This book looks at popular belief through a detailed study of the cheapest printed wares produced in London in the century after the Reformation. It investigates the interweaving of the printed word with the existing oral and visual culture, as well as the general growth of literacy. Part I deals with the broadside ballad as song, disseminated by a widening network of minstrels and pedlars; Part II looks at the broadside picture as an image for the wall, placed against a background of domestic wall painting and domestic cloth. Part III examines the development of cheap print intended primarily for reading, and traces for the first time the beginnings of the chapbook trade in the early seventeenth century.

Protestantism is seen, in common with print, as modifying rather than as replacing traditional culture. Although reformers stopped using the ballad as an evangelical medium in the 1580s, some of their ‘godly songs’ found commercial success and offer us insights into the moderate piety of ‘honest householders’ in the seventeenth century. Although there was increasing suspicion of some types of religious imagery, English walls were still decorated with little woodcut Christs and biblical tales. The extent of national ‘iconophobia’ should not be exaggerated.

Both Protestantism and print have been credited by recent historians with enormous, even ‘revolutionary’ impact upon popular culture. The Protestant hostility towards traditional recreations is said to have ‘inserted a cultural wedge’ in village society, while its logo-centrism took the English people across a watershed ‘from a culture of orality and image to one of print culture’. This study challenges these confrontational models, showing instead how traditional piety could be gradually modified to create a religious culture which was distinctively post-Reformation, if not thoroughly ‘Protestant’.
Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History

Series editors

Anthony Fletcher
Professor of Modern History, University of Durham

John Guy
Professor of Modern History, University of St Andrews

and John Morrill
Lecturer in History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow and Tutor of Selwyn College

This is a series of monographs and studies covering many aspects of the history of the British Isles between the late fifteenth century and the early eighteenth century. It includes the work of established scholars and pioneering work by a new generation of scholars. It includes both reviews and revisions of major topics and books which open up new historical terrain or which reveal startling new perspectives on familiar subjects. All the volumes set detailed research into our broader perspectives and the books are intended for the use of students as well as of their teachers.

For a list of titles in the series, see end of book.
For June Gabriel
    and F. W. W.
CONTENTS

List of illustrations  ix
List of tables  xiii
Acknowledgements  xiv
Abbreviations  xvi

INTRODUCTION  1

PART I THE BROADSIDE BALLAD

1 SMALL AND POPULAR MUSIC  11
Blind harpers and tavern minstrels  14
Cantabanqui upon benches  23
Buffoons or vices in plays  30
Recreation of the common people  33

2 A GODLY BALLAD TO A GODLY TUNE  39
Stationers’ Register title study  42
Publishers and authors  50
Decline of the godly ballad  55

3 THE 1624 STOCK  74
Transition in the trade  75
From propaganda to popular stock  81

PART II THE BROADSIDE PICTURE

4 IDOLS IN THE FRONTISPICE  131
Practical iconophobia  131
The woodcut picture trade  140
Pictures for Protestants  150
A quire of wicked paper  168
Contents

5 STORIES FOR WALLS 178
In the Blackfriars 183
The visual context 193

6 GODLY TABLES FOR GOOD HOUSEHOLDERS 217

PART III THE CHAPBOOK

7 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHAPBOOK TRADE 257
Popular print 257
The ballad publishers and their non-ballad output 278

8 PENNY BOOKS AND MARKETPLACE THEOLOGY 296
The penny chapbooks 296
The penny godly authors 306
Frances Wolfreston, chapbook collector 315

CONCLUSION 321

Appendix A The godly ballad 'stock' 333
The 'partners' 1624 entry 333
Other godly ballads lasting twenty-five years or more in broadside form 336

Appendix B All other godly ballads surviving in broadside copies 1550–1640 338

Appendix C Godly ballads registered 1557–1640, surviving in manuscripts and printed collections 342

Appendix D Religious broadsides or 'tables' 1550–1640 345

Appendix E Religious pictures: woodcuts and engravings 1550–1640 349

Appendix F Secular woodcut pictures 1550–1640 351

Appendix G Woodcut pictures registered to Gyles Godet (1562–8) and Thomas Warren (1656) 354

Key to Appendices H and I 357

Appendix H STC works of ballad publishers: Richard Jones, John Wright 358

Appendix I STC works of ballad publishers: William Pickering, John Audeley, John Trundle, Henry Gosson, Francis Coules, Francis Grove 359

Appendix J Penny miscellanies (to 1640) 360
Appendix K Penny godlinesses (to 1640) 361
Appendix L Penny merriments (to 1640) 363

Index 364
ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

1 (a) ‘The most rare and excellent history of the Dutchess of Suffolks calamity’, pt 1 (Pepys Ballads, I, 544) page 92
(b) Woodcut from ‘The Dutchess of Suffolk’, pt 2 (Pepys Ballads, I, 545) 93

2 Woodcut from ‘Solomon’s sentences’ (Pepys Ballads, II, 64) 99

3 Woodcut from ‘An hundred godly lessons that a mother on her death-bed gave to her children’ (Pepys Ballads, II, 16) 102

4 ‘A very godly song, intituled, the earnest petition of a faithful Christian, being clarke of Bodnam’, pt 1 (Pepys Ballads, I, 48) 107

5 Woodcut from ‘St Bernard’s vision’, pt 1 (Pepys Ballads, II, 4) 110

6 Woodcut from ‘A bell-man for England’, pt 1 (Pepys Ballads, I, 54) 114

7 Woodcut from ballad of ‘Doctor Faustus’; re-used for ‘The tragedy of Doctor Lambe’ (Pepys Ballads, I, 134 (this copy)) 124

8 Woodcut from ‘The lamenting lady, who . . . was by the hand of God most strangely punished’, pt 2 (Pepys Ballads, I, 45) 125

9 An ‘image of pity’, early sixteenth century (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson D.403.f.1.v) 133

10 ‘The royall line of kings, queenes, and princes, from the uniting of the two royall houses, Yorke, and Lancaster’ [1613?] (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 132) 144

11 ‘Fill gut, & pinch belly’ 1620 (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 175) 145

12 Woodcut from a ballad of ‘The husbandman. Doctor Martin Luther. The pope. The cardinall’ [c. 1550?] (Pepys Ballads, I, 16) 151

13 ‘This poysonous tree planted in Rome’ (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Case 270) 152

14 ‘A showe of the Protestants petigrew’ (Ashmolean Museum, Department of Prints (from Douce collection)) 155
Illustrations

15 ‘The popes pyramides’ [1624?] (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 248) 156
16 Fragment of a woodcut, depicting the pope on a horse (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Case 270*) 157
17 ‘The daunce and song of death’ [1569] (British Library, Huth.50.(32)) 164
18 ‘The true discernicion of this marueilous strange fische’ [1569] (British Library, Huth.50.(41)) 166
19 Woodcut of Christ and disciples. From ‘Friendly counsaile, or, Here’s an answer to all demanders . . .’ (Roxburghe Ballads, I, 16) 168
20 Old Testament battle scenes, from ‘A prophesie of the judgment day’ (Pepys Ballads, I, 36) 169
21 Woodcut from ‘A most godly and comfortable ballad of the glorious resurrection’ (Pepys Ballads, II, 20) 170
22 Woodcut of the holy family from ‘Glad tydings from heaven’ (Roxburghe Ballads, I, 134) 170
23 Woodcut of hell, from ‘St Bernard’s vision’, pt 2 (Pepys Ballads, II, 5) 171
24 Woodcut of Christ in glory, from ‘The sorrowful lamentation of a penitent sinner’ (Pepys Ballads, II, 13) 172
25 ‘Christus natus est’ 1631 (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 305) 175
26 ‘Certayne of the popes merchandize lately sent over into Englande’ (from B[ernard] G[arter], A new yeares gifte, dedected to the pope’s holinesse (1579), after sig.F4v in British Library copy) 180
27 ‘Sanctus Petrus Apostolus. Sanctus Paulus Apostolus’, late sixteenth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Ed.5g.rés., fol. 84) 181
28 ‘La Genèse’, [1565–74] (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Ed.5g.rés., fol. 1) 184
29 ‘The historie of S. Paul’, scene 2, G. Godet, [1563?] (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Ed.5g.rés., fol. 80v) 187
30 Wall painting of Adam and Eve [c. 1627?] from The Spring, Meadle, near Monks Risborough, Buckinghamshire (photograph from the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England) 201
31 Wall painting of the prodigal son story [c. 1600], Knightsland Farm, near South Mimms, Hertfordshire (photograph from the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England) 204
Illustrations

32 (a) The history of the prodigal son, scene 3, G. Godet [1566] (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Ed.5g.rés., fol. 93)

(b) The history of the prodigal son, scene 6 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Ed.5g.rés., fol. 94v)

33 Wall painting of ‘Dives and Lazarus’ (left panel) at Pittleworth Manor, Hampshire, 1580 (Photograph from Victoria and Albert Museum)

34 Woodcuts from ‘A pleasant new ballad of Tobias’, pt 1 (Pepys Ballads, I, 488)

35 Woodcut from ‘A brave warlike song. Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of chivalry, performed by the nine worthies of the world . . .’, pt 2 (Pepys Ballads, I, 89)

36 Printer’s device of Christ as the Good Shepherd (from John Jewel, A defence of the apologie of the Church of Englande (1567 edn))

37 ‘The painefull hand: shall rule the lande’, lining paper for an oak box [c. 1630?] (Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Furniture and Woodwork (W.51–1926))

38 ‘The good hows-holder’, woodcut [c. 1565]; reprinted in the Blackfriars, 1607 (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings (c.2.E.6–38))

39 ‘Lord have mercy upon us’, plague sheet of 1636, with verses by Martin Parker (Guildhall Library, City of London, Broadside 28.48)

40 ‘A divine descant full of consolation’ [c. 1620?] (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 111)

41 ‘A meditation on the passion’ 1630 (National Library of Scotland, Crawford Ballads, no. 1166)

42 ‘A right godly and Christian A, B, C/Shewing the duty of every degree’ (Roxburghe Ballads, I, 492)

43 ‘Finch his alphabet’ [c. 1635?] (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 103)

44 ‘Come ye blessed, &c. Goe ye cursed, &c.’ [1628?] (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 112)

45 ‘A godly meditation day and night to be exercised’, engraving by William Rogers, [c. 1600] (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings (c.2.v.2))

46 ‘A premonition for every disposition’, by Charles Gybson, 1588 (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 89)

47 ‘The map of mortalitie’ 1604 (Huntington Library, California (RB 18319))
Illustrations

48 ‘The Christians jewell [fit] to adorne the hearte and decke the house of every Protestant’, copper engraving, with verses by William Grant [1624] (Society of Antiquaries, Broadside no. 231) 247

49 ‘[S]ome f)yne gloves devised for newyeres gyfte to teche yonge peo[ple to] knowe good from evyll’ [1559–67] (Huntington Library, California (RB 18343)) 249

50 ‘Memento mori. Remember to die’ [c. 1640] (Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC (STC 17816.5)) 252

FIGURES

1 Yearly total of ballads in Stationers’ Registers (1557–1600) 45
2 Yearly total of ballads in Stationers’ Registers (1600–41) 46
3 Yearly percentage of religious and moralizing ballads in Stationers’ Registers (1557–1600) 48
4 Yearly percentage of religious and moralizing ballads in Stationers’ Registers (1600–40) 49
5 Most popular godly ballad tunes: Elizabethan favourites compared with 1624 ‘stock’ 59
6 Genealogy of the ballad publishers 276
TABLES

1 Primary sixteenth-century publishers of religious ballads page 50
2 Continuity of the ‘partners’ godly ballad stock 84
3 Short-lived ballads and godly ‘stock’ compared 87
4 Ten favourite titles 270
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following for permission to reproduce copyright material: The Ashmolean Museum; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Bodleian Library, Oxford; The British Library; The Trustees of the British Museum; The Earl of Crawford; The Folger Shakespeare Library; Guildhall Library, City of London; The Huntington Library, San Marino, California; The Master and Fellows, Magdalene College, Cambridge; The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England; Rutgers University Press; The Society of Antiquaries of London; The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

This study has taken me into a number of fields, where I would often have been lost without the help of others. For information on matters of bibliography, I am indebted to Katherine Pantzer, David McKitterick, Sheila Lambert and the staff of the Rare Books room in the Cambridge University Library. In the search for broadsides and woodcut pictures I have been aided by Betty Ingram, Chantal Ratcliffe, Morris Martin, Anthony Griffiths, Marianne Grivel, Mireille Galinou, Elizabeth Miller and Tamsyn Williams. On decorative painting, I was advised by David Park and Joseph Michel, with further help from E. Clive Rouse, Muriel Carrick and John Mitchell. Robert Thomson, Richard Rastall, Helena Shire and Rivkah Zim were helpful on balladry, music and literature.

A number of historians have given me suggestions, information or encouragement, including Peter Burke, Eamon Duffy, Paul Hopkins, Andrew Pettigrew, Judith Richards, Bob Scribner and Peter Spufford. I owe particular thanks to Ian Green, who gave up valuable time to sift through file cards on my behalf.

Eric Carlson and Anthony Milton have been scholars-of-all-trades, supplying me with a flow of helpful references. I would especially like to thank Amy Erickson, Chris Marsh, Judith Maltby, Derek Plumb, Helen Weinstein and the other ‘Spuffordians’ for their encouragement and help in many forms.

From 1984 to 1987, while working towards my doctorate, I was supported by a Commonwealth Scholarship. I am also grateful to the Commission
Acknowledgements

for a grant to purchase photographs, later supplemented by a grant from
the Prince Consort and Thirlwall Fund. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,
and the staff of Leckhampton provided a wonderful setting in which to
work during these years.

From 1987 to 1989 I was supported by a Drapers’ Company Research
Fellowship at Pembroke College, Cambridge. I am very grateful to the Mas-
ter and Fellows for their warm welcome and their support.

This book is based on my PhD thesis, ‘Cheap print and religion c. 1550
to 1640’ (Cambridge, 1988). In the task of transforming the thesis into
book form, I have been helped by the comments of my examiners Patrick
Collinson and Keith Wrightson, and of series editors Anthony Fletcher and
John Morrill.

I cannot adequately thank my PhD supervisor, Margaret Spufford, not
only for her invaluable guidance and criticism, but also for her constant
enthusiasm, often under circumstances which would have defeated a lesser
scholar or human being.

Finally I am grateful to my husband, Richard Woolley, for putting up
with me and it over the past five years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM Prints</td>
<td>Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collmann</td>
<td>H. L. Collmann, ed., Ballads and broadsides chiefly of the Elizabethan period . . . now in the library at Britwell Court (1912). Collection now in the Huntington Library, California.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td>The Dictionary of National Biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douce</td>
<td>Francis Douce collection of ballads in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ent.</td>
<td>Entry in Stationers’ Register.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huth. 50</td>
<td>Collection of ballads in the British Library. Reprinted by Joseph Lilly, 1867.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Manchester Central Library, collection of ballads, 2 vols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘partners’</td>
<td>The ‘ballad partners’ syndicate (with changing membership) for the publication and distribution of ballads throughout much of the seventeenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawlinson 566</td>
<td>Rawlinson Collection of ballads in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| RB orig.     | Roxburghe collection of ballads in the British Library, 3 vols. Virtually all pre-1640 items have
### Abbreviations

- **RCHM** Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
- **REED** *Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1979–).
- **Shirburn** Andrew Clark, ed., *The Shirburn ballads* (Oxford, 1907). From a MS in the library of Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire.
- **Wood** Anthony Wood’s collection of ballads in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- **Wright** Thomas Wright, ed., *Songs and ballads, with other short poems, chiefly of the reign of Philip and Mary* (1860).
NOTE FOR THE READER

The place of publication for all printed works referred to in the footnotes and appendices is London, unless otherwise stated.

Dates in round brackets (1570) are given in the work itself, or (ent. 1570) refer to a definite entry in the Stationers’ Register.

Dates in square brackets [1570] have been deduced from probable identification with a Register entry, or from other sources, usually following the judgement of the STC.