The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England

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Under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts the English developed a relationship to time—current time within the cycle of the year and historical time with reference to the past—that set them apart from the rest of early modern Europe. All countries followed a calendar that was rooted in the rhythms of ancient Europe and that marked the passage of time by reference to the life of Christ and his saints. But only in England was this traditional calendar of Christian holidays augmented by special days honoring the Protestant monarch and the ordeals and deliverances of the national church.[1] In addition to regulating the seasons of work and worship, the calendar in England served as a reminder of the nation's distinctiveness, of God's mercies, and of England's particular religious and dynastic good fortune. Other Protestant communities, most notably the Dutch, enjoyed a comparable myth of historical exceptionalism—a replay of the Old Testament—but no other nation employed the calendar as the English did to express and

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[1] For the traditional calendar, see E. O. James, *Seasonal Feasts and Festivals* (London, 1961); George Caspar Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941; New York, 1960), pp. 353–81; A. R. Wright, *British Calendar Customs: England*, 3 vols. (London, 1936–40). For recent historical treatments, see Charles Phythian-Adams, *Local History and Folklore: A New Framework* (London, 1975); and Bob Bushaway, *By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England, 1700–1880* (London, 1982).

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represent their identity.[2] Early modern England, in this regard, had more in common with modern America, France, or Australia (with Independence Day, Bastille Day, Australia Day, etc.), than with the rest of post-Reformation Europe.

This article deals with changes in calendar consciousness and annual festive routines in Elizabethan and Stuart England. It examines the rise of Protestant patriotism, and the shaping of a national political culture whose landmarks were royal anniversaries, the memory of Queen Elizabeth, and commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot. It opens a discussion on the vocabulary of celebration and the degree to which festivity was sponsored and orchestrated in the interest of national consolidation or partisan position. And it will show how calendrical observances that at first helped unite the crown and nation became contentious, politicized, and divisive. In late Elizabethan and early Jacobean England the calendar served as a unifying force, binding the nation to the ruling dynasty and securing it through an inspiring providential interpretation of English history. But mounting tension and trouble made the calendar increasingly politicized as the seventeenth century wore on. Commemorative anniversaries became more divisive than cohesive in the reign of Charles I, and the calendar acquired a potency and resonance that would reverberate through subsequent decades. Particular attention is paid here to the politics of the calendar in the 1630s. But from the 1570s to the 1690s, and perhaps well into the eighteenth century, it is evident that time was not a neutral grid, but, rather, the year was charged with anniversaries of religious and political significance.

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Several calendrical schemes operated simultaneously in Elizabethan and Stuart England. The calendar was layered and structured with a combination of astronomical, agricultural, pagan, Christian, legal, dynastic, national, local, and customary seasons and dates. Most lives were paced by the overarching Christian calendar, but experience of the year varied according to status and situation. A grain-growing yeoman knew rhythms different from those experienced by an upland herdsman. Landlords and tenants had complementary roles in the cycle of duties and payments, attendance and hospitality, and the cycle

[2] This theme is elaborated in David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989). Compare Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), pp. 69–105.

itself varied according to local custom. Civic officials, country lawyers, Whitehall courtiers, and ceremonial clergymen each had a different perspective on time and a different involvement in its rhythms. For Alderman Samuel Newton of Cambridge in the second half of the seventeenth century, the year was a sequence of civic observances, mayoral dinners, scarlet robings, leet courts, quarter sessions, anniversary sermons, audit dinners, and fairs.[3] For the reverend Ralph Josselin, his contemporary in an adjacent county, the year turned around agricultural and ecclesiastical observances.[4] And both experienced the year in a different way than their London contemporary, Samuel Pepys, whose life was paced by the activities of the metropolis and the court.[5] Activities and observances varied with setting, activity, and belief, yet all were embraced within the religious and ceremonial framework of the English Christian year.

Calendrical consciousness permeated people's lives and can be traced in their private reckonings as well as their community observances. Activities and tidings would be associated with their season or tide—Christ-tide, Shrovetide, Hocktide, and so on. Everyone knew when certain seasons and holidays fell. The Bristol chronicler, for example, described the hot plague "about St. James tide," and observed that "between St. James tide and Paul's tide [i.e., July 25 to January 25] there died about 2,000 persons."[6] Correspondents of the 1620s wrote, "it may be I shall see you before Shrovetide. . . . After Easter I purpose to be at Windsor." . . . "I come not to London till towards Michaelmas." . . . "it was Hallowtide before my arrival at this good town," and so on.[7] Winter and summer, planting and harvest, Christmas and Easter, Lady Day and Michaelmas, were the pivots of the year, the standard points of reference for a wide range of activities across time, and remained so at least until the nineteenth century.

Considerable controversy attached to some of these cycles and to the annual observances associated with them, but the intensity of concern varied with the perceived moral, political, or religious dangers of the moment. Sketched simply, the scheme and the sequence seem to have been as follows.

[3] J. E. Foster, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Newton, Alderman of Cambridge (1662–1717)* (Cambridge, 1890).

[4] Alan Macfarlane, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683* (London, 1976).

[5] Robert Latham and William Mathews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970–83).

[6] Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *The Maire of Bristow is Kalendar* (London, 1872), p. 59.

[7] George Ornsby, ed., *The Correspondence of John Cosin* (Durham, 1869), pt. 1, pp. 19, 53, 66; Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First,* 2 vols. (London, 1849), 1:165, *The Court and Times of Charles the First,* 2 vols. (London, 1848), 1:114.

In the early sixteenth century the English celebrated a round of religious festivals, holy days, and saints' days, many of which charted the annual christological cycle, alongside others that masked, with varying opacity, apparently pre-Christian seasonal observances. May Day and Midsummer, for example, were loosely tied to the Christian year by naming them, respectively, the feasts of Saints Philip and James and Saint John. The English religious calendar shared its rhythms with the rest of Roman Christendom, while, at the same time, accommodating a host of local devotions and cultic preferences associated with the patron saints of particular guilds and parishes. The year was also sprinkled with royal and civic occasions such as entries, triumphs, and pageants, but these had an ad hoc quality and enjoyed no fixed periodicity and little significance outside of the town or city where they happened. Royal anniversaries passed unnoticed, and there was no special celebration of dates from English history. Under Henry VIII, for example, there was no recognition of an Agincourt Day, and no particular fuss made of the year-day of the king's accession.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, in the wake of the Reformation, the number of religious celebratory occasions was reduced, and the calendar was, to some extent, defestivalized. The Book of Common Prayer established a national devotional framework for the passage of the seasons, firmly centered on commemoration of the life of Christ. Shrovetide and May Day still had their place in the official almanac, as well as in popular culture, but Corpus Christi and All Souls were abrogated, alongside a host of ancient holidays. The calendar was lean and spare compared to traditional practice, though insufficiently reformed to satisfy all critics. The Elizabethan prayer book recognized 27 holy days (besides Sundays), compared to 125 before the Reformation[8] (see App. A).

Zealous Protestants attacked the official ecclesiastical calendar for its continuity with papism, and reserved even more outrage for the licentiousness associated with popular calendrical customs. The Elizabethan preacher William Keth, for example, imagined God rebuking the traditionalists. "I never commanded . . . your candles at Candlemas, your popish penance on Ash Wednesday, your eggs and bacon on Good Friday, your gospels at superstitious crosses decked like idols, your fires at Midsummer, and your ringing at Hallowtide for all

[8] William Keating Clay, ed., *Liturgical Services. Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1847), pp. 30, 47–52, 443–55.

Christian souls."[9] For Puritans under Elizabeth, and again under the early Stuarts, the calendar was more than a notation for the passage of the year; it was a highly charged and potentially divisive symbol of the unresolved business of the Reformation. Nonetheless, the prayer-book calendar emerged by the end of the sixteenth century as the venerable and customary framework for the Anglican year. Usage and regularity established its rhythms. Anglican apologists saw the christological cycle, with its judicious admixture of feasts, fasts, and holy days, as one of the distinctive beauties of the English church.[10] The few disputes about maypoles and holy days belonged neither to a Puritan campaign for reform nor to an episcopal drive for conformity, but, rather, to local issues of piety, personality, and interest.

As if to compensate for the thinning of the old festive calendar, and perhaps also in response to England's religious isolation, the Elizabethan regime encouraged prayer and celebration on November 17, the anniversary of the queen's accession. Beginning around 1570, and developing into a national cult a few years later, the coordinated ringing of church bells and the festive observances of "the queen's day" linked parishes throughout England in an annual symphony of loyal celebration.[11] This annual festivity, which had no precedent in earlier reigns and no counterpart on the European continent, was marked by the ringing of bells, the holding of special services, feasting, drinking, and other demonstrations of joy and respect. The ringing on "crownation" day was the first annual concert of church bells that was not tied to the old Christian year. By the second half of Elizabeth's reign "the queen's holy day," as some called it, was established as a nationwide triumph, an annual symphony of celebration for the Tudor

[9] William Keth, *A Sermon Made at Blanford Forum* (London, 1572), fol. 20. See also Robert Charles Hope, ed., *The Popish Kingdome or Reign of Antichrist Written in Latin Verse by Thomas Naogeorgus and Englyshed by Barnabe Googe* ([1570]; London, 1880), fol. 44; John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in Terra. A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterludes with other idle pastimes etc. commonly used on the Sabboth day are reproved* (London, 1577), p. 23; and "An Admonition to the Parliament" [1572], in *Puritan Manifestoes*, ed. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas (London, 1954), pp. 21, 24.

[10] Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (London, 1723), pp. 250, 249–59; John Day, *Day's festivals or, Twelve of His Sermons* (Oxford, 1615), pp. 81–85, 108; John Howson, *A Sermon Preached at St. Maries in Oxford the 17 Day of November* (Oxford, 1602), sigs. A2, B; John Boys, *An Exposition of the Festiuall Epistles and Gospel* (London, 1615), dedication; Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, 3d ed. (London, 1635), pp. 148, 204.

[11] J. E. Neale, *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958), pp. 9–20; Roy Strong, "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1959): 88–91.

dynasty and its preservation of God's true church. Some parishes also celebrated Elizabeth's birthday on September 7, and after 1588, a few places—Norwich and Salisbury, for example—adopted an annual "triumphing day" for the victory over the Spanish Armada. The bells rang on all three occasions.[12]

Overlapping this royal calendar, and sometimes competing with it, was the developing calendar of English Protestant thankfulness, watchfulness, and commemoration. Historic episodes involving Queen Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the fortunes of the Stuart kings were memorialized and commemorated as signs of God's interest in his Protestant nation. They formed landmarks in the development of English Protestantism and cumulative elements of the national memory.

A new set of national anniversaries flourished in the seventeenth century as distinctive reference points in the English Protestant year, tying together God's calendar, the king's calendar, and the calendar of the Protestant nation. Bell ringing on the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession and bonfires for King James's deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot connected the elite and the populace, the parishes and the court in synchronized festive action. The bells rang for King James on the anniversary of his accession (March 24), his birthday (June 19), Saint James's day (July 25), which was also the day of his coronation, the commemoration of the Gowrie conspiracy (August 5), and everywhere, of course, on Gunpowder Treason Day (November 5). A similar, modified pattern continued under Charles, including attempts (generally unsuccessful) to extend the ringing to the birthday of Queen Henrietta Maria.

The new English calendar became thicker and more crowded as the seventeenth century progressed with a cumulative accretion of religious and dynastic anniversaries. Just as Elizabeth's accession was celebrated under her Stuart successors, and the Gunpowder Plot against James I created a calendrical occasion of enduring significance, so, too, did the traumatic events of the Revolution, with special reverence reserved in the later Stuart period for January 30 (the anniversary of Charles I, King and martyr, observed with prayer and fasting) and Royal Oak Day, May 29 (the birthday and restoration day of Charles II, observed with prayer and frolic). By the end of the seventeenth century it could be said that the spring belonged to the Tories and the autumn belonged to the Whigs (see App. B).

[12] This study of parish celebration is based on eighty sets of churchwardens' accounts from twenty-two counties. Full citations are given in Cressy (n. 2 above).

During the seventeenth century the English paid increasing attentin to the symbolic anniversaries of their own recent history. And since that history involved disputes, with winners and losers as well as struggles that continued or revived, it is not surprising to find the calendar operating as an annual mnemonic or perpetual reminder, occasioning celebration or recrimination. This is not to argue that the country at large was torn by cultural or religious disputes, or even overly concerned by them, but simply to note divisions among religious and political activists. Recurrent opportunities to excite these divisions were provided by the cycle of the ecclesiastical year and by the calendar of Protestant deliverances. Even if there was agreement on a date such as November 5, which was enshrined by act of Parliament,[13] there could be dispute about what exactly was being commemorated and about the behavior appropriate to it. Holidays and anniversaries were celebrated with bonfires and bells, though not always with sweetness and light.

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Special days called for special action. The major holidays, anniversaries, and successes of Tudor and Stuart England were marked by festive activities in the streets and villages as well as by events at court and notations in the calendar. Parishioners could draw on a versatile vocabulary of celebration to express or communicate their enthusiasm or at least to present the face of public joy. Governing authorities came to expect such demonstrations on sensitive anniversaries and intervened to correct or stimulate the celebration if it was not done according to form. By ringing bells, shooting guns, sounding instruments, or raising cheers, they could make a joyful noise unto the Lord. By firing bonfires, lighting candles, or exploding fireworks, they could bring cheerful illumination to the gloomiest night. Customary festive behavior required commensality, liberality, conviviality, and lavish dispensations of alcohol; it called for special noise, fire, dress, aspect, mood, individual behavior, and community action—a traditional vocabulary that was adapted to national Protestant celebrations in Elizabethan and Stuart England.

Often the various elements combined to create a symphony of symbolic action. Queen Elizabeth's accession day, for example, required "the cheerfulness of our countenances, the decency of our garments, the songs of our lips, the clapping of our hands, our melody on

[13] "An acte for a publique thanckesgiving to almightie God everie yeere on the fifte day of November," 3. Jac. I. c. 1 (this is an abbreviated reference to a Statute of the Realm of 1606).

instruments of music, the making of bonfires, the ringing of bells, the sounding of trumpets, the display of banners, the shooting of guns," and other "testimonies of rejoicing" on this "special day ordained of the lord . . . for the happiness of England."[14] And we can sometimes trace these activities in local records. For Thomas Holland, regius professor at Oxford from 1589 to 1612, "the annual celebrities" on November 17 were notable for their "triumphs undertaken and performed at court that day, bonfires, ringing of bells, discharging of ordnance at the Tower . . . and other signs of joy then usually and willingly exhibited by the people of our land." Holland went on to explain that bonfires "be used by the people of this land only as significant arguments to express their sincere affections in joy" and claimed that bonfires "have been reputed tokens of joy" for more than a hundred years.[15] One could hardly wish for a clearer understanding of bonfires as an element in a vocabulary of celebration.

If this was a vocabulary, what did it have to say? Thomas Holland insisted that it all expressed happiness and enthusiasm. But who was saying what to whom? The vocabulary of celebration was certainly expressive, but, like other forms of communication, it was susceptible to prompts and crossed meanings. Bonfires and bells were announcements, instruments of communication, and who controlled them could be as important as the message they proclaimed. It was possible to have a sullen bonfire and lackluster ringing, as well as flames and peals of joy. There could be rival bonfires and battles of the belfry on contentious ceremonial occasions. One wonders how much calendrical festivity represented popular enthusiasm, how much, management and orchestration?

A recurrent issue here is the degree to which local responses were prompted in the interests of established power or partisan position. Churchwardens' accounts shed some light on how great occasions touched popular consciousness, and how they became memorialized (and sometimes mutated) in subsequent generations. It becomes clear that the common people who participated in anniversary festivities and gave their stamp to them were not the originators of the new calendar customs. Crownation Day, Gunpowder Treason Day, Royal Oak Day, and the host of ad hoc observances had their origin in the high politics of Whitehall and Westminster and reached the local community through almanacs and sermons, precepts, proclamations, and unwrit-

[14] Isaac Colfe, *A Sermon Preached on the Queenes Day being the 17 of November. 1587* (London, 1588), sig. C5v.

[15] Thomas Holland, *Panegyris D. Elizabethae . . . A sermon preached at Pauls in London the 17 of November Ann. Dom. 1599* (Oxford, 1601), sigs. A2v, Bv, H3, N4.

ten instructions. The direction descended through a matrix of command involving privy councillors, city fathers, ministers, and churchwardens. Social superiors and political masters prompted or activated the local celebrations, even if ordinary villagers and townsfolk joined in and made them their own.

Parish bells were ideal instruments for celebration and for demonstrating approbation and respect. No one could escape their clamor. Traditionally they rang at weddings and funerals, marking individual rites of passage, and they rang in alarm at moments of crisis. Bells were popularly believed to have cathartic or prophylactic effects, to cleanse or purify the air. At other times the ringing expressed joy and good will. Now the bells rang out on dynastic and patriotic occasions, as well as New Year's Eve and the feast days of the Christian year, giving ample opportunity for the development of the uniquely English art of change ringing.[16] As informational and celebratory equipment, the bells became harnessed to the propaganda requirements of the ruling regime, and much of England's royal history unfolded to the accompaniment of ringing. The payments to the ringers (money for beer, bread, and cheese), so common in churchwardens' accounts, provide a record of the occasions when the parishes were summoned to festive attention.

Bonfires similarly conveyed a variety of meanings. They were dangerous and exciting, creating light in the darkness, warmth in the cold, and a vibrant visual focus for a crowd. Suggestions have been made that bonfires were associated with "expulsion to hell, and surrender to diabolic enemies" and that they descended from ancient druidic fire festivals (which there is no way of proving). Traditionally they were lit at midsummer, on the eve of Saint Peter or Saint John, and this practice continued in some places after the Reformation. For Elizabethan spectators, bonfires may have sparked associations with the flames of hell or the fires of the Protestant martyrs, as well as destruction, cleansing, and regeneration, and a specific against the plague.[17]

Stripped of their pagan associations, bonfires were understood as expressions of honor and approbation, lit to signal happiness and good

[16] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), pp. 31, 49, 52; J. J. Raven, *Bells of England* (1906), pp. 26, 110–11, 280; Percival Price, *Bells and Man* (New York, 1983), pp. 83–85, 107–29; Ernest Morris, *The History and Art of Change Ringing* (1931; reprint, Wakefield, 1976), pp. 23, 74.

[17] Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (New York, 1962), p. 50; R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendrium, or Dates, Charters and Customs of the Middle Ages* (London, 1841), 1:299; Alan Gailey, "The Bonfire in North Irish Tradition," *Folk-Lore* 88 (1977): 3–34; Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, ed., *A Survey of London by John Stow* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 101, 283.

will. Their festive meaning is best caught in the German *Freudenfeuer* or the French term *feu de joie* (used in the English Channel Islands).[18] The accession of James I was greeted in Plymouth with "great triumph with bonfires, games, and ringing of bells." So, too, was the accession of Charles. Bonfires saluted the royal wedding (by proxy) in May 1625, and a month later, when Henrietta Maria arrived in London, "all the streets were full of bonfires"; in Fenchurch Street alone there were "above thirty."[19] The fires formed an unofficial commentary on public affairs. Prince Charles's return from Spain in 1624 was greeted with spectacular bonfires in London and elsewhere, rejoicing that he had not been snared by papism. Four years later bonfires proclaimed London's delight in the king's acceptance of the Petition of Right. The parish of Saint Botolph without Bishopsgate, for example, spent 4*s*. 6*d*. "for three dozen faggots for the parliament's concordancy" on this occasion. In the years that followed, bonfires expressed delight that the queen was with child, flamed on the king's anniversary, and gave thanks for his recovery from illness. Bonfires cheered the calling of parliaments in 1640, and burned for both sides when they won victories in the civil wars.[20] These were flames of delight, not vindictive burnings of effigies. An ancient tradition was harnessed for public communication in the seventeenth century. Above all, regularly and spectacularly, and throughout the Stuart era, bonfires burned to celebrate the deliverance of November fifth.

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Payments for bonfires and bells on November 5 became an "ordinary" expense in many parishes, and Gunpowder Treason Day became as firm in the seventeeth-century calendar as Christmas. Indeed, during the Interregnum, when Christmas and the rest of the holy seasons were suppressed, only November 5 remained as a national day of

[18] G. B. Adams, "European Words for 'Bonfire,' " *Folk-Lore* 88 (1977): 34–38; G. E. Lee, ed., "Notebook of P. LeRoy," *Publications of the Guernsey Historical and Antiquarian Society* (1893), p. 25.

[19] Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), *Ninth Report* (London, 1883), 1:278; Birch, *Charles the First* (n. 7 above), 1:18, 20, 30; Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Diary of John Rous* (London, 1856), pp. 56, 81; George Roberts, ed., *Diary of Walter Yonge* (London, 1848), p. 77.

[20] Payments for bonfires appear in churchwardens' accounts. See also Elisabeth Bourcier, ed., *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1622–1624* (Paris, 1974), pp. 161–63; *Acts of the Privy Council, 1623–1625*, pp. 369–70; Albert J. Loomie, ed., *Ceremonies of Charles I: the Note Books of John Finet, 1628–1641* (New York, 1987), p. 95; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (CSPD), 1628–29*, pp. 156, 172, 175; Birch, *Charles the First*, 1:362; Green, ed., p. 16; *CSPD, 1640–41*, p. 462; Paul Hardacre, *The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution* (The Hague, 1956), p. 43.

common celebration. In the early Stuart period the annual commemoration of the Gunpowder deliverance drew on the traditional vocabulary of celebration, involving noise, light, action, and prayer. Michael Sparke caught the mood in the 1620s when he urged, "Let us and our posterity after us with bonfires, trumpets, shawms and psalms laud and praise thy holy name on the fifth of November yearly and forever."[21]

Some communities went further and laid on a public beer barrel or supply of wine for all comers, or established a parish commemorative feast. The anniversary became a day of indulgence, of drinking and festivity, as well as of worship and meditation, even though it was never an official day of absence from work. Hospitality shaded into charity in some places, where November 5 was a day for distributing doles to the poor. Often the day concluded with a bonfire, with flaming tar barrels and bundles of faggots supplied from the parish funds. Great Saint Mary's, Cambridge, usually allowed 2*s.* 6*d.* toward a parish bonfire on November 5 in the 1630s. Not to be outdone, the rival parish of Holy Trinity, across the market square, laid out 3*s.* 8*d.* "for a pitch barrel and faggots for a bonfire" on November 5, 1635.[22] In some towns the celebration of November 5 became a civic occasion with much of the festive solemnity that before the Reformation had been reserved for saints' days. At Norwich the waits sang, bells rang, and a shilling each was paid "to three trumpeters the 5th of November, by command of Mr. Mayor." The soldiers rolled out the wheel-guns at Norwich Castle and fired them each November 5. In the afternoon the corporation assembled for a sermon in the church of Saint Peter Mancroft, "in commemoration of the great delivery of the king and state from the Gunpowder Treason."[23]

At Canterbury, where the civic calendar once centered on the pageants of Saint Thomas, the Gunpowder Treason provided a new opportunity for noisemaking, dinners, and parades. In 1607 "there was delivered out of the tower in St. George's gate . . . to triumph withall upon the 5th of November . . . 106lb. of gunpowder and 14lb. of match." This would provide some splendid explosions, and one imagines a veiled kind of sympathetic magic at work here, with festive gunpowder combating the destructive horror of the gunpowder plot. In 1610 the aldermen and officers of Canterbury treated themselves and

[21] Michael Sparke, *Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of this Land* (London, 1628), sigs. A6–A6v (bound with his *Crums of Comfort,* 7th ed. [London, 1628]).

[22] Cambridge Record Office, St. Mary the Great accounts, Holy Trinity accounts.

[23] Norfolk Record Office, "City Chamberlain's accounts, 1603–1625," fols. 397v, 398v, 415v; "1626–1648," fols. 12v, 13, 73v, 263.

their wives to a slap-up dinner and entertainment on the evening of November 5. The chamberlain laid out 14*s*. 7*d*. for wine, 6*s*. 8*d*. for the waits, 5*s*. for musicians, and another 15*s*. for gunpowder. The occasion called for a martial parade, in the tradition of the midsummer marching watch, and the accounts for November 5 show 20*s*. more spent "for thirty of our soldiers which did show themselves with their muskets there."[24] Comparable observances, involving formal church attendance, scarlet robings, civic processions, drinks for the populace, and dinner for the dignitaries, can be found in dozens of towns and parishes in early Stuart England.

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Gunpowder Treason Day was a national commemoration, in which all shades of Protestant opinion could join. While some were awaiting a millenial message, others were only there for the beer. Bishop George Carleton's *Thankfull Remembrance of God's mercy,* which went through four editions (some illustrated) between 1624 and 1630, reminded a new generation of what had been at stake in 1605.

> Their hellish device was at one blow to root out religion, to destroy the state, the father of our country, the mother of our country, the olive branches the hopeful succession of our king, the reverend clergy, the honorable nobility, the faithful councillors, the grave judges, the greatest part of our knights and gentry, the choicest burgesses, the officers of the crown, council, signet, seals, and other seats of judgement, the learned lawyers, with an infinite number of common people, the hall of justice, the houses of parliament, the church used for the coronation of our kings, the monuments of our former princes, all records of parliament, and of every particular man's right, with great number of charters, and other things of this nature, all these things had the devil by his agents devised at one secret blow to destroy.[25]

Preaching at Chelmsford on November 5, 1626, the Puritan Thomas Hooker also dwelt on the diabolical comprehensiveness of the Gunpowder Plot. The target, he reminded his listeners, embraced the parliamentary gentry, nobility, and royal family, "assembled for the glory of God, to enact good laws for this commonwealth. Now

[24] HMC, *Ninth Report,* 1:160.

[25] George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy. In an Historical Collection of the great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church and State of England* (London, 1624), p. 217. See also Samuel Garey, *Amphitheatrum Scelerum: or the Transcendent of Treason: For the Fifth of November* (London, 1618), *Great Brittans little Calendar: or, Triple Diarie, in remembrance of three daies* (London, 1618).

these in that place in one hour, in one instant, should all have been miserably blown up and torn in pieces, so that they should not have been found, should not have been known that they might be buried according to their degree. This is that matchless villainy and that unconceivable treachery which the papists had contrived," which should be recorded "to all posterity."[26] Hooker and Carleton agreed that the plot threatened the entire social and religious order, and that every English subject had a stake in its outcome and an obligation to its memory.

But during the 1620s the tone of the anniversary was shifting from joy at deliverance to apprehension of a continuing Catholic menace; and during the 1630s it came to symbolize the cleavage between Laudians and Puritans. Though still a day of public commemoration, enjoined by statute, the fifth of November took on an increasingly partisan tone. The unifying festivity of the early seventeenth century was overlaid by criticism and recrimination, as Puritan preachers used Gunpowder Treason Day to emphasise the dangers of creeping popery, and the Caroline regime sought to muffle the commemoration.

Official Gunpowder anniversary sermons, which had been a regular fixture at the Jacobean court, attracted much less attention under Charles. Archbishop Laud usually preached at Christmas and Easter, and on March 27, the anniversary of the king's accession, but seems to have ignored November 5. Anti-Catholic bonfires were distasteful to a Catholic queen and to a government building good relations with the Catholic powers. The popular practice of noisemaking and burning of popish effigies incurred official displeasure. Such symbolic action, it was said, "was a mark of a 'puritan' and that house [responsible for it] must be put into the black book."[27] (Whether Laud actually had a "black book" is unproven, but those who feared that their names might be in it were doubtless convinced of its existence.)

Puritans, thrown onto the defensive by the rise of Laud and the Arminians, clung to the calendrical occasion of the Gunpowder anniversary, and indeed developed it as an occasion for indirect criticism. Some godly ministers of the 1630s took the opportunity of November 5

[26] Thomas Hooker, "The Church's Deliverances," in *Thomas Hooker, Writings in England and Holland, 1626–1633*, ed. George H. Williams, Norman Pettit, Winifried Herget, and Sargent Bush, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 68, 69. See also Thomas Gataker, *An Anniuersarie Memoriall* (London, 1626); Henry King, *A Sermon of Deliverance* (London, 1626).

[27] William Laud, "Diary," in *The Works of William Laud* (Oxford 1853), 3:220, 213; *Parliamentary Scout: Communicating His Intelligence to the Kingdome* (November 5, 1644).

to preach against popish superstition, pollutions, and persecutions, which they saw besetting the Church of England, while others took comfort in the underlying message of deliverance. Parish bells rang loud on the Protestant anniversaries, sometimes contrasting with perfunctory ringing for the royal family. Not for the last time, we can see the mnemonic power of the anniversary, and the ability of activists to gain current capital from ritual commemoration of the past.

Samuel Ward, for example, preaching at Ipswich on November 5, 1633, warned his congregation "to beware of relapse into popery and superstition." He preached "that men began to ring the changes, as in bells and fashions, so in opinions and manners," and that "the best way of thankfulness for that deliverance [of November 5] . . . was a more strict observance of the Ten Commandments." Though outwardly unexceptional, this was taken as an oblique attack on the leaders of the church, and Ward had to answer for it before High Commission.[28]

More confrontational, the London minister Henry Burton was roused to preach two sermons at Saint Matthew, Friday Street, on November 5, 1636, taking as his text the verse from Proverbs, "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king: and meddle not with them that are given to *change*." Burton "then urged his people to take note of many changes of late in books allowed, and in practice, as altars, etc." Even the official service book for November 5 had been changed the previous year, with alterations that implied "that the religion of papists is the true religion." And in a telling aside, Burton noted that the original text had been approved by Parliament, but the alterations had not.[29]

Gunpowder Treason Day was an apt occasion on which to berate the Laudian regime. Burton explained, in the printed version of his sermons, "I deemed that day, the memorial whereof should cause all loyal subjects forever to detest all innovations tending to reduce us to that religion of Rome, which plotted matchless treason, the most seasonable for this text. . . . This is a time of sorrow and humiliation, but this day a day of joy and festivity." It was time, each November 5, to recall the true meaning of the deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, "a deliverance never to be cancelled out of the calendar, but to be written in every man's heart forever." God had intervened in 1605, so it

[28] Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic, SP 16/278/65, fols. 146–47. See also John Goodwin, *The Saints Interest in God* (London, 1640), pp. 2, 5.

[29] Henry Burton, *For God, and the King. The Summe of Two Sermons Preached on the fifth of November last in St Mathewes Friday Street. 1636* (London, 1636), pp. 130–32; Henry Jacie to John Winthrop, Jr., *The Winthrop Papers* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 3:485.

seemed, not just to save the royal family and government but also the true Christian religion. Gunpowder Treason had threatened cataclysmic change, but now "popery, like a thief, stolen in upon us step by step," was equally menacing. Back in 1605, Burton recalled, "through God's mercy, the change was prevented: the change of a noble kingdom into an anarchy and Babylonian tyranny; a change of Christ's religion into AntiChrist's; of tables into altars; of preaching ministers of the gospel into sacrificing mass priests; of light into darkness; of Christ into Belial; of the temple of God into a temple of idols; of fundamental just laws of a kingdom into papal canons; of the liberty of the subjects into the servitude of slaves; of regal edifices and monuments into vast solitude and ruinous heaps."[30] Puritan polemics had come a long way from Hooker's sermon in 1626 to Burton's a decade later. Such a transparent and provocative characterization of the Laudian program was bound to cause trouble, and Burton's challenge cost him a portion of his ears.

* * *

Royal aniversaries also produced their share of friction. Some parishes had never entirely abandoned the habit of commemorative ringing on November 17, long after Elizabeth had died, but many more took up the practice in the reign of Charles I. Often they rang more vigorously on the anniversary of the dead queen than on the accession day of the living king, at least so it seems if the amount paid to the ringers is an indication. In November 1626, for example, the churchwardens of Saint Bartholomew Exchange paid two shillings to the ringers "on Queen Elizabeth's crownation day," which was more than they customarily spent on ringing for the Stuart accession. If this attention to Queen Elizabeth was a slight to the Caroline regime it was qûickly corrected. Parish officials learned that Queen Henrietta Maria had her birthday on November 16, and the king himself had been born on November 19, so two more days entered the ringers' calendar.[31]

This interaction of local initiative and central direction is made explicit in a newsletter from 1630.

> On Friday, November 19, being his majesty's birthday, my Lord Mayor, as he sat at dinner, received a check from the Lords of the Council because he suffered the bells to stand so silent, and a commandment to set them all on work, both in city and suburbs; which was accordingly done,

[30] Burton, dedication, pp. 1, 100, 54, 101–2.

[31] Edwin Freshfield, ed., *The Account Books of the Parish of St. Bartholemew Exchange in the City of London, 1596–1698* (London, 1895), pp. 69, 74, 85, 89.

> and above a thousand bonfires kindled that night; although his lordship said, when he heard it, that he never knew that ceremony to have been done before. The message may seem to have been occasioned by that universal ringing and flaming of bonfires for Queen Elizabeth's coronation two nights before.[32]

Most parishes in the London area responded to this kind of orchestration, as did provincial communities connected to the matrix of command. The bells of Saint Mary Aldermary, for example, rang on the royal anniversaries in 1630 and 1631, "according to a precept from the Lords of the Council Table and my Lord Mayor." But no such prompting was necessary to secure ample ringing on the aniversaries of Protestant deliverances.[33]

The Puritan parish of Saint Botolph Bishopsgate usually marked King Charles's accession anniversary with a bonfire as well as bells, although here, as in many places, they put less into the king's day than into November 5. By 1631 the churchwardens were devoting only 1*s*. 6*d*. to ringing on the king's crownation day, but two shillings each to festivities for the Gunpowder Treason and Queen Elizabeth. The account books of Saint Botolph also reveal the contrast between perfunctory ringing by order and enthusiastic ringing from the heart. On November 16, 1634, the churchwardens spent three shillings for ringing "by command from the Lord Mayor" on Henrietta Maria's birthday. But the next day, November 17, they paid ten shillings without prompting for ringing in memory of Queen Elizabeth.[34]

Country parishes also rang on Charles's crownation day, although not always with enthusiasm. Some, such as Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, rang dutifully "on the king's holiday." But others, like Hartland, Devon, appear to have taken no notice of the regnal year, although they paid their ringers generously each November 5. At Holy Trinity, Dorchester, renowned as a Puritan parish, there were three standard ringing days in the early 1630s: the king's anniversary on March 27 and on November 5 and 17. Usually the ringers earned a shilling between them on each occasion, but in 1634 the balance shifted. In that year the churchwardens paid 1*s*. 6*d*. for ringing on March 27, 2*s*. on November 5, and 2*s*. 6*d*. for "Queen Elizabeth of famous memory." The rising intensity of the ringing was perhaps intended to remind listeners of the vulnerability of the Protestant cause at home and abroad. The Holy Trinity account books show no further

[32] Birch, *Charles the First* (n. 7 above), 2:82, 145.
[33] London, Guildhall Library, MS 3556/2.
[34] London, Guildhall Library, MS 4524/1.

payments to the ringers on March 27 for the rest of the decade, although they never missed November 5 and 17.[35]

It is difficult to know what to make of these entries, since the bells, like bonfires, were capable of projecting a variety of meanings. It was hard to take offense at commemorative ringing for Queen Elizabeth or ringing on the authorized anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, yet the celebration clearly conveyed a political message. In many places it was apparent that the Protestant holy days mattered more than dynastic anniversaries, and that this symbolic valuation could be expressed through the vocabulary of celebration.

* * *

Sensitivity to the Protestant calendar of deliverances was closely associated with disputes about the calendar of the Book of Common Prayer. The religious polarization of the 1630s produced competing calendrical emphases as well as aggravations on many other fronts. The ceremonial clergymen, Arminians and anti-Calvinists who rose to power with Charles I, luxuriated in the traditional ecclesiastical calendar and sought to impose it on others. These were the churchmen least attached to the anniversaries of November 5 and 17, whose liturgical practice as well as their theology most provoked fears of a return to Rome.

John Cosin set the fuse to an explosive discussion of the calendar through the publication of his *Collection of Private Devotions,* which went through five editions between 1627 and 1638. "The calendar of the church is as full of benefit as delight, unto such as are given to the serious study and due contemplation thereof," wrote Cosin. "For besides the admirable order and disposition of times, which are necessary for the better transacting of all ecclesiastical and secular affairs, it hath in it a very beautiful distinction of the days and seasons, whereof some are chosen out and sanctified, and others put among the days of the week to number."[36]

As in the ancient church, so in Caroline England, argued Cosin, the Christian calendar was intended "to preserve a solemn memory" of God's benefits. But Cosin was not thinking here of the Elizabethan accession, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, or deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot. Rather, the days commemorating early saints and

[35] John Bruce, ed., "Extracts from Accounts of the Churchwardens of Minchinhampton in the County of Gloucester," *Archaeologia* 35 (1853): 441–45; Ivon L. Gregory, ed., *Hartland Church Accounts, 1597–1706* (London, 1950), pp. 111–89; Dorset Record Office, PE/DO/HT/CW1.

[36] John Cosin, *A Collection of Private Devotions* (London, 1627), preface.

martyrs should be observed "as sacred memorials of God's mercy towards us." And to aid this devotion Cosin printed a supplementary calendar of saints' days commemorating Hilary, Valentine, David, Gregory, Benedict, George, Dunstan, Swithin, Cyprian, Martin, and Hugh—dubious or discredited saints who had been purged from the English calendar in the reign of Henry VIII. Cosin further recommended a reverent observance of All Saints' day, a day that the Puritan clergy were inclined to ignore.[37] To serious Protestants, heirs of the Elizabethan sabbatarians, this handbook, prominently endorsed by the Bishop of London, was a betrayal of the Reformation.

As the ceremonialists and Arminians gained increasing control over the church they began to enforce their discipline. Laudian bishops insisted on strict conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, including the ritual and calendrical observances that many moderate Puritans had dropped. At the same time they downplayed the new anniversaries of English Protestant deliverances. Whereas Elizabethan bishops, faced with residual Catholicism, had attempted to *limit* religious observances to the authorized holy days, the new ceremonialists insisted that *all* those holy days be meticulously observed "with their eves." Mathew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, even required observance of the Conversion of Saint Paul (January 25) and Saint Barnabas's day (June 11), feasts that the Elizabethan prayer book ignored.[38]

The resurgent ceremonialism of the 1630s gave more weight to the old ecclesiastical calendar than at any time since the Reformation. At the same time, a reinvigorated Puritan movement asserted an alternative sabbatarian cycle and sought to divest the church of liturgical observances that savored too strongly of Rome. Controversy over Christmas and saints' days, Candlemas and Hallowmas, which had smoldered unregarded for over a generation, flared up in Charles I's reign whenever Puritans or Laudians forced the issue. Often the conflicts were local, and often intensely personal, and they should not be taken as signs of an impending civil war. But as with Gunpowder Treason, so with Candlemas and Christmas, for each side the calendar provided a symbolic encapsulation of their other disputes.

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The story can be continued beyond the 1630s, though no detailed treatment will be attempted here. Activist preachers of the 1640s used

[37] Ibid.

[38] Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* (Oxford, 1844), 1:220–21, 359, 399–400, 2:179, 253; Ornsby, ed. (n. 7 above), pt. 1, pp. 110, 113, 118; William Laud, *Articles to be Inquired of in the Metropolitical Visitation . . . for the Diocese of London* (London, 1636), sigs. A3v, A4.

Gunpowder Treason Day to recall the deliverance of 1605 and to warn of current plotting. John Vicars's pamphlet, *The Quintessence of Cruelty, or Master-peice of Treachery, the Popish Powder-Plot,* appeared in time for the Gunpowder anniversary in 1641 and contributed to the heightened anti-Catholicism that turned memories of the plot into attacks on malignants and adversaries wherever they might be found. It was no coincidence that the mob at Chelmsford chose November 5, 1641, to destroy a stained glass window that reminded them of Catholicism, nor that Richard Culmer's destruction of "idolatrous monuments" at Canterbury was carried out on November 5, 1644.[39]

Charles Herle told the embattled House of Commons on November 5, 1644, that "you must expect to stand in need of more deliverances; the same brood of enemies that then durst venture but an undermining, dare now attempt an open battery." Philistine pioneers were tunneling even now "from Oxford, Rome, Hell, to Westminster, and there to blow up, if possible, the better foundations of your houses, their liberties and privileges." Meanwhile, it was time for bonfires and bells and the customary expressions of celebration. A parliamentary newspaper of 1644 reported, "Tuesday the 5 of November was a day of thanksgiving, as first for our deliverance from the Powder Plot, and it was kept very solemnly; many guns went off, and many fine popish gods were burnt."[40] (This is one of the earliest references to the burning of effigies on November 5; popish effigies were burned in the annual bonfires of the later seventeenth century, but Guy Fawkes—"a penny for the Guy"—seems to have been a nineteenth-century addition to the tradition.)

Agitators used the Gunpowder Plot to stir up division in the 1640s and 1650s, but more moderate voices invoked the memory of 1605 in the interest of national unity. Even the royalists had an interest in the anniversary as a dynastic salvation and as God's verdict for established episcopalianism; for them, Gunpowder Plot was "treason unheard of" until the actions of the present schismatical rebels.[41]

[39] John Vicars, *The Quintessence of Cruelty, or Master-peice of Treachery, the Popish Powder-Plot* (London, 1641), sig. A2; Bruno Ryves, *Mercurious Rusticus: Or, The Countries Complaint of the Barbarous Out-Rages Committed by the Sectaries of this Late Flourishing Kingdom* (London, 1646); Richard Culmer, *Cathedrall newes from Canterbury* (London, 1644). See also *The Muses Fire-Works Upon the Fifth of November: or, The Protestants Remembrancer of the Bloody Designs of the Papists in the Never-to-be-forgotten Powder Plot* (London, 1640).

[40] Charles Herle, *Davids Reserve, and Rescue* (London, 1645), pp. 11, 12, 13, 16; *Parliamentary Scout* (October 31–November 7, 1644).

[41] William Sclater, *Papisto-Mastix, or Deborah's Prayer against God's Enemies* (London, 1642), pp. 13, 53. See also *The Fifth of November, or The Popish and Schis-*

The Plot had become all things to all men, a malleable symbol in the face of fragmentation. Godly ministers continued to mark the anniversary with sermons while their parishioners lit bonfires and rang bells as part of a recurrent exchange between rhetoric and action. By this time the anniversary had a folk life of its own quite apart from its official meanings. In 1657 the master of Jesus College, Cambridge, had a squib thrown through his window on November 5, a sign that traditions of festive rowdiness on Gunpowder night were not extinguished during the Interregnum, and a token of many more firework disturbances at Cambridge to come.[42]

The Restoration saw bonfires and bells as lively as ever, with parish expenditures for November 5 in the autumn rivaling or outspending those for Royal Oak Day in the spring.[43] The revival of anti-Catholicism in the 1670s gave fresh life to Gunpowder Treason (Guy Fawkes redivivus), and the calendar provided annual opportunities for its expression. The pope-burning processions and bonfires of the exclusion period began on November 5 and climaxed on Queen Elizabeth's day on November 17, with a politicized deployment of the vocabulary of celebration.[44] Much was made of the providential coincidence of William of Orange's landing on November 5, 1688, and each succeeding year, when the salvation of the Protestant kingdom was linked to the Protestant calendar.[45] And it was no coincidence that the Sacheverell riots of Queen Anne's reign began with a sermon preached on

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matical Rebells. With Their Horrid Plots, Fair Pretences, and Bloudy Practices, Weighed One Against Another (Oxford, 1644).

[42] James Crossley, ed., *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington* (Manchester, 1847), p. 90.

[43] My calculations from churchwardens' accounts. See Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658–1667* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 125–26.

[44] Sheila Williams, "The Pope-burning and Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958): 104–18; O. W. Furley, "The Pope-burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," *History* 44 (1959): 16–23; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 104, 120–23, 145, 159. See also *The Manner of the Burning of the Pope in Effigies in London on the 5th of November, 1678* (London, 1678); *The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinalls Iesuits, Fryers, etc. through ye City of London, Nouember ye 17th, 1679* (London, 1679); and *London's Defiance to Rome, A Perfect Narrative of the magnificent procession and solemn burning of the Pope* (London, 1679).

[45] See, e.g., William Lloyd, *A Sermon Preached before Their Majesties At Whitehall. On the Fifth day of November, 1689. Being the Anniversary-day of Thanksgiving For that Great Deliverance From the Gunpowder-Treason, And also the Day of His Majesties Happy Landing in England* (London, 1689); and *A form of prayer, with thanksgiving . . . fifth day of November* (London, 1690).

November 5.[46] To explore these echoes and cross-references is beyond the present discussion, but it is enough to remember that the calendar, a compendium of dynastic and Protestant memories, excited competing political loyalties well into the Hanoverian period and, in some quarters, has not entirely lost its power of arousal today.

Appendix A

The Calendar of the Book of Common Prayer

The approved holy days, "and none other," were all Sundays in the year, the Mondays and Tuesdays in Easter week and Whitsun week, and the days of the following feasts:

Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ	January 1, New Year
Epiphany	January 6, Twelfth Day
Purification of the Blessed Virgin	February 2
Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin	March 25, Lady Day
Saint Mark the Evangelist	April 25
Saints Philip and James the Apostles	May 1, May Day
Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ	(movable)
Nativity of Saint John the Baptist	June 24, Midsummer Day
Saint Peter the Apostle	June 29
Saint James the Apostle	July 25
Saint Bartholomew the Apostle	August 24
Saint Matthew the Apostle	September 21
Saint Michael the Archangel	September 29, Michaelmas
Saint Luke the Evangelist	October 18
Saints Simon and Jude the Apostles	October 28
All Saints	November 1
Saint Andrew the Apostle	November 30
Saint Thomas the Apostle	December 21
Nativity of our Lord	December 25
Saint Stephen the Martyr	December 26
Saint John the Evangelist	December 27
Holy Innocents	December 28, Childermas

"Lawful bodily labour" could be set aside for prayer and worship on these twenty-seven holy days, compared to ninety-five festival days and thirty *profesti* before the reforms of 1536, 1552, and 1559.

[46] Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State* (London, 1709); Geoffrey Holmes, "The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Past and Present*, no. 72 (1976), pp. 55–85.

Appendix B

The Customary Calendar of Stuart England (with Additions)

New Year's Day	January 1	
Twelfth Day	January 6	
Plough Monday	after Epiphany	
		(King Charles's Day January 30)
Candlemas	February 2	
Valentine's	February 14	
Shrovetide	movable	
Lent	movable	
Easter	movable	
Hocktide	movable	
Lady day	March 25	
Saint George's Day	April 23	
May Day	May 1	
		(Royal Oak Day, May 29)
Rogationtide	movable	
Ascension day	movable	
Whitsuntide	movable	
Midsummer Day	June 24	
Saint Swithin's	July 15	
Lammas	August 1	
Michaelmas	September 29	
All Saints' Day	November 1	
Gunpowder Treason	November 5	
Queen Elizabeth's	November 17	
Christmastide	December 25–January 6	