

Meredith Hanmer's career in the Church of England, c. 1570-1590¹

Abstract

This article deals with two pivotal decades in the life of Meredith Hanmer, an Anglican divine of Welsh descent who built his career in the Church of England against the backdrop of shifting ecclesiastical policy, religious debate and the upsurge in anti-Catholicism. Hanmer was close to the establishment but his career trajectory apparently shifted in the early-1590s, when he resigned two London benefices to move to Ireland. This study reconstructs the years preceding this move focussing on Hanmer's professional advancement and on the publication of his first works, which will enable us to gauge his multifaceted profile as a scholar and as a clergyman. Whilst he courted favour and established his name as a learned preacher, archival records bear a clear witness to his highly controversial conduct.

Keywords

Meredith Hanmer, Elizabethan clergy, polemic, anti-Catholicism, scholarship, Church history, archives

The Elizabethan divine Meredith Hanmer (c. 1545 - 1604) is a relatively neglected figure whose life is attested in scattered pieces among multiple authors. Spanning about four decades beginning in the mid-1560s, Hanmer's fascinating career took place in a time of experiment, reform and debate. His work as a translator, antiquarian, and polemicist signals an engagement with important aspects of the Reformation. Published in 1577, *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories* became the earliest English translation of the first six hundred years of the Christian Church; the pamphlets *The Great Bragge and Challenge of Mr Champion* and *The Iesuites Banner*, both published in 1581, were among of the earliest expressions of anti-Jesuitism in England; *The Baptizing of a Turke, a sermon* in 1586 was a pioneering exploration of Muslim to Protestant conversions.²

From his native North Shropshire, Hanmer's career trajectory gravitated increasingly close to the centres of power in London, until the early 1590s, when he disappeared from

¹ This work was supported by The Philip A. Knachel Fellowship Fund from Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC and by a Sassoon Visiting Fellowship award from Weston Library, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford. The research leading to these results has received funding from the People Programme (Marie Curie Actions) of the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under REA grant agreement n° [PIEF-GA-2012-327060]. The author gratefully acknowledges the anonymous reviewers. Thanks go to Orion Buckminster Montoya for generous and insightful feedback.

² See Dimmock.

London entourage to reappear amongst the circle of English undertakers in Ireland.³ There, he rapidly developed connections to the key figures in English colonial governance and in the military. He campaigned in the Nine Years War as an army preacher and accumulated several benefices. Records indicate that in Ireland Hanmer was an appreciated preacher with high-end connections,⁴ but alongside praise for his committed service and learning, compelling evidence survives that his conduct as a prebendary in Dublin may have borne at least a few blemishes.⁵ What survives of his papers now in the State Papers Ireland, moreover, suggests that Hanmer cultivated a continuous interest in Church history and Irish antiquities, by collecting notes and documents that would later flow into the *Chronicle of Ireland*, published posthumously by Sir James Ware.⁶

This article will focus on the first two decades of Hanmer's career to look specifically at the network that supported his advancement in England and the development of his work as a translator and polemicist. The aim will be to understand Hanmer's place in the spectrum of religious, intellectual and political allegiances of the 1570s, and to assess the importance of his works and their intellectual thrust. Hanmer's activity as a writer ran parallel to his service in the Church; from the mid-1580s, however, his vicarages were increasingly troubled by scandals. The article will show that Meredith Hanmer's career started as a promising one as a pluralist and a preacher to the elite in England, but that foiled ambition and misconduct derailed this trajectory. The details of Hanmer's preferment and connections in London will help place his writings in context and reveal the extent to which Hanmer was using his scholarly skills to position himself at the service of the established Church. Hanmer's work on the *Ecclesiastical Histories* during these years enables us to outline a distinctive religious,

³ Hadfield 11.

⁴ Ford, "Meredith Hanmer".

⁵ Gillespie 95, 237.

⁶ In *The Historie of Ireland collected by three learned authors* (Dublin 1633) alongside Edmund Campion's *History of Ireland* and Edmund Spenser's *View of the present state of Ireland*.

scholarly and antiquarian position to which Hanmer will return later in life through his collection and examination of Irish antiquities.

1. Building a career in the clergy

Meredith Hanmer was a native of Brogyntyn or Pentrepant, in the parish of Selattyn, a small village North West of Oswestry.⁷ The long series of leases and indentures preserved in the Hanmer family papers at the Shropshire Record Office indicates that the Hanmers began to enlarge their estates in the early 1550s.⁸ They were or became wealthy enough to send at least three of their sons to Shrewsbury school,⁹ and Meredith to Oxford. Hanmer's career in the Church set off with a chaplaincy at Corpus Christi College, from which he got a stipend from 1567 to 1573.¹⁰ He supplicated for an MA in 1571, which he obtained the following year.¹¹ On June 19, 1572 he was one of the clergyman dispensed to hold benefices in plurality in the Muniment Books of the Faculty Office held at Lambeth Palace Library,¹² a significant event defining a pluralist, non-resident career—and one liable to criticism as the “issues of pluralism and non-residency” gained prominence in the 1572 *Admonition to the Parliament*. The document criticised dispensations to hold in plurality as utter abominations and advocated that the court of Faculties responsible for them must be abolished.¹³ For a couple of months before the dispensation, Hanmer had been rector of Long Ditton, in the diocese of Winchester, and about two years later he was presented to the vicarage of the parish of Hanmer.¹⁴

⁷ He was the second son of nine siblings; his older brother David continued the line of the Hanmers of Pentrepant and was the father of John Hanmer (1574-1629), future bishop of St Asaph.

⁸ SRO MS 894/M/2; 1144/1, 7; 894/1-7. I am grateful to the staff of Shropshire Record Office (SRO) in Shrewsbury for their assistance.

⁹ Bulkeley-Owen.

¹⁰ Corpus Christi College Libri Magni, C/1/1/4 fol. 127v; C/1/1/5 fol. 32v.

¹¹ Boase 272.

¹² MS F 1/B, fol. 52.

¹³ Crankshaw 25 and ff., 57.

¹⁴ “Meredith Hanmer (CCed Person ID 36766).”

Such fast accrual of benefices signals that Hanmer started relatively high on the career ladder;¹⁵ the range and geographic distribution of the benefices, moreover, reflects that the network of Hanmer's patrons encompassed significant connections to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and to local networks.

Miles Thomas Hanmer (1526-1583), the patron of the vicarage in North Shropshire, was a soldier and an administrator, and the head of the Hanmer branch of the family to whom Meredith was closely related. The Hanmers were an English family that had settled in Wales at the end of the 13th century, after the Conquest of Wales. By the 16th century they had extended their influence from Hanmer, to Flint and Pentrepant. There is evidence of isolated cases of Catholics and recusants in the family, which otherwise appears to have been essentially loyal to the established Church.¹⁶ The appearance of Sir Thomas Hanmer in a list among a number of Catholic English lords and gentlemen may seem to suggest that the religion of the head of the family was doubtful;¹⁷ nevertheless, Sir Thomas served as sheriff in 1569-70 and on the Flintshire bench until his death in 1583.¹⁸

A second patron sponsored the other important benefice secured by Hanmer in these years. George Evelyn of Long Ditton, Surrey, was the grandfather of the famous diarist John Evelyn. He had arrived in Long Ditton around the mid to late-1560s, when he apparently bought the manor from his maternal uncle.¹⁹ The Evelyns descended from a family of French origin settled in England in the 15th century, and became connected with the development of the gunpowder industry in England. No evident relationship links Evelyn and Meredith Hanmer, which raises the possibility that Hanmer may have become known to Evelyn

¹⁵ I refer to the patterns observed by O'Day esp. 8-12 and 15, and to the distinction between unprivileged clerics and chaplains to the elite discussed by Crankshaw 35-6.

¹⁶ Some Hanmers may be found among seminary and Jesuit circles in the final decades of the 16th century: a Mr Hanmer features in a list of seminaries abroad dated 1600 and one Hanmer is described as a papist in secret reports to Walsingham (CP 83/34; SP 15/34/96; SP 12/189/34, SP 53/13/2).

¹⁷ TNA SP Dom Eliz., xcic, 55, the list is dated 1574 has been connected to Mary Queen of Scots, but it has been a matter of discussion whether it should be trusted.

¹⁸ Bartrum; Edwards.

¹⁹ Evelyn 20.

through larger networks of patronage.

The parish of Long Ditton was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne at the time, who was active in the reformation of the clergy in the diocese throughout the 1560s and 1570s. Horne was one of the progressive Marian exiles reinstated in the 1560s and appointed to leading bishoprics; he was part of the “original puritan party,” the “left wing” group that counted the Bishop of London Edmund Grindal, William Whittingham, dean of Durham, Thomas Lever, archdeacon of Coventry, and the dean of St Paul’s Alexander Nowell, among others, but who conformed and distanced themselves from staunch radicalism during the vestiarian controversy.²⁰ In the early 1570s, Horne’s “vigorous commitment to the reformed cause, his tireless support for it both within his diocese and elsewhere, and a good relationship with William Cecil made him one of the more effective of early Elizabethan bishops” who enjoyed the backing of the Crown.²¹ An advocate for a learned, preaching ministry, Horne was incorporated Doctor of Theology at Oxford in 1567, the same year Hanmer began his chaplaincy at Corpus Christi, and maintained visitatorial jurisdiction over a number of colleges, including Corpus Christi. It is possible that Hanmer became one of the new generation of graduate ministry to be recruited in the 1570s through his Oxford connections.²²

By 1575 Hanmer had also secured a nobleman’s chaplaincy to a nobleman whose identity remains a minor mystery.²³ Hanmer’s dedication of the 1577 *Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories* to the Countess of Lincoln has led to suggest that the nobleman was Lord Edward Fiennes de Clinton, created earl of Lincoln in 1572, a member of the Elizabethan Privy

²⁰ Collinson, *Puritan Movement* 74-77.

²¹ Houlbrooke.

²² The Patent Rolls indicate that Hanmer was presented to a number of benefices although there is no evidence that he was ever instituted. The benefices of Huntspill, Llandderfel, and Fornham All Saints in 1578, 1579 and 1583 respectively. I am grateful to Professor Arthur Burns of the Clergy of the Church of England Database for this information.

²³ He was allowed to supplicate for the degree of BD before seven years had elapsed from the date of his MA, having obtained a special dispensation as a chaplain of a noble household (Clark 132).

Council,²⁴ also connected to Oxford.²⁵ The dedicatee of the translation herself, third wife of the earl, had been a member of the Queen's Privy Chamber since 1559 and was a highly influential figure in the Elizabethan court of the 1570s. Elizabeth Clinton was of the ancient Irish family of the Fitzgeralds, the daughter of the ninth Earl of Kildare and Lady Elizabeth Grey, a first cousin of King Henry VIII. She was born and raised in the wealthy and cultivated house of the Kildare in Maynooth but moved to England at a young age in 1533, shortly before the rebellion of her half-brother Silken Thomas in Ireland caused the destruction of the house of Kildare, the greatest in Ireland. When Elizabeth Clinton arrived in England as a child in the late 1530s, she joined the royal household of her Tudor cousins and soon entered the service of Princess Elizabeth. She remained at court and in royal favour throughout her life, and in 1569, together with her siblings, she successfully pleaded that the Fitzgeralds be restored in blood and lineage. Doubtless, the place of the Countess at court would have made her a potential and especially valuable "threshold" patron towards royal preferment.²⁶

It remains uncertain whether the Lincolns materially supported either the translation or Hanmer's position as a chaplain—in his preface Hanmer offers his motivation for the translation. He claims to have decided to translate the histories for the public profit and to make the English Christian reader a "partaker also of these learned, zealous, and pleasaunt histories".²⁷ As shall be discussed in further details in the following sections, such major scholarly enterprise of translation of early Christian history marked a significant moment in Hanmer's career. In fact, no English Protestant translation of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* was available at that time, whilst educated aristocratic Catholics could have read both the Latin

²⁴ Barry.

²⁵ WPß/23/2 p. 156.

²⁶ McCabe 181, 183-185. The second edition of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* in 1585 was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, another key figure in royal preferment in Elizabethan England.

²⁷ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* sig. *4.

version by John Christopherson, the Bishop of Chichester, confessor to Mary I,²⁸ and the manuscript translation by Mary Roper Clarke Bassett.²⁹

At the onset of his career, it appears that Hanmer planned to settle in native Shropshire, for in 1575 he acquired tenements in Willow Street, Oswestry, and other lands in the area by indenture.³⁰ However, in 1584 he was granted a pardon of alienation from the estates in Oswestry,³¹ and approximately at the same time he reappeared as the vicar of the parishes of Islington and Shoreditch, outside London.³²

2. In London

In 1581 Hanmer married in Shoreditch.³³ This was a remarkable parish, just outside the city walls and surrounded by agricultural land: close to the centre, but productive enough to yield richer tithes than the average city parish.³⁴ Shoreditch land was cheap, and its lying beyond the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor made it home to the rising scene of London's first play-houses, The Theatre and The Curtain, both in operation by the time of Hanmer's incumbency. The area was the entertainment district in the suburbs of the city and a resort of actors, playwrights, and producers. It was also an overpopulated harbour to "dissolute, loose, and insolent people" living in alms-houses, taverns, brothel houses, "poor cottages" and "base tenements".³⁵

The religious and political climate in these years was one of turmoil. The relations between England and Rome had been deteriorating since the excommunication of Elizabeth I

²⁸ Christopherson had died in 1558 and the translation was published in 1569 in Louvain.

²⁹ Now BL Harley MS 1860. The manuscript has been dated to c. 1547-1553 (Goodrich).

³⁰ List and Index Society *Calendar of patent rolls Elizabeth I*, nr. 26.

³¹ Original patent TNA C 66/1248, m. 14. No evidence of this survives in the family papers of the Hanmers of Pentrepant that otherwise record the land transactions in the area of Oswestry, Porkington (now Brogyntyn) and Selattyn. Tenements in Oswestry, Willow street were acquired by Hanmer's father in 1556 (SRP 894/1).

³² Recorded in Bishop Aylmer's visitation books at London Metropolitan Archives (MS 9537/005-7).

³³ The name of his wife was Mary Austin (London Metropolitan Archives P91/LEN/A/001/MS07493, f. 9). The couple had four daughters.

³⁴ Cross 68; Barrie-Curien 454.

³⁵ Schoenbaum 126; Nicholl.

by Papal Bull in 1570; in 1579, then, an army commissioned by Gregory XIII landed in Ireland and magnified the English fear of a Catholic invasion from the Continent. As Papal soldiers arrived in Ireland, the first official evangelical mission led by the Jesuits Robert Persons and Edmund Campion landed in England. The Jesuit mission became public through the circulation of Edmund Campion's famous *Letter to the Privy Council* in the summer of 1580,³⁶ challenging Protestants to a public religious disputation before the Queen and the Council. The Elizabethan government in fact responded forcefully through pamphleteering and legislation,³⁷ and Hanmer came forward as a vociferous participant in the 'debate'. In early 1581 he published the pamphlet *The Great Bragge and Challenge of Mr Champion*, followed by *The Iesuites Banner*, which alongside William Charke's *An Answere to a seditious pamphlet* (published in December 1580) were the earliest examples of anti-Jesuit polemic to be published in English.

Hanmer's *Bragge* was a detailed response to the nine points of Campion's *Letter*. It examined the origins of the Society of Jesus, their vows of obedience to the Roman Church, the purpose of their preaching, and the nature of their mission, and it essentially repudiated Campion's call for a public theological debate. Hanmer's central point was the refutation of Campion's argument that the Jesuit mission to England was an evangelical enterprise that did not challenge the political supremacy of the English Crown, remarking that:

If yee perswade her Maiesties louing Subjects to a mislikinge of *the* Religion receaued, you cause Schisme, Tumult, conspiracy, and Rebellion: if yee pleade the Popes supremacie, it is the Pryce of your heade: if yee deface the truthe of the Gospell preached here in England, you wilbe founde a blasphemmer of God, and an enemy of his worde.³⁸

In the prefatory material Hanmer articulated the idea that it was his own duty as a clergyman to examine Campion's words "to scanne his drift, and to answeare his bragges and challenge,

³⁶ See Kilroy 172 and ff.

³⁷ Hughes and Larkin 483, 489; Milward 54.

³⁸ Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. F2.

as farre forth as it concernes my degree, and the common weale of the Clergie of England”.³⁹ He portrayed himself as the interpreter of Campion’s “sybilles leaves,” making public what the seminary priests were trying to keep concealed: i.e. their identity as “meanes that Satan vseth to deceaue Gods people”.⁴⁰ In Hanmer’s portrayal, the Catholic priests became the minions of the Pope, sent “abroad in the euening of the world with the *Anabaptists*, and in the night season, with the enemy of God and man, to sow tares among the wheat”.⁴¹ By enlisting them as the latest in an inventory of false prophets and heretical sects across the centuries, Hanmer placed the members of the Society on the Biblical and historical continuum of the incarnations of the false Church from Judaic times to the present. The characterisation of the Pope as the Antichrist exploited the central theme of usurpation of divine rights and of the rights of the monarchs. The Pope, Hanmer wrote, “hath set *the* mother against her own sonne, the sonne to take armour against his owne Father the Subiect agaynste the Prynce, and the Princes together at mortall warres;” he “treades vpon Prynces Neckes, hee takes Scepters and Crownes from Kyngs heads, and trampleth them vnder foote, he taketh from others *that* which is their right, and geueth away *that* which is none of his own”.⁴² Hanmer rhetorically asked Campion what had prompted him to forsake his native soil, England, the place where the Scriptures are “lernedly expounded”,⁴³ for Rome. The implication was that Campion had to leave to find a doctrine that would condone his lifestyle and false faith, providing a reading in which St Paul’s warning of a future apostasy in 2 Timoth 4:3 seems to be fulfilled, “Men haue itching eares, endeuoring to procure themselues teachers after their fond humors”.⁴⁴

Hanmer’s pamphlet arguably popularised Campion’s *Letter* as a “brag” or

³⁹ Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. A2.

⁴⁰ Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. A4.

⁴¹ Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. A4.

⁴² Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. Fv.

⁴³ Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. Cv.

⁴⁴ Hanmer, *Bragge* sig. C.

“challenge”,⁴⁵ and while it ridiculed Campion’s name as “Master Champion,” it was also the first work to ever circulate Campion’s *Letter* in print.⁴⁶ Whilst Charke’s *Answer* was sanctioned by the Queen’s printer, Christopher Barker, and Charke would also take part in Campion’s interrogations and trial, Hanmer does not appear to have been officially involved by the government in the campaign against the seminary priests. Yet his pamphlets sat alongside the official reactions of the government and catalysed public attention to the mission. As he gained his fame as a learned defender of the established Church, with a possible link to figures close to the court entourage, Hanmer was increasingly involved in private disputes and dubious dealings.

The years 1586-88 in Shoreditch and Islington were marred by scandals. In 1588 Hanmer was implicated in a dispute over the occupation of Church premises in Shoreditch. The dispute reached the courts and is now preserved in the equity proceedings of the Court of the Exchequer. The archives show that Hanmer had filed a suit to advance rights of occupation over premises in the parish of St Leonard, which, he claimed, had been taken away from the Church wrongfully as a lay encroachment. However, according to the parishioners the premises had been used by them for schooling and meetings for over a decade, since they were forfeited to the Crown because they had been illegally occupied by a Catholic priest. Hanmer denied these claims, but a tailor from Shoreditch and benefactor of the parish, William Thornton, filed against Hanmer a formal bill of complaint that was soon followed by the petition of a delegation of inhabitants of Shoreditch entreating the Lord Treasurer to prompt their vicar end his suit.⁴⁷

The verses of a ballad by a Catholic writer supply a compelling elaboration on Hanmer’s shortcomings as a vicar. The ballad, preserved in Rawlinson MS D 107, was

⁴⁵ Kilroy 190.

⁴⁶ For a fuller discussion of the pamphlets see Andreani 557-573.

⁴⁷ The full case is preserved in E112/27 and E134/31Eliz/East18 (The National Archives). The documents were printed by Ellis from the original documents still kept in the Parish Chest in 1795 (292 and ff.).

presumably composed and circulated after the publication of the Anglican anti-Jesuit pamphlets of 1581. In it, the author, R. W. in the manuscript, accused Hanmer's colleagues William Charke and Fulke of "peevish pride against the truth",

And Hammer thinkes he hites the nayle
aalas poore foule he dotes
He straynes his treble oute of tune
and playes John Jewells notes (f. 134v).

In addition to the sexual innuendoes, the probable reference is to the "Challenge Sermon" preached by the Bishop of Salisbury John Jewel in 1559-60. Jewel's challenge was to the Catholics to prove their religion based on Scriptures and on the writings of the first six hundred years of Christianity, and it extended the concept of primitive church. Fulke was called "sodomite", while

Haunmer hunteth not right well,
and gott within his charge
A flocke *which* fondly he did guide
and lefte them so at large
Hereforced thereto (as some affirme)
for lewdnesse of his life
And now would be restored againe
which makes his penne so rife.⁴⁸

The tantalising claim in the last two lines prompts to consider the hypothesis that the anti-Catholic pamphlets of the 1580s might have indeed been produced as a service to the government, to be "restored" in favour.

A pattern seems to emerge. It is documented that Hanmer alienated his Shoreditch parishioners, and even before then, the move from North Shropshire to the London benefices may have been a necessary change in career trajectory. In 1579 there had already been complaints reaching the Privy Council that a sermon preached by Hanmer in Bristol tended "rather to stirr the people to undewtifull conceipt [...] then to teache dewtie and

⁴⁸ Rawlinson MS D 107, f. 135.

obeydience.”⁴⁹ The records of the Privy Council suggest that the Councillors would have been ready to dismiss the allegations based on Hanmer’s reputation and the recommendations he had as a preacher and a learned man, but that they could not do so due to the gravity of the sentences and phrases, not reported, that he allegedly uttered.

Accusations of moral depravity then emerge from documents in the State Papers. Hanmer was charged with “divers offensive and dishones[t] practyses,” left poor men “whom he procured to become bounde for some debtes of his” in danger, lured others to follow him in Ireland with “faire promyses of satysfaction and securitie [...] but at his arrivall there contrarywyse in moste lewde manner did evill intreate, ymptyson and deale in greate extremity with divers of them.” Hanmer’s unfair dealings followed him to Ireland and even pulled him back again, as can be read in a 1593 summons from the Privy Council that Meredith Hanmer, “nowe abidinge in that realme” be sent over to London to answer for his misdemeanours.⁵⁰ It is impossible to know whether these accusations were part of the slandering of an unpopular vicar or were all justified, but other evidence in the State Papers and the patterns of Hanmer’s behaviour suggest that they were at least partly true.

One possible victim of Hanmer’s dealings may have been Robert Cole, alias Plumer, one of the Master Cooks of the royal household. The minute of a letter of the Privy Council now in the Acts of the Privy Council explains that Cole had been swindled by John Edmondes, who had tricked the cook to sign a deed of gift that transferred Cole’s goods to Edmondes and even to become bound to the payment of five hundred pounds to “one lewde fellowe, one Hanmer”.⁵¹ Another strange episode can be read in the report of an illicit examination preserved in the State Papers. The event was reported by William Gough, the postman of the Queen in London, who, on his way to the Court on March 11, 1590 was taken

⁴⁹ PC 2/12/710.

⁵⁰ PC 2/20/322.

⁵¹ PC 2/19/283.

and examined by a sergeant and a yeoman at the suit of Dr. Hanmer. As the text of the examination suggests, it is possible that the purpose was to delay the delivery of the letters which, stopped at six in the morning, did not reach the court until 6 p.m..⁵²

Sometime before these events, between 1588 and 1590, the marriage between Richard Turke and Gertrude, both of Dartford, Kent, was celebrated without banns nor licence in Shoreditch by the then vicar Meredith Hanmer.⁵³ The case was recorded in the Act Book of the diocese of Rochester in which it was noted that the bride, Gertrude, was already married to John Wynde, of Dartford, Kent, and that Richard Turke was a “lewde lyver wthout feare of the Lawes of god and the lawes of the Realme”.⁵⁴ While Hanmer’s involvement in the shady affair would seem to confirm the pattern of his misconduct, it also begs to be read as an opportunity for a clergyman to stretch financial resources, since the celebration of marriages represented a source of income.

These records indeed add substance to the vivid yet sketchy portrait of Hanmer as the covetous vicar of Shoreditch, who defaced the ancient funeral monuments of his church to convert them into coins. Such a story was told among the parishioners of St Leonard well after Hanmer’s resignation and death, and was recorded by the antiquarian John Weever in the *Ancient Funeral Monuments* in 1631.⁵⁵ No evidence other than this survives of Hanmer’s alleged defacement of the brasses of St. Leonard, to which several people had in fact reportedly contributed, according to Henry Ellis in the *History and Antiquities of the Parish of St Leonard Shoreditch*.⁵⁶ The endurance of the story remains a compelling indication of Hanmer’s bad reputation as a minister.

Finally, the formidable recorder of London William Fleetwood also had a sharp

⁵² SP 15/31/196.

⁵³ DRb/Pa 19, vol. 2 fol. 40b. I am grateful to Dr. Helen Wicker, Heritage services assistant at Kent History and Library Centre for locating volume 2 of the Consistory Act Books of the Diocese of Rochester.

⁵⁴ DRb/Pa 19, vol. 2 fol. 41.

⁵⁵ Weever 427.

⁵⁶ Ellis 30.

condemnation for Hanmer, whom he termed “a very bad man,” who “regardeth not an oath.”⁵⁷ In 1584 Hanmer was implicated in a trial about a libel that the Earl of Shrewsbury had got the Queen pregnant. Accused of the circulation of the report was one Walmesly, an inn-holder of Islington, who had allegedly been telling his guests that the Queen had had a child and that he knew where the child had been baptised. Hanmer was one of the witnesses interrogated regarding the incident, and William Fleetwood was the officer who recorded the examination. As a recorder Fleetwood had a wide ranging participation in virtually any aspect of the administration of the city. He was in charge of lawsuits and conferred with the Privy Council on a regular basis and was frequently at court on ceremonial business.⁵⁸ Fleetwood might have been an influential enemy, but there is no evidence that he ever played any role in the downturn of Hanmer’s career in England.

A number of elements arise from this web of accusations and legal disputes. Firstly, the pattern of money and property is overwhelmingly present. What we see reflected in Hanmer’s conduct and career is doubtless in part the general insecurity surrounding the clerical profession, which, as pointed out by Rosemary O’Day, was largely expressed in financial terms, and practically resulted in clergymen on the constant lookout for additional sources of income to stretch or supplement their resources.⁵⁹ Secondly, as a vicar, Hanmer’s lack of regard for his pastoral duties and his habit of taking sides in the quarrels of parishioners could not have helped his reputation. Hanmer looks rather like one of the clergy towards whom such criticism as that expressed by the radical reformer Archdeacon Thomas Lever in the notes for the “reformacon of the mynistrye and mynisters” was directed. In the 1570s Lever called for the commitment of ministers to the spiritual care of the congregations

⁵⁷ Strype 216.

⁵⁸ Fleetwood was a member of the ecclesiastical court of high commission as well as recorder of Justice of the Peace at quarter sessions in Middlesex, Surrey, and Buckinghamshire. He was a committed protestant and an active anti-papist (Baker).

⁵⁹ O’Day 127.

for which they held responsibility, and argued against the mere understanding of the vocation as “initiation to a mystery or even entry into a professional group”.⁶⁰ Finally, the illicit celebration of a marriage was a serious violation of the canon law. This is the context in which the move to Ireland may and has generally been understood: as a means to salvage a career that was going in a dangerous direction.⁶¹

Such oscillation between service and self-interest is in fact one of the paradoxes that makes Hanmer an intriguing figure. While he failed in the exercise of his pastoral duties, he was likely a helpful instrument against the Counter-Reformation, as shown by his activity as a controversialist in London in the 1580s. There is no denying, then, that Hanmer was a sincere and committed Protestant bent to scholarship, as expressed in his work on the *Ecclesiastical Histories*.

3. *The Ecclesiastical Histories*

In his *Preface* Hanmer highlights the “the tedious studie and infinite toyle and labour” of the translation of the histories of the Church, an ambitious work in two volumes that most likely engaged him over a period of years between his studies at Oxford and the earliest benefices.

The work encompassed the ten books of the histories of the Greek historian and exegete Eusebius of Cesarea (c. 260-340) which Hanmer translated from diverse and corrupt Greek copies written in Eusebius’s “crooked” style;⁶² the seven books of the church historian Socrates of Constantinople (c. 380-439), whose “words are sweete, his vaine pleasaunt, *and* his inuention very wittie. though the historie be large, his bookes long, and the labour great;”⁶³ and the six books of the scholar and intellectual Evagrius, from Syria, who completed his work around 593, “full of Dialects, and therefore in Greeke not so pleasaunt

⁶⁰ O’Day 66.

⁶¹ Barry; Ford “Hanmer, Meredith”.

⁶² Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* sig. *4.

⁶³ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* sig. *4v.

as Socrates” and counting “many superstitious stories which might very well haue bene spared.”⁶⁴ Hanmer’s stress on his mastery of Greek spoke not only to the renaissance of the language promoted by the Reformation, but also to his own education at Oxford Corpus Christi College, the very centre of the “new learning” and study of classics in the original Latin, Greek and Hebrew.⁶⁵

Eusebius’s *Histories* were a key text in post-Reformation Europe, and a very well-known text in Western Christianity that had enjoyed wide circulation since the 5th century in the Latin translation by Ruffinus.⁶⁶ Arnaldo Momigliano observed that the centrality of Eusebius’ authority can be measured against the fact that both Protestants and Catholics attempted to prove he was on their side. Eusebius was the inventor of a type of ecclesiastical history that did not compare to anything that came before nor would be matched by anything that succeeded it. The importance of his sources, in several cases otherwise lost to Christianity, was immense, and as the father of apologetics the relevance of his writing for post-Reformation Europe was paramount.⁶⁷ At the time of his writings, in the first two decades of the 4th century,⁶⁸ Christians were a persecuted sect; however, Eusebius held that the teaching of Christianity was neither new nor strange but had in fact been followed for centuries, since the beginning, by the Patriarchs, Abraham, Moses and the Prophets.

Eusebius’s apologetics established a direct link between the origins, the Patriarchs, and the

⁶⁴ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* sig. (5).

⁶⁵ Corpus Christi College boasted a Greek library brought together by the founder, Richard Fox, which attracted Protestant scholars from abroad (Ker). See also the webpage of the 2017 exhibition curated by Peter Kidd at Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, *500 Years of Treasures from Oxford* at <http://www.folger.edu/exhibitions/500-years-of-treasures-from-oxford>.

⁶⁶ The Greek *editio princeps* by Robert Stephanus, printed in Paris in 1544; Wolfgang Musculus’s translation was printed in Basel in 1549, 1557 and 1562. The one by John Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester was printed in Louvain in 1569, and a 1570 edition was printed in Cologne. Johann Jakob Grynaeus edition must have also been in circulation before 1576. Although his is given as a later edition by MacGiffert (*Prolegomena* 54). The one copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library was printed in Basle 1570. This is the copy cited in *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (VD 16), E4282 and in Adams, H.M. *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600*, in Cambridge libraries, E1096. Finally, the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, the ecclesiastical history covering thirteen centuries of the Christian Church was published between 1559 and 1574.

⁶⁷ Momigliano 141.

⁶⁸ The exact date is debated (Migliore 22-24).

Christendom contemporary to him, a process that saw parallels in the attempts to anchor early modern confessions to the pure, true Apostolic Church of the origins. This is not to reduce the use of these ecclesiastical histories to theological ends, at the service of religious controversy, a position debated and superseded by Irena Backus who demonstrated the authentic historical thrust of the reformed intellectuals.⁶⁹ Katrin Ettenhuber also importantly argued that the Church Fathers were a “field of discourse” that transcended the specific issues of doctrine to “inform the textual, rhetorical, and hermeneutic deep structure of the polemical discourses into which they are absorbed”.⁷⁰

Hanmer’s work can be set in a cultural and religious context that was in fact highly receptive to Patristics. William P. Haugaard mapped the context of the translation of Patristic scholarship and theology in the second half of 16th century England, when there was a plethora of translations of the Fathers in circulation, to cater to the tastes of literate English men and women who could not read Latin or Greek.⁷¹ The list comprised predominantly the works of Augustine, Chrysostome, Jerome, Cyprian, followed by Isidore of Seville, Boethius, Origen, Gregory the Great, and Eusebius of Caesarea, among others. These works were in the most part compact “little books,” which made Hanmer’s translation stand out for reasons of length and substance.⁷²

Hanmer had a clear project in mind. The first of his historians, Eusebius, was one of the most widely read who featured in every European Latin and vernacular translation. The selection of Socrates from among the works traditionally handed down in the *historia tripartita* had instead less currency, since the 16th century compilations of ecclesiastical histories almost invariably included Theodoretus and Sozomenus, alongside Socrates, into the

⁶⁹ See Backus, esp. 130-194.

⁷⁰ Ettenhuber 35.

⁷¹ Haugaard 43.

⁷² Haugaard 44. The only other exception according to Haugaard was Bede, published in Antwerp by Stapleton in 1565.

historia tripartita, following the canon established in the 6th century by Theodorus Lector.

With the addition of Evagrius, Hanmer's translation was in fact a compilation that covered almost exactly six centuries, a view of the patristic period that adhered to the one first proposed by John Jewell in the "Challenge Sermon".⁷³

Since the authors he translated had preserved "bookes of auncient wryters",⁷⁴

Hanmer's work practically made available to a vast readership a body of key sources to be perused and scrutinised to establish truth from "fables" and trace the actual story of the Christian Church:

The profite that riseth by reading of these histories, I am not able in few words to declare. besides the works of the autors the selues, they haue brought forth vnto vs Sentences, Epistles, Orations, Chapiters and bookes of auncient wryters, such as wrote immediatly after the Apostles, and are not at this day extant saue in them. [...] We may see the Bishops howe they gouerned, Ministers how they taught, Synodes what they decreed, Ceremonies how they crept into the Church, Heresies how they rose and were rooted out.

Hanmer's remained the only English translation of the fathers for over a century. It went through six editions until 1663 to be superseded only in 1692 when the new Cambridge University edition based on the translation by the French scholar Henri Valois was printed by John Hayes.⁷⁵

Hanmer's pedagogical intents came to be expressed also through the compilation of the chronography, which he saw as an aid for the reader to "the furtherance of thy studie & knowledge [...] a worke which with more ease thou mayest runne over and peruse".⁷⁶ These brief lines describe the way Hanmer imagined his readers would use the two volumes, published separately so that the successions collected by Dorotheus and Hanmer's

⁷³ The primitive Church had previously been identified with the first 500 years (Haugaard 37n1), but the concept and the period it defined was not stable and it "could mean anything between the first 200 or 1,200 years" (Ettenhuber 36).

⁷⁴ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* sig. *4.

⁷⁵ *The History of the Church, from our Lord's Incarnation, to the Twelfth Year of the Emperour Mauricius Tiberius or the Year of Christ 594. As it was written in Greek, by Eusebius Pamphilus Bishop of Caesaria in Palestine; Socrates Scholasticus Native of Costantinople; and Evagrius Scholasticus born at Epiphania in Syria Secunda. Made in English from that Editions of these Historians, which Valesius published at Paris in the Yeares 1659, 1668, 1673. Also...* Cambridge, Printed by John Hayes, Printer to the University; for Nathaniel Rolls. Folger Shakespeare Library copy E3424.

⁷⁶ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories*. Vol. 2, sig. A2.

chronology could be kept side by side with the histories, to check dates, clarify names, and follow the progression of historical—and Biblical—time.⁷⁷ The chronography was intended to complement the body of “catalogues of kings, recitall of Bishops, pedegrewes of our gentries, with other private *and* particular summaries” available in England, since “the generall Antiquitie, the ioynte contriving, the relation to the fountaine, the searching of the original out of farr & foraigne countreyes [...] I find not extant in our mother tongue”.⁷⁸

The meaning and far-reaching importance of chronology and chronography for early modern European intellectuals cannot be overestimated, and by producing a chronography to accompany the translations, Hanmer was consciously situating himself in a tradition of Christian erudition, comprising Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, Theodor Zwinger, Luther, etc., establishing that “as I herein can gather by supputation of the yeares from Adam to Christ there are 3970”.⁷⁹ The writing of chronologies was taxing work and an intellectual challenge. It stemmed from complex desires and was a means to understand questions of truth, order and meaning. Assembling lists and successions; speculating about the roots of names; explicating relations and identifying people, eras and countries—each of these was of paramount significance, for exegetical reasons as well as theological. In short, compiling a chronology was an activity that linked history with religion, and devotion with scholarship.⁸⁰

Hanmer prompted his readers “to consider of the times following, the difference that is in these our dayes betwene the Church and the Apostolicke times,” further affirming that “the encrease, augmentation, *and* daily adding of ceremonies to ceremonies, service vpon service, with other Ecclesiasticall rites and decrees, is not the encrease of pietie and the perfection of godlines”, in fact

In Socrates although it follows immediately he shall find great change, his history is of a

⁷⁷ The three fathers and the *Lives of the Prophets, Apostles and seventy Disciples* attributed to Dorotheus made up volume 1; volume number 2 comprised the *Chronographie* compiled by Hanmer (*Stationers' Register* 2160).

⁷⁸ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories*. Vol. 2, sig. A2.

⁷⁹ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories*. Vol. 2, sig. A6.

⁸⁰ See Grafton 1-18.

hundred and forty years after. But in Evagrius being but a hundred and forty years after him you shall see far greater alteration. Last of all, if you weigh the things which happened since the six hundred years after Christ, then as it is written, *Qui legit intelligat*, then came the Pope, then came the Turk, and then came in the devil for altogether.⁸¹

These words foreground Hanmer's essential adherence to an apocalyptic view of Church history, binding historical and Biblical time, and contributing to the tradition brought to England by John Bale and developed by John Foxe.⁸² Hanmer saw the fall of the Church in the proclamation issued by Emperor Phocas in 607 that the bishop of Rome was ecumenical bishop. Ruin then followed until the times would come to an end with the second coming of Christ. After the fall of the Church,

there ensued in the temporaltie no feare of God, no shame of the worlde, no loue towards the brethren, no care of the Churche (...) they turned deuotion into superstition, fayth into fained workes, plaine dealing into hypocrisie, careful zeale into carelesse securitie, in stead of the Bible, they brought into the Church legendes of lyes, in steade of the true and pure seruice of God, they brought in peeuishe and pelting ceremonies (...) the season requireth that we watche and pray and continewally wayte for the Lords comminge. All is nowe in the extreme: *Nullum violentum perpetuum*.⁸³

Hanmer embraced the grand scheme of the unbroken tradition which linked the present Church to the Apostolic times also through the deeds of an eminent catalogue of defenders, or favourers, of the true Christian Church. These views, most eminently expressed in the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, connected the most prominent reformed theologians of the time. The theologians of the *Centuries* maintained that the traits and nature of the Christian Church in the first two hundred years agreed with Protestantism on every point, and for the subsequent four hundred years the Church had remained predominantly close to Protestantism, although the seeds of the Popish error were being planted.⁸⁴ This idea had found currency in England through the 1570 edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*,⁸⁵ and was already present in John Jewell's "Challenge Sermon." The model of the *testes*

⁸¹ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* 409.

⁸² See Bauckham and Firth.

⁸³ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories* 410.

⁸⁴ Backus 361, Quantin 69.

⁸⁵ Quantin 69-70.

veritatis—men and institutions who had been defending the true doctrine since the origins—was first propounded by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575), a Lutheran reformer from Istria, professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg. As the author of the *Catalogus testium veritatis* in 1556, Flacius conceived “an annotated list of those institutions and individuals who foreshadowed Luther in some aspect of their work and their concept of the Church”.⁸⁶ The tradition of the *testes veritatis* sidestepped uncomfortable objections raised by Roman Catholics who asked to reconcile visions of a reformed Church with the 1500 years before Luther. Hanmer’s “favourers,” like Flacius’ *testes*, from the Waldenses to the Hussites, had kept the original truth alive until the arrival of Martin Luther.

Finally, Hanmer’s *Chronology* worked to scale down the authority of the Pope: a catalogue of the Councils showed that the “bishop of Rome had as little to do therein as other bishops.”⁸⁷ Even the order given to the episcopal sees was significant and marked by Hanmer. Distancing himself from other chronographers, Hanmer ordered them as Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome and Alexandria: on the basis that, in Eusebius and Jerome, bishops had sees in Jerusalem and Antioch before Rome. “[L]et no man muse why I lay downe these foure seaes” differently: “I doe it not of any singularity for these auncient Historiographers Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius have followed the same order”, although others did not imitate them.⁸⁸

In sum, Hanmer situated himself into a precise tradition that had been developing from John Foxe to John Jewel in Elizabethan England and had links with the continental reformers, especially active in Germany, that supported the development of the apocalyptic tradition in Britain, and supplied the intellectual and historical framework to support the understanding of the reformed Church as the true Christian faith. This interest accompanied

⁸⁶ Backus 350.

⁸⁷ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories*. Vol. 2, sig. A2v.

⁸⁸ Hanmer, *Ecclesiasticall Histories*. Vol. 2, sig. A2v.

Hanmer in later years in Ireland when he became the first clergyman to write a Protestant history of Ireland. In the English context of the 1570s, it seems plausible that Hanmer and his *Histories* were situated in the same milieu of the editions of the 1570s of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

For a work that was surely laborious, daunting and costly, a system of backing and patronage must be taken into account. The work of Patrick Collinson has brought attention to the interdependence of complex motives and interests in the support of editorial enterprises, taking John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* as an example of a publication made practically and financially possible by a printing house and his backers, and with "a measure of official promotion from a government which had not commissioned its publication, and which bore none of the costs."⁸⁹

The first and second editions of Hanmer's *Ecclesiastical Histories* were made practically possible by Thomas Vautrollier, a fugitive French Huguenot who arrived in England in 1562 with his wife Jacqueline and was admitted to the Company of Stationers in 1564. He set up a printing press at Blackfriars and entered his first book in the Registers in 1570. Between the early to mid-1570s Vautrollier received a number of valuable patents that gave him rights to publish, among others, Théodore de Bèze's *Novum testamentum* and the works of Ovid and Cicero for ten years.⁹⁰ Vautrollier's patents made him a significant printer, but not one equal to the standing of Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer, nor of John Day or Richard Tottel. Around the same years Vautrollier printed a number of translations of Martin Luther lectures and commentaries;⁹¹ he was also the printer of William Fulke, one of

⁸⁹ Collinson 375.

⁹⁰ McKerrow 272. Vautrollier never received a license to print and in fact fled to Scotland a few years later to avoid imprisonment for printing Giordano Bruno. Another of Hanmer's printers, Robert Waldegrave was a central figure in the years of the Marprelate controversy and the printer of John Udall's sermons (see Williams). I am grateful to Owen Williams for this point.

⁹¹ *A Commentary upon the Galathians and A commentary unto the psalms called psalmi gradum faithfully copied out of the lectures of Martin Luther* translated by Henry Bull; He also printed Jean Calvin's *Institutio* (*Stationers' Register*, vol. 5, 101, 105).

Hanmer's and Charke's Protestant colleagues who participated to the anti-Jesuit campaign in 1581, and was slandered by the Catholic R. W. in his ballad.⁹²

As has been discussed, it is unclear whether Hanmer's *Ecclesiastical Histories* project was supported financially by the Countess of Lincoln, although Hanmer's mention of his "duty" towards her certainly implies a connection. Doubtless, Elizabeth Fitzgerald was a powerful cultural and political patron. In youth she had been educated with the royal children. Given her education it is plausible that she would have known Greek, and her legacy remained connected to intellectual and literary networks. She was the Geraldine sung of in the mid-1540s by the poet and soldier Earl of Surrey, Henry Howard, who praised her descent, her education and beauty. She was also the Geraldine fictionalised by Thomas Nashe and Michael Drayton as the love of the literary Earl of Surrey.⁹³ Hanmer tells of the origin of the project in the epistle to the reader, maybe a fictionalised account of his reading the *Ecclesiastical Histories* to a "honorable Ladie of this lande," presumably the Countess of Lincoln whom he claims to know "readeth no vayne bookes" having "seene the experience of your vertuous disposition my selfe and knowen it nowe of a long time."⁹⁴ A second epistle dedicatorie in the 1577 edition of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* is addressed to Christopher Kenne, sheriff of Somerset in 1575 and later JP for county Somerset 1591 to whom Hanmer was connected via local and familiar networks.⁹⁵ The two dedications, to a middle-class official and to a prominent member of the court, show that Hanmer participated in different clientele networks at various levels of society. On the part of his dedicatees, the association with an enterprise of such political and cultural import may have been attractive to be

⁹² Fulke's pamphlet *Briefe Confutation of a Popishe Discourse* (1581) was in response to Robert Person's *Reasons of Refusall* (Milward 51-2).

⁹³ In Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) and in Drayton's *Englands Historicall Epistles* (1597).

⁹⁴ Eugenio Olivares Merino explored other possible identifications to conclude that the Lady of the Land could have been Mary Roper Clarke Basset, niece to Thomas More (Olivares Merino 2007, 75 and ff).

⁹⁵ Hanmer was hosted by him on occasion of travels in Somerset "at the request of a deare friende" in 1574 (L1 - 403).

immortalised as “champions of learning”⁹⁶ and defenders of the established Church. While the English Catholic entourage would have had access to the fathers through the Latin collected translations by Christopherson and through the manuscript vernacular by Mary Roper Clarke Bassett, Hanmer’s translation filled a vacuum for the non-Latinate English readers and placed England on the map of the reception of the fathers among reformed Churches in Europe.⁹⁷

Conclusion

The reconstruction of the first two decades of Hanmer’s career enables us to gauge the network that backed his preferment in England and the context that saw the appearance of his work as a translator and polemicist. Hanmer’s activity as a writer ran parallel to his service in the Church. Especially from the mid-1580s, archival records supply substantial evidence of the legal disputes and disturbing allegations that increasingly troubled Hanmer’s ecclesiastical service.

The comparatively rich evidence of Hanmer’s life and intellectual engagement that survives allows us to examine him as a representative of the Elizabethan clergy and to gauge his role at the service of the established Church. Throughout his career in England Hanmer displayed a mixture of principle and pragmatism, taking his pen in hand in order to raise his profile and gain promotion. But the complexity of a work like the *Ecclesiastical Histories* is a compelling reminder of his scholarly drive and continuous engagement with learning and the past. Whilst his conduct was not unblemished, Hanmer’s intellectual activity shows that he was a committed Protestant who used his skills to position himself as a learned reformed divine, an authoritative scholar and, potentially, a useful preacher at times of need for the

⁹⁶ Parry 121.

⁹⁷ Fascinating details about the readership of patristics and of Hanmer’s translation in the 17th century have been illuminated by Justin Begley in a recent essay on a little known confessional dispute between Margaret Cavendish and Susan Du Verger. See Begley 1-27.

Elizabethan government.

As has been seen, Hanmer's early writings were engaged with important aspects of the Reformation and of religious identity; the translations, in particular, placed England and English on the map of the reception of the Fathers, and established a strong connection with two important spiritual and intellectual leaders of post-reformation in England, Bale and Foxe, as well as with the reformed, Lutheran theologians of the Continent. The publication of these translations reveals Hanmer's contacts with the complex network of writers, printers and aristocrats connected to the Elizabethan government. Through scholarship and, possibly, a calculated involvement in the anti-Catholic campaign of 1581, Hanmer appears to have been courting the favour of the established Church and of the Privy Council, whilst establishing his name in the canon of Protestant English authors.

Works cited

Manuscripts

Dublin, National Archives of Ireland

MFGS 38/4 series 1 vols 29-37

Dublin, Trinity College Library

TCD MS 566

Hatfield, Hatfield House Archives

Cecil Papers 83/34

Kew, The National Archives

PC 2/12/710; 2/14/227; 2/19/283; 2/20/322

SP 12/189/96; 15/31/196; 15/34/96; 53/13/2

London, British Library

Harley MS 1860

London, Lambeth Palace Library

MS F 1/B

London, London Metropolitan Archives

P91/LEN/A/001/MS07493

DL/B/A/002/MS09537/005-007

Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre

DRb/Pa 19

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Rawlinson MS D 107

Oxford University Archives, Proctors Accounts WPβ/23/2

Oxford, Corpus Christi College

Corpus Christi College Libri Magni, C/1/1/4; C/1/1/5

Shrewsbury, Shropshire Record Office

MS 894/M/2; MS 1144; MS 894

Printed works

Andreani, Angela. "Between theological debate and political subversion: Meredith Hanmer's confutation of Edmund Campion's *Letter to the Privy Council*." *Aevum*, 90.3 (2016): 557-573.

Baker, T. F.T. "Fleetwood, William (c.1525-94), of the Middle Temple, London Great Missenden, Bucks." *The History of Parliament Online*. The History of Parliament Trust, 2015. Web. 27 Jan 2018.
<<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/fleetwood-william-1525-94>>.

Backus, Irena. *Historical Method and Confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378-1615)*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.

Bartrum, Peter. *Welsh Genealogies 1400-1500*. Aberystwyth: Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, 1983.

Barry, Judy. "Hanmer, Meredith." *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Barrie-Curien, Viviane. "The English clergy 1560-1620: Recruitment and social Status." *History of European Ideas*, 9.4 (1988): 451-463.

Bauckham, Richard. *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation: From John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman*. Oxford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978.

Begley, Justin. "Confessional Disputes in the Republic of Letters: Susan Du Verger and Margaret Cavendish." *The Seventeenth Century* (2017): 1-27.

Boase, Charles W., ed. *Register of the University of Oxford*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885.

Brigden, Susan. "Clinton, Elizabeth Fiennes de [née Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald], countess of Lincoln [other married name Elizabeth Fiennes Browne, Lady Browne; called Fair Geraldine] (1528?–1589), noblewoman." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford U P, 23 Sep. 2004. Web. 27 Jan. 2018, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9549>>

Bulkeley Owen, Fanny Mary Catherine. *History of Selattyn Parish*. Oswestry: Woodall Minshall and Co., 1898.

Clark, Andrew, ed. *Register of the University of Oxford*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887.

Collinson, Patrick. *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1967.

Collinson, Patrick. "Literature and the church." *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature*. Ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2002. 374-398.

Crankshaw, David. "The Elizabethan Faculty Office and the Aristocratic Patronage of Chaplains." *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*. Ed. Claire Cross, Borthwick Publications, 1996. 20-75.

Cross, Claire. "The Incomes of Provincial Urban Clergy, 1520-1645." *Princes & Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800*. Ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal. Leicester: Leicester U P, 1981. 65-89.

Dimmock, Matthew. *New Turkes. Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Dimmock, Matthew and Andrew Hadfield. "Meredith Hanmer and Edmund Spenser."

Notes&Queries 59.4 (2011): 523-524.

Edwards, P. S. "Hanmer (Handmere), Sir Thomas (1526-83)." *The History of Parliament Online*. The History of Parliament Trust, 2015. Web. 27 Jan 2018.

<www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/hanmer-%28handmere%29-sir-thomas-1526-83>.

Ellis, Henry. *The History and antiquities of the parish of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch*. London: Nichols, 1798.

Ettenhuber, Katrin. "The preacher and patristics." *The Oxford Handbook of The Early Modern Sermon*. Ed. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan. Oxford: Oxford U P, 2011. 34-53.

Eusebio di Cesarea. *Storia Ecclesiastica*. Ed. Franzo Migliore, trans. Salvatore Borzì and Franzo Migliore. Roma: Città Nuova, 2001.

Evelyn, Helen. *The History of the Evelyn Family*. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1915.

Firth, Katharine R. *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1979.

Folger Shakespeare Library. "500 Years of Treasures from Oxford." *Folger Shakespeare Library*. Web. 27 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.folger.edu/exhibitions/500-years-of-treasures-from-oxford>>.

Ford, Alan. *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland 1590-1640*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.

Ford, Alan. "Hanmer, Meredith (1543–1604), Church of England and Church of Ireland clergyman and historian." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford U P. 23 Sep. 2004. Web. 27 Jan. 2018, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12204>>

- Gillespie, Raymond, ed. *The Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Dublin 1574-1634*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.
- Goodrich, Jaime. "The Dedicatory preface to Mary Roper Clarke Basset's Translation of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History." *English Literary Renaissance*, 40.3 (2010): 301-28.
- Grafton, Anthony. *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Hadfield, Andrew. *Edmund Spenser: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 2012.
- Hanmer, Meredith. *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories*. London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1577.
- Hanmer, Meredith. *The Great Bragge and Challenge*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1581.
- Hanmer, Meredith. *The Iesuites Banner*. London: Thomas Dawson and Richard Vernon, 1581.
- Hanmer, Meredith. *The baptizing of a Turke*. London: Robert Waldegrave, 1586.
- Haugaard, William P. "Renaissance Patristic Scholarship and Theology in Sixteenth-Century England." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10.3 (1979): 37-60.
- Houlbrooke, Ralph. "Horne, Robert (1513x15–1579), bishop of Winchester." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford U P, 23 Sep. 2004. Web. 27 Jan. 2018, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13792>>.
- Hughes, P. L. and J. F. Larkin, eds. *Tudor Royal Proclamations. II. The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*. New Haven and London: Yale U P, 1969.
- Ker, N.R. "The provision of books." *The history of the University of Oxford*. Vol. 3. Ed. James McConica. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1986. 439-519.
- Kilroy, Gerard. *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life*. London and New York: Ashgate, 2015.

- Lake, Peter. *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1982.
- List and Index Society. *Calendar of patent rolls. Elizabeth I*. Vols. 25-41. Kew: List and Index Society, 1994-2009.
- MacGiffert, Rev. Arthur Cushman. "The Church History of Eusebius." *A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian Church*. Vol. 1. Ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Oxford: Parker and Company and New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1904. 1-388.
- McCabe, Richard A. *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 2016.
- McKerrow, R.B. ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1910.
- "Meredith Hanmer (CCEd Person ID 36766)." *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835*. Web. 27 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>.
- Milward, Peter. *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age. A Survey of Printed Sources*. London: The Scholar Press, 1978.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U of California P, 1990.
- Nicholl, Charles. "The Shoreditch Years." *The Guardian* 26 Apr. 2008: n. pag. Web. 27 Jan. 2018.
- O'Day, Rosemary. *The English clergy: the emergence and consolidation of a profession, 1558-1642*. Leicester: Leicester U P, 1979.
- Olivares Merino, Eugenio. "Mary Roper Clarke Bassett and Meredith Hanmer's Honourable Ladie of the Lande." *Sederi* 17 (2007): 75-91.

Parry, Graham. "Literary Patronage." *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature*.

Ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2002. 55-71.

Schoenbaum, Samuel. *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life*. Oxford: Oxford U P,

1975.

Strype, John. *Annals of the Reformation*. Vol. 3. London: Edward Symon, 1728.

Ware, James. *The Historie of Ireland, collected by three learned authors*. Dublin: Societie of

Stationers, 1633.

Weever, John. *Ancient Funerall Monuments*. London: Thomas Harper, 1631.

Williams, Owen. "John Udall, Christian Hebraist: The Blood of a Prophet and the Conscience of a King." *Reformation* 22.1 (2017): 22-54.

Wood, Anthony à. *Athenae Oxonienses*. Vol. 1. London: Thomas Barker, 1691.