	1584.05.08	Wotton	1583.02.24	PROB 11/67/34
Anthony Hungerforde	1589.10.22	Dowenamprey	1583.02.28	PROB 11/74/337
John Frethre	1583.10.19	Adlestrop	1583.04.19	PROB 11/66/55
Roger Hanman	1583.05.31	Tiberton	1583.05.07	PROB 11/65/346
Nicholas Co	1584.02.05	Iran Arton	1583.08.03	PROB 11/66/302
Thomas Marti	1584.05.21	Pebworth	1583.08.12	PROB 11/67/93
William Trigge	1584.02.08	Tewkesburye	1583.10.06	PROB 11/66/318
Robert Lawrenc	1585.02.05	Shipton Sollers	1583.10.15	PROB 11/68/65
William Howell	1584.04.28	Rochampton	1583.10.20	PROB 11/66/401
Roger Lygo	1584.07.27	Faireforde	1583.11.04	PROB 11/67/260
Thomas Wiss	1587.11.22	Thornebury	1584.01.23	PROB 11/71/383
William Dymock	1585.03.03	Henbury	1584.02.14	PROB 11/68/145
Thomas Parmynte	1585.05.22	Almondesbury	1584.02.14	PROB 11/68/329
John Ryther	1585.05.21	Cirencester	1584.03.15	PROB 11/68/312
John Sarnye	1584.05.18	Tortworthe Gloucestershire	1584.04.11	PROB 11/67/77
Joan Addis	1587.06.27	Pauntley	1584.04.14	PROB 11/70/446
John Page	1584.05.21	Southerapp	1584.04.21	PROB 11/67/97
William Philpott	1584.07.02	Tuddenham	1584.05.14	PROB 11/66/371
Edward Washeborne	1585.02.11	Batchefore	1584.05.20	PROB 11/68/94
Thomas Colma	1585.07.08	Lasborow	1584.06.16	PROB 11/68/451
Arthur Freeman	1584.11.13	Swell	1584.07.10	PROB 11/67/439
Hughe Cooper	1585.07.09	Shipton Meigne	1584.07.14	PROB 11/68/453

George Lloid	1584.03.24	Hollyroode Ampney	1584.08.07	PROB 11/68/173
Edward Trewman	1584.10.15	Frampton Cotterell	1584.08.09	PROB 11/67/354
Robert Hunckes	1585.06.19	Bradwell	1584.08.17	PROB 11/68/390
Thomas Webbe	1585.02.12	Wootton under Edge	1584.09.22	PROB 11/68/97
Walter Compton	1585.08.03	Hartpurys	1584.10.04	PROB 11/68/481
Helen Felde	1585.10.29	Tewkesbury	1584.10.23	PROB 11/68/579
Thomas Fourde	1585.05.13	Bytton	1584.12.12	PROB 11/68/287
John Dobins	1585.06.18	Cuddington	1584.12.17	PROB 11/68/385
Robert Beynam	1587.01.11		1585.01.25	PROB 11/70/16
Augustine Hoopar	1586.11.07	Tedburye	1585.02.06	PROB 11/69/622
John Moore	1585.06.21	Twynning	1585.02.18	PROB 11/68/394
Richard Taylor	1585.12.08	Biselye	1585.03.21	PROB 11/68/690
William Hill	1586.01.16	Dymock	1585.04.07	PROB 11/70/25
Francis Nichola	1585.08.13	Tetburie	1585.04.20	PROB 11/68/488
John Bumpa	1586.0.25	Aston Subdeye	1585.05.17	PROB 11/69/28
Thomas Crumpe	1585.06.28	Tewkesbury	1585.05.19	PROB 11/68/422
William Walker	1583.11.08	Dunsborne Rowse	1585.05.20	PROB 11/66/114
Thomas Bake	1585.09.23	Avste	1585.06.05	PROB 11/68/529
Cicelye Fetiplace	1586.10.21	Colne Allews	1585.06.22	PROB 11/69/558
Gyles Carter	1585.20.29	Badgworth	1585.07.04	PROB 11/68/580
William Cecil	1591.05.05	Gloucester	1585.07.20	PROB 11/77/344
Gregorie Wilshire	1585.10.27		1585.09.08	PROB 11/68/575
Nicholas Poyntz	1585.09.23	Iron Acton	1585.11.16	PROB 11/68/530
Richard Heath	1589.10.27	Toddenham	1585.11.20	PROB 11/74/352

Robert Straunge	1587.01.03	Cisceter	1586.01.16	PROB 11/72/5
Richard Keilocke	1586.10.21	Colsborne	1586.03.27	PROB 11/69/560
Margaret Poynt	1586.06.23	Iron Acton	1586.04.10	PROB 11/69/375
Augustine Dyke	1586.06.06	Winchecombe	1586.04.25	PROB 11/69/318
John Reade	1586.06.13	Doynton	1586.05.12	PROB 11/69/343
Reynolde Sherman	1586.11.10	Herburye	1586.06.25	PROB 11/69/632
Richard Sklicer	1586.11.12	Towxburye	1586.07.04	PROB 11/69/648
John Gastrill	1587.03.06	Todbury	1586.07.26	PROB 11/70/146
John Witt	1587.11.18	Newacham	1586.08.14	PROB 11/71/373
Walter Selwyn	1587.10.05	Circester	1586.08.17	PROB 11/71/190
John Slowyn	1587.09.08	Faierfare	1586.09.15	PROB 11/71/134
John Martyn	1587.05.26	Absonne	1587.00.27	PROB 11/70/338
William Walford	1587.03.20	Tewkesbury	1587.01.17	PROB 11/72/268
John Gurd	1588.04.04	Halstock	1587.02.24	PROB 11/72/289
Richard Ba	1590.05.27	Juste	1587.03.04	PROB 11/75/382
James Nailer	1597.02.12	Coulforde	1587.03.07	PROB 11/89/151
John Turne	1591.06.17	Bulley	1587.03.17	PROB 11/77/541
Thomas Ashwi	1588.04.26	Cawhoniborne	1587.04.07	PROB 11/72/333
William Tychett	1587.11.24	Busshoppes Cleve	1587.05.09	PROB 11/71/400
David Raynoldes	1591.12.02	Dymock	1587.05.18	PROB 11/78/373
Hughe Sklysar	1587.07.01	Towxburye	1587.05.25	PROB 11/71/7
Francis Tyle	1587.06.16	Gloucester	1587.06.06	PROB 11/70/401
John Darby	1588.06.20	Henbury	1587.06.12	PROB 11/72/552
Richard Dowle	1588.06.28	Dorchurste	1587.06.15	PROB 11/72/602

John Madock	1587.10.26	Thudnam	1587.06.18	PROB 11/71/270
John Birche	1587.11.29	Hartebury	1587.07.08	PROB 11/71/417
Edward Stephen	1587.11.17	Essington	1587.08.13	PROB 11/71/365
James Wingod	1587.09.28	Newente	1587.08.15	PROB 11/71/176
George Brudge	1587.09.28	Bisley	1587.08.29	PROB 11/71/177
Richard Freman	1588.06.28	Bisshope Clene	1587.09.06	PROB 11/72/601
Thomas Harryes	1590.05.27	Harsfeilde	1587.09.18	PROB 11/75/381
John Leighte	1587.11.08	Tewxburyœ	1587.09.20	PROB 11/71/330
William Wakeman	1587.12.22	Tewxby	1587.10.14	PROB 11/71/386
John Furbur	1589.11.05	Todnam	1587.10.28	PROB 11/74/403
Richard Gregorie	1588.04.12	Abstone	1587.12.04	PROB 11/72/298
Thomas Morwen	1587.02.03	Eskington	1587.12.16	PROB 11/72/113
John Weale	1588.05.03	Highe London	1587.12.18	PROB 11/72/367
William Steven	1587.02.07	Burton upon the Hill	1587.12.19	PROB 11/72/146
John Deaves	1589.05.10	Ashchurche	1588.01.06	PROB 11/73/521
William Payne	1572.01.31	Barckeley	1588.01.12	PROB 11/54/35
Walter Milton	1596.10.05	Cheltenham	1588.01.19	PROB 11/88/173
John Horne	1587.06.23	Risendon	1588.01.20	PROB 11/70/426
William Wiatt	1588.05.10	Tewkesbury	1588.01.30	PROB 11/72/406
William Wynte	1588.03.14	Lydney	1588.02.01	PROB 11/73/383
Robart White	1590.12.11	Bybury	1588.02.02	PROB 11/76/413
Richarde Lambert	1588.05.18	Woodmancott	1588.02.11	PROB 11/72/450
Joan Goare	1589.05.09	Watton	1588.02.18	PROB 11/73/520
Richard Northe	1588.07.19	Wesburyœ	1588.03.00	PROB 11/72/645

John Fowler	1590.07.28	Bushoppes Cleeve	1588.03.07	PROB 11/76/76
Robert Perrott	1589.04.26	Nether Winton	1588.03.08	PROB 11/73/463
Thomas Bradley	1590.02.12	Newente	1588.04.26	PROB 11/75/129
Leonarde Bearde	1588.06.13	Ayleberton	1588.05.02	PROB 11/72/515
Edward Lucy	1590.03.22	Alveston	1588.05.26	PROB 11/77/224
Thomas Higges	1589.04.22	Cheltenham	1588.06.12	PROB 11/73/450
William Malyn	1589.09.24	Edington	1588.06.21	PROB 11/74/250
Henry Daunte	1591.11.18	Oulpen	1588.06.30	PROB 11/78/309
Robert Gore	1588.11.29	Iron Acton	1588.07.05	PROB 11/73/134
George Morr	1588.02.08	Tewkesburye	1588.07.20	PROB 11/73/294
Allexander Goldne	1602.02.12	Over	1588.07.28	PROB 11/101/149
Oliver Pleydell	1589.04.19	Radmerton	1588.08.14	PROB 11/73/441
William Clotterboock	1589.06.09	Essington	1588.09.03	PROB 11/74/35
John Gowar	1588.11.29	Wotton under Edge	1588.11.05	PROB 11/73/135
Steven Barston	1587.01.08	Nether Swell	1588.11.24	PROB 11/72/16
Thomas Byke	1589.11.17	Arlingham	1588.12.05	PROB 11/74/448
Robert Ashto	1592.11.27	Tewkesburie Glouc	1588.12.09	PROB 11/80/441
Richarde Hobbes	1593.05.26	Bisshoppes Cleve	1588.12.10	PROB 11/81/465
John Tirrett	1588.04.27	Forthampton	1588.12.27	PROB 11/72/336
John Darke	1591.06.17	Oldsesburie	1589.01.11	PROB 11/77/540
Thomas Floyd	1590.06.11	Weston under Pennyarde	1589.01.15	PROB 11/75/424
Robert Haynes	1590.05.199	Burston	1589.01.23	PROB 11/75/321
Clement Symkins	1590.10.18	Almontisburie	1589.02.24	PROB 11/76/209
Thomas Millerd	1591.05.15	Reinxlie	1589.04.23	PROB 11/77/420

Walter Pattishall	1589.11.19	Myntis	1589.05.12	PROB 11/74/457
John Stone	1589.06.06	Bromsbarowe	1589.05.17	PROB 11/74/25
Thomas Godwe	1589.03.17	Wickwam	1589.05.30	PROB 11/75/197
John Keele	1589.06.12	Tysteter	1589.05.30	PROB 11/74/54
William Faukes	1589.10.09	Whithington	1589.06.06	PROB 11/74/281
John Baker	1589.10.17	Anst	1589.07.17	PROB 11/74/318
Nicholas Crundall	1589.11.06	Winterbourne	1589.10.12	PROB 11/74/414
William Lightfoote	1590.01.27	Kingstandley	1589.12.08	PROB 11/77/45
William Hazell	1590.02.05	Henbury	1590.01.07	PROB 11/77/108
William Badger	1591.09.13	Twininge	1590.01.17	PROB 11/78/112
James Stephens	1591.05.06	Eslington	1590.02.01	PROB 11/77/350
John Bucke	1592.02.08	Byburye	1590.02.12	PROB 11/81/141
Thomas Symes	1591.04.24	Almondsbury	1590.02.20	PROB 11/77/291
George Brammage	1590.05.20	Neither Swell	1590.02.22	PROB 11/75/330
John Mydleton	1591.05.08	Thornebury	1590.02.23	PROB 11/77/361
John Leethe	1591.02.09	Newent	1590.03.11	PROB 11/79/112
John Weble	1590.10.24	Cyrencester	1590.04.10	PROB 11/76/237
Richard Watts	1590.09.17	Stroud	1590.04.22	PROB 11/76/151
William Penne	1592.04.21	Myntie	1590.05.01	PROB 11/79/281
James Shepperd	1590.05.20	Littleton	1590.05.05	PROB 11/75/333
Richard Crewe	1591.04.30	Wootton Vnderedge	1590.05.10	PROB 11/77/320
John Nanphan	1591.07.16	Barneslie	1590.07.00	PROB 11/78/31
Henry Allen	1591.06.19	Tuffley	1590.08.01	PROB 11/77/556
William Hopton	1590.03.08	Bysley	1590.09.29	PROB 11/77/204

William Wingfielde	1590.11.27	Buckland	1590.10.14	PROB 11/76/359
William Edmond	1590.11.28	Westburie uppon Trine	1590.10.26	PROB 11/76/368
Richard Pyrry	1591.08.20	Aveninge	1590.10.27	PROB 11/78/73
Robert Farnorlde	1591.05.11	Abson	1590.11.10	PROB 11/77/385
John Sidenha	1590.01.05	Nunposfeilde	1590.11.21	PROB 11/77/2
Joan Coxe	1591.06.14	Forthampton	1590.12.30	PROB 11/77/516
William Elger	1592.04.19	Roadmorton	1591.01.06	PROB 11/79/279
John Ewen	1592.04.03	Mangottesfeild Bristoll	1591.01.16	PROB 11/79/234
John Gibbes	1591.10.08	Marshfield	1591.01.17	PROB 11/78/154
Marie Sidenham	1591.11.27	Nimpsfeilde	1591.02.04	PROB 11/78/354
John Bromwich	1591.03.06	Bromesborowe	1591.02.29	PROB 11/79/190
James Davies	1591.03.30	Snowshill	1591.03.06	PROB 11/77/240
Joan Hopton	1591.04.23	Bisley	1591.03.11	PROB 11/77/282
John Dier	1591.05.06	Torkington	1591.03.26	PROB 11/77/351
Robert Tucker	1591.02.04	Litle Deane	1591.03.29	PROB 11/79/79
Christopher Dowle	1591.11.20	Newland	1591.05.14	PROB 11/78/316
William Bodnam	1591.0.18	Minsterworth	1591.05.18	PROB 11/79/214
John Mabott	1591.05.10	Westerbey	1591.05.26	PROB 11/77/379
Anthony Kingston	1591.07.28	Flaxeley	1591.06.18	PROB 11/77/614
William Brente	1597.11.10	Almington	1591.06.23	PROB 11/90/448
Edmund Huntley	1591.07.03	Barnesley	1591.06.25	PROB 11/78/11
Richard Harris	1594.06.21	Hunnyborne	1591.07.12	PROB 11/84/87
Margaret Patten	1591.10.30	Great Rysendon	1591.07.24	PROB 11/78/232
William Cooke	1591.02.26	Corsse Gloucester	1591.08.13	PROB 11/79/179

William Sutton	1592.06.13	Derh	1591.09.01	PROB 11/80/61
Robert Tybbat	1592.04.22	Winterbourne	1591.09.08	PROB 11/79/293
William Freeman	1593.05.18	Adelstrop Glouc	1591.09.09	PROB 11/81/422
John Harries	1591.11.27	Bitton	1591.10.18	PROB 11/78/353
Richard Grene	1593.06.05	Carswell	1591.12.02	PROB 11/81/499
Marie Pearte	1592.05.29	Forde	1591.12.12	PROB 11/79/432
Thomas Goodman	1593.02.12	Dumbleton	1591.12.17	PROB 11/82/30
John Wilkings	1593.01.22	Bitton	1591.12.26	PROB 11/83/27
William Frewen	1592.04.13	Campden	1592.00.00	PROB 11/79/258
Edward Martryn	1592.03.16	Cromwell	1592.01.07	PROB 11/81/231
Owin Gwynne	1594.06.13	Bristol	1592.01.11	PROB 11/84/43
Roger Flowke	1594.05.06	Dearehurst	1592.01.11	PROB 11/83/383
William Aprice	1592.06.09	Cirencester	1592.02.01	PROB 11/80/45
Thomas Crispe	1598.06.20	Marshfeilde	1592.02.01	PROB 11/92/3
Alice Stringer	1593.06.22	Minchinhampton	1592.02.22	PROB 11/82/116
Ellinor Fryse	1593.01.24	Clifton	1592.02.23	PROB 11/83/33
Sibell Stone	1593.05.18	Bromesbarrowe	1592.02.26	PROB 11/81/416
John Trigge	1592.04.28	Tewxburie	1592.03.28	PROB 11/79/327
John Gardner	1601.06.26	English Bicknor	1592.04.04	PROB 11/98/49
William Dyer	1592.06.06	Frampton Cotterell	1592.04.07	PROB 11/80/27
Robert Crompe	1595.07.24	Wesburie	1592.04.14	PROB 11/86/147
Humphrey Tyler	1597.05.04	Tedbury	1592.04.23	PROB 11/89/410
Thomas Monington	1592.08.31	Trniley	1592.05.19	PROB 11/80/213
Robert Briscoe	1592.11.18	Marshfeilde	1592.05.26	PROB 11/80/405

William Woollinge	1594.06.13	Burtherop	1592.05.26	PROB 11/84/41
John Blanchard	1591.05.22	Marshefeilde	1592.06.15	PROB 11/77/575
George Baylye	1593.05.19	Derham	1592.06.27	PROB 11/81/429
Thomas Luton	1593.05.22	Siston	1592.07.17	PROB 11/81/443
William Hill	1592.10.25	Tewxburie	1592.08.14	PROB 11/80/273
Robert Beale	1597.05.02	Forhampton	1592.08.18	PROB 11/89/401
Alexander Remer	1592.02.16	Westbery	1592.09.04	PROB 11/82/50
Richard Tratman	1593.04.27	Came	1592.09.08	PROB 11/81/304
Robert Hone	1594.04.29	Tewkesbury Glouc	1592.09.12	PROB 11/83/338
Erasmus Prine	1592.09.23	Anst	1592.09.16	PROB 11/80/249
Thomas Tyler	1593.02.06	Frampton Cotterell	1592.10.22	PROB 11/81/127
Alice Page	1602.06.16	Sowtheropps	1592.11.28	PROB 11/99/437
Richard Gould	1594.01.28	Newneham Gloucester	1593.01.06	PROB 11/83/64
John Stokes	1594.02.19	Sherchapton Bristoll	1593.02.07	PROB 11/83/194
Robert Thomas	1594.03.30	Ferfard	1593.03.04	PROB 11/83/275
Robert Kemmett	1593.11.21	Ashetone Underhill	1593.03.17	PROB 11/82/525
Johan Hughes	1593.06.14	Frampton Cotterell	1593.04.06	PROB 11/82/93
Richard Hemmett	1594.04.23	Bishoppes Cleeve	1593.04.06	PROB 11/83/321
John Howell	1593.05.16	Litleton uppon Severne Bristoll	1593.04.09	PROB 11/81/405
William Reede	1593.08.10	Bisshoppes Cleve	1593.04.10	PROB 11/82/235
Thomas Eyland	1593.10.23	Newnham Glouc	1593.04.22	PROB 11/82/389
Richarde Lorwinge	1593.11.10	Bisshoppes Cleeve	1593.05.01	PROB 11/82/590
Thomas Bennett	1593.12.13	Stonehouse	1593.05.29	PROB 11/82/598
George Haines	1593.08.13	Henbury	1593.06.12	PROB 11/82/241

Richard Browninge	1595.02.07	Cawley Glouc	1593.07.30	PROB 11/85/95
William Wheeler	1595.11.21	Marston Sicca	1593.10.04	PROB 11/86/361
Thomas Weoley	1594.05.03	Chipping Campden	1593.12.05	PROB 11/83/366
Richard Reade	1594.02.07	Westbury	1593.12.17	PROB 11/83/123
William Blage	1595.11.24	Winchcomb	1594.01.13	PROB 11/86/373
John Hassarde	1594.08.07	Temxburye	1594.01.20	PROB 11/84/161
John Bays	1595.02.24	Westbury	1594.03.05	PROB 11/85/173
Richard Adams	1595.07.09	Tedburie	1594.03.08	PROB 11/86/109
Thomas Straunge	1594.05.10	Ciceter	1594.03.16	PROB 11/83/415
John Knolls	1594.06.13	Paynswicke Glouc	1594.03.28	PROB 11/84/42
William Bassett	1594.11.11	Highfield	1594.04.10	PROB 11/84/339
John Spawlinge	1594.10.07	Chlberton	1594.04.16	PROB 11/84/234
William Hancocke	1594.05.16	Elberton	1594.04.25	PROB 11/83/436
John Corbut	1594.08.15	Tewkesbury	1594.05.14	PROB 11/84/172
William Mychell	1594.06.08	Litle Barington	1594.05.15	PROB 11/84/26
Nicholas Teyson	1597.05.10	Old Olveston	1594.05.27	PROB 11/89/464
William Mowsell	1594.07.24	Wickwarre	1594.05.29	PROB 11/84/144
James Dolle	1600.04.24	Duntesborne Abbotts	1594.07.21	PROB 11/95/240
Katherine Rippe	1594.11.16	Thornebury	1594.08.02	PROB 11/84/369
Richard Kempstowe	1595.07.12	Tedburie	1594.10.30	PROB 11/86/127
William Kevelocke	1594.11.22	Minsterworthe	1594.11.18	PROB 11/84/382
Thomas Wayte	1599.10.04	Barkeley	1594.11.27	PROB 11/94/253
James Heaven	1596.10.09	Didmarton	1594.12.30	PROB 11/88/188
Richard Roomsey	1591.06.03	Bitton Gloucestershire	1595.01.20	PROB 11/77/471

Richard Webb	1598.11.11	Goddington	1595.01.25	PROB 11/92/312
Thomas Richeman	1596.06.19	Oldberye	1595.02.15	PROB 11/87/455
Humphray Davys	1596.05.10	Gloucester	1595.03.18	PROB 11/87/323
William Veele	1595.08.20	Iron Acton	1595.04.08	PROB 11/86/191
Thomas Dirrett	1595.05.24	Ironacton	1595.04.20	PROB 11/85/358
John Birde	1597.06.24	Hambrooke	1595.04.20	PROB 11/89/599
Roger Keyse	1596.05.12	Upleadon	1595.04.25	PROB 11/87/339
Robert Screven	1602.05.13	Longney	1595.04.26	PROB 11/99/359
William Underhill	1599.04.27	Timley	1595.05.04	PROB 11/93/275
Nicholas Lannsdon	1596.05.03	Winterbourne	1595.05.10	PROB 11/87/281
Henry Pryce	1595.10.29	Cowlne Aldwynes	1595.05.18	PROB 11/86/291
Ann Trewman	1595.11.07	Frampton Cotterell	1595.06.11	PROB 11/86/325
Richard Whytinge	1596.01.31	Greate Badmenton	1595.06.17	PROB 11/87/44
John Hughes	1595.12.04	Chester	1595.08.03	PROB 11/86/406
John Raybolde	1595.11.15	Bipweare	1595.08.13	PROB 11/86/350
Francis Smith	1595.11.05	Chipping Campden	1595.08.23	PROB 11/86/323
Edward Poole	1595.11.05	Cirencester Gloucmtcr England	1595.10.11	PROB 11/86/321
John Sneade	1596.09.23	Corsse	1595.10.29	PROB 11/88/149
John Muchell	1596.09.23	Corsse	1595.11.08	PROB 11/88/148
Richarde Wakeman	1597.11.04	Beckford	1596.01.15	PROB 11/90/418
Simon Andrewes	1596.04.23	Bourton in the Water	1596.01.17	PROB 11/87/251
Stephen Wood	1595.05.27	Allmansbury	1596.01.20	PROB 11/85/369
Roberte Hancocke	1596.06.21	Daglingworth	1596.01.26	PROB 11/87/463
William Atwood	1597.02.10	Frampton Cotterell	1596.03.13	PROB 11/89/135

William Atwood	1597.07.01	Frampton Cotterell Glouc	1596.03.14	PROB 11/90/79
William Pates	1597.01.08	Cheltenham	1596.03.29	PROB 11/89/6
William Newman	1596.05.18	Beckford	1596.03.30	PROB 11/87/373
Charles Badgshott	1596.11.13	Cheltenham	1596.04.14	PROB 11/88/300
James Haule	1596.05.21	Micheldeant	1596.04.17	PROB 11/87/383
James Beeke	1596.06.30	Wenynges	1596.05.07	PROB 11/87/521
John Wynde	1596.06.11	Tydnam	1596.05.13	PROB 11/87/427
Anthonic Straunge	1596.07.01	Chesterton	1596.06.17	PROB 11/88/3
Nicholas Phelps	1596.10.23	Minsterworth	1596.07.08	PROB 11/88/229
Richard Wilkins	1597.06.03	Frocester	1596.08.09	PROB 11/89/521
John Coxe	1596.10.09	Sudbury	1596.09.02	PROB 11/88/182
John Neyghbour	1601.11.23	Kemverton	1596.09.04	PROB 11/98/423
John Tiler	1596.11.11	Weston Birte	1596.09.28	PROB 11/88/295
John Drewe	1597.04.16	North Nybley	1596.09.30	PROB 11/89/299
John Ball	1596.12.02	Thornebury	1596.10.09	PROB 11/88/384
Andrew Phelps	1596.02.05	Bisley	1596.12.18	PROB 11/89/103
Edward Tyrrytt	1597.11.28	Newente	1596.12.19	PROB 11/90/560
Henry Champneys	1598.12.05	Elberton	1596.12.31	PROB 11/92/403
Hellen Veel	1597.05.26	Iron Acton	1597.01.10	PROB 11/89/490
Thomas Norris	1601.05.13	Campden	1597.01.18	PROB 11/97/282
John Seymour	1599.08.04	Frampton Cotterell	1597.01.27	PROB 11/94/182
Katherine Brookes	1600.06.11	Todenham	1597.02.06	PROB 11/96/57
Robert Davys	1598.05.09	Gloucester	1597.02.09	PROB 11/91/364
John Baggett	1598.05.06	Sapperton	1597.02.22	PROB 11/91/355

Thomas Crome	1597.05.07	Barkley	1597.03.13	PROB 11/89/436
John Lardge	1599.05.19	Stoke Cyfford	1597.03.16	PROB 11/93/391
Water Pope	1597.11.29	Tedbury	1597.04.04	PROB 11/90/571
Giles Ynde	1597.05.26	Ironacton	1597.04.19	PROB 11/89/487
Christopher George	1599.05.09	Cyronrester	1597.04.20	PROB 11/93/322
Richard Phelpes	1597.02.25	Marston Sicca	1597.05.05	PROB 11/91/200
John Wells	1597.05.24	Barckley	1597.05.07	PROB 11/89/484
Robert Greene	1597.06.09	Bytton	1597.05.11	PROB 11/89/538
John Hancocke	1597.01.21	Barkeley	1597.05.20	PROB 11/91/39
John Salwey	1597.11.29	Almondesbury	1597.05.25	PROB 11/90/568
Peter Ballam	1597.10.27	Shirehampton	1597.05.26	PROB 11/90/378
Robert Horte	1597.10.07	Westburye uppon Tryme	1597.05.27	PROB 11/90/291
Thomas Horne	1597.06.10	Newent	1597.06.02	PROB 11/90/39
John Smythyer	1597.10.01	Byburis	1597.06.13	PROB 11/90/283
Katherene Davys	1597.11.30	Little Barington	1597.06.13	PROB 11/90/573
Anne Poole	1597.10.19	Cirencester	1597.06.25	PROB 11/90/333
Richarde Allen	1597.07.20	Auste	1597.07.03	PROB 11/90/132
Walter Longe	1597.11.15	Ashelworth	1597.07.09	PROB 11/90/484
William Llen	1597.08.17	Puclechurch	1597.07.16	PROB 11/90/188
Nicholas Raynton	1597.11.10	Greate Barrington	1597.07.25	PROB 11/90/452
Richard Buckell	1596.10.05	Elmestone	1597.07.31	PROB 11/88/172
John Roe	1597.11.05	Mangersfeild	1597.08.06	PROB 11/90/424
Thomas Roomsey	1597.10.12	Bitton	1597.08.15	PROB 11/90/309
William Watkins	1598.07.14	Kemifforde	1597.08.22	PROB 11/92/73

John Symson	1597.02.13	Horton	1597.09.02	PROB 11/91/158
Anne Bradley	1597.10.21	Quenington	1597.09.09	PROB 11/90/347
William Kinge	1597.02.13	Woodchester	1597.09.13	PROB 11/91/146
Richarde Hendye	1597.11.07	Derham	1597.09.26	PROB 11/90/432
Agnes Wilkins	1597.11.18	Frocester	1597.09.27	PROB 11/90/505
Raphe Willett	1598.05.10	Broadwell	1597.09.27	PROB 11/91/371
John Carey	1597.11.28	Barkler	1597.10.09	PROB 11/90/561
John Northe	1597.02.07	Westbury	1597.10.24	PROB 11/91/114
John Walker	1597.02.22	Bysshops Clene	1597.11.13	PROB 11/91/193
Alice Stratford	1600.01.12	Furmcott	1597.11.15	PROB 11/95/8
Henry Frinde	1597.02.07	Winterbourne	1597.12.03	PROB 11/91/113
Peter Harris	1597.11.09	Thornbury	1597.12.03	PROB 11/90/440
Richard Cam	1597.03.17	Cymocke	1597.12.20	PROB 11/91/252
William Frankcombe	1598.05.10	Trinley Glouc	1598.01.03	PROB 11/91/374
Henry Newton	1599.06.11	Barrzcorte	1598.01.15	PROB 11/94/31
Alice Wye	1601.08.31	Southcerny	1598.01.31	PROB 11/98/182
John Lovell	1599.05.18	Barckely	1598.02.19	PROB 11/93/384
George Fearnly	1600.06.07	Oselworthe	1598.03.10	PROB 11/96/42
Thomas Avery	1598.05.13	Shennyngton	1598.03.25	PROB 11/91/399
Humfry Bridges	1598.05.11	Cirencester	1598.04.07	PROB 11/91/380
Ellen Putley	1598.05.23	Burton Regis	1598.04.23	PROB 11/91/476
William Canter	1599.05.03	Shipton Moigne	1598.04.30	PROB 11/93/296
Richard Woodd	1598.11.14	Brookthropp	1598.05.20	PROB 11/92/327
Robert Stiffe	1598.06.28	Oldburie	1598.06.12	PROB 11/91/601
Thomas Gouldinge	1598.08.04	Thornburye	1598.06.18	PROB 11/92/103

Elizabeth Pates	1598.11.15	Cheltenham	1598.10.03	PROB 11/92/334
Joyce Blanchard	1599.02.09	Marshefeyld	1598.11.17	PROB 11/93/113
Roger Carrole	1599.02.03	Painswicke Gloucester	1598.12.15	PROB 11/93/71
William Wrighte	1599.05.07	Cirencester	1598.12.17	PROB 11/93/313
Richard Lylly	1599.05.19	Stone	1598.12.20	PROB 11/93/403
Richard Emlye	1598.02.13	Westonbirtt	1598.12.21	PROB 11/93/145
William Richmonde	1600.11.11	Ouldburye	1599.01.28	PROB 11/96/290
Henry Hiat	1600.05.31	Westbury	1599.02.02	PROB 11/95/354
Robert Martin	1600.09.23	Ouldburye	1599.02.12	PROB 11/96/198
Nicholas Thorpe	1600.06.05	Barkeley	1599.02.24	PROB 11/96/26
Richard Hall	1599.05.07	Cirencester	1599.02.27	PROB 11/93/312
Edward Wallwyn	1600.04.16	Bishops Cleeve Glous	1599.03.24	PROB 11/95/204
Morris Baker	1599.05.10	Auste Bristolion	1599.04.02	PROB 11/93/327
Robert Hale	1602.03.24	Wootton	1599.04.17	PROB 11/99/219
Agnes Wallis	1599.05.14	Henbury	1599.05.08	PROB 11/93/352
John Brayne	1599.08.18	Newent	1599.05.10	PROB 11/94/194
Fraunces Hunckes	1599.08.08	Preston	1599.05.10	PROB 11/94/184
William Selwyne	1599.02.12	Kingstanley	1599.05.16	PROB 11/95/88
John Hielt	1601.04.07	Westbury upon Tinne	1599.05.21	PROB 11/97/200
James Hall	1600.07.01	Lea	1599.05.27	PROB 11/96/132
John Large	1599.11.21	Westburye upon Trim	1599.06.16	PROB 11/94/425
William French	1600.06.20	Newland	1599.06.18	PROB 11/96/112
Thomas Estcourte	1599.11.13	Shipton Moyne	1599.06.19	PROB 11/94/390
Robert Kirtman	1600.05.06	Rocarton	1599.06.27	PROB 11/95/301

Leonarde Master	1599.11.15	Ciscoter	1599.07.08	PROB 11/94/398
William Horte	1599.11.29	Campton Greenfylde	1599.07.30	PROB 11/94/464
Richard Agrove	1599.12.06	Mangotfiede	1599.08.05	PROB 11/94/498
Roger Manson	1600.12.12	Weston Birt	1599.09.12	PROB 11/96/386
William Whitstocke	1599.09.26	Iron Acton	1599.09.15	PROB 11/94/245
Thomas Greenewaye	1599.10.26	Tyrley	1599.09.15	PROB 11/94/317
Thomas Sheiler	1599.02.09	Brodwell	1599.10.21	PROB 11/95/83
Francis Poyntz	1600.06.14	Iron Acton	1599.10.28	PROB 11/96/87
John Smythe	1599.02.04	Henbury	1599.11.15	PROB 11/95/49
William Burte	1599.12.08	Icombe Parke	1599.11.22	PROB 11/94/504
John Birton	1601.09.07	Wootton Undereredge	1599.11.30	PROB 11/98/191
Richard Trynder	1599.12.03	Eastleach Martyn	1599.12.22	PROB 11/94/487
John Skinner	1600.04.28	Aube	1600.02.11	PROB 11/95/256
Thomas Richardes	1601.05.06	Newent	1600.03.04	PROB 11/97/247
Elizabeth Dowdeswell	1600.05.30	Nether Guitinge	1600.03.09	PROB 11/95/347
Jone Nevett	1601.03.28	Ste Nicholas	1600.04.15	PROB 11/97/186
John Knight	1600.07.22	Cotes	1600.04.25	PROB 11/96/153
James Higgins	1600.07.24	Dumbleeton	1600.05.29	PROB 11/96/158
Roberte Westwoode	1601.08.07	Bybeney	1600.06.22	PROB 11/98/145
Robert Partrige	1600.11.22	Cirencester	1600.07.10	PROB 11/96/334
Evan Rice	1601.10.09	Winson	1600.10.21	PROB 11/98/246
Henry Harryes	1600.11.10	Thornebury	1600.10.25	PROB 11/96/287
David Vaughan	1601.10.07	Upton Sainte Leonard	1600.11.02	PROB 11/98/235
Stephen Isles	1600.03.14	Shipton	1600.11.09	PROB 11/97/163

Richard Arundell	1601.10.26	Bisley	1600.11.09	PROB 11/98/299
Christopher	1599.02.09	Westerlie	1600.12.11	PROB 11/95/82
John Permeter	1601.03.18	Olveston	1601.02.16	PROB 11/99/199
Margaret Aylbarton	1601.02.25	Westbery	1601.02.18	PROB 11/99/165
John Newman	1601.05.15	Stanwaye	1601.03.25	PROB 11/97/297
John Tewe	1602.06.15	Newland	1601.04.10	PROB 11/99/431
Thomas Cocks	1602.05.19	Bishops Cleve	1601.04.27	PROB 11/99/395
Roberte Gulwell	1601.06.25	Beverston	1601.06.12	PROB 11/98/44
Symon Parratt	1601.09.11	Eastlache Martin	1601.06.30	PROB 11/98/199
John Nash	1601.11.14	Mycheldeane	1601.07.02	PROB 11/98/386
Edward Park	1601.09.22	Cirencester	1601.07.15	PROB 11/98/218
Willyam Morrice	1601.11.16	Toddenham	1601.07.26	PROB 11/98/394
Goodithe Parsons	1601.11.23	Wormington	1601.08.08	PROB 11/98/425
Maurice Tovy	1602.06.15	Thornbury	1601.08.18	PROB 11/99/432
Phillip Tyler	1601.09.02	Sainte Brevells	1601.08.21	PROB 11/98/183
Thomas Tayloe	1601.02.09	Strowde	1601.09.07	PROB 11/99/87
Thomas Phelpes	1601.10.29	Barkeley	1601.09.21	PROB 11/98/314
John Ladbrooke	1602.09.23	Nether Quinton	1601.10.03	PROB 11/100/212
Joane Parke	1601.10.29	Cirencester	1601.10.05	PROB 11/98/316
John Shorte	1601.11.27	Whelford	1601.10.07	PROB 11/98/446
Isabell Olyver	1601.01.22	Moreton Valence	1601.10.29	PROB 11/99/27
Richard Waine	1602.05.01	Barrington Magna	1601.11.10	PROB 11/99/300
Symon Holly	1601.03.08	Henbery	1601.11.14	PROB 11/99/181
Edmond Newport	1600.02.13	Ciceter	1601.11.18	PROB 11/97/116

Thomas Hollester	1600.02.03	Westerlie	1601.11.22	PROB 11/97/54
Katherine Trottman	1602.05.20	Came	1602.03.09	PROB 11/99/403
John Tillye	1602.02.25	Old Sodbury	1602.03.22	PROB 11/101/156
Eleanor Attwells	1602.06.25	Odington	1602.03.29	PROB 11/100/59
William Bower	1602.07.31	Wotton Underdge	1602.04.09	PROB 11/100/125
Robert Thompson	1602.04.30	Morton	1602.04.14	PROB 11/99/295
William Foster	1602.06.14	Thornbury	1602.05.10	PROB 11/99/429
John Tomes	1602.11.23	Marston Sicca	1602.05.21	PROB 11/100/373
John Parker	1602.11.15	Barnewoode	1602.05.26	PROB 11/100/339
Thomas Brampston	1602.09.18	Barton Regis	1602.08.12	PROB 11/100/203
John Longden	1603.01.14	Laighterton	1602.10.05	PROB 11/101/23
John James	1603.02.10	Gloucester	1602.12.20	PROB 11/101/129
John A Wilton	1561.07.02	Dymock	X	PROB 11/44/262
Thomas Collymor	1565.10.04	Chipensodlery	X	PROB 11/48/256

APPENDIX II (Kent)

Name and Surname	Probate Date	Residence	Date of the Will	Reference
William Stubbes	1553.10.14	Northfield	1553.07.15	PROB 11/36/247
John Fissenden	1566.08.14	Beneyoyden	1553.07.20	PROB 11/48/552
James Clovyll	1553.10.25	Dertbrs	1553.09.21	PROB 11/36/258
John Gorram	1561.08.25	Hith	1553.11.02	PROB 11/44/298
Richard Mylles	1554.07.18	Jillinghame	1553.11.13	PROB 11/37/64
William Sedley	1555.12.04	Southflete	1553.11.28	PROB 11/37/498
John Sharpe	1559.10.26	Nolwiche	1554.02.05	PROB 11/42B/576
John Tarles	1554.05.04	Southe	1554.04.17	PROB 11/37/7
William Boorne	1561.06.20	Tunbridge	1554.05.15	PROB 11/44/251
John Lannce	1554.09.08	Shorne	1554.08.05	PROB 11/37/125
Raynolde Scott	1556.02.13	Smethe	1554.09.04	PROB 11/37/539
Richard Harryn	1555.06.21	Mudey	1554.09.22	PROB 11/37/373
Elizabeth Mastall	1555.01.24	Charte	1554.10.08	PROB 11/37/231
Frances Harlakendon	1565.01.27	Woodchourche	1554.11.12	PROB 11/48/23
Anne Rowsse	1556.11.16	Plumpfiede	1554.11.13	PROB 11/38/219
William Waller	1556.02.08	Spelhurst	1554.11.15	PROB 11/37/532
Robert Hawte	1554.01.04	Crithe	1554.12.27	PROB 11/37/219
Richard Austen	1555.09.14	Goodharst	1554.12.31	PROB 11/37/444
Willyam Wattes	1555.11.04	Ivye Church	1555.04.28	PROB 11/37/470
Robert Androwes	1555.10.29	Gravesende	1555.06.01	PROB 11/37/464

Nicholas Tayloure	1555.09.23	Cranuebroke	1555.07.15	PROB 11/37/445
Markes Dingley	1557.05.07	Cheselhurst	1555.08.04	PROB 11/39/159
Rafe Willcocks	1556.01.23	Lydde	1555.12.22	PROB 11/37/512
Percivall Austyn	1556.02.27	Goudhurst	1556.02.18	PROB 11/39/86
John Pyckynden	1557.01.21	Staplehurst	1556.04.24	PROB 11/40/26
John Styll	1556.09.28	Stone	1556.05.28	PROB 11/38/132
John Gorde	1558.02.16	Horsmonden	1556.06.07	PROB 11/40/97
John Stevenson	1557.02.02	Kent	1556.07.27	PROB 11/39/43
Richard Dawson	1557.07.28	Depforde	1556.08.17	PROB 11/39/307
William Lawles	1557.05.25	Rolvenden	1556.09.09	PROB 11/39/193
Walter Herenden	1557.01.04	Maideston	1556.09.17	PROB 11/39/3
Richard Posse	1557.02.04	Halden	1556.10.01	PROB 11/39/46
Thomas Wood	1557.01.12	Dwkeland	1556.10.25	PROB 11/39/15
John Flower	1557.03.12	Fenshm	1556.10.28	PROB 11/39/103
Rauff Johnson	1557.01.28	Rayneham	1556.11.11	PROB 11/39/37
William Mylles	1559.05.11	Beddenden	1556.11.28	PROB 11/42B/188
William Mylles	1559.05.11	Beddenden	1556.11.28	PROB 11/42B/188
Allen Wood	1557.01.18	Snodlond	1556.12.15	PROB 11/39/21
Edward Frente	1558.01.15	Gillingham	1556.12.20	PROB 11/40/15
John Webbe	1557.03.09	Fenshm	1556.12.28	PROB 11/39/100
John Marche	1558.03.15	Langeley	1557.00.00	PROB 11/40/155
Stephyn Dummeright	1557.08.08	Brasted	1557.00.00	PROB 11/39/317
Thomas Robert	1582.05.21	Crane Brooke	1557.01.03	PROB 11/64/225
John Bulton	1558.05.24	Rochester	1557.01.08	PROB 11/40/286

John Swanne	1560.07.17	Bramley	1557.02.13	PROB 11/43/427
Edward Bray	1558.04.14	St Lawrence Hawkhurst	1557.03.11	PROB 11/40/187
John Haynes	1557.04.22	Lapford	1557.04.02	PROB 11/39/129
Thomas Wombwell	1596.02.02	Northfleete	1557.04.07	PROB 11/87/50
Johan Reames	1561.01.22	Cranebrooke	1557.04.22	PROB 11/44/18
Wylliam Hyde	1557.05.20	Denchworthe	1557.04.23	PROB 11/39/185
Thomas Harlakynndon	1558.08.30	Woodchurch	1557.06.13	PROB 11/40/424
Richard Sheff	1557.09.24	Cranebroke	1557.06.21	PROB 11/39/390
Thomas Culpeper	1558.10.20	Bedgebery	1557.08.07	PROB 11/41/336
Thomas Roydon	1560.03.09	Eastepeckham	1557.08.10	PROB 11/43/192
Thomas Selyarde	1557.11.15	Stonbridge	1557.09.07	PROB 11/39/528
John Wykenden	1559.03.21	Cowden	1557.09.10	PROB 11/40/428
Robert Hoveden	1558.04.27	Cranbroke	1557.09.17	PROB 11/40/198
John Wykenden	1559.03.21	Cowden	1557.12.01	PROB 11/40/428
Edwarde Batherst	1560.05.24	Staplehurst	1558 12.07	PROB 11/43/345
John Goodman	1560.08.26	Abram	1558.01.08	PROB 11/43/472
John Goodman	1585.02.26	Alkam	1558.01.08	PROB 11/68/135
William Hewett	1563.04.20	Maidoston	1558.01.09	PROB 11/46/170
Steven Darell	1561.03.05	Horsemanden	1558.02.07	PROB 11/44/103
Roger Pipar	1559.04.19	Hawkhurst	1558.02.13	PROB 11/42B/67
Roger Pipar	1559.04.19	Hankeherst	1558.02.13	PROB 11/42B/67
Mary Esson	1559.05.03	Tenterden	1558.03.04	PROB 11/42B/145
Mary Esson	1559.05.03	Tenterden	1558.03.04	PROB 11/42B/145
Robert Knight	1558.08.24	Bromley	1558.04.26	PROB 11/40/411

William Chearsounde	1559.07.21	Aldington	1558.05.10	PROB 11/42B/389
Laurence Baker	1559.12.09	Wythesham	1558.05.21	PROB 11/42B/721
Robert Adane	1559.10.15	Shallorke	1558.05.30	PROB 11/42B/534
Briget Willowghby	1558.08.18	Chedyngstone	1558.08.12	PROB 11/40/402
Richard Hely	1558.08.21	Maidstone	1558.08.13	PROB 11/40/407
Elizabeth Hely	1558.11.17	Maidstone	1558.09.29	PROB 11/41/332
Thomas Slaney	1559.04.07	Eastling	1558.10.18	PROB 11/42B/14
Thomas Slaney	1559.04.07	Eastling	1558.10.18	PROB 11/42B/14
Thomas Orlasse	1562.01.23	Hankeherst	1558.10.25	PROB 11/45/10
William Cheresounde	1559.12.11	Yalding	1558.10.26	PROB 11/43/11
Gyles Jeoffrey	1559.04.19	Horsmonden	1558.11.13	PROB 11/42B/75
Gyles Jeoffrey	1559.04.19	Horsmonden	1558.11.13	PROB 11/42B/75
John Staple	1564.08.26	Linsted	1558.11.18	PROB 11/47/282
John Staple	1565.05.10	Linsted	1558.11.18	PROB 11/48/126
Nicholas Peake	1561.03.15	Sandwich	1558.12.31	PROB 11/44/116
John Knottyngye	1560.02.24	Cokestone	1559.01.24	PROB 11/43/165
Hugh Brackley	1562.07.02	Redderith	1559.02.10	PROB 11/45/184
Edmunde Fowler	1560.05.14	Otham	1559.02.15	PROB 11/43/319
Walter Berenden	1560.11.27	Middlestone	1559.02.15	PROB 11/43/616
Nycholas Boughton	1560.02.09	Plumpsted	1559.03.30	PROB 11/43/127
William Heeseman	1561.02.07	Birlinge	1559.04.07	PROB 11/44/49
William Dilnot	1559.10.10	Cympe	1559.04.15	PROB 11/42B/515
John Dobinson	1562.06.26	Stone	1559.05.21	PROB 11/45/179
Thomas Asten	1560.07.02	Gowtherste	1559.06.16	PROB 11/43/416

Henry Chapman	1560.10.11	Goudhurst	1559.06.22	PROB 11/43/524
Julyan Graunger	1559.08.30	Newhm	1559.08.05	PROB 11/42B/445
John Milles	1559.10.20	Biddenden Kentt	1559.08.09	PROB 11/42B/557
James Moultinge	1559.09.06	Brensett	1559.08.10	PROB 11/42B/455
Elizabeth Mylles	1559.11.27	Byddenden	1559.08.17	PROB 11/42B/684
Robert Southwell	1560.11.05	Merworthe	1559.08.24	PROB 11/43/577
Agnes Torner	1559.10.26	Cowden	1559.10.07	PROB 11/42B/577
Nycholas Byshoppe	1559.12.09	Easte Sutton Canterbury	1559.11.17	PROB 11/42B/720
Thomas Hillis	1560.01.20	Biddenden	1559.11.17	PROB 11/43/94
Mary Grigge	1560.02.23	Horsemondaye	1559.11.27	PROB 11/43/164
John Basdon	1560.08.24	Beninden	1559.12.15	PROB 11/43/468
George Roberte	1563.02.05	Brenchley	1559.12.19	PROB 11/46/83
William Thomson	1561.02.25	Erith	1560.01.10	PROB 11/44/88
John Wytherden	1562.12.01	Wyngham	1560.01.23	PROB 11/45/321
Thomas Tarboke	1561.03.10	Powlestraye	1560.01.28	PROB 11/44/108
Thomas Bull	1560.08.26	Milton	1560.02.07	PROB 11/43/471
Robert Russell	1560.05.02	Goudhurste	1560.02.07	PROB 11/43/273
Hughe Brackley	1561.08.05	Rederhith	1560.02.10	PROB 11/44/286
Thomas Chapman	1561.09.15	Borden	1560.04.15	PROB 11/44/312
Richarde Seliarde	1573.06.05	Counbridge	1560.05.28	PROB 11/55/252
Robarte Style	1560.06.02	Sandwith	1560.06.01	PROB 11/43/372
Roberte Syvier	1560.10.11	Newnden	1560.08.09	PROB 11/43/522
Richard Howlet	1561.06.26	Lewisham	1560.09.08	PROB 11/44/254
Jone Iheshupe	1560.12.04	Southflyt	1560.11.07	PROB 11/43/627

Robert Arnold	1575.10.08	Wrotham	1561.01.27	PROB 11/57/433
Roger Trollope	1561.04.30	Chartham	1561.01.30	PROB 11/44/155
Simon Smithe	1567.04.22	Meydston	1561.02.15	PROB 11/49/120
Thomas Wallas	1561.12.08	Earith	1561.03.26	PROB 11/44/401
John Cooke	1561.05.10	Easte Grynewiche	1561.03.28	PROB 11/44/185
Margaret Elpffi	1579.12.04	Yaldyng	1561.04.07	PROB 11/61/563
Peter Short	1561.08.26	Tenterden	1561.05.09	PROB 11/44/301
Edwarde Goteley	1562.11.24	Detforde	1561.06.28	PROB 11/45/310
Robert Stacie	1562.05.14	Benynnden	1561.10.26	PROB 11/45/126
Richard Kent	1562.07.01	Stoke	1562.00.00	PROB 11/45/182
Hugh Tenche	1563.02.06	Eltham	1562.01.00	PROB 11/46/84
Robert Lambe	1579.02.27	Leeds	1562.01.03	PROB 11/61/141
John Bull	1563.02.01	Southefflete	1562.02.00	PROB 11/46/70
John Abell	1563.04.17	Erith	1562.02.02	PROB 11/46/167
Stephen Parratt	1563.06.10	Depforde	1562.02.15	PROB 11/46/254
Anne Gybson	1564.01.04	East Mallynge	1562.10.03	PROB 11/47/4
John Edwardes	1563.06.08	Davington	1562.11.30	PROB 11/46/253
Richard Potter	1564.05.03	Westram	1563.04.27	PROB 11/47/176
Henry Roger	1571.06.26	Beninden	1563.05.11	PROB 11/53/340
Richard Fowle	1566.01.28	Harboldowne	1563.05.21	PROB 11/48/360
John Swone	1565.11.20	Brasted	1563.07.14	PROB 11/48/299
John Swone	1564.11.22	Brayested	1563.07.20	PROB 11/47/359
Cuthbert Vaughan	1563.10.21	Great Chart	1563.07.22	PROB 11/46/378
Cuthbert Vaughan	1563.10.21	Great Chart	1563.07.25	PROB 11/46/378

Oliver Thompson	1563.09.08	Granescude	1563.07.28	PROB 11/46/338
Margaret Thompson	1563.09.08	Granescude	1563.08.18	PROB 11/46/337
John Nethersoll	1567.11.25	Patrickesborne	1563.09.01	PROB 11/49/352
William Bate	1564.05.08	Lydde	1563.11.13	PROB 11/47/188
David Penne	1570.01.13	Penne	1564.01.01	PROB 11/52/254
Richard Goldefinche	1571.10.31	Felsham	1564.02.04	PROB 11/53/476
John Hawsey	1564.10.09	Samitmarye Craye	1564.04.23	PROB 11/47/300
Henry Spurlinge	1565.01.30	Stannfforde	1564.05.01	PROB 11/48/50
Richarde Tomyow	1576.07.04	Boxeley	1564.06.04	PROB 11/58/246
William Thwayte	1560.05.24	Ulcombe	1564.06.20	PROB 11/48/2
William Mowseherste	1566.08.01	Maidstone	1564.09.19	PROB 11/49/2
Thomas Roberts	1566.02.18	St Andrewes Canturburye	1564.10.11	PROB 11/48/385
Robert Gibbon	1565.05.09	Rolvindon	1564.10.20	PROB 11/48/125
Thomas Meysey	1564.12.15	Beryngton	1564.11.01	PROB 11/47/381
William Bodell	1566.05.21	Tenterden	1565.01.17	PROB 11/48/470
Richard Lane	1567.04.23	Erithe	1565.02.17	PROB 11/49/125
John Busse	1566.05.02	Chedington	1565.03.08.	PROB 11/48/436
William Stacie	1566.12.10	Westerham	1565.11.20	PROB 11/48/647
John Love	1567.04.18	Goudhurst	1566.01.09	PROB 11/49/112
William Saxcye	1567.06.26	Swanscombe	1566.01.30	PROB 11/49/211
William Proude	1568.05.06	Huntone	1566.02.20	PROB 11/50/118
James Sutton	1567.04.02	Higham	1566.03.01	PROB 11/49/96
Thomas Hasteline	1566.09.17	Meaphame	1566.03.04	PROB 11/48/569
Oliver Cheseman	1567.04.04	Bexley	1566.03.20	PROB 11/49/99

Walter Byrde	1570.11.21	Leonshitte	1566.03.20	PROB 11/52/486
John Mayne	1566.10.17	Bedington	1566.04.17	PROB 11/48/587
Erasmus Kirkner	1567.06.02	Estgrenewch	1566.09.07	PROB 11/49/168
Robert More	1569.01.18	Canforde	1566.12.00	PROB 11/51/11
George Dalton	1567.04.23	Farneborowe	1566.12.03	PROB 11/49/122
John Jeckett	1569.05.11	Woolwich	1566.12.13	PROB 11/51/175
Gregorie Langham	1568.02.09	Chiselhurste	1567.01.02	PROB 11/50/39
John Cornelius	1567.06.19	Estrye	1567.02.06	PROB 11/49/200
Gerves Mapysden	1568.06.23	Rolvynnden	1567.02.28	PROB 11/50/193
John Stapeley	1567.09.28	Sandhurst	1567.03.02	PROB 11/49/274
William Wattes	1571.02.15	Benymen	1567.03.14	PROB 11/54/77
John Tufton	1567.11.14	Hotheheld	1567.03.27	PROB 11/49/340
Robert Hardiman	1567.06.27	Saltewood	1567.04.09	PROB 11/49/212
Richard Vilwayne	1569.05.14	Exeter	1567.04.13	PROB 11/51/181
Henry Wykynden	1597.04.22	Coweden	1567.05.27	PROB 11/89/336
William Pit	1568.03.13	Borden	1567.09.06	PROB 11/50/74
John Evernden	1568.10.08	Benynnden	1567.09.29	PROB 11/50/282
John Drayner	1567.10.11	Smarden	1567.10.04	PROB 11/49/284
William Coucheman	1568.10.11	Tunbridge	1567.12.08	PROB 11/50/287
John Waller	1568.10.27	Leigh	1567.12.08	PROB 11/50/322
John Danbye	1571.04.26	Strat Oyndridge	1568.05.22	PROB 11/53/198
Thomas Hatteclif	1568.06.11	Lye	1568.06.00	PROB 11/50/184
George Harrison	1568.07.29	Wrotam	1568.06.00	PROB 11/50/238
David Tailor	1569.02.20	Eweth	1568.08.02	PROB 11/51/77

Margareta Marter	1568.08.11	Willesboroughe	1568.08.11	PROB 11/57/72
William Hatton	1570.04.28		1569.02.15	PROB 11/52/174
Thomas Leddull	1569.06.20	Kynston	1569.05.07	PROB 11/51/242
John Mayne	1570.04.19	Heathe	1569.10.15	PROB 11/52/143
Robert Deane	1579.03.04	Halling	1569.10.18	PROB 11/61/148
Richarde Tebolde	1570.11.30	Stalt	1569.11.25	PROB 11/52/508
Thomas Thomson	1571.01.29	St Clement Sandwth	1570. 10.26	PROB 11/53/45
John Wright	1573.04.15	Eastpeckham	1570.01.25	PROB 11/55/166
Walter Berkman	1571.05.13	Maidstone	1570.02.00	PROB 11/53/26
Robert Segar	1574.03.11	Esterhurche Wmt	1570.02.05	PROB 11/56/127
Robert Chapman	1575.01.29	Stone Night Darford	1570.02.20	PROB 11/57/46
George Swone	1571.03.20	Eaton Bridge	1570.03.11	PROB 11/53/144
John Clerke	1570.11.01	Gravesend	1570.05.01	PROB 11/52/420
Thomas Pettlie	1570.06.15	Wrothm	1570.06.12	PROB 11/52/263
John Sotherne	1571.07.04	West Mallinge	1570.06.2	PROB 11/53/371
Jacob Lensseur	1571.07.09	Gravesende	1570.08.20	PROB 11/53/381
Edward Pynd	1571.01.02	East Soutton	1570.08.23	PROB 11/53/3
Thomas Manwood	1570.11.24	Sandwith	1570.10.02	PROB 11/52/409
John Alye	1570.12.04	Eaton Bridge	1570.11.21	PROB 11/52/514
Alice Gybbons	1571.01.27	Byddenden	1570.12.30	PROB 11/53/41
Richard Howker	1572.03.13	East Grenewiche	1571.01.26	PROB 11/54/115
George Fane	1572.11.20	Tindley	1571.02.04	PROB 11/54/488
Elizabeth Thompson	1572.05.07	Sandwh	1571.02.10	PROB 11/54/191
Anthonie Sodes	1576.01.31	Chruleigse	1571.03.20	PROB 11/57/662

Robert Downe	1571.04.23	East Peckham	1571.04.06	PROB 11/53/189
Edward Isaacke	1573.05.01	Well Courte	1571.04.30	PROB 11/55/202
George Provis	1571.06.09	Esegrenewiche	1571.05.18	PROB 11/53/314
William Edwards	1571.11.20	Estgrenwch	1571.06.26	PROB 11/53/516
Edward Mills	1572.04.29	Westmallyng	1571.08.25	PROB 11/54/167
Elizabeth Lambe	1573.01.31	Leeds	1571.10.02	PROB 11/55/46
John Lincolne	1575.06.20	St John Baptiste	1571.10.04	PROB 11/57/315
John Fordman	1573.06.08	Tenterden	1571.10.22	PROB 11/55/261
John Morse	1572.02.28	Aylesforde	1571.10.30	PROB 11/55/109
Hughe Cartwright	1572.07.05	Westmalling	1571.12.10	PROB 11/54/317
Thomas Gavell	1576.11.27	Westerham	1571.12.27	PROB 11/58/495
Thomas Gavell	1570.02.12	West Cohted	1571.12.30	PROB 11/53/83
Thomas Axton	1576.02.21	Cransebroke	1572.01.20	PROB 11/58/16
Edward Honnye	1573.03.03	Hauhkerst	1572.02.15	PROB 11/55/114
John Byer	1573.11.25	Darlford	1572.04.04	PROB 11/55/475
Ellice Raynolds	1572.06.19	Darleforde	1572.05.04	PROB 11/54/273
William Denne	1572.10.25	Kingeston	1572.06.02	PROB 11/54/442
John Sibbing	1572.06.17	Horton Kyrbie	1572.06.07	PROB 11/54/267
Thomas Harman	1573.08.25	Tenteden	1572.06.12	PROB 11/55/351
William Barrentine	1572.12.02	Brenchley	1572.06.15	PROB 11/54/532
Thomas Flete	1572.11.07	Biddenden	1572.08.07	PROB 11/54/467
John Reignoldes	1573.04.01	est	1572.09.14	PROB 11/55/140
Katherin Bam	1573.11.23	Gillingham	1572.12.13	PROB 11/55/468
William Wheatley	1574.09.22	Dartford	1573.02.23	PROB 11/56/427

William Seede	1574.09.28	Raineham	1573.04.07	PROB 11/56/433
John Dodd	1573.08.27	Depford	1573.07.20	PROB 11/55/354
Alexander Dewe	1574.05.02	Cranbrook Kent	1573.09.14	
William Hartridge	1573.11.26	Crambrooke	1573.09.16	PROB 11/55/476
Henry Crispe	1575.11.05	Birchington	1573.11.24	PROB 11/57/494
Avery Giles	1574.10.14	Oalington	1574.01.20	PROB 11/56/463
Edward Woodgate	1574.03.31	Eastepeckham	1574.01.28	PROB 11/57/6
Alice Wheatley	1575.02.05	Dartford	1574.01.29	PROB 11/57/64
Thomas Tottishurst	1574.05.17	Chenning	1574.03.27	PROB 11/56/246
Henry Beere	1574.06.14	Sidnam	1574.03.30	PROB 11/56/299
Steven Bateman	1574.05.21	Byddenham	1574.04.16	PROB 11/56/258
Edward Brickenden	1574.06.08	Cranbrook	1574.05.18	PROB 11/56/290
John Haite	1574.06.12	Eltame	1574.05.31	PROB 11/56/297
George Webster	1574.10.04	est Grenwth	1574.07.13	PROB 11/56/442
Richard Myddleton	1574.08.13	Estgrenwich	1574.08.10	PROB 11/56/400
John Sibyle	1574.11.13	Knifforde	1574.10.28	PROB 11/56/520
Elizabeth Beste	1574.11.12	Tonbridge	1574.11.04	PROB 11/56/516
William Gardynner	1574.12.10	Saint Alphne	1574.11.30	PROB 11/56/596
John Kenworthe	1574.01.04	Lewysham	1574.12.07	PROB 11/57/8
Edward Woodgate	1574.01.28	Tudham	1575.01.18	PROB 11/57/6
Clemence Carill	1576.12.15	Lighe	1575.02.07	PROB 11/58/519
Joane Vyolate	1576.03.23	Beranaham	1575.03.08	PROB 11/58/61
Andrew Firminger	1578.04.23	Tonbridge Rochester	1575.03.08	PROB 11/60/207
Anthony Gardiner	1575.04.16	Dartford	1575.04.08	PROB 11/57/165

John Tysar	1582.11.01	Saincte Peter	1575.04.15	PROB 11/64/459
William Feres	1575.06.13	Erith	1575.05.29	PROB 11/57/291
Giette Cooper	1575.07.18	Dowen	1575.06.13	PROB 11/57/362
Willyam Gervise	1576.06.30	Tenterden	1575.07.12	PROB 11/58/233
Henry Ascoughe	1576.02.11	Farmingham	1575.09.14	PROB 11/59/68
Thomas Amys	1582.01.24	Lyd	1575.09.18	PROB 11/64/26
Richard Lewkenor	1576.02.07	Tunbridge	1575.10.03	PROB 11/57/673
Elizabeth Annsell	1575.02.10	Feversham	1575.10.03	PROB 11/57/685
Stephen Love	1575.11.24	Goudhurst	1575.10.20	PROB 11/57/561
Thomas Gildeford	1575.08.15	Hempstead	1575.11.01	PROB 11/57/382
Thomas Sudar	1576.05.09	Goodhurste	1575.11.06	PROB 11/58/122
Christopher Clerke	1577.01.28	Byddenden	1575.11.11	PROB 11/59/549
Gyles Rage	1575.12.15	Lewsame	1575.11.19	PROB 11/57/611
Robert Gens	1576.06.02	Southfleet	1575.11.20	PROB 11/58/197
Miles Raven	1575.12.14	Charleton	1575.12.08	PROB 11/57/608
Robert Taylor	1577.07.26	Ridley	1576.01.10	PROB 11/59/393
William Roper	1578.06.21	Eltham	1576.01.10	PROB 11/60/365
Symon Fyfelde	1578.03.17	Bromley	1576.01.20	PROB 11/60/165
Robert Sulyarde	1577.02.07	Brastede	1576.02.12	PROB 11/60/99
Thomas Leveson	1576.10.30	Hawlynge	1576.04.15	PROB 11/58/397
John Norwoode	1578.09.09	Gillingham	1576.04.16	PROB 11/60/443
Frances Davies	1577.06.20	Crambrooke	1576.07.15	PROB 11/59/309
John Awsten	1576.11.09	Tenterden	1576.10.12	PROB 11/58/427
Richard Payne	1577.01.28	Newington Heathe	1576.11.30	PROB 11/59/190

John Symons	1578.06.11	East Grenewiche	1577.01.28	PROB 11/60/331
Percivall Harte	1580.06.01	Lullingstone	1577.02.16	PROB 11/62/217
Walter Goddyn	1578.02.21	Sutton Vallance	1577.06.02	PROB 11/60/131
Robert Bathwest	1577.01.28	Horsmonden	1577.08.10	PROB 11/59/488
John Crudd	1577.01.28	Wrotham	1577.08.15	PROB 11/59/400
Robert Browne	1577.01.28	Raineham	1577.09.04	PROB 11/59/459
Thomas Lovelace	1579.02.13	Kingesdowne	1577.09.17	PROB 11/61/105
Walter Hendle	1578.02.15	Otham	1577.11.13	PROB 11/60/119
Thomas Phillipp	1578.01.22	Lydd	1577.11.20	PROB 11/60/23
George Pollhill	1579.03.09	Oteforde	1578.02.00	PROB 11/61/154
Lawrence Miller	1578.06.12	Wrotham	1578.02.03	PROB 11/60/333
Peter Rowle	1579.11.02	Rochester	1578.02.15	PROB 11/61/495
Rowland Litleboye	1578.09.16	Aylleford	1578.03.09	PROB 11/60/449
Fraunces Santonne	1579.03.30	Erthorne	1578.03.21	PROB 11/61/175
Gilbert Pearse	1586.12.02	Mardstone	1578.04.12	PROB 11/69/716
John Pegden	1580.06.09	Frenstead	1578.04.24	PROB 11/62/237
Johane Beere	1578.11.22	Dertford	1578.06.01	PROB 11/60/587
Evan Jones	1579.09.25	Brenchley	1578.06.26	PROB 11/61/444
William Awsten	1578.07.28	Gravesend	1578.07.19	PROB 11/60/408
Richard Leede	1578.11.06	East Sutton	1578.07.30	PROB 11/60/531
Thomas Smith	1579.07.09	Bexley	1578.09.03	PROB 11/61/378
John Hilton	1578.10.30	Erith	1578.10.16	PROB 11/60/513
Jeames Goorley	1579.03.10	Maidstone	1578.10.26	PROB 11/61/156
Henry Fane	1583.02.04	Hadlow	1579.01.21	PROB 11/65/62

William Middilton	1581.06.13	Westerham	1579.01.28	PROB 11/63/347
John Fowle	1584.03.13	Sandeherst	1579.02.20	PROB 11/66/380
William Boddinden	1579.05.30	Biddende	1579.04.18	PROB 11/61/283
John French	1579.06.23	Maidstone	1579.04.20	PROB 11/61/307
John Crudd	1579.12.23	Wrotham	1579.04.20	PROB 11/61/584
Christopher Gardener	1579.05.04	Lendham	1579.04.22	PROB 11/61/201
Richard Barham	1582.09.08	Maidstone	1579.07.25	PROB 11/64/398
Anthony Lockener	1579.09.24	Eltham	1579.08.13	PROB 11/61/442
Robert Ardren	1579.08.25	Depford	1579.08.20	PROB 11/61/417
Thomas Cleeve	1579.11.13	East Farlighte	1579.08.23	PROB 11/61/522
John Homfrey	1579.11.18	Frante	1579.11.00	PROB 11/61/534
Rychard Gill	1581.03.01	Erithe	1580.02.20	PROB 11/63/121
Fraunces Holbrock	1581.04.20	Newington	1580.02.26	PROB 11/63/183
Walter Roberts	1580.09.28	Glassonburge	1580.03.29	PROB 11/62/388
Simon Moyse	1580.08.04	Bedendey	1580.06.26	PROB 11/62/328
Thomas Howe	1580.09.15	Halstoe	1580.08.20	PROB 11/62/375
John Hawker	1581.11.16	Hallock	1580.08.22	PROB 11/63/576
William Tewson	1580.09.24	Deptford	1580.08.31	PROB 11/62/384
Hugh Rowe	1581.04.26	Rayneham	1580.12.26	PROB 11/63/210
John Taylor	1582.05.05	Cobham	1581.01.30	PROB 11/64/176
John Sedley	1581.08.23	Sowthflete	1581.03.29	PROB 11/63/431
Thomas Kenworth	1581.09.04	Netlested	1581.06.14	PROB 11/63/443
Thomas Willougheby	1582.05.18	Rochester	1581.07.01	PROB 11/64/219
Richard Streatfield	1585.05.12	Chedingstone	1581.08.01	PROB 11/68/282

John Syversson	1581.10.11	Wolwiche	1581.09.04	PROB 11/63/482
William Pyxe	1582.06.30	Yalding	1581.09.07	PROB 11/64/309
Richard Knatchbull	1582.10.09	Mersam	1581.10.01	PROB 11/64/428
Nicholas Seyliard	1584.02.06	Brasted	1581.10.06	PROB 11/65/534
Anne Peppe	1585.11.04	Ewell	1581.12.05	PROB 11/68/602
Edmund Jessopp	1582.01.31	Eastr Peckham	1581.12.25	PROB 11/64/47
Martia Hales	1583.04.16	Tenterden	1582.02.09	PROB 11/65/211
Henrye Godfrey	1583.11.02	Syethefeld	1582.02.26	PROB 11/66/96
William Somersett	1583.05.11	Eastgrenewich	1582.03.20	PROB 11/65/308
David Firminger	1583.06.08	Feidshm	1582.04.05	PROB 11/65/364
Sir Edward Braye	1581.06.06	Wrotham	1582.04.28	PROB 11/63/303
Richard Asten	1582.06.14	Ebbeney	1582.05.07	PROB 11/64/269
Barbara Chapman	1588.11.21	Westfarleighe	1582.05.20	PROB 11/73/112
Richarde Lone	1581.07.14	Sevenoaks	1582.06.12	PROB 11/63/399
Thomas Willowes	1585.01.18	Hackeington	1582.08.07	PROB 11/69/12
Thomas Courthope	1585.02.04	Sutton Vallyanuce	1582.09.10	PROB 11/68/60
William Dalyson	1581.11.14	Hawlinge	1582.10.28	PROB 11/63/566
William Gressom	1582.05.30	Beddersden	1582.11.03	PROB 11/64/261
Richard Crompe	1585.01.15	Hythe	1582.11.09	PROB 11/68/17
William Addams	1583.06.19	Newington	1582.11.13	PROB 11/65/403
Thomas Danmoll	1581.01.27	Emsforde	1582.11.22	PROB 11/64/38
John Beare	1584.01.27	Swainescombe	1582.12.07	PROB 11/66/260
Thomas Manninge	1583.06.14	Sainte Marye Craye	1582.12.07	PROB 11/65/388
Peter Woodgate	1581.05.03	Hawkhurst	15821.04.05	PROB 11/63/240

Roger Keyma	1584.05.29	Castgrenwiche	1583.02.05	PROB 11/67/131
Symon Willarde	1584.02.26	Gowthurst	1583.02.06	PROB 11/68/137
Richard Hasell	1590.11.16	Crayford	1583.02.20	PROB 11/76/358
Thomas Reader	1590.10.17	Bredgar	1583.03.12	PROB 11/76/208
William Berworth	1584.03.19	Tenterden	1583.03.19	PROB 11/68/168
Anne Parker	1583.04.06	Eastgrenewch	1583.03.24	PROB 11/65/195
George Mannyng	1583.05.16	Down	1583.04.30	PROB 11/65/326
Richard Streynsham	1583.11.08	Feversham	1583.05.27	PROB 11/66/116
Thomas Hawsy	1585.05.12	Eastmabury	1583.07.20	PROB 11/68/277
Thomas Rucke	1585.05.03	Cranebroke	1583.07.29	PROB 11/68/242
John Somer	1585.11.11	Holstowe	1583.08.05	PROB 11/68/621
Nicholas Bramston	1583.08.26	Plomsted	1583.08.16	PROB 11/65/490
Henrye Scott	1583.01.24	Smeth	1583.08.20	PROB 11/66/256
Thomas Tallis	1585.11.29	est Grenewich	1583.08.20	PROB 11/68/662
John Heyto	1584.06.16	Eastgrenwth	1583.10.18	PROB 11/67/154
Nicholas Goodman	1583.12.29	Hawkhurste	1583.12.00	PROB 11/66/213
Edmond Milles	1586.11.15	Shipburne	1583.12.06	PROB 11/69/66
Edward Hille	1584.07.07	Woodchurche	1583.12.15	PROB 11/67/22
William Leedes	1586.03.15	Tonterdon	1583.12.20	PROB 11/69/152
Roger Glove	1586.04.22	Erith	1584.01.10	PROB 11/69/198
Mary Isleye	1583.05.02	Bredgar	1584.01.21	PROB 11/65/278
John Spencer	1585.06.02	Chart	1584.02.01	PROB 11/68/350
Barbara Neale	1585.07.31	Dytton	1584.02.01	PROB 11/68/478
Lawrence Pordag	1584.05.19	West Farleigh	1584.02.10	PROB 11/67/83

John Hastlin	1586.08.05	Gravesend	1584.02.13	PROB 11/69/44
Thomas Dence	1585.07.29	Cranebroke	1584.02.18	PROB 11/68/471
Henry Bassett	1585.04.20	Chiddingstone	1584.03.23	PROB 11/68/202
Barnard Lente	1584.03.18	St Peter Sandwiche	1584.04.10	PROB 11/68/165
Robert Kendal	1583.07.23	Charleton	1584.06.25	PROB 11/65/453
Johnis Bell	1584.07.08	Wickam Norwarde	1584.07.03	
William Turnour	1584.10.20	Debtford	1584.08.20	PROB 11/67/366
Robert Reynoldes	1585.06.22	Queeneborowe	1584.08.20	PROB 11/68/401
George Fynche	1584.10.30	Norton	1584.08.21	PROB 11/67/394
Thomas Sab	1584.01.13	Gowthurst	1584.09.05	PROB 11/68/9
John Down	1585.03.15	East Peckham	1584.09.07	PROB 11/69/153
Thomas Walsingham	1584.05.22	Chiselhurst	1584.10.15	PROB 11/67/99
Symon Brooke	1584.02.04	Milton	1584.10.27	PROB 11/68/59
Edward Collens	1584.12.03	Byddenden	1584.11.04	PROB 11/67/495
Blase Usmer	1584.01.26	East Sutton	1584.11.05	PROB 11/68/34
Steven Watterma	1584.02.01	Withersham	1584.11.11	PROB 11/68/52
James Chapman	1585.05.25	Patrikesborne	1584.11.28	PROB 11/68/342
Martin Harlackinden	1585.04.30	Wodchurche	1584.12.02	PROB 11/68/229
William Curteis	1582.01.24	Tenterden	1584.12.08	PROB 11/65/24
George Harte	1587.11.10	Lullingstone	1584.12.18	PROB 11/71/338
Bryanne Powle	1586.06.18	Hener	1585.01.10	PROB 11/69/365
Daniell Stonestreete	1585.02.10	Pluckley	1585.01.20	PROB 11/69/88
Richard Godfry	1585.04.15	Hotfeild	1585.01.20	PROB 11/68/197
John Hoore	1585.02.13	Hease	1585.02.07	PROB 11/68/105

Henry Lowes	1586.05.14	Ashforde	1585.02.14	PROB 11/69/275
John Riche	1586.11.21	Huntington	1585.02.15	PROB 11/69/682
Elizabeth Somers	1585.04.01	Bexley	1585.03.04	PROB 11/68/180
John Leedes	1585.05.18	Snodland	1585.04.10	PROB 11/68/303
Margarett Flete	1586.05.20	Chartham	1585.04.24	PROB 11/69/291
Thomas Mayney	1587.08.16	Staplehurst	1585.05.02	PROB 11/71/107
John Whitfeilde	1585.06.15	Tenterden	1585.05.14	PROB 11/68/371
William Hovynden	1585.06.25	Cranbrook	1585.05.24	PROB 11/68/409
Robert Kynge	1586.08.25	Cimebrake	1585.05.27	PROB 11/69/458
John Tilden	1585.09.04	Westwell	1585.06.25	PROB 11/68/515
Richard Barker	1587.09.09	Dartford	1585.08.21	PROB 11/71/137
Dorathie Adamsone	1585.11.29	Westmalingœ	1585.09.13	PROB 11/68/663
William Fleete	1586.09.14	Chartham	1585.09.14	PROB 11/69/225
Alexander Sharppye	1585.11.05	Gravebrooke	1585.10.06	PROB 11/68/603
Thomas Herber	1585.10.27	Seale	1585.10.17	PROB 11/68/573
Robert Scotcheford	1586.08.24	Broncheley	1585.10.22	PROB 11/69/457
George Barwick	1586.11.10	Detforthe	1585.11.02	PROB 11/69/630
Frauncies Gouldsmythe	1586.05.16	Crayforde	1585.11.09	PROB 11/69/267
Robert Edmonds	1585.12.20	Maister	1585.11.26	PROB 11/68/711
Roger Jernice	1586.09.07	Woodchurche	1585.12.10	PROB 11/69/486
Thomas Fisher	1588.06.26	Crayford	1585.12.13	PROB 11/72/595
Thomas Woulters	1586.01.19	Borton Malherbe	1586.01.08	PROB 11/69/744
Anthony Cocke	1586.02.17	Marden	1586.01.08	PROB 11/70/114
James Fowle	1586.02.22	Witersham	1586.01.11	PROB 11/70/132

Edmund Glove	1586.01.25	Rumney	1586.01.15	PROB 11/70/44
Thomas Godfrye	1586.02.07	Yalding	1586.01.25	PROB 11/70/83
Roger Coveney	1586.11.14	Huntington	1586.03.30	PROB 11/69/654
John Fowe	1586.10.22	Maidstone	1586.04.05	PROB 11/69/563
Richard Vincent	1587.05.27	Wodton	1586.05.03	PROB 11/70/358
William Piggot	1586.06.08	Cawden	1586.05.12	PROB 11/69/329
John Maynarde	1586.10.28	Eaton Bridge	1586.06.06	PROB 11/69/586
William Morton	1588.11.12	Dotting	1586.06.13	PROB 11/73/73
Thomas Woulters	1586.12.13	Sandwich	1586.06.17	PROB 11/69/744
Thomas Foster	1586.08.10	Biddynden	1586.06.28	PROB 11/69/443
Edward Hales	1586.11.02	Tenterden	1586.07.09	PROB 11/69/595
John Stace	1586.11.07	Holye Crosse Canterburye	1586.07.12	PROB 11/69/620
John Cowper	1587.11.21	Charleton	1586.08.02	PROB 11/71/37
James Crippes	1586.11.05	Hartley	1586.08.26	PROB 11/69/613
Mary Firminger	1586.11.02	Maidstone	1586.09.01	PROB 11/69/596
Thomas Plommer	1590.03.04	New Romney	1586.09.15	PROB 11/77/195
Thomas Smith	1586.11.14	Maidstone	1586.09.17	PROB 11/69/657
Olive Daye	1586.11.03	Horsmonden	1586.09.29	PROB 11/69/601
Thomas Sharpe	1586.12.08	Bennynden	1586.11.23	PROB 11/69/729
John Knatchbull	1587.02.01	Meryham	1587.00.00	PROB 11/72/104
Arthur Axso	1587.03.22	Hoo	1587.02.07	PROB 11/72/276
Thomas Homden	1589.02.26	Cheddingstone	1587.02.20	PROB 11/75/171
William Delman	1592.05.05	Marden	1587.03.02	PROB 11/79/366
Josias Pope	1596.02.26	Muntton	1587.03.07	PROB 11/89/197

Winifride Dod	1588.05.22	Debtforde	1587.03.13	PROB 11/72/472
John Gilbert	1588.06.14	Gloucester	1587.04.10	PROB 11/72/525
Richard Besbiche	1591.04.09	Goudhurst	1587.04.14	PROB 11/77/254
Thomas Pocock	1587.05.11	Sevenoaks	1587.04.20	PROB 11/70/267
Robert Richers	1588.02.12	Wrotham	1587.05.04	PROB 11/73/312
Lawrence Asten	1589.01.07	Ebbney	1587.05.07	PROB 11/75/3
Peter Short	1587.05.24	Tenterden	1587.05.10	PROB 11/70/328
Stephen Beaching	1587.07.06	Wittersham	1587.05.10	PROB 11/71/31
John Wadesle	1587.08.04	Plumpsted	1587.05.11	PROB 11/71/87
Mighell Webbe	1587.07.20	St Peter the Apostle	1587.05.19	PROB 11/71/66
Edmond Chapman	1590.05.23	Westram	1587.05.20	PROB 11/75/356
Joane Talli	1589.06.10	East Greene	1587.06.12	PROB 11/74/4
Robert Miller	1587.08.15	Newteham	1587.06.16	PROB 11/71/104
Thomas Colepeper	1588.02.22	Alisforde	1587.07.08	PROB 11/72/216
John Freman	1587.09.20	Eastfarleighs	1587.07.10	PROB 11/71/158
Margery Apelbye	1590.05.25	Brasted	1587.09.29	PROB 11/75/362
Agnes Welles	1588.01.25	Deptford	1587.11.06	PROB 11/72/66
John Mattresse	1588.02.13	Tranbrooke	1587.11.06	PROB 11/72/181
Richard Powell	1589.07.30	St Margarette Rochester	1587.11.08	PROB 11/74/174
John Lennarde	1591.04.27	Sevenoaks	1587.11.18	PROB 11/77/305
John Furminger	1587.01.27	Alhallowes in the Hundred of Hoo	1587.11.30	PROB 11/72/83
John Heron	1593.02.19	Teston	1588.01.16	PROB 11/82/53
Raphe Homersham	1590.05.12	Maidstone	1588.01.27	PROB 11/75/290
Agnes Harttopp	1590.11.27	Dartforde	1588.01.02	PROB 11/76/365

Robert Spraclinge	1590.06.23	Saincte Lawrences	1588.02.12	PROB 11/75/466
John Tayler	1588.04.17	Maidstone	1588.02.20	PROB 11/72/305
Thirston Haytson	1589.09.25	Eastgrenewichœ	1588.02.20	PROB 11/74/251
John Joyce	1590.09.24	Maideston	1588.02.22	PROB 11/76/162
Robert Rudston	1589.02.21	Baighton Mount Chelsea	1588.03.20	PROB 11/75/165
Anne Leedes	1588.02.06	Yaloinge	1588.04.02	PROB 11/73/281
Thomas Haman	1588.12.30	Broughton under the Bleane	1588.04.03	PROB 11/73/187
Jenkyn Lynt	1588.04.27	Bockton Matherbe	1588.04.20	PROB 11/72/339
Stephen Ramsden	1588.05.17	Biddenden	1588.04.24	PROB 11/72/434
John Cage	1591.05.18	Smarden	1588.05.09	PROB 11/77/445
Thomas Palmer	1588.06.13	East Grenewiche	1588.05.29	PROB 11/72/516
Richard Parker	1589.08.28	Northfleete	1588.06.04	PROB 11/74/217
Walter Tric	1588.11.21	Hadlave	1588.06.28	PROB 11/73/114
John Gellibrande	1588.01.27	Pawlinstraye	1588.06.29	PROB 11/73/230
George Asburner	1592.02.07	Gravesende	1588.07.10	PROB 11/81/130
Henry Gybbon	1589.11.19	Benenden	1588.08.03	PROB 11/74/454
William Even	1594.11.06	Sandwich	1588.09.07	PROB 11/84/32
Hugh Hoade	1588.01.24	Cranbrook	1588.09.11	PROB 11/73/218
William Downe	1588.10.18	Maydston Draper	1588.09.14	PROB 11/73/4
Elinor Elliott	1588.11.07	Mallinge	1588.09.16	PROB 11/73/55
Richard Courthopp	1588.02.12	Cosins Bleane	1588.10.20	PROB 11/73/310
Richard Argall	1589.02.12	East Sutton	1588.10.21	PROB 11/73/311
Joan Sharpie	1589.01.24	Bevenden	1588.10.22	PROB 11/73/219
William Freeman	1588.01.07	Chatham	1588.11.08	PROB 11/73/195

John Wagstaf	1594.06.15	Biddenden	1588.11.09	PROB 11/84/55
William Carewe	1588.01.28	Stonoe	1588.11.20	PROB 11/73/232
John Alie	1589.05.26	Katonbridge	1588.12.18	PROB 11/73/546
Henry Wattell	1588.12.04	Wytsam	1588.12.20	PROB 11/73/148
Edward Haslen	1591.12.04	Meapam	1588.12.20	PROB 11/78/386
John Bayte	1588.12.31	Eltham	1588.12.23	PROB 11/73/189
Thomas Woolett	1589.04.23	East Mawlinge	1589.01.01	PROB 11/73/457
Richard Lane	1590.07.09	Bexley	1589.01.02	PROB 11/76/42
Thomas Etherick	1590.07.03	New Romney	1589.01.06	PROB 11/76/17
Henry Bosseuile	1593.07.06	Bradburne	1589.01.08	PROB 11/82/176
Andrew Bennett	1592.02.06	Horsemandey	1589.01.10	PROB 11/81/119
Robert Rodes	1590.03.18	Divinitie Andvuar of Cranebrooke	1589.02.03	PROB 11/75/201
Paule Downe	1582.04.14	Eastpertham	1589.04.11	PROB 11/64/140
Elizabeth Paswater	1590.09.05	Penshorst	1589.04.11	PROB 11/76/141
John Partriche	1589.06.12	Huntington	1589.05.02	PROB 11/74/57
Henry Medley	1591.07.08	Cranebrooke	1589.05.18	PROB 11/78/1
John Myller	1589.10.23	Tunbridge	1589.06.20	PROB 11/74/340
William Horden	1590.05.08	Cobham	1589.07.24	PROB 11/75/270
John Baker	1589.10.17	New Romney	1589.09.01	PROB 11/74/317
John Franckleyn	1589.10.25	est Sutton	1589.09.14	PROB 11/74/348
Sacrie Nune	1591.05.15	Shorne	1589.09.20	PROB 11/77/431
Richard Carde	1589.03.20	Horton Mouckton	1589.10.00	PROB 11/75/205
Elizabeth Whettingestal	1592.10.05	Easte Greenewith	1589.11.04	PROB 11/80/274
Edmond Walsingham	1589.11.22	Scadburie	1589.11.12	PROB 11/74/470

Richard Knatchbull	1590.02.05	Mersham	1590.01.18	PROB 11/77/93
Michael Wombwell	1590.02.04	Northfleete	1590.01.19	PROB 11/77/81
Thomas Mere	1591.05.15	Goudhurst	1590.02.00	PROB 11/77/433
John Stace	1591.06.08	Highe	1590.02.03	PROB 11/77/488
Humfrey Donat	1593.07.06	Orpington	1590.02.15	PROB 11/82/181
Thomas Scott	1591.03.17	Eastkingesnoth	1590.03.04	PROB 11/77/216
Thomas Stace	1591.04.27	Seale	1590.03.07	PROB 11/77/306
Ralph Finche	1591.06.17	Kingesdowne	1590.03.09	PROB 11/77/538
Richard Pratt	1592.06.01	Tonbridge	1590.03.10	PROB 11/80/5
Richard Hobes	1590.06.02	Darford	1590.03.27	PROB 11/75/429
Robert Stacye	1591.04.27	Wrotham	1590.04.05	PROB 11/77/304
William Wynge	1590.05.30	Newington	1590.04.24	PROB 11/75/407
Edmonde Harrison	1594.08.26	West Malling	1590.05.02	PROB 11/84/184
William Symons	1590.05.29	Maidstone	1590.05.18	PROB 11/75/396
Francis Culpepper	1591.11.22	Greenewaye Courte	1590.05.20	PROB 11/78/323
Henry Baker	1591.06.28	Erithe	1590.05.20	PROB 11/77/608
John Mondaye	1591.02.12	Greene Witch	1590.06.02	PROB 11/77/143
Gabriel Downes	1597.04.19	Maidstone	1590.06.06	PROB 11/89/319
Robert Children	1592.07.15	Tonbridge	1590.06.10	PROB 11/80/135
Robert Baker	1591.07.30	Gowdherst	1590.06.17	PROB 11/78/51
John Stace	1591.08.10	Leigh	1590.06.20	PROB 11/78/64
Vincent Denne	1591.10.13	Kingstone	1590.07.16	PROB 11/78/164
Thomas Nevinson	1590.09.08	Estrye	1590.07.22	PROB 11/76/142
William Mace	1590.08.31	Chelfeilde	1590.08.02	PROB 11/76/129

Thomas Smythe	1591.11.10	Goudhurst	1590.08.06	PROB 11/78/276
Raffe Waklyn	1590.10.08	Ileide	1590.08.10	PROB 11/76/179
John Phillpott	1590.03.12	Feversham	1590.08.11	PROB 11/77/209
Edward Horden	1591.04.26	Gowthurst	1590.08.13	PROB 11/77/294
Anne Weldon	1591.11.10	Eastphm	1590.08.20	PROB 11/78/281
John Burges	1591.11.03	Otford	1590.08.25	PROB 11/78/238
John Fowle	1591.05.04	Sandeherst	1590.09.12	PROB 11/77/334
William Death	1591.05.05	Dartforde	1590.09.13	PROB 11/77/342
William Tayler	1591.11.05	Meopham	1590.09.28	PROB 11/78/250
George Maplisden	1590.01.28	Rochester	1590.10.15	PROB 11/77/53
John Reed	1594.10.22	Sandhurst	1590.11.07	PROB 11/84/282
Robert Green	1590.02.09	Bobbinge	1590.11.10	PROB 11/77/117
Thomas Blonte	1590.01.02	Halden Place	1590.11.12	PROB 11/77/1
John Wybarne	1591.11.20	Pepingburye	1590.11.30	PROB 11/78/315
Robert Dewarde	1590.01.23	Willisborowe	1590.12.08	PROB 11/77/35
Thomas Hendle	1591.04.26	Othame	1590.12.29	PROB 11/77/295
Frances Shakerley	1593.01.29	Ditton	1591.00.00	PROB 11/81/74
Thomas Meare	1592.04.24	Erithe	1591.01.20	PROB 11/79/305
Robart Everende	1591.03.19	Bennendon	1591.01.27	PROB 11/77/221
Frauncys Allard	1591.02.24	Biddenden	1591.01.30	PROB 11/79/172
Edward Wier	1591.03.10	Ospringe	1591.01.31	PROB 11/79/201
John Gaylor	1592.05.06	Dartforde	1591.02.08	PROB 11/79/374
John Braye	1591.07.28	Bearsted	1591.02.20	PROB 11/77/615
Thomas Brooke	1593.05.26	Milton	1591.02.28	PROB 11/81/480
John Arnolde	1591.06.04	Eaton Bridge	1591.02.30	PROB 11/77/472

Thomas Sandes	1592.02.07	Throwley	1591.03.01	PROB 11/81/131
Richarde Nashe	1592.02.15	Brasted	1591.03.13	PROB 11/82/42
William Leman	1592.05.29	St Jaineses	1591.03.14	PROB 11/79/431
Moises Pawlowe	1591.06.08	Hadlow	1591.03.27	PROB 11/77/489
Henry Judd	1592.04.15	Offham	1591.03.28	PROB 11/79/263
Walter Downe	1591.04.29	East Peckham	1591.03.30	PROB 11/77/309
Henry Selherst	1592.04.02	Bethersden	1591.04.13	PROB 11/80/2
Renney Durante	1592.04.22	Horsmonden	1591.04.20	PROB 11/79/295
Henrie Finche	1591.07.10	Nortonna	1591.05.17	PROB 11/78/24
Moises Pawlowe	1591.06.08		1591.05.17	PROB 11/77/489
Henry Smithe	1591.06.22	Mardestone	1591.06.12	PROB 11/77/574
John Abell	1593.03.01	Erithe	1591.07.10	PROB 11/81/193
Richard Atkinson	1601.03.24	Northbourne	1591.07.25	PROB 11/99/214
Richarde Bakere	1594.06.13	Cranebrooke	1591.08.28	PROB 11/84/37
Edward Price	1591.09.14	Charte	1591.09.03	PROB 11/78/116
Agnes Kirkener	1594.01.25	East Greenwich	1591.09.03	PROB 11/83/39
Robert Childe	1593.01.29	Ifeilde	1591.09.14	PROB 11/81/73
James Osborne	1591.11.11	Marden	1591.09.25	PROB 11/78/282
Thomas Patenden	1591.11.27	Maidstone	1591.10.09	PROB 11/78/352
Thomas Baldocke	1601.11.04	Maidstone	1591.10.13	PROB 11/98/338
Abraham Burton	1591.10.25	Lenham	1591.10.23	PROB 11/78/205
James Mabesden	1592.11.07	Bexley	1591.11.05	PROB 11/80/357
Edward Jorden	1593.03.03	Cranbrook	1591.11.06	PROB 11/82/73
William Coveney	1591.02.01	Yalding	1591.11.20	PROB 11/79/63

James Bridge	1592.01.08	Hothfeilde	1591.12.05	PROB 11/79/7
Richard Bennett	1595.05.21	West Peckham	1591.12.24	PROB 11/85/334
Anthony Poulter	1592.02.22	Wilinnton	1592.01.01	PROB 11/81/179
John Hunsdon	1593.03.01	Milton	1592.01.15	PROB 11/81/194
Thomas Gaskony	1593.05.04	Sundriche	1592.01.17	PROB 11/81/323
Edward Ellis	1600.05.30	Redereffe	1592.01.19	PROB 11/95/352
John Astley	1596.08.10	Maidstone	1592.01.25	PROB 11/88/89
William Ase	1593.05.07	Warehorne	1592.03.20	PROB 11/81/342
William Markelye	1592.03.16	Yalding	1592.04.04	PROB 11/81/232
Richard Chapman	1592.02.13	Deptford	1592.04.15	PROB 11/81/164
Ursula Randolle	1594.08.14	Cliffe	1592.04.21	PROB 11/84/170
Agnes Shepharde	1593.05.05	Tenterden Canterbury	1592.04.24	PROB 11/81/330
William Slade	1592.06.01	Tenterden	1592.04.28	PROB 11/80/6
Joyce Clerke	1595.01.30	London	1592.05.00	PROB 11/85/60
Margaret Baker	1593.06.22	Gowdhorst	1592.06.00	PROB 11/82/117
Thomas Parker	1601.07.17	Longfeild	1592.06.01	PROB 11/98/125
Richard Burston	1594.07.09	Shorne	1592.06.08	PROB 11/84/132
Francis Alchin	1593.02.15	Marden Canterburye	1592.06.12	PROB 11/82/37
John Wattes	1593.02.02	Aldington	1592.06.14	PROB 11/81/106
Thomas Micklewayte	1592.09.12	Plumstead	1592.06.20	PROB 11/80/232
William Ownsted	1593.03.20	Leveshum	1592.08.00	PROB 11/81/241
Thomas Coveneye	1592.11.20	Yalding	1592.08.01	PROB 11/80/408
Walter Woode	1593.05.09	Maryes in the Hundred of Howe	1592.08.02	PROB 11/81/359
Robert Chatterton	1592.09.22	Lewisham	1592.08.19	PROB 11/80/248

James Morley	1592.09.09	Greenewiche	1592.08.19	PROB 11/80/229
William Bepitch	1592.01.22	Feversham	1592.09.02	PROB 11/81/47
Robert Crothole	1594.03.19	Bennendey	1592.09.04	PROB 11/85/214
William Burden	1592.02.01	Dover	1592.09.09	PROB 11/81/95
Margaret Clerke	1592.10.24	Kingesnothe	1592.09.18	PROB 11/80/307
John Ware	1597.10.14	East Greenewith	1592.09.19	PROB 11/90/318
Thomas Smithe	1592.11.30	Goudhurste	1592.10.13	PROB 11/80/458
John Dalto	1595.04.16	Farneborowghe	1592.10.14	PROB 11/85/245
Thomas Crippes	1596.05.03	Hartley	1592.10.28	PROB 11/87/278
Robert Plott	1594.04.20	Burham	1592.11.04	PROB 11/83/314
Margaret Gulstonn	1592.02.05	Eastgreenwiche	1592.11.28	PROB 11/81/116
Roger Phillippes	1592.01.18	Detford Strand	1592.12.02	PROB 11/81/29
Thomas Bisshoppe	1593.07.06	Brenchely	1592.12.22	PROB 11/82/175
Francis Flowe	1596.02.16	Eltham	1593.01.01	PROB 11/89/165
John Squire	1592.01.26	Mottingham	1593.01.09	PROB 11/81/58
William Mannyng	1596.01.26	Sainete Marye Craye	1593.01.14	PROB 11/89/53
Thomas Tuttesham	1594.04.11	Westpeckham	1593.01.18	PROB 11/83/285
John Riche	1593.09.17	Debtford	1593.01.23	PROB 11/82/312
Paschall Sloman	1595.06.26	Appledore	1593.02.04	PROB 11/86/50
William Burgis	1594.11.16	Sevenoaks	1593.03.04	PROB 11/84/365
Richard Longe	1593.08.16	Hunton	1593.03.27	PROB 11/82/251
Margery Rowles	1593.04.19	Kempesing	1593.04.04	PROB 11/81/293
Richard Allarde	1593.07.10	Rochester	1593.04.20	PROB 11/82/184
Anthony Calthrope	1594.10.25	Bromeley	1593.04.21	PROB 11/84/298

Christofer Lodenden	1597.04.02	Brenchley	1593.04.21	PROB 11/90/1
John Pett	1593.07.24	Sevenocks	1593.04.22	PROB 11/82/208
Edwarde Hayle	1593.05.07	Woolwich	1593.04.29	PROB 11/81/341
Thomas Page	1597.08.23	Southerst	1593.05.01	PROB 11/90/204
John Beecher	1596.04.27	Lighe	1593.05.20	PROB 11/87/259
John Pancost	1598.02.03	Lye	1593.05.30	PROB 11/93/76
Thomas Laddes	1593.07.03	Pemby	1593.06.01	PROB 11/82/167
John Emeley	1593.06.11	Eastgrenewich	1593.06.02	PROB 11/82/86
Thomas Herenden	1595.10.15	Lydd	1593.06.16	PROB 11/85/416
Richard Smithe	1593.09.12	Maidstone	1593.07.04	PROB 11/82/303
Joane Woode	1593.10.30	Rochester	1593.07.17	PROB 11/82/423
Thomas Allen	1594.05.03	Doven	1593.07.18	PROB 11/83/367
John Carpenter	1593.07.28	Tunbridge	1593.07.20	PROB 11/82/216
John Draper	1593.07.27	Woolwich	1593.07.22	PROB 11/82/213
Thomas Marchant	1595.01.21	All Saincte	1593.07.26	PROB 11/87/18
Nicholas Coveney	1595.06.14	Ashe	1593.08.05	PROB 11/85/405
Thomas Kempsall	1599.11.19	Beckenham	1593.08.13	PROB 11/94/418
Robert Crothole	1594.03.19	Bennenden	1593.09.04	PROB 11/85/214
Margaret Lampard	1594.01.24	Tonbridge	1593.09.18	PROB 11/85/43
William Withers	1595.05.13	Darenth	1593.09.20	PROB 11/85/299
Henry Shorte	1597.10.20	Gyllingham	1593.09.28	PROB 11/90/337
John Sturgis	1595.04.28	Bridge	1593.10.04	PROB 11/85/259
Roberte Gouldock	1597.11.24	Wouldham	1593.10.22	PROB 11/90/532
William Atwood	1593.03.12	East Malling	1593.10.25	PROB 11/83/241

William Saunder	1597.11.14	Seynte Lawrence	1593.10.29	PROB 11/90/476
William Lewin	1598.05.23	Ottermnden	1593.11.15	PROB 11/91/472
Robert Binge	1595.12.02	Westeham	1593.11.20	PROB 11/86/401
Richarde Dounton	1593.05.05	Sandhurst	1593.12.03	PROB 11/81/32
Frauncis Tresse	1592.03.10	St Warboroughe	1593.12.11	PROB 11/81/212
Thomas Elder	1596.01.25	Knoll	1593.12.12	PROB 11/89/4
William Edmondes	1593.02.04	Wye	1593.12.13	PROB 11/83/101
Henry Lan	1593.03.23	Northeraie	1593.12.27	PROB 11/83/265
Margarett Brasyer	1594.08.07	Farnbroughe	1594.00.23	PROB 11/84/159
Henry Pygott	1595.04.17	Chedingston	1594.01.20	PROB 11/85/248
Robert Veere	1598.05.27	Charleton	1594.02.01	PROB 11/91/503
Edward Cayley	1597.06.10	Lamberhurst	1594.02.11	PROB 11/90/40
Katherine Mannyng	1596.01.26	Down	1594.02.14	PROB 11/89/54
Thomas Kellom	1595.01.12	Earith	1594.02.26	PROB 11/87/9
William Bence	1594.03.19	Beninden	1594.02.28	PROB 11/85/213
John Davies	1594.03.13	Minster	1594.02.28	PROB 11/85/203
William Bence	1594.03.19	Benninden	1594.02.28	PROB 11/85/213
John Davies	1594.03.13	Minster	1594.02.28	PROB 11/85/203
Magdalen Whetenhall	1594.02.03	est Peckham	1594.03.05	PROB 11/85/72
John Loco	1595.03.26	Cobham	1594.03.09	PROB 11/85/220
Charles Scott	1596.05.15	Godmersham	1594.03.11	PROB 11/87/359
Anthonye Roper	1597.11.15	Ferningham	1594.03.15	PROB 11/90/486
Thomas Tayler	1594.06.26	West Farleighe	1594.04.03	PROB 11/84/112
Thomas Skelton	1594.06.04	Bexley	1594.05.03	PROB 11/84/7

Nicholas Robinson	1594.12.05	Monnckton	1594.05.06	PROB 11/84/451
William Saker	1594.06.12	Foversham	1594.05.16	PROB 11/84/34
Guy Briscowe	1594.03.01	Sundriche	1594.05.25	PROB 11/85/185
Guy Briscowe	1594.03.01	Sundriche	1594.05.25	PROB 11/85/185
Thomas Dennam	1594.12.04	Preston Neere Wingham	1594.06.01	PROB 11/84/446
John Fynche	1597.11.12	Debtford Stronde	1594.06.12	PROB 11/90/470
John Soan	1594.06.27	Lewsham	1594.06.13	PROB 11/84/118
Elizabethe Parker	1594.07.29	Northfleete	1594.07.26	PROB 11/84/149
George Lyppecombe	1594.11.13	St Marye Craye	1594.07.26	PROB 11/84/344
Arthur Gainsforde	1594.08.19	Eltham	1594.08.08	PROB 11/84/177
Henry Atkyns	1594.09.03	Feversham	1594.08.20	PROB 11/84/192
Robert Holden	1597.02.23	Aanbocke	1594.08.30	PROB 11/91/195
John Woodgreene	1594.01.14	Higham	1594.09.12	PROB 11/85/24
Thomas Reed	1594.10.17	Hanthon	1594.10.06	PROB 11/84/269
Anne Sulham	1594.11.25	Tonbridge	1594.10.31	PROB 11/84/408
John Everenden	1598.05.05	Biddenden	1594.11.17	PROB 11/91/349
Agnes Kempe	1594.12.11	Shorne	1594.12.06	PROB 11/84/462
Charles Marshall	1602.06.14	Easte Greenwich	1594.12.17	PROB 11/100/27
Robert Evans	1598.03.29	Cowne Malinge	1594.12.18	PROB 11/91/281
Thomas Scott	1594.01.07	Smeethe	1594.12.27	PROB 11/85/12
Jarvis Gibbone	1595.04.10	Bennenden	1595.01.14	PROB 11/85/238
John Staple	1597.11.04	Orpington	1595.01.20	PROB 11/90/414
John Browne	1596.05.21	Horton Kirkby	1595.02.03	PROB 11/87/384
John Bennor	1595.02.11	Grene	1595.02.05	PROB 11/87/87

Henry Pecke	1595.02.27	Holfeild	1595.02.06	PROB 11/87/171
Henry Ersde	1596.07.02	Maidstone	1595.02.11	PROB 11/88/19
James Maylym	1596.01.21	East Malling	1595.02.13	PROB 11/89/29
Tymothy Ledington	1596.04.30	Benenden	1595.02.15	PROB 11/87/273
Mathew Mylles	1595.03.08	Maidstone	1595.02.20	PROB 11/87/188
John Potkin	1595.09.19	Maidstone	1595.02.22	PROB 11/86/228
William Copinger	1594.03.14	Graine	1595.02.25	PROB 11/85/204
William Copinger	1594.03.14	Graine	1595.02.25	PROB 11/85/204
John Balser	1595.12.02	Maidstone	1595.03.06	PROB 11/86/393
William Seylyard	1596.05.10	Brasted	1595.03.20	PROB 11/87/322
Mathew Lockwood	1597.02.10	Hartlippe	1595.04.03	PROB 11/91/135
John Humfrey	1595.05.24	Heas	1595.04.13	PROB 11/85/353
Thomas Carott	1595.12.02	Stroud	1595.04.22	PROB 11/86/400
Johane Batt	1595.05.24	Charlton	1595.04.30	PROB 11/85/356
Edmund Colvill	1596.04.01	Canrocke	1595.05.21	PROB 11/87/226
John Launce	1595.09.15	Darenthe	1595.06.10	PROB 11/86/223
Clement Finche	1597.06.01	Milton	1595.07.05	PROB 11/89/507
Richarde Jorden	1595.02.27	Crambroke	1595.07.10	PROB 11/87/172
William Parker	1596.10.28	Northefleete	1595.07.30	PROB 11/88/24
George Wright	1595.01.30	Cobham	1595.08.01	PROB 11/87/39
William Walker	1595.09.19	Otford	1595.08.07	PROB 11/86/229
Danyell Bettenham	1596.11.18	Pluckley	1595.09.02	PROB 11/88/324
Thomas Clynton	1596.09.25	Quinboroughe	1595.09.06	PROB 11/88/157
Roberte Carpenter	1596.06.16	East Farley	1595.09.17	PROB 11/87/441

John Ollyver	1596.04.16	Seale	1595.10.02	PROB 11/87/244
Robert Stowte	1595.03.27	Deptfoord	1595.10.23	PROB 11/87/219
John Love	1595.12.19	Gowtherste	1595.11.15	PROB 11/86/439
George Childre	1595.12.31	Sevenoaks	1595.12.14	PROB 11/86/447
John Haryson	1597.01.20	Leigh	1596.00.00	PROB 11/89/27
Venis Carpenter	1596.02.09	Biddenden	1596.01.10	PROB 11/89/130
John Fletcher	1596.02.07	Mardston	1596.01.13	PROB 11/89/108
Rowland Swan	1596.03.03	Northfleete	1596.01.20	PROB 11/89/203
Henry Wickenden	1597.04.16	Cowden	1596.02.22	PROB 11/89/306
Robert Wallis	1597.03.04	Garforde	1596.02.23	PROB 11/89/209
Richard Drus	1598.06.16	Sowthrest	1596.02.24	PROB 11/91/551
Mathew Rucke	1597.05.09	Boughton	1596.02.27	PROB 11/89/453
Richard Rudges	1596.04.23	Rolvinden	1596.03.26	PROB 11/87/252
William Bois	1596.09.04	Chartam	1596.04.01	PROB 11/88/121
John Baker	1596.05.13	Cranbrook	1596.04.08	PROB 11/87/348
William Pococke	1596.08.27	Sevennocke	1596.04.17	PROB 11/88/107
Justinian Champenei	1596.12.02	Bexley	1596.05.13	PROB 11/88/375
John Batherste	1596.09.24	Staplehurst	1596.06.12	PROB 11/88/150
Alexander Weller	1596.07.15	Cranbroke	1596.06.16	PROB 11/88/51
Robert Alchin	1596.10.27	Marden	1596.06.18	PROB 11/88/239
Thomas Browne	1596.02.11	Cliffe	1596.06.20	PROB 11/89/143
Roberte Rolfe	1597.11.26	Huffham	1596.07.12	PROB 11/90/553
Robert Rolfe	1599.11.05	Hougham	1596.07.17	PROB 11/94/352
Thomas Saxbie	1597.06.06	Eaton Bridge	1596.07.21	PROB 11/89/529

Roberte Baldwyn	1596.09.01	Deptforde	1596.07.27	PROB 11/88/115
George Bull	1596.08.19	Debtforde	1596.08.14	PROB 11/88/99
Roberte Brooke	1596.09.06	Milton	1596.08.20	PROB 11/88/123
Henry Fane	1597.05.04	Hadlow	1596.09.04	PROB 11/89/42
William Playfere	1595.02.12	Hawkhurst	1596.09.10	PROB 11/87/102
George Nookes	1594.12.10	Willmington	1596.09.12	PROB 11/84/461
Catherine Skealton	1596.02.10	Yalding	1596.10.01	PROB 11/89/132
William Austen	1596.11.27	Tenterden	1596.10.13	PROB 11/88/366
Frauncis Bois	1596.12.18	Chartam	1596.11.03	PROB 11/88/422
Gabriel Beare	1596.01.10	Penshurst	1596.12.09	PROB 11/89/9
Catherine Collen	1597.06.10	Lamberhurst	1596.12.18	PROB 11/89/553
Hellen Hadsoule	1596.04.28	Sevenoaks	1596.12.20	PROB 11/87/265
Thomas Rooper	1597.02.08	Eltham	1597.01.20	PROB 11/91/126
Phillipp Potts	1597.03.08	Eltham	1597.01.26	PROB 11/91/217
Thomas Loggin	1597.02.17	Otham	1597.01.28	PROB 11/91/174
George Bespitche	1597.03.23	Fowsham	1597.02.08	PROB 11/91/268
John Downe	1597.02.17	Brenchley	1597.02.10	PROB 11/91/173
Samuell Thornehill	1598.05.20	Bramley	1597.02.10	PROB 11/91/450
John Spice	1596.03.04	Crayforde	1597.02.11	PROB 11/89/207
John Moyse	1598.04.14	Penshurst	1597.02.19	PROB 11/91/307
Robert Combridg	1598.04.14	Penshurst	1597.02.21	PROB 11/91/308
William Freeman	1597.03.13	East Greenwich	1597.02.26	PROB 11/91/235
John Gowrde	1598.04.01	Horsmonden	1597.03.02	PROB 11/91/287
Reynalde Mantell	1598.06.30	Linton	1597.03.07	PROB 11/91/612

Caleb Bankes	1597.03.24	Ashitifforde	1597.03.12	PROB 11/91/274
Thomas Kettle	1597.05.04	Darrenthe	1597.03.28	PROB 11/89/414
Agnes Boys	1599.07.19	Debile Castle	1597.04.12	PROB 11/94/161
John Brasyr	1597.11.05	Chelffeild	1597.04.24	PROB 11/90/422
Robert Moyle	1600.07.05	Bonghton Alnphe	1597.05.02	PROB 11/96/140
John Wodgate	1598.08.16	Lamberhurst	1597.05.03	PROB 11/92/127
Christofer Belke	1597.06.08	Throwley	1597.05.04	PROB 11/90/27
Thomas Atwood	1598.05.12	Meophm	1597.05.10	PROB 11/91/389
Thomas Bishoppe	1597.06.10	Hunton	1597.05.22	PROB 11/89/552
Richard Weekes	1597.06.09	Evenie	1597.05.23	PROB 11/89/544
Michael Dawes	1597.06.09	Etonbinge	1597.05.26	PROB 11/89/548
Jone Tydham	1597.06.23	Westram	1597.06.07	PROB 11/90/71
John Shortt	1597.07.04	Tenterden	1597.06.12	PROB 11/90/88
William Brooke	1597.12.25	Newington	1597.06.17	PROB 11/90/644
Leonard Cooke	1597.12.24	Eastgreenwich	1597.07.00	PROB 11/90/642
Thomas Burrowe	1597.11.26	Ashneyt Farningham	1597.07.16	PROB 11/90/552
Thomas Mylway	1597.08.22	Upchurche	1597.07.28	PROB 11/90/199
Anthony Hothorope	1598.10.11	Breyntchly	1597.08.01	PROB 11/92/204
Richard Hovenden	1598.08.26	Cranbrook	1597.09.29	PROB 11/92/144
James Twyste	1598.02.23	Eltham	1597.10.10	PROB 11/91/196
Humfrey Eyre	1597.11.19	Sandwich	1597.10.12	PROB 11/90/512
Katherine Balser	1597.11.25	Maidstone	1597.10.17	PROB 11/90/546
Thomas Farmor	1597.11.24	Marden	1597.10.30	PROB 11/90/537
Richard Collins	1601.05.09	Shipbourne	1597.12.20	PROB 11/97/271

Anne Carewe	1599.03.21	Stone Castell	1598.01.04	PROB 11/93/220
John Upton	1599.11.13	Benuenden	1598.01.08	PROB 11/94/391
William Gibson	1599.06.03	Chedingestone	1598.01.08	PROB 11/93/426
Robert Rogers	1599.02.09	Gowther	1598.01.13	PROB 11/93/115
John Rogers	1599.06.11	Dartford	1598.01.25	PROB 11/94/33
Roger Frithe	1598.03.23	Poulsrey	1598.02.03	PROB 11/93/224
Henrie Rivers	1599.03.01	Pensheet	1598.02.07	PROB 11/93/186
Johannis Ryckley	1598.02.21	Northcray	1598.02.21	
Henry Isley	1599.09.03	Sundri	1598.02.25	PROB 11/94/217
Thomas Walleis	1599.03.30	Bexley	1598.02.28	PROB 11/93/233
Henrie Spatthurst	1598.04.10	Milton	1598.03.05	PROB 11/91/298
Edward Boughton	1599.06.26	Plumpsted	1598.03.23	PROB 11/94/104
Reynold Hawkes	1600.03.22	Shorne	1598.04.06	PROB 11/95/174
Silvester Hewlett	1598.04.29	Hawkehurst	1598.04.17	PROB 11/91/329
Thomas Lydyarde	1599.11.13	Woolwich	1598.04.19	PROB 11/94/387
Thomas Neale	1599.06.16	Gillingham	1598.05.26	PROB 11/93/429
Richard Wesson	1597.06.09	East Crenewich	1598.06.04	PROB 11/90/32
Nicholas Watforde	1598.08.00	Ayshe	1598.06.20	PROB 11/92/97
William Partheriche	1598.07.04	Bredge	1598.06.21	PROB 11/92/26
John Mathewe	1599.07.27	Tenterden	1598.07.08	PROB 11/94/174
Thomas Collen	1598.08.17	Lamberherste	1598.07.10	PROB 11/92/128
Henry Dennis	1598.12.11	Eastperkam	1598.07.19	PROB 11/92/418
Anthony Hodropp	1600.06.14	Tudely	1598.08.00	PROB 11/96/91
William Holden	1598.10.12	Westerham	1598.08.01	PROB 11/92/207

George Jervis	1599.02.01	Tenterden	1598.11.12	PROB 11/93/67
Thomas Bell	1601.08.27	Eastgrenewich	1598.12.14	PROB 11/98/175
Thomas Williams	1599.01.09	Gillingham	1598.12.16	PROB 11/93/7
Robert Bargar	1600.06.07	Bridge	1598.12.20	PROB 11/96/40
Katherine Flower	1599.01.03	Eltham	1598.12.21	PROB 11/93/2
William Goodden	1599.07.04	East Farleighe	1599.00.00	PROB 11/94/133
Thomas Marshall	1600.03.07	Gillingham	1599.01.21	PROB 11/95/142
Thomas Petell	1599.03.14	Hulsteede	1599.01.22	PROB 11/93/207
Richard Hobbes	1602.09.03	Dartforde	1599.02.21	PROB 11/100/173
William Hyckemote	1599.05.18	Goudhurst	1599.02.23	PROB 11/93/382
Lawrence Grombridge	1598.04.19	Spethurste	1599.03.01	PROB 11/93/259
John Goldewell	1599.05.03	Bexley	1599.04.03	PROB 11/93/297
John Bigg	1599.05.21	Asheford	1599.04.20	PROB 11/93/413
Roger Jenkins	1599.05.05	Gravesend	1599.04.20	PROB 11/93/309
Henry Clifford	1599.06.21	Sittingbourne	1599.04.26	PROB 11/94/76
John Wallis	1599.05.25	Plumsteade	1599.05.02	PROB 11/93/424
Willyam Lyster	1599.06.15	Appledor	1599.05.24	PROB 11/93/427
Nicholas Reade	1600.03.06	Spelhurst	1599.06.26	PROB 11/95/141
William Brickett	1599.10.22	Gravissend and Milton	1599.08.10	PROB 11/94/298
John Ellyott	1601.01.30	Bexley	1599.08.12	PROB 11/97/45
Richarde Parker	1601.11.20	Ifielde	1599.08.13	PROB 11/98/414
Anthony Edenden	1599.10.08	Northfleete	1599.08.21	PROB 11/94/255
Solomon Pordage	1599.10.15	Rodmersham	1599.08.23	PROB 11/94/275
Anthony Stoner	1600.09.24	Eastgrenewich	1599.08.23	PROB 11/96/200

Elizabeth Norton	1599.12.06	Lullingstone	1599.09.02	PROB 11/94/500
Raynolde Scott	1599.11.22	Smeth	1599.09.15	PROB 11/94/436
John Reston	1599.11.03	Eltham	1599.09.21	PROB 11/94/346
Thomas Shorte	1599.10.03	Gillingham	1599.09.23	PROB 11/94/251
William Box	1599.01.30	Hawkhurst	1599.10.16	PROB 11/95/37
Richard Gaudrey	1599.12.04	Marden	1599.10.24	PROB 11/94/494
Joseph Allyn	1599.12.06	Horsmonden	1599.10.25	PROB 11/94/499
George Symson	1599.12.18	Northfleet	1599.10.26	PROB 11/94/517
John Tokey	1599.11.26	Newe Romney	1599.11.05	PROB 11/94/451
Katherine Batt	1600.01.26	Bexley	1599.11.10	PROB 11/95/28
John Jeater	1599.12.05	Ludginge	1599.11.19	PROB 11/94/495
Sampson Hunte	1599.02.12	Crayforde	1599.12.20	PROB 11/95/89
John Shephard	1602.06.30	Grauesend	160.06.03	PROB 11/99/474
Walter Morgan	1600.04.02	Sundrishe	1600.03.05	PROB 11/95/176
Thomas Morne	1600.04.22	Dover	1600.03.05	PROB 11/95/219
William Parker	1600.04.22	Wester	1600.03.22	PROB 11/95/217
Roger Jenkins	1600.11.06	Sittingbourne	1600.04.01	PROB 11/96/280
John Barton	1600.06.17	Hadlow	1600.05.08	PROB 11/96/100
John Shorte	1600.06.10	Maidstone	1600.05.18	PROB 11/96/48
Edmonde Hardy	1601.10.17	Lewisham	1600.05.27	PROB 11/98/270
Samuel Hales	1601.06.03	Southfleet	1600.05.30	PROB 11/98/2
Thomas Tomlin	1600.08.16	Istmanllinge	1600.06.08	PROB 11/95/383
Alice Potter	1600.08.09	Eaton Bridge	1600.07.19	PROB 11/95/378
Robert Hodges	1601.10.20	Eastbarming	1600.07.26	PROB 11/98/277
Robert Bigge	1600.11.19	Tenterden	1600.11.05	PROB 11/96/325

George Scott	1601.04.06	Hankeherest	1600.12.22	PROB 11/97/198
John Scotchford	1601.01.16	Brenchlie	1600.12.26	PROB 11/97/16
Robert Watts	1604.03.19	Kennington	1601.01.01	PROB 11/103/352
William Gayllor	1602.03.24	Dartford	1601.02.10	PROB 11/99/213
Henry Catlett	1601.05.27	West Farleigh	1601.02.17	PROB 11/97/364
John Codd	1601.05.05	East Malling	1601.03.07	PROB 11/97/244
Bennett Fowle	1601.05.08	Sandhurst	1601.03.25	PROB 11/97/260
John Bushop	1601.04.14	Tunbridge	1601.04.10	PROB 11/97/204
Samuell Whittle	1601.05.23	Ellingam	1601.04.15	PROB 11/97/353
James Waller	1601.02.22	Brenchlie	1601.05.31	PROB 11/97/138
Richarde Stretfeyld	1601.10.19	Chiddingstone	1601.08.07	PROB 11/98/274
Peter Crane	1601.10.29	Appledore	1601.08.20	PROB 11/98/315
Thomas Humphrey	1601.10.10	Hersmoden	1601.09.10	PROB 11/98/252
Thomas Wickinge	1601.10.27	Cowden	1601.09.28	PROB 11/98/311
Richard Renoldes	1601.11.27	Westerham	1601.10.18	PROB 11/98/448
John Browne	1602.02.19	Arte	1601.11.01	PROB 11/99/147
Edward Monyns	1602.05.06	Waldershore	1601.11.15	PROB 11/99/328
Richard Thornehill	1601.03.17	Bromely	1601.12.24	PROB 11/97/169
Bridgett Platt	1602.02.20	Chisselhurst	1601.12.25	PROB 11/99/148
William Collyer	1602.08.25	Strood	1602.00.00	PROB 11/100/168
George Goldwell	1602.06.11	Lamaby-Goldwell in Bexley	1602.01.12	PROB 11/100/23
William Webbe	1603.02.18	Frittenden	1602.02.05	PROB 11/101/174
William Dowglas	1602.03.13	Hever	1602.02.22	PROB 11/99/194
William Carewe	1602.03.19	Stone Castle	1602.02.23	PROB 11/99/203

John Carpenter	1603.03.05	Biddenden	1602.02.24	PROB/11/53/46
Roger Roe	1602.06.05	Swanscombe	1602.03.14	PROB 11/100/11
William Puttock	1602.05.04	Debtforde	1602.04.16	PROB 11/99/317
Elizabeth Shorte	1603.01.31	Gillingham	1602.04.26	PROB 11/101/76
Anne Fitzwilliams	1602.06.12	Penshurst	1602.05.05	PROB 11/99/426
William Eliarde	1602.10.23	Bitborough	1602.05.14	PROB 11/100/280
William Godfrey	1602.10.02	Saincte James	1602.06.06	PROB 11/100/217
Richard Beache	1602.07.21	Penshurst	1602.06.14	PROB 11/100/111
Henry Ashdowne	1602.11.27	Chiddingston	1602.07.09	PROB 11/100/391
John Cotton	1602.11.29	East Peckham	1602.07.12	PROB 11/100/397
Alexander Ore	1602.09.16	Feaversham	1602.07.27	PROB 11/100/199
Thomas Wilding	1602.10.16	Old Roumey	1602.07.28	PROB 11/100/257
Thomas Collett	1602.08.19	Tillingham	1602.08.10	PROB 11/100/151
William Chalcrofte	1602.11.11	Willisboroughe	1602.08.16	PROB 11/100/334
Edmund Gray	1603.01.07	Gravesend	1602.11.19	PROB 11/101/9
Egidij Reeve	1602.12.13	Frinsburie	1602.11.29	
Thomas Scranton	1603.01.13	Biddenden	1602.12.10	PROB 11/101/21
Margaret Darrell	1602.12.04	Hadlow	1602.12.11	PROB 11/100/418
Robert Cleygate	1601.05.18	West Mawlinge	1603.01.08	PROB 11/97/322
William Deust	1604.01.27	Crambrooke	1603.01.10	PROB 11/103/88
Alicia Sure	1603.03.12	Eymisfourd	1603.03.20	
Henry Cutte	1604.01.25	Thornham	1603.09.28	PROB 11/103/75
Henry Lawrence	1565.10.20	Bridge	1656.00.13	PROB 11/48/266
Thomas Holmden	1566.05.22	Eaton Bridge	1656.05.17	PROB 11/48/473

Thomas Hacke	1602.03.01	Wollwiche	X	PROB 11/99/169

