THE CAMBRIDGE

History of the Book in Britain

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VOLUME IV

1557–1695

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Edited by

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

First published 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Renard No.2 Roman 9.5/13 pt. *System* LaTeX [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 521 66182 X hardback

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Religious publishing in England 1557–1640

PATRICK COLLINSON, ARNOLD HUNT and ALEXANDRA WALSHAM

The nature of religious books and the religious use of print

'What multitude of Bookes full of sinne and abominations have now filled the world!' complained the puritan divine Edward Dering in 1572, 'witlesse devises', 'baudie songes', 'unchast Fables'. Such conventional complaints about the prevalence of 'profane' and 'ungodly' literature would be routine for decades to come.[1] This may help us to define 'religious publishing' by means of exclusion. But the problem of inclusion remains. For the modern world, the term 'religious' marks off a more or less discrete area of life, but this is anachronistic for the period under review, in which the commodity which we might want to distinguish as 'religion' permeated much, if not all, of what is now secularized. This is a health warning to be attached to otherwise useful statistical analyses of religious publishing in the period covered by the *Short-Title Catalogue*, or in the Stationers' Register. 'Religious books', in conventional terms, are found to have been the single most important component of the publishing trade, comprising around half the total output of the industry, and outweighing political, scientific, practical and fictional works:[2] indeed, fiction had yet to establish its respectable credentials, often disguising itself as edification, or morality.[3]

Or so attention to titles, and to professed authorial intents, might suggest. But do we exclude from our tally of 'religious' titles almanacs, medical treatises, cookery books, 'news', all saturated with pious vocabulary? Nor can we solve our problem of demarcation by examining the supposed motives of publishers, as if we can identify 'religious' propagandists, altruistic precursors of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Religion was amongst other

1 'Edward Dering' (but thought to have been the work of John More), *A briefe and necessarie catachisme of instruction*, in *Maister Derings workes* (London, 1590), sig. A1^{v}.

2 See Appendix 1, table 4. See also Bland 1999, pp. 457–9.

3 Nelson 1973; Hunter 1997.

things a stock in trade, and a reliable staple. Just what was it that motivated the 'puritan' pamphleteer, Philip Stubbes?[4] Nor were clerical authors necessarily above commercial considerations. When the Derby curate Richard Kilby sent to the press a sensational autobiographical account of the lie which he claimed to have been living as a minister, *The burthen of a loaden conscience* (1608), it was a publishing sensation, running into twelve editions. This may for all we know have been the intended outcome. Kilby's motives puzzled his contemporaries.[5]

So far we have risked another anachronistic error, understanding 'publication' to mean the publication of religious 'books'. But in the context of a Reformation which saw the printing press as a mere acolyte to an army of well-trained pastors and preachers, to interpret 'religious publishing' in the narrow and specialized sense familiar to the twentieth century may be distorting and limiting. Apart from oral communication, there was a mass of both polemical and devotional material which, if 'published', was published scribally, surviving only in manuscript. Some of the most active preachers of the age never appeared in print, or never in their lifetimes. Archbishop Tobie Matthew's preaching diary (preserved in York Minster in an eighteenth-century copy), records a total of 1,992 sermons, none of which was published.[6] The most celebrated preacher of Caroline London, Richard Holdsworth, published only one sermon, at the express command of Charles I.[7] So we need to ask what the circumstances were in which some religious communicators were, in our sense, published, even becoming bestselling authors.[8] For example, Robert Cleaver and John Dod were preaching ministers in Oxfordshire who in the early years of James I were suspended from preaching for their non-conformity. It was evidently only in those circumstances that they published their very popular expositions of the Book of Proverbs, and of the Ten Commandments (a book in its nineteenth edition by 1639), overcoming an inhibition about appearing in print to which their colleague, Robert Harris, author of some forty items in the *Short-Title Catalogue*, frankly confessed, writing in the preface to his first attributed work in print that those who knew him would find it strange to

4 Walsham 1998, pp. 177–206.

5 P. Lake, 'Richard Kilby: a study in personal and professional failure', *The Ministry: clerical and lay*, Studies in Church History, no. 26, ed. W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1989), pp. 221–35; J. H. Marsden, *College life in the time of James the First as illustrated by an unpublished diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes* (London, 1851), p. 70.

6 Collinson 1982, p. 48.

7 *DNB*, art. Holdsworth.

8 Bestselling religious authors included Bishop Lewis Bayly (for *The practise of pietie*), Arthur Dent (for *The plaine mans path-way to heaven*), Richard Greenham, William Perkins, John Preston and Richard Rogers. Greenham, Perkins and Preston were all 'commodities', actively marketed after their deaths. Preston, who died in 1628, was the author of seventy-four items listed in the *STC*, all published between 1629 and 1640.

see him in the press, 'who have in others disliked this ouer-printing, and for my selfe alwaies affected (it may be too much) priuacie and retirednesse'.[9] This invites us to consider how far Dod and Cleaver were communicating with the world at large, how far with their own flocks, to whom they were no longer allowed to preach.

So the assumed impersonality of 'publication' may be another anachronism. Books were often targeted to a known audience, rather than broadcast to strangers. An extreme example of targeting is provided by the little books and pamphlets with which tiny groups of separatist Puritans, in voluntary exile in the Netherlands, even individual separatists, raked over their differences in the early years of the seventeenth century.[10] George Johnson's *A discourse of some trouble and excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1603), a highly personalized attack on the pastor and other officers of the congregation launched by the pastor's brother, was a very substantial book . One can only speculate about the motives for carrying on quarrels of this kind in the medium of print rather than in handwritten letters or face-to-face encounters, and also wonder how such publications were financed.[11]

What do we mean by a religious 'book'? Our definition must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate folios and fragmentary scraps, bound hardback volumes and fragile hybrid media, such as ballads, woodcut pictures, and engravings,[12] publications costing a few pence and other publications priced at well over a pound, at a time when five or six pounds was an annual income for much of the population. This brings us to aspects of our subject which transcend the study of religious books as inert objects, taking us into the sociology of religious readership. For religious propagandists, this was the practical problem of how to impart religious knowledge to 'simple, rude, and ignorant people, who cannot reade themselves': or, we might add, afford books. Part of the answer was that such people should 'lend their ears to such as can read good bookes'.[13] This was too important a matter to be left to chance. For untold thousands,

9 For Dod and Cleaver, see *STC* 6954–6979, for Harris, *STC* 12816–12856, and especially Harris's *Absaloms funerall* (1st edn, London, 1610, 2nd edn cited). We owe these suggestions and references to Jason Yiannikkou.

10 Most of these titles are covered in ch. 2, 'Schisms among separatists', in Milward 1978. Generically different were the English translations of the writings of the Familist prophet Hendrik Niclaes ('HN'), printed in Cologne in 1574–5 (*STC* 18548.5–18564.5), which were targeted rather than broadcast, but by a process of itinerant colporteurage. See C. Marsh, *The family of love in English society*, 1550–1630 (Cambridge, 1994).

11 Michael E. Moody, 'A critical edition of George Johnson's *A discourse of some troubles and excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam* 1603', unpub. PhD thesis, Claremont Graduate School 1979. These publications were most probably financed from the profits of Bible production for the (illegal) English market.

12 See *STC*, 1, pp. xxi–xxix; *OED*, sv 'book'.

13 William Tye, *A matter of moment, or, a case of waight* (London, 1608), sig. C4^{r}.

their chief, even only, exposure to religious literature would have been via the catechism class, for which, in addition to the more or less official Catechism of the established Church, many hundreds of unofficial catechisms were devised by enterprising authors.[14]

One such private initiative was the little book called *Short questions and answers*, which had achieved at least thirty editions by the 1630s, sometimes attributed to Robert Openshaw but in fact the work of Eusebius Pagit, a Northamptonshire minister who, significantly, wrote it when suspended from preaching and employed by a private family, the Ishams. In a preface reprinted over a period of more than fifty years, Pagit claimed that his catechising method had worked. In a four-month course of indoctrination, his 'principles and aunsweares' had been learned by 'gentlemen, yeomen, horsekeepers, shepheardes, carters, milkemaides, kitchenboyes and al in that household', or almost all.[15]

While such anecdotal evidence cannot prove the general success of catechising as evangelism, it should make us cautious about accepting the extreme view of one leading historian of the Reformation that the Protestantism purveyed from the pulpit was so unappealing in both content and presentation that the English people could not be converted to it.[16] It also calls in question what until recently has been almost a consensual assumption among social historians: that godly Protestantism divided local communities, attracting support from the gentlemen and yeomen who ruled the local roost but alienating their poorer neighbours, serving to polarize society between the church and the alehouse, the refuge of the poor and resistant to a culture of Bibles and other godly books, even acting as a mechanism for social control.[17]

This sharp dichotomy is an overstatement. The earliest English reformers, with their Bibles and religious debates, were at home in inns, taverns and other places of public resort and communal sociability. They also utilized traditional modes of communication, the stage, iconography and song. The first generation of Elizabethan Protestants continued in this tradition, exploiting oral, visual and theatrical media, which were themselves undergoing a slow transformation under the influence of print. The 1560s saw the publication, and presumably

14 Green 1986, Green 1996. 15 Collinson 1982, pp. 233–4.

16 C. Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the people', in C. Haigh, ed., *The reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke, 1984), pp. 195–219, and especially pp. 212–14. This rather extreme view is qualified in C. Haigh, *English Reformations: religion, society and politics under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993).

17 K. Wrightson, *English society 1580–1680* (London, 1982), ch. 7; K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling 1525–1700* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1995), esp. ch. 6; P. Clark, *The English alehouse: a social history 1200–1830* (London, 1983). For an objection to the equation of Puritanism with 'social control', see M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and social control?', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, eds., *Order and disorder in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 41–57.

performance, of Protestant interludes and moralities, many of them, like the clergyman Lewis Wager's *The life and repentaunce of Marie Magdalene*, of Edwardian origin, plays which freely mingled 'mirth' (bawdy humour) with evangelical doctrine. Hiring the services of ballad-mongers and minstrels, Protestant publicists also hijacked popular lyrics and melodies, publishing hundreds of moralizing parodies of the musical hits of the day in the form of black-letter broadsides: *Row well ye mariners* engendered several Protestant offspring, as did the only one of these ditties still alive and well today, *Greensleeves*, which was 'moralized to the Scriptures' in more than one parodic version. Pictorial propaganda also played to the gallery: graphic satirical prints which adopted the boldly anti-Papal motifs of early sixteenth-century Lutheran cartoons. And we should not ignore the emotive, action-packed woodcuts which adorned successive editions of Foxe's 'Book of martyrs' (see below), which also seem to have been sold as separates (penny plain, twopence coloured) to be stuck on the wall.

Yet in or around 1580 mainstream Protestant ministers performed an abrupt about-face. They began to turn their backs on drinking houses and to spurn the genres they had earlier appropriated so creatively. In repudiating these mimetic cultural vehicles as inherently blasphemous, they were effecting a profound ideological shift from iconoclasm (denunciation of false images) to what has been called 'iconophobia', the rejection of all images whatsoever, especially if employed for a moral or religious purpose. This can be understood as in part a generational change, as Protestants entered their conservative middle age, shedding the cheap and flashy ballad and broadsheet for the more decorous and prolix book. Alternatively, it may be described in terms of 'the rise of Puritanism', a more profound internalization of Protestant values. And, more broadly, historians of discursive rhetoric like Father Walter Ong have described the transformative superimposition of a religion of the Word, literally words on the printed page, on minds and imaginations.[18]

The main outlines of this development are incontestable. But more recent work has made it clear that the mid-Elizabethan moral and cultural watershed was neither decisive nor complete. The alehouse remained a milieu in which sacred and secular could comfortably co-exist, decorated with woodcuts of Old Testament characters and painted cloths bearing improving texts like 'Fear God' as well as paper pictures of royalty and nobility and amorous ditties.[19]

18 Collinson 1988, ch. 4, 'Protestant culture and the cultural revolution'; Collinson 1986. See W. J. Ong, *Ramus: method and the decay of dialogue* (Cambridge, MA., 1958), and W. J. Ong, *Interfaces of the word: studies in the evolution of consciousness and culture* (Ithaca, 1977). See also King 1982, Watt 1991, ch. 2. On Lutheran broadsheets, see R.W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981).

19 Watt 1991, ch. 5, esp. pp. 196, 216; and p. 326.

While a Suffolk preacher in 1595 could roundly condemn the idea of printing and singing the Psalms in the guise of popular ballads, other clergymen were still, in effect, asking why the Devil should have all the best tunes, several decades later. In 1631 William Slayter published a setting of the Psalms which employed solemn but well-known melodies such as 'Rogero' and 'Fortune my Foe' (a favourite at public executions). Slayter was reprimanded in the Court of High Commission, but several of his tunes had been used in godly ballads entered in the Stationers' Register in 1624. The Devonshire minister, John Downe, who died in the same year, 1631, re-worked Shakespeare's 'Sigh no more, ladies' to teach lessons about Christ's consolation of the despairing sinner: 'Sigh no more soule, oh sigh no more.'[20] Early Stuart engravers and artists likewise went on producing pictures quite acceptable to Protestant iconophobes: 'godly tables for good householders' to hang above their mantelpieces, and emblematic 'monuments', celebrating the nation's providential deliverances from popish tyranny in 1588 and 1605, the defeat of the Armada and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.[21]

Popular and cheap literary genres continued to serve pious and polemical ends, well into the seventeenth century. One product of the London presses which lent itself to a kind of literary piracy was the 'three-halfpenny' pamphlet, reporting 'strange, true and wonderful news' of monstrous births, heavenly apparitions, appalling murders and other portents. Entirely typical is a little tract describing the appearance of the Devil during a devastating storm at Hay on Wye in 1585. According to its anonymous author, this terrifying spectacle was a providential punishment for sin.[22] Rival presses competed for the right to cover particularly dramatic events, and some printers cheated by updating old favourites and re-issuing them with a new title but otherwise almost unaltered. No one was more unscrupulous in this respect than John Trundle, whose trademark was 'Read and Tremble'. The hack writers responsible for these pamphlets conventionally assumed the persona of a thundering Protestant preacher, but sometimes what the titillating woodcut on the cover disguised was an actual Puritan diatribe or sermon.[23]

20 Nicholas Bownde, *The doctrine of the sabbath* (London, 1595), p. 241; William Slayter, *Psalmes, or songs of Sion* (London, 1631); *Reports of cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, ed. S. R. Gardiner (Camden Society, London, 1886), p. 186; John Downe, *A treatise of the true nature and definition of iustifying faith* (Oxford, 1635), p. 396.

21 Watt 1991, chs. 4 and 6; Walsham 1999, ch. 5; A. Walsham, 'Impolitic pictures: providence, history and the iconography of protestant nationhood in early Stuart England', in *The Church retrospective*, Studies in Church history, no. 33 ed. R. N. Swanson, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 307–28.

22 *A most rare and true report, of such great tempests, straunge sightes, and wonderfull accidents, which happened by the providence of God, in Herefordshire, at a place called Hay* (London, 1585).

23 Walsham 1999, pp. 43–7, 50, 96. See also Johnson 1986.

The murder pamphlet was one genre which was particularly open to this kind of appropriation. Protestant divines like Henry Goodcole, the ordinary of Newgate Prison, and Thomas Cooper, chaplain to the Fleet, neatly grafted predestinarian precepts on to narrative structures more commonly associated with Anthony Munday and other Grub Street hacks. Tales of sudden death equally lent themselves to this kind of treatment, for these were not what we should call accidents but acts of God. The story of a sleeping carpenter incinerated by a flash of lightning was converted by a Hampshire preacher into a homily on the text, 'Unless ye repent ye shall likewise perish.'[24] In the 1630s, the Shrewsbury cleric Peter Studley, who prided himself on his anti-Puritan credentials, gained mileage out of a gruesome axe murder committed by Enoch ap Evan, a godly halfwit.[25] Come the Civil War, neither Royalists nor Parliamentarians had any scruples about exploiting prodigy literature and astrological almanacs as vehicles for crude religio-political propaganda.[26]

If the production of 'godly ballads' declined with the passing of the Elizabethan age, part of the reason may have been that forward-looking clergymen were switching from verse to prose, exchanging the folio broadside for the short quarto or octavo pamphlet. The trend in the publishing industry was towards cheap formats intended for reading rather than hearing or seeing, and this eventually introduced the penny-priced religious chapbook, the speciality of 'marketplace theologians' like the Wiltshire preacher John Andrews, who forged a new and fruitful alliance between zeal and profit. Well adapted to the pedlar's pack, these little devotional tracts helped to satisfy the spiritual thirst of country consumers, and the preponderance of religious titles in the output of the chapbook publishers suggests that they sold well. But this was not much before our watershed of 1640. Earlier in the century, the classics of practical divinity (see below), such as Arthur Dent's *Plain mans path-way to heaven* and Richard Sibbes's *Bruised reed*, were packaged in octavo and duodecimo formats, but they would still have cost about a shilling. When the penny godlies arrived, they were strong on the suddenness of death, the terrors of judgement and hellfire, the urgent need for repentance. Not much in evidence was the quest for personal assurance of salvation, the phenomenon which has been called 'experimental Calvinism'.[27]

24 Lake 1994; John Hilliard, *Fire from heaven. Burning the body of one John Hitchell of Holne-hurst* (London, 1613).

25 P. Lake, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and a Shropshire axe-murder', *Midland History*, 15 (1990), 37–64.

26 B. Capp, 'Popular culture and the English Civil War', *History of European Ideas*, 10 (1989), 31–41; H. Rusche, 'Prophecies and propaganda, 1641 to 1651', *EHR*, 84 (1969), 727–70; C. Durston, 'Signs and wonders and the English Civil War', *History Today*, 37 (1987), 22–8; Friedman 1993.

27 Watt 1991, pp. 306–15, and chs. 7–8 *passim*. See also Watt 1995, E. Duffy, 'The godly and the multitude in Stuart England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 1 (1986), 31–55; Spufford 1981, ch. 8.

Indoctrination, public and private: polemic and controversy

A large part of the story of indoctrination concerns English Bibles, a topic receiving separate treatment elsewhere in this volume. Famously, the author of the nineteenth-century *History of the English people*, J. R. Green, pronounced that in the lifetime of Shakespeare the English became the people of a book (an expression originally coined by the Prophet Mohammed to characterize Jews and Christians), and that that book was the Bible.[28] There is no better case study of the interaction of public and private interest, commerce and edification, than the English Bible. The translators, from Tyndale and Coverdale in the 1520s and 30s to the Protestant exiles who produced the Geneva Bible (1560), the most popular version until well into the seventeenth century, were private men but, beginning with Henry VIII's Great Bible of 1536, the public interest in Bible promulgation was paramount.[29]

A major part of religious publication was by authority, and nowadays would bear the imprint of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. This included successive editions of the Book of Common Prayer, produced in bulk by the royal printers, liturgies designed for one-off occasions (such as the fast days occasioned by outbreaks of plague), the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and articles and injunctions generated by the process of ecclesiastical visitation. These were issued by the Crown in connection with royal visitations of the Church at large, in the name of archbishops, bishops and archdeacons in respect of provincial, diocesan and archidiaconal visitations, employing an authority which equally derived from the Crown as Supreme Governor of the Church.[30]

The *Actes and monuments* of John Foxe, known in its own day and ever since as Foxe's 'Book of martyrs', an immense and audaciously revisionist history of the Christian Church which came to a climax with the Marian persecution of English Protestants, was no less influential than the Bible and the Prayer Book in constructing a new, Protestant identity for the English people as an elect nation, if not the elect nation, in God's esteem and design.[31] In a sense

28 J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people* (London, 1878), p. 447.

29 Pollard 1911; A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (2nd edn, London, 1989), pp. 151–60; D. Daniell, *William Tyndale: a biography* (New Haven and London, 1994); G. Hammond, *The making of the English Bible* (Manchester, 1992).

30 These categories are covered in *STC* as Liturgies, Church of England, including 'State Services', 'Gowrie Conspiracy', and 'Special Forms of Prayer on Various Occasions', including such items as *The order of prayer . . . to auert Gods wrath from vs, threatned by the late terrible earthquake* (1580) and *A thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the queene, and happy birth of the young prince* (1630) (*STC* 16279–16559); and 'England, Church Of' (*STC* 1026–10382).

31 Haller 1964; Loades 1997.

those people wrote themselves into the book which they read, for Foxe was dependent upon the stories and other information with which he was liberally supplied by his correspondents and which his book ingested, as it grew and changed its shape through the successive editions of 1563, 1570, 1576 and 1583.[32] After Foxe's death, there were further extensions to the text of the 'Book of martyrs' in 1610 and 1632, as well as abridgements.[33] This was largely a matter of private enterprise (the enterprise of Foxe's printer John Day first and foremost), although the Elizabethan government lent its political (but not financial) support to the venture, requiring copies to be set up in cathedral churches and in some of the principal offices of Court.[34] The publication history of the Bible and Foxe suggests the futility, or at least artificiality, of debates about whether the English Reformation was inspired 'from above' or 'from below'.[35]

Paradoxically, the 'Book of martyrs' was also, in a sense, written by its Catholic critics, for whom it was a book of lies, 'so many lines, so many lies'.[36] For the revised editions which Foxe prepared in his lifetime were partly a response to this criticism, and took it into account.[37] Religious controversy was the generator of some of the largest books to have come off the Elizabethan and Jacobean presses, controversy between Catholics and Protestants, controversy among the Protestants themselves, with non-conformist, Puritan critics of the Elizabethan religious settlement pitted against its conformist defenders, the bishops and their offsiders.

The story begins with the so-called 'Great Controversy' conducted between Bishop Jewel, an all but official spokesman for the Elizabethan Church of England, and some of the English Catholics, now regrouping themselves in Continental exile; mainly a debate between two fellow Devonians and Oxford contemporaries, John Jewel versus Thomas Harding, who was the

32 The Arts and Humanities Research Board of the British Academy is currently funding a collated, critical, electronic edition of these four massive texts, drawing attention to the extent and complexity of the changes made in successive editions, and the disabling limitations of the nineteenth-century editions of *Actes and monuments*.

33 Nussbaum 1997 and 1998. See also D. Nussbaum, 'Reviling the saints or reforming the calendar?', in Wabuda and Litzenberger 1998, pp. 113–36.

34 There is no basis for the oft-repeated statement that Foxe was set up, by order, in all parish churches. Many copies were acquired by parishes, some of them still surviving, but normally they originated as gifts, sometimes by Catholics, under duress.

35 C. Haigh, 'The recent historiography of the English Reformation', in Haigh 1987, pp. 19–33; P. Collinson, 'England', in *The Reformation in national context*, ed. R. Scribner, R. Porter and M. Teich (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 80–94; P. Collinson, 'The English Reformation, 1945–1995', in *Companion to historiography*, ed. M. Bentley (London and New York, 1997), pp. 336–60.

36 Quoted, Collinson 1994, p. 152.

37 Important work by Dr Thomas Freeman on Foxe's considerable indebtedness to his Catholic critics is forthcoming.

most redoubtable controversialist out of seven Catholic alumni of Winchester and New College who reassembled in Louvain in the early years of Elizabeth.[38]

The first shot was fired by Jewel, recently made Bishop of Salisbury, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in London on 26 November 1559 and subsequently repeated at Court. In Reformation and Counter-Reformation polemics, antiquity was the first and last court of appeal, Catholics demanding of Protestants, 'where was your church before Luther?' On this occasion, Jewel stole a march on the opposition, challenging the other side to prove, on the authority of Scripture or of the primitive Church, that any of the following four articles of Catholic belief and practice had been known in the first six Christian centuries: communion in one kind, common prayer in a tongue not understood by the people, the institution of the Papacy, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. If anyone could prove the antiquity of any of these things, Jewel undertook to 'geue ouer and subscribe vnto hym'.[39] After some preliminary skirmishes, Jewel had his response in Harding's *Answere to Maister Iuelles chalenge* (Antwerp, 1564), to which Jewel replied in 1565. But by this time, Jewel had published a semi-official and anonymous *Apologia ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562), ably translated by Francis Bacon's mother as *An apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of England* (1564). This initiated a parallel controversy with Harding, who in 1565 published *A confutation of a booke intituled An apologie of the Church of England*, to which Jewel duly responded in a massive *Defence of the apologie* (1567, and enlarged in 1570). These volumes grew in bulk through the polemical convention of printing, slab by slab, the text undergoing confutation. Schoolroom syllogisms were larded with vulgar abuse. Harding denounced Jewel's 'impudencie in lying', 'his continuall scoffing', 'his immoderate bragging'. Jewel's icy urbanity was no less wounding. 'If ye shall happen to write hereafter, send us fewer words and more learning.'[40]

A. C. Southern counts sixty-four titles published in the course of this controversy.[41] And these were only the opening rounds, with polemical works on both sides growing in bulk and sophistication towards the end of the sixteenth century and beyond, as John Rainoldes of Oxford and William Whitaker of Cambridge entered the lists against such opponents as Cardinal Bellarmine.

38 Southern 1950 provides a survey of the 'Great Controversy'. See also Milward 1977, ch. 1, 'Anglican challenge'.
39 Southern 1950, p. 60.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 73; *Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, ed. J. Ayre, Parker Society, IV (Cambridge, 1850), p. 1092.
41 Southern 1950, pp. 61–6.

Andrew Willet's *Synopsis papismi* (1592) addressed 'three hundreds of popish errors', which became four hundred in 1594 and five hundred in 1600.[42]

From their earliest beginnings, the controversies between non-conformist and conformist tendencies within the established Church, which initially concerned vestments and other 'ornaments' of the Church, found expression in print. Soon after the suspension of thirty-seven London ministers for non-conformity in 1566, what we may call the first Puritan manifesto appeared from the press, *A briefe discourse against the outward apparell of the popishe church*. This anonymous publication was apparently the work of Robert Crowley, a printer-preacher with experience of the book trade. But it was said (by John Stow) that the materials were supplied by 'the whole multitude of London ministers, every one of them giving their advice in writing'.[43] If true, this makes a landmark in the use of the printing press for a collective, ideological purpose, and also marks the emergence of an organized Puritan movement, the reality of which has sometimes been questioned. Crowley was answered in *A briefe examination for the tyme of a certaine declaration, lately put in print in the name and defence of certaine ministers in London*, sometimes attributed to none other than Archbishop Parker himself. And of course the ministers attempted to have the last word in *An answere for the tyme*.[44]

This was but the overture to a controversy of the 1570s which came to rival in scope and scale Jewel versus Harding. In 1572 two hotheaded London preachers, Thomas Wilcox and John Field, employed a clandestine press to publish an anonymous manifesto which they called *An admonition to the Parliament*, raising the stakes in the developing dialogue between proponents of what was called 'further reformation' and defenders of the status quo. Field complained that hitherto critics of the Elizabethan Church had dealt with only 'shells and chippings', neglecting matters of real substance, including what would later appear to be the very foundation stones of Anglicanism, episcopacy and the Prayer Book. The events which followed suggest that the bishops had few friends, and that government proclamations were almost impotent in controlling the underground press.[45]

Nevertheless, this might have been a flash in the pan if the decision had not been taken to answer the sniper fire of Field and Wilcox with the artillery of

42 Andrew Willet, *Synopsis papismi, that is, a generall viewe of papistry: deuided into three hundred of popish errors* (London, 1592, augmented editions of 1594 and 1600).
43 Collinson 1967, pp. 77–8. 44 Milward 1977, p. 26.
45 *Puritan manifestoes: a study of the origin of the puritan revolt*, eds. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas (London, 1907, 1954); Collinson 1967, pp. 118–20; P. Collinson, 'John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism', in Collinson 1983, pp. 334–70.

an official riposte. By now Jewel was dead, and the task, and opportunity, of refuting the *Admonition* (soon followed by an anonymous *Second admonition*) fell to an ambitious academic and cleric, John Whitgift, master of Trinity College, Cambridge and destined to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Moderate voices condemned the Puritan libel ('surely the book was fond'), but urged Whitgift not to respond, on the proverbial grounds that the second blow makes the fray. But before the year was out, Whitgift's *Answere* had been published. The gauntlet was now taken up by the leading academic proponent of presbyterian Puritanism, Thomas Cartwright, whom Whitgift had hounded out of his Cambridge chair and Trinity fellowship: *A replye to an answere* (1573), another clandestine publication. Of course Whitgift came back with *The defense of the aunswere* (1574), which was an invitation for Cartwright to publish (on a Heidelberg press) his *Second replie* (1575), and even (from Basel) *The rest of the second replie* (1577), in itself a fat little book of hundreds of pages.[46]

The 'Admonition Controversy' proved to be the first and most substantial episode in two decades of press war between Puritans and bishops, which accompanied agitation, in Parliament and elsewhere in the public domain, for further reformation, and to curb the supposed 'tyranny' of 'antichristian' bishops. John Field, co-author of the *Admonition* which, in a sense, began it all, was a precocious organizer and publicist, who understood the power of the press to advance a radical and allegedly populist cause. Field, who had helped John Foxe with his 'Book of martyrs', now gathered material evidence of the sufferings and trials of the new, Puritan 'martyrs', and prepared them for publication. *A parte of a register contayninge sundrie memorable matters for the reformation of our church* appeared from a foreign press in 1593, five years after Field's death, but the bulk of this material ('The seconde parte of a register') remained unpublished (or at least unprinted) until modern times.[47]

The year 1593 was the end of the line, for the time being. In that year, Richard Bancroft summed up a career of anti-Puritan intelligence work, activity which helped him to the bishopric of London, and, after Whitgift's death, to St Augustine's chair. He was responsible for two anonymous books which have been described as so much 'ecclesiastical vitriol': *Daungerous positions and proceedings, published and practised within this iland of Brytaine* (Presbyterian Scotland, in Bancroft's perception, being more than half the problem), and *A suruay of the pretended holy discipline*. These were thoroughly nasty, occasional pieces of anti-Puritan propaganda, now forgotten.[48] More memorable was a

46 Collinson 1967, pp. 119–21; Milward 1977, ch. 2, 'Puritan Admonition'.
47 Collinson 1983, 'John Field'; Peel 1915. 48 Collinson 1995b.

book published in March 1593, the first four portions of a work calling itself *Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie* by a somewhat reclusive divine known as Richard Hooker. What the 'judicious' Hooker intended to achieve in this, one of the greatest books in the language, is still debated. But there is agreement that his magisterial work somehow transcended all earlier ecclesiological debates, including the Admonition Controversy, reducing the matters at stake to their epistemological essentials.[49]

Was Hooker's *Lawes* also conclusive? In a sense it was, since public interest in these matters was by now exhausted, or so Hooker's publisher alleged, and the book was only produced with the aid of a generous subsidy from two of Hooker's old pupils.[50] But the Anglican belief that after Hooker there was nothing more to be said is a pious and unsustainable legend. The accession of James I reactivated the Puritan cause, and the Jacobean press was soon busy turning out Puritan and anti-Puritan apologetics and polemics, as well as a flood of more consensual religious literature suggestive of the growing strength of a firm middle ground, wide enough to accommodate both conformists and non-conformists.[51] A bibliographical guide to Jacobean and immediately post-Jacobean religious controversies lists 160 items in the section called 'Anglican v. Puritan', and a further seventy-three titles classified as 'Schisms Among Separatists'.[52]

However, nobody writing about Puritan literature in the early decades of the seventeenth century would concentrate on books about contested ceremonies. While these were not dead issues (though ecclesiological issues of Church government almost were), the strength of evangelical publishing now lay in what came to be known as 'practical divinity', a spiritual resource, mostly to be found in the Puritan strongholds of Essex, East Anglia and the Midlands, and a literature devoted to helping individual Christians (and, it appears, small reading groups) to find their way to salvation along the *ordo salutis*. These books, and the lives of their authors, which often came to be enshrined in spiritual biographies that were sources of edification in themselves, defined for William Haller what he called *The rise of Puritanism* (1938), with its base line in about 1600, almost as if the Elizabethan struggles for a full reformation had never happened. Others

49 P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English conformist thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), pp. 145–230; P. Collinson, 'Richard Hooker and the Elizabethan establishment', in A. S. McGrade, ed., *Richard Hooker and the construction of Christian community*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, no.165 (Tempe, 1997), pp. 149–81; M. E. C. Perrott, 'Richard Hooker and the problem of authority in the Elizabethan Church', *JEH*, 49 (1998), 29–60; and references given by Collinson and Perrott.

50 Sisson 1940, pp. 49–60.

51 N. Tyacke, *The fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603–1640* (London, 1989); Collinson 1982.

52 Milward 1978, pp. 1–71.

have seen this sea change in the character of the 'godly' book trade as a shrewd tacking exercise, seeking the same ends by different and less political means.[53]

The taproot of this practical divinity was in Christ's College, Cambridge, which produced that exemplary Elizabethan Puritan, Edward Dering,[54] and the most internationally celebrated of English Calvinist divines, William Perkins, the inventor, almost, of a Protestant pastoral casuistry, and the author of no less than 118 items in the *Short-Title Catalogue*.[55] But the most influential of the spiritual authors was a younger Christ's man, the son of a Chelmsford artisan and preacher for much of his life in the Essex village of Wethersfield, Richard Rogers.[56] Rogers's *Seven treatises, containing such directions as is gathered out of the holie scriptures, leading and guiding to true happiness* went through six editions between 1603 and 1630, with a further five editions of an abridgement by Stephen Egerton of this large and scarcely affordable book. The influence of *Seven treatises* can be traced in the lives of a whole generation of Puritan laymen. By 1670 it could be said: 'You might see Mr Rogers seven Treatises practised to the life in him.'[57] *A garden of spirituall flowers*, a less demanding anthology of the writings of Rogers, Perkins and other practical divines, had reached at least thirty editions by 1630.[58]

When the printer told Richard Hooker that he doubted whether his book would sell, he explained that the market for that kind of thing had been ruined by a large and indigestible tome, recently published. He probably had in mind the book by Bishop John Bridges called *A defence of the gouernment established in the church of England for ecclesiasticall matters* (1587). Bridges deserves to have an honoured place in the history of English literature, since he was the immediate provocation for the slim little publications we know as the Marprelate Tracts. The first two tracts printed in the name of the author (or authors?) who went under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate professed to provide an epitome of Bridges's *Defence*, 'a very ..... portable book, if your horse be not too weake'.[59]

53 W. Haller, *The rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938, repr. 1957); C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in pre-revolutionary England* (London, 1966).

54 P. Collinson, 'A mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism: The life and letters of "Godly Master Dering"', in Collinson 1983, pp. 289–323.

55 Editions of Perkins's Works, *STC* 19646–19654; *The work of William Perkins*, ed. I. Breward (Appleford, 1970).

56 An abridged version of the diary of Richard Rogers was printed by M. M. Knappen in *Two Elizabethan Puritan diaries* (Chicago, 1933).

57 Collinson 1982, pp. 269–70; Ferdinand Nicholls, *The life and death of Mr Ignatius Jurdain* (London, 1654), p. 5; Giles Firmin, *The real Christian* (London, 1670), sig. 213^{r}.

58 *STC* 21204.4–213.10: R. Rogers, *A garden of spirituall flowers. Planted by Ri. Ro[gers], Will. Per[kins], Ri. Gree[nhame], M. M[osse?] and Geo. Web[be]* (London, 1609–30).

59 Sisson 1940, p. 4; *The Marprelate Tracts* [1588–1589](facsimile edn, Leeds, 1967), *An epitome*, sig. B.

The Marprelate Tracts are justly famous as a landmark in the history of English satire. For contemporaries, as well as for us, they provided delicious refreshment after so much theological tedium. But if delicious they were also seditious, and insofar as they spoke for the Puritan cause (most Puritan divines, including Thomas Cartwright, disowned them), they were an admission of failure. To subject the bishops, as they did, to merciless ridicule has been compared to the use of poison gas in warfare, which is liable with a change of wind to blow back into the faces and lungs of those using it.[60] Presently, Martin was answered 'in his own vein' in a series of anti-Martinist pamphlets, and even on the stage. This seems to have been Bancroft's idea. Although Francis Bacon believed that Bancroft's tactic was reprehensible, and so, apparently, did the government,[61] Martin Marprelate discredited the cause of further reformation and helped, for the time being, to destroy its credibility.[62]

The identity of Martin's printer is known, Robert Waldegrave, a specialist publisher for the Puritan cause who had been driven out of a legitimate trade into clandestine printing; and the locations of the Martinist press, private houses at East Molesey in Surrey, Fawsley in Northamptonshire, Coventry, and Lancashire, where the adventure came to an end. But who was Martin? It is typical of the concerns (almost the obsession) of what may be called the old bibliography (as distinct from D. F. McKenzie's newer 'sociology of texts'), that for many years discussion of the Marprelate Tracts was almost confined to the game of hunt the author. Was Martin the Welsh preacher John Penry, or the radical parliamentarian Job Throkmorton, or even the Welsh soldier Sir Roger Williams, Shakespeare's Fluellen, the preferred candidate of no less a scholar than John Dover Wilson?[63] Now, with what has been called the death of the author, a more rewarding approach proves to be through the Tracts' bibliographical character. What kind of publications were the Tracts? How did these lively fictions relate to the real world, and what effect did they have on the real world? It is probably significant that when Bishop John Woolton heard tell of the first of the Tracts, down in Exeter, he described it as 'a slaunderous libell latelie cast abroad in London intituled Martin Marprelate', which had been dispersed in 'written Pamphletes that he hath sent from hand to hand full of all malicious slaunders'. In other words, Woolton instinctively

60 C .S. Lewis, *English literature in the sixteenth century excluding drama* (Oxford, 1954, pbk. 1973), p. 409.

61 Francis Bacon, 'An advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England', in *Francis Bacon: a critical edition of the major works*, ed. B. Vickers (Oxford, 1996), pp. 1–19, 494–512; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan stage* (repr., Oxford, 1967), I, pp. 295, IV, pp. 228–33; Black 1997.

62 Collinson 1967, 1990, pp. 391–6.

63 Pierce 1908, McGinn 1966, Carlson 1981, Wilson 1912a. See also Collinson 1967, 1990, pp. 394–6.

connected 'Martin' with the widespread practice of slandering enemies and other unpopular figures in libellous ballads, which were 'published' in handwritten form, posted and deposited in public places, and performed as songs and playlets, a vicious part of the culture of the Elizabethan town and countryside. There had recently been a rash of pro-Puritan libelling of this kind in Devon and Cornwall, which led Woolton to believe that he knew who Martin was.[64] At this point one begins to wonder what it may mean to describe the Marprelate Tracts as 'literature'. Certainly we shall not find in our period a better illustration of the dynamic interaction of speech, manuscript and print.

But to canonize in print what otherwise might have been localized and ephemeral libels made all the difference. Martin was almost at once known nationally, even internationally.[65] And that meant that he was more than merely reflective of the street theatre and language of Elizabethan England. He helped create a culture. And the achievement was theatrical: first the theatre of the bishops in their vestments; then Martin's parodic theatre of the absurd which employed the patter of the improvisatory stage clown, Dick Tarleton; and finally Bancroft's all too clever idea of 'pillorying' Martin, 'lancing and worming' him in jigs and pantomimes. This seems to have created the stereotype of the stage Puritan, which was soon subtly refracted in the ambivalent character of Shakespeare's Malvolio and less subtly depicted in the anti-Puritan plays of Ben Jonson, and especially *Bartholomew fair*. The derogatory word 'Puritan' was much more in evidence after these events than before, and there is a sense in which Puritanism was created, or at least constructed, by the printed fictions of Martin and Mar-Martin.[66]

Catholic books

It became the conventional wisdom of the Reformation itself that Protestantism and the printing press were virtually symbiotic, Gutenberg's invention an act of Providence.[67] But the Reformation had no monopoly on religious publishing and Tridentine Catholicism too was a religion of the printed book.[68] In the repressive conditions which followed the accession of Elizabeth, English

64 Collinson 1995b, pp. 159–64; Fox 1998. 65 Black 1997.

66 Collinson 1995b; P. Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*: theatre constructs Puritanism', in *The theatrical city: culture, theatre and politics in London, 1576–1649*, eds. D. L. Smith, R. Strier and D. Bevington (Cambridge,1995), pp. 157–69.

67 See, for example, John Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, ed. S.R. Cattley, (8 vols., London, 1837–41), III, pp. 718–22.

68 For a more extended discussion, see Walsham 2000.

Catholics were if anything more dependent on print, which was a powerful surrogate for personal pastoral discipline. The Spaniard Luis de Granada called devout Catholic books 'domme preachers'. One such dumb preacher was a little book called *A methode, to meditate on the Psalter*, a simple step-by-step guide to prayer and a teach-yourself religious manual, designed for a country in which priests were scarce and their very presence a capital crime.[69]

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign the Protestant book trade lagged behind the Romanist competition. After the 'Great Controversy' (see above) the momentum of publication was sustained, as William Allen established the English seminary at Douai (1568), as political circumstances dictated a hasty relocation to Rheims (1578), and as new presses were set up by the Jesuits at Seville, Valladolid and Eu in Normandy. (The latter removed in 1592 to St Omer in the Spanish Netherlands.)[70] There was also much surreptitious Catholic publishing in England and Wales. By 1581, London alone housed several secret establishments. Stephen Brinkley and his assistants, based first at Greenstreet House and later in a wood at Stonor Park, printed books for Robert Persons and Edmund Campion before they and their press were apprehended.[71] Mainstream printers and members of the Stationers' Company with Catholic sympathies, including John Wolfe, Gabriel Cawood and Valentine Simmes, ensured that popish books continued to be produced, dispersed, and covertly sold.[72] Much later, in the 1620s, there was quite a community of Catholic printers and vendors lurking in such districts as Gunpowder Alley, Clerkenwell Green, Holborn, Fetter Lane and Little Britain, if John Gee's infamous *Foot out of the snare* is to be trusted.[73] Outside the capital, where clandestine publishing was safer, recusant booksellers and binders remained a constant thorn in the authorities' side. Between 1615 and 1621, nineteen items were issued from a press at Birchley Hall near Wigan, the family residence of James Anderton, alias John Brerely.[74] And in Jacobean Staffordshire and Worcestershire, one Francis Ash carried on a profitable trade in pictures, manuals and tracts, unmolested.

69 Luis de Granada, *A memoriall of a Christian life. Wherein are treated all such things, as appertayne unto a Christian to doe*, trans. R. Hopkins (Rouen, 1586), p. 12; *A methode, to meditate on the psalter, or great rosarie of our blessed ladie* (Antwerp [English secret press], 1598).

70 Southern 1950, esp. chs. 2, 6; Rostenberg 1971, esp. ch. 2.

71 Pollen 1906, pp. 28, 182–3; Hicks 1942, pp. xxxi–xxxii; Southern 1950, pp. 353–6; Rostenberg 1971, pp. 23–4.

72 Brown 1989, pp. 138–9.

73 Harmsen 1992, pp. 201–4, 239, 453. For other secret presses, see the list in Allison and Rogers 1989–94.

74 A. F. Allison, 'Who was John Brerely? The identity of a seventeenth-century controversialist', *Recusant History*, 16 (1982–3), 17–41; [Michael Sparke], *A second beacon fired by Scintilla* (London, 1652), p. 6.

Many of those involved in illicit publishing resorted to deceit and subterfuge: fictitious imprints, false dates and misleading pseudonyms are very common indeed. Such devious devices were sanctioned by the papal hierarchy only in exceptional circumstances, for the Tridentine *Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum* had forbidden the printing of books without identifying their authors.[75] But anonymity was a necessity if the Catholic enterprise to reconvert England was to succeed, and the printing of pamphlets and the dissemination of manuscripts was almost a condition of success.[76]

Even a superficial glance at the statistics of Catholic book production between 1558 and 1640 confirms this point. Allison and Rogers's catalogue of Catholic works in English printed abroad or secretly in England identified some 932 items dating from this eighty-year period, a remarkable corpus excluding texts in Latin and the Continental vernaculars, which make an additional tally of 1,619.[77] Even in the later Stuart period, when Catholic publishing activity had declined from its pre-Civil War peak, recusant writings still far outnumbered those of the Baptists, Quakers and other non-conformist sects, falling only a little behind those of the established Church.[78] Impressive as these figures are, they alert us to only one sector of what we may call English Counter-Reformation book culture. There was also a still vibrant tradition of scribal publication, ensuring that much devotional and controversial material circulated clandestinely through the Catholic underground.[79] The survival of large numbers of handwritten copies of politically sensitive texts like *Leicesters Commonwealth* (1585) (twenty-three versions in the British Library alone) and *A conference about the next succession* by 'Robert Doleman' (a pseudonym for Robert Persons?) attest to a powerful symbiosis and interdependence between manuscript and print.[80] Much like Foxe, recusant hagiographers built up their dossiers from eyewitness accounts of the exemplary conduct of Catholics on the scaffold, which disseminated widely among the devout.[81]

75 See PRO, SP 12/137/26 ('Facultates concessae Patribus Roberto Personio et Edmundo Campiano pro Anglia die 14 Aprilis, 1580'), 8, printed in A. O. P. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, trans. J. R. McKee (London, 1967 edn), appendix xvii. For the Tridentine decree, see Schroeder 1978, p. 19.

76 Hicks 1942, p. 356. 77 Allison and Rogers 1989–94.

78 See the remarks of C. Hibbard, 'Early Stuart Catholicism: revisions and re-revisions', *Journal of Modern History*, 52 (1980), 13. For books printed after 1641, see Clancy 1974, 1996. See also Allison and Rogers 1989–94. The works listed in the latter are excluded by the terms of reference of *STC*.

79 Brown 1989. For just one example of scribal publication, see *A treatise of mental prayer in which is briefly declared the manner how to exercise the inward actes of vertues* ([St Omer], 1617), sig. *8r. Prior to being printed, this was 'delivered from hand to hand, many copies therof being spread abroad'.

80 Clancy 1964, pp. 237, 239; Brown 1989, pp. 121, 128, and *passim*.

81 See *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia adversus Calvinopapistas et puritanos sub Elizabetha regina quorundam hominum doctrina & sanctitate illustrium renovata*, ed. John Gibbons and John Fen (n.p., 1588); ed. and augmented, John Bridgewater, 1589 (first published, London, 1583). See BL, ms.

Problems of supply and distribution were critical. Scraps of evidence gleaned from official and unofficial sources suggest that the network of communication grew ever more elaborate and extensive, far more so than its Puritan counterpart. The merchants and factors who were cogs in this machine were persuaded or handsomely paid to hide prohibited literature among their freight, to land them on isolated spots on south-western or North Sea coasts, or to bribe customs officers to turn a blind eye.[82] There is much anecdotal and circumstantial evidence to suggest that there was little to prevent the importation of Catholic books. Boats could be hired at Dunkirk (a lawless port run by pirates) and landings made at places like Margate and the Isle of Sheppey.[83] 'Crates and packages' of books ('cofres y fardros de libros en ingles') were sent to the Spanish ambassador in the diplomatic bag,[84] while in 1636 Queen Henrietta Maria expressed surprise that the customs house should have taken an interest in recent imports in her name, since there was 'nothing but bookes'.[85] However, the authorities went through the motions. In May 1592, the Privy Council ordered searches of all vessels docking in London for 'traiterous and sedicious bookes', brought in 'wrapped upp amongest marchandizes', and in 1609 the activities of a Barking fisherman who conducted a profitable sideline in shipping 'papisticall' literature concealed beneath his catch did not go undetected.[86] As with hard drugs in the modern world, the attendant costs of this illicit trade were borne by the consumer, who in 1624 had to pay twelve shillings for a Rheims New Testament, and as much as sixteen for Tobie Matthew's translation of St Augustine's *Confessions*, a little octavo, the real value of which was more like thirty pence.[87]

At the centre of this complex system of communications stood the emigré Richard Verstegan. Based in Antwerp from 1589 until his death in 1620, he managed the propaganda and intelligence wings of the mission brilliantly, liaising with key figures in Rome and leading Jesuits in Spain.[88] On the domestic

Lansdowne 96, no. 26, where Dr Ely sends Gibbons Mr Haith's martyr life 'fayre wrytten in folio'. Much martyrological material remains in MS. Particularly important are Christopher Grene's 'Collectanea', preserved in Stonyhurst College, and St Mary's College, Oscott.

82 Rostenberg 1971, ch. 3.

83 L. Owen, *The running register: recording a true relation of the state of the English colledges, seminaries and cloysters in all forraine parts* (London, 1626), p. 111.

84 Henry Taylor to the Marquess of Valeda, March 28 1640; Lambeth Palace Library (uncatalogued; see the Library's Annual Report, 1993).

85 Robert Aston to Sir John Wostenholme, 14 May 1636; Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 70, fol. 89.

86 *APC 1591–2*, pp. 486–7; BL, MS. Lansdowne 153, fol. 20^{r}, printed in Harris 1966, pp. 260–1. Cf. *CSPD 1581–90*, pp. 78, 91; HMC, *Salisbury*, x, pp. 203–4.

87 Harmsen 1992, p. 216. Gee's comment on George Musket's *The Bishop of London his legacy* ([St Omer], 1623) was 'they squeezed from some Romish Buyers, six or seven shillings apiece. A dear price for a dirty Lie' (p. 218). See also Owen, *The running register* (Gee 1624, p. 218), p. 14.

88 See Petti 1959, Introduction, for a biographical summary.

front, dozens of more obscure individuals played their parts in the distributive network, including seminary priests like Thomas Awfield who brought in over 300 copies of William Allen's *True, sincere and modest defence of the English Catholiques that suffer for their faith* (1584), before suffering himself.[89] Women were particularly active in this capacity. Ann Dowse, widow of High Holborn, was, according to John Gee, a famous female dealer in these wares, while the printer Roger Heigham regularly sent his wife over to England 'under the habite of a Dutchwoman'. 'Two more dangerous women' than Mrs Heigham and one Mistress Daubrigscourt, wrote the spy William Udall to control, could 'hardly be found'.[90] A brisk trade in 'naughty books' was conducted in the London prisons, and there was also a flourishing black market in literature confiscated and then resold by corrupt pursuivants.[91] Mainstream booksellers and stationers in Paul's Churchyard and its vicinity found it worth their while to act as middlemen in the same trade.[92]

What were these 'seditious' and 'superstitious' books? Much of the stock in trade was controversial and political: texts enshrining the militant resistance theory of the Allen-Persons party, texts in support of Mary Queen of Scots and invasion by Spain, texts appealing for toleration and a mitigation of persecution, texts addressing contentious issues like the succession, Papal power and the royal supremacy. Examples are the notorious *Treatise of treasons* (1572), Nicholas Sander's *De origine et progressu schismatic Anglicani* (1585), and William Allen's Armada-related *Admonition to the nobility and people of England* (1588). Then there was a vast array of polemical theology, Thomas Harding in the 1560s, handing on the baton to Thomas Stapleton, Matthew Kellison and William Bishop.[93] No theologian was more eminent than the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, whose *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei* of 1586 was considered by learned Catholics to be impregnable.[94] A recent

89 On Thomas Awfield, see *The life and end of Thomas Awfeeld a seminary preest and Thomas Webley a dyers servant in London . . . traitours who were condemned as fellons for bringing seditious books into this realme and dispersing of the same* (London, [1585]), sigs. A4^{v}, A6^{r}; Southern 1950, pp. 35–6.

90 Harmsen 1992, p. 240; BL, MS. Lansdowne 153, fols. 30^{r}, 22^{r}, 32^{r}, 16^{r}, 17^{r}, printed in Harris 1966, pp. 237, 244, 253, 262, 264.

91 *The Ven. Philip Howard Earl of Arundel 1557–1595*, Pollen and MacMahon 1919, p. 75; Petti 1959, 7–8; BL, MS. Lansdowne 153, fols. 18^{r}, 17^{r}, 14^{r}, printed in Harris 1966, pp. 239, 264, 265.

92 See, for examples, *CSPD 1603–1610*, p. 272 (report of 'A stationer in London, a pretended protestant, scatters popish books'), *CSPD 1633–4*, p. 481 (case of William Pamplin, merchant, William Brooks, stationer, and Thomas Blomfield the younger, fined for dispersing popish books, Feb. 1634).

93 Southern 1950, ch. 3; Clancy 1964; P. Holmes , *Resistance and compromise: the political thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, 1982), parts 1, 3, 4; Milward 1977, chs. 1, 3, 6; Milward 1978, chs. 3, 4.

94 Foley 1875–83, VII, part 2, p. 1011. For some of the literature generated by Bellarmine's works, see Milward 1977, pp. 152–6, and Milward 1978, pp. 101–9.

study of such works doubts their ability to change the allegiance of a Protestant reader. Their function was to defend, and to counterattack, not persuade.[95] Shorter manuals and pamphlets may have had more impact on those 'that hath little will, or little leasure to read', as John Sweet noted in 1617. Broadsheets displaying the multiplicity of corrupt Protestant sects distilled the essence of the Reformation schism into the space of a single sheet.[96]

As time went on, Catholic controversialists developed ingenious polemical strategies, such as disguising themselves as moderate Protestant, or neutral observers. A Lancashire gentleman writing under the pseudonym of John Brerely seems to have been the first to have made use of this method of refuting heretics out of their own mouths, a device mimicked by the missionary priest Richard Broughton in his *First part of protestants proofes for Catholikes religion and recusancy*,[97] and perhaps owing something to the tactics of Richard Bancroft in *Daungerous positions* and other anti-Puritan works. But the tables were soon turned, as Protestants like Thomas Bell took full advantage of the internecine squabbles between the seculars and the Jesuits during the Archpriest and Appellant controversies, a quarrel they had chosen, to their cost, to play out in the medium of print.[98] But such books may have had a very limited effect, since Catholics in principle required a special dispensation to read heretical literature,[99] while many leading figures in the English mission began to fear that works of controversy were having a detrimental effect, filling 'the heades of men with a spirite of contradiction and contention', and distracting them from more properly religious concerns.[100]

Of first priority, from this point of view, was the publication of works designed to cultivate piety, devotion and repentance. This was an enterprise

95 Questier 1996, ch. 2, esp. pp. 36–7, 39.

96 John Sweet, *Monsigr Fate Voi* (St Omer, 1617). p. 153. For example, Richard Bristowe, *Briefe treatise* (popularly known as his *Motives*) and *Demaundes to be proponed of Catholiques to the heretikes* (Antwerp, 1576). Examples of broadsheets are *Typus haereticae synagogue* [Paris, 1585], and *Speculum pro Christianis seductis* (Antwerp, 1590). See also 'A showe of the Protestants petigrew', possibly a book illustration, reproduced in Watt 1991, plate 14, p. 155.

97 John Brereley [James Anderton], *The apologie of the Romane church* ([English secret press], 1604); Richard Broughton, *The first part of Protestants proofes for Catholikes religion and recusancy* (Paris [English secret press], 1607). See also Milward 1977, pp. 151–5. It was the apostate priest Thomas Bell who claimed to have pioneered this technique in his *Thomas Bels motives: concerning Romish faith and religion* (Cambridge, 1593), sig. 2^{v}; BL, MS. Lansdowne 75, fol. 40^{r}.

98 Milward 1977, pp. 116–26. Bell's *The anatomie of popish tyrannie* (London, 1603) is a good example. On Richard Bancroft, then Bishop of London, the Appellants, and Catholic book production, see PRO, SP 14/8/21–5; Plomer 1907a, Jenkins 1947–8, Curtis 1964.

99 Hicks 1942, p. 356; Schroeder 1978, p. 73. See also *Elizabethan casuistry*, ed. P. J. Holmes, CRS, 67 (London, 1981), 49–50, 92–3.

100 William Rainolds, *A refutation of sundry reprehensions, cavils, and false sleightes* (Paris, 1583), sig. a3^{v}; Robert Persons, *The first booke of the Christian exercise, appertaining to resolution* ([Rouen], 1582), p. 2.