HIST 4106: Topics in Early Modern English History
Fall, 2016: The English Reformation

Wednesdays, 8:35-11:25 in McCain 2017

Instructor: Dr. Krista Kesselring
Office: McCain 3029
Phone: 902.494.1254
Email: krista.kesselring@dal.ca
Office hours: Tuesdays, 10:05-11:30 and Wednesdays, 3:05-4:30, or by appointment

Course Description and Objectives:

The Reformation shattered the once unitary religious culture of early modern England. Although continuities eased its progress, it nonetheless represented a turning point with momentous consequences in politics and foreign policy, constitutional thought and, of course, theology and the religious life of the country. It had equally dramatic effects on society and culture, more easily seen when we remember that “the Reformation” is a convenient shorthand that subsumes everything from debates over the nature of salvation through to the burning of martyrs, selling off of monastic estates, changes in marriage and baptismal practices, and more. We will examine these changes—and how historians have addressed them over time—with particular focus on two central questions: How were such broad ranging and largely unwanted changes enforced? Secondly, did the Reformation – with the Royal Supremacy at its heart – promote conflict or consensus, dissent or obedience in political relationships? More broadly, we will attempt to answer the following big question: When, how, and to what degree did the bulk of the English become Protestant, and with what effects?

Over the course of the term, students will have the opportunity to:
- deepen their understanding of the causes, course, and consequences of the Reformation in England.
- be introduced to some of the key historiographical debates in the field.
- develop their skills in research, analysis, and writing through assignments.
- develop their skills in oral communication, including the ability to debate constructively, through seminar participation.

This is a senior seminar, and thus your learning is almost entirely dependant on your own initiative. We meet once a week for three hours. I may spend part of the time lecturing, but most of the class session will be devoted to your discussions of the readings. Expect these readings to take, on average, three to four hours per week and come to class prepared with questions and comments.
Required Texts:


In Weeks 9-11, students will also read each other’s essays, which will be posted to the course D2L page.

Schedule of Class Topics and Readings:

1. Sept. 7: Intro  
   [+rare books session, 10:00 in Killam 2616 with Karen Smith]

2. Sept. 14: Pre-Reformation Church/Anticlericalism

   Marshall, ch. 1


   Simon Fish, *Supplication for the Beggars* (1529).


   Marshall, ch. 2.

   Ethan Shagan, “‘Schismatics be now plain heretics’: debating the royal supremacy over the Church of England,” Part I, ch. 1, pp. 29-60, in *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* [e-book].

   Extracts from *The Act of Supremacy* (1534); Stephen Gardiner, *De Vera Obedientia* (1535), and Reginald Pole, *Defense of the Unity of the Church* (1536).
4. Sept. 28: Edwardian Reformation/ Rebellion and Reaction

Marshall, ch. 3.

Extracts from the Book of Common Prayer (1549 and 1552 versions), from The Two Liturgies...in the Reign of King Edward VI, ed. Joseph Ketley (Cambridge, 1848).


Ethan Shagan, pp. 270-86 of Part III, ch. 8, in Popular Politics and the English Reformation [available on Novanet as an e-book].


5. Oct. 5: Marian Restoration

Marshall, ch. 4.


Marshall, chs. 5 and 7.


Thirty-Nine Articles, 1563; Archbishop Grindal’s letter to the queen, 1576.

7. Oct. 19: Living the Reformation

Marshall, ch. 6


8. Oct. 26: Post-Reformation English Catholicism

Marshall, ch. 7

Alexandra Walsham, “‘Domme Preachers’? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print,” Past and Present 168 (2000), 72-123.


9. Nov. 2: Presentations

[Nov. 9 – no class; study break]

10. Nov. 16: Presentations

11. Nov. 23: Presentations

12: Nov. 30: Aftereffects: The Toleration of Religious Difference...and Sex??


Questions: What were the social and intellectual foundations of the ‘ideology of sexual discipline’, and how were they similar to those that supported the imposition of religious uniformity? What arguments and impulses arose in favour of religious toleration, and how did they affect sexual rights and freedoms, according to Dabhoiwala?

Assignments and Grading:

Major Research Project
Proposal, Sept. 30 5%
Essay Version One, Oct. 28 20%
Essay Version Two, Nov. 25 25%

Participation 20%
Presentation 5%
Take-home exam, Dec. 7 25%
I. Major Research Project

This project will be done in three stages:

i. Proposal: submit by Sept. 30 two copies of a short (1-2 page) proposal that specifies the question you hope to answer and/or your thesis statement. Append to it your bibliography to date, with at least five relevant sources listed. Worth 5% of the final grade. I will let you know within one week if I have any questions or concerns about your topic, and will notify you of the date for which your presentation will be scheduled.

ii. Submit the first version of the paper on Friday, Oct. 28; email me a copy (which will be posted to D2L) and also leave a paper copy in my essay drop box. This paper should be roughly 15 pages, and should be treated as a proper assignment, not as a draft. It should also have a properly formatted bibliography and citations. I will return the essays on Nov. 2 with comments on style, suggestions for further reading, queries about issues that should be addressed, etc. Worth 20% of the final grade.

iii. Submit the final version of the paper on Friday, Nov. 25. This should be roughly 20 pages long. This will be an improved and enlarged version of the preliminary paper, responding to my comments and incorporating your own further thoughts. It will be more detailed, and might in fact be very different in content and structure. This paper should also show the fruits of some research that was not completed by Stage 2. You must submit the marked version of the Stage 2 paper with this final version. You must show progress and improvement compared to the Stage 2 paper to maintain or improve your initial mark. Worth 25% of the final grade.

These essays must use a minimum of eight secondary sources (i.e.: scholarly, referenced articles or books); good ones will likely use more. The better essays will almost certainly make substantive use of primary sources. Grammar, style, and proper citations count.

ii. Participation

Attendance in this course is mandatory. With only 11 class sessions, missing even one means missing a substantial amount of the course content. Students must attend a minimum of 7 full sessions to qualify for a grade. If a student misses 4 or more classes because of documented illness, I will happily enter the note “ILL” on the grade sheet, but will not grade for mark.

Twenty percent of the final grade will be determined by the instructor’s assessment of the student’s participation in class discussion, including an evaluation of the student’s knowledge of the assigned material and the quality (not just the quantity) of contributions to discussion. Being able and willing to respond to your fellow students’ comments and queries is key.

iii. Presentation

The three classes from Nov. 2 to Nov. 23 will be directed by yourselves, and given over to
Discussion of your own essays, which will be posted on the course D2L page. On each of these
days, three to four students will each make short presentations of approximately 10-15 minutes
based on their essay research and help lead the subsequent discussion. The presentation is
worth 5% of the final grade.

iv. Take home exam

This will be a paper of approximately 6 pages that reflects on one or more of the themes of the
course, drawing upon the course readings and discussions. The question(s) will be distributed in
the last class; the paper is due in the drop box by 4:30 on Wednesday, Dec. 7, and is worth 25%
of the final grade.

Form and Style:

For the conventions of form and presentation (notes, layout, bibliography) for the written
assignments, see at minimum the History Department style guide, available at the History office
and on the History webpage. Also highly recommended: Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers
of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 8th edn., revised by Wayne C. Booth et al

Grammar, spelling, etc., count as they are necessary for the effective presentation of your
ideas. Useful resources can be found at: http://dal.ca.libguides.com/writingcentre

Also helpful for matters of style: W. Strunk and E.B. White, The Elements of Style, usually
available at both the Library and book store, but also online at www.bartleby.com/141/

Other Notices:

To be fair to other students, extensions will only be granted to those with documented medical
or family emergencies. Late papers will only be accepted for a grade up to one week past the
deadline, and will lose 5% per business day.

Please refrain from using electronic devices in class in ways that might be considered
disruptive or disrespectful. Please ensure that phones are set to silent or turned off, and refrain
from texting, emailing, or other such activities during class time. To protect others’ privacy,
students may not do voice or video recordings of any activity that occurs within the classroom.

Students may request accommodation as a result of barriers related to disability, religious
obligation, or any characteristic under the Nova Scotia Human Rights Act. Students who require
academic accommodation for either classroom participation or the writing of tests and exams
should make their request to the Advising and Access Services Center (AASC) prior to or at the
outlet of the regular academic year. Please visit www.dal.ca/access for more information and
to get the Request for Accommodation, Form A.
A note taker may be required as part of a student’s accommodation. There is an honorarium of $75/course/term (with some exceptions). If you are interested, please contact AASC at 494-2836 for more information.

Please note that your classroom may contain specialized accessible furniture and equipment. It is important that these items remain in the classroom, untouched, so that students who require their usage will be able to participate in the class.

‘All students in this class are to read and understand the policies on academic integrity and plagiarism referenced in the Policies and Student Resources sections of the academicintegrity.dal.ca website. Ignorance of such policies is no excuse for violations. Any paper submitted by a student at Dalhousie University may be checked for originality to confirm that the student has not plagiarized from other sources. Plagiarism is considered a serious academic offence which may lead to loss of credit, suspension or expulsion from the University, or even to the revocation of a degree. It is essential that there be correct attribution of authorities from which facts and opinions have been derived. At Dalhousie there are University Regulations which deal with plagiarism and, prior to submitting any paper in a course, students should read the Policy on Intellectual Honesty contained in the Calendar or on the Online Dalhousie website. The Senate has affirmed the right of any instructor to require that student papers be submitted in both written and computer-readable format, and to submit any paper to be checked electronically for originality. As a student in this class, you are to keep an electronic copy of any paper you submit, and the course instructor may require you to submit that electronic copy on demand.’

In brief, to quote from the policy, ‘academic integrity means that we are honest and accurate in creating and communicating all academic products. Acknowledgement of other people’s work must be done in a way that does not leave the reader in any doubt as to whose work it is. Academic integrity means trustworthy conduct such as not cheating on examinations and not misrepresenting information.’ Please note that as a matter of fairness to students who do their own work, I will check for plagiarism, and that by University regulations I am required to report suspected offences. Indicate your sources, don’t pass off the work of others as your own, and see me if you have any questions.

**RESOURCES, ESSAY IDEAS, etc...**

EEBO and ECCO: The single greatest resource for this course is undoubtedly Early English Books Online. This makes available some 100,000 of over 125,000 titles listed in Pollard & Redgrave’s Short-Title Catalogue (1475-1640) and Wing’s Short-Title Catalogue (1641-1700) and their revised editions, as well as the Thomason Tracts (1640-1661) collection. Essentially, this gives you access to the vast majority of all surviving books printed in England or in English from the beginning of print to c. 1700, and is available through the Novanet catalogue. We now also have access to ECCO, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, for those of you planning essay projects that cross the year 1700.
**SPO: State Papers Online:** This offers digital images of the manuscript collections of state papers from 1509-1714 held at the National Archives in London. Some are somewhat searchable: the main series of state papers were ‘calendared’, or summarized, in days gone by, and those calendars can be keyword searched, then linked through to a photo of the original, full document. These state papers contain everything from royal ‘to do’ lists, ambassadors’ and spies’ reports, routine government correspondence, draft bills for parliamentary consideration, petitions from poor prisoners, etc. The handwriting in the manuscripts can take a bit of getting used to, depending on the writer (and the reader). I am happy to provide pointers and help in deciphering early modern handwriting for anyone who wants to use this incredibly valuable resource.

**MEMSO and BHO:** Access to *Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online* [MEMSO] is available via Novanet. This service digitizes printed collections of primary sources, catalogues and calendars of archival collections, etc. Some of the works it digitizes we have in hard copy on the Killam shelves; others we do not. Scroll through the MEMSO list of included publications to familiarize yourself with what is available. *British History Online* represents a somewhat similar effort to make old printed calendars and texts available; parts of it are freely available on the web, but for full access, enter its subscription-only version via Novanet.

**ODNB:** The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) is available online via the Novanet catalogue and is a very useful starting point and quick reference. The entries are generally quite full and often end with useful lists of references and suggestions for further reading.

**JOURNAL SEARCHES**

I assume that by fourth year, all students are familiar with *Historical Abstracts*, probably the best database for locating journal articles of relevance to the history of all parts of the world, save for North America, from 1450 to the present. Another database that’s extremely useful: the *Bibliography of British and Irish History*, available via Novanet. This one is worth checking as it endeavours to include everything published about British and Irish history, whereas the other databases generally include only those items published after they were started (in the case of Historical Abstracts, for instance, from the 1950s onwards). It also does a better job of indexing essays in published collections, not just in periodicals. Depending on your topic, you may also find it useful to run a search on the *MLA International Bibliography*, which is the main database for articles by English Lit scholars. The *Iter Bibliography* does not seem to be as comprehensive, but is also useful as it includes both medieval and Renaissance material, and crosses the disciplinary boundaries between History and other related fields. These are also available through the Killam Library. JSTOR is also extremely useful, but should not be one’s first recourse; it is primarily intended to store journal articles (hence its name) and isn’t intended to be comprehensive. Check indexing databases first.

**TRADITIONAL STUFF...**

Electronic databases are undoubtedly wonderful, in all sorts of ways. But the Reformation has been a topic of deep interest for many, many years; as such, there are lots of great resources in hard copy in the libraries themselves. The Parker Society, for example, published collections of
reformers’ sermons, editions of reformers’ correspondence, and lots more. The Catholic Record Society, the Harleian Society, the Camden Society, and more besides have all issued great source collections over the years. Their editions of printed materials are often now superseded by EEBO, but their editions of sources otherwise only available in manuscript should not be overlooked. Do a stack-scan at some point; browse through the shelves in the DA 20 and BX 5035 sections, for example, and not just at the Killam but also at King’s, SMU, AST, etc. You may end up with great ideas for an essay. (If you’re really hooked on electronically-available sources, some of these books are old enough that they’ve been digitized by Google Books and can be downloaded there. If it’s got a pre-1900 publication date, you might well find it there.)

Another tip for finding published primary sources relevant to your topic: add ‘sources’ to your subject or keyword Boolean searches on Novanet. Subject headings such as ‘Great Britain – Church history – 16th century – Sources’ will net you results. If you’re interested in a particular reformer, enter his or her name in an author search; doing so for Erasmus or Luther, for example, will lead you to massive, modern editions of all their writings sitting on our library shelves.

SOURCES ON THE WEB: An ever growing number of freely available resources are becoming available online. A few of relevance to this course:

- TAMO, aka ‘John Foxe’s The Acts and Monuments Online’ [http://www.johnfoxe.org/], which offers (among other things) the ability to compare all the editions of Foxe’s monumental martyrology that were published during his lifetime.
- The ‘Who were the nuns?’ project is making available online a variety of sources relevant to those women who left England to become nuns after the Reformation closed English convents; see http://www.history.qmul.ac.uk/wwtn/index.html
- The ‘Consistory Database’ project is making available records from the main church court of the diocese of London for the late middle ages, with cases involving marriage and divorce, clerical discipline, and more. See http://digitalhistory.concordia.ca/consistory/index.php
- Various websites allow access to multiple translations of the Bible, allowing you to compare passages in the traditional Vulgate, the Geneva Bible, the King James Version, etc. See, for example, http://www.biblegateway.com/, or www.drbo.org for the Douai-Rheims version.
- The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church’s massive meeting to reform itself and fight off Protestantism: http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent.html
- The Clergy of the Church of England Database, with information on the careers of post-Reformation clergy: http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/index.html

Roger Gillis, the librarian responsible for History-related acquisitions, and Karen Smith, the rare books librarian, are also useful guides in your research. See, too, the History subject guide on the library website: http://dal.ca.libguides.com/history

Finally, don’t forget that books and articles to which we don’t have immediate access here or online can often be had through Document Delivery, a great service accessible from the library home page that can get you access to just about anything that’s been printed.
GENERAL BACKGROUND:

A number of good textbook surveys of the Reformation exist. A few starting points:


-Diarmaid McCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London, 2003) – if you want a sense of the broader European context, this is a good place to go. If you want even more context, MacCulloch’s *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London, 2009) is for you. Both are big, big books, but both have also won prizes for being exemplary blends of scholarship and accessibility.

A number of ‘encyclopedia of...’ or ‘companion to...’ volumes are available in the Reference section of the library (and often as e-books online, via Novanet) that can be useful. See, too, Oxford Bibliographies Online: Renaissance and Reformation, available via Novanet. This offers quick overviews of the key historiographical developments and identifies ‘big books’ in a number of sub-fields.

POSSIBLE ESSAY TOPICS:

You are free to choose your own essay topic, ideally in consultation with me. (If it’s not manifestly about the English Reformation, be sure to check with me first.) If nothing’s coming immediately to mind, here are a few suggestions.

I. Rituals, Rites, and Beliefs:

Choose a particular cluster of beliefs or a rite, ritual, etc., of some significance and study its history throughout the course of the Reformation. It was at the level of such rituals and rites that the Reformation generally became most ‘visible’ to people in the parishes, manifesting new theologies in new forms of worship. You might focus on the beliefs and rituals surrounding saints and intercession; on a life-cycle ritual such as baptism, marriage, or the ‘churching’ of new mothers; on beliefs about the dead and the place of the dead in the world of the living, which may or may not include beliefs and rituals dealing with Purgatory; on holy days and religious festivities; etc. What happened to pilgrimages, or relics, or fasting, for example? Other visible signs of reform that might serve as suitable foci for essays on the impact of the Reformation include iconoclasm and church imagery, or clerical marriage. What were the functions and meanings of these rites? Do the histories of these rituals, beliefs, and practices suggest anything about the nature and possibility of resistance to reform? Do they suggest anything about how and why the Reformation succeeded?

A few useful starting points:


II. Modes of Transmission

How were the messages of reformers, and their opponents, dispersed? Protestant martyrrologist and polemicist John Foxe once wrote that God had set up “players, printers, and preachers” as a “triple bulwark” against the papacy. Essays could focus on the use of sermons, print, drama, proclamation, public prayers, music, etc., in inculcating the messages of reform. Be careful not to go too big here: narrower may well be better. ‘Print’, for example, is way too big a topic; you might instead want to narrow in on primers or catechisms, or on the works of a particular author.

III. Political Obedience and Resistance

One of the most significant consequences of the Reformation lie in the challenges it posed to the Crown in maintaining the obedience of its subjects. Even while making the monarch the head of both church and state, the Reformation provided fresh reasons and rationales for dissent and resistance. The challenges did not come only from those on the ‘outs’, (ie: the Protestants under Mary or the Catholics under Elizabeth), but disgruntled Protestants under Elizabeth also sought ways to further reform in the face of what they saw as royal intransigence. Nor were those on the ‘outs’ united in any sense of opposition; a good many Catholics under Elizabeth, for example, tried to find ways to prove their essential loyalty to the Crown, and were often bitterly at odds with fellow Catholics in attempts to do so. Any number of possible essay topics could fall under this heading. A few examples: Henrician and/or Elizabethan expansion of the treason laws to police religious difference; the Marian persecution of Protestants; the Marian Protestant ‘underground’ and/or Marian martyrs; the development of Protestant resistance theory in Mary’s reign, in works such as John Ponet’s *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*; Elizabeth’s problems with ‘puritan’ opponents (an essay on a particular controversy, such as the Vestiarian Controversy over clerical dress or the Marprelate
Controversy over the retention of bishops, would be good); Catholic attempts either to justify resistance or to defend loyalty; the Catholic dispute between the Appellants and the Jesuits; etc.

IV. Migration, Exile, etc.

A recent focus of interest for historians of the Reformation is the experience of exile, migration, and the proliferation of religious refugees. Study the phenomenon in general or focus on a particular group. One possibility: the Catholic convents that English women established on the continent, many primary sources for which are now readily available online. For an overview of some of these sources and suggestions about the possibilities they afford, see Caroline Bowden, “Collecting the Lives of Early Modern Women Religious: Obituary Writing and the Development of Collective Memory and Corporate Identity,” Women’s History Review 19.1 (2010), 7-20.