Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

Illustrating the Sacred: A Sampler

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Letter of Confraternity for the Hospital of St. Roch, Exeter

London: R. Faques, ca. 1510
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 10617.5


The graces folowyng be graũted to al the bzetherne & ſyſters benefactours and good doers vnto the hoſpytall of ꝑ bleſſyd cõfellour ſaynt Rocke foũded & eſtabliſſyd wỉn the of Cyte Exceſter ꝑ daye that they do ſay a pater noſter an Aue/& a Crede it is graũted them that they ſhal neuer be infecte nor greued w̃ the ſtroke of ꝑ peſtylence as more playnly it dothe appere in hys legende how and whan al myghty god graunted thys petycyon to the ſayd bleſſyd cõfellour ſaynt Rocke/& ſent yt by hys angell Raphaell

Pictured here is the only known surviving copy of a letter of confraternity (a kind of indulgence) for the Hospital of St. Roch in Exeter. It measures 12 ½ x 7 ½ centimeters and was printed in black letter type in 1510. The small dimensions may account for the loss of all but one of these letters. Creases in the paper indicate it was folded several times and perhaps carried in a pocket by its possessor. This letter confers safety from the plague upon the "bretherne & systers benefactours and good doers vnto the hospytall.y^{e} daye that they do say a pater noster an Aue/& a Crede."

St. Roch (ca. 1350-ca. 1379) was born with a red cross as a birthmark on his chest, and was known as a miracle worker. In towns he visited on his pilgrimage to Rome around 1368, plague victims were spared because St. Roch made the sign of the cross over them. He was himself eventually stricken while returning to his home in Montpellier. The rudimentary woodcut illustrates the popular story of how St. Roch was healed. Once infected, he retreated to a wood outside of Piacenza, where he was cured by a balm from the angel Raphael. His recovery was aided by a dog, pictured between the angel and St. Roch, who brought bread to him daily. The dog's strange behavior made his master, Gothard, curious to follow the dog, whereupon he discovered St. Roch. Gothard was moved to forsake his wealth and follow the saint as a pilgrim. St. Roch was later charged as a spy, and he died in prison in Angera, his identity revealed only when his birthmark was noticed after his death. St. Roch's reputation was further enhanced when the plague abated in Constance in 1414, after the Church Fathers at the Council of Constance ordered that public prayers be offered for his intercession.

For further information, see Nati H. Krivatsy, "Saint Roch and Exeter: A Note on a Unique STC at the Folger," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, XV (1989): 136-44.

Will of Thomas Barbur, 3 August 1529. Contemporary copy.
Folger Shelf Mark: X.d. 428 (202), recto.

This will, which predates the English Reformation, is a short version of the many examples Eamon Duffy describes in *The Stripping of the Altars*. Duffy suggests that before the government or clergy began imposing constraints on the laity's piety in the late 1530s, testators composed wills much like Barbur's "in maner & forme, " bequeathing, as he did, "my sowle to Almyghty god & to howre lady seynte mare & to all' ye cumpany off heyuen." Moreover, testators also revealed their devotion to the cult of the dead by bequeathing money to clerics to say prayers for them or their loved ones. Thomas Barbur left money for such prayers to the Church of Our Lady in Coventry, to the Church of Saint Peter in Hope, and to the Church of Saint Chad in Lichfield.

For further information, consult Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars:Traditional Religion in England c. 1400. c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). For additional examples of pre-Reformation wills, consult R. N. Swanson, *Catholic England: Faith, Religion, and Observance before the Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

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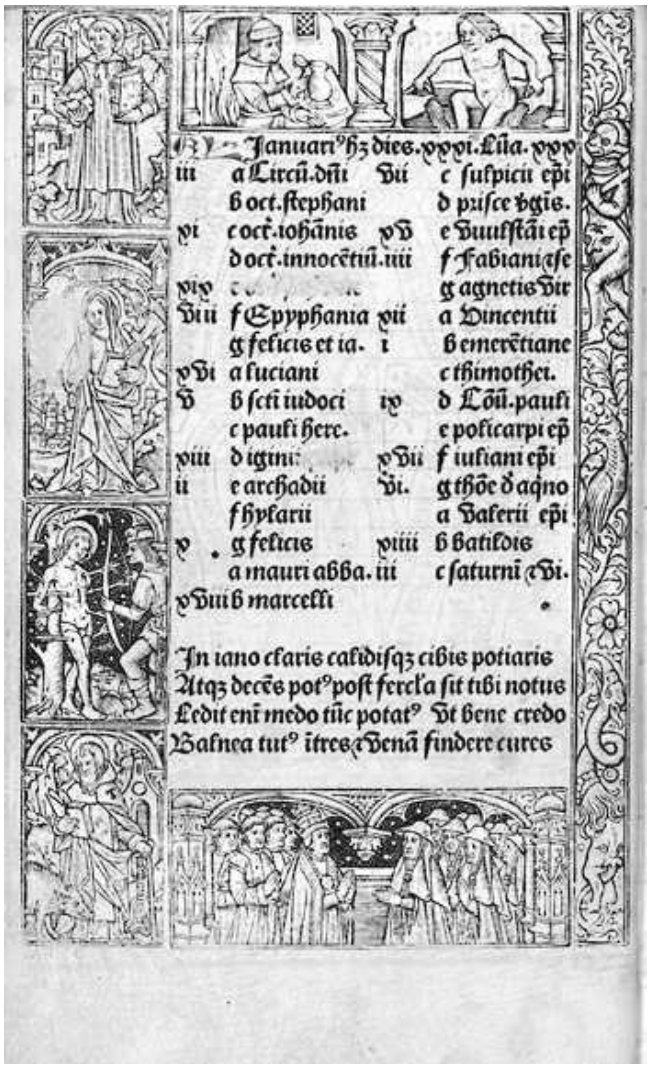
Hore Beatae Mariae Virginis Secundum Usum Sarum
Paris: Printed by J. Philippe for J. Kerver, 1497
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 15885

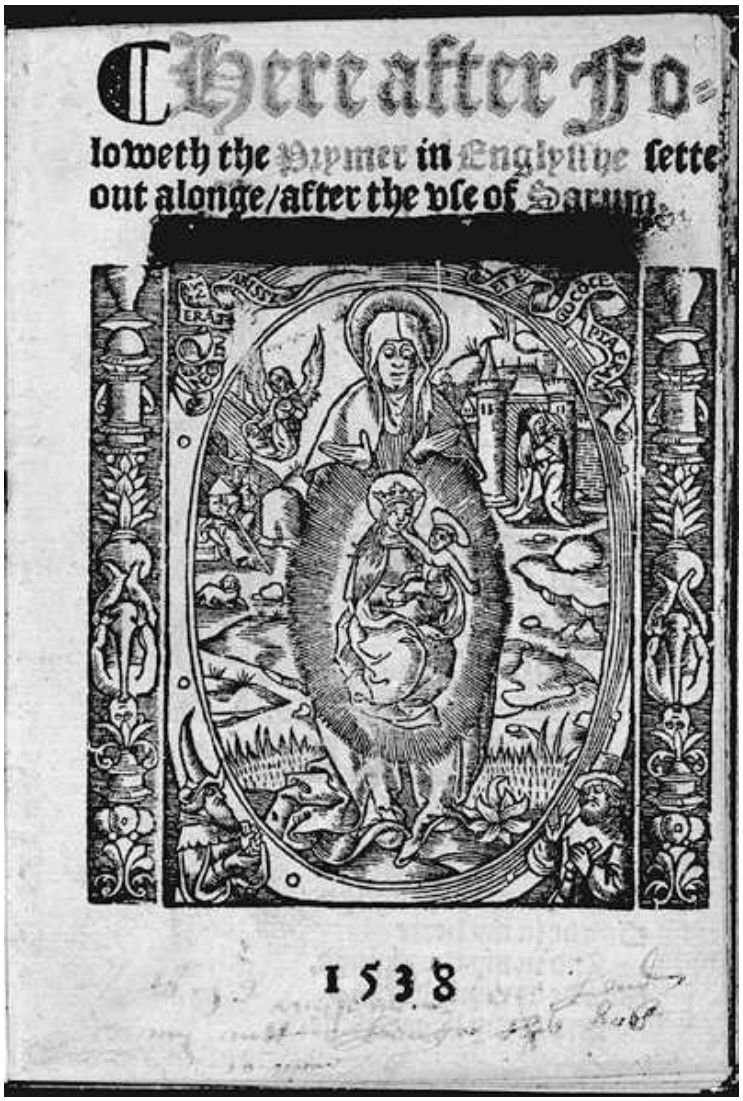
A Salisbury Primer
Rouen, 1538
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 16004



Primers, or books of hours, were religious handbooks compiled to guide the private daily devotion of their lay readers. Hundreds of editions were published in the first century of printing, and their histories in England are closely tied to the development of the English Bible. Within the pages of a primer, one might find an almanac (to help a reader determine movable holidays, such as Easter), a calendar of saints' feast days, the Paternoster (or "Our father"), the Credo (literally, "I believe"), and the Ten Commandments, as well as popular readings from the Psalms and the Old and New Testaments. The primer's original purpose, however, was to present the offices of the Catholic Church: the canonical Hours, the Litany, the Dirge, and the Seven Penitential Psalms. Following John Wycliffe's advocacy of an English liturgy, new and severe restrictions were put on the English translation of Scripture at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Therefore, Psalms and other biblical passages appearing in primers were henceforth printed in Latin with accompanying rubrics, directions or commentary in English. The first primer entirely in English was probably printed on the Continent in 1529, although no known copy survives.

Both of the primers portrayed here are of "Sarum use," which is to say they follow the practice of the diocese of Salisbury. The first copy was printed on vellum for the English market. It was expurgated by an unknown hand, probably after October 1538, when a royal proclamation was issued to suppress heresies. The proclamation abolished the feast day of Thomas à Becket, established a review process for the translation of Scriptures, and banished the importation "of bokes imprinted in the englyshe tonge, brought and transported from outward parties." Shown here is the calendar for January, the octave of the Feast of Becket (Jan 5th) has been scraped out entirely, along with the word "pape" for the feast of Pope Hyginus (Jan 11th). However, the name of the feast itself survives, as do those of Marcellus and Fabian (both Popes) on Jan 16 and 20, and the designation "abba" for St. Maurus the Abbot (Jan 15). Note also that at left, the figure of a devil trying to blow out the saint's candle with his pair of bellows has been removed from the left side of St. Gudula (Jan 8th, not listed). Indeed, all the devil imagery has been consistently erased throughout the book. The pope and cardinals in the illustration at bottom, however, have been allowed to remain. About one third of the Folger's incunabula, books printed in the first 50 years after the invention of the printing press, bear such marks of eradication.

The title-page woodcut in the second example portrays the Virgin Mary and Christ emanating from the womb of Mary's mother, Saint Anne. This copy of a 1538 edition, one of at least five French editions that year intended for the English market, responds to a revived demand for an English translation of the Bible. Several clerical injunctions in 1538 required that the Epistle and Gospels recited in the pulpit be "in the English tongue." This copy also bears the effects of the royal proclamation issued later in the year. It is unclear what has been blacked out on the title page, but it almost certainly is in response to the proclamation.



For more information on primers and incunabula, consult Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); Monique Hulvey, "Not So Marginal: Manuscript Annotations in the Folger Incunabula," in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 92 (1998): 159-76; and Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, 1988).

Martin Luther (1483-1546)
Ein Sermon von dem heiligen hochwirdigen Sacrament der Tauffe
Leipzig, 1520

Folger Shelf Mark: 218391q

The unsteady course of reform is evident in the publication of Luther's sermon on baptism. The title page of this pamphlet, first printed in 1519, includes a recycled woodcut from the late fifteenth century. The image depicts the traditional seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation, penance, the Lord's Supper, ordination, matrimony, and extreme unction—with Christ's blood flowing freely into each. Martin Luther's sermon, however, did not reflect this traditional sacramental system. Rather, it was one of three prepared at a time his thinking on the sacraments was in flux. Each was concerned with a sacrament Luther then considered valid—baptism, penance, and the Eucharist. Luther endorsed baptism by immersion, befitting the roots of the word in the Latin *mersio*, to plunge. In *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* , also printed in 1520, he proposed to reduce the number of sacraments further to two—baptism and the Lord's Supper.

For more information, consult *Martin Luther (1483–1546): A Jubilee Exhibition at the Folger Shakespeare Library* (Washington, D.C., 1983); Gerhard Brendler, *Martin Luther: Theology and Revolution*, translated by Claude R. Foster, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Robert Herndon Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957). A translation of the sermon, edited by E. Theodore Bachmann, may be found in volume 35 of Luther's *Works* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960).

The Will of Robert Forde, 2 March 1575/76

Folger Shelf Mark: Z.c. 9, (416), recto.

This will represents a shift in the way wills were written in the second half of the sixteenth century. Forde does not appeal for intercession to the Blessed Virgin or any saints, but places his salvation in the hands of God alone. This may well indicate the testator's Protestant faith. But according to Eamon Duffy, it might also represent pressure from above to conform to new practices or even a pragmatic strategy of Forde's to protect his legacy. The probate attached to this will, not reproduced in this image, is evidence that the will has been officially authenticated.

For more information, consult Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England* c. 1400–c. 1580 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

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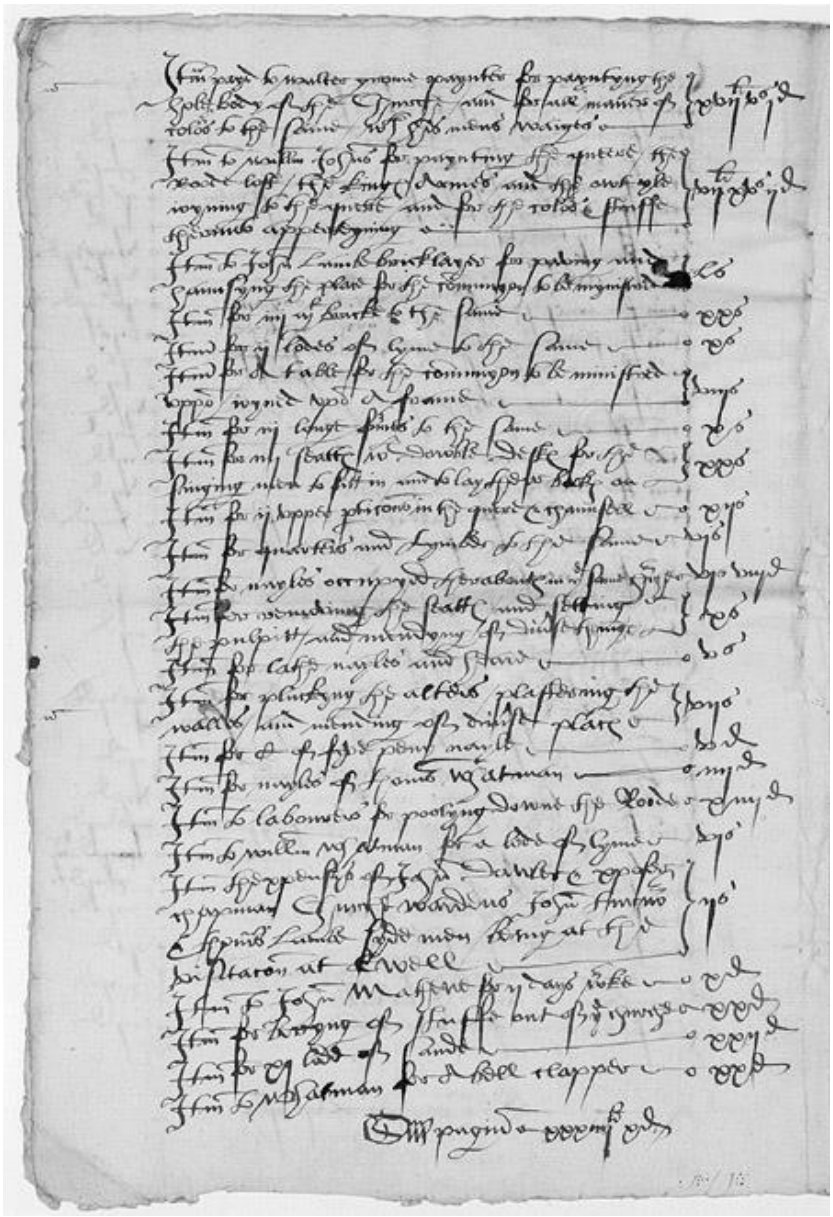
Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary's Church, Bletchingly, Surrey, 1546-1552.
Folger Shelf Mark: L.b. 85, fol. 3v.

Bletchingley is a small town in southeast Surrey, about twenty miles south of London, then in the diocese of Winchester, which was held at this time by the beleaguered Bishop Stephen Gardiner. The accounts include various expenses for the repair and upkeep of the church, and are generally fair copies of those in another manuscript in the Folger collection (L.b. 84). This particular page, however, includes fourteen additional items (starting at the top) not in the draft copy and probably derived from a now-lost schedule. These items reflect substantial and expensive changes made to conform to recent reformist injunctions. They are the sorts of changes likely to be dictated by visitation articles—a diocesan checklist (often printed and—in the course of the English Reformation—often revised) of topics of administrative or dogmatic concern to which pastors and churchwardens were to conform.



The series of slashes and dots in the lower right-hand corner indicates the total sum of money disbursed on this page. The particular abacus-like system used here is known as the "auditors' use." Starting from the left, the dot in the column represents a score of pounds; the upper dot in the next column £10 and each of the other four dots, £1; in the next column, the shillings column, there are no dots; in the next and last column on the right, the pence column, the upper dot represents 6d and each of the other four dots 1d. The total, £34 - 0s - 10d, is thus the same as that given in Roman numerals on the line above.

For more information, consult Eamon Duffy, "The Impact of Reform: Parishes," in *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400. c. 1500* (London: Yale University Press, 1992); and Walter Frere with W. P. M. Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910). For information on the accounting system, see Charles Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson, *English Court Hand A.D. 1066 to 1500* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1967).

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Proclamation of Elizabeth I Against Seditious Books; the Chancery Warrant with the Royal Sign Manual
1 March 1568/69
Folger Shelf Mark: X.d. 85

The Elizabethan religious settlement—a legislative compromise between traditional and reformed dogma—famously settled little. A decade after Elizabeth's accession to the throne in November 1558, the resistance of the old Catholic nobility remained strong, with Mary Queen of Scots retaining her hold on their affections as a rival claimant to the throne, particularly after she had sought asylum in England in 1568 and become Elizabeth's "guest." Hostilities culminated in the outbreak of the short-lived Northern Rebellion in November 1569, when the militant earls of Northumberland and Westmorland marched to Durham and restored the Catholic mass in the Cathedral. In Ripon, they raised the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ, the emblem of the Pilgrimage of Grace, a by then generation-old rebellion against Henry's dissolution of the monasteries. Elizabeth's reprisals were harsh. Northumberland was executed; important rebels were attainted and their lands confiscated; those who held office under the Crown were discharged from their offices; many hundreds were killed, representing every village that participated in the rising. On another front closer to court, a cache of Catholic books was seized from the home of the annalist John Stow. In February 1570, Elizabeth was answered for her actions by Pope Pius V's bull, "Regnans in excelsis," excommunicating her and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance and thus legalising rebellion. Though it was issued too late to affect the rebellion (a copy did not even reach England until May), the bull fixed loyalties in Elizabeth's mind: Catholics were henceforth traitors.

Throughout the period, authorities sought ways of stanching the flow of Catholic books from abroad. Though this proclamation backs away from a charge of treason, it does prohibit the ownership or distribution of any seditious books (with particular reference to the subject of religion) written or translated by the Queen's subjects, many of whom had gone abroad without licence. It further provides a grace period for people to turn in any of the proscribed books to the bishop of their diocese. Elizabeth would return to the subject of this proclamation twice more within two years. Her resort to the use of the royal prerogative in matters of religion was characteristic of the Tudor and Stuart monarchies.

The printed version of this proclamation on parchment is catalogued as STC 8014. For more information, consult *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2, edited by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964-1969); John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Christopher Haigh, "From Resentment to Recusancy," in *English Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Frederic A. Youngs, Jr., *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

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Sir Thomas More Prayer Roll, July 1535. Copy ca.1550.
Folger Shelf Mark: X.d. 532

Sir Thomas More was willing to swear fidelity to the new Act of Succession passed at the end of March 1534. To have taken the oath incorporated in the Act, however, would have impugned the authority of the Pope and the Catholic Church and have assumed the justice of Henry VIII's divorce from Queen Catharine, and so More refused. His recalcitrance soon led to his imprisonment in the Tower of London in April 1534, his indictment on charges of high treason and trial on 1 July 1535, and his execution by beheading on 6 July 1535.

In the last private devotion he wrote before his execution, as Garry E. Haupt notes, More's characteristic stress on "the real presence and Christ's mystical body is here fused with his devotion to the Passion—fused through a vision of Christ as both the great exemplar and as one who is really present in the eucharist and the church." That prayer appears in More's collected works, first published in 1557, just at the end of Queen Mary's reign. A version very close to it takes up three quarters of the contemporary prayer roll reproduced here. Prayer rolls like this one are most commonly associated with pre-Reformation England. Written on narrow strips of parchment, usually under fifteen centimeters wide, they were easily rolled up and slipped into a purse hanging from a belt or into a fold of a sleeve. It is even thought that to some they served as mascots, protecting their wearers from evil. At a time when Catholic beliefs could be dangerous, this format could well have recommended itself to the writer of this roll as an inconspicuous way of owning a copy of a prayer composed by a traitor and a stubborn adherent of the Old Religion.

The image on the left depicts the upper two-thirds of the roll. The roll, which is made from two membranes sewn together end to end, measures 64 centimeters by 11.5 centimeters. The writer wrote quite rapidly and was probably not a professional scribe. More's prayer is followed by 1) "a spirituall glasse dayly to loke on," (not reproduced here), which is a shortened form of a precept possibly written by Richard Whitford (ca. 1476. 1542), and is published at the end of some editions of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* , beginning about 1531 and 2) a prayer with a pen and ink sketch of Christ rising from the tomb (partially reproduced on the right).

For more information on Thomas More and his Tower works, including this prayer, consult *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the "Introduction" to *The Tower Works: Devotional Writings* , edited by Garry E. Haupt (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980). For a complete transcription of the prayer, consult volume 13 of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963. c97).

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Oratio deuotissima Thome More quondam Cancellarii Anglie

X.d.
532

Pater noster, Aue maria, Crede.

O holye trinitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghoste three equall & coeternall persons, & on almightie god, haue mercy on me vyle abiect, abhominable sinfull wretch, mekely knowledging before thy highe maiestie my long continued sinfull lyfe, euen from my verye childhode hytherto, In my chyldhode in this poynte & in that poynte &c. After my chyldhode in this poynte & in that poynt &c. And so further by euery age. Nowe good gracious lorde, as thou geuest me thy grace to knowledge them so geue me thy grace not in only worde, but in hart also wt very sorowfull contricion to repent theym & vtterly to forsake them. And forgyue me those sines also, in wch by myne owne defaulte through euill affections & euill custom, my reason is wt sensualitie so blinded, yt I cannot decern for sinne. And illumen good lorde myne harte & gyue me thy grace to knowe them, & to acknowledge them, & forgyue me my sines negligently forgotten, & bringe theym to my mynde wt grace to be purely confessed of theym. Glorious god, geue me from hensforth thy grace wt lytle respect vnto the worlde, so to sett & fyxe fyrmely myne harte vpon the, that I maye saye wt thy blessed apostle sainte Paule, Mundus mihi Crucifixus est et ego mundo mihi viuere christus est et mori lucrum. Cupio dissolui et esse cum christo. Gyue me thy grace to amend my lyfe, & to haue an eye to my ende, wtout grudge of death wch to theym that dye in the good lorde) is the gate of a welthye lyfe. Almightie god, Doce me facere Voluntatem tuam, fac me currere in odore vnguentorum tuorum, apprehende manum meam dexteram, et deduc me in via recta propter inimicos meos, trahe post te, in chamo et freno maxillas meas constringe, quum non approximo ad te. O glorious god, all sinfull fere, all sinfull sorowe & pensyuenes, all sinfull hope, all sinfull myrth & gladnes take from me. And on the other syde concernynge suche fere, such sorowe, suche heauynes, suche comfort, consolacon & gladnes as shalbe profitable for my soule, Fac mecum secundum bonitatem magnam tuam domine. Good lorde geue me thy grace in all my fere & agonye to haue recourse to that great fere & wonderfull agonye yt thoue my swete sauyoure haddest at the mounte of olyuet before thy moste bitter passion, & in ye meditacyon therof to conceyue ghostly comforte & consolacon profitable for my soule. Almightie god take from me all vayne glorious myndes, all apetites of myne owne prayse, all Enuye, Coueteus, Glotonye, Slouthe, & Lechorye, all wrathfull affeccyons, all apetyte of reuenging, all desyre or delyght of other folkes harme, all pleasure in prouokinge any person to wrathe & anger, all delyte of exprobacon or insultacon agaynst any person in there affliction & calamitie.

And gyue me good lorde an humble, lowly, Quyet, peaceable, pacient, charitable, kinde, tender, & pytyfull mynde, wt all my workes & all my wordes & all my thoughtes, to haue a taste of thy blessed holy spyrite. Geue me good lorde a full faythe, a fyrme hope, & a feruent charytie, a loue to thee good lorde incomperable aboue the loue to my selfe, and that I loue nothinge to thy displeasure but euery thinge in an order to thee. Geue me good lorde a longing to be wt thee not for th' auoydinge of the calamities of this wretched worlde, nor so muche for the auoydinge of the paynes of purgatorye, nor of the paynes of hell neither, nor so muche for the atteyninge of the Ioyes of heauen in respect of myne owne commoditie as euen for a very loue to thee. And beare me good lorde thy loue & fauor wch thing my loue to the warde (were yt neuer so great) could not but of thy great goodnes deserue. And perdon me good lorde, that I am so bolde to aske so highe peticions being so vyle a sinfull wretche & so vnworthye to attayne the lowest, but yet good lorde suche they be, as I am bounden to wyshe and should be nerer the effectuall desyre of theym, yf my manifolde sines were not the let. From wch O glorious Trinitie vouchsafe of thy goodnes to washe me wythe that blessed bloude yt issued out of thy tendar bodye O swete sauyour christ in the dyuers tormentes of thy moste bitter passion. take from me good lorde this lukewarme fasion, or rather keycolde maner of meditacion, & this dulnes in prayinge to thee. And gyue me warmnes delite and quicknes in thinckinge vpon thee. And gyue me thy grace to longe for thy holy Sacramentes & specyallye to reioyce in the presens of thy very blessed bodye (swete sauioure christe) in the holy Sacrament of the Alter) and duely to thanke thee for thy gracyous visitacyon therwt & at that highe memoriall, wt tender compassion to remember & consyder thy most bitter passion. Make vs good lorde partycypant of that holy Sacrament this daye & euerye daye, make vs all lyuely members swete sauiour christe of thyne holy misticall bodye thy Catholyke Churche. Dignare domine die isto sine peccato nos custodire, miserere nostri domine miserere nostri, fiat misericordia tua domine super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te. In te domine speraui non confundar in eternum. Ora pro nobis sancta dei genetrix ut digni efficiamur promissionibus christi. Amen

Oratio pro Amicis

Almightie god haue mercy on N et N &c wt speciall meditacion and consideracyon of euerye frend as godlye affecyon and medytacyon Requyreth.

Oratio pro inimicis

Almightie god haue mercy on N et N &c on all yt bere me euill wyll, & wolde me harme, & there faultes and myne to geither by such easye tender mercyfull meanes as thyne infinite wysdom best can deuyse vouchsafe to amende & redresse & make vs saued soules in heauen to gayther where we maye euer lyue & loue to gayther wyth thee and thy blessed Sayntes O glorious Trynitie for the bytter passion of oure swete sauyoure Christ Amen.

Lorde gyue me pacyence in tribulacon, & grace in euerye thinge to conforme my will to thyne that I may truly say Fiat Voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.

The thinge good lorde that I pray for Gyue me thy grace to labor for.

Domine ihesu xpe fili dei uiui qui pendens in cruce pro peccatoribus dixisti patri tuo Pater dimitte illis quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Sincut [illegible] crucifixoribus tuis [illegible]. Obsecro te per hoc sanctum dictum tuum ut dimittas malefactoribus meis peccata eorum [illegible] quod salutem [illegible] ueris concedas [illegible]

Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea sive Sanctor Martyrum
Rome, 1584
Folger Shelf Mark: BR 1607 C7 1584 Cage

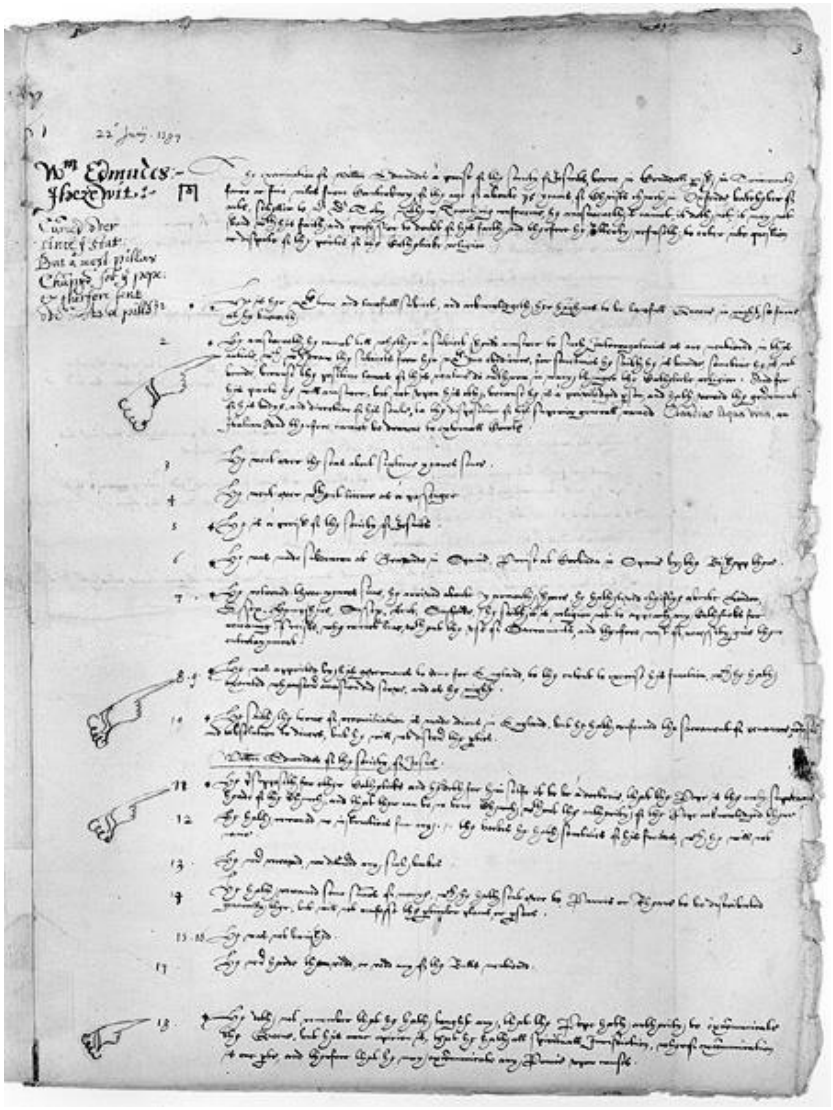
The engraving depicted here is one of series by Giovanni Baptista Cavalleri which reproduced the frescoes painted in the church of the English College in Rome in 1583. The college was one of many placed under the jurisdiction of the Society of Jesus. It provided both a home and a spiritual formation for English exiles. The original wall paintings by Niccolò Circignani (Pomerancio) narrate the history of Christianity in England and Wales, and include, among the victims of religious persecution, Saints Alban, Oswald, Ethelbert, Winifred, Thomas à Becket, and Hugh of Lincoln. Several of the original paintings promoted the cults of more recent martyrs. The volume was intended to console Englishmen studying for priestly ordination, to edify other recusants, and to secure support for their cause among Continental readers.

George Gilbert, an English layman who had moved to Rome, commissioned the chapel paintings. Gilbert had been converted to Catholicism by Robert Parsons, S.J., and had developed a desire for martyrdom and a devotion to the martyrs in the wake of Edmund Campion's death. The grisly scene of hanging, racking, drawing, and quartering is meant to bolster the spirits of the seminarians potentially facing similar fates. For the Latin inscription reminds the viewer that Sherwin had been a seminarian there, too. In English translation it reads, "(A) Edmund Campion of the Society of Jesus preaches from the gibbet and is hanged along with Alexander of Rheims and Ralph Sherwin, an alumnus of this college. (B) Their bodies still warm, heart and entrails are taken out and thrown into the fire. (C) Their limbs are boiled, then suspended on the towers and gates of the city, in the reign of Elizabeth, the first of December, 1581. Some thousands of men and women were converted to the Roman Church (inspired by) their steadfast death."

For more information, consult *Jesuits in Conflict* (London: Burns and Otis, 1873); Michael E. Williams, "Campion and the English Continental Seminaries" in *The Reckoned Expense: Campion and the Early English Jesuit*, edited by Thomas McCoog (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 1996); and Michael E. Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome: A History 1579-1979* (London: Associated Catholic Publications, 1979). Thanks to Edward Bodnar, S.J., for his assistance with the English translation of the Latin inscription.

The Examination of William Weston alias William Edmonds, Superior of the Jesuit Mission in England in 1587.
22 June 1587. Contemporary copy
Folger Shelf Mark: K.b. 1, p. 3.

This manuscript is a fair copy of the examinations of ten priests imprisoned in London, including the Jesuit William Weston. His interrogation begins on the page depicted here. Weston, who was being held in the Clink Prison, was an Oxford friend of Edmund Campion, in whose honor he took one of his aliases. He was an influential figure in the Catholic mission, converting the Earl of Arundel and performing several dramatic exorcisms of devils, polemic accounts of which may later have influenced Shakespeare's *King Lear*. The last answer in his examination (not shown here) reads: "This Master Edmundes was taken knocking at Master Frauncis Brownes doore dwelling in Hogge Lane, who hath bene with him sence in conference in the Clinke, as Master Iustice younge knoweth and will prooue. Being demaunded towching Campion, he saith he is a Sainte, as he beleeueth."



Almost a year after being arrested, Weston was questioned on 22 June 1587, the date noted at the top of the page. His captors were little interested in his theological positions except those regarding the royal supremacy, but were much concerned with his movements, activities, and associates. The symbol of the gallows near the top of the page is misleading, as Weston was never executed. He was kept in prison and later transferred to Wisbech Castle, where he was a prominent figure in a dispute among the Catholic community as to who had proper spiritual jurisdiction over the Catholics in England. He chose banishment in preference to taking the oath of allegiance to the Crown at the beginning of James I's reign and died in Spain in 1615.

For more information on William Weston/Edmonds, consult the *Dictionary of National Biography*; *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, edited by Thomas McCoog (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 1996); *The Elizabethan Jesuits of Henry More* , edited and translated by Francis Edwards (London: Phillimore, 1981); and Weston's autobiography, *William Weston: the Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, translated by Philip Caraman, S.J. (London: Longmans Green, 1955).

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John Foxe (1516-1587)
Actes and Monuments
London: John Day, 1563

Folger Shelf Mark: STC 11222

Mary Tudor's attempt to restore the Roman Catholic Church in England during her five-year reign (1553-1558) may have enjoyed widespread sympathy in some parts of the country but was doomed by her early death and the accession of her Protestant half-sister, Elizabeth. Though Elizabeth's return to Protestantism showed little of the intense zeal of her brother Edward's reign (1547-1553), reformers under her, many of whom returned from Marian exile, were highly successful in shaping a lasting picture of "Bloody Mary" and her Church, a picture which played an important part in making and keeping England a Protestant nation.

The book now known as "Foxe's Book of Martyrs" was the most important and popular of these Elizabethan accounts. It profoundly shaped the history and meaning of English Protestantism—and indeed provoked its Catholic adversaries like Giovanni Baptista Cavalleri and Richard Verstegan to produce their own "martyr books" in response. Though much less well known today than it once was, Foxe's book was one of the key texts through which popular Protestantism in England recognized itself and its heritage. The popular name is at once accurate and misleading: it tells us a great deal about the ways the book came to be circulated and used, yet it also conceals some important things, in particular the collaborative character of the book's production, and its larger intellectual intentions in displaying the English Church.

Deriving from two earlier Latin prototypes published outside England, the first English version of the book was published by its author, John Foxe, in 1563. He titled it *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, touching Matters of the Church*, a title which, with various elaborations, persisted through the nine editions of the work until 1684. Based on Foxe's own research and collection of eye-witness accounts, the book painted a set of vivid pictures of the attack on the reformed Church and its faithful under Mary, supplementing its stirring prose with an astonishing series of woodcuts specially commissioned by its printer, John Day, who became in effect Foxe's collaborator during both their lives.

Almost immediately Foxe's martyrology became a key official text of the Elizabethan propaganda war against Rome; to this end Foxe went so far as to recuperate the religiously pragmatic Henry VIII. Copies of the book were ordered placed in every cathedral in England and were to be found in many private houses, both ecclesiastical and lay. The details of Foxe's more stirring narratives—for example the deaths of Cranmer, Bilney, Latimer and Ridley—were very widely known. Because of the book's popularity, Foxe's villains, such as the fat, sadistic Bishop Bonner, took on the lineaments of popular stereotype. Enterprising writers produced several abbreviated versions of Foxe's book, suitable for more ordinary use than the huge tomes of the main edition. One poet, John Taylor, even managed to squeeze his Foxe into mnemonic rhyming couplets cut down to fit a single printer's sheet and produced as a tiny 64mo text, which was also called *The booke of martyrs*.

Though the Marian persecution was thus clearly the center of the book from the first, the second and greatly expanded edition of 1570 made a larger sense of recent events by attaching them to a vast narrative portraying the Christian Church as a persecuted Church from the very beginning. The book became therefore much more than a list of local deaths; it was an attempt at a universal history of the shape of Christianity itself, with England the most recent example of the perennial sufferings of Christ's faithful at the hands of the ungodly. Accordingly, without at all relinquishing its contemporary polemic function, the 1570 edition was titled *The...Ecclesiastical History, conteyning the Actes and Monuments of Martyrs...* , in effect a justification of the English Church on historical and theological grounds.

Foxe continued to revise and expand his work throughout his life, adding new sources as he found them or as new events succeeded, visiting Day's printshop every Monday to consult on production. In the first four editions produced during Foxe's lifetime, the work became in an important sense a corporate cultural enterprise, central to the ongoing message of English Protestantism. After Foxe's death in 1587 it continued to grow under the hands of his successors. Foxe's prose was supplemented by new researches, and Day's dramatic woodcuts were carefully re-used for each edition until they had to be recut for that of 1641, which also included a biography of Foxe himself.

This title page from the 1596 edition, used in all editions before 1684, shows the apocalyptic and universal framework within which Foxe and Day conceived their work. The scene is the Last Judgment with Christ enthroned on the world and surrounded by trumpeting angels as he welcomes the blessed, below him on his right, into Heaven, and consigns the damned, on his left, to Hell. Each of these paradigmatic groups is refigured down its respective side of the main title: the blessed martyrs in their flames blow trumpets of praise like their crowned counterparts above. The bishops and friars on the other hand make ungodly noise through their own wind instruments at the idolatrous spectacle of the Roman Mass, like their tonsured fellows above being haled away by laughing demons. At the bottom, furthest away from the final clarity of Judgment but marked always by its polarizing rigor, these versions of holy and unholy sound and action are further embedded in contrasting scenes of contemporary Church practices: a Protestant sermon and godly men and women reading or facing the glorious Word is contrasted with Roman Catholicism's empty words, superstitious rosary-praying, processions, idolatry, and spiritual slumber. The book's visual framing of the stakes is immediate and clear.

The allegorical-historical portrait of Henry VIII as Defender of the Reformed Faith, first included in the 1570 edition of Foxe, follows the visual logic of the famous title page. Though Henry's record as a reformer was very uneven, Foxe and Day chose to depict him as a zealous crusher of the Pope. Many of the key figures of the early days of the English Reformation are depicted here in positions appropriate to the overall polemic. The central, superior position of Christ-in-Judgment is occupied by the sword-wielding Henry, who stares straight out as he receives the English Bible from Archbishop Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell, and two others on his right. Beneath his feet he throws down and crushes Pope Clement VII, who is assisted by Bishop John Fisher and Cardinal Reginald Pole, English adherents of the Roman cause. A crowd of grimacing, gesticulating, weeping clerics occupies Henry's left side, while non-clerical onlookers reserve judgment behind. The role of the English monarchy in sponsoring religious reform is clearly articulated here, a role reprised by Henry's daughter Elizabeth, who appears in another illustration in a similar posture and who was the dedicatee of Foxe's Actes and Monuments.

The image here is of a very specific scene—the burning of the defrocked Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, in Broad Street, Oxford, on 21 March 1556. The illustration depicts the dramatic moment when Cranmer, who had just repudiated his earlier recantation of his heretical views, thrust first into the fire, as he had promised, the right hand which had signed the recantation paper. Next to him stands a Spanish friar, who had accompanied him to the stake to admonish him, and opposite sit secular officials attending the burning. Such burnings, in which convicted heretics were often burned in their own towns, became highly unpopular, as here the severely blank faces behind the lords may suggest. Such highly theatrical images as this fixed in the minds of Foxe's readers the specific history of their Church.

In contrast to such a specific event, even the generic and anonymous images of martyrdom in the book offer the start fact of death and transfiguration as an imaginative possibility for the ordinary reader's apprehension. Though Foxe himself seems to have been of a tolerant temper, appalled at the carnage he so carefully described, such an image can tell us a great deal about the emotional resonance of martyrdom for the Protestant believer. Reading Foxe was not merely historical, but also spiritual instruction.

For more information on John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* consult "The Flesh Made Word: Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*," by Mark Breitenberg in *Renaissance & Reformation* (n.s., 13, no. 4, 1989), "Truth and Legend: The Veracity of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*," by Patrick Collinson in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), "John Foxe and the Defence of the English Church," by Jane Facey in *Protesantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, edited by Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (London: Croon Helm, 1987), "Texts, Lies and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" by T.S. Freeman in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (1999), *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563-1694* by Knott, John R. (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1993), *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* edited by David M Loades (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), "The Emergence of a Feminine Spirituality in The Book of Martyrs," by Ellen Macek in the *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), Religion and Culture in Renaissance England edited by Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). "The Rhetoric of Martyrdom: Generic Contradiction and Narrative Strategy in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*," by D. R. Woolf in *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV*, edited by Thomas F Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

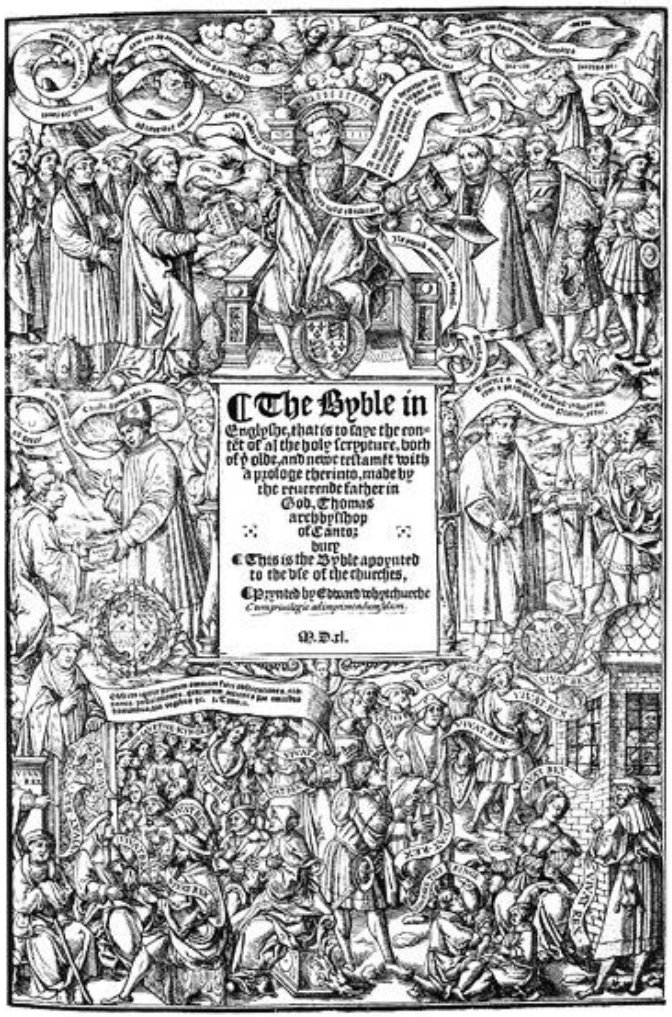
Visit The John Foxe Project website.

The Great Bible

The Byble in Englyshe . . . of a Holy Scripture, both of Ye Olde and Newe Testament with a Prologe therinto, Made by… Thomas, Archbysshop of Cantorbury

London: Printed by Edward Whytchurche, 1540

Folger Shelf Mark: STC 2070



The woodcut title page of the Great Bible, depicted here, tells the story of the wide dissemination of an English Bible as the keystone of a strongly united church and state. God smiles from above as Henry VIII dispenses the vernacular Scripture to Archbishop Cranmer and the prelates on his right and to the Lord Great Chamberlain Cromwell and the privy councillors on his left. In turn, Cranmer passes the word of God to his prelates and Cromwell passes it down to the nobility. The preacher in the pulpit expounds the Scripture to commoners, who receive it with shouts of "Vivat Rex" and "God save the king." Henry as head of the church liberates his people from the yoke of the papacy and in so doing unites the clergy and laity under one imperial monarchy.

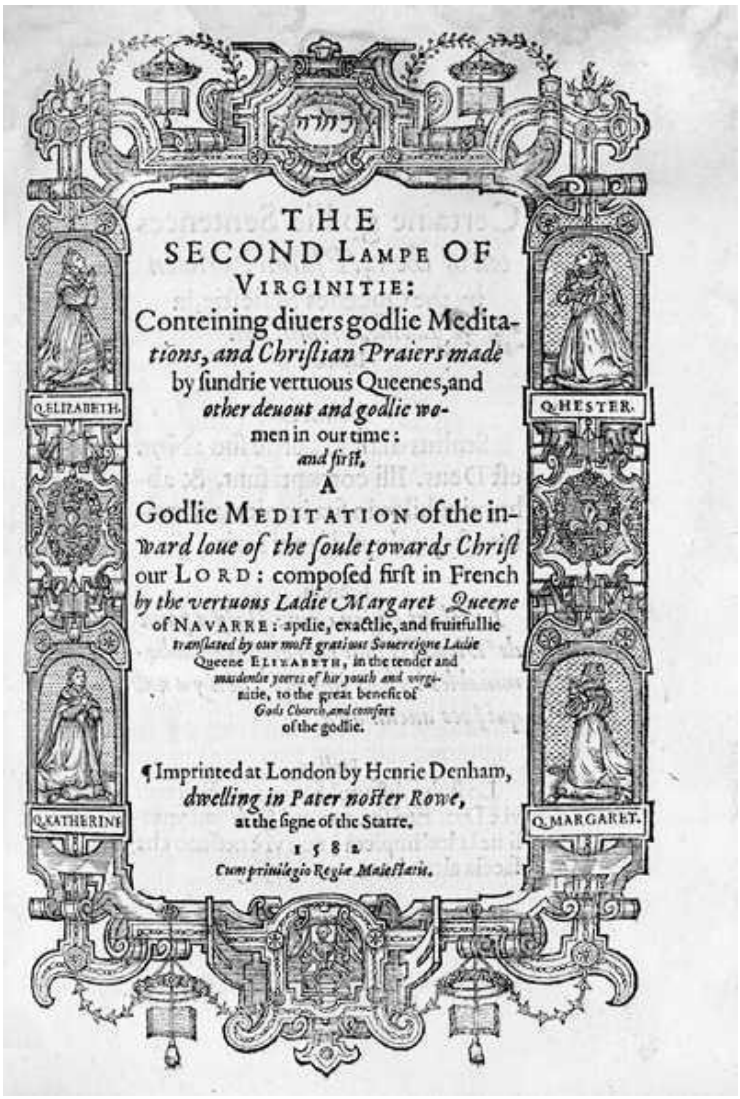
Even if we acknowledge the prison in the lower right corner as the darker side of this persuasion, the story of the Great Bible's production and reception is still more complicated than the woodcut. Copies of William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament were printed abroad and flooded the English market from 1525 through 1535. Far from enjoying official support, Tyndale himself was imprisoned abroad, tried for heresy, and burned at the stake in October 1536. At that point, England was the only country in Europe without an authorized vernacular translation of the Bible. Two reformers set out to change things: Archbishop Cranmer aggressively advocated a new translation without the supposed Lutheran errors of Tyndale's version, and then Privy Councillor Cromwell prepared a royal injunction to order that Bibles in both Latin and English be purchased for every parish in England. Two rival candidates quickly emerged. Miles Coverdale, a former Augustinian friar, had an English Bible ready for the market by 1535 (like Tyndale's, it had been printed abroad). In 1537, the Matthew Bible, a conflation of Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions, also reached print. With Cranmer's and Cromwell's urging, Henry granted licenses to both.

In the face of resistance ranging from dogmatic disagreement to an insufficiency of funds and literate parishoners, Cromwell revived and issued his injunction in 1538 that all parishes set up "one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English." The largest in kind was neither the Coverdale nor the Matthew translation, but rather a revision of the Matthew Bible undertaken by Miles Coverdale—the Great Bible. It was first published in 1539, with a smaller version and three new editions following in 1540. The second edition, which became the standard edition, included a preface written by Cranmer that drew upon humanist principles to urge "all sortes" to read the Bible and judge the soundness of doctrine by its strictures. This translation survived the fall of Cromwell in 1540 (though his coat of arms would be erased from the woodcut). It survived, too, Bishop Stephen Gardiner's concerted attack upon it in convocation in 1542 to remain the authorized edition for church use throughout Edward's reign. Its Psalms are still the official Psalter of the Church of England.

For more information, consult Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); David Scott Kastan, "'The Noyse of the New Bible': Reform and Reaction in Henrician England" in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance*

England, edited by Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); and Debora Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

Thomas Bentley
The Monument of Matrones: Conteining Seven Severall Lamps of Virginitie, or Distinct Treatises; Whereof the First Five Concerne Praier and Meditation: the Other Two Last, Precepts and Examples
London: Imprinted by Henrie Denham, 1582
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 1892 Copy 1


THE
SECOND LAMPE OF
VIRGINITIE:
Conteining diuers godlie Medita-
tions, and Chriſtian Praiers made
by ſundrie vertuous Queenes, and
other deuout and godlie wo-
men in our time:
and firſt,
A
Godlie MEDITATION of the in-
ward loue of the ſoule towards Chriſt
our LORD: compoſed firſt in French
by the vertuous Ladie Margaret Queene
of NAVARRE: aptlie, exactlie, and fruitfullie
tranſlated by our moſt gratious Soueraigne Ladie
Queene ELIZABETH, in the tender and
maidenlie yeeres of her youth and virgi-
nitie, to the great benefit of
Gods Church, and comfort
of the godlie.
¶ Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham,
dwelling in Pater noſter Rowe,
at the ſigne of the Starre.
1582
Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.
Q. ELIZABETH.
Q. HESTER.
Q. KATHERINE
Q. MARGARET.

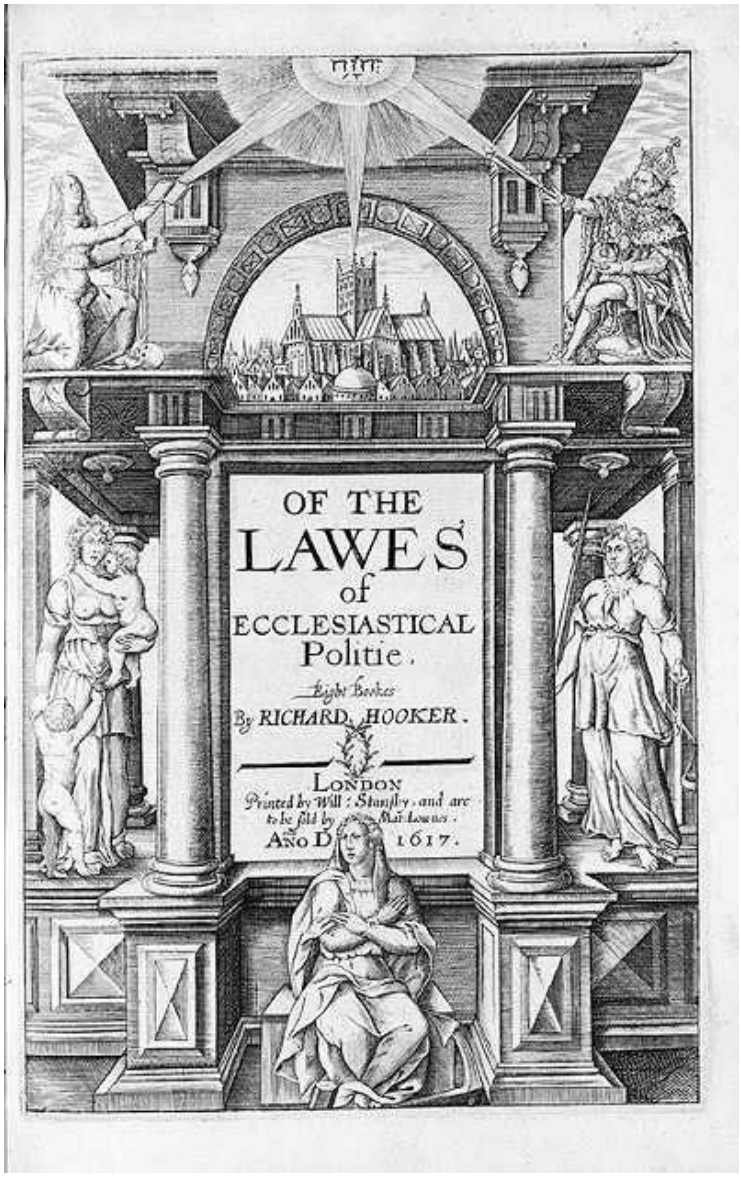
Thomas Bentley first published the *Monument for Matrones* in 1582 and planned a total of seven volumes. The collection of about 1,600 pages is comprised of prayers and meditations written by, for, or relating to women. It also contains a catalogue of famous women and a catechism for mothers to use to instruct their children before they received communion.

The title page of the second volume of the work shown here, *The Second Lampe of Virginitie*, places Elizabeth in the company of royal women who had authored devotional tracts-Marguerite d'Angoulême, Catherine Parr, and the biblical queen Esther. Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, wrote *Miroir de l'âme pechereuse*, the text that an eleven-year-old Elizabeth translated with the title *The glasse of the synnefull soule*, and presented to Catherine Parr, Queen of England, as a New Year's gift. Parr was largely responsible for Elizabeth's humanist education, which emphasized classical languages and biblical study. Bentley also included devotional writings by Parr as well as the deathbed writings of Lady Jane Grey.

Patrick Collinson raises the question of whether this volume was really meant for female readers or if it was "simply a monstrous literary conceit." Such an inquiry is not unreasonable, given that the collection was created as an appeal for court patronage by Bentley, who was then a student at Gray's Inn. As it was published after the termination of the French marriage negotiations, the book also contributed to the construction and celebration of the Queen's perpetual virginity.

For more information, consult Patrick Collinson, "Windows onto a Woman's Soul" in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994); Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Richard Hooker (1553 or 4–1600)
Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie
London: Printed by Will Stansby, 1617
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 13720.3



Richard Hooker had trouble finding someone who would accept the financial risk of printing his academic treatise in defense of an episcopalian church discipline. But, with the politically motivated assistance of Sir Edwin Sandys, he succeeded in having the first four of his eight books published in 1593. The fifth, much expanded, book, came out in 1597, at which point both volumes were customarily bound together. Throughout the early editions, the title page, preface, and table of contents proclaimed eight books, but it was not until much later that the sixth through eighth books actually saw print. In 1611, however, William Stansby printed a new and handsome edition of the first five books, for which he commissioned the elaborate engraved title page shown here (though this is the state from the third edition, 1617).

William Hole's engraving, designed to appeal to James I, offers a "dwelling of Peace." The state is presented as a solid edifice with power emanating from the tetragrammaton (the four Hebrew letters used to express the ineffable name of God) to a book (the Scriptures, no doubt) in the hand of a woman representing Protestant piety, to a cathedral, and through his scepter, to King James. The civil edifice is also supported by two female figures representing charity on the left and justice on the right. Finally, at the center of the work on the bottom is a figure of a seated woman (perhaps England) with an anchor at her feet.

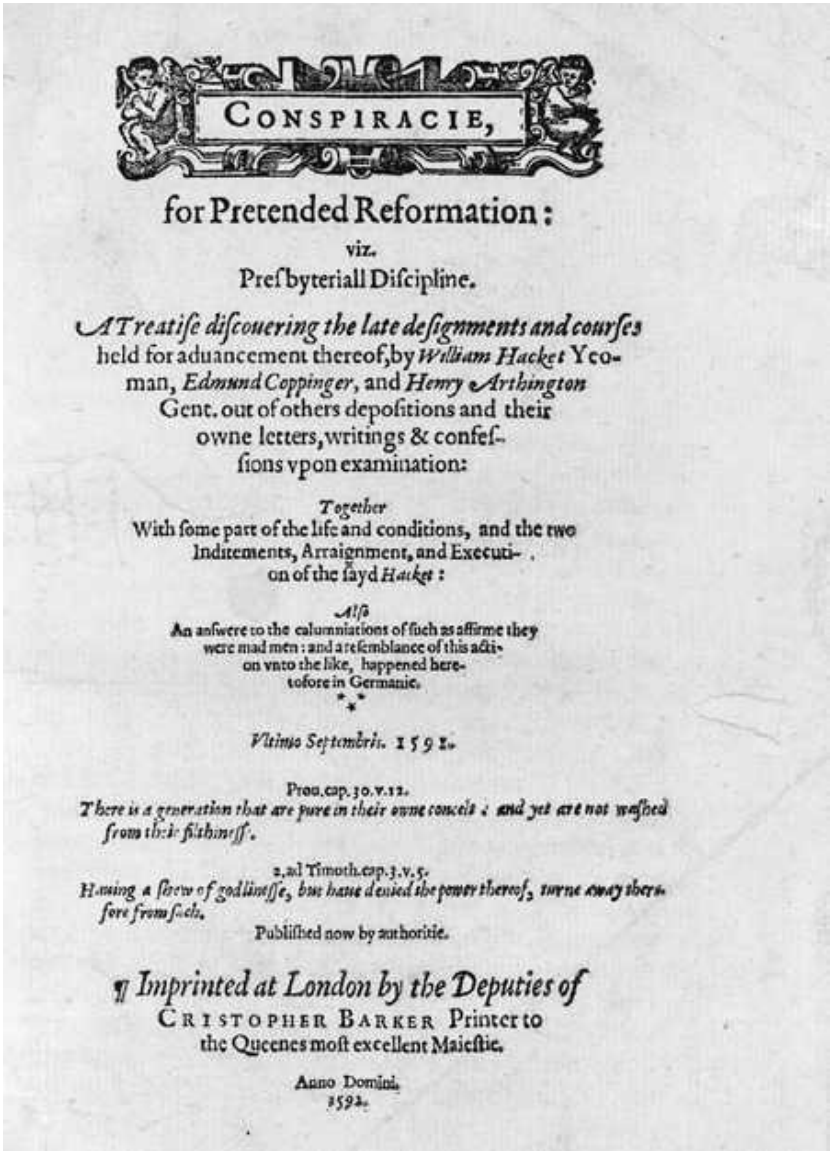
Seventeenth-century historians have observed that Hooker's work was relatively unimportant in the years after its initial publication. In this edition, we see the first efforts to canonize the work as a "*via media*" statement. As individuals at court struggled against one another to win James's favor, they frequently claimed the "middle ground" between the supposed extremists of puritans and papists. The preface and engraving both claim that Hooker's *Laws* will serve to maintain an orderly nation under the rule of the king. The rhetoric of moderation employed in the preface to the 1617 *Laws* is used tactically to promote a position that Peter Lake has termed "avant-garde conformist." The preface advises, "so much better were it in these our dwellings of Peace, to endure any inconvenience whatsoever in the outward frame, then in desire of alteration, thus to set the whole house on fire." Indeed, the preface ends similarly, stating that the *Laws* "by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learne, may helpe give an end to calamities of these our Civill Warres."

For more information, consult the collection *Richard Hooker and the Construction of the Christian Community*, edited by Arthur Stephen McGrade (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997); Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetoric of Conformity, 1603–1625* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Kenneth Fincham, "Introduction," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Peter Lake, "The Moderate and Irenic Case for Religious War: Joseph Hall's *Via Media* in Context" in *Political*

Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England, edited by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Peter Lake, "Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson," *Journal of British Studies* 17 (April 1988): 81-116; Peter Lake "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-garde Conformity at the Court of James I" in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, edited by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Deborah Shuger, *Habits of Thought in English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). See also, *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977-1993).

Henry Arthington
The Seduction of Arthington by Hacket Especiallie, with Some Tokens of His Unfained Repentance and Submission
[London]: Printed by R.B. for Thomas Man, 1592
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 799

Richard Cosin (1549?–1597)
Conspiracie, for Pretended Reformation: viz. Presbyteriall Discipline
London: by the Deputies of Christopher Barker,
Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, 1592
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 5823 Copy 1



CONSPIRACIE,

for Pretended Reformation:

viz.

Presbyteriall Discipline.

A Treatise discouering the late designments and courses held for aduancement thereof, by *William Hacket* Yeoman, *Edmund Coppinger*, and *Henry Arthington* Gent. out of others depositions and their owne letters, writings & confessions vpon examination:

Together
With some part of the life and conditions, and the two Inditements, Arraignment, and Execution of the sayd *Hacket*:

Also
An answere to the calumniations of such as affirme they were mad men: and a resemblance of this action vnto the like, happened heretofore in Germanie.

* * *

Vltimo Septembris. 1591.

Prou. cap. 30. v. 12.
There is a generation that are pure in their owne conceits: and yet are not washed from their filthinesse.

2. ad Timoth. cap. 3. v. 5.
Hauing a shewe of godlinesse, but haue denied the power thereof, turne away therefore from such.

Published now by authoritie.

¶ Imprinted at London by the Deputies of CRISTOPHER BARKER Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

Anno Domini. 1592.

The two pamphlets represented here by their title pages formed part of a controversy over a false prophet, the kind of recurring controversy over religion's proper source of authority—a church government, the Scriptures, or the inner experience of belief—whose flames were regularly fanned by the book trade. In his (probably coerced) pamphlet, Henry Arthington recanted his belief in William Hacket, an illiterate maltmaker from Northamptonshire, whom Arthington and Edmund Coppinger—two respectable provincial gentlemen—had earlier hailed in Cheapside as the second Christ. The three were arrested. Hacket was executed for treason in July 1591; Coppinger died in prison after a hunger strike; Arthington won the queen's pardon through repentance and confession. In this pamphlet, Arthington thanks "providence" for preserving him from Hacket's sins, admonishes the people to "beware of Satans temptations," and demonstrates his sincere repentance with metrical meditations penned in prison.

In many respects, Arthington's confession resembles providentialized news and prodigy pamphlets of the period. Like them, it retains a peculiar mixture of the titillating and the admonitory in recounting spectacular crimes or excesses and an equally spectacular moral conversion. Arthington's confession reflects a polarized view of the world in which an all-pervasive malice and presence of Satan, combined with the human propensity to sin, is set against the awesome power of divine providence. Historian Peter Lake describes the ways in which cheap popular print genres of a slightly later period, such as the murder pamphlet, were appropriated to convey ideas about punishment, repentance, and God's power to save even the most hardened sinners.

As dramatic as it was, Arthington's confession did not satisfy the church hierarchy, still smarting from the attacks on their legitimacy in the series of anonymous pamphlets known as the Martin Marprelate tracts. In the second pamphlet shown here (and with at least the tacit authorization of the queen, published as it was by her printer), Richard Cosin, Dean of Arches and a distinguished civil lawyer, exposed the presbyterian roots of Hacket's "conspiracy." Leading Presbyterians strongly disavowed all knowledge of the conspirators' intentions and wished to dismiss the plot as the product of a lunatic fringe, but

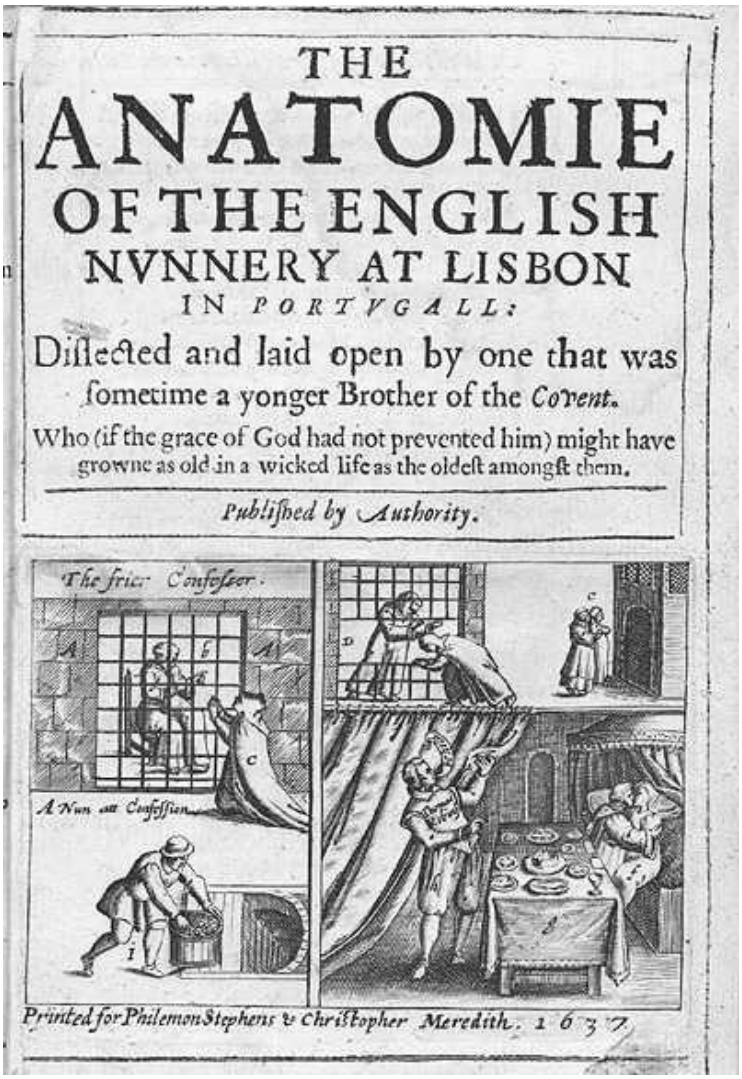
Cosin emphasized the anarchic and antinomian implications of Presbyterianism itself. Hacket and his companions were not mad, declared Cosin, but merely Presbyterian. Besides answering "the calumniations of such as affirme they were mad men," Cosin also drew a direct parallel between English Presbyterians and German Anabaptists, claiming "a resemblance of this action unto the like, happened heretofore in Germanie."

Cosin was himself one of those designated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to license books for the press in the late 1580s. That Alexandra Walsham deems his pamphlet "a polemical construct" merely confirms the vested interests of those who controlled the book trade. But Cosin's *Conspiracie* has also been historians' best available source for reconstructing the activities of William Hacket and his accomplices. Walsham suggests that Cosin ruthlessly exploited a rich archive of incriminating letters and papers that fell into his lap.

Peter Lake finds that strains of anti-extremist polemic used in the Hacket-Coppinger conspiracy under Elizabeth continued to occur into the 1630s. In particular, he examines the case of Enoch ap Evan, a deranged man who killed his brother and mother and became the subject of two popular pamphlets, in which he was used to personify the sort of disorder that the puritan rejection of divine, political and ecclesiastical authority would inevitably produce if it was left unchecked by those in authority.

For more information on the Hacket episode, consult Alexandra Walsham, "'Frantick Hacket': Prophecy, Sorcery, Insanity, and the Elizabethan Puritan Movement," *Historical Journal* 41 (1998): 27-66. On the Elizabethan Church, consult Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988). For the later instance of opportunistic anti-Puritan polemic mentioned above, consult Peter Lake, "Puritanism, Arminianism, and a Shropshire Axe Murder," *Midland History* 15 (1990): 37-64. For more information about the polemical use of popular pamphlet genres see Peter Lake, "Deeds against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism, and Murder in Early Seventeenth-Century England" in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, edited by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

Thomas Robinson, fl. 1622
The Anatomie of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall: Dissected and Laid Open by One That Was Sometime a Yonger Brother of the Convent
London, 1623
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 21124 Copy 2

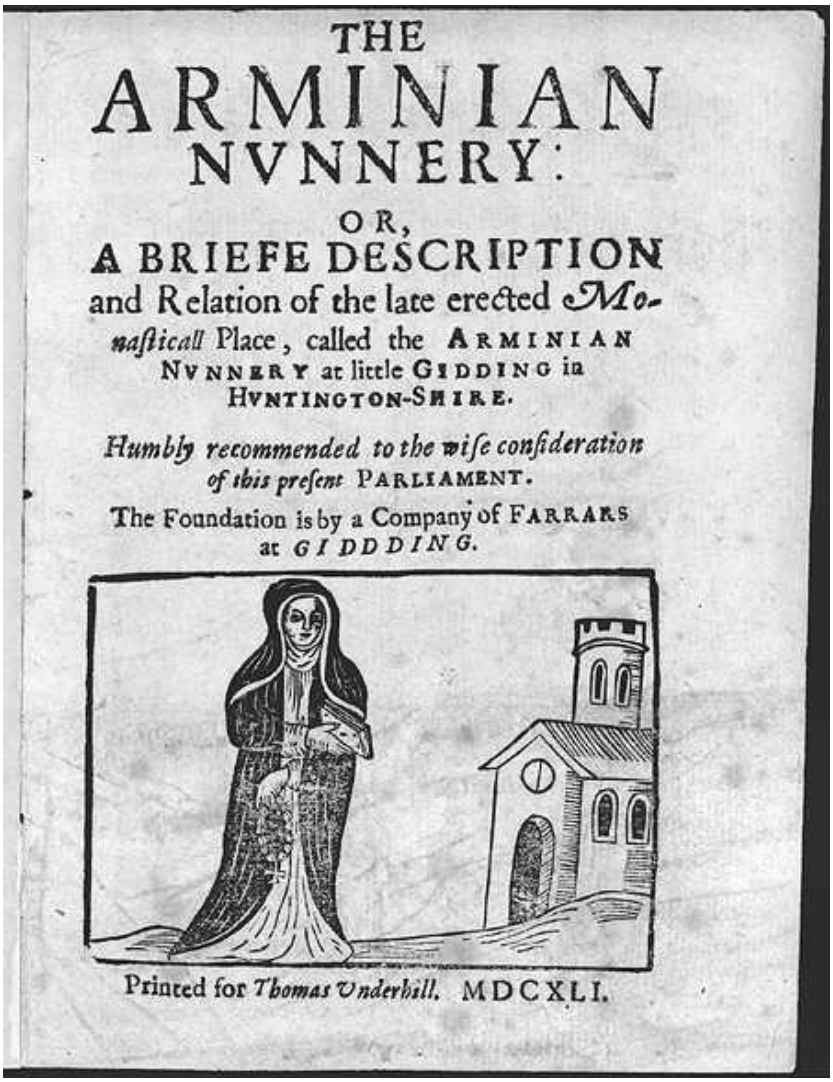

THE
ANATOMIE
OF THE ENGLISH
NVNNERY AT LISBON
IN PORTVGALL:
Dissected and laid open by one that was
sometime a yonger Brother of the Covent.
Who (if the grace of God had not prevented him) might have
growne as old in a wicked life as the oldest amongst them.
Published by Authority.
The fryer Confessor.
A Nun at Confession
Printed for Philemon Stephens & Christopher Meredith. 1637

The Folger Library's second copy of STC 21124 is a defective copy of the 1623 edition, in which the first gathering (or signature) of pages has been added from the 1637 edition. The title page shown here is among the materials from the later edition that are bound in with the first. Thomas Robinson, who is shown pulling back the curtain in the lower right hand panel of the engraving, wrote this exposé of convent life. He alleged that the confessor to the English nuns at Lisbon tricked him into leaving his profession as a sailor to become "a holy Brother and Masse priest" in the convent, where he lived for two and a half years.

In writing his scurrilous account of the convent in Lisbon, Robinson drew from standard anti-clerical and misogynistic stereotypes. He had a general distrust of men and women attempting to maintain platonic relationships, and, like other writers, was profoundly suspicious of the Catholic doctrine of clerical celibacy. Not surprisingly, his account underscored the hypocrisy he encountered at the Lisbon convent to detail how nuns and their confessor repeatedly violated their vows of poverty and chastity. An explanatory poem is keyed to the illustrations on the title page. For instance, the scene he reveals by drawing back a curtain is described in the poem: "(F) So on a bed they wanton clip and kisse, / There's nothing in a Nunnery amisse. / (G) Then doth a banquet on a Table stand, / And from the bed hee leads her by the hand; / Whereat they eate, carouse, and kisse againe; / And, in a word, doe no delight refraine." In the body of his text, Robinson went so far as to claim that he had discovered a burial place for the nuns' illegitimate offspring on the convent grounds, implying that the Lisbon nuns may have added infanticide to their list of crimes. Robinson also argued that priests manipulated nuns' vows of obedience in order to rationalize their immoral conduct.

For information on early modern English convents in exile on the Continent, consult Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500–1720* (London: Routledge, 1993); Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1795* (London: Longmans, Green, & Company, 1914); and Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

The Arminian Nunnery: or, A Briefe Description and Relation of the late erected Monasticall Place, called the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntington-Shire
[London]: Pt. for Thomas Underhill, 1641
Folger Shelf Mark: 151306


THE
ARMINIAN
NVNNERY:
OR,
A BRIEFE DESCRIPTION
and Relation of the late erected *Monasticall* Place, called the ARMINIAN NVNNERY at little GIDDING in HVNTINGTON-SHIRE.
Humbly recommended to the wiſe conſideration of this preſent PARLIAMENT.
The Foundation is by a Company of FARRARS at *GIDDDING.*
Printed for *Thomas Underhill.* MDCXLI.

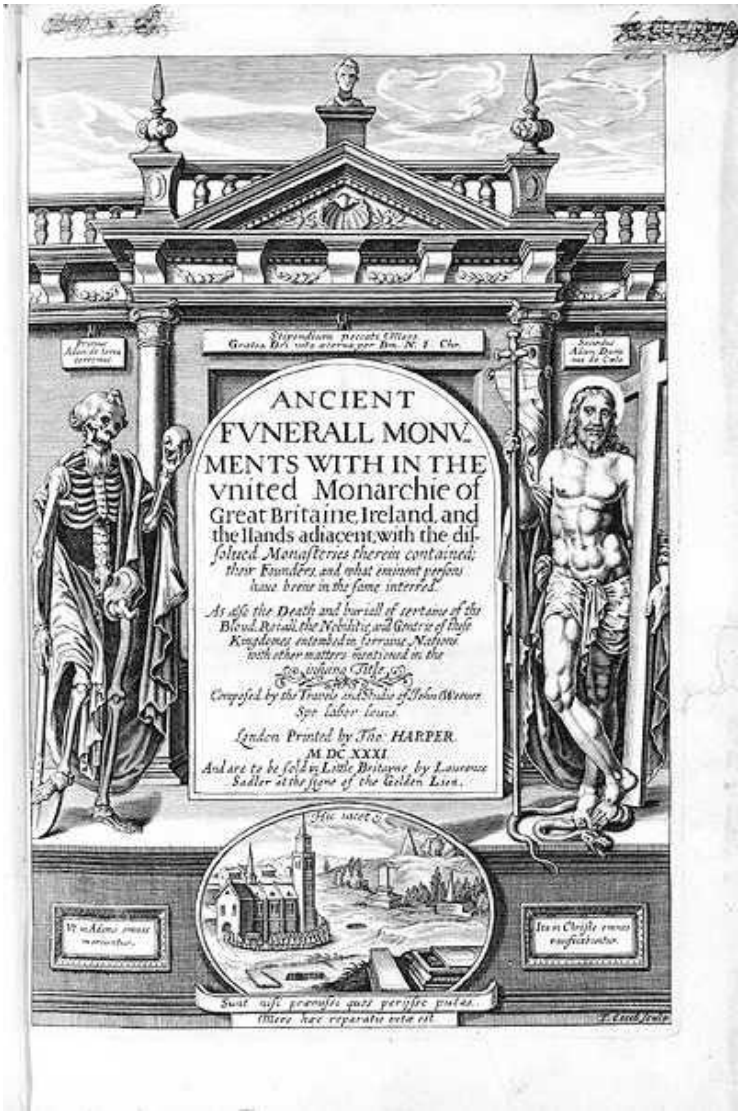
The Little Gidding community, described in this anonymous pamphlet, consisted of members from three generations of the Ferrar family, who—at the instigation of the second eldest son, Nicholas—had withdrawn from London at the time of the 1625 plague to a life of retirement in the Huntingdonshire parish of Little Gidding. The author of this anonymous pamphlet paid an unannounced visit to the family and on the basis of his observations of their daily rituals charged them with nurturing monasticism, extra-Scriptural religious observances, idolatrous decorations, and superstitious practices. The engraving on the title page, featuring a nun holding a chaplet of beads and a prayer book, clearly represents the women of the community as Catholic and possibly targets the two "maiden sisters" of the Collett family who had decided not to marry. The pamphleteer describes their devotions as "a lip-labour devotion, and a will-worship."

The poet Richard Crashaw, who had visited and corresponded with members of the Little Gidding community, wrote an approving poem about his encounter, "Description of a Religious House and Condition of Life," in which he also connected the community's piety to Catholic ritual. Helen White, however, argues that despite the superficial resemblances between Little Gidding's devotional habits and Catholic ritual, the community remained Protestant.

Anthony Milton, who describes the increasing crypto-popery and Laudian character of Cambridge in the 1630s and 1640s (Little Gidding is situated just north of the university), argues that in such an atmosphere, confessional boundaries became more fluid, making it increasingly difficult to identify those with "popish" affiliations. In such fluid conditions, devotional practices become more vulnerable to the interpretations of those who observe them.

For more information on the Little Gidding community, consult A.L. Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1938). On the poet George Herbert's connection with the community, see Helen White, *The Metaphysical Poets: A Study in Religious Experience* (New York: Collier Books, 1936). Anthony Milton discusses the broader polemical context for such pamphlets as *The Arminian Nunnery in Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

John Weever (1576-1632)
Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie
London, 1631
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 25223 Copy 1



This work surveys all the existing funeral monuments in the united kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The title page mentions the special need to mark the burial places of eminent persons interred in the grounds of dissolved monasteries as well as those of royalty and nobility who died abroad. Weever undertakes, then, a great task of recovery of the pious dead so that they may be reintegrated into his paean to a reformed vision of the resurrection. The epigraph to the volume speaks to Weever's avocation: "Lancashire gave him breath / And Cambridge education / His studies are of Death / Of heaven his meditation." The frontispiece, engraved by Thomas Cecill, portrays Adam as a skeletal Old Man on the left, while on the right the New Man of Christ represents hope. Beneath these two figures is an image of a funeral procession. Here too, the image distinguishes between the left signifying death and the right, life: an open grave, presumably for the man in the procession, appears in the left foreground, while the right foreground contains a grave from which an undecayed man rises, presumably an allusion to Christ's Resurrection.

As a whole, the engraving urges the viewer to reject his own Adam in favor of Christ by paralleling all aspects of the two figures: the skeleton versus the resurrected body, the shovel versus Christ's staff of victory, the apple versus the cross. In this context, Adam is associated with the Fall and mortality, whereas Christ is seen as trampling on the serpent that caused the Fall. With these parallels, the engraving instructs the viewer to put his complete trust in Christ.

For further information, consult Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

John Milton
Paradise Lost
London: printed by M. Flesher for J. Tonson
Folger Shelf Mark: M2147

Milton composed his epic poem in "English Heroic Verse without Rhyme," as he informed the readers of *Paradise Lost* in a note added in 1668. This was part of his campaign to reclaim an ancient liberty for poetry. The campaign extended to eschewing the Virgilian epic model of twelve books in favor of ten, though by the time the second edition of *Paradise Lost* reached print in 1674, the epic poem did conform to the Virgilian model. This full-page engraving by John Baptist Medina is from the first folio-or large format-edition of *Paradise Lost*, the publication of which coincided with the Glorious Revolution and which represents the complete Virgilization of Milton. In many ways, the book pays homage to John Ogilby's luxurious 1654 edition of the *Aeneid*. In fact, nine years after he published the folio edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Jacob Tonson purchased Ogilby's copper plates and republished them with John Dryden's new translation of the *Aeneid*. It is not at all clear that this is the sort of royalist company Milton would want to keep. But Milton would likely approve of Christ's monarchical representation, believing as he did that heaven was the only proper setting for a monarchy.

The twelve intrepretive illustrations reflect Medina's sensitive reading of the poem, particularly in regard to their treatment of Satan. The image here accompanies book three, in which Milton describes the conference in heaven on how best to subvert the threat that Satan poses to the new creation. As Helen Gardner points out, the illustration features a haloed Christ seated on a throne of clouds and surrounded by a host of angels. Those on his right bear a large cross as a reminder of Christ's unparalleled offer "to die for mans offence." Just below the heavenly gathering, a small vignette shows Satan encountering Uriel, who is backlit by the sun. Satan appears again in the left middle ground, on top of a cliff looking down on Adam and Eve in their bower. In the foreground, a beam of light from the heavens shines down on a third figure of Satan, seen here standing on the edge of Paradise. It is a fittingly dynamic portrayal of a dramatic moment of contrast between an ascendant Christ and an already diminished Satan.

For information on the illustrations, consult Ernest W. Sullivan, Jr., "Illustration as Interpretation: *Paradise Lost* from 1688 to 1807" in *Milton's Legacy in the Arts*, edited Albert C. Labriola and Edward Sichi (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), and Helen Gardner, "Milton's First Illustrator" in *A Reading of Paradise Lost* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).