

The Reformation of the Generations: Age, Ancestry and Memory in England 1500-1700

Folger Shakespeare Library

Spring Semester Seminar 2016

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The origins, impact and repercussions of the English Reformation have been the subject of lively debate. Although it is now widely recognised as a protracted process that extended over many decades and generations, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the links between the life cycle and religious change. Did age and ancestry matter during the English Reformation? To what extent did bonds of blood and kinship catalyse and complicate its path? And how did remembrance of these events evolve with the passage of the time and the succession of the generations? This seminar will investigate the connections between the histories of the family, the perception of the past, and England's plural and fractious Reformations. It invites participants from a range of disciplinary backgrounds to explore how the religious revolutions and movements of the period shaped, and were shaped by, the horizontal relationships that early modern people formed with their sibilings, relatives and peers, as well as the vertical ones that tied them to their dead ancestors and future heirs. It will also consider the role of the Reformation in reconfiguring conceptions of memory, history and time itself.

Schedule: The seminar will convene on Fridays 1-4.30pm, for 10 weeks from 5 February to 29 April 2016, excluding 18 March, 1 April and 15 April. In keeping with Folger tradition, there will be a tea break from 3.00 to 3.30pm. The session before the tea break will take the form of detailed discussion of the readings and engagement with the questions and themes for that week.

Presentations: All participants in the seminar will be invited to make a short presentation of their work in progress during weeks 2-9 of the seminar. These presentations will take place after the tea break and make up the final segment of each seminar. Presentations should be between 15 and 20 minutes in length and be designed to stimulate discussion among the group as a whole. The schedule for these presentations will be agreed during the first session of the seminar. Participants are asked to consider their provisional proposed topics in advance and email Alex Walsham briefly prior to the first meeting of the group.

Schedule of Sessions:

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|-----------------|--|
| (1) 5 February | Introduction: Reformations and Generations |
| (2) 12 February | Youth |
| (3) 19 February | Age |
| (4) 26 February | Nature, Nurture, and Conversion |

(5) 4 March	Holy Families: The Spiritualisation of the Household
(6) 11 March	Ancestry and Genealogy
(7) 25 March	Generations
(8) 8 April	Memory and Life-Writing
(9) 22 April	History and Time
(10) 29 April	Conclusions

Bibliographies and Suggested Readings: The bibliographies provided below are intended as a resource and it is not expected that participants will have read everything each week. The key readings upon which discussion will focus are indicated with an asterisk and will include both primary sources and secondary literature for each session. It is hoped that participants in the seminar will assist in augmenting these lists.

Where they are held in the Folger, items on this list will be placed on the Reserve Shelf for this seminar. Most early printed items can be accessed via EEBO. Many of the articles listed will be available online, via JSTOR or other digital libraries. Other items will be shared via dropbox.

5 February

Introduction: Reformations and Generations

Reformations

*C. Haigh, 'The English Reformation: A Premature Birth, A Difficult Labour and a Sickly Child', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 449-59

*Peter Marshall, '(Re) defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 564-86

Generations

*Hans Jaeger, 'Generations in History: Reflections on a Controversial Concept', *History and Theory*, 24 (1985), 273-92.

*Judith Burnett, *Generations: The Time Machine in Theory and Practice* (Farnham, 2010), introduction and chapter 1

Oxford English Dictionary (online version), entries on 'reformation' and 'generation'

12 February

Youth

Primary Sources

J. G. Nichols (ed.), *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, Chiefly from the Manuscripts of John Foxe the Martyrologist*, Camden Society, OS, 77 (1859), pp. 18-20, 348-51.

John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1563), p. 1687 of the online edition, <http://www.johnfoxe.org/> (story of Rose Allin of Colchester); (1570), p. 1765 of the online edition (story of Rawlins White, fisherman).

N. N., *An epistle of a Catholicke young gentleman ... to his father a Protestant* (1623)

Philip Caraman (ed. and trans), *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (1955), pp. 242-4

R. B[addeley], *The Boy of Bilson* (1622)

John Bryan, *The Vertuous Daughter. A Sermon Preached at Saint Maries in Warwick, at the Funerall of the Most Vertuous and Truly Religious Yong Gentlewoman, Mistris Cicely Puckering* (London, 1640)

Cotton Mather, *Early piety, exemplified in the life and death of Mr. Nathanael Mather, who ... changed earth for heaven, Oct. 17. 1688* (London, 1689)

Secondary Sources

*Susan Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), 37-67

*Sarah Covington, “‘Spared not from Tribulation’”: Children in Early Modern Martyrologies’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 97 (2006), 165-183

Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (2013), ch. 16

*Alison Shell, “‘Furor Juvenilis’”: Post-Reformation English Catholicism and Exemplary Youthful Behaviour’, in Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation”’: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2005), 185-206

J. A. Sharpe, ‘Disruption in the Well-Ordered Household: Age, Authority, and Possessed Young People’, in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 187-212

*S. R. Smith, ‘Religion and the Conception of Youth in Seventeenth-Century England’, *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 2 (1975), 493-516

Lucy Underwood, *Childhood, Youth and Religious Dissent in Post-Reformation England* (Basingstoke, 2014), part III, chs 6-7

*Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c.1500-1700’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 6, 21 (2011), 93-121

Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood*, Studies in Church History vol. 31 (Oxford, 1994)

Warren W. Wooden, ‘The Topos of Childhood in Marian England’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 12 (1982), 179-94

19 February Age

Primary Sources

Henry Cuffe, *The Differences of the Ages of Mans Life* (1607), pp. 113-35

John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in Terra, A Treatise Wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Plaies or Enterludes with other Idle Pastimes, &c ... are Reprooved* (London, 1579) – a dialogue between Youth and Age

Fulk Bellers, *Abrahams Interment, or the good old-mans buriall in a good old age* (1656)

A Relation of the Last Words and Departure of that Antient and Honourable Woman Loveday Hambly of Trigangeeves, in the Parish of Austell in the County of Cornwall (London, [1683])

Timothy Rogers, *The Happiness of a Quiet Mind both in Youth and Old Age ... In a Discourse Occasioned by the Death of Mrs Martha Hasselborn, Who Died March 13th, 1695/6 in the 95th Year of her Age* (London, 1696)

Secondary Sources

* Shulamith Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: 'Winter Clothes us in Shadow and Pain'* (1997), introduction, chs 1-2

*Steven Smith, 'Growing Old in Early Stuart England', *Albion*, 8 (1976), 125-41

*Keith Thomas, 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1976)

*Pat Thane (ed.), *The Long History of Old Age* (2005), chs 3 and 4

Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (2013), ch. 16

Aki C. L. Beam, 'Should I as Yet Call You Old? Testing the Boundaries of Female Old Age in Early Modern England', in Erin Campbell (ed.), *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations* (2006), pp. 95-116

26 February Nature, Nurture and Conversion

Primary Sources

John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols in 1 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1989), bk 2, ch. 1 (on original sin); bk 4, ch. 15 (on baptism)

William Perkins, *A golden chaine: or The description of theologie containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods word*, ch. 12 (on original sin)

The Book of Common Prayer, ed. Brian Cummings (Oxford, 2011), pp. 141-56: liturgies for baptism, confirmation, and the catechism

One of:

William Crashaw, *Milke for babes. Or a north-countrie catechisme* (1618)

John Stalhalm, *A catechisme for children in yeeres and children in understanding* (1644)

Richard Jones, *A briefe and necessarie catechisme ... for the benefit of all householders, their children and families* (London, 1583)

John Bradford, 'A Comparison between the Old Man and the New', in *Godly Meditations upon the Ten Commandentes, the Articles of the Fayth, and the Lords Prayer* (1567), fos 91r-66r [vere 96r]

Secondary Sources

*Anthony Fletcher, 'Prescription and Practice: Protestantism and the Upbringing of Children, 1560-1700', in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood*, Studies in Church History 31 (Oxford, 1994), pp. 325-46

R. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (1984), chs 6-7

David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), chs 5-8 (on baptism)

*Will Coster, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England* (2002), chs 2-3

Philippa Tudor, 'Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents in the Early English Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35 (1984), 391-413

*Ian Green, 'For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding: The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), 397-425

*Peter Marshall, 'Evangelical Conversion in the Reign of Henry VIII', in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 14-37.

Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), ch. 3

*Judith Pollmann, 'A Different Road to God: The Protestant Experience of Conversion in the Sixteenth Century', in Peter van der Veer (ed.), *Conversion and Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity* (New York and London, 1996), pp. 47-64

Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (2005), ch. 1

4 March Holy Families: The Spiritualisation of the Household

Primary Sources

One of:

R[ichard] C[awdrey], *A godlie forme of householde government*, ed. John Dod and Robert Cleaver (London, 1612 edn)

William Perkins, *Christian oeconomie: or, a short survey of the right manner of erecting and ordering a family, according to the Scriptures* (London, 1618)

William Gouge, *Of domesticall duties* (London, 1622), esp. part V and VI

Matthew Griffith, *Bethel, or a forme for families* (London, 1633)

William Hinde, *A faithfull remonstrance of the holy life and happy death, of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford in the County of Chester* (London, 1641), pp. 49-77

A.C. Southern (ed.), *An Elizabethan Recusant House Comprising the Life of Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538-1608)* (London, 1954)

Matthew Henry, *A church in the house. A sermon concerning family-religion* (London, 1704)

Secondary Sources

*Christopher Hill, 'The Spiritualization of the Household', in *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964), pp. 443-81

*Alexandra Walsham, 'Holy Families: The Spiritualisation of the Early Modern Household Revisited', in John Doran, Charlotte Methuen and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *Religion and the Household*, Studies in Church History 50 (Boydell and Brewer: Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 122-60.

*Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (2002), ch. 3 (Families and Reformation)

Patrick Collinson, 'The Protestant Family', in *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1988)

Margo Todd, 'Humanists, Puritans and the Spiritualised Household', *Church History*, 49 (1980), 18-34

*John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986), ch. 8

*Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe, 'Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), 875-96

*John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975), ch. 6

Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), ch. 7

11 March Ancestry and Genealogy

Primary Sources

Thomas Cranmer, *The Gospell of S. Mathew. The first chapter. The genealogye of Christ* (1540)

Hugh Broughton, *The holy genealogie of Jesus Christ both his naturall line of fathers ... and his kingly line* (London, 1612)

‘A showe of the Protestants Petigrew as ye have it before at large deducted’, foldout plate in Fridericus Staphylus, *The apologie of Fridericus Staphylus* (Antwerp, 1565), following p. 254

‘This poysonous tree planted in Rome’, satirical image printed after 1579 (British Museum prints, case 270): Museum number: 1916,0212.2 (access via British Museum website: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research.aspx>)

Lewis Owen, *The unmasking of all popish monks, friers and Jesuits* (1628); republished as *A genealogie of all popish monks, friers and Jesuits* (1646)

A true and plaine genealogy or pedigree of Antichrist, wherein in cleerely discovered that he is lineally descend from the divell (1634)

Secondary Sources

*Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past* (Oxford, 2003), ch. 4 (‘The Genealogical Imagination’)

Eric Ketelaar, ‘The Genealogical Gaze: Family Identities and Family Archives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Libraries and the Cultural Record*, 44 (2009)

*Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), ch. 1

Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (2008), chs 1, 4

*Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), Introduction, pp. 23-40; Nesta Evans, ‘The Descent of Dissenters in the Chiltern Hundreds’, in *ibid.*, pp. 288-308; Patrick Collinson, ‘Critical Conclusion’, pp. 393-6

25 March Generations

Primary Sources

John Tillinghast, *Generation Work* (1655)

Explore biblical and contemporary concepts and uses of ‘generation’ in the King James Bible, Douai Rheims bible, and using EEBO

Secondary Sources

*Karl Mannheim, ‘The Problem of Generations’, in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge: Collected Works*, v, ed. Paul Keeskemeti (1952), 276-320

*Alan B. Spitzer, ‘The Historical Problem of Generations’, *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 1353-85

Annie Kriegel and Elisabeth Hirsch, 'Generational Difference: The History of an Idea', *Daedalus*, 107 (1978), 23-38

Mary Fulbrook, *Dissonant Lives: Generations and Violence through the German Dictatorships* (Oxford, 2011), ch. 1

*Kathy J. Cooke, 'Generations and Regeneration: "Sexexceptionalism" and Group Identity among Puritans in Colonial New England', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 23 (2014), 333-57

*Norman Jones, 'Living the Reformations: Generational Experience and Political Perception in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 60 (1999), 273-88

8 April Autobiography and Life Writing

Primary Sources

John Bale, *The vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishopricks of Ossorie in Irelande his persecutions in the same & finall deliveraunce* (Rome [Wesel?], 1553)

The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome, 1598-1685, ed. Anthony Kenny, 2 vols., Catholic Record Society 54-55 (1962-3), pp. 25-29 (Nicholas Hart), pp. 30-61 (Henry Chaderton), pp. 96-8 (John Browne), pp., 129-33 (John Grosse)

Caroline Bowden (ed.), *English Convents in Exile, 1600-1800*, 6 vols (2012-13); vol. 2, pp. 347-67 (obituaries of Augustinian and Benedictine nuns)

Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Thirty English Divines*, part of *A general martyrologie* (London, 1677), pp. 168-78 (John Dod), pp. 377-91 (Jane Ratcliffe), pp. 391-407 (Ignatius Jurdain)

David Booy (ed.), *The notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654 : a selection* (2007), pp. 263-43 ('An extract of the passages of my life or the booke of all my writing books', Folger MS V.a.436).

Secondary Sources

Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (2012), introduction and conclusion

Patrick Collinson, "'A magazine of religious patterns": an Erasmian topic transposed in English Protestantism', in his *Godly people: essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 499-525

Peter Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The Emancipation of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe', *The Seventeenth Century*, 2 (1987), 143-67

Peter Lake, 'Reading Clarke's *Lives* in Political and Polemical Context', in Kevin Sharpe and Steen N. Zwicker (eds), *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 293-318

Tom Webster, 'Writing to redundancy: approaches to spiritual journals and early modern spirituality', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp. 33-56

Andrew Cambers, 'Reading, the godly, and self-writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), pp. 796-825

Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in early modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), introduction, chs 1, 4, and conclusion

Victoria van Hyning, 'Expressing Selfhood in the Convent: Anonymous Chronicling and Subsumed Autobiography', *British Catholic History*, 32 (2014)

Lucy Underwood, 'Youth, Religious Identity and Autobiography at the English Colleges in Rome and Valladolid, 1592-1685', *Historical Journal*, 55 (2012), 349-74

Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (1985)

22 April Memory

Primary Sources

Maria Dowling and Joy Shakespeare (eds), 'Religion and politics in mid-Tudor England through the eyes of an English Protestant woman: the recollections of Rose Hickman', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), pp. 94-102

A. G. Dickens (ed.), 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', *English Historical Review*, 62 (1947), 58-83

Henry Machyn, 'A London Provisioner's Chronicle 1550-1563': available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>.

Memorials of Father Augustine Baker and other documents relating to the English Benedictines, ed. Justin McCann and Hugh Connolly (London, 1633), pp. 1-52.

Secondary Sources

*Keith Thomas, *The perception of the past in early modern England*, The Creighton Trust Lecture (London, 1984)

Margaret Aston, 'English ruins and English history: the dissolution and the sense of the past', repr. in *Lollards and reformers: images and literacy in late medieval religion* (London, 1984), pp. 313-37

*Peter Sherlock, 'The reformation of memory in early modern Europe', in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (eds), *Memory: histories, theories and debates* (New York, 2010), pp. 30-40

Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (2002), ch. 7 ('Remembering the Dead: Commemoration and Memory in Protestant Culture')

* 'Introduction', and Brecht Deseure and Judith Pollmann, 'The Experience of Rupture and the History of Memory', in E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann et al (eds), *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (2013).

Adam Fox, 'Remembering the Past in Early Modern England: Oral and Written Tradition', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 9 (1999)

Gary Gibbs, 'Marking the Days: Henry Machyn's Manuscript and the Mid Tudor Era', in Eamon Duffy and David Loades (ed.), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (2006)

Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (2013), ch. 1 (on Henry Machyn)

*Alexandra Walsham, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *Historical Journal* 55 (2012): 899-938

29 April History and Time

Primary Sources

John Stow, *Annales*, ed. and augmented Edmund Howes (London, 1631), 'An Historical Preface to this book' (by Howes) (sigs. C2r-8v)

George Carleton, *A thankfull remembrance of Gods mercy. In an historicall collection of the great and mercifull deliverances of the church and state of England, since the Gospell began here to flourish, from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1624)

or

Michael Sparke, *Thankfull remembrances of Gods wonderfull deliverances of this land, bound with Crumms of comfort* (London, 1627 edn)

Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata, or, the history of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1661), sigs a1r-C2r and sample either the history of Edward VI or Mary I

Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, 3 vols (1681), prefaces to volumes 1 and 2

A true account of the rise and growth of the Reformation, or the progress of the Protestant religion (London, 1680)

Secondary Sources

*Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past* (2003), esp. chs 1-2

*Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past 1500-1700', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 33-70

Tamara K. Hareven, 'Synchronizing Individual Time, Family Time and Historical Time', in J. B. Bender and David E. Wellbery (eds), *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time* (1991)

*Klaus E. Müller, 'Concepts of Time in Traditional Cultures', in John Rüsen (ed.), *Time and History* (2007)

Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and the English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (1996)

Ashsah Guibbory, *The Map of Time: Seventeenth-Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History* (1986)

*A. Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (2013), ch. 1

David Womersley, 'Against the Teleology of Technique', in Paulina Kewes (ed), *The uses of history in early modern England*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), pp. 95-108

David Cressy, *Bonfires and bells: National memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), esp. chs 1-3

*Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England 1660–1760* (Cambridge, 2007), ch. 2

After Tea: Conclusions and Reflections