ON LAUDIANISM

Laudianism was both a way of being Christian and a political ideology. This definitive account establishes the theological roots and political resonances of Laudianism and shows how it was based on the recuperation of the theological principles and ecclesiastical and pietistic ambitions that underpinned it. Peter Lake shows how the Laudians’ famous obsession with the beauty of holiness contained a plan for the reinvigoration of both the church and the state. It represented a self-conscious reaction against the long-term evils of puritanism and of the immediate political crisis of the 1620s, caused in turn by the evils of (an often puritan) popularity. The result was a coherent account of the theological, liturgical and political essence of the Church of England. *On Laudianism* explores how this intensely controversial movement, and the strong reactions it provoked, helped cause the English Civil War, but over the long term provided one of the visions of the national church, one that has been in contention to define ‘Anglicanism’ ever since.

Peter Lake is University Distinguished Professor of History at Vanderbilt University. He is the author of twelve books, including *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1982) and *Bad Queen Bess?: Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2015). He is Fellow of both the Royal Historical Society and the British Academy and has published widely on the religious and political history of post-reformation England.
This is a series of monographs and studies covering many aspects of the history of the British Isles between the late fifteenth century and the early eighteenth century. It includes the work of established scholars and pioneering work by a new generation of scholars. It includes both reviews and revisions of major topics and books which open up new historical terrain or which reveal startling new perspectives on familiar subjects. All the volumes set detailed research within broader perspectives, and the books are intended for the use of students as well as of their teachers.

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ON LAUDIANISM

Piety, Polemic and Politics During the Personal Rule of Charles I

PETER LAKE
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I first encountered Nicholas at the Hurstfield seminar in the mid-1970s. At that point he quite understandably viewed me with some suspicion, as a mouthy young interloper. Subsequently, we became colleagues in running the seminar together, and I think he has learned to at least tolerate me and I have come to value him both as a scholar and a friend. This book owes its very existence to the research platform and conceptual framework provided by his work.

When I started out as a graduate student, I viewed the field through the lens provided by his seminal article of 1973, which I first read the night before I took finals that same year. Taking it as a sort of starting point, my initial response was something along the lines of ‘yes, of course, but …’. In consequence, I seriously underestimated the sheer novelty and impact of Nicholas’ work.

It was the controversies of the 1980s that made me realise that whether you agree with everything he has ever said, or not – and of course Nicholas’s research has moved on in myriad directions since the 1970s – anyone who fails to take his work – viewed both as a conceptual framework and a body of research – into proper account is doomed completely to misunderstand the period. This is an opinion that subsequent developments in the field have not led me to revise. Throughout almost the entire course of my career, I have relied implicitly upon Nicholas’ judgement, erudition and sense of humour. Nicholas read the typescript at its greatest extent and his comments, detailed and acute as always, were a great help in reshaping it.

I met Ken Fincham in the early 1980s when he came to London to work with Nicholas. Ken is a master of the records and workings of the national church in the post-reformation. He is also a political historian of
great insight. His scholarship and erudition are extraordinary, and he has always been extremely generous with his time and learning. Ken is also the (unknowing) author of a great (but as yet unwritten) book on Laud. I learn something new in almost every conversation we have on things early Stuart and I am enormously grateful for the time he has spent over the years saving me from error and pushing me in the right direction. 

I also met Anthony Milton in the 1980s when he came to London to attend the Russell seminar. We are both Clare men, but despite that we hit it off almost immediately. Anthony is enormously learned and does not suffer fools, and so I am always both surprised and gratified that he puts up with me – it is with some trepidation that I now trespass so egregiously on his turf. At a very busy time, Anthony read through an early version of the text, and his comments have done a great deal to improve and reshape it, as has, at the last gasp as it were, his seminal England’s second reformation (Cambridge, 2022). Nicholas, Ken and Antony are some of my oldest and best friends in the academy and their work has played a role in the writing of this book far greater than any number of footnotes could acknowledge, and so it is a pleasure to be able to record my very considerable personal and scholarly debts to them, and also to the Institute of Historical Research, where the vast majority of our conversations on this and other topics have taken place.

History is a collaborative enterprise and the Institute is a setting that enables a great deal of improvised collaboration; at formal seminars certainly, but far more in the tea room and the penumbra of watering holes scattered around Senate House. And here I should mention in particular the pick-up seminar that convenes, or at least used to convene, at the Skinners’ Arms. I have also, of course, accumulated other debts. I first met Peter MacCullough when he was a graduate student in the English department at Princeton. Ever since he has always been more than helpful in setting me straight on any number of questions. As you will see, at certain crucial points in what follows, I rely implicitly on his scholarship and judgement. I have also known Lori-Ann Ferrell for far longer than either of us would care to admit, and again I owe her a considerable debt for advice and friendship over the past thirty or so years. Her early work on Andrewes has had a foundational influence on my own thinking, and her recent research on the Parker Society has provided an incentive to revisit this material and a new perspective from which to view it. Michael Winship also read the manuscript and made his usual invaluably rigorous comments. The magisterial scholarship of Peter Nockles has also been a major influence, and he kindly read a version of the conclusion/epilogue with a generosity and attention it did not deserve.
Acknowledgements

It was Bill Bulman’s work on Lancelot Addison that first re-awakened my interest in the Laudians. At a workshop at Vanderbilt, Bill talked about Lancelot Addison, Brent Sirrotta about the non-jurors and Robert Ingram about the early eighteenth century, and I got flash backs to the late 1980s and early 1990s, and my then obsession with Laudianism. Again, Bill has been very tolerant in listening to me talk about my own stuff, when I probably should have been talking about his. At a late stage he read the whole manuscript and made any number of crucial objections and observations. I owe a great deal to his interest and advice.

I also owe very considerable thanks to a much earlier generation of Princeton graduate students. When I arrived at Princeton Sandeep Kauchik and David Como were my first students and both had to put up with a great deal of talk about Laudianism and various un/deservedly obscure divines of the early Stuart period. Their friendship and humour, not to mention their drinking habits, made my arrival in New Jersey a good deal less unpleasant than it otherwise might have been. The same is true in spades of Bill Jordan. It is one of my great regrets that Sandeep’s thesis on John Williams as political operator never saw the light of day. The more I learn about Williams, the better Sandeep’s work seems. Admittedly, he went on to better and more interesting things, appropriately enough, as a political consultant, but for the rest of us sad obsessives, still banging on about the rights and wrongs of early Stuart ecclesiastical politics, that was a real loss. Dave’s work on antinomianism is in many ways a study on the impact of Laudian Arminianism on godly circles and his work in that vein, as well as his conversation and advice, have played a crucial role in shaping this book and much else besides. Everyone should have such students.

As usual I have talked at length about this book to Ann Hughes, Richard Cust, Tom Cogswell and Michael Questier. Michael and Tom read the whole thing in early draft, and Tom’s comments, purveyed during a walk down the tow-path of the Regents Park Canal and in the garden of The Constitution, encouraged me to set off in some new directions; directions which I am now in the process of pursuing in collaboration with Noah Millstone. As always, Noah’s comments and insight have done much to improve this book. I should also acknowledge years of scholarly exchange and friendship with Andrew Foster, upon whose bailiwick I am trespassing here, probably more than I should be.

The careful reader of this book will detect the very considerable influence of Patrick Collinson. My initial interest in the topic, and the overall context in which I came to set it, were framed by – indeed, in some sense, conceived in reaction to – aspects of Collinson’s work. But as ever with
Collinson, it was (and is) very unwise, if not impossible, just to disagree with him. Indeed, at its most general level, the argument of this book might be thought to represent an appeal from Collinson’s work of the 1980s and early 1990s, summed up in his *The religion of protestants* (Oxford, 1982) and its pendant articles, to that of the 1960s and 1970s, most notably his great monograph *The Elizabethan puritan movement* (London, 1967) and the essays collected in *Godly people* (London, 1983). Either way, Patrick Collinson was an indubitably great historian, and it is a pleasure to be able, once again, to acknowledge his extraordinary oeuvre as a continuing source of provocation and insight.

As those last remarks imply, disagreement and irritation can be at least as great a stimulus to thought and writing as agreement, and in that sense I also owe a considerable debt to Peter White’s *Predestination, policy and polemic* (Cambridge, 1992) and Alec Ryrie’s *Being protestant* (Oxford, 2013). Both are books that I take to be wrong on a number of levels, but their wrongness on Laudianism, and their account of the relations between polemic, theology and devotion, provided me with strong inducements to return to this material and finally get this book done.

Similar provocation was provided by the work of Kevin Sharpe and Mark Kishlansky. As I try to explain in the Introduction, the relation of this book to Kevin’s analysis of the Personal Rule is anything but straightforwardly adversarial. Indeed, I like to think that my version of Laudianism fits Kevin’s interpretation of the Personal Rule rather better than his. Of late, the more misguided bits of Kevin’s work have received a shot in the arm from a series of articles by Mark Kishlansky. While this book is written in sharp disagreement with Kevin and Mark, I offer it now in respect and affection for two remarkable historians who liked nothing better than an argument and of whom I was quite inordinately fond. Although, I must admit that their mortality-induced incapacity to answer back probably made this an easier book to finish than it otherwise might have been.

As for institutional rather than personal support, I received fellowships at the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1986–7 and at the Institute for Advanced Study in 1989–90, which enabled me to do a great deal of the early research and a certain amount of the initial writing. By a weird quirk of fate, the final touches were put to the manuscript during the autumn of 2021, at the start of a second stint at the Institute, this one funded by the Mellon foundation. I am grateful to both institutions, and to my then colleagues at Royal Holloway for letting me go on unpaid leave as often as they did. Sir John Elliot was a wonderfully tactful and encouraging presence at the institute, who helped to make my stay there in many ways the
turning point in my scholarly career – ironically by allowing me the time and mental space to move beyond the concerns that have now, at long last, produced this book. I should also like to thank the participants in a work-in-progress seminar run by Francesca Trivellato whose comments greatly improved both the introduction and focus of the book.

The time to just read, research and think about what one is reading, afforded by Institutions such as the Folger, the Institute, the National Humanities Centre and the Huntington has played an incredibly important part in my own career, and stands in marked contrast to the proposal-led, goal-orientated, impact-befuddled, REF-dominated ways in which research in the humanities is all too often ‘supported’ in the UK. At places such as the Folger, the Huntington, and the Institute at least, the days of the curiosity-driven individual researcher are decidedly not dead.

A great deal goes back to my first visit to the Folger, for it was there, intending to write an altogether different book, that I did the initial research that has led (finally) to this one. In particular, I would like to acknowledge a personal debt to the late Betsy Walsh, of whose death I learnt just as I was finishing the typescript. I arrived at the Folger a nervous traveller and a neophyte in all things American. The simultaneous outbreak of the Iran–Contra affair, and Washington’s brief reign as the ‘murder capital of America’, did not help me feel at home, although both prompted hours of fascinated study of different sections of the Washington Post. Betsy’s sympathy and kindness made my time at the Folger a great deal more congenial than it otherwise might have been. Inadvertently, by lending me a very small, black and white TV, she was responsible for what threatened, for some years, to become a rather unhealthy obsession with basketball. In many ways the presiding spirit of the reading room at the Folger, Betsy will be much missed.

It was during that trip to Washington that I met my wife, Sandy Solomon, who has now lived (intermittently) with this book for the best part of thirty years. Perhaps the worst of many low points was reached on a very slow train from Cambridge to Kings Lynn. This was in the days before electrification had penetrated the fens, when the noise and reverberations generated by the train created an impression of great speed, belied by the snail’s pace at which the countryside outside appeared to be passing by. I attempted to improve the shining hour by reading San a paper on Lancelot Andrewes, which, from the looks of alarm etched upon their faces, clearly convinced everyone else who tried to enter the carriage that I was some sort of religious lunatic, and she some sort of hostage. I would like to assure her that it will not happen again, and offer her this book,
which she is not, I hasten to add, under any obligation to read (again), as some sort of apology.

I have been able to complete this book under the absurdly generous terms and conditions of employment afforded to me at Vanderbilt and in the congenial climate created by my colleagues in the history department there, amongst whom I would like particularly to thank, in no particular order, Joel Harrington, Helmut Smith, Paul Lim, Laurie Benton and Jim Epstein.

Finally, I should like to thank the present and former editors of this series and Liz Friend-Smith, firstly, for their patience – this book partially fulfils a contract signed in the late 1980s – and secondly for their astute, sympathetic and almost entirely helpful suggestions and criticisms.
Abbreviations

J. A., Historical narration (1631)  J. A. of Ailward, An historical narration … concerning God’s election and the merit of Christ his death (1631)
Aston, Broken idols  Margaret Aston, Broken idols of the English reformation (Cambridge, 2016)
Balcanquall, The honour (1633)  Walter Balcanquall, The honour of Christian Churches, delivered in a sermon (1633)
Balcanquall, Large declaration (1639)  Walter Balcanquall (for Charles I), The Large declaration (1639)
Boughen, A sermon (1635)  Edward Boughen, A sermon preached at Paul’s Cross (1635)
Boughen, Two sermons (1635)  Edward Boughen, Two sermons; the first preached at Canterbury, at the visitation of the Lord Archbishop’s peculiars in St Margaret’s church, April 14, 1635. The second at Paul’s Cross, 18 April, 1630 (1635)
Boughen, Decency and order (1638)  Edward Boughen, A sermon concerning decency and order in the church, preached at Woodchurch in the diocese of Canterbury, April 30, 1637 (1638)
Browning, Public prayer (1636)  John Browning, Concerning public prayer, and the fasts of church (1636)
Buck, Treatise (1637)  James Buck, A treatise of the beatitudes (1637)
Burton, For God (1636)  Henry Burton, For God and the king, the sum of two sermons (1636)
Chown, Collectationes (1635)  Thomas Chown, Collectiones theologicae quarundam conclusiones, ex diversis authorum sententias, per quam brevis sparsim excerptae (1635)
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Dow, Discourse (1636)  Christopher Dow, *A discourse of the Sabbath and the Lord's day* (1636)

Dow, Innovations (1637)  Christopher Dow, *Innovations unjustly charged upon the present state and church* (1637)

Duncan, Of worshipping (1660)  Eleazor Duncan, *Of worshipping God toward the altar* (1660)

Elborow, Evodias and Syntyche (1637)  John Elborow, *Evodias and Syntyche, or the female zealots, ... set forth in a sermon at Brentwood in Essex, Feb. 1636, at the metropolitical visitation of ... William Laud, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (1637)

Featley, Obedience (1636)  John Featley, *Obedience and submission, a sermon preached at St Saviour's Church in Southwark, at a visitation on Tuesday, 8 December ... 1635 (1636)


Fisher, Duty and dignity (1636)  Jasper Fisher, *The priest's duty and dignity, preached at the triennial visitation at Ampthill, 1635 (1636)


Hardwick, Conformity with piety (1638)  William Hardwick, *Conformity with piety requisite in God's service. A visitation sermon, preached at Kingston upon Thames, September 8, 1638 (1638)

Hausted, Ten sermons (1636)  Peter Hausted, *Ten sermons* (1636)

Heylyn, Coal (1636)  Peter Heylyn, *A coal from the altar* (1636)

Heylyn, History (1636)  Peter Heylyn, *The history of the Sabbath* (1636)

Heylyn, Antidotum (1637)  Peter Heylyn, *Antidotum Lincolniense* (1637)

Heylyn, Brief (1637)  Peter Heylyn, *A brief and moderate answer to Henry Burton* (1637)

Heylyn, Tares (1659)  Peter Heylyn, *The parable of the tares* (1659)

Hoard, God's love (1633)  Samuel Hoard, *God's love to mankind, manifested by disproving his absolute decree for their condemnation* (1633)

Hoard, Church's authority (1637)  Samuel Hoard, *The church's authority asserted, in a sermon preached at Chelmsford at the metropolitical visitation of ... William Laud, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ... March 1 1636 (1637)
List of Abbreviations

Hoyle, Reformation  David Hoyle, Reformation and religious identity in Cambridge, 1590–1644 (Woodbridge, 2007)
Ironside, Seven questions (1637)  Gilbert Ironside, Seven questions of the Sabbath briefly disputed (1637)
Jackson, Diverse (1637)  Thomas Jackson, Diverse sermons with a short treatise befitting these present times (1637)
Jackson, Sapientia clamitans (1638)  Thomas Jackson, Sapientia clamitans, wisdom crying out to sinners to return from their evil ways (1638)
Kellett, Argier (1628)  Edward Kellett, A return from Argier (1628)
Kellett, Miscellanies (1633)  Edward Kellett, Miscellanies of divinity (Cambridge, 1633)
Kellett, Tricoenium Christi (1641)  Edward Kellett, Tricoenium Christi (1641)
Lane, The Laudians  Calvin Lane, The Laudians and the Elizabethan Church (London, 2013)
Laurence, Two sermons (1635)  Thomas Laurence, Two sermons; the first preached at St Mary’s in Oxford, July 13, 1634, being Act Sunday. The second in the cathedral church of Sarum, at the visitation … William, Archbishop of Canterbury, May 23, 1634 (Oxford, 1635)
Laurence, A sermon (1637)  Thomas Laurence, A sermon preached before the king’s majesty at Whitehall, 7 February, 1636 (1637)
Mede, The name altar (1637)  Joseph Mede, The name altar anciency given to the holy table (1637)
Mede, The reverence (1638)  Joseph Mede, The reverence of God’s house (1638)
List of Abbreviations

Mede, Churches (1638) Joseph Mede, Churches, that is, appropriate places for Christian worship (1638)

Milton, Catholic and reformed Anthony Milton, Catholic and reformed: the reformed and Catholic churches in English protestant thought, 1600–1640 (Cambridge, 1995)


Parry, Glory, laud and honour Graham Parry, The arts of the Anglican Counter-reformation: glory, laud and honour (Woodbridge, 2006)

Pocklington, Sunday no Sabbath (1636) John Pocklington, Sunday no Sabbath. A sermon (1636)

Pocklington, Altare (1637) John Pocklington, Altare Christianum (1637)

Prideaux, The doctrine (1634) John Prideaux, The doctrine of the Sabbath delivered in the act at Oxon, 1622 (1634)

Quelch, Church customs (1636) William Quelch, Church customs vindicated, in two sermons preached at Kingston upon Thames, the other at the first metropolitical visitation anno. of … William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury … the one at the visitation at Brentwood in Essex (1636)

Read, A sermon (1636) Alexander Read, A sermon preached April 8 1635 at primary visitation of … Richard, Lord Bishop of Winton, 1628 (1636)


Reeve, Catechism expounded (1635) Edmund Reeve, The communion book catechism expounded (1635)

Robartes, God’s holy house (1639) Foulke Robartes, God’s holy house and service (1639)

Rogers, A visitation sermon (1633) Francis Rogers, A visitation sermon preached April 5 1630 at the Lord Archbishop’s triennial visitation (1633)
List of Abbreviations

Rogers, Strange vineyard (1623) Nehemiah Rogers, A strange vineyard in Paleastina (London, 1623)
Rogers, A sermon (1632) Nehemiah Rogers, A sermon preached at the second triennial visitation … of William Laud, Lord Bishop of London (1632)
Sanderson, Two sermons (1635) Robert Sanderson, Two sermons preached at two several visitations (1635)
Sanderson, Twelve sermons (1637) Robert Sanderson, Twelve sermons, whereunto are added two sermons more (1637)
Sanderson, XXXIV sermons (1671) Robert Sanderson, XXXIV sermons (1671)
Shelford, Five discourses (1635) Robert Shelford, Five pious and learned discourses (1635)
Skinner, A sermon (1634) Robert Skinner, A sermon preached before the king (1634)
Strode, A sermon (1660) William Strode, A sermon preached at a visitation, held at Lynn in Norfolk, June 24 1633 (1660)
Studley, Looking glass (1633) Peter Studley, Looking glass of schism (1633)
Swan, A sermon (1639) John Swan, A sermon pointing out the chief causes, and cures, of such unruly stirs as are not seldom found in the church of God. Preached at Sawston … Cambridge … in the Archdeacon of Ely, his visitation, held the 19 September, 1638 (1639)
Swan, Profanomastix (1639) John Swan, Profanomastix, or a brief direction concerning the respects we owe to God at his house (1639)
Sydenham, Jacob and Esau (1626) Humphrey Sydenham, Jacob and Esau opened and discussed by way of a sermon at Paul’s Cross (1626)
Sydenham, Moses and Aaron (1626) Humphrey Sydenham, Moses and Aaron, or the affinity of civil and ecclesiastical power (1626)
Sydenham, Arian (1627) Humphrey Sydenham, The arraignment of the Arian (1627)
Sydenham, Athenian (1627) Humphrey Sydenham, The Athenian babbler (1627)
Sydenham, The waters (1630) Humphrey Sydenham, The waters of Marah and Meribah (1630)
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Sydenham, Royal passing bell (1630)  Humphrey Sydenham, The royal passing bell, or David's summons to the grave (1630)
Sydenham, Sermons (1637)  Humphrey Sydenham, Sermons on solemn occasions (1637)
De templis (1638)  R. T., De templis. A treatise of temples (1638)
Tedder, A sermon (1637)  Richard Tedder, A sermon preached at Wymondham in Norfolk at the primary visitation of … Matthew, the bishop of Norwich, on the 3rd June … 1636 (1637)
Towers, Control  S. Mutchow Towers, Control of religious printing in early Stuart England (Woodbridge, 2003)
Ussher correspondence  The correspondence of James Ussher, ed. Elizabeth Anne Boran, 3 vols. (Dublin, 2015)
Wall, A sermon (1635)  George Wall, A sermon at the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his metropolitical visitation held at All Saints in Worcester … June 3 1635 (1635)
Weever, Ancient funeral monuments (1633)  John Weever, Ancient funeral monuments (1633)
White, Treatise (1635)  White, A treatise of the Sabbath day (1635)
White, An examination (1637)  White, An examination and confutation of a lawless pamphlet (1637)
Whyte, Unlocking  William Whyte, Unlocking the church (Oxford, 2018)
Widdowes, Schismatical (1630)  Giles Widdowes, The schismatical puritan (1630)
Widdowes, Lawless (1631)  Giles Widdowes, The lawless, kneeless, schismatical puritan (1631)
Wigmore, The meteors (1633)  Michael Wigmore, The meteors, a sermon preached at a visitation (1633)
Williams, Holy table (1637)  John Williams, Holy table name and thing (1637)
Wren, A sermon (1627/8)  Matthew Wren, A sermon preached before the king's majesty (1627/8)
Yates, Convert (1620)  John Yates, The true convert (1620)
Yates, A treatise (1637)  John Yates, A treatise of the honour of God's house (1637)