

**Print, Manuscript and Godly Cultures in the North of
England, c. 1600-1650**

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Abstract

This thesis considers the uses of print and manuscript in the north of England between about 1600 and 1650 and the impact such uses had on the beliefs of men and women in this period. The evidence is taken from all over the north of England, though particular attention is placed on Yorkshire, and individual sections focus on Fewston, Hackness, Halifax, Leeds, Nidderdale and York.

I have used the methodology of the history of the book and the study of marginal annotations to gauge the responses of early modern readers to their books. In this respect, and in its treatment of issues of genre in analysing the literature of the period, the thesis combines the discipline of religious history with the study of literature. I have considered how people organised their lives around books, which they both read and used to make sense of their world.

The thesis makes a contribution to the history of the book by adding new discussions of individual readers to the existing scholarship and by stressing the importance of religion to the subject as a whole. It also makes a contribution to the study of religious cultures in general, and to godly cultures in particular, in the early modern period. It questions assumptions historians have made about the godly. It suggests that the divisions between the godly and their neighbours were significant and have been seriously underestimated in this period. Furthermore, by focusing on the range of contexts in which books were read and the variety of uses to which they were put, it makes the case for the diversity of a plurality of unstable godly cultures in this period.

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List of abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations

BI	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York
BL	British Library, London
DNB	<i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i>
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton
PRO	Public Record Office, London
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640</i> , 2nd edn., revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London, 1976-91)
YML	York Minster Library, York

Note on the text

The original spelling and punctuation of quotations has been retained, though the use of *i* and *j* and *u* and *v* has been modernised in citations from printed sources. Abbreviations in manuscript sources have been silently expanded.

I have taken the year to have begun on 1 January throughout, though in citations from letters and diaries I have given both years to avoid confusion.

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Author's Declaration

This thesis contains no material that has been presented before elsewhere and its findings are not the result of joint research.

Introduction

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, whether we like it or not, brought religious change, which some people welcomed and accepted, others accommodated and others reacted to. It occurred in an age of faith but was essentially a political act of state, albeit one which had effects on many aspects of everyday life, from the domestic and devotional to the political and public. Those that welcomed change tended to see their new religion as a religion of the word, the word of God, in which people participated, in contrast to the non-participatory religion of Rome, which had been characterised by ceremony and superstition, rite and ritual. Generations of historians, starting (perhaps) with John Foxe, have accepted an essentially Lutheran call to faith being defined by the word: or *sola scriptura*, as Luther had put it. Alongside the move to the word was a change from the community to the individual, the internalisation of the word of God as the characteristic sign of those that had faith. These parallel and connected changes have remained at the core of studies of religious change for four hundred years. It suits the Protestant believers to see them this way, since it is an assurance of faith, but it also suits the polemical Catholic version of the progress of religious change, since it suits their theological standpoint to argue that the move was an erroneous one, from corporeality and community, to fundamentalist literalism and individual isolation, and it is an argument sustained by an idealised view of the good old days which has proved remarkably resilient.¹

Perhaps for these reasons, it has escaped the analysis of historians (fed on a diet of polemicists, or themselves promoting a cause) that Protestantism was a religion of the word only to the believer. To the historian, it must be a religion of the book, defined by the physical properties and the text of the sacred book,

¹ Classic contrasting viewpoints are A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (2nd edn., London, 1989) and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c.1580* (New Haven and London, 1992). David Sabean, *Power In The Blood: Popular culture and village discourse in early modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984) and R. W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany 1400-1800* ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden, 2001) challenge associations between the Reformation and interiority. Such associations have not been challenged for England, though note the implications in the argument of John Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 73-100. It is a major purpose of this thesis to challenge the prevailing Collinsonian (and Weberian) argument.

the Bible. It is only from the book, for the historian, that the word emerges. For the people in the seventeenth century, the book and its words were at the heart of religious practice, from the service and the sermon at Church to prayers and piety in the household.

This thesis is about the development of religion, in the area of personal piety more than theology, in the north of England in the early seventeenth century. The guiding consideration is the relationship between the uses (and reading) of books, in particular religious books, and the development of post-Reformation religion. The north of England is appropriate because the early Reformation made little headway and the first serious attempt to impose Protestantism came after about 1570 and was intimately tied up with a programme of reformed printed publications and the development of literacy. The early seventeenth century is a vital period in the history of England, in particular in its religion. It was a century of vitality in a whole range of areas. A glance down the index of a general survey indicates the range of materials cultural historians manage: from cribbage, cricket, crime and Cromwell, to publishing, punishments, Purcell and Puritanism.² It is a daunting task to say something distinctive and new about the century, which has been subject to some of the most heated of historical debates and the most erudite of scholarship.³

However, it is spineless not to try, and my approach attempts to provide a new approach to studies of early Stuart religion, which has been the subject of much

² Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (London, 1996), pp. 368, 380.

³ Classic studies, which have influenced historians of all periods and scholars in other fields, include Laurence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1965) and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971). The debates over the causes of the Civil War have provoked some of the most gruesome historical bloodshed. See, Laurence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution* (London, 1972) and Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford, 1990). It should be noted that the debates have continued to rage, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987) and the pre-emptive strike of Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', *Past and Present*, 101 (1983), 34-54 and Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English political instability in European context* (Cambridge, 2000).

less attention than the high politics of the period.⁴ I will use an analysis of the links between books and social relations, within a variety of religious cultures, to shed light on this society. This is an approach that necessarily cuts across fields to provide a snapshot of society, but it is also alert to issues of change and to those areas where the focus is rather gloomy. I believe that such an approach is vital, since no subject in practice exists in isolation.⁵ It is the awareness of areas other than religious history, in particular (but not exclusively) issues of gender and intellectual activity, that informs this thesis and its description of religious cultures (in the plural). Though the thesis gravitates towards religious practices, the existence of other impinging areas promotes an awareness of the vitality and diversity of these religious cultures. This should be seen in comparison to studies which promote the singular and unduly optimistic use of the term culture, those which describe idealised forms of religious practice, and those which fudge the issue, claiming that since religion affected everything it can be studied in isolation, with the assumption that it was simply more important than everything else.⁶ What my approach

⁴ This is particularly so with studies of religious practice as opposed to how religious policy may (or may not) have contributed to the cause of the English Civil War. There have been a number of books in recent years that have begun to develop our picture. In particular, see Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1993); Peter Lake, *The boxmaker's revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'heterodoxy' and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001); Anthony Milton, *Catholic And Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995) and Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999). These books have been bolstered by the hardening of 'post-Reformation' into a noun and a period worthy of study in its own right. See, for example, John Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation*; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991) and Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*. The change is an important one, because it changes the tone of works away from preoccupations of success and failure, towards accommodation and acculturation. For a recent review of this shift, see John Spurr, 'The English "Post-Reformation"', *The Journal of Modern History*, 74 (2002), 101-119.

⁵ It should be observed that some recent (and brilliant) works of cultural history have taken this kind of approach. See, in particular, Raffaella Sarti, *Europe At Home: Family And Material Culture 1500-1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven and London, 2002); Alan Macfarlane and Gerry Martin, *The Glass Bathyscape* (London, 2002) and Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (London, 2002).

⁶ For two works in which an untroubled use of culture in the singular tends to undermine analysis, see Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996) and T. C. W. Blanning, *The*

does is ask questions about the religious practices and beliefs of real people, from the more ordinary to the extraordinary. Whereas previous attempts to assess such beliefs have been shaped as much by the source materials used, in particular court materials, as by the individuals themselves, my approach answers such tricky questions by considering the remains of real readers. This is not history 'from below', since I am dealing with the literate for the most part, and it is not history 'from above' either, since it is not guided by what people were told to do or to believe. Rather it is a history of religious belief using the physical remnants of reading, from the inside out, much as Malcolm Gaskill has recently approached criminal cultures in this period.⁷ The virtues of such an approach are that the beliefs of people are respected and the people given their due, not treated as unthinking beings, or statistics, and that, by analysing a series of individuals, the variety and complexities of beliefs become apparent. It is not that coherence is lost, and we must treat everyone as entirely different (a futile approach for a historian) but that each category and grouping imposed (by contemporaries or historians) is exposed as catering for a variety of different beliefs and practices. As such, in particular because much of the material for this thesis has been found in libraries and archives in the north of England, I will present much unstudied material that advances both our understanding of intellectual activity as it was experienced in the period and in turn the history of religious beliefs among the godly in the early seventeenth century. It is a thesis about materiality and mentalities set in a series of religious contexts.

Culture Of Power And The Power Of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789 (Oxford, 2002). The classic study of idealised religious practice in this period is Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967). For two which place religion at the core of everything, see Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993) and Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics And The English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁷ See, Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000). Such an approach has recently been used to good (if bewildering) effect in Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven and London, 2002).

I.

There has, of course, been considerable work in these fields in the early modern and other periods in recent years: too much to summarize here.⁸ Instead, I will introduce the basic historiographical debates and developments in the fields of the history of the book, literacy and post-Reformation religion. The aim, for the moment, will be to provide an overview of the current standing of each field and to propose the ways in which my thesis will advance current understanding. Only in the individual chapters, and then mostly in the footnotes, will the thesis concentrate in detail on the debates within and between secondary materials pertinent to the argument.

The history of the book is a relatively new subject with relatively old and secure foundations, built on generations of bibliographical research. The subject is in short an attempt to examine both the text and material, spatial and social features of books, from writing, printing and production, to buying, reading, lending and borrowing. It is certainly a somewhat odd subject because the object of study is at the same time its means of transmission. However, this is far from academic navel gazing, but of real importance to a variety of other subjects, stimulating new questions and sometimes new answers too.

For the early modern period (where its revolutionary effects might most obviously have been sought), the history of the book took off in the 1970s as a development from the new social history which attempted to examine the effects of a variety of changes on the people, especially those usually beyond the reach of the historical record. It was an attempt to assess the impact on the people of the decisions and policies framed by the people that mattered: a link between monarchs, bureaucrats and aristocrats and farmers, servants and criminals. It introduced women to the historical record: women being women, rather than women (like Elizabeth I) trying to be men. The history of the book, then, was invented and developed as an attempt to understand the effects and

⁸ A selection of relevant articles can be found in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London, 2002).

reach of books and bibliography on people, the people who made them and the people who read them. Elizabeth Eisenstein wrote a ground-breaking book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*⁹ in an attempt to understand the nature of the impact of the printing press on the production of books and the minds of the people who read them. It was a bold and impressive book which argued that the invention of the printing press brought about a vast increase in the extent of book production and in the reliability (or fixity) of their contents compared to the age of manuscripts. Print thus ushered in the birth of science and reliable knowledge, of rationality towards religion and of reasoned debates, based on a shared body of factual material. It was indeed a revolution.

Eisenstein's revolution was exciting and understandable, but other book historians had different questions to ask and different ways of answering them. Robert Darnton asked about the relationships between writers, books and their readers, suggesting at one stage a kind of 'communications circuit' in which each effected one another: the demands of readers and of printers (taste and economy) affected writers, the intentions of writers structured the thoughts and assumptions of readers, and so on. It was a more human history that asked not just what people read but also how they did it, suggesting a picture quite different from that which many expected.¹⁰ Donald McKenzie and David Cressy pointed out the interactions that books had with other modes of communication.¹¹ Carlo Ginzburg studied real readers and found eccentricities

⁹ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1979).

¹⁰ For the analogy, see Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' in his *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York and London, 1990), 107-135. Darnton's approach in practice can be seen in his brilliant essay, 'Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity' in his *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes In French Cultural History* (London, 1984), 209-249. The question of how readers read was also apparent in the work of Roger Chartier. See, among others, his *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987).

¹¹ See, D. F. McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', in D. Oliphant and R. Bradford (eds.), *New Directions in Textual Studies* (Austin, Texas, 1990), 87-109 and David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980). Also important is Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000).

and intellectual abilities in unlikely places. Harold Love wrote about the continuities of manuscript production in the age of print, suggesting its continued strength and vitality.¹² Adrian Johns thought that Eisenstein was simply wrong and that there was no revolution, at least not like she had said.¹³ Others provided case studies of real printers and readers, with different concerns and attitudes. The result is a body of knowledge of exceptional diversity which tends towards fragmentation.¹⁴

These developments have left a diverse but rich situation for study. The main theme of current study is a focus on individual readers of books and the extent to which they construct the meanings of the books they read. The primary means by which this is achieved is by an analysis of marginalia, the scribblings of readers in the margins of their books. This material is extensive, little studied, and free from some of the difficulties associated with other means of analysing the activities of real people, such as court material. Marginalia presents a welcome opportunity to study the conformist as well as the dissenter, the law-abiding majority rather than the subversive minority. My approach is to discover the responses of readers to books in a religious context. The reading of religious books, and the religious reading of other books has not been the subject of intensive study, despite the fact that the majority of publications were broadly religious and many readers read for religious reasons. So I consider the question of how people read through an analysis of their marginalia, especially those that remain at York Minster Library, many of

¹² Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese And The Worms: The Cosmos Of A Sixteenth-Century Miller* trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London, 1980); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).

¹³ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998), which also contains a review of secondary material. A further analysis of secondary material can be found in D. R. Woolf, *Reading History In Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp. 79-167.

¹⁴ For studies of individual readers, see L. Jardine and A. Grafton, ‘“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78, and Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, 2000). For the possibility of a trend resulting in baffling diversity, see Annabel Patterson, ‘“Ideas seldom exist apart from practice”: Turning over Millennial New Leaves’, *Journal of British Studies*, 41 (2002), 388-401.

This can be seen most strikingly in the language in which books are described, which show that books were sensory as well as textual items. Books have spines, faces, jackets, and they are protected by chemises. Furthermore one can have hand books, pocket books, and ‘thumb bibles.’ One might ‘dog ear’ the pages, sleep with a book (under your pillow),¹⁹ or put books in your pocket or up your sleeve.²⁰ Books smell, and the religiously clandestine may have been particularly odorous, since they were often transported under the cover of fish, as were those which were transported from Middleburgh in Flanders to the Catholic safe house for Jesuit priests run by Ursula Taylor in South Shields in the 1580s.²¹ Furthermore, books could be savoured, regurgitated, devoured, ‘cooked’, and digested. Francis Bacon advised (metaphorically) ‘Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.’²² In other instances, the eating was literal: Ezekiel was told by God to eat his gift of a book and John ate a scroll in Revelation.²³ Taken to its logical conclusion, such books, if eaten too greedily, could even be vomited, as

¹⁹ Gullio in *The Returne from Parnassus, Part One* (1598) kept a copy of Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* under his pillow as an instrument of seduction. See Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare’s Reading* (Oxford, 2000), p. 20.

²⁰ John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie, or, A peece of the world discovered* (London, 1628), sig. 11r, wrote that of the pretender to learning that ‘His pocket is seldome without a Greeke Testament, or Hebrew Bible.’ John Porter, a papist hauled before the High Commission at York was accused of praying upon an ‘olde latine suspitious booke or primer, & doth carrie the same about with him in his sleeve.’ See BI, HCCP ND/4, (Whitmere and Brampton c. Porter). It should be noted that a seventeenth century pocket was more likely to have meant a slit in the sleeve or in the trouser, or a tie-on pocket, thus a bigger space than in modern clothing, and a bigger space for men than women. See C. W. and P. Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1955). I owe this reference to Sue Vincent.

²¹ See, J. C. H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790* (London, 1966), p. 159. Luc’Antonio Giunti the younger traded in fish and books, see B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 29. There is no study of the history of the smell of books, but see Elspeth Davie, *The Man Who Wanted To Smell Books And Other Stories* (Edinburgh, 2001) and for smells more generally, Mark S. R. Jenner, ‘Civilization and Deodorization? Smell in Early Modern English Culture’ in P. Burke, B. Harrison and P. Slack (eds.), *Civil Histories: Essays Presented To Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), 127-144

²² Brian Vickers (ed.), *The Oxford Authors: Francis Bacon* (Oxford, 1996), p. 439.

²³ Ezekiel 2:9-10, Revelation 10:9-11.

were those in the famous engraving of Archbishop Laud and Henry Burton in 1641.²⁴

However, this thesis does not simply apply an approach to an unstudied body of material: it attempts to advance our understanding of reading and religion in general. I ask whether particular religious groups read books in a particular style. It might appear a little surprising, but I argue that the godly, the self-consciously Calvinist clergy and laity in the English Church, read for the most part in a particular way, commonly annotating their books. The religiously marginal made use of their margins to express their opinions. This was not lost on contemporaries. John Manningham, that colourful if not necessarily trustworthy commentator, recalled that his cousin:

Told me what dissembling hypocrites these Puritanes be, and howe slightly they regard an oath: Ravens having a booke brought unto him by a puritane to have his opinion of it, the booke being written by B. Bilson, Ravens as he reade it would needes be shewing his foolish witt in the margent, in scoffing at the booke ...²⁵

Nor was it simply the opponents of the godly who made the point. John Favour, the godly vicar of Halifax, in dedicating his *Antiquitie Triumphant Over Noveltie* (1619) to Archbishop Matthew, praised him for allowing him access to the book which he had ‘not onely read all the Ancient Fathers with a dilligent eye, but hath also noted them with a iudicious pen... and made continuall use of them in his sermons.’²⁶ This point has not been made before but it is an important one and one which can be furthered by winding in some theoretical approaches. In particular, Michel de Certeau has likened the act of

²⁴ See, F. G. Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Satirical and Personal Subjects 1 (1320-1689)* (London, 1870), 412

²⁵ J. Bruce (ed.), *Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-At-Law, 1602-1603*, Camden Society, 99 (London, 1868), pp. 110-111.

²⁶ John Favour, *Antiquitie Triumphant Over Noveltie* (London, 1619), sig. A3v.

reading to that of ‘poaching’, that is a subversive activity rather than straightforward consumption. James C. Scott, though not discussing reading, has read documents against the grain, looking for the ‘hidden transcripts’ in which the oppressed find their voice. I would like to combine the two insights and use them to explain the nature of marginalia as a religiously charged activity, a process of godly construction as well as consumption.²⁷

The marginal subversive nature of reading gains more importance when we examine the process of reading as well as its end product. Firstly, the ideas were not necessarily or usually carried out in the mind of the individual, but aloud and in company. Reading was commonly carried out in public and domestic spaces, not simply in the privacy of the study or monastic cell. Contemporaries noted that devotional and religious readings in particular were repetitive. Henry Webley, wrote a manuscript entitled *A breef and godly exhortatione to the daylye reedinge of the Holye Scriptures* in 1603 in which he described how a cycle of reading from the scriptures would lead to the righteousness so missing in the period; an hour a day would be enough to cover the Old Testament twice, the Psalms five times (or thirteen times including readings at Church), the New Testament three times and the Apocrypha once a year. This would be a communal exercise that would restore the peacefulness and friendship that had once been ‘knitted between neighbours.’ The cycle was not simply for the learned, since those who ‘can not read them selves’ were advised ‘to hear them dilligently of others.’ The reading was a familial practice to be carried out ‘not onely for our selves, but wherewith alsoe we maye minister to others, as well in reforminge of our wives, children and servants, as also of our neighbours, frends, and enimyes.’²⁸ Neither was this a lone voice: it echoed through numerous books and sermons designed to improve devotional practice. Stephen Egerton in his *The Boring of The Eare* (1623) advised the

²⁷ See, Michel de Certeau, ‘Reading as Poaching’ in his *The Practice of Everyday Life* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), 165-176 and James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London, 1990).

²⁸ BL, Ms Royal 17B XXXIII (Henry Webley, *A breef and godly exhortatione to the daylye reedinge of the Holye Scriptures* (1603)), quotations at fos. 3v, 6v, 13v-14r.

reading of the Scriptures in company before the sermon in order to prepare for hearing the word of God.²⁹ Such hearing will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 1 but it is certainly worth stressing how non-scriptural books could be read over and over. Peter Fairlambe, in his *The recantation of a Brownist* described how he had read the first volume of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* 'four times over, in one winter distinctly.'³⁰ Of course, some read alone in their studies, but few laymen could afford a separate space for books and reading. Very few appear to have read entirely silently, those that did probably read for professional rather than devotional reasons. Certainly this could speed the process along. William Perkins, for example, was said to have had 'a rare felicity in speedy reading of books, and as it were by turning them over would give an exact account of all considerables therein.'³¹ For the most part, people were not like Perkins: they read slowly and carefully, in company, repetitively and aloud.

This selective approach towards the variety of reading practices and the kind of material I will be dealing with in the thesis also points towards a further body of secondary material concerned with the study of literacy. When asking questions about the activities of the people, historians have asked just how many could read at all and whether they were more likely to do so in certain jobs, in urban or rural areas or at certain times. Of course such questions are important, but they have more often than not been turned into tables and graphs, which lack the humanity and variety of real experiences.³² More recent studies have asked what literacy means, questions of how rather than who and how many, and have provided a much more nuanced picture. Today, literacy involves the reading and writing of hands and print but it is not the same as

²⁹ Stephen Egerton, *The Boring of The Eare* (London, 1623), p. 34.

³⁰ Peter Fairlambe, *The recantation of a Brownist. Or A reformed puritan.* (London, 1606), sig. C3r.

³¹ Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (Cambridge, 1642), p. 91.

³² David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*; R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985).

other things, such as palms, maps and the weather which can also be 'read'. In the early modern period, we are faced with an etymological problem in that literacy meant to contemporaries the ability to read Latin. Furthermore, we cannot assume that those who could not write could not read either, since Margaret Spufford has shown that reading and writing were taught one after the other in schools, rather than at the same time. Boys were then more likely to be taught to write and cast accounts, but girls were taught to sew, which is itself a form of expression and intellectual ability.³³ So we should not assume that the figures of literacy based on the ability to sign one's name give an accurate picture of the ability to read, particularly in terms of the gender ratio. In addition, as Patrick Collinson pointed out, it was perfectly possible that the ability to sign one's name was a party trick that signified no writing ability whatsoever.³⁴ Furthermore 'reading' itself was not a single skill, but divided into various types of reading. As the seminal article of Keith Thomas has shown, the 'meaning' (he meant meanings) of literacy in the period was characterised by diversity.³⁵ He distinguished between the ability to read black letter (Gothic type) and roman; between the ability to read text and handwriting, and the ability to read varying forms of professionally distinct hands. This approach looked at varying reading abilities and suggested that the more widespread kinds of literacy were linked to a basic religious education. Taken with his work on numeracy,³⁶ Thomas conveniently synthesised a vast body of secondary literature into something far more problematic than had often been thought. His conclusions were that the importance of print should not be exaggerated, that its effect was gradual rather than revolutionary.

³³ See, Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974) and her 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4 (1979), 407-435.

³⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Significance of Signatures', *Times Literary Supplement* (9 January 1981), p. 31.

³⁵ Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England' in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition. Wolfson College Lectures 1985* (Oxford, 1986), 97-131.

³⁶ K. V. Thomas, 'Numeracy in Early Modern England', *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, Fifth Ser., 27 (1987), 103-132.

More recent studies follow Thomas in stressing the variation in levels of ability and types of reading. Wyn Ford attempted to distinguish between practical literacy and cultural literacy, distinguishing between the ability to read print slowly and the ability to read quickly, to read hands, to read Latin and so on. The model is dichotomous, equating 'cultural literacy' with 'polite society' and rejecting studies that focus on the ownership of books. 'Practical literacy' is described more helpfully taking into account the many guides to handwriting and spelling that poured off the presses in this period.³⁷ Paul Saenger, an expert on reading in the medieval period, distinguishes between 'phonetic literacy', the ability to read out syllable by syllable without taking on the precise meaning, and 'comprehension literacy', the ability to read silently with full understanding.³⁸ I think that this does not work for the later period and is too neat a distinction to be applied to real life, since it fails to consider how different things could be read differently by the same reader, in particular religious works. Further studies focus on the interaction between varieties of oral and literate culture and importantly show how we must avoid dealing with particular aspects of any culture in isolation.³⁹ As I hope is clear, both from the examples and the review of secondary material, this thesis will consider the full range of literacies and thus include the reading of all kinds of written material, in a series of personal, domestic and communal contexts. By focusing on the broader definition, I hope to advance theories about Protestantism and

³⁷ Wyn Ford, 'The Problem of Literacy in Early Modern England', *History*, 78 (1993), 22-37.

³⁸ P. Saenger, 'Books of Hours and the reading habits of the later Middle Ages' in R. Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Oxford, 1989) p. 142. Saenger's approach is based on his research into silent reading. See, P. Saenger, 'Silent reading: its impact on later medieval script and society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367-414.

³⁹ See, Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*. It should be noted that the originality of this study has been vastly exaggerated. See especially the penetrating review, David Cressy. 'Review of Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*,' H-Albion, H-Net Reviews, December, 2001. URL: <http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=46131009478806> (21 May 2003).

individuality, in particular by examining reading religious books aloud and in groups.

II.

It has been necessary to dwell on the history of book history and literacy because, although my focus is on the godly, very few historians have combined successfully the history of the book and of religion. Some of those to have tried, in particular Ian Green, have made some mistakes in relying on quantitative analytical frameworks and assuming that there was a correlation between book buyers and book readers.⁴⁰ Two that have done so very successfully, Tessa Watt and Alexandra Walsham, have focused more on the kinds of material that were particularly accessible and 'popular', whose price, format, language and style appealed to a wide-ranging audience.⁴¹ My aim is somewhat similar to these books, in assessing the relationship between books and religion, but it is both narrower and wider. In particular this is because the book is here both the manuscript and the printed book and because the kind of material used is often explicitly religious. So rather than showing the religious qualities and intricacies of cheap print, I want to show the range of uses of more expensive and often ostensibly religious and devotional material. I hope it makes sense to argue that there was a communal and religious method of reading but, at the same time, books that were ostensibly religious could be read in a wider variety of ways than some religious historians have allowed. Also, given the fuller cultural perspective which I adopt, I hope to show the place of books in social relations and the physical uses of such books, while not neglecting their conventional uses.

As I have already stated, the thesis focuses on the post-Reformation, and in particular the years between about 1600 and 1650. Neither date is of particular

⁴⁰ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000). This study is enormously useful in displaying the range of printed Protestant material, but less useful for its consumption, which is likely to be the subject of his forthcoming book, *Religious Instruction in Early Modern England*.

⁴¹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print And Popular Piety 1550-1640*; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*.

significance for my purposes, and both have the advantage of not being recognised turning points. It would be easy to limit the study to 1603 and the death of Elizabeth and 1642 and the outbreak of civil war. The many studies that take such an approach 'prove' their premise of importance by conforming to accepted cut-off points. I start before the end of Elizabeth's reign precisely to suggest the lack of a clean break between Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns and I end around 1650 to show how the civil war period should not be studied in isolation, as an aberration, but as integral to the era from which it emerged.

The half-century in question has also been deliberately chosen. A generation ago, historians wrote books on the Reformation that ended with the collapse of the Marian reaction and the birth of the Elizabethan age, when Shakespeare wrote plays, everyone was happier and England began to rule the waves. A new breed of self-styled revisionists challenged the assumptions of previous historians, which had been dominated by a progressive Protestant historiography and a theory of progress, and were dependant upon the evidence of elite, national sources such as the statute book and letters of diplomats. Instead, they looked to local records, of court and parish, and asked new questions about those that accepted change and those who didn't like it much. What emerged was a country turned Protestant by a small group of noisy apologists and a king whom it suited, largely against a wider population for whom the church was the centre of life and whose spiritual needs it served well. Where once it had made sense to suggest that there was a groundswell of anticlericalism against corrupt clergy and a tide of nationalist fervour that was exploited to justify a break from Roman corruption, now it seems rather less certain how they got away with it, since Catholicism was popular, serving daily needs, a dynamic and popular, colourful and spiritual religion.⁴² The legacy of revisionism begs questions not about the changes of belief in the years before the Spanish Armada but after it. However, the questions of changes in popular beliefs in this period, of local religion and of how the country could come to fight one of the last wars of religion among Protestants remain to be answered.

⁴² The debates of revisionism are summarized in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987).

The early seventeenth century is a period of exceptional vitality and there is much left to explain and study. Gone are the days when we thought that under Elizabeth the English (with little prodding) had learned to embrace Protestantism and hate the pope. Now we have the godly, moderate puritans, separatists, Protestants, anti-papists, church papists, parish Anglicans, recusants, Romanists and even atheists.⁴³ It all looks more complicated but it all needs explaining too. Amid this diversity, how had beliefs changed and why does it matter? This thesis is an attempt to study such changes in beliefs through the lens of the book as object and as text. My focus is on the godly⁴⁴, those clergy and laity who adhered to a pared-down form of Protestantism, fundamentalists for whom the half-measures of the official Reformation had not been enough. Of course the politics of these Calvinists have been extensively studied, but their beliefs and devotional practices have not. The most commonly drawn picture is a somewhat idealised one, using the paints and brushes from the apologists of the cause: the godly believed in double-predestination and they formed and spread their ideas by the orderly listening to sermons and reading of devotional books.⁴⁵ Only recently has such a picture been challenged, most notably by Peter Lake, who has characterised the chaos and diversity in puritanism, not only as preached and postulated, but also as it

⁴³ See, Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Puritanism and Protestantism* (London, 1983); Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982); Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in early Stuart England: studies in religion and politics 1603-1642* (Harlow, 1989), 72-106; Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic In Early Modern England* (London, 1993); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors*; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1975) and Michael Hunter and David Wooton (eds.), *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1992).

⁴⁴ Throughout this thesis, I have used the terms 'godly' and 'puritan' interchangeably to refer to a particular grouping of religious cultures. Neither term is value-free. I return to the discussion about the utility of such terms, and the debates surrounding them in the conclusion below.

⁴⁵ The common root of studies with this portrait is Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*; perhaps the most illuminating antidote is Peter Lake, *The boxmaker's revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'heterodoxy' and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London*.

appeared in cheap print, plays and conversations.⁴⁶ This is the starting point for this thesis. I will advance the model of the variety in puritan or godly cultures by adding the place of the book, material culture and parish conflict to Lake's picture of puritanism. The result is puritanism as it was lived and believed at the local level, in addition to how it was preached and written about. In particular what emerges is the willing separation of the godly from their enemies, and the strength of this dichotomy. Puritanism influenced a range of areas of life, but puritans remained steadfast in the hatred of their neighbours.⁴⁷ Despite my focus on the godly, I should make it clear that I am not suggesting that there was an intrinsic relationship between puritans and printed cultures which was not available to other Protestants or to Catholics.⁴⁸ What I am suggesting is that the evidence provided by the representation of godly reading practices together with its physical remains (marginalia), provides a particularly good entry point into godly culture, and one which also sheds light on other areas of their lives.

III.

Having established the state of the current literature on the history of the book and of puritanism and the need for a new history of each through their intersection, it remains to say why the study should focus on the north of England as a particularly appropriate test-case. I can think of three important reasons why this should be the case. Firstly, there is a paradox in the image of

⁴⁶ Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*.

⁴⁷ This is in spite of Patrick Collinson, 'The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful', in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution in England* (Oxford, 1991), 51-76. The argument draws on Peter Lake, "'A charitable Christian hatred": the godly and their enemies in the 1630s', in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 145-83. To sustain my hypothesis of separation, I will draw on Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology I*, trans. C. Jacobsen and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (London, 1968).

⁴⁸ For the deconstruction of the myth and an analysis of the relationship between Catholics and print culture, see Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers"? Post-Reformation English Catholicism And The Culture Of Print', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 72-123.

the north of England in historical studies, and one that needs resolving. For some, the north was a 'dark corner' of the early modern state, with its own rules and government, largely untroubled by outsiders. This picture of an illiterate backwater contrasted with the image of the towns of the north in the early eighteenth century, packed with literate and radical weavers.⁴⁹ Secondly, there is the lack of reception of an early Reformation in the north. This meant that the real drive to Protestantize the north, from the 1580s onwards, occurred in tandem with, not in advance of, a widespread campaign of printing and propaganda. The third reason is that there is a basic absence of studies on religious practices, as opposed to institutions in Yorkshire. The result is that much of the material used, from the archive and the library, will be unfamiliar and of use to others, advancing and modifying other models.⁵⁰

Before moving on to specifics, I would like to redraw the image of the north of England. Adopting Adam Fox's 'literate environment', I want to give a thick description of the variety and strength of the literate cultures that were on offer in the north of England in this period. Such an approach is necessarily impressionistic but its theoretical basis should not make historians anxious: rather it should be seen as a narrative base against which the more analytical chapters and case-studies should be set.⁵¹

The story begins in the bookshop of the Foster family in seventeenth-century York, at the west side of the Minster door. It had a low ceiling, perhaps just six feet high and taller visitors would have had to stoop to explore its many books,

⁴⁹ For the dark corners thesis, see J. E. C. Hill, 'Puritans and "the dark corners of the land"', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 13 (1963), 77-102. For the contrast with the early eighteenth century, see R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800*, p. 39.

⁵⁰ The best study remains, J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York (excluding Nottinghamshire) 1603-1640', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of London, 1955). For Lancashire, see Christopher Haigh, *Reformation And Resistance In Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975).

⁵¹ For the 'literate environment', see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, p. 37. For thick description, see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation Of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), ch. 1.

which were arranged by size within subject on shelves. Light came in through a large ground floor window, customers through a door to its left. Upstairs was a house, and perhaps also a room selling more unconventional stock. The shop was run by Anthony Foster from about 1580 until his death in 1610 and then by his nephew John Foster until his death in 1616.⁵² After this, there is no good way of telling what happened to the shop, though family members perhaps remained in the trade. Richard Foster sold books 'near the Minster gate' in 1626 and another Richard Foster published *The Rendezvous of General Monck*, in 1659.⁵³

The Fosters were the most prominent booksellers in York and, though they also bound books, they made enough money not to deal in subsidiary merchandise, as many other booksellers had to do.⁵⁴ They acted in a semi-official capacity in providing paper and books for the Minster, and did business with the Minster and local clergy as well as local and visiting lay book buyers. The stock catered for all tastes but it is likely that it was not all on show. They sold works of Catholic controversy to the clergy, but perhaps also stored more devotional works for Yorkshire's large recusant population, which was kept either at a warehouse, or concealed in a private part of the shop. Such a trade was likely to have been lucrative but dangerous, and the authorities were keen to sniff out

⁵² The Foster bookshop has been described in J. Barnard and M. Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616*, *Proceedings of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section*, 24 (1994), 17-132. The physical description of the shop is derived from 'The South Crosse of the Cathedrall Church of St Peter of Yorke', in Daniel King, *The Cathedrall and Conventvall Churches of England and Wales orthographically delineated* (London, 1656), plate 62.

⁵³ Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica. Or the English spaw-fontaine* (London, 1626); *The rendezvous of General Monck, upon the confines of England* (York, Richard Foster, 1659).

⁵⁴ 43 Stationers can be identified as living in York before 1616, see Barnard and Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616*, p. 26. The difficulty in identification of booksellers is caused by the fact that booksellers had to be freemen to trade in the city, so many chose to trade in the liberties (the areas around the Minster, Castle and King's Manor) in order to avoid the financial burden. For an example of a bookseller whose trade was in combination with other goods, see P. Isaac, *History of the Book Trade in the North: An inventory of books sold by a seventeenth-century Penrith grocer* (Wylam, 1989).

Catholic books. In 1567, they searched the stock of York booksellers and revealed the extent of the clandestine book trade which had continued under their noses.⁵⁵ The search, by members of the London Stationers' Company, resulted in John Scofield, Thomas Richardson, John Gowthwaite and Thomas Wraythe being called to appear before the ecclesiastical courts to answer questions relating to their having and selling (in the last seven years) a variety of Catholic works, from Latin primers, missals and catechisms to books by Hardinge, Dorman, Allen, Stapleton, Saunders, Rastall and Evans. Scofield and Richardson declared they had not. Gowthwaite and Wraithe revealed in their testimonies not simply that they had such books, but also how they came to get them. It appears, from the testimony of Gowthwaite, that the primers and other books were brought to York by a Mr Carter, a carrier, and that he had bought them in London from John Wright, a bookseller. Though they both got away with a seizure of the illegal stock (in effect a hefty fine, though one wonders what happened to the books),⁵⁶ their story reminds us that the book trade was far from solely a Protestant one and that no necessary association between Protestants and the book trade should be drawn, without being aware of the centrality of books to Catholic culture.⁵⁷

In Foster's shop, right next to the Minster, the book trade and religious cultures collided, through its contents and its customers. The contents of the shop, recorded in detail in an inventory of 1616, shows the meeting of the sacred and the profane, the variety of the stock and gives a crucial reminder of the material culture surrounding the book. Reading was a skill that required equipment and

⁵⁵ For paper supply see, James Raine, *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, with an appendix of illustrative documents*. Surtees Society, 35 (Durham, 1859), pp. 113 ff. For the searches, BI, High Comm. Mss vs York Stationers; R. Davies, *A Memoir Of The York Press With Notices Of Authors, Printers, And Stationers, In The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, And Eighteenth Centuries*, with an introduction by B. Barr (York, 1988).

⁵⁶ For a list of the seizure see, R. Davies, *A Memoir Of The York Press With Notices Of Authors, Printers, And Stationers, In The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, And Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 32. It should be stressed that these booksellers sold a variety of material, including more extreme continental Calvinist works.

⁵⁷ See, Alexandra Walsham, '“Domme Preachers”? Post-Reformation English Catholicism And The Culture Of Print', *Past and Present*, 168 (August, 2000), 72-123.

Foster sold the tools of the trade, including pens, reading desks, pasteboards, ink, twenty-one pairs of crystal spectacles and forty pairs of spectacles made from green glass, spectacle cases, maps, pictures, seals and boxes.⁵⁸ Beyond these instruments, which helped the young to read and the old to continue reading, Foster stocked books. Though an inventory lists unsold items, the fact that much of the stock was recently published and that his rent was high, suggests that they were representative of what he did sell. It was big business and they clearly did well out of it.⁵⁹ They sold books, bound and unbound, in a variety of sizes, in numerous languages, on a variety of subjects. Most common were those that served a practical religious purpose. These, from catechisms and Bibles to religious controversy, comprised more than one quarter of his stock but more than half of his assets, serving a lay devotional and clerical and professional market. They also stocked many school books and a sizeable number of reference books, works of literature, plays, law books and travel books. Not all of the stock was new and it was likely that a significant portion was second-hand material. Most were printed in England, with only seven percent imported, though these books were expensive and accounted for nineteen percent of the value of the stock. In general, the retail prices at Foster's shop were only slightly higher than those in London, which suggests the vitality of the regional market. This is further demonstrated by the local character of many of the books. For instance, the demonological books had a northern flavour. Though there were copies of 'Perkins of witchcraft' and John Cotta's *The triall of witchcraft* (London, 1610), Foster stocked five copies of a book 'of Darrell Witches', most probably, John Darrell, *A true narration of the strange and grevous vexation by the devil of 7. persons in Lancashire* (n.p.,

⁵⁸ For the materials on sale in the shop, see J. Barnard and M. Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade And John Foster's Inventory Of 1616*, pp. 119-120. For a book concerning spectacle cases, see, *A case for the city-spectacles* (London, 1648).

⁵⁹ The business was clearly profitable. John Foster's will disposed of £131 10s. (mainly in items relating to the booktrade). The rent for the shop on the west side of the Minster door alone was £2 13s 4d per year. Foster's other shops, if not sub-let, cost him a further £3 3s 4d per year. See J. Barnard and M. Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade*, p. 28.

1600).⁶⁰ Similarly, the books of those writers who were sponsored by Archbishop Matthew in a campaign against recusancy were in stock, including those by Thomas Bell, Edmund Bunny, Alexander Cooke, Thomas Morton and Matthew Sutcliffe, leaving only those of Francis Bunny, John Favour and Robert Cooke to complete the godly octet.⁶¹ The little cheap print recorded in the inventory was also distinctly local, including ten copies of *Youle in Yorke* (STC 26098.5), the broadsheet written in support of the Yule Riding ceremony which had been suppressed in 1572.⁶²

The material was not simply provincial. Among the items available in stock were ‘Twenty-four Cattalogues of the Martes’ and ‘One catalogue of the mart.’ Both lots referred to the six-monthly catalogues of the Frankfurt book fair which were published in London. Their widespread availability is suggestive of a catalogue ordering system for his customers and also of his own ordering of stock (which might explain why he kept so many of the catalogues). Particularly interesting, when trying to link the York trade to the wider scene, is the set of catalogues owned and marked up by Archbishop Matthew. The point then is a simple one: the books in stock display a local character but an international reach.⁶³

⁶⁰ R. Davies, *A Memoir of The York Press with Notices of Authors, Printers, and Stationers, in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 346, 347, 352, 367. Davies identifies ‘Perkins of witchcraft’ as William Perkins, *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1610). See, R. Davies *A Memoir of the York Press*, p. 352.

⁶¹ In stock were Thomas Bell, *The hunting of the romish foxe* and *The jesuites antepast*, four bound copies of Edmund Bunny, *Of the head-corner-stone* and one unbound, Alexander Cooke, *Pope Joan*, three copies of Thomas Morton *Apologiae*, two copies (one bound one unbound) of *The encounter against M. Parsons*. Matthew Sutcliffe, *A Challenge concerning the romish church, The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes, A briefe replie to a certaine odious libel*. See, R. Davies, *A Memoir Of The York Press With Notices Of Authors, Printers, And Stationers, In The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, And Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 363, 348, 343, 364, 362, 347, 349, 365, 347, 348, 349.

⁶² See, R. Davies, *A Memoir Of The York Press With Notices Of Authors, Printers, And Stationers, In The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, And Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 371.

⁶³ Catalogues were printed as *Catalogus universalis pro numdinis Francofurtensibus* by Thomas Norton in London. Archbishop Matthew owned catalogues for 1596, 1599, 1602, 1607, 1608 (2), 1609, 1611, 1612, 1613 (2), 1614, 1615 (2), 1616 (2), 1617,

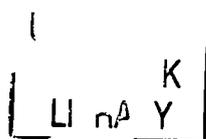
A further point about Foster's shop, its catchment area and clientele, can be gleaned through an analysis of the list of debtors in the inventory. In particular, it shows that the reach of the bookshop probed deep into more rural parts of Yorkshire and was not simply confined to the city and its environs. The debtors appear to have had ordering-style accounts at the shop and included Alexander Cooke, the vicar of Leeds, Anthony Higgin, the dean of Ripon, and clergy from thirty miles outside York who bought books to order for the use of their parishes.⁶⁴ The debtors, however, were not simply clergy but included city officials such as Sir Edward Stanhope, the alderman George Wade and the recusant vintner John Standeven. The shop, which is unusually well documented, opens a door on to a literate environment that was religiously, socially and geographically diverse. It is a spectacularly detailed introduction to the world of books in seventeenth century Yorkshire.

Having detailed the specific, some more general and wide-ranging description of the literate environment is needed. The extent to which Yorkshire people were literate has been the subject of intense study. The figures based on signatures appear to point to a low but increasing level of literacy in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ However, there were variations and David Palliser suggested that by about 1600, the adult literacy rate in York may have

1618, 1619, 1620, 1622, and 1623. Now bound together, they can be found at YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) XV.L.77 and XV.L.78. For an English visitor to the Frankfurt fair, see Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent.* (London, 1617), Part I, Book I, ch. 3, p. 32.

⁶⁴ Of Foster's 43 debtors, 19 (or 20) were clergy: Matthew Dunwell, vicar of Collingham; Thomas Squire, vicar of Escrick; Richard Leake, prebend of York; William Jagure, vicar of Kirkby cum Broughton, Cleveland; Robert Firbank, vicar of Thirkleby; Richard Bubwith, rector of Ackworth and Rothwell; Alexander Cooke, vicar of Leeds; Henry Smyth, vicar of Hemsworth; (perhaps) Charles Greenwood, rector of Thornhill; William Green, vicar of Heslington; Henry Bankes, rector of Settringham; Mr Sadler, rector of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York; William Cookson rector of St Crux, York; Edmund Walker, vicar of Stillingfleet; James Smyth, vicar of Calverley; Thomas Hingston, vicar choral of York Minster; Thomas Leng, vicar of Strensall; Matthew Dodsworth, Chancellor of York Minster; William Sanderson, rector of Thorpe Bassett; Roger Bellwood, vicar of St Crux, York. See J. Barnard and M. Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade*, pp. 123-132.

⁶⁵ D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, p. 143.



been as high as fifty percent.⁶⁶ Having highlighted the brittleness of such statistics, it would be wrong to rely too much on them, but both sets of figures confirm that writing and reading were of increasing importance in this period and that we can talk with some justification talk of a literate environment. I want to describe as fully as possible the place of books in the lives of people in seventeenth-century Yorkshire by looking at the times and places in which books were used and the extent to which they changed hands. Some of the discussion uses the evidence of ownership which, although problematic in grinding out meaningful statistics (not everyone reads the books they buy and many read books they never own), gives us some illuminating evidence.

Various types of written material appeared in a basic area of social and literal communication: the street. Just as Moses has commanded the children of Israel to absorb his commandments, declaring ‘Write them upon the door post of your house and upon your gates’, the early modern authorities used this basic forum. Proclamations were pasted up to walls or nailed to trees in urban centres and their message spread further by explicit commands for them to be read aloud.⁶⁷ Such notices included printed items, such as those set up at street corners by a York scrivener in 1597, and manuscript ones too, such as those that advertised wage rates for labourers.⁶⁸ Sometimes the public display of writing could be overtly political, as it was when the churchwardens of St John’s, Ousebridge in York paid for a frame in which to place their signatures to the Protestation.⁶⁹

Certainly writing played its part in the development of civic culture. This ranged from the activities of individuals, such as Richard Girdler of York, who

⁶⁶ D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), p. 174.

⁶⁷ Deuteronomy 6:9; K. Thomas, ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, p. 106.

⁶⁸ D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 170.

⁶⁹ See, David Cressy ‘The Protestation Protested, 1641 and 1642’, *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), p. 271.

detailed in manuscript a chronicle of local history,⁷⁰ to the civic authorities using print to further their interests. This is particularly clear from the evidence from the York house books from 1634 which recorded,

that thuse that goe upp to London about the Citties businesse, doe take the cople of the kings entertainment and referred to them yf yt bee needfull to give it to Mr Howes the Chronicler at London to be putt in print.

Though a year later nothing had been done and it was decided to write to Mr Howes directly, these types of record show the importance of print to the formation of civic culture and that the authorities could get involved directly in the sponsoring of publications.⁷¹ Such motivations also drove many religious publications, which although printed in London, were aimed at northern audiences. York sermons were often printed, including those by Thomas Pullein and John King.⁷² Some books were printed in London but effectively ‘published’ in the north, since they specified that they were to be sold in particular places, such as the Foster bookshop or at the bookshop of Thomas Broad in Stonegate in York.⁷³ Sometimes civic sponsored print presents difficulties. This is particularly true of those books printed in York immediately after its ‘liberation’ by parliamentary forces in 1644. In particular,

⁷⁰ BL, Additional Ms 33595, fos. 24r-53v (Collections relating to the city and see of York, 1411-1656).

⁷¹ See, A. F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (eds.), *Records of Early English Drama: York* (2 vols, Toronto, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 594-595. For Mr Howes, see D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, pp. 24, 41.

⁷² Thomas Pullein, *Ieremiahs teares, or A sermon preached in York-minster vpon Trinity Sunday, in the yeare of our Lord, 1604 when the sicknes was begunne in the cittie* (London, 1608); John King, *Lectures vpon Ionas deliuered at Yorke in the yeare of our Lorde 1594* (Oxford, 1597).

⁷³ Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica* (London, M. Flesher, for Iohn Grismand: and are to be sold by Richard Foster, neere the minster gate in Yorke, 1626). A later edition, *Spadacrene Anglica, = the English spaw, or, The glory of Knaresborough* was published by John Taylor apothecary in York and to be sold in his shop at the lower end of Stonegate, near to Common-Hall-Gates in 1649.

works such as the funeral sermon of Elizabeth Hoyle, printed in York in 1644, need careful assessment. Though it clearly portrays her pious qualities, she had in fact been dead for several years by the time of the printing and the publication was rather an attempt to preserve civic order by representing in print the orderly life of a godly individual.⁷⁴

Libraries, the collections of books as well as physical spaces, were of importance to the literary fabric of the region. There were varying types of library, from the private collection to that of the parish or school, to the embryonic public library. Often they cannot simply be categorised as one type and there was an evolution of collections from the private, to the parish and later to the public, lending library. They were most often not rooms of dusty volumes but working collections, with which decisions of policy and piety were made.⁷⁵ These working collections were distributed throughout the region and, though the access might be limited socially or professionally, nobody was all that far from a usable collection of books. Though there are numerous articles on collections of books, very few modern studies consider the practical effects of learning, and even fewer do so in the formation of religious policies. I will consider the practical impact of collections of books in the subsequent chapters but first wish to give the broader picture of their distribution and use. Usage is problematic since it is difficult, without wear and tear or marginalia, to assess. Furthermore, it is very rare to be able to tell exactly who read a particular book and when they did so. Libraries help historians to make guesses, but it should be stressed again that people bought books they did not then read and read books they did not buy. Many of my comments are thus impressionistic, especially the chance remarks concerning lending and borrowing, since the records are patchy and certainly nothing to match the borrowing records of the library at Wolfenbüttele, which are unbroken from 1666 until 1928. In fact, among the first significant sets of English records are

⁷⁴ See, John Birchall, *The non-pareil, or, The vertuous daughter surmounting all her sisters* (York, 1644). For a detailed interpretation see below, chapter 4.

⁷⁵ The classic study is, A. Grafton and L. Jardine, ‘“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78.

those from York Minster Library (1716-1820) which reveal links to local clergy and readers who came from further afield, for instance from Cambridge.⁷⁶ The absence of such records for this period necessitates that my approach is not statistical, but analyses the variety and importance of the collections that existed.

There is a great deal of information available about private libraries in this period. They are, however, often difficult to assess since over time they passed into other collections, especially into parish collections after the Act for 'better preservation of parochial libraries' in 1709. Among Yorkshire private libraries that have been the subject of studies are those of urban officials, such as Sir Edward Stanhope, the civil lawyer who left a working collection, mainly relating to the law, of around two hundred printed books and manuscripts to Trinity College Library, Cambridge.⁷⁷ Ferdinando Fairfax had a large collection of books, which included the entire collections of others, many of which still survive in York Minster Library.

However, the majority of extant collections are conventional libraries, including that of Alexander Cooke, the godly vicar of Leeds, who valued his books at over one hundred pounds and which has been the subject of a recent study.⁷⁸ Other clerics with large collections included Anthony Higgin, whose library of over two thousand books remains at the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds. Recent work on the library suggests that Higgin actively lent and distributed his books among Yorkshire clergy and gentry. He had collected 758 books of theology by 1624.⁷⁹ Both of these large collections

⁷⁶ See, D. R. Woolf, *Reading History In Early Modern England*, pp. 191-201.

⁷⁷ See, Alain A. Wijffels, 'Sir Edward Stanhope's Bequest of Books to Trinity College, Cambridge, 1608', in R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists. Volume 1. PLRE 1-4* (Marlborough, 1992), 41-78.

⁷⁸ J. Barnard, 'A Puritan Controversialist and his books: the will of Alexander Cooke (1564-1632)', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 86 (1992), 82-86.

⁷⁹ J. E. Mortimer, 'The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon' (1608-1624), *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and*

belonged to agents of Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York from 1606 until 1628. As such, and considering the nature of Matthew's own library, there may have been a concerted effort to promote libraries in the area. Matthew's collection numbered at least three thousand books, was valued at over £600 and until his death was kept at Bishopthorpe palace. The collection was made available to a group of puritan polemicist clergy in the north, including Thomas Bell, Alexander Cooke and John Favour, many of whom dedicated their works to Matthew. The collection (to some extent a composite one including books seized from recusants and monasteries) was given by Matthew's wife to the Minster in 1628, making it the largest and most up to date cathedral library in the land.

Archbishop Matthew's library, and Frances Matthew's bequest, display some of the interplay between the private, clerical and public libraries. Certainly it was used by others for their work and by Matthew for his sermons, conditioning the religion of the region. Many of those who built up private collections also developed parish libraries, such as the clerics who visited Foster's shop from further afield in order to stock up on books to educate their parishioners. Parish libraries in the area were certainly at a crucial early stage, though market towns were beginning to develop important collections which set aside dedicated spaces for their books. No clear guide exists to English parish libraries in this period but books were clearly important to each and every parish. Many kept the sermon notes of their preachers as tokens of their careers. There is much fragmentary information on clerical ownership of books, particularly from their wills. Of particular interest is the spread of information even from relatively small collections. Robert Parkyn, the curate of Adwick-le-Street near Doncaster appears to have been involved in circulating books among neighbouring clergymen.⁸⁰ Other clergymen borrowed books from their patrons for their use in preaching to and educating their parishes.

Historical Section, 10 (1962), 1-75; J. Barnard and M. Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade And John Foster's Inventory Of 1616*, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁰ A . G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982) p. 275.

John Favour borrowed books from his patron, Baron Savile.⁸¹ Larger clerical libraries often had a wider range of material and reach in their audience, especially York Minster Library after the Matthew donation. A library had been in regular use under Grindal, and there is evidence that, if they signed for books, clergy were allowed to borrow from it. Other bequests, of books and manuscripts, came from godly clerics, such as Edmund Bunny, who clearly intended their books to be put to wider use.⁸² That it was a working collection can be seen by the fact that it became an unchained library, with books arranged on shelves and in bays, with indicator sheets at the end of each bay.⁸³ At least potentially then, the impact of these libraries was large. Sometimes, there was official pressure to make parishioners buy books. An attempt to do so by the bishop of Chester apparently failed when in 1585 the churchwardens of Prescott, Lancashire, who had been asked to sell copies of a catechism complained of ‘three dozen and twoe bookes... not yet sold to the parishioners.’⁸⁴ Furthermore, the parish could be a less official venue for the sale of books. When he was hauled before the High Commission in 1633, it emerged that John Vaux, the rather unorthodox incumbent of St Helen’s Auckland, had used the altar as a convenient place from which to sell copies of his almanacs. His importance in the continuing relationship of manuscript and

⁸¹ See, W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church* (Halifax, 1885), pp. 94-95.

⁸² Bunny left his books to the Minster Library, four of which remain there. They are: Leo Juda, *Proverbia sive sententiae sapientissimi mortalium Solomonis* (Zurich, 1543) YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) X.O.6(1); Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Psalterium Davidis carmine; redditum per Eobanum Hessum*. (Strasbourg, 1544) YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) X.O.6(2); Hermann Hemelmann, *De traditionibus apostolicis et tacitis partes tres* (Basel, 1568), YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) XV.B.6; Michael Renniger, *De Pii quinti et Gregorii decimi tertii Romanorum Pontificum furoribus*. (London, 1582), YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) VIII.I.17.

⁸³ See C. B. L. Barr, ‘The Minster Library’ in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), p. 502.

⁸⁴ F. A. Bailey (ed.), *The churchwardens' accounts of Prescott, Lancashire 1523-1607*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 104 (Preston, 1953), p. 97.

print is clear in that he was accused of spreading libels and using a manuscript book to record the follies of the local gentry.⁸⁵

Rather less developed were those libraries which were 'public' in a meaningful sense. These are of great importance to the creation of a widespread use of books. Certainly, St Peter's in York had a 'publique library' by 1621.⁸⁶ These kinds of libraries, though information is scarce, are potentially crucial in assessing the extent of a 'public sphere' in this period. The Minster Library had a public function, even if it was not a truly public library.

Many schools had libraries, some of which were purpose built. Of course, the information we have is slanted to those that are still schools today, since they have written their own histories. The information is also vastly biased towards secondary education. Information on books is scattered but suggestive. A considerable body of information can be found in wills. Puritans were heavily involved as founders and patrons of schools across the country, and Yorkshire was no exception.⁸⁷ John Favour was heavily involved in the foundation of Heath Grammar School. Several of his parishioners gave money and books to the school. Jane Crowther, for instance, gave an annuity of eight pounds 'which

⁸⁵ W. H. D. Longstaff (ed.), *The acts of the High Commission within the diocese of Durham*, Surtees Society, 34 (Durham, 1858), p. 40.

⁸⁶ C. B. L. Barr 'The Minster Library' in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster*, p. 502. For libraries with lending arrangements, see W. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, 1995), pp. 44-45.

⁸⁷ See K. Thomas, *Rule and Misrule in the Schools of Early Modern England* (Reading, 1976); J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Toward Reason, Learning and Education 1540-1640* (Cambridge, 1986); A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 27, 33 (1899, 1903). There are many studies of individual schools. See, A. C. Price, *A History of the Leeds Grammar School* (Leeds, 1919); J. Lawson, *A Town Grammar School through six centuries. A History of Hull Grammar School* (Oxford, 1963); M. H. Peacock, *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield* (Wakefield, 1892); D. N. R. Lester, *The history of Batley grammar school* (Batley, 1962); A. M. Gibbon, *The Ancient Free Grammar School of Skipton in Craven* (Liverpool and London, 1947); B. Varley, *The History of Stockport Grammar School* (2nd edn., Manchester, 1957); A. Raine, *History of St Peter's School, York* (London, 1926); B. Mains and A. Tuck (eds.), *Royal Grammar School Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Stockfield, 1986).

she willed should be employed for & towards one schoole & schoolemaster, who shall teach the children of the poorest people of the Towne of Halifax.’ Favour himself left Cowper’s Dictionary, a Greek lexicon and an English Bible to Heath Grammar School.⁸⁸ The godly links to grammar schools are often very clear. Ferdinando Fairfax was a governor at the free grammar school at Otley. At Wakefield, the grammar school was founded in 1592 as part of a programme of religious reform, under the direction of the Saviles. Bequests of books kept the students going in the same godly direction. A list of books that had been given to the school in 1607 includes the gifts of Joseph Lister, the Doctor, Mr. Street, the preacher at Ginlay, Ambrose Mawd and other godly inhabitants of the parish. By the eighteenth century, there was a petition to build a library adjoining the school, to compete with those of Leeds, Halifax, Bradford and Skipton.⁸⁹ Some school libraries were of significant size. Eton College library housed over one thousand volumes by 1623.⁹⁰

There were at least one hundred grammar schools in Elizabethan Yorkshire and they were of considerable importance to the literate environment. They ranged across the religious spectrum, though there was a particularly important group of puritan foundations. Depictions of the process of schooling were (self-consciously) bookish. The title page of Alexander Nowell’s *Catechism* (London, 1571), itself required reading in schools after 1571, showed each pupil with a book, some discussing points with other students, others with the master. It was a scene of sociability, perhaps even intimacy. It was primarily urban, but Margaret Spufford has suggested the extent to which schooling was available in more rural areas.⁹¹ In Beverley, Richard Rhodes was only the most

⁸⁸ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 87, 129. For Favour’s influence on the puritan wording in the foundation statutes of Heath Grammar School, see J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Toward Reason, Learning and Education 1540-1640*, p. 188.

⁸⁹ BL, Lansdowne Ms 973, fo. 29v. (Collections for a History of the grammar school at Wakefield in the county of York).

⁹⁰ See, D. R. Woolf, *Reading History In Early Modern England*, p. 178.

⁹¹ M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

militant example of the link between the puritan preacher and the grammar school. He got into trouble for holding conventicles with school children in his house in which the sermons were repeated and notes taken on tablets.⁹² It would, however, be wrong to see all educational activity in the area heading along the same puritan road. In fact, much of the excellent information on smaller schools is in reference to Catholic schools in rural areas. The High Commission paid particular attention to such schools, including that of Robert Kay at Linton, which they investigated in 1592, because the master taught using popish books. The punishment, indicative of the strong links between education, books and religion, was to buy a long list of books within one month, including the Book of Common Prayer, Nowell's Catechism, an English Bible, and either Calvin's Institutes, a book by Bilson or Ursinus's Catechism so that they 'ly open in his house for every one to read.'⁹³ Other Catholic petty schools existed at Well in Richmondshire and in Knaresborough (among many others). It should also be noted that a school was being run within York castle for the Catholic prisoners there.

Though they cannot be meaningfully called libraries, it is worth remembering the other writings that could also be found in a domestic setting, though not simply among the literate. Nicholas Bownd implored the illiterate to 'let them get the bibles into their houses, that when any come that can read, they may have it in a readines and lose not the oportunitie that is offered.'⁹⁴ Such books could have physical as well as textual uses, but usually the purpose was devotional, and the permanent physical artefact could have considerable advantages over the preached word. As Richard Baxter noted, 'You may be able to read an able preacher when you have but a mean one to hear.' Secondly, a book was cheaper than paying for a preacher. Thirdly, 'If sermons be

⁹² See, R. A. Marchant, *The Puritans And The Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London, 1960), pp. 271-272

⁹³ See, H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 176-177.

⁹⁴ Nicholas Bownd, *The doctrine of the sabbath plainely layde forth, and soundly proued by testimonies both of holy scripture, and also of olde and new ecclesiasticall writers*. (London, 1595), p. 202.

forgotten they are gone, but a book we may read over and over till we remember it, and if we forget it may again peruse it at our pleasure or at our leisure.⁹⁵ In addition to Bibles, many families kept hornbooks to teach children to read. They also used writings as forms of decoration and edification: religious verses and popular ballads decorated the walls of houses as well as those of the alehouse. We must not assume that this was simply at a popular level. Lady Anne Clifford, for example, decorated her chamber with phrases from books and the study of the Percy house at Leconfield was decorated with carved sayings and proverbs.⁹⁶

An important, if not essential, element of Yorkshire's literate environment can be viewed by looking at those who actively contributed to the making of books. By this, I do not mean simply authors, but all those involved in the writing, printing, marketing and selling of books. Starting then with authors, though we might have started with patrons like Archbishop Matthew, the area had numerous writers, and many of a godly persuasion. It is important in this case to note that we are talking not simply of belles lettres or 'literature' in the sense that 'culture' consists of high art and opera, but of more broadly based writing, regardless of its quality. So there is little difference, as it were, between the information to be gleaned from the work of Andrew Marvell from that to be found in *Dobsons Drie Bobbes* (London, 1607), a joke book set in sixteenth-century Durham. The amount of material is massive, and includes the work of theologians, preachers, medics, poets, astrologers and many others. Neither should we neglect to mention those writers who used manuscript publication rather than print, who wrote on subjects from poetry and theology to demonology and gardening.

⁹⁵ Richard Baxter, *A Christian directory, or, A summ of practical theologie and cases of conscience directing Christians how to use their knowledge and faith, how to improve all helps and means, and to perform all duties, how to overcome temptations, and to escape or mortifie every sin : in four parts* (London, 1673), p. 60.

⁹⁶ See, M. E. Lamb, 'The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading', *English Literary Renaissance*, 22 (1992), p. 367 and Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, p. 147. For wall coverings at a more popular level, see Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*.

York had an early printing industry, and at least ten printed books were published there and six printed between 1507 and 1535. York was an early centre of print, inspired by a group of Dutch immigrants. Wynkyn de Worde had strong links with the early York printing industry. Subsequently, there were enough people working in the industry in York, for the Stationers to have their had own company and not be combined into a general one. Though there was no official press in Yorkshire in this period before 1642, it is at least possible that subversive and recusant publications were printed there in secret, as they were in Lancashire.⁹⁷

In addition, many people from Yorkshire worked in the London printing industry. Of the Stationers' Company apprentices studied by D. F. McKenzie, between 1605 and 1640, there were 27 printing apprentices who hailed from Yorkshire.⁹⁸ Their origins were geographically and socially diverse. Fifteen of their fathers were yeomen, two gentlemen, and one (each of), tailor, clothier, butcher, cordwainer, innholder, haberdasher, clothworker, tanner, clerk and potter. As such they may be said, with two exceptions, to have hailed from the 'middling sort.' There is some geographical concentration, though this probably arose from family and associational networks rather than any urban (for instance) bias. Four came from Brotherton and three relations from Cowick, two from Skelton, otherwise they were distributed singly from: Altofts, Baulkin, Billingley, Bradford, Doncaster, Easby, Farlington upon the Hill, Guisborough, Helperthorpe, Leeds, Middleton, Rotherham, Sherburn, Selby, Sheffield, Stainburne and Swine in Holderness. There were many more non-printing printers' apprentices from Yorkshire with relatively widespread

⁹⁷ See, for instance, *Keepe your Texte: or, A Short Discourse, wherein is Sett Downe a Methode to Instruct, How a Catholicke (though but competently learned) may Defend his Fayth* (Lancashire, Birchley Hall Press, 1619). At least thirteen books were printed at Birchley Hall between 1615 and 1621. *STC* numbers 3900; 5879.5; 17506; 23924; 12797; 3607; 3899; 21022; 7072.3; 5352; 19410; 26000; 26001.

⁹⁸ D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-1640* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1961), appendix.

hometowns, though five came from Hull and three from Wakefield. In all they hailed from eighty-eight locations across the county.⁹⁹

Of particular interest to the reach of writing must be a study of communication networks in early modern Yorkshire. Although no major study has been attempted for Yorkshire, there is enough material to attempt to display the different types of channels along which books came. The work of Margaret Spufford and Tessa Watt has indicated the extent to which peddlers distributed printed materials. They walked all over England, and sold primers, catechisms, woodcuts, ballads, newsbooks, maps, broadsides and other varieties of cheap print.¹⁰⁰ Such cheap print, they argue, permeated even rural society. Their work is enhanced by Michael Frearson's estimate that up to five million copies of newsbooks were produced and distributed between 1620 and 1641.¹⁰¹ There is at least a possibility that such materials, as well as being sold door to door, were distributed through the fairs, which were common in market towns.¹⁰² The communications networks were clearly helped by the movement of population between London and Yorkshire (including clergy). There is information about the postal service between York and Cambridge along the Great North Road. Robert Parkyn for instance, was aided in his relations with his brother by the Doncaster innkeeper who acted as postmaster.¹⁰³ Of course, not everything was sold and distributed by peddlers. Some publications, as I have described, were imported into Yorkshire by sea. Others were distributed through Yorkshire's booksellers. There are records of booksellers at Penrith: Robert Benson, a grocer who sold a variety of Quaker publications before he

⁹⁹ D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-1640*, appendix.

¹⁰⁰ Margaret Spufford, 'The Pedlar and the Historian: Sixteenth-Century Communications', in her *Figures in the Landscape. Rural Society in England, 1500-1700* (Aldershot, 2000), 197-217.

¹⁰¹ Michael Frearson, 'The English Coranatos of the 1620s' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1994).

¹⁰² See, K. L. McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs And Markets To The End Of The Eighteenth Century*, Thoresby Society, 39 (Leeds, 1940 for 1939).

¹⁰³ A. G. Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman' in his *Reformation Studies*, p. 273.

ceased trading in 1698.¹⁰⁴ John Awdley of Hull had a list of 832 volumes for sale in 1644.¹⁰⁵ William London, a bookseller from Newcastle upon Tyne, issued a *Catalogue of the most vendible books in England* in 1657 and claimed to have them all in stock. Furthermore his book was clearly aimed at a northern audience, and dedicated ‘To the gentry, ministers of the gospel and others of a peculiar choice to the wise, learned and studious in the northern counties of Northumberland, Bprrick of Durham, Westmoreland and Cumberland.’¹⁰⁶ Clearly this represents the start of a survey, but it has been possible to show some of the locations in which books were kept and some of the ways in which they were used in the north of England in the early seventeenth century. The individual chapters will place more detailed information in a series of broad religious contexts.

IV.

The thesis considers the place of books in the formation and sustenance of godly cultures in the first half of the seventeenth century. I have attempted to provide a structure that covers a full range of physical and cultural contexts in a way that is both thematic and chronological. The advantage of such an approach is that while the bigger picture is never far from view, the details of individual case-studies can point towards the changes in the relationships between manuscript, print and godly cultures. Chapter One considers the reading practices of Lady Margaret Hoby through an analysis of her diary, her books and her marginalia, setting out the uses of reading in the godly household in the context of local religious cultures. Chapter Two moves more broadly towards an analysis of the uses of printed books and manuscripts and

¹⁰⁴ P. Isaac, *History of the Book Trade in the North: An inventory of books sold by a seventeenth-century Penrith grocer*.

¹⁰⁵ See, C. W. Chilton, ‘The inventory of a provincial bookseller’s stock of 1644’, *The Library*, 6th Series, 1 (1979), 126-143.

¹⁰⁶ William London, *A catalogue of the most vendible books in England orderly and alphabetically digested under the heads of divinity, history, physick and chyrurgery, law, arithmetick, geometry, astrology ... : with Hebrew, Greek and Latine for schools and scholars : the like work never yet performed by any : also, all sorts of globes, mapps of the world or in parts ... : all to be sold by the author at his shop in New-Castle*. (London, 1657).

their interaction with other modes of communication in Leeds, Halifax and York in the early seventeenth century. Here, the uses of books are considered in detail in the context of the divided religious community. Chapter Three examines Edward Fairfax's *Daemonologia*, the manuscript account he made and circulated of the possession of his two daughters in the early 1620s. This chapter returns to the domestic arena but takes a broader cultural approach than before, considering both the great variety of the physical uses of books in northern cases of witchcraft and possession and their meanings. The final chapter considers the ways in which books could form part of republican culture throughout the period by examining the library of Ferdinando Fairfax and his attitude towards learning. Taken together, these chapters will display the variety of godly cultures that constituted the fabric of early modern English society. They show the importance for the historian of local context in teasing out the varieties among and between different types of religious cultures. Throughout, questions of the impact of puritanism on devotional life will be raised, and the answers, I hope, will advance our understanding of the godly, their social relations and of course the place and uses of reading in their lives.

Part I:

Family and Friends

1. Reading (in) the Hoby household

‘ “What is the use of a book”, thought Alice, “without pictures or conversations?” ’¹

Although it would have been hard to find a puritan willing to assent to Alice’s point about images², in this chapter I wish to argue that ‘conversation’ was central to the puritan reading experience and to their religious culture in general. Perhaps this too seems unlikely: early modern Protestantism was meant to be the religion of the printed word and puritanism its condensed and corrosive derivative. From the viewpoint of the anthropologically-minded historian, Christianity must be regarded principally as a religion of the Book. However, incorporating the Word of the believer, I wish to argue that books and words went together to form early modern godly religious cultures. Books, as I have argued in my introduction, were texts which people read and objects which they used in a variety of ways in order to make sense of their lives. And so, in an effort to understand the curious role of books in the shaping of human relations, it is proper to consider their links with the spoken word. Nor was this an alien concept to contemporaries, who were eager to get to grips with the nuances of early modern ‘godly conversation.’ This concern for conversation was not especially novel, and Erasmus had interpreted the beginning of Saint John’s gospel as ‘In the beginning was the conversation’, but it is of critical importance in getting inside early modern godly mentalities.³

¹ Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland And Through the Looking-Glass and what Alice Found There: The Centenary Edition*, ed. Hugh Haughton (London, 1998), p. 9.

² Calvinists taught a second commandment against images, whereas Lutherans and Romanists did not. There is no satisfactory survey of puritan attitudes towards and appropriations of images. For some keen-eyed animadversions, see Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Puritans, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*. The classic discussion of Protestants and images is R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (revised edn. Oxford, 1994).

³ Despite, or perhaps because of, its multiple meanings, there is no modern assessment of the importance of ‘conversation’ in early modern religious context. There is some useful information relating mainly to the eighteenth century in Peter

Images and conversations are still important in contemporary children's books and in the process of teaching them to read. Reading begins with a symbol (or picture) and its association with a spoken word, often repeated. Janet and Allan Ahlberg's *Baby's Catalogue*, for example, which is a wordless book, is 'read' through its pictures and by the process of conversation between the adult reader and the baby.⁴ Adult reading, in literate western societies today, is largely private and silent. It is almost defined by its solitude and its physical surroundings. Many will identify with Philip Larkin's recollection of 'getting my nose in a book.'⁵ In fact, we now have a narrative of reading, which begins with the public and the relational, and moves on to the silent and solitary. Of course, this narrative, with its implicit progression, has its exceptions, but it has been, in studies of reading practices, remarkably difficult to avoid mapping modern conceptions on to the mental frameworks of early modern readers. Seventeenth-century readers, the 'great variety of readers'⁶, were different. Conversation and community were associated as much with adult reading as they are today with children's reading. How and why changes took place in reading practices, towards the silent, is beyond the temporal scope of my thesis; it is tied up with the Enlightenment, public libraries and the development of the newspaper. Nevertheless, I wish to sound a warning against assuming that the Protestant Reformation led to some kind of interiorisation of belief, and the discovery of the 'self'. Instead I wish to provide, as far as the evidence allows, an anthropological snapshot of godly reading in the early

Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Oxford, 1993). For oral culture, and its links with print, see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*. Erasmus's translation was 'In principio erat sermo'. Though Tyndale's English translation of Erasmus retained the traditional 'word', it appears clear that Erasmus used sermo in a more formalised sense.

⁴ Janet and Allan Ahlberg, *The baby's catalogue* (Harmondsworth, 1982).

⁵ Philip Larkin, 'A Study Of Reading Habits', in Anthony Thwaite (ed.), *Philip Larkin: Collected Poems* (London, 1988), p. 131.

⁶ The phrase is taken from one of the dedications to William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies Published according to the true originall copies* (London, 1623), sig. A3r and demonstrates that we are dealing with diverse reading practices rather than unchanging practice.

seventeenth century. Doing this, considering the models they had for reading, the issues surrounding women's reading and focusing on the question of how the godly read may well get us nearer to the mentalité of the godly in the early seventeenth century and to the fundamental issue of how people of this persuasion saw and thought.⁷

The modern historiography of reading practices has been summarized in the introduction and does not need repeating here. However, before proceeding to a detailed discussion of godly reading, it is necessary to make a few more points about the history of reading and the limitations of the literature hitherto. Firstly, there is an unstated link between the history of reading and the practice of microhistory. The very term 'microhistory' seems to have been invented to deal with the ramifications of the (generally unimportant) individual (reader) on the bigger picture. Microhistories, from Carlo Ginzburg's study of the eccentric miller-cum-philosopher Menocchio to Eamon Duffy's recent reconstruction of Christopher Trachay, have revolved around the practice of reading and record-keeping.⁸ The importance of this link between a form of history and the study of readers is that it has resulted in the reconstruction of the mental framework of usually well-known figures and thus has shed light on issues of considerable political importance. However, the majority of these studies do not deal with the typicality of their readers, the changes that took place over the life-time and how the physical mechanics of reading structured individual intellectual experiences. Thus the form of history written makes the readers seem atypical, and it is instructive that so few studies consider the existence of the 'reading community.' Particularly guilty is Kevin Sharpe, who handles Sir William Drake with a Cartesian clarity that betrays the anxieties

⁷ There has been surprisingly little response to Patrick Collinson's appeal to discover the key to the protestant outlook by examining 'how protestants saw.' See, Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 122. For Europe, however, see R. W. Scribner, *Religion and culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper.

⁸ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*; Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*.

and inconsistencies of his subject.⁹ In the light of the problems with such studies, we need a resolution of the general and the specific. We must not now talk of an unproblematic ‘print culture’ but of a variety of differing ‘print cultures’, conditioned by their contexts and changing over time.

In many ways, those historians who deal with the bigger picture of reading habits are faced with even greater problems. The models generally proposed are rather reductive, particularly that of the existence of an eighteenth-century *leserreolution*: a move from the intensive reading of small numbers of books over-and-over for practical use, to an extensive reading of many books, read just once and for pleasure.¹⁰ Such a change is overly simple, as it was certainly possible to read the glut of new material in the late eighteenth century in the old intensive way, as is shown emphatically by Robert Darnton’s essay on readers responding to Rousseau.¹¹ In addition, it tends to bypass important information about the orality of reading and when and why a change took place from reading aloud to silent reading and whether this related to internalisation, selfhood or educational developments.¹² Many of the important studies tend to assume the typicality of the silent reader, though Roger Chartier continues to do important work on orality, recently suggesting that reading aloud in groups remained a central aspect of ‘literate’ life until well into the eighteenth

⁹ For criticism of Kevin Sharpe, see David Norbrook, ‘Safety First in Buckinghamshire’, *The Times Literary Supplement*, 5078 (28 July 2000), p. 22. His criticisms are that, by calling Drake a ‘revolutionary reader’, Sharpe ‘too easily conflates epistemological with political positions’ and states that ‘it may be possible to widen his circle a little further than Sharpe allows.’

¹⁰ Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500-1800* (Stuttgart, 1974).

¹¹ Robert Darnton, ‘Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity’ in his *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, 209-249.

¹² For the relationship between evangelical ‘family religion’ and communal reading in the later seventeenth century, see Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe, ‘Reading, “Family Religion” and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England: The Case of John Rastrick (1650-1727)’ (In preparation).

century.¹³

A particularly large gap exists in these models: the religious dimensions of reading. The absence of serious studies about the religion in reading occurs despite both the preponderance of religious publications in this period and a considerable body of secondary material on early modern religion which employs the notion of 'print culture'. This can only be partly explained by the intellectual isolation of Reformation scholars. I think that the absence of studies of real religious readers belies a tendency to equate the new printed, Protestant culture with a secularising modernity, particularly in the form of the print culture of the Enlightenment.¹⁴ Perhaps also the breadth of the studies of Eisenstein and Engelsing, and the controversies they have created, have directed work away from religious reading. The studies that exist are far from satisfactory. Eugene Kintgen's *Reading In Tudor England* contains a chapter on religious reading but is concerned with the models described by humanists at the expense of the analysis of individual responses.¹⁵ It is at the risk of repetition that I state quite how remarkable the historiographical lacuna is. The majority of early modern publications printed and owned were religious, including the run-away best-seller, the Bible. Reading existed and developed from its intrinsic relation to religious cultures. People, Protestant and Catholic, young and old, male and female, read to get to heaven. In post-Reformation England, when the new godly cultures, having stripped away so much of the materiality of late medieval practice, placed a heightened value on books and the importance of reading as a domestic and familial duty, reading became even more crucial. That so few have attempted even a cursory study of religious reading is hardly down to an absence of evidence. Contemporaries noticed that particular methods were needed to interact with religious texts.

¹³ Roger Chartier, 'Culture écrite et littérature à l'âge moderne', *Annales HSS*, 4-5 (2001), 783-802.

¹⁴ For example, Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002) and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*.

¹⁵ Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England*, ch. 4 'Reading in a Religious Setting', pp. 99-139.

Both devotional and professional religious books are among the categories of books with the highest proportion of marginalia on them.¹⁶ The evidence of religious reading practices is in every library of early modern books. Carefully handled, this marginalia might prove to be the key to turn the elusive lock and open the door to an anthropology of religious beliefs in the period.¹⁷

Comparatively little work has been done on England and its readers, and practically none on women readers. Women get not a single mention in Kintgen's book. It is remarkable that, given the huge number of books about women and the controversies over their 'subordination', no one has thought to examine their intellectual freedom (or lack of it) by looking at gendered reading practices.¹⁸ Nevertheless, a consideration of the relations between women and books is vital, both in itself, in the variations between individual female readers and in the differences in practice between men and women. The pioneering work of Margaret Spufford has shown that women, far from being the illiterate majority once assumed, were usually taught to read but not often to write. Spufford's discovery of the 'curriculum' from schools in Cambridgeshire showed that while boys were taught to read, write and cast

¹⁶ Bill Sherman, in a sample of 7526 Renaissance books, has calculated that 20.3% were 'annotated', that is they contained more than the owner's name, and that categories among the highest proportion of annotation were religious debate, law and medicine, See Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading*, p. 6.

¹⁷ Reading was an essential component of Michel de Certeau's blueprint for such a study, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, esp. pp. 165-176.

¹⁸ There are a few articles of variable quality, but nothing in comparison to the glut of studies on women's writing (which is seen to fit more easily into the subordination debates). See, for instance, Judith Bryce, ' "Fa Finire Uno Bello Studio Et Dicere Volvere Studiare." Ippolita Sforza And Her Books', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LXIV (2002), 55-69; Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Margaret Hoby's Diary: Women's Reading Practices and the Gendered Reformation Subject' in Sigrid King (ed.), *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts* (Tempe, Arizona, 1999), 63-94; Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Sociability of Margaret Hoby's Reading Practices and the Representation of Reformation Interiority', *Critical Survey*, 12 (2000), 17- 32; Ramona Wray, 'Recovering the Reading of Renaissance Englishwomen: Deployments of Autobiography' *Critical Survey*, 12 (2000), 33-48 and Katherine West Scheil, "'Rouz'd by a Woman's Pen": The Shakespeare Ladies' Club and Reading Habits of Early Modern Women', *Critical Survey*, 12 (2000), 106-127.

accounts, girls were taught to read, sew, knit and spin.¹⁹ This has important, and relatively little-studied, ramifications for ideas of subordination and power. It suggests that although women were taught to interact with texts, they were denied the freedom of expression that went with writing (though it is not clear whether marginal annotation was considered as writing). Roger Chartier has recently added to this picture by suggesting that the ‘authorities’ in early modern France were not concerned with women reading, but were extremely anxious at the prospect of women writing, which they saw as an inversion of the proper order. He continues that in practice women did write and often defined themselves by writing. Others have shown that historians should not take such a narrow view of literacy, suggesting that religious and political expression can be seen in the domestic sewing of the period.²⁰ Women’s roles as annotators has also been neglected, perhaps because, as some have argued, women were not taught the skill of annotation.²¹ This appears to have been taught at a later age to that of straight writing, together with more sophisticated methods of approaching texts. Women appear to have annotated far fewer volumes than men, though no study analyses the proportion of books they annotated in relation to those that they owned.

It is clear that the extent of women’s reading has been underestimated. Levels of literacy appear to correlate with social status and money more than geographical variations. The situation in Yorkshire, once assumed to be a dark corner of Christopher Hill’s early modern landscape, betrays a situation of extensive, if socially narrow, literacy, even among women. Among the gentry,

¹⁹ See Margaret Spufford, ‘Women Teaching Reading To Poor Children In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries’, reprinted in Spufford, *Figures In The Landscape: rural society in England, 1500-1700* (Aldershot, 2000), 249-264; Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 192-218.

²⁰ Roger Chartier, ‘Culture écrite et littérature à l’âge moderne’, *Annales HSS*, 4-5 (2001), 783-802. For political expression through needlework (and its relationship with print), see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 261, 263.

²¹ Heidi Brayman Hackel, cited in Sasha Roberts ‘Reading in Early Modern England: Contexts and Problems’, *Critical Survey*, 12 (2000), p. 3.

Lady Anne Clifford recalled her mother's reading, especially from the book of Job. Though women were (somewhat idealistically) thought to have a particular interest in devotional works, the evidence we have of Anne Clifford displays a wider range of reading. Her portrait shows that her books included Saint Augustine, Epitetus, Boethius, Camden, Charron, Herbert, Eucebius, Ortelius, Ovid, Castiglione, Montaigne, Chaucer, Spenser, Sidney, Greville, Jonson, sermons by Donne, Henry King, Henry Cuffe and, of course, the Bible. The books in the portrait, presented in a rather ramshackle manner, appear to have been for use rather than display.²² Certainly women were advised to read. Lady Mildmay commended the Bible, Thomas à Kempis, John Foxe and Musculus to her daughter. John Featley's *A Fountaine of Teares* (Amsterdam, 1646) contained thirty-eight questions for women to scrutinise their day, including '4. What scripture read I?'²³ As I have shown in my introduction, there is considerable evidence of book use among the 'middling sort' in seventeenth-century Yorkshire, ranging from the keeping of accounts, to devotional reading, pinning up favourite scriptural lessons in one's bedchamber, to the more magical, and less textual, use of books. Further afield, in the 'artisanal' household of Nehemiah Wallington, Sarah, his daughter, was given her own reading desk in her father's study at the age of fourteen. Philip Henry also appears to have taught his children Hebrew in his study.²⁴ Certainly, if we are to believe Tessa Watt's figures on the attrition rate of early modern print, we need to expand, and further categorise, our horizons on the meanings and levels of literacy in the period.²⁵

²² Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*, p. 297-298.

²³ Cited in Sara Heller Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs', in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society* (London, 1985), p. 186.

²⁴ I owe this point to Michelle Wolfe's unpublished paper which examines the differences between the space and practice of studying. Michelle Wolfe, ' "Sacred Employments" and the "Minding of Earthly Things": Gendering Space and Labor in the Clerical Households in Post-Reformation England.'

²⁵ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*; Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Gerd Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, 97-131.

Though they should not be taken at face value, there is suggestive evidence in the great number of books which were dedicated to women, often for reasons of patronage sought or granted, but also in an appeal to female readers. Sir Edward Hoby, for example, dedicated *A letter to Mr T. H. Late Minister: Now Fugitive* (London, 1609) ‘To all Romish Collapsed ladies, of Great Britaine’ in the hope of both converting them and (ostensibly) giving his answer to Theophilus Higgons. Surely it was something of a conceit when he mentioned that they could never be saved ‘as long as you must neither pollute your eyes with our books, defile your eares with our sermons, nor grace our churches with your presence.’ In fact, he aimed at conversion through this strategy of making women readers feel unworthy before God.²⁶

So far, the history of reading practices appears much more to do with a list of questions, than an attempt to answer them. Nevertheless, it would be well to follow Robert Darnton’s appeal to answer systematically: who read and what did they read? Where did they do so and when, alone or in company, at home or in libraries? How and why did they read?²⁷ At this stage, I wish to move from the general position of reading and women readers to the well-known figure of Lady Margaret Hoby. In her epitaph, she was praised for ‘her godly manner of life and conversation.’²⁸ I want to stress the importance of conversation and relations, in the following discussion of her godly reading practices.

Lady Margaret Hoby is famed as the earliest English female diarist for the record she kept of her godly life, somewhat intermittently, between 1599 and 1605. Margaret was born in 1571, the only child to Arthur Dakins and his wife who lived in Linton, Yorkshire. They were Protestant outsiders in largely

²⁶ Edward Hoby, *A Letter to Mr T. H. Late Minister: Now Fugitive* (London, 1609), sig. A3v.

²⁷ Robert Darnton, ‘History of reading’, in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Oxford, 1991), 140-67.

²⁸ See the Monument to Lady Margaret Hoby (1633), St Peter’s Church, Hackness. Reproduced in Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 222-224.

unreformed territory; Arthur compiled a series of meditations, evangelical in their form and content, that survive in manuscript at Ripon Minster.²⁹ Lady Hoby's most recent commentator, Joanna Moody, suggests that she was sent away to the godly finishing school of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. However, though Moody appears to have no evidence of this, it is at least plausible in that Lady Hoby stayed at Ashby later in her life. In fact, it is more likely that Margaret's associations with the Huntingdons came through the Earl's position as President of the Council in the North at York. Certainly the lifestyle approved by the Huntingdons moulded the young Margaret Dakins: in her marriage to Walter Devereux in 1589, who had been 'trained' at Ashby, she continued a routine of Protestant evangelism that is seen later in her diary. Little can be known about this marriage, though it heralded a move to Hackness, near Scarborough, for the young couple. Walter Devereux, whose brother was later to be disgraced in his rebellion against Elizabeth³⁰, was a prominent Protestant match for Lady Hoby, but he died at Rouen on 8 September 1591. Margaret was a widow for just three months (two of which were spent waiting for her dead husband's body to be brought home and buried). The Earl and Countess of Huntingdon wrote to Margaret's father to press for a marriage to Thomas Sidney, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney. They married on 22 December 1591 but Sidney had not been the only contender. Among those shunned was Thomas Posthumous Hoby, son of the late Sir Thomas Hoby and Lady Elizabeth Russell, who had tried to wield her influence to match her second son to the attractive and wealthy Protestant lady. Margaret had the choice of her husband and there is reason to believe she was happy in her marriage to Thomas Sidney. The following year, less happily, her father died, leaving her, as his only child, a rich woman.³¹ Thomas Sidney, however, died in 1595. This left the door open for another

²⁹ See D. M. Meads (ed.), *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605* (London, 1930), p. 47.

³⁰ Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1566-1601). See Paul Hammer, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, 1585-1597*. (Cambridge, 1999).

³¹ Lady Hoby and her mother were the executors of her father's will. NYCRO, Northallerton, ZF 2/1-3 (Will of Arthur Dakins).

second son, this time the previously slighted Thomas Posthumous Hoby, whose zeal for a match may have increased with the death of Margaret's father and the promise of £500 per year and a house from his mother if he married the woman of her choice. The match, which was pursued through correspondence and the muscle power of those of weighty influence, was solemnised on 9 August 1596, at Lady Russell's house at Blackfriars, despite Margaret again trying to reject her suitor. It was a simple marriage, devoid of the music with which Lady Russell had tried to woo Margaret into her family in the Christmas of 1591.³² Margaret and Thomas Posthumous Hoby lived together, childless, until her death, perhaps after illness, in 1633.³³ They lived near the home of her parents, at Hackness Hall, which had been built from the stone and slate of a monastery. Certainly there may have been some appeal for Lady Hoby to attach herself to this site of spirituality and she quickly built up a kind of godly commonwealth within the house. Their life there was dominated by prayer and religious exercises as well as frequent trips to the local church, where the family heard sermons regularly. Lady Hoby was childless in her marriages, though the locals thought this more to do with her third husband's many deficiencies than her own infertility. Perhaps as a result of this she threw herself at her religious duties, educating the daughters of northern families such as the Askes in the spiritualised household. She also educated Sir John Sydenham, a relation, training him up before sending him to that cradle of puritanism, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.³⁴ Servants were educated too, as were godly local people. Such was the desire for further Reformation that the Hobys employed a godly chaplain to be their own spiritual guide. He was

³² Lady Russell to Thomas Posthumous Hoby, no date (probably November 1591). The appendix to the letter reads: 'P. S. I woold you could so use the matter that the widdow be here this Christmas. I have appoynted your brother's musityons: have hard them and given the master 5 s. earnest. P. P. S. Let Anthony Cooke help to steale her away. She hath her father's consent to marry where she list.' See, Elizabeth Farber, 'The Letters of Lady Elizabeth Russell (1540-1609)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1977), p. 114.

³³ Lady Hoby's epitaph refers to 'Gods great mercy shewed unto her in her laste sicknes by givinge unto her memory to pray unto him ... separatinge her soule from her bodie with soe little bodily payne ...' See Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 224.

³⁴ BL, Ms Stowe 748, fo. 212r.

Richard Rhodes, possibly a local man, who returned to Yorkshire after completing his B.A. and M.A. at St John's College Cambridge. In 1599, the year that the diary began, Rhodes became the family chaplain, before serving as the incumbent of St Peter's Church, Hackness from 1605 to 1614. Twice married, he moved on to St John's Beverley in 1614, where he managed to make a nuisance of himself even among a godly town fraternity. There he imposed a strict moral code including a clampdown on drunkenness.³⁵ He came into trouble for holding repetitions of the sermon in 1615 and was cited before the Chancery Court in July 1631 for holding illegal conventicles in his own house for the scholars of the local grammar school, who met in his house to repeat the day's sermon which they had written on tablets. In the changed atmosphere of the 1630s, his actions cost him his job. Nothing is known of him after the election of his successor in 1632. At Hackness, it had been exactly these kind of actions that commended him to the Hobys and he had great influence on their lives.³⁶

Margaret's marriage to Thomas Posthumous Hoby was, in that he outlived her, third time lucky. To the local people of Hackness and its hinterland, it was not. The second son of Elizabeth Cooke and Thomas Hoby, the translator of Castiglione who died before the birth of his son, Thomas Posthumous made a nuisance of himself almost wherever he went. He ran away from school and the inns of court and was only knighted while on duty in Ireland in 1594. He was, like his relatives the Cecils, physically deformed, for which he was forever taunted as 'a spindle shanked ape.' Even his mother was critical of his stature and learning and, though we might assume that he was dogmatic and fairly stupid, he was undoubtedly bookish. William Brereton described him as 'the

³⁵ See, David Lamburn, 'Politics and Religion in Early Modern Beverley', in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), 63-78.

³⁶ Biographical information on Rhodes is to be found in R. A., Marchant, *The Puritans And The Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642*, pp. 271-272. For further background on Beverley, see W. J. Sheils, 'The Minster in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History* (Beverley, 2000), 65-75. Lady Hoby's diary contains much information about him and confirms his continued connections with Cambridge, see Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 183-184.

most understanding, able and industrious justice of peace in this kingdome. Noe warrant graunted out butt he takes notice thereof in a booke.³⁷ Thomas was the joint dedicatee with Lady Hoby of Nicholas Byfield's *The Rule Of Faith* (1626). Byfield was the godly vicar of Isleworth and his dedication, despite the gratulatory tone, gives interesting information on the Hobys. Somewhat conventionally, Byfield thanked them for sponsoring his publication and hoped that the book 'may shelter itselpe under your protection.' More individually, he described the couple as 'paternes of piety... patrons of pious and godly men' and as 'dilligent hearers' of God's word. He suggested that they were an example to be followed, thanking them both for their 'extraordinary love.' What is particularly important is the suggestion of divisions within the Hackness community. Byfield, rather proudly, stated that their choosing of the better part in striving to be true Christians made them 'more excellent then your neighbours.'³⁸ Some have claimed that the Hoby marriage was unhappy, and many have wanted to believe the local legend that Thomas Posthumous sent his wife to an early death by pushing her down the stairs. Much of the evidence, despite Margaret's initial lack of enthusiasm for the marriage, points to the contrary. They were united in their zeal to serve God and coerce the ungodly. They were praised by Francis Bacon, who wrote to Thomas Posthumous Hoby in 1606: 'Noe man may better conceive in the joys of a good wife than yourself with whom I dare not comper.'³⁹ The only evidence of marital discord is that alluded to in the accusations and counter-accusations surrounding the ritual shaming of the Hoby's in 1600. Amid relatively commonplace insults was the suggestion of a sexual liaison between Lady Hoby and Richard Rhodes. William Eure, having entered Lady Hoby's

³⁷ Cited in Dorothy M. Meads (ed.), *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 34.

³⁸ Nicholas Byfield, *The Rule of Faith: or an Exposition of the Apostles Creed, so handled as it affordeth both Milke for Babes, and strong meat for such as are at full age* (London, 1626), sigs. A2v-A3r.

³⁹ For the letter, see Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis and D. D. Heath (14 vols., London, 1857-74), vol. 10, pp. 298-299. Some affection is also apparent from a letter sent by Lady Hoby to her husband of 6 June 1599. It begins 'Dear harte...' Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, *The van den Bempde Papers. The Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies of the Philobiblion Society*, Vol. 12 (1868/9), pp. 17-18.

bedchamber, was said to have threatened that if Rhodes was present ‘he would have gelded [i.e. castrated] him’. Later in the legal process one of the questions used to examine witnesses on behalf of the Eures suggested that Hoby beat his wife. The question read:

44. Did you not knowe or have you not hard that the defendants or some of them have reported that the plaintiff did demand a double peace of her majesties counsell in the north them to keepe his wife in peace and th’other to keepe himselfe from beating, or words to that or the like effect yea or not if yea what are the names of such of the defendants as have made any such or the like reporte declare herein your owne knowledge and as you have heard.⁴⁰

Thomas Posthumous Hoby thrust unwelcome Protestantism on local society in his role on the Council of the North and at Parliament. Every opportunity was taken to act against recusants, as is suggested by the coastal ‘raid’ mentioned in his wife’s diary and in Hoby’s willingness to support Sir Stephen Procter’s action against Sir John Yorke and his patronage of the recusant Cholmley players, as well as his effort to install godly preachers in the area. When he intervened on behalf of his (distant) relative, Lady Jane Bacon, in a tenurial dispute on her Yorkshire estate, he took the opportunity to request that she install a preaching minister on her lands because the people there lived in ‘palpable ignorance of the gospell of Christe.’⁴¹ Indeed, on closer examination it becomes impossible to regard Hoby, as did Brereton, as a lover of peace. He

⁴⁰ PRO, STAC 5/H22/21 (Hoby v. Eure). For a full discussion of this incident, see Andrew Cambers, ‘“The Partial Customs Of These Frozen Parts”: Religious Riot And Reconciliation In The North Of England’, in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Retribution, Repentance, Reconciliation: Studies in Church History*, 40 (Woodbridge, forthcoming).

⁴¹ The letter is in Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, D/DBY/C26, fos. 55, 60-63 and is described in Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, ‘“*Prudentia ultra sexum*” Lady Jane Bacon And The Management Of Her Families’ in Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (eds.), *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, And Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England* (Stanford, 1999), 100-124. For Thomas Hoby’s raid on recusants, see Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 215.

was a notorious litigant and a whinger, enforcing central laws against local customs.

The Hobys' lives were not confined to Hackness and the diary records much of their travel around Yorkshire, visiting relatives and political allies, and offers a glimpse of the emergent London scene of the early seventeenth century. Though typically the Hobys went to London on business, most often concerning their legal disputes, the diary also records shopping at the Exchange, the intense and extensive networks of godly sociability, and the hearing of numerous sermons, morning and afternoon, often in different churches.⁴² They were particularly keen attendees of Stephen Egerton's sermons at Saint Anne's Blackfriars. Egerton was the incumbent there from 1598 until 1622 when he was succeeded by William Gouge. Their joint reign offers considerable evidence of the continuity of the London Puritan movement in the early Stuart period.⁴³ A godly vicar, Egerton breathed hellfire at a fashionable and godly audience who often came from far away to hear his sermons. According to John Manningham it was 'a great congregacion, specially of women', who were fashionable and well dressed.⁴⁴ Clearly it was easy to poke fun at this congregation, whom Ben Jonson described in *The Alchemist* (1612) as 'sober, scurvy, præcise Neighbours, / (That scarce have smil'd twice, sin'the King came in).'⁴⁵

Edward Hoby and Elizabeth Russell both had houses at Blackfriars and Margaret and Thomas Posthumous Hoby often stayed with them while they

⁴² For the London scene, see Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*. (Philadelphia, PA, 1987); For an exemplary study of the sociability of the early Stuart clergy, see Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643*. (Cambridge, 1997).

⁴³ Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), p. 116.

⁴⁴ J. Bruce (ed.), *Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-At-Law, 1602-1603*, p. 101.

⁴⁵ Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* (London, 1612), sig. B3r.

were in London. Egerton's sermons can give us an impression of the religious temperament of the Hobys. He was a prolific preacher and who had, in the words of Gouge, 'much experience ... with the Boring of the Eare.' His *The Boring of The Eare* (1623), though it might seem an unlikely best-seller, was published posthumously by Gouge in praise of how his sermons had penetrated the minds and lives of his hearers and was intended to show the godly how to hear the word of God profitably before, during and after the sermon.⁴⁶ In addition, the commonplace book of Gilbert Freville of County Durham records some of Egerton's prayers and sermons in practice. For example, Freville wrote down the prayer Egerton used before his sermons in 1604 which gives an insight into his appeal. Part of it read:

O eternal god, most mighty, righteous and in Jesus Christe, our most patient, gracious and merciful father, we most vile and wretched sinners do here continue to humble ourselves in thy sight O Lord. We do acknowledge and confesse from the bottome of our harts that we are altogether unmeete and unworthy to be partakers even of the very least of thy blessings and mercies ...

His language focused on sin and repentance, the importance of hearing the word properly and it described the state of man in the language of pollution and uncleanness. He was critical of the 'carnall and worldly'. Of course, these may have been the sections of the prayer that Freville thought most apt for his own life, but this seems unlikely as the prayer reads more fluently than fragmented notes. The appeal to the Hobys was not in praise of their perfection but in a ritual purgation of their sinfulness. The cleansing and self-humiliation in these prayers, and in the sermons, was a sign of the separation of the sinning but

⁴⁶ Stephen Egerton, *The boring of the eare contayning a plaine and profitable discourse by way of dialogue : concerning 1. Our preparation before hearing, 2. Our demeanour in hearing, 3. Our exercise after we haue heard the Word of God*, quotation at sig. A8v.

willing inside, from the unregenerate majority outside.⁴⁷

I.

That Lady Hoby was a godly reader has long been known. Both modern editions of her diary contain strong sections dealing with her reading matter. They do not, however, provide a comprehensive list of her reading or tackle the question of how she read, and how, for instance, this interacted with her ‘meditation’ and programme of religious exercises. They also take for granted that the diary contains the only meaningful evidence of her reading. They do not think to tackle the intellectual make-up of her husband, nor her letters nor, most importantly, Lady Hoby’s manuscript annotations. These annotations provide around two thousand extra words of Lady Hoby’s writing. Far from her list-like diary entries, these notes show what she brought to and took from her books, in so far as her encounters with them can be reconstructed. They give a vivid depiction of her intellectual structure, her learning and her immediate concerns. How and what Lady Hoby read is vital in adding detail to my description of godly life in the north of England. I hope to show the importance of the relational reading described in my introduction to godly cultures.

Lady Hoby’s diary gives excellent information on what she read. Not all the items she mentions can be identified with the same accuracy, as on some occasions she recorded titles and on others simply authors or even the subject matter. When I have had to guess at the exact title of the books she read, I have noted this clearly, together with my reasoning, in the footnotes. Detailing her reading matter, I am excluding letters (she was an avid correspondent) but including the manuscript books that she read and wrote, those books which she read to others and those that were read to her, as well as books she borrowed. Besides an unidentified edition of the Bible, the printed books were: *The Book*

⁴⁷ BL, Egerton MS 2877, fos. 18r-30v (Commonplace-Book of Gilbert Freville). See also, Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).

of *Common Prayer*⁴⁸; Nicholas Bownd, *The doctrine of the sabbath* (London, 1595)⁴⁹; George Gifford, *Fifteene sermons, upon the Song of Salomon* (London, 1598)⁵⁰; John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*⁵¹; Timothie Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy* (London, 1586)⁵²; Thomas Morton, *Two treatises concerning regeneration, 1. Of repentence, 2. Of the diet of the soule* (London, 1597)⁵³; *Master Broughtons letters, especially his last pamphlet to and against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, about Sheol and Hades, for the descent into Hell, answered in their kind* (London, 1599)⁵⁴; Thomas Cartwright, *A replye to an ansuvere made of M. Doctor Whitgifte Agaynste the admonition to the Parliament. By T.C.* (Hemel Hempstead, 1573)⁵⁵; Hugh Latimer, 27

⁴⁸ 14 April 1605. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 212. This was the first time it was read at the church at Hackness. In the interests of space, the footnotes below contain references only to the first readings of each different work.

⁴⁹ Lady Hoby mentioned reading ‘some of bond of the suboth’ on 12 August 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁰ ‘Gyffard upon the songe of Sallemon’, 1 September 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 13

⁵¹ The first of many entries for the Book of Martyrs, as Lady Hoby described it, was 28 September 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 22. It is not clear which edition of Foxe was used in the household.

⁵² This was noted as ‘Bright of Mallincocolie’, 12 October 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 28.

⁵³ She recorded reading ‘of the diatt of the soule’ on 31 August 1599. See Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 13. Though she appears to refer to this by the subtitle, it is probable that she read this second treatise as a separate work. It is also suggestive that John Foster’s inventory listed ‘One Diett for the Soule’. See, John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century Book Trade*, p. 115.

⁵⁴ Hoby wrote of ‘a good mans book, who proveth against Bis: Bilson that Christ suffered in soule the wrath of god and that he descended into hell’, 18 January 1599/1600, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 53-4. Given that she does not mention Broughton by name, this could have been the original pamphlet. Conversely, it is open to question whether she would have described the pamphlet as a book. In any case, she clearly took note of the argument as the ‘against Bishop Bilson’ did not become part of the title of the work until the edition of 1603, see Hugh Broughton, *Declaration of generall corruption of religion, Scripture and all learning* (Middelburg, 1603).

⁵⁵ This she describes as ‘Mr Cartwright and the Bushoppe of Canterberies booke’, 28 January 1599/1600, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 56.

Sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir [sic] of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer (London, 1562)⁵⁶; William Perkins, *A golden chaine: or The description of tneologie* (Cambridge, 1600)⁵⁷; Francis Bacon, *A Declaration of the Practices & Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex* (London, 1601)⁵⁸; perhaps Walter Travers, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiasticall discipline* (Heidelberg, 1574)⁵⁹ and possibly Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises, containing such direction as is gathered out of the Holie Scriptures* (London, 1603).⁶⁰ She mentioned reading a sermon by Udall, probably John Udall (1560-1592) rather than the Marian martyr, Nicholas Udall.⁶¹ She mentioned a paper totalling the

This book was part of a controversy that saw many different editions in print. It is noted simply as the first in the series to bear a suitable title.

⁵⁶ Again the first of numerous editions. Hoby identified it as ‘Latimers sarmons’, 3 July 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 96.

⁵⁷ This would depend on Hoby’s definition of new since she described reading, ‘Mr Perkins new book’ on 27 April 1601 (Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 145). The *Golden Chaine* was the only Perkins publication in the year 1600 (old style) though it had, of course, been published before.

⁵⁸ This could be the same as ‘the booke of my lord of Essixe treason’, she noted reading on 12 May 1601, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 147. Certainly this is more likely than William Barlow’s sermon about the treason of the same year, as Hoby tended to distinguish sermons from books. She got the book quickly, as Essex was executed on 25 February of that year. Bacon was a relative and the Hobys were in London at this point.

⁵⁹ Lady Hoby’s entry describes a book called ‘the true discipline of christes church’, on 30 July 1601, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 157. It is probable, given its significance in godly circles, that this was Travers’s translation of Thomas Cartwright’s *Ecclesiasticae disciplinae*.

⁶⁰ This would be a likely match for Hoby’s note of March 1604 that she read ‘of Mr Rogers book’, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 201. Of course it could be other books but perhaps this as it was recent, fits with the context of teaching her female household, and was a popular book which went through five editions before 1629. Another possibility, given her fondness for meditation, would be Thomas Rogers, *A Pretious Booke of Heavenlie Meditations* (London, 1597).

⁶¹ 25 January 1600/1. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 137. John Udall was fairly prolific but likely candidates include *Peters Fall* (London, 1584) and *Amendment of Life* (London, 1584).

plague deaths for July to October 1603 in London.⁶² She mentioned by name a proclamation for ‘the restraining som combustious persones that sought reformation.’⁶³ Those that we cannot be so sure about are a book by Cartwright, which could be a number of works by Thomas Cartwright published before 1599⁶⁴; a book by Greenham, most likely his *The workes of the reuerend and faithfull seruant of Iesus Christ M. Richard Greenham, minister and preacher of the word of God* (London, 1599)⁶⁵; a sermon on Revelation, read in 1599, which I have been unable to identify⁶⁶; a book by Babbington, which could have been one of many⁶⁷; ‘the herball’, most probably John Gerard, *The herball or General history of plants* (London, 1597)⁶⁸; ‘of Perkins’, one of the books of this best-selling theologian, perhaps the earliest edition of his *Works* (1597)⁶⁹; ‘a booke against some newe spronge heresies’, which is unidentified⁷⁰; ‘Broughtons book’, perhaps his controversy with Whitgift but conceivably one of the many works of the prolific puritan polemicist⁷¹; two ‘popeshe’ books, three days apart, which in fact were likely

⁶² 15 November, 1603. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 197. Though her total is different, this would have been similar to *A True bill of the whole number that hath died in the cittie of London* (London, 1603).

⁶³ 17 November 1603. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 197.

⁶⁴ 28 August 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁵ 11 September 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 16.

⁶⁶ 2 October 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 24.

⁶⁷ 9 October 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 27.

⁶⁸ 15 October 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 29.

⁶⁹ 1 December 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 41. This is evidently not the same as the new book she mentions later, see above, n. 57.

⁷⁰ 21 January 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 54-55.

⁷¹ 14 April 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 75. Possibly the same as that mentioned above, n. 54.

to have been one and the same⁷²; ‘of humanitie’, which could mean practically anything, though Joanna Moody’s contention that this was part of a classical curriculum is pure speculation and it is equally possible that she read a chapbook on mans fallen state or God’s interventions on the earth⁷³; ‘a sarmon book’⁷⁴; a ‘paper’ of a religious nature⁷⁵ and a catechism about the Lord’s Supper.⁷⁶ In addition, she read books that were lent to her by Mr Ardington (twice) and an unnamed individual.⁷⁷ She also read a series of books that appear to have been written in manuscript. These were: ‘the book for the placing of the people in the church’⁷⁸; her household book⁷⁹; her own diary⁸⁰; ‘some meditations of the Lady Bowes hir Makinge’⁸¹; Thomas Posthumous Hoby’s notes of Stephen Egerton’s sermons;⁸² and ‘a book that was mad, as it

⁷² 16 and 19 May, 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 83.

⁷³ 11 June 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 89.

⁷⁴ 30 June 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 95.

⁷⁵ 18 July 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 99. It was probably religious, since it ‘wrought a further humiliation’ in her.

⁷⁶ 28 March 1601. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 140-141. This could be any of a large number of titles. Ian Green, *The Christian’s ABC: catechisms and catechizing in England c.1530-1740*. (Oxford, 1996) contains an extensive list.

⁷⁷ She read books lent by Ardington on 8 December 1599 and 7 September 1600 and by an unidentified person on 23 April 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 42, 110, 78.

⁷⁸ Presumably a book for the Hackness parishioners rather than a general treatise. See the entry for 4 September 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁹ 27 October 1599. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 31.

⁸⁰ See the entry for 1 April 1605 in which she records ‘the readinge over some of my former spent time.’ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 210-211.

⁸¹ 10 and 11 November, 1601. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 169.

⁸² 29 November 1601. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 173.

was saied, by my lord of Essex in defence of his owne Causes', likely to have been either a manuscript or a publication that was banned.⁸³

The diary also shows that Lady Hoby was a considerable writer. As well as the diary itself, she recorded annotating books, including her testament and copy of Perkins, writing in her commonplace book, her sermon book, her table book (probably her commonplace book, though she distinguished between them, but conceivable any book with a table), taking notes of Egerton's sermons (a practice that this preacher advised), writing out meditations framed by Mr Rhodes, writing in the Household book and writing 'An examination or triall of a christian, framed by Mr Rhodes'.⁸⁴

This considerable list was probably only a portion of the books she read.

Several of the Hobys' books are extant at Hackness parish Library, now on deposit at York Minster Library. Three contain Margaret Hoby's signature: Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes Of The Institution, Use And Doctrine Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church* (1600)⁸⁵, which I will analyse in detail in the final part of this chapter; his *A Treatise of the church* (London, 1606)⁸⁶ and John Donne, *Pseudo-martyr* (London, 1610).⁸⁷ The library also contains nine books with the signature of Thomas Posthumous Hoby. These are Sir Edward Coke, *Quinta pars relationum Edwardi Coke* (London, 1605)⁸⁸; John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London 1610 & 1631)⁸⁹;

⁸³ 16 July 1600. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 98-99.

⁸⁴ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 3-4, 6, 29, 43, 52, 119.

⁸⁵ Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes Of The Institution, Use And Doctrin · Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church. As Likewise, How, When, And By What Degrees The Masse Is Brought In, In Place Thereof* (London, 1600). YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 47.

⁸⁶ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 66.

⁸⁷ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 57

⁸⁸ YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) XI I 10.

⁸⁹ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 2 (1-2).

Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion* (London, 1611)⁹⁰; John White, *The workes of that learned and reverend Divine, John White etc.* (London, 1624)⁹¹; Thomas Morton, *Of the institution of the sacrament* (London, 1631)⁹² and *A catholike appeale for protestants* (London, 1610)⁹³; John Whitgift, *The defense of the aunswere to the admonition, against the replie of T. C.* (London, 1574)⁹⁴; Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas Sive Cosmographicae* (Dusseldorf, 1595)⁹⁵ and Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1592).⁹⁶

Why Lady Hoby read the books she did (rather than others) can be better understood by trying to place the books she read into groupings. Many of the books she read can be put into a category of distinctly ‘puritan’ authors: Greenham, Perkins, Broughton, Rogers, Cartwright and Babbington is something a roll-call of popular puritan practical divinity. Such groupings are important. Detailed studies of theological positions, for instance by Peter Lake, have tended to fragment the ‘party politics’ of the age. An analysis of book ownership, treated with care, can often suggest that book-buyers bought books because they were by particular authors rather than because of their particular stance on, for instance, double predestination.⁹⁷ Suggestive of the author conditioning what the Hoby’s read is Lady Bowes’s book of meditations and the reference to reading Perkins’s ‘new book’ rather than mentioning it by

⁹⁰ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 19.

⁹¹ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 42.

⁹² YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 44.

⁹³ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 51.

⁹⁴ YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 45.

⁹⁵ YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) III A 8.

⁹⁶ YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) III A 4/2.

⁹⁷ Andrew Cambers, ‘Pastoral Laudianism? Religious politics in the 1630s: a Leicestershire rector’s annotations’, *Midland History*, 27 (2002), 38-51 adopts a similar, cautiously optimistic, approach to conceptions of a Laudian ‘party’ in the 1630s.

name, suggesting that often the author came before the subject or title.⁹⁸ It would of course be silly to take this too far and assume a place in their ‘godly’ belief for the Catholic authors they read. And yet, there is clearly a group of Catholic authors that fulfilled a need in their reading. It was probably a case of better the (catholic) devil they knew. In addition, some of their books do not fall into distinctly religious groupings. It would be hard to make a case for practical works, such as Lady Hoby’s herbal and household books. Many of the books have thematically linked subjects, such as a concern with preaching, and were written by preachers or their relatives. When someone does not appear to fit, it is worth looking out. Nicholas Bownde’s book, for instance, arose out of a series of sermons among Suffolk clergy.⁹⁹ He was also related to Richard Greenham. In thinking about the links the Hobys had to such authors, it is important to note a puritan style of piety and its refraction through print. Indeed, the very keeping of a diary in such form appears to have had godly associations. Richard Rogers for instance kept such a diary and it is certainly possible that Richard Rhodes, having returned to Yorkshire with diary-making zeal from Calvinist Cambridge, prompted Lady Hoby to keep her diary.¹⁰⁰

Family connections prompted some of the Hoby reading, and this expands my own description of ‘relational reading’ to include authors with whom a reader was familiar. She was a distant relation of Francis Bacon, which might have prompted her to read his account of the Essex treason, rather than some of the others. Margaret Hoby’s reading of Isabel Bowes’s meditations was prompted by her standing among the godly (perhaps godly women in particular) in the North, and may well fit into the book as gift nexus described by Natalie Zemon

⁹⁸ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 145. The mentions in the diary of reading ‘of’ an author, rather than a specific title, are also instructive.

⁹⁹ See Patrick Collinson, ‘“A Magazine of Religious Patterns”: An Erasmian Topic Transposed in English Protestantism’, in Derek Baker (ed.), *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History, Studies in Church History*, 14 (Oxford, 1977), 223-249.

¹⁰⁰ M. M. Knappen (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries. By R. Rogers and Samuel Ward* (London, 1933).

Davis and Jason Scott-Warren.¹⁰¹ Her reading of works about meditation, as well as having a practical application, may have also been prompted by her father's work on the subject. Authors which Lady Hoby may have met through her associations with the Huntingdons perhaps prompted her reading of other authors. It is possible that her particularly attentive reading of Du Plessis-Mornay arose out of a meeting. He had escaped the Saint Bartholomew's day massacre in disguise and his works were translated by puritan luminaries such as John Field. It is perhaps relevant then that Field's patron was Lady Hoby's latest mother-in-law's sister, Anne Bacon.

It is also necessary to examine models of reading lists advised for godly women and to examine briefly what other women in the north were reading. The evidence is fragmentary but not necessarily as thin as some might expect. Richard Stock, the rector of Kirkheaton in Yorkshire, preached a sermon in 1607 (admittedly in London) in which he advocated a female reading list. He said:

Chrisostome wrate to laeta, to bring up her daughter to read, 1. The Psalmes for meditacon 2. The Proverbs for manners 3. Ecclesiastes to show the vanities of the world 4. Job to learn patience 5. The fower Evangelistes to be alwayes in their hands: Then the Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles: Then the fives bookes of Moises: Then the Chronicles, Kings, & prophets; And last of all the Canticles, because these might be harme taken thereby of the younger sort, before their knowledge were grounded for that in them spirituall doctrine is delivered in carnal word: And in anie sort to beware of the Apocripha, for that amongst a great deale of clay there is but a little gould: And being some what grounded in the scriptures to read these Authors: Greenham, Rogers, Willet, Bilson, Dodd, with many others.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series 33, (1983), 69-88 and her *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000); Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harrington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford, 2001).

¹⁰² BL, Egerton MS 2877, fo. 92r (The Commonplace-Book of Gilbert Freville). This manuscript contains extensive notes of sixty-one of Stock's sermons between 1606 and 1607.

With regard to real female readers of the period with whom comparison is useful, it is necessary to widen our chronological range somewhat. Lady Anne Clifford's reading is somewhat more difficult to pin down with certainty. Her diaries, often written long after the event contain many references to books, as does her portrait and, perhaps ideally, her funeral sermon. Uppermost was her Bible reading, 'it was her companion' as her funeral sermon read, a fact borne out by the numerous references to the practice in her diary. She also read Psalms and noted how her mother had liked the book of Job. Her book use was communal and included her servants as well as family. Her funeral sermon recalled:

And that all might be Fitted and well-prepared, she took care that several Books of *Devotion* and *Piety* might be provided four times in the year; that every one might take their choice of such Book as they had not before, by which means those that had lived in her house long (and she seldom turn'd any away) might be furnish'd with Books of Religion and Devotion in every kind.

In addition, the funeral sermon adds that though she did not have many books, she got her servants to write down bits of wisdom and pin them up in her room 'so that, though she had not many books in her chamber, yet it was dressed up with the flowers of a library.'¹⁰³ We might, however, question this use of 'many' and certainly this indicates that more books were kept in a study. Her diary tells of her reading histories, poetry, religious works and the Bible. Her portrait shows some of the titles which made up a small part of her library.¹⁰⁴ Particularly suggestive are the two books bequeathed in her mother's will. She left her Bible to Mr Shute, a preacher, suggesting the intimacy of the relationships between aristocratic women and their chaplains, and 'Duplesses booke of the Sacrament of the Masse' to her niece, Lady Herbert, who was

¹⁰³ Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached At the Funeral of the Right Honorable ANNE, Countess of Pembroke* (London, 1677), pp. 61, 33-34, 40.

¹⁰⁴ For a list of authors, see above, p. 48.

Lady Margaret Hoby's sister-in-law.¹⁰⁵ Lady Grace Mildmay had an equally godly reading list which was centred around the Bible and Psalms, together with medical books, close in practice to that of Lady Hoby.¹⁰⁶ Further down the social scale, female reading is less well-documented but, among clerical families, Helen Pierson's reading may be instructive. Her husband, Thomas Pierson, rector of Brampton Bryan and formerly of Emmanuel, Cambridge, gave her, from his large collection, *The Book of Martyrs*, and the works of Perkins, Bolton and Preston.¹⁰⁷

The choice of reading matter was also conditioned by the suggestions of others, particularly clerics. Reading often featured above other practices in the how-to lists of godly preachers. Thomas Pierson argued that faith of puritans was 'got by reading, hearing, and other good exercises of religion.'¹⁰⁸ Reading a favourite puritan such as William Perkins could shape a reader's future reading. Perkins argued that reading was a spiritual exercise and condemned 'ballads, books of love, all idle discourses and histories being nothing else but enticements and baits unto manifold sinnes: fitter for sodome and gomorrah, then for Gods church.'¹⁰⁹ For Richard Rogers, whose *Seven Treatises* of 1603 was repackaged by Stephen Egerton and dedicated to the parishioners of Blackfriars in 1618, the principal means by which people achieved godliness was through the 'bellows' of the written word, pumped by the spirit of god. Though he emphasised the power of the written word especially when it was preached, in the margin of the text he noted that 'Reading [is], a good helpe to

¹⁰⁵ Clearly, Du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes* (London, 1600).

¹⁰⁶ D. M. Meads (ed.), *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁷ See Jacqueline Eales, 'Thomas Pierson And The Transmission Of The Moderate Puritan Tradition', *Midland History*, 20 (1995), 75-102.

¹⁰⁸ Jacqueline Eales, 'Thomas Pierson And The Transmission Of The Moderate Puritan Tradition', *Midland History*, 20 (1995), p. 94.

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Margaret Hoby's Diary: Women's Reading Practices and the Gendered Reformation Subject' in Sigrid King (ed.), *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts*, p. 66.

the same end.’¹¹⁰ Egerton advised a reading list of Scripture, especially Revelation, but admitted, again in the margin, that ‘Reading of other godly books’ was also good.¹¹¹ Stephen Egerton, in his *The Boring of The Eare* (1623) advised the reading of the Scriptures before the sermon in order to prepare for the word of God. He judged it a hindrance to hearing if some had read books that gave them ‘such a prejudice as will not suffer them to reape any profit by the word preached’ but advised following the text during the sermon to make sure that the minister got it right. What was not to be suffered in the sermon was the reading of other books.¹¹²

II.

Lady Hoby’s reading matter, and possibly her writings too, like that of many other puritans, revolved around conventional godly books and the Bible. In this section, I wish to take the examination further and consider how Lady Hoby read: the most important and most difficult question and one not posed in either of the recent articles on the subject of her reading, or the latest edition of the diary.¹¹³ How she actually performed the process, and interacted with her books, and put her learning into practice will get us closer inside the mentalité of this godly woman, and northern puritanism itself. I want to consider her reading methods first using her diary and, in part III, her manuscript annotations.

At first glance, and to some historians, Lady Hoby’s diary reveals little of the ‘how’ in either her reading or religious practice. It is, to Retha Warnicke, a ‘dry

¹¹⁰ Richard Rogers, *The Practice of Christianitie or an Epitomie of Seven Treatises, penned and published in the yeere 1603* (London, 1618), sig. A5r.

¹¹¹ Richard Rogers, *The Practice of Christianitie or an Epitomie of Seven Treatises*, sig. A6r.

¹¹² Stephen Egerton, *The Boring of The Eare*, pp. 14, 41.

¹¹³ Mary Ellen Lamb, ‘Margaret Hoby’s Diary: Women’s Reading Practices and the Gendered Reformation Subject’ in Sigrid King (ed.), *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts*, 63-94 and her ‘The Sociality of Margaret Hoby’s Reading Practices and the Representation of Reformation Interiority’, *Critical Survey*, 12 (2000), 17-32. Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*.

recitation of routine events.¹¹⁴ However, a more imaginative use of the diary can connect the events of her life with her intellectual activities and provide details to this dry intellectual landscape. The diary is extremely useful in assessing the location of Lady Hoby's reading. Much of her reading, and perhaps in particular her reading of the Bible, was carried out in her closet. A typical entry in this respect was for 4 January 1599/1600: 'after I was in my chamber, I praied privately, [and] reed of the Testament.'¹¹⁵ Some entries highlight the private aspect of her reading practices. Her entry for 23 June 1600 records that, after seeing some gentlewomen, 'I withdrew my selfe and reed of the bible.'¹¹⁶ Though not always mentioned explicitly, her early morning reading was done in her closet, and was probably devotional and, as it coincided with prayer, almost certainly her Bible and (New) Testament. Illness may have prompted her reading in her bedchamber¹¹⁷, and she read in bedchambers while away from home, where we assume she had no closet.¹¹⁸ Alan Stewart, examining the 'Epistemologies of the Early Modern Closet', has argued that the private closet is directly contrasted with the public bedchamber in the diary. He equates the private prayer and reflection that accompanied the keeping of the diary with the closet. Though this is an interesting argument, and Stewart is perfectly aware that in her diary keeping, Lady Hoby was publicly enacting her withdrawal from the realm of the public, and that Margaret also read and wrote in her bedchamber, it is a little misleading in its binary opposition. Lady Hoby, when she came out of the closet, read in a variety of places: for instance in company in the hall of her house; at sermons; and in the houses of those people she visited. Furthermore, Stewart's guarded dichotomy tends to assume that Lady Hoby was a 'private' and silent reader.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport, CT and London, 1983), p. 148.

¹¹⁵ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 50.

¹¹⁶ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 94.

¹¹⁷ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 36.

¹¹⁸ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 9.

¹¹⁹ See Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism And Sodomy In Early Modern England* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1997), pp. 161-187, esp. 167-8.

The reading which occurred in the great hall at Hackness is suggestive of a communal or relational book use. As the Fairfax family at Fewston read in the kitchen or on their laps in their sitting room (as described in Chapter 3), so much of the reading at Hackness was a public spiritual exercise. The communal use was not because of a lack of private spaces. Lady Hoby, as I have already mentioned, had a closet. Thomas Hoby also had a study. William Eure's statement, in the ritual shaming of the Hoby family, clearly points out the study and that it adjoined Lady Hoby's bedchamber:

I going into my Lady, the others withdrew themselves into the great chamber again. Sir Thomas Hobie had shut himself into the study, being unwilling to be spoken with, but watching there, as now I may conjecture, to take advantage if I should use any unseemly speeches.¹²⁰

Though the study was often a gendered space, and usually the exclusive preserve of men, Lady Hoby appears to have had limited access. Though she never mentions reading in the study, she wrote, in a letter to her husband:

Deare harte, I am not sure that I have sent you all right, because I could not find both the bookes so written of as you tould me, but I have sent you all that is likely to be that you spake of ...¹²¹

Such regulated access may have been characteristic of a puritan concern for learning together with patriarchal order and appears in line with the practices of Nehemiah Wallington and Philip Henry, noted above.¹²²

¹²⁰ *HMC: Salisbury MSS* (1883-1923), XI: 11-12.

¹²¹ Sir Erskine Perry, *The Van den Bempde Papers. The Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies of the Philobiblion Society*, Vol. 12 (1868/9), pp. 17-18.

¹²² See above, n. 24.

Reading was meant to be a daily duty and Lady Hoby was disturbed when she could not do so. In her entry for 6 September 1599, she noted that she spent her day ‘nothinge reading nor profiting my selfe or any.’¹²³ Reading was an important part of her spiritual life, and it connected the oral, aural and the written as is clear from Lady Hoby’s diary entry (among many others), ‘this day I continewed to heare, and read, and pray.’¹²⁴ The visit of Mr Pollard, the head constable, prompted her to make her strongest statement on the importance of printed cultures to the godly life. She wrote:

Mr pollard, the Head Constable, dined with us: strong is the force of vanitie but the Lord is greater than all: readinge, praier, and the word, be excellent helpes to a godly and peacable life [.] Ease slaethe the foolishe.¹²⁵

Reading aloud has not received the historical attention it deserves, and is too often placed along a progressive educational division that obscures the true picture. In fact, what we are dealing with, as I have argued in my introduction is a spectrum of orality in reading practices, conditioned by readers, individual contexts, timing, and the difficulty of the texts themselves. With regard to England’s reformations, the temptation has been to equate silent reading with progressive Protestantism. Reading the Bible aloud was even banned by statute for noblewomen when they were in earshot of anyone else by the Act for the Advancement of True Religion in 1543. However, reading aloud, far from dying out, gained new vitality among post-Reformation cultures of print. At Blackfriars, Stephen Egerton advised communal reading above reading alone.

¹²³ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 15.

¹²⁴ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 174. Entry for 28 December 1601.

¹²⁵ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 196. Entry for 4 November 1601.

His *The Boring of the Eare* included communal reading: 'We are to reade and meditate in private with others if wee may fitly, and by our selves upon that place of Scripture that is to bee handled in the publike Assembly.'¹²⁶

Only on rare occasions did Lady Hoby mention, as she did in her entry for 7 April 1601, that she busied herself with 'privatt reading.'¹²⁷ In fact, on the evidence of the diary, reading in the Hoby household was usually a communal enterprise. When Lady Hoby recorded who she read to or with, we are presented with considerable evidence about their religious culture. The figures must be treated with caution, especially for Lady Hoby as I have assumed that her reading was private unless she mentioned otherwise. Lady Hoby's diary recorded 225 occasions of reading, though extremely few of these are explicitly mentioned as private, which might suggest that private reading was rather alien to her, and even solitary reading could be oral. In the Fairfax household, the practice of silent reading was considered demonic and reading in the Hoby household can rarely have been silent. In the diary Lady Hoby, apart from reading to herself (which is problematic and vague), read 17 times to others explicitly, and probably more often. Others read to her: Richard Rhodes, the family chaplain, read to her or to her and others seventy-four times; his wife, Megy Rhodes read twice in the communal reading exercises; John Corrow and Mr Maud, 'a younge devine, a[n] exceedinge good Christian',¹²⁸ each read three times; Thomas Posthumous Hoby at least five times; Mr Ardington (Rhodes's replacement) read eleven times; Mr Doman, Mr Stillington, Cousin Dakin, Cousin Isons, Mr Urpeth, Mr Genkins and Mr Aston all read once. Women also read to the household, including Helen, Mrs Brutnell, and Everill Aske (all once). Kate read twice, as did her 'wemen', probably the elderly people whom Lady Hoby took into her house, whom she also described as her 'patients'. Unidentified others read on twelve further occasions.

¹²⁶ Stephen Egerton, *The Boring of The Eare*, p. 34.

¹²⁷ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 142. Entry for 7 April 1601.

¹²⁸ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 43.

We learn much about the household from a close analysis of these reading practices, and in particular about the structuring of post-Reformation relationships. Lady Hoby's relation with her 'self' is obviously important in her private reading, though the self-consciousness apparent in some entries complicates the relationship.¹²⁹ However, we must make clear that even her private reading was intended for practical action. For instance, after reading her testament alone on 20 July, 1600, she noted 'I walked and did meditate of that I had read.'¹³⁰ Clearly she read intensively and for a purpose beyond reading for its own sake. Such reading for meditation, might help to explain her reading of the meditations of others. She may have read Lady Bowes's meditations and those framed by Richard Rhodes in order to 'meditate' better in her own life.¹³¹

Lady Hoby read to women, including Mrs Ormston, her mother, a sick maid and good neighbours. The reading to her mother, as on 6 July 1600 and 17 August 1600, was carried out in a religious environment. On both occasions she read to her before and after church, perhaps to demonstrate her godly learning and integrate her mother into the Hackness style of piety.¹³² Reading to other women had more of an educative emphasis but was still placed within the framework of piety. She frequently mentioned reading to 'som good wiffes'¹³³ after Church on Sundays. Certainly such entries show how the Hobys liked to take the church home with them but also is instructive as it implicitly divides the community, suggesting that only 'good' wives were invited back to the house. Such an interpretation would help our model of the construction of godliness in the north being conceived along the lines of dual organisation. The

¹²⁹ For example, note the reflection evident in her entry for 1 April, 1605: '... at Night I thought to writt my daies Journee as before, becaus, in the reading over some of my former spent time, I funde profitt might be made of that Course from which, tho'ow two much neccligence, I had a Longe time dissisted: but they are unworthye of godes benefittes and especiall favours that Can finde no time to make a thankfull recorde of them.' Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 210-211.

¹³⁰ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 100.

¹³¹ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 169.

¹³² Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 96, 106.

¹³³ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 152.

Hobys, as I have noted above, were praised for being ‘more excellent’ than their neighbours.¹³⁴ Some of this reading suggests a patriarchal religious control of the household. And yet, the patience she showed while reading and, especially, in the clear delight she took when her women read to her, tends to point to a domestic educative reading, rather than an exercise of control. Women read to her about ten times in the diary. Some were clearly literate, such as Margaret Rhodes, the wife of Richard Rhodes, who twice read to her from Richard Greenham in the communal religious exercises.¹³⁵ Both times she read on a Sunday and was clearly a mature reader. Lady Hoby derived more pleasure from hearing her young women read, and it is likely she had taught them. This is clear in her recording of Everill Aske’s reading on 25 October and 30 November, 1599.¹³⁶ Such reading was communal, as is stated explicitly in her entry for 4 July 1601, which recorded that she ‘hard Kate read a chapter’ after she had left her closet and probably in the ‘pasterie’ or bakehouse.¹³⁷ Rather than being a patriarch, Lady Hoby here comes across as a concerned teacher, enthusiastic and perhaps relieved at the integration of her servants into the godly commonwealth. It should be noted that literacy was often the key to this godly world and that without it young women were more vulnerable to temptation.

Lady Hoby’s reading with godly preachers and its documentation in the diary affords further insights into the nature of her reading practices, especially in the way it shaped and structured her relationships. She read with Richard Rhodes, Mr Maud, Mr Ardington and Mr Urpith, the vicar of Whitby. Lady Hoby’s relationship with Richard Rhodes was structured around books and reading, and the line between religious instruction and ‘textual infidelity’ is clearly

¹³⁴ Nicholas Byfield, *The Rule of Faith: or an Exposition of the Apostles Creed, so handled as it affordeth both milke for Babes, and strong meat for such as are at full age* (London, 1626), sig. A2v.

¹³⁵ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 39, 48. Entries for 25 November and 30 December 1599.

¹³⁶ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 31, 40.

¹³⁷ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 154.

blurred in this case. Not only did Rhodes read to her, but she also read to him, their intellectual relationship appearing one between equals. Rhodes's reading was important to Lady Hoby's religious exercise and existence, and she made no effort to hide this in the diary. She often recorded what she learnt from his reading, for instance in her entry for 1 April 1601:

this day, for prainge, readinge, and workinge, I continewed my ordenarie exercises, with much Comfort and peace of Conscience, I thanke god, havinge Learned some thing from Mr Rhodes his readinge unto me, as, first, that no callinge is lawfull with out a growne [i.e. ground] for itt in godes word: 2nd, that the title of Lord Archbusshopes are Unlawfull: 3rd, that no minister should be made without a minestrie and charge, unto which he should be ordained.¹³⁸

The intimacy she enjoyed in her textual relationship with Rhodes is clear in the privileged access he appears to have had to Lady Hoby. She often recorded that he had read to her in her bedchamber. He read a wide range of material, from the Book of Martyrs, through Cartwright, to meditations, scripture and sermons. He also brought her books, which she greeted with enthusiasm, for instance in her record of reading 'the new book of Perkins' for the first time in 1601. For Lady Hoby, Rhodes's reading was a communal and textual interactive affair and she often took notes while he read.

Her relationship with Rhodes is particularly important when it is compared to that with her other preachers. Although, for instance, Mr Ardington read to her eleven times, he never achieved Rhodes's integration into the household. Their reading was a one-sided transactional affair and Lady Hoby recorded that she 'had' them read to her. Rhodes did not have to be asked, again indicative of the mutuality of their textual dealings. Furthermore, her record of the reading is far

¹³⁸ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 141. Entry for 1 April 1601. It should be noted that Lady Hoby may not have shared Rhodes's opinion on the legality of archbishops. She appears to have revelled in her association with the Huttons. See, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 21. Entry for 22 September 1599. The relationship is discussed in Peter Lake, 'Matthew Hutton- A Puritan Bishop?', *History*, 64 (1979), p. 203.

more intimate. Often with other preachers, she would simply record that she had had them read to her. With Rhodes, she was more likely to record what was read, where it was done and even what moral message was derived from it. Although it is tempting to infer from the slippage in acceptability in reading practices something more physical in their relationship, there is little evidence. Certainly their neighbours suspected foul play, but this expression may have been to demonstrate the inversion inherent in the religious practices of the godly. Furthermore, it may have come down to a particularly active reading style of Rhodes. When he was presented before the Chancery Court in July 1631, the issues that concerned the authorities, were not simply his ‘Sunday meetings’ with schoolboys, but their repetition of sermons, which they had inscribed onto tablets.¹³⁹

Repetitive reading was a feature of the diary. Although this is not explained clearly by the diary, the recording of reading from the same book on successive days hints at a sectional, rather than continuous reading of a book. Also important is Lady Hoby’s noting that she or her companions read ‘of’ an author. This points towards a heightened, semi-canonical regard for the author, over a secondary interest in the title or subject of a work. Certain titles appear to have been read frequently in this repetitive fashion, including the Bible, Greenham, Foxe and Perkins. They were read in the evening, often after the repetition of the sermon and in company. Perkins was read on at least ten occasions. Certainly, it appears in the manner of a religious exercise in which titles were read over and over, in company and by different members of the household. These evening exercises do not appear to have excluded women, who did much of the reading of Foxe and Greenham at these times. The week 28 September to 4 October 1599 is especially instructive, though not

¹³⁹ For the blurred lines between companionship, instruction and infidelity, see Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism And Sodomy In Early Modern England*. For heterosexual examples and the importance of the subject as a whole, see Frances Harris, *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (Oxford, 2002) and Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe, ‘Reading, “Family Religion” and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England: The Case of John Rastrick (1650-1722)’ (in preparation). For the Beverley conventicles, see R. A. Marchant, *The Puritans And The Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642*, p. 271.

unrepresentative. After the supper and lecture in this week, the Book of Martyrs was read by name at least four times, by both men and women.¹⁴⁰

Reading at the same time of day suggests a repetitious religious reading cycle for such texts, though we should not discount the possibility, given that Greenham and Foxe were among the liveliest of authors available in the godly household, that entertainment and instruction combined to form a kind of early modern horror genre, with a strong and reassuring moral point.

Lady Hoby had a reading relationship with her husband, though her recording of the relationship does not revel in the reading for its own sake but more generally for a practical purpose. Thomas Hoby read to her at least five times in the diary and was presumably present at communal readings. Especially interesting is that Lady Hoby had him read to her when she was ill. In doing so she asserted her authority over her husband, helping in the healing process against Satan's 'buffets', her toothache, or continuing to take part in the familial religious exercises. For instance her entry for 9 March, 1600, after suffering for several days with severe toothache, that was not cured by talking with neighbours, or 'diverse medesons that did litle profett', but only through her relationship with God, she completed the healing process and wrote that she 'gott Mr Hoby to read some of perkinis to me.'¹⁴¹ Textual healing should be seen in the context of godly religious practice which denied the individual much of the therapeutic repertoire available in traditional and Catholic societies. Thomas Hoby read Perkins, Greenham, and Cartwright, but never the household books read by Lady Hoby. One particularly important aspect of her relationship with her husband which suggests how reading could structure their roles within the marriage and community is their reading on church seating. For 4 September 1599, Lady Hoby wrote 'I hilped to read of the book for the placing of the people in the church to Mr Hoby, and then we went to church.'¹⁴² Here we see her active role, through her reading, in the religious

¹⁴⁰ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 22-26.

¹⁴¹ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 65.

¹⁴² Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 14-15.

activities of the wider Hackness community. Whereas we might expect this to be a male and public duty, the Hobys worked in tandem to structure the lives of the villagers. Indeed the mention of such a book is important. It suggests just how much books were part of their world and how they used them to assert their authority over others. We assume that the villagers on their own had no such book, simply keeping to their customs. Perhaps the book was framed on the arrival of the Hobys to legitimate their position in the church and community, where it would seem they were not exactly popular.¹⁴³

When considering how Lady Hoby read, it is not enough simply to list, as does Mary Ellen Lamb, the occasions on which she read.¹⁴⁴ Also important is the manner of her reading practices displayed in the diary and the motives for particular types of reading: for reasons of health; to banish demons; for action or for pleasure. In what follows, I will examine these motivations and consider how her reading could be repetitive and involve an interaction with both the spoken and the written.

In a characteristically wide-ranging and brilliant article, Roy Porter used sources from the Bible to Robert Burton and Truffault's *Fahrenheit 451* to suggest that reading was bad for health.¹⁴⁵ It was, he argued, bad for the back, the eyes, sanity and could cause hysteria in women. By the end of the article, which of course, from such an avid reader, was somewhat tongue-in-cheek, he rather seemed to agree with Disraeli, who wrote in *Lothair* that 'Books are fatal; they are the curse of the human race.' However, he moved onto the positives at the end, noting that Rabelais recorded the use of chronicles, wrapped between sheets and warmed and placed by the skin, in order to cure

¹⁴³ For the use of writing to legitimate authority in a different context, see M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (London, 1979).

¹⁴⁴ Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Margaret Hoby's Diary: Women's Reading Practices and the Gendered Reformation Subject' in Sigrid King (ed.), *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts*, 63-94.

¹⁴⁵ Roy Porter, 'Reading: A Health Warning', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.), *Medicine, Mortality and the Booktrade* (Folkestone, 1998), 131-152.

toothache.¹⁴⁶ Reading to cure the sick was noted in seventeenth century sermons too. Gilbert Freville noted in his commonplace book a series of parts of Scripture to be read by the sick, including Luke 22:23, Psalms 29, 42, 51 and 143, John 14 Revelation 7 and 1 Corinthians 15.¹⁴⁷ Reading, rather than the physical book, was also a cure for Lady Hoby, often beset by toothache and illness. The diary is instructive. For 25 October 1599, she noted that she ‘did read for a whill for beinge not well.’¹⁴⁸ Certainly the lack of reading in the household could make her ill; her infirmities often come after periods in which she did not record reading. Reading was part of the recovery process. After about two weeks of toothache in 1600, she noted that she ‘gott Mr Hoby to Read some of perkines to me, and, after dinner, I red as Longe as I coulde my selfe.’¹⁴⁹ On other occasions, with a bad cold, Lady Hoby read and prayed and was soon better.¹⁵⁰ Reading was her personal cure. In January 1601 she read ‘as I was able’ while she suffered from toothache for four days.¹⁵¹ Sometimes, however, she was not well enough to read herself and insisted that others read to her to aid her recovery process. For 25 December 1599 she noted, ‘I caused one to read to me’ because she was ill.¹⁵² On other occasions, it was her spiritual healer, Rhodes, who read to relieve her illness, as he did on 7 February 1599/1600.¹⁵³ The healing power was in the reading rather than the books themselves. It is interesting that illness enabled her to ‘cause’ others to read to her, including those who would have been unlikely to follow female

¹⁴⁶ Roy Porter, ‘Reading: A Health Warning’, in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.), *Medicine, Mortality and the Booktrade*, p. 148.

¹⁴⁷ BL, Egerton Ms 2877, fo. 89r (Commonplace-Book of Gilbert Freville).

¹⁴⁸ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 31.

¹⁴⁹ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 65. Entry for 9 March 1599/1600.

¹⁵⁰ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 132. Entry for 27 December 1600.

¹⁵¹ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 135. Entry for 8-12 January 1600/1601.

¹⁵² Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 47.

¹⁵³ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, pp. 59-60.

instructions. Thomas Posthumous Hoby was 'gott' to read to her from Perkins and later in the same year both he and Rhodes read to Lady Hoby during her illness. This religious reading was carried out in her chamber. It is tempting to see this as Lady Hoby exercising power of matters textual in the physical setting in which she had the most influence, in a similar fashion to the demoniacs who gained or exercised domestic power by making others read to them on their sickbeds. However, Lady Hoby, for all she appreciated being read to, was prepared to read for the benefit of others in the house when they were ill, as she noted, for instance, for 24 May 1601, that she 'reed, tell church time, to a sicke maid in my house.'¹⁵⁴

Extending the analysis of reading to cure the sick, it could be argued that Lady Hoby read to drive away Satan, or at least his metaphorical temptations.¹⁵⁵ A few entries are informative. Richard Greenham argued that Satan 'buffeted' believers,¹⁵⁶ and Lady Hoby, an avid reader and hearer of Greenham, followed his language in her descriptions of the devil in her life. She too wrote of suffering 'satan ... his buffets' and 'satan buffetts' in her entries for 18 July and 1 August, 1602.¹⁵⁷ Also important is her marginal note in the diary adjacent to her entry for 19 January 1599/1600. She wrote, probably after her original entry: 'This day the devell would have brought into question the truth of gods word which by the certefecate of godes spiritt in my hart which had heretofore wrought in the same was sonne vanquished.' The adjacent entry records her dressing her patients, talking with neighbours and reading, writing in her sermon book and writing letters, which appear to have remedied her temptations.¹⁵⁸ Her entries for Saturday 19 and Sunday 20 January 1600 are also instructive. In her entry for the Saturday, she reproached herself as after a

¹⁵⁴ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁵ See, Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Stroud, 2000) p. 102.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Greenham, *The workes of the reuerend and faithfull seruant of Iesus Christ M. Richard Greenham, minister and preacher of the word of God*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁵⁷ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 182.

¹⁵⁸ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 62.

busy day:

I talked of some thinge not so as I ought, when I had considered of them, but I find what is in man if the Lordes spiritt doe never so Litle hide it selfe from presarvinge us from from outward and inward daungers.¹⁵⁹

The devil caused her discomfort and she told her husband about it in the evening. The next day, the Lord's Day, she drove Satan away using her godly books. After Church, the spiritual preparation for an assault, she noted, 'I read in perkins tell I went againe to the Church, wher I found the Lord to assisst me most graciously from the malice of my enemie.'¹⁶⁰ The book was important in this exorcism-like experience, and it was performed in a similar way to that in which the godly carried out their seventeenth-century dispossessions, that is in company. Reading was performed until darkness to keep the devil out: 'Mr Hoby ... read a whill of Cartwrights book to me'¹⁶¹ and on the following day, Rhodes read to Lady Hoby 'against some newe spronge herisies.'¹⁶² Such ritualised practice, in which continual reading keeps the spirit away, bears comparison with the Balinese tradition of the continual reading of stories for two or three days after death to keep demons away from the vulnerable soul.¹⁶³ Such a comparison should alert us to the fact that there was often more to 'book use' in post-Reformation England than a simple digestion of the contents of books. The practice is similar to that of the Fairfax household at Fewston, where the Bible was read ritually and communally to drive away witches and

¹⁵⁹ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 54.

¹⁶⁰ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 54.

¹⁶¹ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 54.

¹⁶² Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 54.

¹⁶³ Robert Darnton, 'Readers Respond to Rousseau: the Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity', in his *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes In French Cultural History*, p. 210.

their familiar spirits.¹⁶⁴

The diary casts some light on Lady Hoby's detailed process of reading. Certainly, it was a communal enterprise. She would often take notes while another read, which we should consider as concurrent rather than sequential. The reading was repetitive. What is also apparent is that while reading, both alone and in company, Lady Hoby marked her texts. She often recorded that she 'wret notes into my testament'¹⁶⁵ either in the morning or after hearing an important exposition while at church. Hurrying back, she would annotate a section to help her interpret it correctly when she came to it next. Sometimes she was more precise: for 30 January, 1600 she noted that, after dressing the cut of one of her servants, 'I wrett in my testament notes upon James.'¹⁶⁶ Such annotation was not always on her testament and sometimes it suggests that she read with several books open at once. For instance, a sermon on 3 February 1600 prompted her to rush home and 'reed of the testament, and wrett notes in itt and upon Perkins.'¹⁶⁷ Reading for Lady Hoby was a comparative process involving the spoken and the written: the sermon appears to have prompted the new marginal gloss in her Perkins. She probably only wrote in those books she owned. Certainly the surviving books of Thomas Posthumous Hoby are almost entirely free from annotation. Lady Hoby read with others and, in annotating her books, did so for action in her spiritual and worldly life. Even this division is somewhat misleading, as Lady Hoby displayed no reverence for her religious books, which lacked physical sanctity. Her Bible must have been a spotty affair, given the numerous mentions of annotation, but it is interesting that it was not a sacred space but a practical book, to which could be legitimately added commentary, notes or explanations. Similarly, other godly books, such as those of Perkins, were not spared the pen.

¹⁶⁴ See below, Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁵ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 24. Entry for 2 October 1599. This is one of numerous examples.

¹⁶⁶ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 58.

¹⁶⁷ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, p. 59.

III.

In this section, I wish to use a detailed approach to reveal a more thorough and technical model of how Lady Hoby read. Using her manuscript annotations presents some difficulties of the representative nature of this set of readings, which I will point out if not avoid, but it allows a more fair-minded consideration of her reading and, more speculatively, her mindset, than do the more formulaic entries of her diary.¹⁶⁸

There were numerous theories of reading and marginalia available to Lady Hoby, though few that were intended (even partially) for women. For men, where political action started for instance with the reading of history, it was essential to have a method or strategy for approaching texts.¹⁶⁹ Reading without one was almost useless, as Robert Burton noted:

I have read many books, but to little purpose, for want of good method; I have confusedly tumbled over many authors in our libraries, with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgment.¹⁷⁰

The Book of Common Prayer advised a four-fold pattern: 'Read, marke, learne and inwardly digest.'¹⁷¹ This of course was nothing new and had its roots in

¹⁶⁸ For the problems associated with reflection in the diary, see above, esp. n. 127. The speculation occurs because I will examine the implication of changes in the use of particular words from the text to the annotation, that may have come down to more mundane yet essential considerations, such as dialect. Fundamentally important, though differing, works that examine the importance of changes in words are John Bossy, *Christianity in the West* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 167-171; Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris, 1966); and Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics: Volume 1: Regarding Method* (Cambridge, 2002).

¹⁶⁹ The key work is now D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*.

¹⁷⁰ Robert Burton, *The anatomy of melancholy what it is. With all the kindes, causes, symptomes, prognostickes, and seuerall cures of it.* (London, 1621), p. 4. There is no study of the reading practices of Robert Burton, whose books can be found primarily at the Bodleian Library and Christ Church Library, Oxford.

¹⁷¹ *The booke of common prayer* (London, 1549), quotation from the collect for the second Sunday in Advent.

numerous humanist models taught in early modern Europe. Erasmus had advised such a model, elucidated in his *De Conscribendi Epistolis*:

Review immediately a reading you have heard in such a way that you fix the general meaning a little more deeply in your mind. Then, go back over it, starting at the end and working back to the beginning, examining only individual words and observing only points of grammar in the process: take note of any word that is obscure....After doing this, run through the passage completely again with particular attention to points of rhetorical technique.... [and] do not be reluctant to go over the passage a fourth time... to discover any example that may be applicable to morals.¹⁷²

This was a four part model for grammar, rhetoric, bits to keep and morals. It is instructive as it points to the importance of hearing well in the practice of reading. Many editions of the Geneva Bible contained a model of reading entitled 'How to take profit by reading of the Holy Scripture.' As well as annotation, this advised conference with others and hearing preaching in the better reading of scripture.¹⁷³ The 'godly conversation' mentioned by puritans may well have been such conference about texts. Nehemiah Wallington called it 'gospel conversation', though his historian interprets this as 'godly behaviour' and 'a chief way of glorifying God.'¹⁷⁴ For most, reading was (ideally) a communal enterprise. Lady Anne Clifford noted in her diary that her husband had told her 'I must leave off reading the Old Testament till I can get somebody to read it with me.'¹⁷⁵ However, many of the models mentioned by Kintgen and cited above were ideals and bore little relation to reality. Despite

¹⁷² Cited in Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷³ Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England*, pp. 132 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, California, 1985), p. 20. Seaver's analysis is, I think, misleading. Wallington's use of 'conversation' has its importance in its association with the spoken word, especially preaching.

¹⁷⁵ D. J. H. Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud, 1990), p. 52.

his protestation otherwise, however, there were more specific models available that might have been more to Lady Hoby's liking. One such model was provided by Henry Webley, who described himself as 'a poor citison and marchantaler of Londone'. His manuscript, now in the British Library and clearly intended for some form of publication, was entitled 'A breef and godly exhortation to the daylye reedinge of the holye Scriptures' and was written in 1603 and dedicated to the new King.¹⁷⁶ This hundred page tract did exactly what its title said and it aimed at everyone following the godly model. This was, he wrote, a pleasure and would not take up more than about one hour each day. Such reading would 'bee a delight', he wrote, and, along with other advice, he suggested that the reading of Scriptures was suitable for all, and those that could not read should 'hear them attentylye read of others.'¹⁷⁷ The tract demonstrated how one hour's bible reading a day would, over a year, yield multiple readings of the Old Testament, New Testament, Psalms and Apocrypha. He added to this a table to advise which sections to read each day. When we consider that Lady Hoby did not simply pick up her Bible and read by chance in the mornings, it is highly likely that she too had some kind of table with which to order her reading. Also, as I have already noted, Richard Stock, the rector of Kirkheaton, preached a sermon in 1607, which is highly suggestive of women's reading matter and practice. The concluding part of the model advised, after detailing which parts of scripture to read, that women 'read these Authors: Greenham, Rogers, Willet, Bilson, Dodd, with many others.'¹⁷⁸ It is important to remember that Lady Hoby read many of these authors and that she too may have had a model for her reading. Certainly her brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hoby, as well as Richard Stock, was critical of the reading of the Apocrypha. Sir Edward Hoby ridiculed Theophilus Higgon for

¹⁷⁶ BL, Royal MS 17B XXXIII, fo. 5r (Henry Webley, *A breef and godly exhortatione to the daylye reedinge of the Holye Scriptures*, 1603).

¹⁷⁷ BL, Royal MS 17B XXXIII, fos. 14r, 6v (Henry Webley, *A breef and godly exhortatione to the daylye reedinge of the Holye Scriptures*, 1603).

¹⁷⁸ BL, Egerton MS 2877, fo. 92r (The Commonplace-Book of Gilbert Freville). This also contains extensive notes on 61 of Stock's sermons taken between 1606 and 1607.

using the apocryphal Maccabees to prove the existence of purgatory.¹⁷⁹

An important question I wish to ask, if not answer, before examining the case of Lady Hoby is whether there was a particular difference between the reading of the godly and that of the mainstream of the Church of England. As I have noted in the introduction, the godly both perceived themselves and were perceived to be avid annotators, especially of religious books.¹⁸⁰ John Favour praised Archbishop Matthew for annotating his copies of the works of the Church Fathers. Elkanah Wales, the curate of Pudsey, thought his bible had added value because of the ‘many profitable annotations and references’ he wrote in its margins.¹⁸¹ John Manningham recalled an incident where a puritan had refuted a book by Bishop Bilson by ‘shewing his foolish witt in the margent, in scoffing at the book.’ The question then arises as to whether we can see a religious dimension to marginalia and whether, in the eyes of contemporaries, this was a defining characteristic of puritanism. Certainly if puritanism is a kind of Calvinism, and it did rely on the Geneva Bible, then we should note that the radical theology of their book was contained in its marginal gloss, which also gave puritans models of reading. Roger Chartier has recently suggested that such a religious dimension may well exist in the writing and reading of the early modern populace so the study of annotations, bridging as it does the two subjects, would seem particularly appropriate.¹⁸²

With such possibilities in mind, I wish to turn to Lady Hoby’s annotations. Her annotation of John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610) is suggestive but brief. Beyond her signature, she made just one addition to the text. Underneath the printed signature ‘John Donne’ at the end of the preface, Lady Hoby appears to

¹⁷⁹ Sir Edward Hoby, *A Curry-combe for a Coxe-combe. Or Purgatories Knell. In answer of a lewd Libell lately foricated by Iabal Rachil against Sir Edw. Hobies Counter-snarle Entitled Purgatories triumph over Hell* (London, 1615).

¹⁸⁰ See above, p. 11, which has full references for the citations from Manningham and Favour.

¹⁸¹ See, J. A. Newton, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, p. 347.

¹⁸² Roger Chartier, ‘Culture écrite et littérature à l’âge moderne’, *Annales HSS*, 4-5 (2001), 783-802.

have written 'Hangman.' Certainly this is interesting, in that it might reflect Lady Hoby's opinions about the oath of allegiance, with which Donne's book was concerned and which was a particularly important issue in Yorkshire, but it is so brief, and perhaps flippant, that it eludes analysis.¹⁸³ Though her Donne is something of a disappointment, another book is anything but. Unlike the Perkins, she did not mention reading it in her diary. The book was Du Plessis-Mornay's *Fowre Bookes, Of The Institution, Use And Doctrine Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church* (London, 1600). It remains at York Minster Library with the signature 'Margaret Hoby, 1600' prominent on the title page [See plate 1]. It passed from the Hobys to the collection of Sir Philip Sydenham, their distant relative, before being deposited in Hackness Parish Library and, in turn, being donated to the Minster Library in 1967. It is apparent from her inscription on the title page that Lady Hoby acquired this book quickly: she wrote '1600' by her name, the same year in which the book was published. Briefly the book was about the Eucharist and its manner of service in the old church and how this had been distorted by the papacy from about the time of Gregory the Great onwards, with the implication that good honest Protestants should be looking back to the early days of the church for the roots of their current practice. It was, theologically, a standard Reformation text. It was also popular, the 1600 edition being the English translation of the second French edition. We do not know who translated the work, other than that their initials were R. S., who probably also prepared for publication a sermon by Anthony Rudd, which was also dedicated to the Lords of the Privy Council. The title page of the translation also suggests that the original author

¹⁸³ John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr* (London, 1610), sig. A3v. YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 57. For background, see Richard Strier, 'Donne and the politics of devotion', in Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (eds.), *Religion, literature, and politics in post-Reformation England, 1540-1688* (Cambridge, 1996), 93-114.

FOWRE BOOKES,
 OF
 THE INSTITVTION, VSE
 AND DOCTRINE OF THE
 HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE
 EVCHARIST IN THE OLD
 CHVRCH.

AS LIKEWISE, HOW, WHEN,
 And by what Degrees the Masse is brought
in, in place thereof.

By my Lord PHILIP of Mornai, Lord of Plessis-
 Marli; Councellour to the King in his Councell of Estate, Captaine
of fiftie men at armes at the Kings paie, Governour of his towne
 and Castle of Samur, Ouerseer of his house
 and Crowne of Nauarre.

The second edition, reviewed by the
Author.

Margarett Hobby: 1600

Saint Cyprian, in the treatise of the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord.

*We ought not herein to regard, what any man hath iudged meete to bee done; but rather, what he which was be-
 fore all men, even Iesus Christ our Saviour, hath done himselfe, and commended others to doe: For we follow
 not the custome of man, but the truth of God.*

A L S O;

*If from one of our predecessors haue not so obserued and kept it; God may haue pardoned him in his mercies; but
 for vs, from henceforth there will remaine no place for pardon, we hauing beene instructed and admonished
 by him.*



L O N D O N

Printed by Iohn WINDET, for L. B. T. M. and W. P. 1600.

Plate 1. Title page of Lady Hobby's copy of Du Plessis-Mornay's, *Fowre Bookes, Of The Institution, Use And Doctrine Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church* (London, 1600) YMI Shelfmark: Hackness 47 She clearly marked her name and the date indicating that the book was acquired shortly after its publication

looked over the work before it hit the English bookshops.¹⁸⁴ The original author, Philip of Mornay, Lord of Plessis-Marli, was an interesting figure, and is often neglected in English studies on early Stuart religious positions. He had escaped the Saint Bartholomew's day massacre in disguise and had close contacts with the Sidney circle and the Elizabethan Puritan movement. It is likely that Lady Hoby met him while he was in England. His earlier work, *A Treatise of the Church*, was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, translated into English by John Field, and went through 3 editions between 1579 and 1581.¹⁸⁵ Of course, Du Plessis-Mornay is best known for his part in the writing of *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, the classic work of resistance theory, which is now thought to have been written in collaboration with Hubert Languet. In essentials, this work considered the question of whether the faithful should obey kings who broke the laws of God and, if not, what action was to be taken. The conclusion was that the duty to God came first. The *Vindiciae* circulated among the Sidney and Essex factions at Elizabeth's court.¹⁸⁶ Though Mornay was far from being an anarchist, and less of a troublemaker than Christopher Goodman, the *Vindiciae* had Republican connections in the English Civil Wars. It influenced Thomas May, while Waller had his copy bound with Machiavelli's *The Prince*.¹⁸⁷ The 1648 reprint, designed to justify

¹⁸⁴ *A sermon preached at Richmond before Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie, upon the 28 March 1596. By the reverend father in God Anthony Rudd, Doctor in Divinity, and Lord Bishop of S. Davids* (London, 1603). I suggest that the R.S. who wrote the dedication to the printed edition was the same as he who translated *Fowre Bookes* as the same printer (Thomas Man) was involved in both publications and the subject matter is similar. Also suggestive is a work authored by R.S. and printed again by John Windet (the main printer of *Fowre Bookes*) that relates to French material. Perhaps the author was part of the English community in France. The work is *The Iesuites play at Lyons in France, as it was there presented. Both to the amazement of the beholders, and the destruction of the actors, in August last past. Credibly informed by a factors letter (who was an eye witness) to his right worshipful maister in London* (London, 1607). There is, of course, no hard evidence.

¹⁸⁵ The book also appears on Ian Green's list of early modern steady-sellers. Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 217, 641.

¹⁸⁶ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*, p. 313n.

¹⁸⁷ See David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 93, 106n.

the execution of Charles I, contains a heated note in a copy now at the Huntington Library: 'This is an abominable and treasonable book, fit for nothing but the fire.'¹⁸⁸ Du Plessis-Mornay was a sincere Calvinist, and some of his work was thought at the time to have been translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney.¹⁸⁹ It is thus not enormously surprising, given its religious slant and Sidney connection, that it found its way into Lady Hoby's collection. What is surprising, however, is the level of detail she has left us through her annotations of her reading on this work.

There are one hundred and forty six of Lady Hoby's annotations in the book, all in her characteristic handwriting. Some appear hurried and brief, others made after more careful reflection. Most are of a line or two, though some few exceptions amount to short marginal paragraphs. They were not all made with the same pen, which suggests that the notes were made over a considerable period of time. In all, they total over two thousand extra words of her writings, and, as they are all to do with reading and her interaction with the text, they provide far more information than do the diary entries alone. Most importantly, these notes are not all alike and can be categorised. Therefore, I think that it would be wrong to suggest that Lady Hoby had a reading method, which she brought to all parts of her text regardless of content. Instead, I think we can reveal, by examining each of her different types of annotation in turn, Lady Hoby's reading strategy, a coherent but not uniform approach to her reading. In the following section, I propose to analyse first the different types of annotations she made, building up information on the mechanics of her reading practices. Having done this, I will move on to a thematic reconstruction of the issues important to Lady Hoby and her reading. Of course, many of these will be led by the subject of the book, so I will concentrate in particular on those

¹⁸⁸ Hubert Languet, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos: a defence of liberty against tyrants* trans. William Walker (London, 1648). Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Rare Books, Call Number: 10841.

¹⁸⁹ Philip du Plessis-Mornay, *A Worke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* (London, 1587), though at the time it was said to have been started by Sidney, it is now thought to have been translated entirely by Arthur Golding. See, Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London, 2000), p. 256.

notes in which she deviates from the language or meaning of the text.

Lady Hoby's notes do not tell us everything we would like to know about her reading. She did not, for instance record on her books the time, location and context of each particular reading. In particular, because the process of annotation is a two-dimensional process between text and reader, main text and margin, it does not help us with the question of communal reading practice. Certainly some of the types of annotation, such as those of question and answer, suggest persons beyond the straightforward reader, but they do not prove anything. In addition, the written form of note does not help with the orality of her practice, though again some points are suggestive and I will point out such cases as they occur. Appendix A contains a fuller description of each note and the text to which it refers, along with a description of the methodology I have employed in categorising types of note and subject matter. In addition, it should be noted that types of note often overlapped, for instance a note could be both a 'reference' and part of a perceived performance of question and answer.

Lady Hoby was not a passive reader simply guided by the text before her. Her notes are not like those of the classic 'working class reader', or Leonard Bast figure, identified by Jonathan Rose, noting in the margin a name, profession and date.¹⁹⁰ Neither was Lady Hoby like so many of the (female) readers in the early modern period, whose notes systematically identified passages they did not understand or translated (presumably after consultation) words from languages with which they were not familiar.¹⁹¹ The notes and their categories show the varying levels of interaction she had with them. It seems appropriate to begin with a representative, if not very interesting, example of her most

¹⁹⁰ See Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life Of The British Working Classes* (New Haven and London, 2001).

¹⁹¹ An excellent example of such a reader is Lady Elizabeth Berkley, whose annotated copy of Sir Edward Hoby's *Counter-Snarle For Ishmael Rabshacheh, A Cecropidan Lycaonite* (London, 1613) is at the British Library, Shelfmark: 3935627. Lady Berkley systematically translated all the marginalia that were not in English, so she had a copy of the book which could be quickly re-read solely in English.

common type of note, the straightforward reference. On page two for instance [See plate 2], Lady Hoby made the note ‘the ende of the pascall lambe’ adjacent to a passage of four lines which she had underlined intermittently. She underlined a passage: ‘this killing of this lambe should bee renewed every year ... in the memorie of the benefites already received, as in the expectation and faithfull looking for of greater that were to come and be received.’ In the middle of the passage were omitted the words ‘to teach and instruct the ages to come, as well ...’¹⁹² Clearly, in the context of a passage about the killing of the lamb in the old church and moving on to the invalidity of the mass, Lady Hoby’s annotation served as a marginal guide to a point of fact, perhaps to be commonplacéd or referred to at a later time. The text explained why the lamb was to be killed, though it is perhaps important that Lady Hoby replaced the word ‘killing’ of the text with her own ‘ende’. How such linguistic changes impact on her concerns, rather than her reading practices, will be considered in the subsequent part of this section. Notes of this kind occur regularly throughout the text, sometimes accompanied by underlining, sometimes not. It should be noted that this note (and the notes in general) are descriptive and quite unlike those that simply point out errors of spelling, or use the pointed hand sign to indicate interest. What this process of reading makes clear is that Hoby was a relatively mature reader who annotated her working text for use. Unlike the many readers who earnestly began marking the text but quickly stopped, Lady Hoby distributed notes fairly evenly through the first two books, then had roughly half as many in the third book and few in the final one. This may have been due to the repetition inherent in such books, or the lack of relevance of particular sections to this reader. I have assumed that she read the whole book, though not necessarily from beginning to end.

Other types of annotation classified under the admittedly broad ‘reference’ include similar notes on points of information, where no underlining has been made. These often suggest that the note was made after one reading, whereas notes with underlining are more suggestive of a practice in which (as models

¹⁹² See, Appendix A, notes to page 2. For the sake of clarity, subsequent references to this appendix refer to the page number which Lady Hoby annotated rather than the page number of the appendix itself.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE MASSE,

of the world. Wherefore hee ordained that in euerie familie, betwixt two euens a lambe without spot, for a type and figure of the true and verie lambe, should bee killed and eaten: that with the blood thereof, the postes of the houses of his people should be sprinkled, to the end that the destroying Angell might passe ouer: as an euident warning and admonition, that whereas this blood was not sprinkled (what familie or person soeuer it might be) there was nothing but matter for his wrathfull anger to worke and feede vpon: that moreover this killing of this lambe should be renewed euery yeare, and that for euer, to teach and instruct the ages to come, as well in the memorie of the benefites already receiued, as in the expectation and faithfull looking for of greater that were to come and to be receiued.

The end of the sacrifice

In the Pascoer is a Sacrament and a sacrifice.

Soe of your sacrifice is a sacrifice properly are sacrifices offered vp to God by the people, as Sacramentes come from God are giuen to the people, as is witnessed when he saith: And this day shall be for a memorie vnto you, and you shall keepe holy this feast in your generations: in as much as God smote Egypt, and passed notwithstanding ouer our houses, &c.

Now in this institution wee haue both a Sacrament and a sacrifice to consider and thinke vpon: The Sacrament giuen of God vnto his people for a seale and assurance of his promise, and of the fulfilling of the same: for to this end are the Sacraments giuen of God vnto his people, when he saith: And this blood shall be for a signe vnto you in your houses, that when I shall see it, I will passe-ouer, and that there shall not be any deadly stroke amongst you, when I shall smite Egypt. A sacrifice offered vp to God by his people: for as properly are sacrifices offered vp to God by the people, as Sacramentes come from God are giuen to the people, as is witnessed when he saith: And this day shall be for a memorie vnto you, and you shall keepe holy this feast in your generations: in as much as God smote Egypt, and passed notwithstanding ouer our houses, &c. Such a Sacrament notwithstanding as leadeth vs from this lambe vnto another lambe, from this blood vnto another blood, and from this temporall effectualnesse vnto a spirituall; in as much as it is chosen without spotte, it is for a signe of our Redeemer his innocencie; and in that it is flaine, it serueth vs for a signe of his death and passion; in that it is eaten; it is a signe to vs of that life and nourishment which wee draw from his death, and of our communicating of his flesh and of his blood, as being bone of his bones, & flesh of his flesh &c. And a Sacrifice also, which besides that it is truly and verily one of the number of those which were of praise and thankesgiuing, ceaseth not neuerthelesse any manner of way to hold the place of a propitiatorie: seeing that this lambe offered by the father of the familie, doth prefigure vnto vs the lambe which the heauenly father did sacrifice vpon the tree of the crosse, for the saluation of such as were of his houshold through faith, and our Propitiation in his blood, as it is expounded by S. Iohn the fore-runner: Behold the lambe which taketh away the sinnes of the worlde. And by the Euangelist in better forme, referring and applying that to the substance and truth, which was ordained and decreed of the type and figure: To the end (saith he) that the Scripture might be fulfilled: There shall not one of his bones be broken.

Ioh. 1. 19.

The same in the holy Supper, & to what end.

ποσθηται

Now our Lord the true and verie lambe, which came to fulfill the law and not to destroy it, kept the feast of the typicall or figuratiue lambe with his disciples, both according to this institution, as also according to all the circumstances thereof. Hee kept it (I say) the fourteenth day of the moneth, beginning at the euening, according to the order of the Hebrewes, the first day of vnleauened bread, betwixt two euens: that is to say, betwixt the euening Sacrifice and the Sunne-set. Therein hee likewise obserued the accustomed washing, excepted onely that hee therewithall endeouered to draw men euermore from the naked ceremony, to the doctrine contained therein: there he taught vs humilitie, washing the feet of his disciples, whose dutie it was without all doubt to haue washed his. Thereat after Supper he distributed and gaue the bread and the cup from hand to hand vnto his Apostles, as he was wont to do vpon that day among the Iewes in a certaine kind of collation, which they call *Aphicomion*, of the greeke word *ἄφικμιον*: otherwise *Kinnuah*: but in steed of the words which euery houholder did vtter in this distribution, which intimated no other thing to those that stood by, then the miseries they sustained in Egypt, and Gods mercy which had deliuered them from the same; our Lord in this action (as oftentimes elsewhere) raiseth their spirites from the type to the truth, from the shadowe to the bodie, from the temporall deliuerance, to the spirituall, from the seruitude of Egypt, to the thraldome and slauerie of sinne, and to be short, from the eating of this lambe which they had solemnized with him, vnto that very and true lambe, shadowed and pointed

out

Plate 2. Philip Du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes*, p. 2. YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 47. This page is indicative of Lady Hoby's style of annotation, containing both underlined passages and marginal manuscript notes. It includes both the straightforward reference-style note (top) and a more complex note (below) which splits the information from the printed marginal note.

advised), at the first reading the pen was used to mark the text, and at the second to extract points of information into the margin. Other such passages include those in which there is no underlining, but the note for reference occurs adjacent to italicised text, for instance the second note on page 22. Some notes contain partial underlining, for instance of the first few words of several consecutive lines. Such underlinings, for instance the second on page 98, are as close as we can get to evidence from this category of note that Lady Hoby's reading was repetitive. Clearly she underlined briefly while reading through, to mark the passage which needed the note. If this seems a little neat and tidy, Lady Hoby could also underline but never make a note which is, I think, a further indication of her multiple readings: on the subsequent read through, she decided that the passage in fact needed no note.

The next type of note, that which divides up a paragraph or introduces a list, is also indicative of an intensive, sectional reading. These types of note are common throughout the text. The first kind occurs exclusively in long passages with little or no printed marginal notes. So, in a long paragraph with no marginal guide, such as that on page 3, Lady Hoby would add her own [See plate 3]. She did not number her points but they were meant at least as a guide to what she had read and almost certainly as a future reference to a passage of a practical book that had no index. The passage considered the nature of sacrament and sacrifice in the Lord's Supper. Lady Hoby's annotations, spaced as she went down the page, adjacent to relevant underlinings, read:

In the lordes supper is to be considered both a sacrament and a sacrifice

How the lordes supper is a sacrament

how the lordes supper is a sacrifice

how the lordes supper & the paschall lambe differ¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Appendix A, notes to p. 3.

out so many ages before this paschall lambe, whose bodie was likewise vpon this day giuen for them to the death, and whose blood within a few houres after was shed for the remission of their sinnes. *Your fathers* (said he in S. Iohn) *haue eaten Manna in the wilderness, and are dead.* But will you see the true bread of beauen, the breade of life, the quickning bread? that am I my selfe, *which am truely come downe from beauen; and this bread it is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world; who so shall eate thereof, shall neuer die, but lue for euer, &c.* As if he should say, as followeth. Your fathers haue eaten the lambe, and we againe haue eaten the same here at this present time: but the true and very lambe in deed it is my selfe, euen the same of whom Esay hath said vnto you. *He is led to the slaughter for the transgression of the people, his soule is offered vp for a sacrifice for sinne.* Of whom not long since Iohn Baptist said vnto you, *behold the lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world:* and of whom I my selfe say vnto you at this present: That I go to be deliuered vp to death for you; that you shall haue from henceforth my flesh to eat, and my blood to drinke, for the remission of your sinnes, and for the nourishing of your soules vp vnto eternall life: your soules (I say) that are barren and void of all righteoufnes in themselues, and therefore also void of true life, but yet such as shall find life in me in my obedience, and in my iustice and righteoufnes: all which are made yours by the sacrifice which now I am about to offer vp of mine owne accord and free will, vnto you they shalbe become the foode and foison of eternall life: if you acknowledge and confesse your sinne, your nakednes, your vnprofitablenesse and great miserie: that is to say, if you truely hunger after my grace; if you finde and perceiue your selues changed and altered of righteoufnes. And to the end that the remembrance of this great benefite may be alwaies fresh and new in your memorie, thinke vpon & remember it I pray you in such sort & maner, as you would think vpon your meate and drinke, without which your bodies cannot stand, and much lesse your soules without the benefite of my death, and of the life and spirituall nourishment of the same, which is secret and hid: *Do this, whensoever you shal do it, in remembrance of me:* in remembrance of my torne, rent, and broken bodie, and of my blood shed for you, and that such a remembrance as shall notwithstanding exhibite and communicate them vnto you, for the assuring of you of the pardon and remission of your sinnes, & consequently of the saluation of your soules. For alwaies, and as oft as you shall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, you shall expresse the death of the Lord: that is to say, you shall receiue the new covenant of grace, the seale of your life in him, vntill that hee come. But this shall be expounded more largely in his place: and in the meane time consider and beholde our Lorde and Sauour doeth take occasion by the Sacrament of the Paschall lambe, to institute and ordaine the Sacrament of the holy Supper, passing (as Saint Ierome saith) from the olde to the new; wherein as also in this, we haue likewise to consider both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. A Sacrament, in that God there presenteth vnto vs bread and wine visible signes, and yet notwithstanding exhibitors of an inuisible grace, of the participation which the faithfull haue in his bodie and in his blood, being members of this head, branches of this vine, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, &c. A sacrifice in like manner, for that in the holy Supper we giue thanks to God, for this great deliuerance which we receiue, from the seruitude and punishment of sinne in the death of his welbeloued: and hereupon it commeth, that we call it Eucharisticall, and that it hath the name Eucharist giuen vnto it; and which neuerthelesse retaineth in some sort somewhat of the nature of a propitiatorie sacrifice, in as much as therein wee carefully obserue and keepe the remembrance of this onely sacrifice, which is the onely true propitiatorie, which the Sonne sent from the father, hath once offered vp for all, vpon the tree of the crosse for vs: differing herein from the Paschall lambe, that the institution of the Lambe was a Sacrament of the deliuerance to come, whereas the holy Supper is the Sacrament of grace alreadie wrought and purchased: and herein againe for that the Passe-ouer held of the propitiatorie sacrifices, in that it represented, and set before their eyes, that which ought to be accomplished in the blood of Christ: whereas the holy Supper holdeth somewhat of them, for that it setteth before our eyes this propitiation made and perfected. And thus much be spoken briefly, deferring the rest till we come to speake of the Sacrifice pretended to be in the Masse.

Ioh. 6. 50. 15:

Esay. 53:

*For the Lord's supper is the sacrament
of his sacrifice*

For the Lord's supper is a sacrifice

*For the Lord's supper is a sacrifice
of his sacrifice*

What

Plate 3. Philip Du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes*, p. 3. YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 47. Lady Hoby's marginal annotations clearly divide the text into thematic chunks, re-packaging the page for future readings.

Each of her notes referred to particular points in the text, though the final one is particularly important. With no underlining, Lady Hoby identified the key point of the paragraph which was that although there were often similarities in sacrament and sacrifice in the service, there was a difference between the Lords Supper and the sacrificial lamb. The notes could later serve as an index to find points on each subject, or remind the reader (or another reader) of the key points in a relatively complicated theological passage.

A distinct but related type of annotation was that which clearly, at the side of the text, and at the top of the paragraph, introduced the numbered points of a list of reasons or proofs for a particular point. One of several examples occurs on page 85 in a passage about taking communion in both kinds [See plate 4]. The note, at the top of the paragraph, read ‘Thomas Aquinas reasons why the supper of the lorde should be administered in both kinds.’ Below the passage, after reading ‘these are his reasons’, Lady Hoby underlined, ‘first’, ‘The second’ and, further down the page, ‘The third, For Feare’. This type of note was clearly made after reading the whole paragraph, particularly as the note itself was made well above the initial underlinings and above the part of the text that indicates that the reasons are to follow.¹⁹⁴ Several other notes of this kind, with varying levels of underlining, can be found throughout the text. Each is slightly different, dependent on the nature of the passage and the reader’s ability to divide the text into numerical or thematic points.¹⁹⁵

The ‘list’ style notes on page 398 [sic.] should provide us with a warning that the divisions that we have already covered are not mutually exclusive. The notes read, ‘The first rule of the fathers for the right understanding of a sacrament’, then, further down the page, ‘the second rule.’ The paragraph had no printed marginalia, so the notes might be said to divide the paragraph. In addition, the first note is a simple statement of fact and could be viewed as a clear example of the ‘reference’ note. Given that there are two notes, the first

¹⁹⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 85.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix A, notes to pp. 20, 23, 36, 53, 86, 111, 129, 164, 217, 235, 393.

tie: and secondlie the Countrie people from those that dwelt in Citties: as though forsooth the soules of the one sort were more deare then the other, to him who hath purchased all with one and the same blood. It springeth likewise out of the same Diuinitie, which Thomas Waldensis a white Fryer sayeth in his book, which he hath written, *of the Sacramentes against the Wickeluisites*, and yet approued by an expresse Bull from Pope Martin the fift: for after that hee hath reasoned mightilie for the maintaining of the Communicating of the Laitie vnder one kind, hee commeth in with this exception, *vz. That it is notwithstanding permitted the Pastors, if they haue not made an end of the Sacraments, but onelie receiued the same in part, that is, if they haue not drunke all, that then they should distribute the remainder vnto those of their Parishioners, which are strong in faith, and discrete persons: Euen as (sayeth hee) the Pope is wont to deale with the Deacons and Ministers, and with other persons famous for their faith, or aduanced in dignitie and worthines, with Doctors & with Kinges, or as the Church dealeth at this day, with religious persons, or men of great place, &c.* And againe, *Wee doe not allow it them (sayeth he) generallie, neither doe we generally forbid it them: for wee know that it is reserued of purpose for the Church and Prelates, to communicate and distribute the cuppe vnto such persons, &c.*

And yet in the meane time, it hath thriuen so well in their fingers, as that indeed Kinges hauing kept the Charter and priuiledge of this libertie, all others haue by one meanes or other lost and forfeited the same: and yet Kinges hold not this tenure (say they) as they are Laye-men, but as they are sacred persons: whereuppon we reade that the great king Frauncis demanding the reasons of his Diuines: *Because (said they) that kings are annointed as the Priests be:* Which thing S. Ambrose as it may seeme by this reckoning did not vnderstand aright, when hee caused the Emperour Theodosius to come out of the Queare of the Temple, as a meere Laye-man.

Thomas Aquinas sheweth vs plainelie, that it was in his time, that this abuse was brought into the Church: for in the place where Lombard had made this question, *Thomas de sacram. altar. Why for the Sacrament was receiued vnder both kindes,* Thomas did propound the contrarie: *Why doe not the people receiue the blood vnder the wine.* And there is some difference betwixt them, in respect of some certaine yeares, during which distance this sufferance crept into the Church. Now these are his reasons: first, That as there is neede of a more speciall vessell to put the wine in, then to put the bread in; so it is meet and requisite, that it should bee a more speciall and sacred person for the receiuing of the blood, then for the receiuing of the bodie: which must bee expounded of the holie Priestes onelie, and not of any of the vnholie Laitie. But how shall those wordes of Chrysostome then take place, where hee sayeth: That in the receiuing of the Eucharist, there is no difference betwixt the Priest and the people? The second, That there is danger therein, least the people should shed the blood, which was not to bee feared in receiuing of the bodie. And then what place should be found for the prudence of the old Church to abide and rest in? how hath shee maimed and wounded herselfe for these manie ages, at such time as the people flockt and ran to the receiuing of the Sacrament by millions, that shee did not foresee, yea remedie and helpe this inconuenience, but onelie because that new opinions haue begotten new prouisoos? The third, For feare least the common people, which is giuen to bee wilfullie rude and ignorant, hauing taken the blood vnder the kinde of wine; could not afterward belieue the receiuing of it vnder the kinde of bread; how true notwithstanding soeuer it bee, that it is therein truelie and verilie. What other thing is this, but to teach vs that Transubstantiation hath begotten concomitancie, and concomitancie the communicating vnder one kinde, and by consequent, that the Communion vnder both, practised by the space of twelue hundred yeares in the Church, did presuppose and take for granted a farre other kinde of doctrine; then that of Transubstantiation or concomitancie? But this saide Thomas did acknowledge in an other place, that both the kindes are the institution of the Lord: for hee sayeth expressely: *Because that the working of our saluation was accomplished by the passion*

Thomas Aquinas
de sacram. altar.
q. 71. c. 1.
Why doe not the people
receiue the blood vnder
the wine?

Thomas ad-
uert. Gentes. i.
q. c. 51.

Plate 4. Philip Du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes*, p. 85. YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 47. This note shows how the marginalia and underlining interacted. The note refers the reader to the numbered points underlined in the text. Such marking clearly took place after reading the page and is indicative of a maturity in her use of books.

might be described as introducing a list. Furthermore, the notes, taken together introduce another style of note-taking practice: that of the catechistical, 'question and answer' style of note. This category requires some imagination but it is certainly consistent with other work on the orality of reading. The imagined question and answer in this case is simply 'What is the first rule of the fathers for the right understanding of the sacrament?' It is certainly possible, therefore, that the text was at least re-read as an educative tool in company by Lady Hoby. Her first set of readings identified points which she thought those listening must remember. There is no evidence that such a format was anything more than hypothetical, but it is suggestive, especially in the closeness in tone to a catechism. Lady Hoby's writings may well have included the formulation of such 'tests' of religious knowledge, for herself or for others.¹⁹⁶ The other examples of notes in the question and answer style¹⁹⁷ give a clearer indication of the educational, catechistical reading [See plate 5]. Many of them indicate a test-style reading, which we can imagine Lady Hoby going over until she had absorbed the essential points. Some are especially suggestive as Lady Hoby wrote in the margin of an 'answer' to a point. On page 94, for example, her note was 'The answere unto Christes breakinge breade alone Luke 24 & giving to his disciples.'¹⁹⁸ The adjacent text, about the Supper at Emmaus, was a description and an answer that such bread was not consecrated but simply food at the end of the journey. Lady Hoby made no underlining, but the note is suggestive of this repetitive, educational reading.

On a more technical level, many of these notes were clearly made after a second reading. As with those that were placed at the top of a paragraph after first reading, many of the question and answer style notes also appear above the text to which they refer. I think this helps us to deduce that she noted on the

¹⁹⁶ For the nature and content of catechisms in the period, see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530-1740* (Oxford, 1996). For a clear example of a cleric reading to frame some kind of test, see Andrew Cambers, 'Pastoral Laudianism? Religious politics in the 1630s: a Leicestershire rector's annotations', *Midland History*, 27 (2002), 38-51.

¹⁹⁷ A full list can be found in Appendix A.

¹⁹⁸ Appendix A, note to p. 94.

Gerard. Lori-
chius in lib.
de primata
Missæ abro-
ganda.

ordained and instituted it for them which did belecue their word, that is, his owne; and that hee did appoint them to distribute vnto them, euery one in his place, that which they had receiued at his hands. And indeed Gerardus Lorichius, howsoeuer he be a great patron of Transubstantiation and the Masse, is ashamed of this starting hole, in these words: *There are (saith hee) false and counterfeit Catholickes, which make no conscience of hindering the reformation of the Church by all manner of meanes. They to the end that the other kind may not be giuen to the laitie, spare not to utter blasphemies, for they say that Iesus Christ said vnto his Apostles onely, Drinke yee all: and therein doe nothing consider the proper words of the Canon; Take, eate yee all. Let them now therefore (I pray them) tell vs, if these wordes also should be intended and ment onely to the Apostles, for then also the laitie must needs abstaine from the bread, which would prooue an heresie, and a pestilent and execrable blasphemie. Wherefore we must conclude (saith hee) that both the one and the other word, was intended and ment vnto the whole Church.*

S. Luke, ch. 22.

It is said; *Doe this in remembrance of me*, sooth indeed (say they) but this commeth onely after that the bread is distributed: and therefore this commandement doeth not binde the Pastours to distribute the cup. But assuredly the Euangelist doth shew it plainly enough in the words that follow; *like wise also he tooke the cup, &c.* that if these words *Doe this, &c.* haue relation to the bread: that then by the same proportion they are to be vnderstood of the cup. But Saint Paul doth resolue vs in this difficult point: for after that he hath said; *This is my bodie which is broken for you, doe this, &c.* he addeth thereupon, *This cup is the new couenant in my blood, doe this euer and as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembrance of me*, that is, you Pastours administer the bread and the wine; you that are the faithfull receiue them at their hands, being the Sacraments of my bodie and my blood; manifesting my death vntill my comming. And this also is the opinion of Iohn of Louaine taken out of the old writers.

1. Cor. 11.

What shall we say, if they will not onely make vs belecue, that our Lord hath not onely not commanded it, but that he hath done the contrarie? S. Luke in his 24. chapter maketh mention, that our Lord after his resurrection, being at table in Emaus, tooke bread, gaue thanks, brake it and gaue it to two disciples whome hee had met withall; and that then their eies were opened, and that they knew him, &c. They would that this should be the bread of the supper, administered by consequent, vnder one kinde vnto his disciples. The frame and scope of the historie is cleanc contrarie: for he had said before, that they had trauailed farre, that they came neere vnto a village, that the night beganne to come on, &c. all which is as much as to say, that it was time to eate and refresh themselues. And the word of *breaking of bread* is ordinary amongst the Hebricians in this sence. But heere againe, whom shall we cleaue or giue credit vnto in this controuersie? The Syrian Interpreter saith, *They knew and perceived who hee was, as hee broke the bread.* Saint Ambrose, Theophilaet, and other old writers, in their commentaries at large make mention of no such thing. Hugo, *The bread, that is, the word of God, which the Pastour must blesse by praier, breake by expounding of it, & giue vnto the hearers by preaching of it, &c.* Lyranus, *They seeing him breake it (saith hee) as smooth and eauen, as if he had a knife, according as he was wont before his passion; that is, whiles he abode with them.* And the Cardinall Caietanus in like sorte, and Dionysius Carthusianus vpon this place, *Not as in the supper, but according to the ordinarie manner of blessing of meat.* And the great Postill, *as he was ordinarily wont before his passion:* Gulielmus Widefordensis, writing against Wickliffe; goeth further, *It cannot be gathered (saith he) neither from the text, nor from the glose, nor from the olde Doctours, that the breaking of bread spoken of by Saint Luke, was the breaking of consecrated bread.* And Alphonsus de Castro would not define or say any thing thereof by way of expounding of the same. And indeed the Councels of Constance, Basill, and Trent durst neuer alleadge this place, leauing it to such Aduocates and maintainers of their errors, as had put on a more brazen face, to make their best aduantage therof. For whereas they alleadge, that S. Augustine calleth this breaking of bread, *Sacramentum panis*, they themselues know that it neuer came into his minde, to gather and frame the sacrament vnder one kinde:

Luke 24.

*in fine
brother
sub
discipulo*

Isa. 58. 4.
Lament. 1. c.

Caietanus in
Luc.
Dionysius
Carthuf.
Gulielm. Wi-
def. contra
Wickliff.
Alph. de Cas-
tro lib. 6.
August. de
consensu E-
uangeli. 3.

second reading, after underlining. Of course, she might have simply had a peculiar style, but, if we assume that she wrote with her right hand, then the notes must have been made after reading, rather than at the time, or else she would have covered the text to which she referred. This confrontational reading style was unsurprising, especially in an age of continued controversy between the printed sheets. It also reflected the style of the text that was annotated as well as informing of the particular strategy of Lady Hoby. However, taken as a whole, I think they point to a reader particularly alert to issues of controversy. Notes such as ‘A good answere to the popish shift of the sayntes seeing our thoughts in God’, show some sensitivity and some glee in finding an answer to a particularly relevant Protestant problem.¹⁹⁹ The notes also betray some of the more physical aspects of her reading. Notes such as ‘the Answere unto this place is Daniel’²⁰⁰ help with the possibility that she read this book with her Bible open alongside it. Having checked the Biblical reference in the printed text, she confirmed through her comparative reading that the point made was scripturally valid.

The categories that I have already examined show that Margaret Hoby was not a passive reader: she actively engaged with her text and perhaps with other people and other books too. However, I think it would be a mistake to see her reading as a simple process of extraction and digestion. Her reading was not the simple product of the reader, or of her intentions but a combination of these and the structure of the printed page. This can be seen in further categories of her reading. Her annotations could be led by the italicisation of text, as modern readers of library books may be led to sections highlighted by previous readers. These annotations fall most commonly within the category of reference, but plausibly they show us something more. Her notes made adjacent to italicised text rarely went with underlining and in fact, underlining was of course the instruction to the printer to use italics. Given her lack of underlining, I believe we often have evidence that Lady Hoby read these sections perhaps just once

¹⁹⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 304.

²⁰⁰ Appendix A, note to p. 206.

and that the format of the printed page led her eye and shaped her reading. Her note on page 22 is suggestive of the page manipulating the reader. Adjacent to a long italicised passage, Lady Hoby noted ‘In the primitive church the elemenetes were given to the people without using any words besides the institution.’²⁰¹ However, I do not believe she was unthinking, and there was no greater likelihood for her to quote italics than otherwise. For instance her note on page 125 that ‘Gregory helde that images should not be for worshippe but for instruction’ may have been prompted by the italics, but it was not made without thinking. The original text had read that Gregory the great wrote that it was an abuse to worship pictures, as they should be ‘*only to teach the histories of such as they did represent to such as could not read.*’²⁰² Lady Hoby’s note was a pithy summary of the idea but not of the wording of the text. We should also recognise that this was a society which valued extraction and that Lady Hoby may have been aware of her tendency to make notes by italics, because they were often the important passages in the text, for instance of direct quotation.

Especially important are those categories where the sociology of the page impacts more directly on Lady Hoby’s reading. I think this is so in the categories of note that explain or continue from the printed footnote, and those that split the printed footnote. The subject of the influence of marginalia has been little considered, but is clearly important in judging responses to theological books, where many contentious points are often located in footnotes. This use of the margin, both by the author and the reader may have been especially important to the religiously marginal. The page could therefore reflect the degree of integration in orthodox society.²⁰³ There are, I think, two sub-categories. First, there is the note which splits up the information in the

²⁰¹ Appendix A, note to p. 22.

²⁰² Appendix A, note to p. 125.

²⁰³ For some interesting points along these lines, though not to do with religion *per se*, see Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London, 1997); Anthony Grafton, ‘Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Bude and His Books’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 91 (1997), 139-157; Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England*.

footnote. A clear example of this formulation occurs at the start of the book, on page 2 when Lady Hoby splits the printed footnote: 'In the passover is a sacrament and a sacrifice.' Instead of this, her own marginal gloss notes first, 'how the passover is a sacramente' and later 'how the passover is a sacrifice.'²⁰⁴ Both are adjacent to passages of underlining, but the key importance of this style of note can be seen when considering the purpose of her marginalia: to create an independent parallel text and index. The printed note refers to the subject of the passage, but it is somewhat misleading in that it equates sacrament and sacrifice, whereas the passage itself states in what ways the passover is a sacrament and in what ways a sacrifice. Lady Hoby's parallel text clarifies the points which are theologically different. It lies at the heart of a series of her annotations to distinguish between sacrament and sacrifice. Clearly this type of annotation shows how she used the printed marginalia but how she did so independently, creating a somewhat different emphasis than the original text.

The status of printed marginalia in this period is yet to receive sustained analysis and was clearly a complicated procedure depending on printers as well as authors and perhaps readers too. Lady Hoby's annotation of these printed notes, however, helps provide evidence for a study of their importance. Some of these notes may have been intended to help future readers to 'gut' the text more quickly, or allow a clear and brief re-reading of the parallel text. Lady Hoby, to this end, annotated some of the notes in order to explain them more fully, mainly using information already in the body of the text itself. They have been placed in the category of 'continues printed footnote' or 'explains printed footnote.' Explanatory notes often explain the more abbreviated printed marginalia. On page 126, Lady Hoby noted by the reference, 'Bonfin. 1.8 dec. 1 Anton. Arch. Florent. 1.14 c. 1.S. 1 Canon. Perlatum D.3 de consecr.' (which would not have meant a lot to most readers), 'the bull dealing with the popes of emperors.'²⁰⁵ Others contextualize the printed notes by continuing them. On

²⁰⁴ Appendix A, notes to p. 2.

²⁰⁵ Appendix A, note to p. 126.

page 19, adjacent to a passage about the origins of holding services on Sunday rather than Saturday, the original sabbath, the printed note reads: ‘That the service of Christians was derived from thence.’ The note made little sense of itself without further recourse to the text. Perhaps because of this, and to build up her quick-reference parallel text, Lady Hoby added to the printed footnote ‘that is from the Jewes.’²⁰⁶ Perhaps she first read the text then went over the passage, viewed the note and clarified it for further reference. Other notes simply added the year to the fact in the printed note, which is indicative of commonplacing the information gleaned from her reading into another book. These notes could help explain notes whose meaning was vague, and intended to point readers to the body of the text. Thus, as the note on page 89 read ‘the reasons of the councell’, Lady Hoby added, to complete the note ‘why the giving the cupp to the laity should be cutt of.’²⁰⁷ The new composite note made more sense but is more important than simply improving clarity. Whereas the initial note had directed the reader into the main text, with the manuscript addition both new readers and Lady Hoby in future could study with less reliance on the main text. In particular this would be true when such notes were also ones that introduced lists: the re- or new reader would be able to read the margin independently, then pick out the individual reasons by looking for underlined text. Other examples clarify this. On page 163, she added to the printed note ‘The priestlie garments’, the full gloss ‘which in the oulde church were none but ordinary attyre.’ The composite note could subsequently be read without recourse to the main text.²⁰⁸ When considering such parallel texts, it is also worth thinking about particular sets of consecutive notes and how, when considered together, they created both a sustained marginal commentary and a new narrative, independent of the printed text. I will consider this aspect of Lady Hoby’s reading strategy in the thematic discussion that follows.

I believe the above picture, though impressionistic, and without some of the

²⁰⁶ Appendix A, note to p. 19.

²⁰⁷ Appendix A, note to p. 89.

²⁰⁸ Appendix A, note to p. 163.

details that would make the case firmer, helps us consider Lady Hoby's reading strategy in far more detail than does her diary. The individual notes also help to add detail to the concerns of the godly woman in the north of England.

Considering the notes thematically within a series of categories, I believe we can get much closer to Lady Hoby than ever before. Many of the notes also reveal information beyond the immediate subject. Of course, given the range of subjects on which she noted, I will not go into the historiographical significance of each point in the text but keep such discussion short and confined to the footnotes. What I want first to clarify is that Lady Hoby's reading could have practical implications, for instance her reading of the book on Church seating, so it would be wrong to see her appropriation of theology as confined to the intellectual. The categories, inevitably given the subject of the book, eventually meet at 'communion', but I have decided to consider the range of issues she annotated under the general headings of communion, the service, ceremonies, the clergy, doctrine and idolatry. Each is not an island of itself: the tide of the Lord's Supper laps at every bank, and some of the islands seem to share many features, but I think they are worth considering apart. I should add that not every note fits easily within a theme and I will not consider in depth those of little interest or those that repeat a point that I have already made. Important linguistic changes will be pointed out as and when they occur.

These annotations give a startling view into the intellectual and devotional life of Lady Hoby, perhaps most importantly, and certainly most extensively, regarding the (broad) theme of communion. She made notes on its origins, its practice, particular points of doctrine and contentious local events. Its meaning to Lady Hoby was clear: she noted on page 404 'What itt is to eate and drinke the body & bloude of Christ'. The adjacent passage, which she had underlined, stated that it was 'to draw by faith, our spirituall life, out of the fountaine of his flesh broken for us: of his blood shed for us: of Christ the sonne of God crucified for us.'²⁰⁹ The sacrament was of immediate importance to the godly devotional life. Its origins were of course contentious, and mixed aspects of pagan and Jewish practices. This is certainly so in the question of whether the

²⁰⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 404.

Lords Supper was a sacrament or a sacrifice, a subject on which Lady Hoby made an astonishing number of notes. These notes, which were her only notes on considerable sections of the text, aimed at unpacking the exact nature, origin and significance of sacrament and sacrifice, in particular responding to the theological debates about the nature of Christ's offering at the Last Supper. The notes show Lady Hoby's hesitance in forming an opinion: they are more likely to point out what the text states than to comment on it or change the wording. I think that the eagerness to work out this issue, and the failure to do so, shows that margins could be used for thinking with one's pen, making notes to come back to points that were unclear as well as to create a coherent parallel text concerning the notes about issues with which she was more familiar.

Lady Hoby was interested in practice, particularly in the ancient church. Typical of her notation is her remark, adjacent to a list of underlinings on prayer, commemoration of martyrs, communicating and dissolving the assembly: 'how the supper of the lord was administered in ancient time.'²¹⁰ This was of clear importance to the godly, who were concerned to demonstrate, to themselves as well as their opponents, a convincing argument in response to the basic 'where was your church before Luther?' question.²¹¹ It was in regard of this that her notes (and the original text) broke the ancient service into parts, showing the truth of puritan practice, and the deviations made by the Romanists. She noted that 'The supper of the lord was celebrated very often in the primitive church' and stressed that 'the right use of the communion was first lost at Rome.'²¹² The original text had mentioned that the communion used to be celebrated weekly or even daily. 'Decline' was presented as a gradual move away from the original (and therefore true) practice. She noted, for instance, in order to list some popish errors, 'How the communion came by

²¹⁰ Appendix A, note to p. 53.

²¹¹ The best guide to this notoriously complicated subject is Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*, ch. 6.

²¹² Appendix A, notes to pp. 228, 229.

degrees to fall to the ground.’²¹³ Lady Hoby had some input into this wording, which has an intentionality beyond the text: her note makes it clear that there was an organised top-down Roman conspiracy to deprive the people, rather than a process of change and assimilation.

Offerings were important in the old church as they were to Lady Hoby. She noted that the original service included everyone presenting a gift and then proceeded to note, ‘a wicked mans guifte was not then received, that he might therby knowe that they thought him unworthy of their holy communion.’ This note is of great importance as Lady Hoby had considerable impact on devotion at Hackness, and therefore her reading may have signalled a move towards practical exclusion of the ungodly from communion. It also reformulated the original text, which stated that those who gave gifts should be approved to be in the condition in which to receive prayers.²¹⁴ Other notes focused on the exclusion of the laity as a whole from the service,²¹⁵ which was to Lady Hoby a bad thing, and some more positively on acceptance. The notes here are really part of a practical devotional handbook which she crafted in her margin. The note reads ‘whosoever is worthy to communicate in prayer with the sayntes is worthy to receive the lords supper with them.’²¹⁶

Of particular importance to Lady Hoby was the question of receiving in both kinds, on which she made nine notes in just a few pages.²¹⁷ Extraction on this issue (and her line was again, following the text, that it had been ancient custom slowly and cunningly taken away by Rome) allowed Lady Hoby to

²¹³ Appendix A, note to p. 75.

²¹⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 36. See also, Christopher Haigh, ‘Communion and Community: Exclusion from Communion in Post-Reformation England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000), 721-740; Arnold Hunt, ‘The Lord’s Supper in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present*, 161 (1998), 39-83; John Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation*.

²¹⁵ Appendix A, note to p. 73.

²¹⁶ Appendix A, note to p. 33.

²¹⁷ Appendix A, notes to pp. 85, 86, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95.

formulate a narrative in her margin of original purity and Roman pollution that was only cleansed with Luther's Reformation. The notes began with original practice in which bread and wine were taken by the laity, then moved to listing Thomas Aquinas's reasons for communicating in both kinds. Lady Hoby changed the emphasis of the text which had quoted Aquinas 'Why doe not the people receive the blood under the wine' and replaced it with a negative formulation, 'Thomas Aquinas his reasons why the cupp is kepte from the laitye.'²¹⁸ She quoted the Canon laws against communicating in both kinds, and concentrated on the edicts of Councils. It was clearly a theme close to her heart, the notes upon which show a vehement anti-popery. Annotating a passage from Cardinal Cusanus that 'the institution of scripture doeth change in time', Lady Hoby was outraged both at the departure from the written word and communion in both kinds. She wrote in her margin that this was 'a blasphemous conceit of papistes.'²¹⁹ Annotating a paragraph on the position at the council of Trent, which 'curseth' those who held that communion should be in both kinds, Lady Hoby wrote, 'the wicked curse of the councell of Trente', adding the word 'wicked' to the original text, and revealing more of her anti-popery.²²⁰ To solidify the connection with her conception of Rome, communion and pollution, Lady Hoby noted that the Romanist argument on sacrifice from Genesis 14 was 'filthy stuffe.'²²¹

The remaining notes on communion were about practice. Lady Hoby annotated a passage stating that original practice, from at least 160 AD, was to

²¹⁸ Appendix A, note to p. 85.

²¹⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 89.

²²⁰ Appendix A, note to p. 91. For anti-popery, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* and Peter Lake 'Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 72-106. A failing of both approaches is their reliance on the structural and rhetorical categories inherent in printed matter, and the lack of consideration of possible differences between structures of anti-popery in manuscript and in print. For categories of inversion (in print), see Stuart Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft' *Past and Present*, 87 (1980), 98-127.

²²¹ Appendix A, note to p. 201.

communicate with bread and wine once prayer had finished.²²² She also annotated passages about the type of bread and wine to be used, showing her concern with practice. She noted that the watering down of wine was ‘a thinge indifferent as longe as itt is not made significante’ and that in the ‘primitive church’ only ‘common bread’ was used.²²³ The text had used the word ‘ordinary’ as opposed to leavened bread, but Lady Hoby’s use of the word ‘common’ is suggestive of a willingness to link the theme into a broader narrative of repression of the worship of the common Christians by the popish tyrants.

Moving from the communion to the service as a whole, Lady Hoby’s annotations again show the practical importance of her reading. Of particular concern were the origins of the service. Having underlined that the original mass was ‘an assemblie of Christians, calling uppon the name of God by Jesus Christ’, she noted the reference in the margin: ‘what the masse was in the first ages of the church.’²²⁴ She also made several notes on the origins of English conversion being St Augustine’s mission, which meant that English people had begun with a pure practice and thus side-stepped all the complexities of the Jewish and pagan roots of early Christianity.²²⁵ The Catholic devil was in the detail of religious change thereafter. She noted when the Litany came in and when standing during the gospel was introduced.²²⁶ In reference to individual aspects of the service, she harked back to original practice. Prayers in the old church, she noted, ‘were mente to be divided into articles, to every one whereof the people were to cry (amen)’, reminiscent of the format of Stephen Egerton’s prayers at St Anne’s, Blackfriars.²²⁷ Psalms were sung while the offerings were

²²² Appendix A, note to p. 23.

²²³ Appendix A, note to pp. 143, 141.

²²⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 52.

²²⁵ Appendix A, note to p. 149.

²²⁶ Appendix A, notes to pp. 54, 42.

²²⁷ Appendix A, note to p. 37. BL, Egerton MS 2877, fo. 18r (Commonplace-Book of Gilbert Freville).

brought to the table and only corrupted into parts in the time of Gregory the Great.²²⁸ Singing was the duty of everyone in the congregation, she noted, adjacent to a passage about Isidore's Decretals.²²⁹ The purpose of the service was understanding, thus she noted that it was (adding colour to the language of the text) 'a blasphemous conceit of papistes' that Scripture might be altered over time by its context, and that popes were 'directly contraye unto the fathers' by punishing the laity for reading the Bible.²³⁰ Though of course she followed the text, Lady Hoby had a sensitivity to the nuances of words surrounding the service. She made notes on the origins of the use of the words 'mass' and 'sacrifice' to show how practice had deviated from the original purpose.²³¹ She objected to the word 'mass' stating that it was 'grossly translated & drawne from its first signification.'²³² Sensitivity to linguistic changes enabled her further reference to popish errors. She noted that 'St Augustine resolved to use barbarisme rather than not be understoode' and that it was 700 A.D. before Latin was used everywhere in the service.²³³ The parallel narrative that she created in a series of footnotes from page 150 is of English Christianity being invaded and occupied by a foreign tongue, which served to legitimate the Protestant insistence on the use of the vernacular. She also connected this to removing the sanctity of the priest by objecting to his separation from the laity and especially his muttering. This was against Christ's institution, she noted, and she made clear that the Council of Trent 'accurseth them, which againste the church of Rome shall houlde with the scripture.'²³⁴ [See plate 6] Again her own narrative linked oppression and popish language. Between two notes about muttering, she noted, significantly modifying the

²²⁸ Appendix A, notes to pp. 36, 56.

²²⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 14.

²³⁰ Appendix A, notes to pp. 89, 157.

²³¹ Appendix A, notes to pp. 38ff., 216.

²³² Appendix A, note to p. 34.

²³³ Appendix A, note to p. 150.

²³⁴ Appendix A, notes to pp. 158, 159.

the third, doth ground his speech: *Ne sancta verba uiscerent, Laicis nota, for seere that these words being understood, should become vile.* But why doe they not rather say with Moses: *Would so God they had all prophesied:* with S. Paul, *Labour about all things that you may prophesie;* that is, that you may vnderstand your selues, and make others to vnderstand? But and if S. Basil would haue stretched this rule to this Sacrament, and to this kinde of pronounciation, wherefore hath hee left vs a contrarie example? And why doe wee not as quicklie call to minde the saying of Lactantius: *That these mutterings so greatlie recommended, haue bene devised and ordained by wise and crafty Marshantes, to the end that the people might not vnderstand what they worshipped.* They are not ashamed to alledge the Councell of Laodicea, but yet so as that they will not seeme to know that there is any thing spoken of the Canon, nor of the consecration made by the Priest: but rather of the first praier of the seruice of the faithfull, which euery one of them being exhorted therunto by him, made vnto God, with a lowe voice, praying him that it would please him to blesse this holie action and ministerie, the steppes and printes whereof are yet to be seene in the Lithurgies. In the ende, when they can say no more, they flie vnto miracles; as that certaine shepherdes who had learned these wordes by heart, did abuse them in saying them ouer their breade: for which they were preferendie punished of God: and from thence forward, the church ordained that these wordes should not be spoken otherwise then in secret. But where may wee read this historie? Where is the councell or decree that followed vpon this fo euident and important a miracle? And what other thing do they herein, but oppose & set a tale made for sport; and in a word the whole shepherdes Calender, against the institution of Christ, the vse and custome of the whole Church, the constitutions of Emperours, and the testimonie of all the Fathers? Yea and therewithall our aduerfaries are not ashamed at this day to say: that who so doth vse them otherwise, doth fulfill the saying of our Lord, *In giuing pearles vnto swine, and casting holie things before dogs.* And what will they say then of all the old Church? and amongst whome shall all the faithfull during the time of so manie ages be accounted, but amongst hogs and dogs? Againe, the Councell of Trent is so bold as to pronounce and say; *If anie man condemn and disallow the manner and fashion of the Church of Rome, for speaking the Canon and wordes of consecration verie low, or by affirming that the Masse ought to bee saide in a common and vulgar tongue, let him be accused.* Now it is certain that this custome slipt in for company with the rest of the abuses of the Masse. The Lordes supper was wonte of olde to bee celebrated euerie Lordes day, and neuer without the communicating of the faithfull in the same: all the people made one partie, both of the whole seruice, as also of the holy supper. By little and little it began to bee more rare and seldome, as also lesse frequented and resorted vnto: in somuch as that in the end there came but a verie few people to it; yea there was not anie to communicate in the same. The Pastors notwithstanding, to hold fast their former authoritie, were verie readie to perswade them that their alone presence was profitable; and to this end they went and disguised this sacrament, and purvpon it the visarde of a sacrifice: and closed vppe this generall communicating of the faithfull in a particular action performed by the Priest. The Priest then which was cyther alone with his onely Clarke to aunswere him, or else very slenderlie accompanied; beganne to speake with a lower voice and Transubstantiation comming vpon this solitarie condition of the Masse, tyed the force of the sacrament to the pronounciation of wordes: which the olde Church was alwaies wonte to attribute in parte to the power of Gods spirit, and partlie to the faith of the communicants: and that so farre, as that Gabriel Biel was so bolde as to say that the consecration was wrought by a hidden and secret power of these wordes; euen altogether in such sort, as charmers and witches are wont to draw milke out of a bench or forme, and a belee out of a bushet. So that to giue honour and reuerence vnto the Masse, but especially to the consecrating thereof; it grew by little and little to bee a custome, to pronounce these wordes as secretlie and mysticallie as may bee. And this for acertainie was not found to bee observed before the Council of Lateran in the Roman Church, nor after it in any other.

Lactantius c. 20.

Concil. Laod. c. 19.

profoundly in of mutterings of of secret

by the better from paymer and so says Harding

Concil. Trident. c. 8. p. 22. *ut in officio non arguatur et quod affirmatio non potest esse nisi in fine*

Gab. Biel. in expol. Can. 1. l. g. h.

CHAP.

Plate 6. Philip Du Plessis-Mornay, *Fowre Bookes*, p. 159. YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 47. Such notes reveal the strength of Lady Hoby's anti-popery. The third note (bottom) also shows how her notes added substance to printed marginal notes.

text, 'the papistes make all the laity no better than swyne and dogges', causing a re-read of the marginalia to link the cause of muttering (to stop shepherds repeating the words of consecration themselves) to the popish tyranny over the (worship of) common people.²³⁵

Ceremonies also receive consistent annotation. These notes betray more local concerns and they are selected by Lady Hoby from long lists of ceremonies objected to by Protestants. She made notes about Candlemas, and it should be noted that Thomas Posthumous Hoby was later to prosecute the Catholic players who performed a play at Candlemas in Yorkshire in 1609.²³⁶ The notes suggest that Candlemas was grafted onto pagan festivals. She noted 'Vigilius the authour of Candlemas feaste' and 'The occasion of Candlemas feaste.'²³⁷ Both notes followed the text, but the association of Candlemas with the Virgin Mary and the divisions in Yorkshire made it a potentially divisive issue on which Lady Hoby used her book as justification for godly religious practice. Similarly given short shrift in the notes were Easter processions. Central to the Catholic devotional calendar, Lady Hoby wrote them off by noting that they were invented long after her 'primitive' religion began.²³⁸ Only one origin was justified: she noted 'all holy ceremonies of the church have theyr foundations in Christ.'²³⁹

Although many of these seem theoretical as much as practical, perhaps a reasoning behind not doing something, Lady Hoby's notes that refer to the status and duties of the clergy have particular practical relevance. This is partly because we know so much about Richard Rhodes and partly because there are important entries in the diary, but also because her marginal notes have a greater immediacy, even in reference to practices in the old church.

²³⁵ Appendix A, notes to pp. 159, 109.

²³⁶ See below, Chapter 2.

²³⁷ Appendix A, note to p. 44.

²³⁸ Appendix A, note to p. 55.

²³⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 194.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority had been a concern in Lady Hoby's diary. She noted in the diary that, from her reading, the title of archbishop was unlawful. Annotating her Du Plessis-Mornay, she made notes on the election of bishops in the old church, stressing that they were chosen first by priests among themselves.²⁴⁰ Clarifying the original text, which had stated that the bishop could not grant himself further authorities, Lady Hoby wrote that 'bishops in their firste ordination not above other ministers.'²⁴¹ Given that the old church was the ideal, I think we can see a little more of the radical (theoretical) puritanism at the core of Lady Hoby's beliefs, however offset this was by her social conservatism. At the parochial level, Lady Hoby made several annotations on clerical dress, noting that in the old church this was 'ordinary attyre' and that the differences happened because fashion moved on, while they clergy tried to retain their customs.²⁴² Changes in vestments were 'brought in by Gregorje', who is singled out for many of the particular perversions of the original service.²⁴³ Clerical discipline in the old church was another annotated topic. In the old church, she noted, with her own adjective, it was ensured that 'theyr cleargye were unreproverible.'²⁴⁴ She then noted that 'disciplyne for cleargye men very stricte in the oulde churches' and 'In Cyprians tyme those which abused holy orders were never received agayne.'²⁴⁵ Here Lady Hoby's annotation was bordering on the coercive. The text had given Cyprian's positive message that priests that abused orders would be allowed back into God's community, if not the ministry. Lady Hoby derived from this a negative rule, for never letting them come back. The three annotations, in a short space, provided a quick reference guide to clerical discipline but also an alternative text without nuance or exception: in the (good) old church, the authorities ensured clerical discipline, the discipline was

²⁴⁰ Appendix A, notes to pp. 161, 162.

²⁴¹ Appendix A, note to p. 162.

²⁴² Appendix A, note to p. 163.

²⁴³ Appendix A, note to p. 61.

²⁴⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 98.

²⁴⁵ Appendix A, note to p. 98.

strict, and when they broke the rules, clergy could never return to the ministry. This bore comparison with the moral laxity of the Catholic church which she noted allowed unordained priests to be given the host: it was ‘a grosse devyce.’²⁴⁶ Perhaps most revealing are her notes on the benefits of clerical marriage. She wrote ‘Nazianzene avoucheth that his fathers wife was an helpe to him in his ministrye.’²⁴⁷ She made notes of the original practice on clerical marriage in England, that was only ended by decree in 950 and noted that it was from the priests of the Gentiles ‘from whence prohibition of marriage to the cleargye was fetched.’²⁴⁸ Adjacent to a passage ridiculing Saint Gregory’s equation of clerical marriage with heresy, Lady Hoby noted ‘The fruite of single life constrayned was the murtheringe of children.’²⁴⁹ The language, and the strength of the word ‘murdering’, was Lady Hoby’s own construction. Though it referred to the story of Gregory’s ban causing the death of six thousand children, it surely betrays some of Lady Hoby’s own anxieties about her own childless state.

Lady Hoby’s annotations tend to highlight negative features rather than positive ones. This seems to be a particular feature of those who read to refute. This is particularly so for the notes made on doctrinal issues, where the text is followed closely. However, many of the notes are revealing. Transubstantiation is refuted in the margin not in terms of its reality but in terms of its effects. Lady Hoby noted, ‘Transubstantiation brought in a speciall regarde of the earthly vessell & neglect of the spirituall.’ This followed the text, but did not (surprisingly given many other notes) follow its language in describing transubstantiation as a ‘monstrous doctrine.’²⁵⁰ Purgatory was more central to Lady Hoby’s annotations. In a list of the effects of the corrupted mass, she

²⁴⁶ Appendix A, note to p. 165.

²⁴⁷ Appendix A, note to p. 170.

²⁴⁸ Appendix A, notes to pp. 185, 188.

²⁴⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 181.

²⁵⁰ Appendix A, note to p. 143.

noted ‘St Gregoryes masse delivereth soules out of purgatorye.’²⁵¹ Though this followed the text, it again falls in a series of marginal notes that discredit purgatory by associating it with traditional and superstitious religious practices, such as saying masses to prevent storms. Purgatory is seen as an unfair doctrine, and is annotated alongside notes which suggested that the popularity of the mass over the Lord’s Supper sprang from how easy it was to follow.²⁵² Some of the notes simply listed the evidence against purgatory, for instance that on page 254 ‘Reasons to prove that Matthew 15.22 cannot be understood of purgatory gathered from the place.’²⁵³ An unusually long note read ‘Although that the patriarkes could not enter into paradise by the papistes doctryne before Christes cominge, yet if there was purgatory deliverance from thence unto limbes paine had beene needfull.’²⁵⁴ In this case the theological point-scoring is not as important as cross-referencing such notes to the books Lady Hoby read, in particular *Master Broughtons Letters* (London, 1599)²⁵⁵ which shows a continuing concern with Christ’s descent into Hell and questions of the afterlife. There is a concern for tracing the origins of the observance of the sabbath²⁵⁶, as one might expect from the godly and an unusual set of annotations on the importance of confession. On page 19, she noted ‘confession of sinnes is the first parte of divine service used in the primitive church.’²⁵⁷ On Page 20, she followed ‘the pastour being the mouth of

²⁵¹ Appendix A, note to p. 72.

²⁵² Appendix A, note to p. 72.

²⁵³ Appendix A, note to p. 254.

²⁵⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 237.

²⁵⁵ See above, note 54.

²⁵⁶ Appendix A, note to p. 18. The importance of Sabbath observance to godly culture is discussed in Patrick Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture’ in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 32-57; cf. Kenneth Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988) which insists that English Sabbatarianism had little that was distinctly puritan.

²⁵⁷ Appendix A, note to p. 19.

the people to gode is to confesse unto gode the iniquitie of the people.’²⁵⁸
These notes, which are unremarkable in that they follow the text closely, combine to provide quick reference for the place of confession in the original service and, as all mention of the early church is omitted in the second note if not the text, in contemporary practice. The concern is important. In theory, the godly and orthodox Protestants had no problems with confession itself but with compulsory private confession. This may have been so on a theological level, but the existence of Lady Hoby’s note, I think, points to the opposite: that she was rather uncomfortable with confession. She had not mentioned it once in her diary, and the frequent mention of ‘meditation’ may have been a godly replacement for auricular confession.²⁵⁹

A further grouping of notes exists that can be described as dealing with idolatry, and they are important in that they show the real concerns of a woman who had been taught a particular version of Decalogue morality. Lady Hoby, we may assume, like all good Calvinists, was taught a second commandment against images. Such instruction might be thought to lead to a greater concern for the image-worshipper than the devil-worshipper²⁶⁰, but Lady Hoby’s position was again a complex one. In her diary, giving in to the temptations of the devil (though this is not quite devil-worship) was a serious concern, yet in her annotations, images were far more important. I think this owes something to a radical godly conception of the devil contained within the individual, and therefore present in the examination of one’s spiritual conscience, compared with the public duty of reading for positive action in one’s life and that of one’s

²⁵⁸ Appendix A, note to p. 20.

²⁵⁹ There is no serious study of the importance of confession in post-Reformation England, despite the often heated theological debates of the 1630s in which auricular confession was frequently discussed. For confession in Europe, see John Bossy, ‘The Social History of Confession in the Age of Reformation’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 25 (1975), 21-38.

²⁶⁰ For Decalogue morality, see John Bossy, ‘Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments’, in E. Leites (ed.), *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and Paris, 1988). For this particular suggestion, see John Bossy, ‘Thinking With Clark’, *Past and Present*, 166 (2000), 242-250. For the importance of the Decalogue in post-Reformation teaching in the English Church, see Margaret Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts i. Laws against Images* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 344-370.

neighbours. The series of notes she made on images describe how images came to be used in the church as monuments rather than objects for veneration.²⁶¹ The reason for the veneration of images was clear to Lady Hoby and she noted in her margin ‘the to much seeking of humane conforte the occasion of idolatry.’²⁶² Her narrative in her notes again linked the use of images back to pagan idols and saw a straightforward connection with popish images which was upheld by the decrees of the popes. The anti-image narrative was colourful, and Lady Hoby made notes on ‘idolatrous songe(s)’ used in Rome to venerate images.²⁶³ Some of the notes also show a harsh side to Lady Hoby, that contradicts many of her commentators use of her diary as a puritan proto-feminist liberation document. For instance, she noted ‘the upholder of Images was a bloody & brutish woman’ following the text but suggesting no affinity with the plight of women in general.²⁶⁴ Although the notes betray a hostility to images, this was aimed mainly at their improper usage. Some notes show that her godly devotional practice worked with images as well as against them: she noted ‘Gregory helde that images should not be for worshippe but for instruction.’²⁶⁵ Particular aspects of image worship came in for great hostility in the notes, perhaps because of their clearer association with popery than the abstract category of images. In particular, she noted objections to the worship of the cross and how this deviated from the original use of the cross objecting to idolatrous prayers consecrating the cross.²⁶⁶ Altar-worship also comes in for similar treatment and forms part of the image/idolatry narrative sequence of notes describing the changes in words from table to altar, then the building of altars from stone and the superstitions used in consecrating altars.²⁶⁷ This is

²⁶¹ Appendix A, note to p. 121.

²⁶² Appendix A, note to p. 124.

²⁶³ Appendix A, note to p. 136.

²⁶⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 127.

²⁶⁵ Appendix A, note to p. 125.

²⁶⁶ Appendix A, notes to pp. 49, 123, 136.

²⁶⁷ Appendix A, notes to pp. 109-111.

then connected in the notes to the growth in the improper usage of images.²⁶⁸

Idolatry went beyond image-worship of course. Lady Hoby made notes on the link to the practice of the Gentiles that was inherent in the use of holy water.²⁶⁹ She objected to the elaborate nature of church-building, noting how churches began by being built ‘only to gode’ and that Saint Augustine forbade building churches to angels.²⁷⁰ She then proceeded (following the text) to show that the dedication of churches to saints began in Justinian’s time, that this was based on Jewish rites, and that it was only after 600 AD that the relics of saints were used in these dedications.²⁷¹ Certainly these objections gain coherence with her objection to the worship of the saints. She noted that saints could only be honoured for three reasons and objected to Catholic arguments that saints could see human thoughts.²⁷² Saints mingled with oaths in the confirmation of her puritanism. The Second Book of Kings, she noted, was ‘A good place to prove that the sayntes know nothing done upon oath.’²⁷³ That is not to say that Lady Hoby was a stereotypical puritan in objecting to every kind of verbal contract. On the condemnation of Hus, she noted ‘Of the condemning of John Hus & Jerome of Prague against their faythfull promise, when they called them to the counsell.’²⁷⁴ Here, it was proof of the corruption of the Catholic Church that

²⁶⁸ Appendix A, note to p. 121.

²⁶⁹ Appendix A, note to p. 47; The objection to the use of water to clean sin may have been her theological stumbling block to becoming a godparent. David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), 155-156, uses the diary to suggest that godparenthood was not entered into lightly by Lady Hoby who initially objected but was later the witness or godparent on several occasions. It is noteworthy that her bookish and theological concerns were overcome, perhaps in the cause of godly sociability. For more general remarks, see John Bossy, ‘Godparenthood: The Fortunes of a Social Institution in Early Modern Christianity’, in K. von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (London, 1984), 194-201.

²⁷⁰ Appendix A, note to p. 106.

²⁷¹ Appendix A, notes to pp. 106-107.

²⁷² Appendix A, note to pp. 293, 304.

²⁷³ Appendix A, note to p. 305.

²⁷⁴ Appendix A, note to p. 88.

they easily went back on former promises. Elsewhere, it was rather the special significance and sacrilege inherent in the oath that made her object, rather than simply objecting to making any form of promise.

IV.

This chapter has demonstrated how the study of marginalia, alongside other more conventional materials, such as letters and diaries, can bring to life seemingly well-known individuals. Lady Hoby emerges from her immediate and intimate conversation with her books through their margins as an intellectually accomplished woman with firm convictions. Discussing how as well as what she read, I have shown that the godly could use books in a variety of ways and for a variety of reasons. For Lady Hoby, religious books were not simply texts to be read, but also books to be written on. They could be read alone in the closet and aloud and in company, as part of a religious exercise. They could be used for purposes less obvious to modern readers: to cure toothache and ward off the devil. The description of her reading has shown the possibility of intellectual coherence in the work that formed and sustained the religious culture of the godly in northern England. In particular, it has demonstrated how important reading could be in a domestic setting but also how its coherence must not be used to assume its popularity. It is clear that Lady Hoby's reading may have had a considerable effect on the devotional life of the wider community in Hackness but it is also certain that the godly were not universally popular either.²⁷⁵ Lady Hoby's reading is indicative of the perception of separation she had from her half-reformed neighbours, especially in the virulence of her anti-popery. Perhaps the religious coherence which the godly household achieved in their communal intellectual activity came at the cost of a polarisation with their neighbours. Furthermore, since reading could be communal and repetitive in these religious exercises, we must, if we think that early modern Protestants had interior religious 'beliefs', acknowledge the communal practices from which they emerged and on which they depended.

²⁷⁵ For the strained relations between the Hobys and their neighbours, see Andrew Cambers, '“The Partial Customs Of These Frozen Parts”: Religious Riot And Reconciliation In The North Of England', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Retribution, Repentance, Reconciliation: Studies in Church History*, 40.

The discussion of reading in the Hoby household raises many more questions which can only be answered with detailed research in archives and libraries. In particular, it raises questions of typicality. Was Lady Hoby unique, or did other women annotate their books and, if so, how did they do it? Can we see differences between male and female readers in this period through their marginalia as well as the generic representations of reading in printed publications? Furthermore, the discussion reopens debates on the appeal of puritanism for women.²⁷⁶ Is it possible that puritanism was more appealing to women (of a particular social status?) than has previously been thought? Did margins allow a space for religious expression among godly women that was unavailable in the world of print? Were margins exploited by the religiously marginal as spaces in which to record and circulate political and religious expression that was otherwise unacceptable? At this stage, we simply cannot know all the answers, but the evidence, perhaps, lies in the margins.

²⁷⁶ The study of marginalia might provide an interesting contrast to the argument in Diane Willen, 'Godly Women in Early Modern England: Puritanism and Gender', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992), 561-580.

Part II:

Neighbours

2. Performance, Providence and Urban Conflict: Ministers, books and religious politics in the north of England

To evaluate more clearly the uses of books within northern godly cultures requires not only an analysis of the specific, as attempted in the previous chapter, but also some analysis of the more general picture, spread over both time and space. To this end, this chapter will focus on the performances evident in the uses of books, for instance in the spreading of libels and the preaching of sermons, and thus on the relationship between printed books and manuscripts and different forms of speech.¹ In this chapter, I have provided a series of thick descriptions and discussed them in an attempt to demonstrate the variety of printed cultures and the religious cultures within and around which they operated. Though related, each example emphasizes a different aspect of the relation between print and religious cultures.

The approach is important to the current debates about print culture and religion in early modern England. Many historians have used the term 'print culture' unproblematically, and found it a useful stick against which to judge other aspects of early modern life. Regrettably, however, very few scratch beneath the surface of this term and recognise that they are in fact dealing with a variety of changing and unstable cultures in this period.² I approach this plurality of printed cultures in this

¹ The approach owes much to the seminal article of D. F. McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', in D. Oliphant and R. Bradford (eds.), *New Directions in Textual Studies*, 87-109. My premise is to examine the spaces between each media in the hope of getting a broader picture of the character of early Stuart Puritanism. Though he does not dwell on modes of communication, the impetus to think of such areas as contested spaces owes much to James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London, 1990).

² The notable exception is Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, which confronts the interplay of print, manuscript and (in particular) speech. It is, however, hampered by adhering to notions of an unchanging singular culture. Excellent is, A. Wood, 'Custom and the Social Organisation of Writing in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Ser., 9 (1999), 257-269. Some difficulties have occurred by swallowing whole the insights of Harold Love, whose

chapter and confront those historians of post-Reformation religion who have treated 'culture' as a stable and unchanging force. Many of these studies remain reticent about the dependence of their assumptions upon anthropologists' concepts of cultures, particularly Clifford Geertz's notion of religion as a cultural system.³ In particular, they tend to stress the permeation of Protestant ideas into what they call 'popular culture', long after social historians have done away with such terms as unhelpfully unifying, fudging the issues of difference and of change. Perhaps most obviously, the work of Patrick Collinson and those who have followed his attempts to assess the impact of Protestantism on everyday life have conflated these two assumptions about print and culture and used them to promote analyses in which 'religion' has a uniform effect on 'culture.' In contrast, recent work by Alexandra Walsham and Peter Lake has taken the trouble to show the impact of the long reformation on aspects of religious culture alongside the divisions inherent among and between the cultures they describe.⁴ Though admirable, even these studies do not deal with assumptions, more often discussed in literary criticism, about transmission: from writer to reader and preacher to hearer.

My argument is relatively straightforward, if not simple: that print permeated and shaped religious cultures, as religion did print, in a variety of different ways. The result is a plurality of both religious cultures and of printed ones, which were also dependent on manuscript and speech. The focus on the performative in this chapter, which builds on the orality of reading practices discussed in regard to Lady Hoby, will tend to paint a picture of the divisiveness of puritan cultures.

Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England, is based on a relatively narrow genre and conceals some of the nuances inherent in the (often subversive) medium of religious manuscript circulation.

³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. 87-125.

⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*; Peter Lake, *The boxmaker's revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'heterodoxy' and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London*.

which can be better assessed along the model of Levi-Strauss's dual organisation.⁵ In some ways, this will rotate the historiographical wheel once more, since the variety of materials discussed will tend to show the divisions in (the representations of) the Protestant community. Much of the work of Patrick Collinson attempted to show the coherence and inclusiveness of Protestantism and was in part a riposte to social historians obsessed with its divisions and the reformation of manners.

This chapter uses some well-known events and individuals to sustain these hypotheses, but they are refreshed by the focus on print. Though not my main concern, I also revive the utility of the concept of the reformation of manners as particularly relevant to northern Protestantism.⁶ There is also significant newly discovered archival material, in particular from the records of the court Star Chamber. Though these are plagued by the difficulties of court material, and the transition from speech to manuscript, they have the advantage of considering the views of different people to the same incidents. Materials from cases which contain information on the uses of books, such as the spread of libels, the preaching of sermons and the ownership of books provide unparalleled information on religious cultures, their dependence on, exploitation of and interaction with different forms of media. It is at the conjunctions between forms that the information will be richest and will mean the most to notions of religious cultures. Steering the phrase of Clifford Geertz in the direction of textual studies, I might suggest: 'Take care of the conjunctions and the nouns will take care of themselves.'⁷

⁵ For the model, see Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology 1* trans. C. Jacobson and B. D. Schoepf.

⁶ See also, Martin Ingram, 'Reformation of manners in early modern England', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The experience of authority in early modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), 47-88.

⁷ Clifford Geertz, *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000), p. 133.

Often the material is thinly spread, but drawing it together will boost the argument. Materials in the chapter come from Halifax, Leeds, York, and Nidderdale, but together they demonstrate the richness, variety and strength of religious cultures and the cultures of information upon which they depended.⁸ A short example, from Hull, is indicative of the potential of the materials and the complexities they add to our pictures of northern religious cultures.

Using the insights from the history of the book together with the Star Chamber case of Richard Burgess against Theophilus Smith in Kingston-upon-Hull in 1610, we can question assumptions that godly towns were ruled by pious civic authorities in combination with zealous, forward preachers.⁹ Smith, like his father before him, was the vicar of Hessle-with-Hull, and Burgess was the mayor. Hull was an area of popular puritanism, which remained undented, even after the banning of plays in 1598. Smith, however, was at loggerheads with the council. A Bill of Complaint accused him of inciting a mob to burn down posts placed in his driveway, which he thought the council had erected to stop him bringing carts to the vicarage. Furthermore, he was alleged to have preached that Henry VIII was ‘the cruellest tyrante’ ever to rule England and to have reproved the mayor and aldermen of Hull, saying they ‘ought to execute and administer justice accordinge to the lawes of the lande and not as they woulde or accordinge to their own will.’ He was also charged with writing and circulating a libel against the town authorities. The case displays an important overlap in the use of popular forms of protest in conjunction with a puritan religious culture. For his part, Smith stressed that he was loyal and

⁸ There is no comparable term for writing and speech that has the resonance of ‘print culture’. The use of this term is often collapsed into words such as ‘information’ and ‘communication.’ The dangers of doing so can be seen in books that purport to cover such topics but focus instead on print. See, for instance, Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Alcorn Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2001).

⁹ PRO, STAC 8/79/5 (Burgess v. Smith).

his accusers separatists. Crucial was the question, ‘Whether did you at any time and when. hear Thomas Tailor alias Swan and James Watkinson two aldermen of the said towne say that a cheesecake would become the Lord Archbiushops head. as well as a square capp.’ Another was said to have asked if he had a pair of horns on his head instead of a cap.¹⁰ Archbishop Matthew had preached in Hull days before this comment.

The case shows no simple divides, but a godly hierarchy that tended towards separatism, fighting a vicar who was not puritan enough for them. To re-impose his puritanism, the vicar resorted to uncharacteristic forms of protest, in the pulpit and on paper, displaying the interrelation of writing, speech and religion but on lines different to those which we might expect. The situation was complicated, removed from studies which see Hull’s puritanism as a simple process of education promoted by a happy marriage of godly preachers and civic authority. In fact, examining the methods in which discontent was conveyed shows the instability of the religious cultures in Hull.¹¹ The complexities in such cases and their relationship with variant forms of media, are the substance of this chapter. Just as in Hull, they will revise pictures too often drawn from one type of source and affected thereby. The result will be a rounded picture of godly cultures which were often unstable and frequently at odds with those of their neighbours.

I.

The sprawling parish of Halifax in the West Riding of Yorkshire offers an excellent place in which to start examining the uses of speech, manuscript and print, their intersection and tensions, all firmly within a distinctly forward Protestant culture, albeit a contested one. The parish, at a considerable distance

¹⁰ PRO, STAC 8/79/5, list of questions.

¹¹ The case is sketched in J. A. Newton, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, pp. 161-168. For an uncomplicated picture of godly Hull, see Claire Cross, *Magistrates and Ministers: religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, Borthwick Papers, 67 (York, 1985).

from ecclesiastical authority, and owing much of its character to neighbouring Lancashire, covered an area of 124 square miles and had a population of about ten thousand, of whom roughly a quarter lived in Halifax itself. It had little early enthusiasm for Protestant reform but developed a reputation for godly zeal, in combination with a textile trade, that led to independent action in the Civil Wars and an image of independent, radical, literate weavers in the eighteenth century.¹² The key transition period in the development of genuine radicalism were the ministries of John Favour and Robert Clay, between 1594 and 1628, which put the godly patronage of the Savile family into action, encouraging education and devotion within the framework of a moral reformation. They saw the establishment of a preaching exercise and the solidification of godly networks in the north of England, building on the initiatives of the earl of Huntingdon and Archbishop Grindal before them.¹³ Upon closer examination, the key to the change in religious temperament in the area can be seen through an examination of the changes in use of forms of media, which were mutually dependant and whose boundaries were permeable.¹⁴ The resulting vision is undoubtedly much darker than that derived

¹² For religion in sixteenth-century Halifax, with glances forward and back, see William and Sarah Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform: Halifax and its Hinterland' in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), 130-143. For a somewhat later period, M. E. Francois, 'The Social and Economic Development of Halifax, 1558-1640', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Literary and Historical Section*, 11 (1964-6), 217-80. Useful comparisons may be made with Lancashire, for which see C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*.

¹³ For the development of radical Protestantism in the north by these individuals, see Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595* (London, 1966) and Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1980). In both cases the prevalence of narrative takes much away from the *process* of religious reform.

¹⁴ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture* makes the point most vigorously but exaggerates its novelty. The point was made repeatedly by David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. See, David Cressy, 'Review of Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*,' H-Albion, H-Net Reviews (December, 2001). <<http://www.hnet.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=46131009478806>> (12 May 2003).

from the optimism understandably present in wills of the period: it reveals tensions and unpopularity; uncertainty alongside enthusiasm.

Though heavily generic, sermons were among the most important forms of religious speech in early modern England. In Halifax, which was noted for its preaching, the very strength of this aspect of religious culture has resulted in a lack of accessible evidence for the historian. Sermons by Halifax ministers were not printed and those which survive remain in scattered manuscripts. Despite this, there are grounds for optimism since, although manuscript copies are at one remove from their original state, they have often been cherished and well-preserved, they tend to lack the generic difficulties provided by the printer and his press and, since they often betray something of the personal character of the note-taker, they can provide crucial evidence not just on the forms of speech used but, with some speculation, on their audiences and the way in which sermons were heard.¹⁵ Several sermons survive which were originally preached by John Favour, who was vicar of Halifax between 1593 and 1624. Favour was born in Southampton, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford and came north as part of the evangelical mission. He became vicar of Halifax in 1593, sub-dean of Ripon in 1607, was chaplain to Archbishop Matthew, and held posts as Master of St Mary Magdalene's Hospital, Ripon in 1608, and prebend of York Minster from 1611 until his death in 1624. He was noted for his skill in medicine, as well as his preaching. He described a challenging godly routine in his *Antiquity triumphing over novelty*:

notwithstanding I had many impediments, well knowne unto the places of my residence: as preaching every Sabbath day, lecturing every day in the

¹⁵ These issues are discussed in Arnold Hunt, 'The art of hearing. English preachers and their audiences, 1590-1640' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998). For the Yorkshire dialect, see John Waddington-Feather, *Yorkshire Dialect* (Clapham, N. Yorkshire, 1977); S. Dyer, *Dialect of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Brighouse, 1891); and William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (2 vols, London, 1788), vol. 2.

week, exercising justice in the commonwealth, practising of physicke and chirurgerie in the great penury and necessity thereof in the country where I live, and only for God's sake.¹⁶

Favour's sermons display something of the character of the preacher and of his hearers. For instance, Sir Henry Yelverton, the attorney general who died in 1629, took the following notes of a sermon by Favour on the epistle of St Paul to the Philippians, Verse 5, in a series of sermons on St Paul:

Our life is but a living death
There is noe better demonstracon of any thinge
then by the contrary as of contrary collours
Subjecting unto Christ all by the speech of things
in heaven in earth and under the earth, is
ment Angels, men and divells
humility is the way to exaltacon.¹⁷

It is likely that Favour's sermon was originally much longer than Yelverton's brief note. However, we can assume that the notes which were taken were either the main points stressed in the sermon (which of course relied on the biblical text), the concerns particular to the hearer, or a combination of both. Fortunately, Yelverton noted many other sermons with a rather different note-taking style, in which his concerns were revealed through a consistent style of marginal annotation. He tended to add to his margins words such as 'modesty' 'new sinnes', 'lawes' and 'justice' (perhaps what we might expect of a high-profile lawyer). I think we can assume that the notes on Favour's sermon were a précis of both its style and its content. If this is so, it is certainly revealing of the character of Favour's puritanism. It reveals a little about Favour's taste for seeing things in black-and-

¹⁶ John Favour, *Antiquity triumphing over novelty*, epistle to the reader.

¹⁷ BL, Additional Ms 48016, fo. 49r (Notes of Sermons by Sir Henry Yelverton).

white, a concern for the theme of divine judgement and a narrative in his sermon that culminated with exaltation, that is salvation.¹⁸ Furthermore, its language is suggestive of an almost stereotypical puritanism, with a morbidity ('Our life is but a living death') and self-consciousness of form in stressing the centrality of speech itself, and its place in a moral reformation.¹⁹

It would be hasty to derive the religious temperament of Halifax from the notes of a single sermon. Fortunately there are two volumes of notes taken in the tiny hand of Elkanah Wales, the puritan preacher and curate of Pudsey between 1612 and 1662, which record a series of sermons preached in the area in the early seventeenth century.²⁰ The earliest dated sermon is from February 1609 and, though the majority are from before 1616, there is evidence that they continued until 1632 and perhaps until the Civil War.²¹ Heywood wrote that

this exercise was maintained in Dr Favour's days, who was a great friend to the Non-Conformists, maintained two famous men as lecturers at Halifax, whom he shrouded under his authority and interest with the bishop, namely, Mr Boys, banished out of Kent for his Non-Conformity, a choice man, very laborious in the work of the lord ... and Mr Barlow, that writ upon Timothy, a choice man, who had been shrouded under Dr Favour.²²

¹⁸ For Yelverton and providence, see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 238.

¹⁹ Favour's temperament and anti-catholicism can be seen in the sermons he preached to the prisoners at York Castle in 1600. See BL, Additional Ms 34250 (William Richmond, *A Trewe Storie of the Catholicke prisoners in Yorke Castle*) and below, pp. 180-184.

²⁰ The volumes are BL, Additional Ms 4933 A and B (Notes from sermons in the West Riding). The 800 pages of minute handwriting contain around 750,000 words of sermon notes.

²¹ J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 220-236.

²² Cited in J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 35-36.

Although often referred to collectively as the ‘Halifax exercise,’ these sermons were preached at a variety of locations predominately in the West Riding. There were exercises at Farnley, Bradford, Pudsey, Leeds, Halifax, possibly in Sheffield and certainly at Rowley, where the Elizabethan exercises were revived with the encouragement of Archbishop Matthew.²³ These exercises appear to have been held monthly and included morning and afternoon sermons. According to Oliver Heywood, they took place on the last Wednesday of each month. This is reinforced by the comment of John Walker who described the ‘newe moones commonly called exercises.’²⁴ The purpose of the exercises appears primarily to have been to educate clergy, but there is some suggestion that they were popular with the more godly laity. Heywood noted a ‘multitude of hearers’ at the Halifax exercise and John Newton has repeated that ‘lay folk as well as clergy’ attended.²⁵ Indeed, it was said of Elkanah Wales that ‘multitudes travelled several miles to profit by a minister whom his own people heard with indifference or scarcely heard at all.’²⁶

In addition to the text, Elkanah Wales recorded the name of each preacher. As well as Favour, they included many of the most prominent preachers in the Jacobean puritan movement, from Yorkshire and beyond. Anthony Nutter, for example, had previously preached at the Dedham classis. John Boyes had been expelled from Kent. At least five of the preachers identified in the volumes of notes came from

²³ See, J. A. Newton, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, p. 234. There were attempts to widen these exercises, in particular an aborted effort to establish a puritan preaching circuit to tour York’s parishes. See, J. A. Newton. ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, pp. 175-176.

²⁴ BL Harleian Ms 1284, fo. 13v ff. (John Walker, ‘The English hipochrite and the Romish pharise unmasked’). J. A. Newton. ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, p. 226 has an analysis of Heywood’s comments on the exercises.

²⁵ J. A. Newton. ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, p. 137.

²⁶ T. D. Whitaker. *Loidis and Elmete* (Leeds, 1816), p. 94.

Lancashire, including James Gosnell and William Rathband.²⁷ Others included Mr Sayle, Mr Welch, Mr Gibson, Mr Wilkinson, Mr Storer, Mr Harrison, Mr Slater, Mr Shorrocks, Mr Sunderland, Mr Dobson, Mr Marsden, Mr Becon, Mr Rhodes,²⁸ Mr Borne, Mr Gibs, Mr Alexander Cooke, Dr Favour, Mr Ackroyd, Mr Cart', Mr Booth, Mr Hobson, Mr Gosnall, Mr Poioer, Mr Peeples, Mr Berd, Mr Bowles, Elkanah Wales and Samuel Wales.²⁹ The exercises provide evidence of the level of sociability among, and communications between, puritan preachers spread over a wide area.³⁰ It seems likely that they also provided a haven for the deprived. Alexander Cooke's first sermon at the exercises was shortly after his deprivation from Louth. Thomas Sheppard preached in the North after being forced out of Essex. Similarly Richard Rothwell and Stanley Gower preached all over the area. Such preachers were known to the opponents of the exercises, in particular John Walker, as 'wandering stars', that is ones that blocked out the sun.³¹ The purpose of the exercise ensured that the puritan message stretched beyond the local area. In addition, sermons had a place in oral culture which could link more remote places, over considerable periods of time. Favour's successor, Robert Clay bequeathed one hundred pounds to Merton College, Oxford for sermons to be preached twice a year at Oxford University 'by some Yorkshire man' in the college, on the provision that 'mention .. be made of Dr. Clay sometyme vicar of Halifax founder thereof.'³² The sermons around Halifax were numerous and successful and their longevity is

²⁷ J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', p. 220. For further information see, C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*. Favour's daughter also married a Lancashire puritan.

²⁸ It is likely that this was Richard Rhodes, chaplain to the Hoby family.

²⁹ For biographical information on the list of preachers, see R. A. Marchant, *Puritans in the Diocese of York* and J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', Appendix.

³⁰ See also, Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, 1620-1643*.

³¹ See below, n. 113.

³² For Robert Clay's will, see BI, The Episcopal Registers, 1215-1650 (Harvester Microfilm, Pt. 1: The Archbishops of York, Reel 15, Item 31/273).

suggestive of the centrality of preaching to puritan religious cultures in the north. The volumes of notes are also important for the operation of this style of religious programme at the boundaries between speech and manuscript, a space which was perhaps distinctively puritan.³³

Though I have demonstrated that certain manuscript sources can give a vivid impression of the speech once used, the generic nature of sermons tends to hide how much other forms of manuscript and speech collapse into each other upon further examination. In fact, few would now try to treat speech as a separate entity since, even in the present, the record of speech tends to affect its meaning. Anthropologists are now aware of the value of their notebooks and the extent to which this can alter their record and the behaviour of their subjects. Similarly audio-tapes cannot simply be 'read' as a straightforward record of speech since they can be forged, cut and distorted. It is therefore especially important to consider some sources not as manuscript or speech, but as both at the same time. Of course, the record achieves more permanence through its physical writing, but it also remains a piece of oral evidence. Particularly important in Halifax with regard to the religious use of manuscript is a remarkable register kept by John Favour.³⁴ The parish register was meant to be a written source: a permanent and relatively value-free record of the births, marriages and deaths of parishioners. Favour, however, broke with the past and started a new register on coming to the parish in December 1593. Counting the years from 1 January, he began to use the register not simply to record the facts of the life-cycle but also to make judgements on the people of the parish. What remains is one of the most remarkable surviving records

³³ There was a contemporary perception that note-taking constituted a part of puritan practice, labelled 'pens walking at sermons' by Thomas Good the Cranbrook schoolmaster. See, Patrick Collinson, 'Cranbrook and the Fletchers: Popular and Unpopular Religion in the Kentish Weald', in P. N. Brooks (ed.), *Reformation Principle and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens* (London, 1980), p. 192.

³⁴ Sections of the register have been printed in W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 1-130.

of the attitude of a vicar towards his parishioners and of an attempt to impose a moral reformation at the local level. Both the virtues of the godly and (particularly) the vices of the people were recorded. In June, 1596, Favour recorded the alcohol-fuelled stabbing of John Northend by James Oldfield.³⁵ Later in the year, a child was found dead on Halifax moor. Drink and sex were entwined in a bond of sin. The deaths of drinkers and adulterers were recorded with no suggestion of forgiveness. In January 1596, on the death of William King of Skircote, Favour wrote, 'This William Kinge was a swearer, drinker, and a most filthy adulterer, amonge others hee kept longe one Dorothy Brigg a wydowe, in whose house and hand hee was stricken with sudden deathe: his last words were oaths and curses.' Other drunkards fell off their horses and broke their necks.³⁶

Each example is important but together they gain added significance as short providential narratives. For instance, in the entry for 17 November 1609, Favour wrote:

John Parkinson and Giles Coweheard were common drunkards, who mistakinge the preacher that denounced God's judgement against wilfull obstinat sinners, swore grevous othes that they came to the church to bee blessed, and not to be cursed, and therefore would never come to the church agayne. This they blasphemed the 5th February, and both fell presently sicke, and never came to the church but to bee buried.³⁷

Similarly, a man died in the snow while he violated the sabbath and another, William Ratcliff, died suddenly in the street on his way to take the Eucharist.³⁸

³⁵ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 11.

³⁶ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 11, 13.

³⁷ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 49.

³⁸ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 90, 15.

Favour also recorded that Richard Comons

was an Irishman, by occupation a goldsmith, a comon drunkard, a blasphemmer of God's holy name. When he hadd spent all hee could make hee sett fyre to strawe in the fower corners of his house and hanged him self in the middest. Thus desperatly hee died but by God's mercyfull providence the strawe take not fyre and so both howse and the towne were preserved which he purposed to burne.³⁹

Favour chronicled the executions of criminals, occasions of suicide and the deeds of prostitutes in his parish. Often his register is tinged with sadness for the modern reader, for instance when recording the death of a 'child who no man knewe', a suffocation in a coal pit, a drowning, and the death of Anne Ingham who 'knewe no father to her child, but being an idiot was forced by a stranger in the field.' But there was little sympathy from Favour. Sara Fearnesyde, a blind woman, 'had five bastards, a most damnable wicked queane.'⁴⁰ The register became a narrative recording God's providences on the people of Halifax and though it is a particularly acerbic example, it fits neatly with Alexandra Walsham's description of the subject for the country as a whole.⁴¹

What is particularly interesting about the register is its status, and therefore also its use. The parish register was a public record, which, though kept in a locked box, was in theory available for consultation by parishioners. Perhaps Favour's recording of some of the more salacious details in Latin is evidence of an effort to stop the register being used as a semi-pornographic source of local gossip and

³⁹ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 19, 24, 63, 30, 25.

⁴¹ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*.

scandal.⁴² It was perhaps to this end that the judgement on the death of John Oldfeild, a soothsayer and astrologer in March 1600 was written in Latin. He had died penitent and burned his books of magic.⁴³ Some few others, perhaps for concealment, or respect to their relatives, were described as ‘Meretrix infa’, and not infamous prostitute.⁴⁴

Rather fewer are the records of the virtues of the godly parishioners. Nevertheless, Favour recorded money spent on the care of the poor of the parish. Robert Hemmingway was, for example, ‘vir honeste conversations’ and bequeathed sixty pounds for pious uses.⁴⁵ There were also bequests recorded by the pious uses commission of 1619 which show that Favour’s moral reformation also had its adherents. For instance, the commission recorded that

Jane Crowther, late of Halifax, did ... give unto Dr Favour & others ... one Annuity or yearly rent of eight pounds ... which shee willed should be employed for and towards one schoole and schoolemaster, who shall teach the children of the poorest people of the Towne of Halifax, to read, and learne their catechisme.

She also left money to Mr Boyes, the preacher.⁴⁶ Education was clearly linked to this religious programme since money was left for scholars of Halifax to purchase

⁴² Peter Lake has recently discussed the salacious element of printed murder pamphlets in Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, esp. pp. 3-54. The relationship between sexuality and textuality is rarely discussed with any reference to manuscript sources or speech.

⁴³ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 21.

⁴⁴ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 14.

⁴⁵ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 46, 88.

⁴⁶ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 87.

books and the like.⁴⁷ Occasionally, Favour's annotation of his register betrays his attitude towards learning. He recorded the death of one James Robinson 'a very religiouse, zealouse honest old man, not able to read, yet very ready in the scriptures, with prompt use and application as I have never heard without learning.'⁴⁸ Such comments can be read to show that the boundaries between the literate and the illiterate were permeable but they can also reveal the attitude of the writer: that learning without reading was remarkable and remained a poor substitute to real book learning.

As I have mentioned, this register was a public document and therefore there was an element of orality linked to it, in that some might ask others to read sections to them. That they might have done so for religious purposes, and stories of providence and justice, is a possibility. However, what makes this register remarkable is its crossing of the boundary between oral and written, public and private. Firstly, many of the entries contain an element of performance that suggest they were read aloud to parishioners, perhaps at the service after their burials. This is clear in many of the entries, particularly those warning of the dangers of moral transgressions. It is not difficult to hear Favour in his register, telling his congregation, many of whom would not have known the goings on in the more remote corners of the parish, that 'John Pillinge, a most wicked and incorrigible drunkard, died miserably in want.' So there was an element of telling the godly the news from the parish. There was also a strong element of the workings of god against the ungodly: that doing wrong would cost you your life. This was certainly the tone in the records of the story of Giles Cowheard and John Parkinson, who died shortly after expounding 'that they came to the church to bee blessed, and not to bee cursed.'⁴⁹ The public book recorded public transgressions, which were read

⁴⁷ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 96.

⁴⁸ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 90.

⁴⁹ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 49.

aloud to cement the proper way of being. It bears comparison with the manner in which Sir Christopher Trachay used his parish record in Morebath, Devon, which has recently been movingly described by Eamon Duffy. It also bears comparison with the Essex minister Thomas Sheppard of Heydon (1541-1586) who recorded ‘beneficial good deeds’ in the parish register, and the public performance inherent in Edmund Bunny’s tithe book for Bolton Percy, Yorkshire.⁵⁰ All these registers are documents which show the impact and compromises involved in implementing a moral reformation and that part of the meaning of puritanism can be traced by examining the instability between manuscript and speech.⁵¹

This, however, was not the end of the story of the Halifax register: its moral message had echoes further afield through another change of medium. Nehemiah Wallington remarked that he had seen a copy of

Examples of Gods Judgements in Halifax parish upon sundry Adul[t]erers and profaine parsons in the vicaridge of Halifax since January the first 1598 as they were left in writing by that Reverent Docter Favor the late Rector there (in the Rigistor Books).⁵²

⁵⁰ For Morebath, see Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*. For Sheppard, see Patrick Collinson, ‘Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings: The Pastoral Ministry in Post-Reformation England’, in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay* SCH 26 (Oxford, 1989), 185-220. Sheppard was a veteran of the Essex exercises and spent a year as an itinerant preacher in Yorkshire before his departure to America. For Bunny, see W. J. Sheils, ‘“The Right of the Church”: The Clergy, Tithe, and the Courts at York, 1540-1640’, in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *The Church and Wealth* SCH 24 (Oxford, 1987), 231-255.

⁵¹ For the related view that the tension between the authenticating power of the spoken word and the written signature created meaning, see J. Derrida, ‘Signature, event, context’, in his *Marges de la philosophie* (Paris, 1972), 365-393.

⁵² For Wallington’s comment, see Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, MS V. a. 436. fo. 150, cited in Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 66 n. 4. For contextual information on Wallington, see Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London*.

Since the dates of the sections mentioned by Wallington differ from those of the original register and it was unlikely to have been moved, it seems likely that this was a copy which circulated selections of the salacious details. The examples from Halifax were copied and published in manuscript to an audience beyond the parish. The form lies somewhat in between the original register and those many books of printed providences. Here, it was raw material, without illustration or embellishment. The purpose of the circulation was not for the cohesion of a community like Morebath, but to cement the differences between the godly and their enemies. In Morebath, the register was read aloud to bind the people in their faith and later it was kept to be read to show that conformity did not always mean betrayal. In Halifax, by contrast, Favour read the register aloud to further divide the godly from their spiritual (and social) enemies. Its circulation in manuscript was not to preserve the story of those who did not comply, but privately to show the faithful that when behaviour was lacking, God would act through providence. In both cases the register was used to demonstrate the continuity of 'true religion', though those at opposite poles of the Christian globe: for the puritans it was circulated in hope of immediate change but for the traditionalists it was kept as a lament for a time that appeared to have passed.

There were other more direct instances of manuscript 'publication' in and around Halifax for expressly religious purposes. John Favour's few extant letters contain important details regarding puritan attitudes about the circulation and preservation of letters and papers.⁵³ The manuscript catechisms of John Boyes, the godly town preacher who had been banished from Kent, are particularly important.⁵⁴ Two of

⁵³ I have found just two letters. BL, Additional Ms 34312, fo. 122r, and another (to Baron Savile) in W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁴ Oliver Heywood wrote that Favour defended 'Mr Boys, banished out of Kent for his Non-Conformity, a choice man, very laborious in the work of the lord, catechized all the poor, I have his catechism which he taught them: expounded to them in the church one day in the week, gave them money.' Cited in Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of

Boyes's catechisms survive in a small bound volume now in the British Library but (probably) once treasured by Halifax parishioners. These works, 'Mr Boyes Principles wherein he catechized the poor people at Halifax' and 'Mr Boyes catechism to the congregation at Halifax' were painstakingly written out by one John Dickson, who was perhaps one of the parishioners.⁵⁵ The manuscript clearly has the marks of a work which was designed to be circulated. It is set out with elaborate divisions between sections, clearly numbered questions and answers, drawn borders and a box format so typical of other manuscripts written with circulation in mind. It was pocket size and the lack of mistakes suggests it was produced for circulation. Its content is also suggestive. Firstly, the surviving volume contains two works. The first was evidently aimed at the poor of Halifax, though its title, 'Mr Boyes Principles wherein he catechized the poor people at Halifax' was perhaps not the original one. More likely it was the subtitle, 'The poore mans box or six principles concerning God and his decrees and works of creation and Government in the estate of Innoncencie and life, sinn and death, peace and grace, perfection and glory.' This was short, consisting of the six simple principles barely stated (perhaps for repetition) on the subjects of God, Satan, Christ, salvation by faith, prayer and the sacraments. It is instructive that it was aimed at the poor, rather than the young or the uneducated. Certainly, if the title is to be believed, we might assume that Boyes preached different messages to the poor than to the rich. The other work, which was addressed to the congregation at Halifax, was entitled 'The Christians horne booke or ABC. In forty questions and answers, containing principles necessary to be known for holy hearing, blessed believing, powerful praying, right receiving, well doing and dying, and life everlasting.' This manuscript was longer, more detailed and distinctively

York', pp. 35-36. The practice of manuscript 'publication' is defined and examined in Harold Love, *Scribal Publication In Seventeenth-Century England*.

⁵⁵ BL, Additional MS 4928 ('Mr. Boyes Principles wherin he catechised the poore people at Hallifax', and 'The Christians horne booke or A.B.C.'). A copy of the manuscript came into the hands of Oliver Heywood. See, W. J. Walker, *Chapters on the Early Registers of Halifax Parish Church*, p. 36.

Calvinist. It consisted of forty questions and answers, again decorated and bordered, on a wider series of subjects, covering the Decalogue, creed, lords prayer and sacraments. Its question and answer format suggests that the parishioners got a greater level of participation than the poor. Of course it still had a repetitive element, especially if it was read out in the congregation itself, but this version gave parishioners the reason behind the faith, and an opportunity to hear a logical defence of Protestant beliefs.⁵⁶ The poor, on the other hand, may have had to make do with the retention of the six principles, which lacked reader (or hearer) participation beyond the merely repetitive. Though evidence about the context of these works is somewhat thin, they are helpful in building up our picture of the uses of manuscript in the area. As before, the manuscript was probably written and used with an orality in mind. It is indicative of the manner in which the godly could exploit the medium to further their religious programme, in targeting particular local audiences in specific ways. The parish was divided into the poor and the congregation, and the manuscript, which had the advantage of a privacy and immediacy not available in print, was used to sustain such ideas of social organisation.

The importance of manuscript publication in Halifax can be seen more clearly when set against that of print. There was certainly a tension between the two modes of communication in the parish in the early seventeenth century. Print was

⁵⁶ The manuscript has received little analysis, despite being the title of the standard work on catechisms, Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530-1740*. Though in many ways admirable, this study devotes less than one page specifically to manuscript catechisms, without discussion of their circulation and minimises their importance thereby. There are numerous examples of puritan manuscript catechisms that might have tilted the balance of Green's analysis of their theological content. Ralph Thoresby, for example had that of William Styles and Edward Hill, of Huddersfield. Elkanah Wales, the curate of Pudsey between 1612 and 1662, wrote a manuscript catechism entitled, 'A short catechism: or, the sum of the Christian religion in 34 Questions and Answers'. For these and other examples, see J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 394-5. Others, such as William Crashaw, the puritan rector of Burton Agnes, printed catechisms. See William Crashaw, *Milke for babes. Or, A north-Countrie Catechism* (London, 1618).

important to Favour's reforms, but it is worth asking exactly what use print served and what value he placed on it compared to manuscript and speech. Favour put his name to just one book, *Antiquity triumphing over noveltie* (1619)⁵⁷, which was a standard piece of post-Reformation polemic and part of Archbishop Matthew's concerted campaign in print against Catholics in the north. He also appears to have written a set of poems, *Northerne poems congratulating the Kings majesties entrance to the crowne* (1604), which, though generic, displayed his distinctive voice and virulent anti-Catholicism.⁵⁸ Favour bought and borrowed books and held them in high regard. Though his books do not survive, he recorded in a ledger that he had, on a visit to London in 1614, 'laid forth ... for books for myself, £5 15s.'⁵⁹ He also bequeathed many books in his will. His son, John Favour, got his library, his other son William Favour got his best English Bible, and his servant Edmund was given Barrow's *Phisicke in English*. To his son-in-law Mr Henry Power, he left 'one of every sort of my books which I have dubble.' Finally, to Heath Grammar School, which he had helped to build and of which he was a governor, he left Cowper's Dictionary, a Greek Lexicon and an English Bible.⁶⁰ John Favour was heavily involved in the foundation of this school and, as we have seen, several of his parishioners bequeathed money and books. Favour influenced the wording of its statutes, which, as at other schools in the area, were formulated by an alliance of godly clergy and gentry with the aim of producing godly conduct in their

⁵⁷ John Favour, *Antiquity triumphing over noveltie* (London, 1619).

⁵⁸ *Northerne poems congratulating the Kings majesties entrance to the crowne* (London, 1604). For Favour's authorship, see T. W. Hanson, 'Dr. Favour's "Northerne Poems"', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1947), 19-26.

⁵⁹ See, W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp 88-89.

⁶⁰ Favour's will is printed in W. J. Walker, *Chapters on the Early Registers of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 115-116. The links between Yorkshire puritans were strong. Alexander Cooke was one of the witnesses to Favour's will. The present location of one of Favour's books is cited in Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, p. 256.

pupils.⁶¹ The Grammar School at Wakefield, for instance, which was founded in 1592 under the direction of the Saviles, had a suitably godly (though not distinctively Calvinist) agenda in its schoolmaster's oath of 1607. It read:

I doe in harte abhor all Popish Superstition and renounce all forraine jurisdiction of the church of Rome and the new pope. And I do receive and reverence as the undoubted word of God the Bookes of Canonical Scripture comprised in the old and new testament and the truth in them conteyned I shall by the grace of god constantly professe and willinglie practise; the youth of this schole I shall dilligentlie instruct in Religion, learning and good Manners.⁶²

Heath Grammar School, like other schools in the area, was to have puritan schoolmasters, even if the rigour of puritan activity could not match that at Rotherham in the 1630s where the pupils spent every Thursday afternoon reading passages from books by William Perkins.⁶³

As we have seen, in dedicating his *Antiquitie Triumphant Over Noveltie* (1619) to Archbishop Matthew, Favour thanked his patron for allowing him access to his library at Bishopthorpe, which Matthew had 'not onely read with a dilligent eye, but hath also noted them with a iudicious pen... and made continuall use of

⁶¹ For Favour's influence on the puritan wording in the foundation statutes of Heath Grammar School, see J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Toward Reason, Learning and Education 1540-1640*, p. 188. For Heath Grammar School more generally, Thomas Cox, *A Popular History of the Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, at Heath, near Halifax*. 2 parts. (Halifax, 1879 [1880]).

⁶² BL, Lansdowne Ms 973, fo. 15r (Collections for a History of the grammar school at Wakefield). For further information on the school, see Matthew Henry Peacock, *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield*.

⁶³ See, J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 288-303. Leeds Grammar School, for instance, had two successive puritan masters, Samuel and Joshua Pullen. Other puritan grammar schools peppered the area, including those at Bradford, Doncaster, Pocklington, Hull, Leeds and Wakefield.

them in his sermons.’⁶⁴ It appears that Favour was praising Matthew for his style of goal-orientated reading and was aware that the process of marginal annotation was in part a marker of godly culture. This self-awareness and self-fashioning is evident in a letter of July 1601, in which Favour thanked his patron, Lord Savile, for the loan of a book, which he wrote that he had ‘redd ... over not only *verbatim* but *syllabatim*’ and asked to borrow another by Dr Holland, ‘ ... which if I do not *eadem celeritate*, yet I will restore him *eadem fidelitate*, and that shortly ...’⁶⁵ Clearly he thought much of the printed book and read with attention to detail. His register also appeared to have promoted literacy as a condition of godliness.⁶⁶ The use of the manuscript among the godly had a variety of purposes and was not easily forgotten. John Favour’s son, also John, continued this tradition of the intimate and religious use of the manuscript in a series of manuscript poems designed to extend his local puritan patronage in the 1640s.⁶⁷

Pulling together the strands of the situation in Halifax under Favour, I think we can make a few tentative conclusions. Most important is that though books were an important part of godly reform, they had a particular importance with regard to institutions and as symbols of faith. In short, print represented the public and national forum and was used for reference and for information on the big picture. For the local situation, however, it was the sermon and the manuscript that had particular resonance, especially through the preaching exercises and the parish register. Of particular importance to the character of northern puritanism was the combination of such uses of print and manuscript and the exploitation of the

⁶⁴ John Favour, *Antiquity triumphing over novelty* (London, 1619), sig. A3v.

⁶⁵ W. J. Walker, *Chapters On the Early Registers Of Halifax Parish Church*, pp. 94-95.

⁶⁶ See above, pp. 135-136.

⁶⁷ These poems are in the special collections of Brotherton Library, The University of Leeds, Ms Yks 2 (‘*Analecta Fairfaxiana*’, compiled by Charles Fairfax (1597-1673)). They include verses addressed to Sir Thomas Widdrington, on the death of Ferdinando Fairfax (1648) and on the death of Fairfax’s daughter Frances (1649).

spaces between them to express a distinctive style of religious culture.

Perhaps the most fundamental change to the nature of Halifax's religion came after Favour's death. He was succeeded by Robert Clay who was vicar between 1624 and his death in 1628. Clay was born in 1573, the son of John Clay of Clayhouse, Greetland and Margery, sister of Sir Henry Savile, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, where his uncle was Warden from 1585. At Oxford, Clay gained his B.A. in 1595, M.A. in 1598, B.D. in 1607 and D.D. in 1610. He witnessed the foundation of Bodley's library, which was established with the help of Sir Henry Savile. Robert Clay proceeded to livings in Oxfordshire and wrote an elegy on the death of his uncle, Henry Savile. In the meantime, after an apprenticeship amid the two most up-to-date libraries in the land (Merton and Bodley's), Clay was presented to the vicarage of Halifax in March 1624 by Sir Henry Savile of Methley. He then set about turning the chancel house of the church into a library and vestry.⁶⁸ Having transformed the building, Clay set about filling the shelves and augmenting the books and manuscripts already owned by the parish.⁶⁹ Clay himself donated the Works of St Ambrose (Basle, 1527), then procured donations from others. Henry Tonge, the parish lecturer between 1623 and 1631, gave editions of Horace and Chytraeus. Robert Byron, Master of Heath Grammar School between 1603 and 1629 gave books by Martin Bucer on the Psalms and Thomas Aquinas on the Evangelists. Further donations came from Richard Ramsden of Siddal who gave Marlorat on the New Testament (Geneva, 1620), and Nathan Wilson of Halifax who left 13s. 4d. in his will in 1628 for a book 'to be cheyned in the librarye as my gift.' The evidence of the chaining is suggestive of

⁶⁸ The Churchwardens accounts for 1626 record that 4s was paid 'for dressing both Revestry and carrying out the bones' and 4s 6d. 'for making of two graet graves for laying the bones in which came out of the Revestry.' See, T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax Parish Church Library', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1951), p. 37.

⁶⁹ T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax Parish Church Library', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1951), p. 38 records donations to the parish in 1402, 1438, 1484 and 1526.

the library being used for reference. Further donations came from Richard Batt of Spen (1566-1631); Thomas Outing, the vicar of Bracewell in Craven (1593-1657); Roger Radcliffe, Minister at Horbury, near Wakefield (1623-1659); Ralph Ashton of Kirkby (donation in April 1627); two local men, Edward Ashton and Roger Benson gave copies of the works of Richard Greenham (1599) and two books by William Perkins; Henry Briggs (1560-1630), Savilian Professor of geometry at Oxford, gave De Thou's *Historia sui temporis*.⁷⁰

Robert Clay died in April, 1628 and was buried in the Library of the Church. He left a manuscript commentary on the Epistle to Titus and a commentary on the Commandments, asking his brother to see they were published. Though they were never printed, Clay had clearly changed the status of the printed book in Halifax, and confirmed its place as an integral part of their northern puritan culture. Clay's will reveals the destinations of some of his other books and some more about his own religious concerns. The books were divided equally between his two sons, provided they obtained university degrees, and Merton and Magdalen Colleges in Oxford also received volumes. His sons were still in minority when he made additions to his will in 1627, and he required that they be educated by 'the most religious presbyter Mr Williamson of Madeson in Buckinghamshire' before entering the tuition of his cousin, Dr Wilkinson, the Principal of Magdalene Hall. They were to be brought up in fear of God and 'to avoid drunkenness, tobacco and swearing and profaning.' The additions reveal more about books too. He wrote:

My bookes I bequeath unto my two sonnes upon this condition that if they take degrees in the universitie equally to be bestowed and divided betweene them. Els if they bee not brought up in the university and followe a

⁷⁰ The information for this paragraph relies on T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax Parish Church Library', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1951), 37-47. The article also records the donations to the library after Clay's death.

schollerr course of life and then proceed that then he who shall continue there shall have them solely to himselfe and if neither will prove scholer that then they shal bee sould and the monie recovered equally divided amongst my children then living in the mean tyme I will have them reserved where my Cousin Dr Williamson and my brother George Clay shall agree upon with a catalogue truly made and dclivered to my wife to be kept by her.

So clearly he had a number of books, but also a truly modern concern for their cataloguing.⁷¹ Clay had succeeded in establishing for Halifax an early parish library, which was the envy of neighbouring towns. In religion he appears as radical as Favour, though he clearly believed that it was an advantage to solidify the puritan ascendancy in the creation of a library and the promotion of print.⁷² However, it was part of a programme that included manuscripts which he wrote and sermons, which were to be preached in Oxford after his death with mention to be made of the preacher's Yorkshire origins.⁷³ Though there is no direct evidence, it is possible that the library served as a place for local clergy to consult books in the formulation of their sermons, perhaps at the continuing Halifax exercise. If it was used in this way, and the character of the original books suggest it was unlikely to have been made available to the public, then it is interesting, and part of a religious culture in which there was a continuing insistence on sermon and manuscript but in a new and more permanent context of recourse to the printed

⁷¹ For Robert Clay's will, see BI, The Episcopal Registers, 1215-1650 (Harvester Microfilm, Pt. 1: The Archbishops of York, Reel 15, Item 31/273). J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', p. 39 states that Clay was 'a litigious character' who neglected sermons and catechising. Newton's suggestion that Clay was no puritan is contradicted both by the evidence of the library and his will, both of which suggest that he had a firm commitment to Calvinism.

⁷² See, T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax Parish Church Library', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1951), 37-47 and T. W. Hanson, 'Halifax parish Church under The Commonwealth', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1909), 285-314. The Halifax Library is on deposit in York University's Special Collections. An annotated catalogue has been prepared by Dr David Griffiths. I am grateful to Dr Griffiths for a copy of his catalogue.

⁷³ See above, p. 131.

book. It certainly bears comparison with the first post-Reformation purpose-built parochial library at Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, which was established by Miles Mosse in 1595. Though larger than the Halifax collection, it appears to have served a similar purpose and many of the participants in the famous Monday exercise donated books.⁷⁴

II.

The parish of Leeds was remarkably similar to that of Halifax. It was a very large parish of ancient standing, dominated by the Church of St Peter's, Kirkgate. Its parishioners had displayed little enthusiasm for Protestant reform. It was, like Halifax, a wealthy living, but one in which the minister earned his money. By 1600, it appears that many of the outlying chapels in the parish had fallen into disuse, with the result that Sundays saw between three and four thousand resorting to church at Leeds out of a total of five thousand communicants. In the 1620s, there was a programme of spreading this burden, and five new chapels were created between 1622 and 1632. These included that at Headingley, which was built by James Cootes, 'a merie ould man who never married', and consecrated by Dr Favour on Michaelmas Day 1620.⁷⁵ It was only in the 1630s that Leeds got a second parish, that of St John's, with the new vicar, Robert Todd, being promoted from his previous position of lecturer at Leeds, which he had held since 1625. For

⁷⁴ The essential studies on the links between the exercise at Bury and the parish library are, J. S. Craig, 'The "Cambridge Boies": Thomas Rogers and the "Brethren" in Bury St Edmunds', in S. Wabuda and C. Litzenger (eds.), *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from his Students* (Aldershot, 1998), 154-176, and J. Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1610* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 205-219. Though the evidence given to support lending is doubtful, this study is one of the first to incorporate a proper discussion of parish libraries into the framework of Protestant religious culture.

⁷⁵ BL, Additional Ms 38599, fo. 51r (Commonplace Book of Shanne Family of Methley). Claire Cross suggests that this chapel captured the imagination of the people, using as evidence the fact that Cootes asked to be buried there in 1627, rather than at Leeds. That he had built it rather undermines this example of lay enthusiasm. See, Claire Cross, *Magistrates and Ministers: religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, p. 22.

the purposes of this chapter I will focus on the state of the parish under the rule of two vicars, Robert Cooke and his brother, Alexander Cooke, who succeeded him in 1615. Again, I want to focus on the uses of manuscript, speech and print and their relation to puritan religious cultures. Interestingly, though the religious cultures of Leeds and Halifax are undoubtedly similar, the uses of speech and writing display some significant variations.

Robert Cooke was the first vicar of Leeds in a significantly new regime. In 1588, with the health of the vicar Alexander Fawcett failing, a group of feoffees, which included locals and members of wealthy gentry families such as the Saviles and Fairfaxes, combined to purchase the right of presentation to the living, which was acquired by the crown at the dissolution and had subsequently passed to one Oliver Darnley. The earl of Huntingdon, so zealous in his promotion of godly reform, put pressure on Darnley to reduce his asking price. They appointed Robert Cooke (1550-1615), who duly obliged by refunding the feoffees the money they had paid by diverting the money from a parish contribution fund.⁷⁶ Cooke was a local man but, unlike his predecessors, he had a high national profile and was distinctly reformed. Having attended the Leeds Grammar School, Cooke took the degrees of B.A., M.A. and B.D. (1584) at Oxford before returning to Leeds. While at Leeds, he was a prebend at Durham and wrote a polemical treatise, which he dedicated to William James, Bishop of Durham.⁷⁷ Cooke appears to have had the respect of his parishioners, even those who did not share his enthusiasm for reform.⁷⁸ Some parishioners described him in their wills as a ‘very good friend’ and others left

⁷⁶ See, Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, pp. 256-257 and Claire Cross, *Magistrates and Ministers: religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁷ Robert Cooke, *Censura quorundam scriptorum, quae sub nominibus sanctorum et veterum auctorum, à Pontificijs (in quaestionibus potissimè in hodie controuersis) citari solent In qua ostenditur, scripta illa, vel esse supposititia, vel dubiae saltem fidei* (London, 1614).

⁷⁸ John Metcalf and Thomas Jackson described Robert Cooke as a ‘worthy preacher.’ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3 (Metcalf and Jackson v. Cooke et. al.).

large sums of money. Significantly, in 1602 John Busse, a clothier, asked Cooke to preach his funeral sermon. This was the first request for a funeral sermon in a Leeds will and a distinctive characteristic of the speedy transition to a puritan culture.⁷⁹

Alexander Cooke, though with the same background, was a more difficult man who came into conflict with many of his parishioners. Also a product of Leeds Grammar School, Alexander Cooke went to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he took the degrees of B.A. in 1585 and B.D. in 1596. He was an exceptionally promising preacher and polemicist and was presented by Queen Elizabeth to the vicarage of Louth-under-Lime, in the diocese of Lincoln, in February 1600. He was ejected from the living in 1605 for refusing to wear the surplice in the aftermath of Bancroft's Canons of 1604 and the clampdown on puritan activity. He moved back home to Leeds, where he served his brother as a kind of unofficial curate. After Robert Cooke's death in 1615, Alexander Cooke succeeded him and was collated to the vicarage on 30 May 1615 by Archbishop Matthew. This appears to have been the only instance when Matthew appointed a vicar who refused to wear the surplice, but Cooke's reputation made it worth bending the rules.⁸⁰ Cooke was

⁷⁹ On the request, see Claire Cross, *Magistrates and Ministers: religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, p. 19. On the place of the funeral sermon in puritan culture, see David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, And Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, pp. 421-455; Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998) and his, 'The Puritan Death-bed, c. 1560-c. 1660' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 122-144.

⁸⁰ The legal wrangling is complicated. A Leeds partnership bought the advowson to the parish around 1588. In 1615, on the death of Cooke, the purchasers refused to convey the advowson to the feoffees the parish proposed to nominate and tried to sell the right of presentation. This resulted in the choice of rival candidates, where at the request of (some of) the parishioners, Matthew presented Alexander Cooke, while the purchasers, led by Robert Brickhead, put forward Richard Middleton, chaplain to Charles, Prince of Wales. The parishioners lodged a bill of complaint in chancery (3 November 1615) and won, though Robert Brickhead contested the decision with a case of *quare impedit* in 1618. Interestingly, the chancery decree appointed 'five eminent divines ... as assistants to the said assignees and patrons upon the next vacancy of the vicarage'. They were all puritans:

chaplain to Edmund, Lord Sheffield, and a prebend of York. He was firmly within the network of godly Yorkshire clergy, a witness to Favour's will, and friends with Robert Todd and Archbishop Matthew, to whom he dedicated some of his books. He died on 23 June 1632 and was buried in St Peter's Church.

This rather dry picture can be augmented by considering the character of Alexander Cooke, who, according to Ralph Thoresby, was a stout man, good and learned, charitable and exemplary in his life and conversation.⁸¹ Certainly, he was an icon to the godly. After his death, Elkanah Wales preached a sermon on his character at the Leeds exercise on 25 July 1632, which affords us a more rounded picture. Wales described how Cooke

was brought into this place by an unwanted Providence, (else God knows how it might have been provided for) & God prospered his labors, so that many both dead & living have had cause to blesse God for his ministry.

He was, Wales told his audience at the Leeds exercise, the top man in the North 'for acquaintance & insight in controversys about the doctrine of Popery' and he kept up correspondence 'with the most famous & able Divines in the kingdome ... so that his name was odious to the Papists, therefore ought to be the more precious to every good Protestant.' Though somewhat wistful in tone and, as we will see, debatable in its accuracy, the end of Wales's sermon gives an important summary of Cooke's character and his ministry:

Favour of Halifax, Lister of Wakefield, Moore of Guisley, Pullen of Ripley and Stock of Kirkheaton. *Quare Impedit*, in English law, is a form of action by which the right of presentation to a benefice is tried. It is so called from the words of the writ formerly in use, which directed the sheriff to command the person disturbing the possession to permit the plaintiff to present a fit person, or to show cause 'why he hinders' the plaintiff in his right.

⁸¹ Ralph Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis* (London, 1724), pp. 71-79.

He was a man that always preferred the truth & substance of Religion, before the Forms of Ceremony, a lover of Goodnesse wheresoever he saw it, a resolute hater of base sinfull courses, courageous & bold in standing for a cause which he conceived to be good, rather hazarding himself, than falling short in his Service therein, kind and liberall to them that needed & were worthy, rather above than beneath his Ability, his care of his flock as his health was known to all, & appeared in the fruits, his care that it might be well provided for after his death was known to sundrie eare witnesses, his wearyness under the body of sin, his expectation & embracing of death before it came, his serious & savory councill he gave to sundrie (in his sicknesse) about their souls, are well known to many.⁸²

Alexander Cooke clearly made an impression on his parishioners, as can be seen by his 'appearance' in the story of the Fairfax girls, which is the subject of the next chapter. Briefly, Helen Fairfax, after one of her early trances, recalled that she had been at church at Leeds hearing a sermon by Mr Cooke. Then, during a possession a few days later, on 14 November 1621, she had a vision of a man, disguised as her cousin Ferdinando who offered to make her Queen of England. She refused and the man tried to make her commit suicide. At this instant in her possession, after the tempter had dismissed her threats of action by her brother:

She replied "I will send for Mr Cooke." He said, "Cooke is a lying villain!" At these words Mr Cooke seemed to come in at the parlour door, in his gown, which he put back, as she after reported, and she saw his little breeches under it. She began to say, "You are welcome Mr Cooke, take a stool and sit down. I am sore troubled with one here. See! he standeth back now, and trembleth. He offered me a knife and rope etc." And so told Mr Cooke all that had passed. Then Mr Cooke took a parchment book from under his arm, and began to read prayers, and bid her not be afraid, but put her trust in God. (At that instant my son took the bible and read in the Psalms). And she said, "Hark! Mr Cooke readeth." At which instant the tempter went away and left her; but, the other like Mr Cooke, did exhort her to have a good heart, and to trust in God ...⁸³

⁸² This sermon was transcribed by Ralph Thoresby into the endpapers of his copy of *Pope Joane*. YML, Shelfmark: Y/CMA 115.9 COO.

⁸³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft, as it was acted in*

I will consider this possession in greater detail in the next chapter, but I think this example suggests that Cooke (and his sermons) left a strong impression on his parishioners. Cooke, in her imagination, was a preacher and a comforter, who was a match for the devil. However, by considering the intersection between forms of media, it will become apparent that historians have seriously misjudged Cooke's reputation and the level of religious faction in Leeds during his ascendancy there.

Alexander Cooke was a noted preacher. The sermons he preached, some of which have survived in manuscript, reveal much about their preacher and his audiences in this period.⁸⁴ Some of his sermons had distinctly public and polemical purposes, as his relationship with Archbishop Matthew often placed him at the forefront of the rhetorical battle with Catholics in the north. The sermons which Cooke preached at the Halifax exercise proved him an accomplished and vivid preacher, well attuned to his audience.⁸⁵ They also reveal much more about some of his concerns and character traits. The first is his interpretation of 1 Timothy 1:15, on which he preached in a series of sermons. The text, which was about God's grace to Paul, Cooke divided into two parts from which he derived a series of doctrines. These divisions appear to have been clearly preached with the note-taking cleric in mind,

the Family of Mr Edward Fairfax, of Fuyston, in the County of York, in the Year 1621: along with the only two Eclogues of the same author known to be in Existence (Harrogate, 1882), pp. 39-40. It should be noted that one of the manuscript accounts of this case contains a series of contemporary drawings, including one of Alexander Cooke in almost stereotypical American-style puritan dress. See BL, Additional Ms 32496 ('A discourse of witchcraft as it was acted in the family of Mr Edward Fairfax of Fuystone').

⁸⁴ A list of sermons preached by Cooke may have included those in BL, Egerton MS 2877 (Commonplace Book of Gilbert Freville of co. Durham, 1591-1625) which includes eleven sermons preached by a 'Mr Cooke' on Luke and Revelation, preached in London c. 1606. For Cooke's sermons at Halifax, see BL, Additional Ms 4933 A & B. Some of these are transcribed more legibly in Ralph Thoresby's copy of Alexander Cooke, *Pope Joane* (London, 1625). YML, Shelfmark: Y/CMA 115.9 COO.

⁸⁵ Comparative material on combination lectures in the south-east can be found in Patrick Collinson, John Craig and Brett Usher (eds.), *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church: Dedham and Bury St Edmunds, 1582-1590* (Woodbridge, 2003).

so Cooke (at the exercise at least) was aware that often the purpose of the spoken word was its transmission into writing. He argued that men should not always follow the actions of God: that it was right for God to persuade Abraham to kill his son, and to persuade the Israelites to rob the Egyptians, ‘yet if others do it, it is murder and theft.’ He argued that it was papists who followed Christ’s example when they had no right to, for instance in the practice of baptism. From here he moved on to say that men were not allowed to choose a wicked man for a minister, and that the ministry was a calling rather than a job decision. It was wrong, he urged, to be too hasty in judging one’s neighbour, but also wrong for a man to convince himself of his own lack of sin. The doctrines appear to have had a local flavour, since when describing those who would not hide their sins, he referred to ‘our bastard-getters that will not come to penance.’ The second series of doctrines were about ignorance, and the level of biblical reference in his points appears to confirm that the audience was clerical. Ignorance was to Cooke the cause of many sins, and not an excuse for them. He disputed with papists and confirmed that to be misinformed was no defence. The doctrine was harsh, but not uniform. He argued that some kinds of ignorance were more pardonable than others and divided ignorance into the three types of affected (‘when a man is in love with it, will not come within a church door, where there is a good round preacher’), gross (such as sleeping in church) and simple (such as trying but not attaining knowledge). Sins committed willingly were worst and only simple ignorance was pardonable, he argued, warning ‘take heed of ignorance. it’s dangerous.’ The point by point structure suggests this sermon was aimed at fellow clergy. However, the content of the points suggests that Cooke designed his sermon for the listening clergy to use in the preparation of their own sermons.⁸⁶

The second sermon was on Romans 5:18-19 and about original sin. Here, the message was of the evil that came to man by Adam’s sin and how it was common

⁸⁶ This paragraph is based on Ralph Thoresby’s notes, which he transcribed in his copy of Alexander Cooke, *Pope Joane* (London, 1625). YML, Shelfmark: Y/CMA 115.9 COO.

to all men. He refuted the papists who argued that the Virgin Mary was free from original sin and denied their claim that Calvin and his followers preached that their own children were free from sin. Again, Cooke's message was exceedingly stark, condemning the 'silly folks' who thought their children were without sin. To Cooke, original sin was worse than other sins, in contrast to papists whom he believed thought it a trifle, gone with 'a pater noster, a knock on the breast'. The message was distinctly reformed, and dismissive of purgatory. His points included questions which he proceeded to answer. The suggestion is that this was a course of education for local ministers. Cooke for instance asked whether those which were saved were as many as those which were not. The answer he gave was, 'No. only the elect which have faith whence learn that justification of life is not for all, was never intended to save all, but only those that received the word of God by faith, but all have not faith.' He argued that those who thought otherwise might as well argue that God would also save devils, since he made them too. What begins to emerge is Cooke's virulent anti-Catholic fervour, but also the logic on which he based it. Confronting a dispute with Catholics on whether men would be justified by something in themselves or by Christ communicated in them, Cooke's fervour took over from his logic: instead of answering the Catholic claim that one cannot be made righteousness by the righteousness of another, he roared 'Divinity must not always be measured by the rules of philosophy.'⁸⁷

Cooke's third sermon was on Romans 6:12-13, and the notes taken more cursory. Again the subject was sin, but some of his points are suggestive of the kind of moral reformation attempted by Favour. One of the doctrines read:

Sin reigns in natural men, men unregenerate have sin for their
soveraigne, its as the master said. come, go, do & they did, if it
needs not to perswade, to compell, let it but hold up the finger,

⁸⁷ This paragraph is based on Ralph Thoresby's notes, which he transcribed in his copy of Alexander Cooke, *Pope Joane* (London, 1625). YML, Shelfmark: Y/CMA 115.9 COO.

make a signe, they run, drink as water, q:d in our climate, as men drink good ale, thing beare, or sack & claret wine on Mundayes, Is it any marvel that men then sin shamelessly, impudently, ordinarily. What, should men lay the blame on the Diuel, the cause is within them; he would be just indeed if there was no sin &c ...

Here Cooke urged clerics to use examples that were appropriate to the daily lives of their parishioners. The message was clear and examples expressed by strong oppositions which stated the puritan message as the inverse of that of papists. For example, he said it was 'not enough not to do evil, men must also do good, flee evill, do good, forebearance of evil is but one part of our duty. sin of omission is as ill as sin of commission.' His opinions about sin were indicative of his views on the organisation of the northern parishes, divided into good and evil, the elect and reprobate, the godly and the ungodly.⁸⁸

The value Alexander Cooke placed on print can be seen by analysing the books he owned and those he wrote. He was one of the customers of the York bookseller John Foster and owed him eight shillings at the time of his death. This was not a large amount but it suggests that Cooke was a regular customer there, since he was given credit. Through the shop, and doubtless through others, he acquired a large collection which he valued at over one hundred pounds in his will, which was proved on 9 January 1636. In it he divided his 'paper bookes and certane notes in my deske' between his two sons. Like Robert Clay, he stipulated that his manuscripts should be placed 'in a certaine catalogue', demonstrating both their number and the particular value he, and the godly, placed on the intimate manuscript records of their intellectual foundations. Cooke's will stipulated the destinations of particular books. His nephew Robert Cooke, then at Magdalen College, Oxford, received his Rheims and Douai translations of the Bible. Another nephew received his Hebrew Bible and his daughter was left Foxe's *Acts and*

⁸⁸ This paragraph is based on Ralph Thoresby's notes, which he transcribed in his copy of Alexander Cooke, *Pope Joane* (London, 1625). YML, Shelfmark: Y/CMA 115.9 COO.

Monuments, Paolo Sarpi's, *Historie of the Council of Trent* and Fynes Morison's *Travels*.⁸⁹ Cooke's was clearly an extensive working library, but he probably made use of many more books than he owned. Like Favour, it seems likely that Cooke was allowed access to Matthew's library at Bishopthorpe in the promotion of a collective printed front against the Catholic menace. In addition, many of his friends, such as Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon, also had extensive collections, which he may have used. There were also books in other places in Leeds. The Grammar School, for instance, had been sent books by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1589, shortly after the purchase of the right of presentation to the living by the Calvinist coterie.⁹⁰ Cooke's printed works show something of his attitude towards reading. He was critical of the papists for their 'restraining you from reading any of our bookes, especially the Bible of our translation.'⁹¹ He criticised the papal index, and criticised papists who were 'stupid' or 'blind' to the iniquity of this situation.⁹² Furthermore, he equated censorship with papists and argued that the Vatican library held manuscripts which attested to the truth about Pope Joane.⁹³ When questioned as to the veracity of a reference, the Protestant in *Pope Joane* told his adversary that the book he referred to was 'extant in Latine in the Universitie

⁸⁹ Paolo Sarpi, *The historie of the Council of Trent Containing eight bookes ... faithfully translated into English by Nathanael Brent*. (London, 1620). Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent*. Cooke's will mentions 'the storie of the councill of Trent in folio,' 'Morison's Travells' and 'the two great Bookes of Acts and Monuments', so there is no certainty in identifying editions. For the will, see, BI, The Episcopal Registers, 1215-1650 (Harvester Microfilm, Pt. 1: The Archbishops of York, Reel 15, Item 31/232). There is a brief discussion of this material in J. Barnard, 'A Puritan controversialist and his books: the will of Alexander Cooke (1564-1632)', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 86 (1992), 82-86.

⁹⁰ See, Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, p. 257.

⁹¹ Alexander Cooke, *The abatement of popish braggs* (London, 1625), sig. A3r.

⁹² Alexander Cooke, *The abatement of popish braggs*, sig. A3v.

⁹³ Alexander Cooke, *Pope Ioane A dialogue betveene a protestant and a papist* (London, 1610), p. 21.

librarie at Oxford; and in French in New College library.⁹⁴ The implication was a dirty popish cover-up: Cooke equated censorship with Catholic foreigners and freedom of information with Protestants.

Particularly important in assessing the relationship between print and manuscript and speech are Cooke's own printed works, and the contexts in which they were formed. An examination of these works tends to demonstrate the instability as well as the vitality of the medium of print. Given his pastoral duties, Cooke was prolific and wrote a significant number of books for a variety of audiences.⁹⁵ Foremost among his apparent reasons for writing was the presentation of a public face against Catholicism. The message he gave was of a caustic, state-sponsored anti-Catholicism.⁹⁶ Such was the impact and popularity of the message, in particular of his *Pope Joane*, that its impact transcended regional boundaries and temporal ones too. A French edition was published in 1633⁹⁷ and a posthumous version was published in 1675, showing that his polemical value had decreased little and was relevant in promoting the anti-catholic message in changed political circumstances.⁹⁸ Cooke's printed works had a national audience, which was

⁹⁴ Alexander Cooke, *Pope Ioane A dialogue betweene a protestant and a papist*, p. 4

⁹⁵ These were: *The abatement of popish braggs, pretending Scripture to be theirs. Retorted by the hand of Alexander Cooke* (London, 1625); *Pope Ioane A dialogue betweene a protestant and a papist* (London, 1610); *The weather-cocke of Romes religion: with her seuerall changes. Or: The world turn'd topsie-turvie by papists* (London, 1625); *Worke for a Masse-priest* (London, 1617); *More worke for a Masse-priest* (London, 1621); *Yet more vvorke for a Masse-priest* (London, 1622); *Worke, more worke, and a little more work for a masse-priest Reviewed and augmented by the authour* (London, 1628); *Saint Austins religion Wherein is manifestly proued out of the vworks of that learned Father, that he dissented from popery, and agreed with the religion of the Protestants in all the maine points of faith and doctrine.* (London, 1624).

⁹⁶ Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 72-106.

⁹⁷ *La papesse Jeanne, ou dialogue entre un protestant et un papiste ... par Alexandre Cooke ... et mis en françois, par J. de La Montagne* (Sedan, 1633).

⁹⁸ *A present for a papist, or, The life and death of Pope Joan plainly proving out of the printed copies and manuscripts of popish writers and others, that a woman called Joan*

certainly encouraged by Archbishop Matthew, to whom he dedicated *Pope Joane* and for whom he stood in defence on issues concerning the Campion affair.⁹⁹ On further examination, however, others of his printed works appear to have emerged out of more local and factional disputes. In particular, there are references in the publication of *Yet More Worke for a Masse Priest* (1622) to the fact that Cooke was responding to a local anti-puritan manuscript, circulating in Leeds at the time. In it, he added his name, which he did, he said, because others had claimed the author of the previous instalment since to have turned papist.¹⁰⁰ In fact, the manuscript to which he was clearly responding was written by John Walker and entitled, 'The English hipochrite and the Romish pharise unmasked' and criticised Cooke for writing anonymously.¹⁰¹

The format of Cooke's works also tends to dissolve boundaries between popular and learned, between print and speech. Among his most successful works were dialogues between Protestants and Papists and also pamphlets. They were relatively short and, though written with considerable learning, they were rarely blotted by printed marginalia. His pamphlet, *The Weather-cocke of Romes Religion* was highly polemical. In it he simply delineated the faults of popery on a variety of issues from clerical garments to communion, vernacular Bibles and Lenten observance. It was an almost catechistical style publication of just sixteen pages, which numbered Rome's faults as if for popular repetition. The series beginning with *Worke for a Masse Priest* also had such a popular appeal in that it listed 32 objections to claims of papists. Later versions of this work were longer but still populist in tone. They also had local colour in their reference to the Revolt of the

was really Pope of Rome (London, 1675).

⁹⁹ See, *The abatement of popish braggs*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander Cooke, *Yet More Worke for a Mass Priest*, sig. A2r.

¹⁰¹ BL, Harleian Ms 1284, fo. 13v ff. (John Walker, 'The English hipochrite and the Romish pharise unmasked'). Cooke would also have been aware of the obvious criticisms of him in John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape* (n.p., 1616).

Northern Earls and the theology of locking church doors.¹⁰² They were certainly aimed at a more popular audience, and perhaps to the sensation-seekers tired of murder pamphlets. *More worke for a mass priest*, for instance, declared in its preface that the reader would find in the book that, ‘... according to Poperie, A man may eat his god with his teeth, as Cyclops ate Ulysses companions: and that a subject may kill his king as Zimri did his master ...’¹⁰³ They also made use of specifically oral devices. In *Pope Ioane* for instance, the Protestant used sarcasm in asking often ‘And how I pray you?’ in response to a preposterous suggestion, and hyperbole in phrases such as ‘Away, Away ...’.¹⁰⁴ The tone as well as the format of the book was conversational. Indeed, the dialogue began with the Protestant asking the Papist, ‘Well met, and welcome home sir. What new booke have you brought us downe from London this Mart?’¹⁰⁵ *The abatement of popish braggs* (1625) carried on where this had left off. The dialogue, between the same Protestant and Papist, began with the Protestant saying: ‘I never saw you since wee talked about Pope Ioane.’¹⁰⁶ The dialogue was full of exaggerations and exclamations, the format used for the express purpose of conversion, through the reason of the Protestant. In that the reader was hoped to come down on the side of the Protestant, such dialogues had a distinct audience. They were not aimed at the simple, since they would not have been thought to have understood the reasoning. Neither would they have been aimed at the learned, for they would have seen through both the argument, and the fact that the dialogue was manipulated by the clearly Protestant author to give the Protestant all the best lines and the convincing argument too. Instead, they were perhaps aimed at an audience among the middling

¹⁰² Alexander Cooke, *Worke for a Mass Priest*, sig. A2v; Alexander Cooke, *More worke*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰³ Alexander Cooke, *More worke for a mass priest*, sig. A 2r.

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Cooke, *Pope Ioane A dialogue betvveene a protestant and a papist*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁵ Alexander Cooke, *Pope Ioane A dialogue betvveene a protestant and a papist*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Cooke, *The abatement of popish braggs*, sig. B1r.

sort, one which would understand the theological arguments to a certain extent, but would also be convinced by its logic. Such a group need not have been fully literate either, since the dialogue format made such works particularly appropriate to be read aloud in groups. Cooke occasionally mentioned his audience explicitly, for instance declaring in the preface to *Pope Joane* that he wrote for ‘the simpler sort ... not for the learned.’¹⁰⁷ Others were prefaced by poems that sound more like songs or libels. A poem at the end of the preface to *More worke for a mass preist* read:

Go, little bookee, make speed, apply the season,
Propound thy Quaerees with undaunted chearer.
Bid learned priests and cardinals speake reson,
The vulgar dare not reade, but make them heare.
Yea give a challenge to the triple crowne,
Bid them reply, or cast their bucklers downe.¹⁰⁸

Of course, Cooke was not alone in his use of print, even in the area of Leeds. Cooke’s adversaries, particularly John Walker, used books in a similar manner. The religious context in which these debates occurred displays clearly the intersection between the formats of print, manuscript and speech. Walker’s *The English pharise*¹⁰⁹ was a barely disguised assault on Leeds puritanism but its format is especially suggestive. Walker wrote his book while living at Leeds. It was a small, cheap-looking publication. It was, admitted its author, ‘not done scholler-like’ and lacked the technical apparatus of many theological works.¹¹⁰ A

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Cooke, *Pope Ioane A dialogue betveene a protestant and a papist*, sig. A3r.

¹⁰⁸ Alexander Cooke, *More worke for a mass priest*, sig. A2v. This poem was initialled ‘E. W.’ and most likely written by Elkanah Wales.

¹⁰⁹ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape* (No place, 1616).

¹¹⁰ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, sig. A3v.

very long epistle dedicated the work to William Greenebary, the Mayor of York, probably in an attempt to draw the attention of neighbouring authorities to the nature of religious practice in Leeds. Briefly, it complained about the ‘children of disobedience’ that were the Leeds godly, a sect like a ‘severed imputation’, who were hateful to their brethren.¹¹¹ Walker then proceeded into a dialogue format between a Puritan and a Protestant, with all the stylish banter that Cooke had displayed. The Puritan was presented as extraordinarily fussy and, as the Protestant claimed, ‘greatly out of charitie.’¹¹² He was a ‘wandering starr’ who got in the light of the Protestant sun. In fact the Puritan in the dialogue decided not to speak to the Protestant and stormed off, so Walker proceeded into simple prose for much of the book, describing the Puritan’s pride and stating that their private teaching was contrary to the preaching of Christ. Walker claimed that some of these puritans had spoken publicly with malice against one the ‘chifest pillars’ in England and that they oppressed the poor.¹¹³ Many of the allusions, such as the reference to St Paul’s complaint to Alexander the Coppersmith: ‘Thou hast done us much hurt’ (2 Timothy 4:14), mirror complaints about Cooke and his style of puritanism.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Walker urged them to leave, and go ‘to Virginia, or some other place where Christ was never heard before.’¹¹⁵ Their religious culture was mocked, but in a way that revealed much about its character. Walker addressed the Puritan:

[You are] but a wandering starre, and impatient, [who] doest eat the bread of thy brothers. Thou preacheest long sermons and often: therein I blame thee not: it is the manner only that marres all: for insteadie of that fierie spirit of zeale and sinceritie of the heart to preach Christ in love and

¹¹¹ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, sig. B3r.

¹¹² John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, p. 9.

¹¹³ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, p. 75.

¹¹⁴ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, p. 81.

¹¹⁵ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, p. 84.

humility: thou preachest Christ in accusing and condemning judgements with the fiery spirit of iniquitie.¹¹⁶

Walker's Protestant used popular form to condemn puritan hatred and their tendency to judge, citing the case of one of their sermons about the young man who asked Christ how he might gain eternal life (Mark 10:23). Their preacher 'affirmed before the company of many hundred persons, that this yong man is a damned soule in Hell.' This preacher, who is something of a caricature, was asked by a churchwarden for his licence but didn't have one, and railed against the churchwarden in the pulpit.¹¹⁷ The style of puritanism exposed was clearly like that in the Leeds area. The Protestant wrote of

thy followers using their exercises after thy sermons, in the Church, some one of them stands up, to speake, and to expostulate of things that have beene before, and to the number of an hundred, or more, or lesse, doe attend him.

The women were stupid since 'after thy after-noone sermon, some gentlewoman or other must intreat a sermon after supper.'¹¹⁸ Often the accusations of their sect were hostile, for instance in the suggestion that the women were made pregnant by their brothers and that they were willing to deceive in words, particularly when it came to business. A puritan could be known, he wrote, for 'when wee bargain with them ... their sound horse proves lame.'¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, pp. 89-90.

¹¹⁷ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, pp. 97-99.

¹¹⁸ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, pp. 100-103.

¹¹⁹ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, p. 102.

Walker's book is interesting in its employment of a number of literary devices. Towards the end, the Puritan returned and the dialogue resumed, with the Protestant hitting the nail on the head in defining a puritan as one who 'wouldest make the world beleeve, that thou art better then thy neighbours in show of thy outward actions.'¹²⁰ His advice was that they get along with Protestants and not preach, along the lines of Matthew 12:30, that 'Hee that is not with me, is against me.' The general point was that puritans were allied with papists, since they both opposed the word of God. They were 'the English pharise' because their religion was mere imposture. Interestingly, the book ends with a series of forays into other more popular forms, perhaps to spread the message of the book. There are poems addressed 'To the Puritane'; 'To all'; 'To all true Christians'; 'A Prayer before meate'; 'A Thanks-giving after meate'; and a brief guide 'To know a Puritane from a true Christian.'¹²¹ This intersection of forms, all within a firmly Protestant religious culture, is clearly important. Speech, manuscript and print existed alongside each other within these religious contexts and fed from each other. It should be remembered that Walker also wrote a more direct criticism of Cooke in his manuscript tract, 'The English hipochrite', and that Cooke in turn responded to this in print.¹²² Furthermore, as we will see, Cooke was perfectly capable of using manuscript and speech against his enemies.

One particular incident illustrates most clearly the intersections between local religious contexts and the variety of uses of different forms of media. The case affords glimpses of puritan uses of modes of communication that appear in contrast with those used at Halifax. The incident in question is the case of John Metcalf and Thomas Jackson against Alexander Cooke and a group of Leeds puritans which came before the Star Chamber on 11 June 1622. The conflicting

¹²⁰ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, p. 146.

¹²¹ John Walker, *The English pharise, or religious ape*, pp. 179-187.

¹²² BL, Harleian Ms 1284, fo. 13v ff. (John Walker, *The English hipochrite and the Romish pharise unmasked*).

versions of events, which are of course both narratives, are well worth extensive discussion.¹²³ Rather than spoil a good story, I will present the narratives as they were requested, presented and recorded in the court.¹²⁴

Alexander Cooke was charged by his accusers with being ‘a sectary or a puritane (which name of puritane the Ecclesiasticall historyes and orthodox fathers doe appropriate to a sorte of cursed and blasphemous heritickes).’ The particular charges were that he had abused his position as vicar of Leeds in resisting the laws, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, especially in refusing to bury the dead as was stipulated in the *Book of Common Prayer* but instead preferring the ‘unseemely dragging of the dead corps of the said persons in the Bill named into their graves and leavinge others unburyed’. He was accused of refusing to administer communion to, and turning away, those that knelt, and of calling those that did kneel papists and rogues and instead giving it to those who unreverently stood or sat. He was accused of a variety of misdemeanours in the pulpit. He was said to have used ‘unseemly and unreverent’ words against the confirmation of children by bishops; to have named and shamed the plaintiffs and their friends publicly in the pulpit and to have called them ‘Atheists, whoremongers and other ... foul and odious names’; and to have preached that Christmas Day should not have been celebrated in winter and that Good Friday was far from good. He thought that the celebration of marriage with a ring was equally superstitious and refused to wed those who wanted to use them. On occasions he allowed widows to give their daughters away in marriage. He was accused of the ‘furious and abrupt’ breaking of prayers on Sundays, telling the congregation to depart, while entreating

¹²³ The case is PRO, STAC 8/215/6 (Metcalf and Jackson v. Cooke et. al.). The case is unfoliated. I will refer to specific parts by membrane numbers. The case has been overlooked by historians. J. A. Newton, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’, pp. 24-25, 141-149 has some information but is dismissive of the claims of the plaintiffs, who he claims were motivated by self-interest.

¹²⁴ Of course, these descriptions were both modified and constructed by the interests of the court and the activities of the scribe.

only those who shared his views to go to the ‘vicarage to heare prayers and sermons or this defendants preaching thereupon in the yeard on the backside of his howse.’ He was also accused of abusing his ministry by suing his parishioners for trivial sums in court and by meddling with the collection of the toll dish at Leeds market.¹²⁵

Rather unsurprisingly, Alexander Cooke declared that he was not guilty of the allegations in this ‘false, malicious and slanderous bill’, which he thought was composed of ‘mere fictions ... [of the complainants’] owne braynes.’ He said he would answer the charges fully, though his accusers had ‘willfully and maliciously mistaken, misreported, altered or enlarged’ every one of them. Ever conscious of his own legal rights, Cooke saw no reason why he should answer those complaints about his conduct of marriage and of kneeling at the communion, since these were ecclesiastical matters for his bishop, ecclesiastical commissioners or judges to decide. Concerning his being a puritan, Cooke felt it best to start at the beginning and gave a lengthy description of his position before he came to Leeds and of how he obtained the vicarage there. At Louth in Lincolnshire, where he had been vicar, he said he had been well esteemed by his parishioners and that he was deprived ‘not for that he was growne or growinge to be a perverse factious sectary and puritane or for that he was found perverse or obstinate in any factious or perverse opinions or for any such not conformity’ but only because he refused to subscribe to the articles offered to him by the bishop, which he did because of the manner of the subscription rather than the content. He came to Leeds on the death of his brother and was collated to the vicarage by Archbishop Matthew and upon a suit ‘of the best affected and most religious of the said parishe and of the greatest part of the said parishioners’, including John Metcalf. Cooke also took the trouble to describe the intricacies of the suit pursued by Robert Brickhead in Chancery and referred the court for further reference ‘to the Records thereof remaying in the

¹²⁵ The information in this paragraph is a straightforward rendition of the charges laid out in PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 2.

said court with testimony of the said Lord Archbishop and the proceedings and decree aforesaid.¹²⁶

Cooke then proceeded to the more specific charges. He had been accused of composing libels against the plaintiffs and of spreading their message in the pulpit. Cooke answered that he was ‘utterly ignorant’ of the libels, and that Metcalf was wrong if he thought that the words of sermons he had preached against whoremongers and bullerers were about him. Cooke said he had not borrowed the wording of the libel, since he had used such words in his sermons many times before to rail against ‘divers of the said parish their loose and disordered course of life and of their insolent and shameles bouldnes to attempt and drawe women to that shamfull horrible sinne.’ Cooke had thought it right to preach against this sin, which I take to mean copulation with cows, but said he had neither borrowed his phrases from any libel nor named Metcalf specifically.¹²⁷

Cooke’s evidence in reference to the charge relating to the toll-dish at Leeds market was convoluted. He declared that the toll dish was kept for corn at Leeds market and had been employed ‘tyme out of mynde’ for charitable uses, namely cleaning the market place, poor relief, and for keeping the roads that led to Leeds in good repair. To this end, he continued, there had been a Duchy Chamber suit pursued by Robert Cooke which resulted in confirmation that one third of the proceeds were to go to the bailiff of Leeds and two thirds to charitable uses. Metcalf (the deputy bailiff) had complied with the order until recently when

¹²⁶ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 2.

¹²⁷ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 2. The *OED* defines the verb ‘to bull’ as ‘To gender with (the cow).’ Cooke appears to have meant this literally and I have followed this sense, though it may well have been used figuratively. The figurative sense would bear some relation to the character of sermons preached at the exercises, especially one at Farnley, part of which read, ‘Hence it is that we are so lewd in our lives, that many live like beasts. What is the cause that this towne of Fernley is so noted for synne, drunkennes, sodomy, Atheisme, ignorance etc. its because you care not for the word.’ See BL, Additional Ms 4933 A, fo. 6 (Notes from sermons in the West Riding).

out of a covetous and greedy desire of gaine [he] did take and employ the same wholly to his owne private use soe utterly pervertinge and defeatinge the godly and charitable uses aforesaid for his owne advantage.

This is turn led to suits between Alexander Cooke and other charitably disposed inhabitants against Metcalf. Cooke admitted this action but proclaimed himself a champion of the poor, confessing that

he hath some tyme affirmed that rather then the pore shalbe soe supplanted and these charitable uses defeated, he this defendand, if others would not, would himself spend a good part of the profitts of his benefice in maintenance of the said suit which he verily thinketh was lawfull for him both to saye and doe.

On the charge that Cooke had used the ecclesiastical courts to sue for small sums, Cooke declared that his income was made up of small sums and that he had no choice since several of the parishioners had denied that he was vicar and refused to pay up. He insisted, however, that he had neither sought nor gained profit from his actions.¹²⁸

After denying that he had ever presented anyone for having their hat on in church, but maintaining his right to do so, Cooke proceeded to the heart of the charges, which revolved around the two rushbearing ceremonies, first in 1619 and again in 1620. He said that before the first rushbearing, Metcalf had procured a drummer to 'strike up a drumme' on the previous market-day to advertise the event to other towns and parishes, and that many of those who came hailed from other parishes. On the day itself, sport began at five o'clock in the morning, before prayers and

¹²⁸ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 2.

divine service. Although two of the church doors were open, those involved in the sports broke down a third door to enter into the church. While the godly were at divine service in the afternoon of these two days, another defendant (Raphe Cooke) and a churchwarden went to a crowd who had gathered on the street outside only to be confronted by 'one with a vizard on his face and a paire of ramms hornes on his head playing his tricks, and to the number of three hundred persons looking thereon.' Cooke then asked the constable to look into the matter. Meanwhile, during the divine service, while the congregation sang a Psalm between the two lessons at evening prayer, a multitude came into the church and noisily interrupted prayers, forcing the parishioners to leave the church and go to the vicarage. Passing through the streets, Alexander Cooke related that his life would have been in danger had not Raphe Cooke and some friends defended him against the crowd which threatened to pull down the walls and gates in front of his house. He denied hurting a woman, or even hearing that a woman had been hurt. Though Raphe Cooke had taken a stick from a child, Alexander Cooke said they were not armed and, although Raphe Cooke had a dagger on his back, this was usual. Alexander Cooke believed that Metcalf had instigated the rushbearings out of spite. Having been accused of preaching twice on this day, he said he had to give an afternoon sermon, since his friend John Sykes was being buried.

On the day of the second rushbearing in 1620, Cooke preached at the normal time in the morning as there was a marriage in the afternoon and the people would have taken profit from his sermon. He said that he always preached twice on sabbath days, though his age now stopped him preaching on holy days. He thought it a wicked slander that he was accused on these days of preaching against the king and his toleration of sports. Instead he said he often preached honour to the king, though he thought that if the king knew the trouble rushbearings caused he 'would not have thought them convenient in such a towne as the said towne of Leedes is.' Cooke denied beating one John Hargreave in the church, but admitted that he had given Hargreave one blow over his buttocks with a cudgell that was to hand. This

was self-defence, Cooke protested, since one of the bell ringers (whom he had asked Hargreave to tell to stop ringing, since it was service time) had attacked him with a bell rope. The cudgell broke not because he hit his servant hard but ‘through some former taint’, and Hargreave did not complain about it. Cooke admitted wearing a pistol since he had heard that a mischief was intended against him, though he had charged it only with powder and never with bullet.¹²⁹

For their part, John Metcalf and Thomas Jackson presented a rather different version of events.¹³⁰ Their focus was on the perverse and factious behaviour of Cooke and his confederates, whom they named as Ralph Cooke, Francis Jeffray, William Key the elder, William Key the younger, Brian Beeston, John Sykes, Richard Sykes, Elizabeth his wife, William Mawson, William Hutton, John Mason, George Hargreave, Martin Laycock, William Pullein, John Hill, William Thompson, John Thompson and Mansfelde Hasell. Motivated by malice, this group did ‘make, frame, devise and write divers scandalous and infamous and libellous writings’ against those in Leeds not of their ‘factious opinions’ in order to destroy the complainants’ ‘credits and reputacons’ and to ‘scandalize the present government and conformitie of the Church and religion established’ with their ‘puritan ... and precise opinions.’ They recited one of these libels in the court. It read:

Old Converus with poysoned dart
A doe to shoot belowe her heart
As God was wont with every Trull,
In hope to gett a newe Towne bull,
A spayede in whyne to run the ringe,
That nere was hit but by a king
That word recall I must anon
Or else doe wrong to civill John,

¹²⁹ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 2.

¹³⁰ J. A. Newton, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’ gives no credence to the complaints. Their story is told in PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3.

Whose still to shoote that harmlesse deere
Was such that downe shee fell for feare
And then the wood man made a squier,
A creaturre worse were came in hell fier.
This bellowing bull hath all his life,
Sought to defloure both maid and wife,
His owne maie sigh and sobb in bedd,
Hee whoaringe annother steade,
The contriving of his vile deeds
And for his synnes my heart yet bleeds,
This calfe of late occasion tooke
To quarrell with our learned Cooke,
A man whose life and learning doth appeare
In towne and cittie both to the most pure
Though impure tongues against him Raile,
In wicked songe but all in vaine
Jehovah keeps him from them wakeing
And a sleep his manners vile and beastlie life.
His sonne detests though want of wife,
Force him sometimes against the streame
To travell upp to hilary Towne;
He is chiefest of all our saplinge crewe
A sect I think the devill did spewe
Amongst them all I doe knowe none
But cunning cheating knaves each one
Whoe make a prey on clothiers poore;
Gehenna gapes for them therefore,
With brazen fan they met our knight
When to this towne hee came to right
What had bin wronge and soee undone
By meanes of him ande another John
All holie men doth knowe this beast
Of heaven and hell to make a feast
This towne this cruell Tiger
Seekes to overthrowe by cursed tricks
High waies the poore and all must bleede,
On them by toll dish hee wil feede,
The backe house hee hath raised to hell
His soule to the devill I think hee will sell
The knave is brought from beggars state;
To equalize the best in the gate;
Yet doth oppresse his neighbours poore
By setting stalls before their dore,
For amerciament, hee spares not one

Old Henry is next when hee is gon.¹³¹

The complaint was that Cooke and his confederates were guilty of ‘divulging and publishing’ this libel, which clearly referred to Metcalf and his allies, in ‘publique assemblies’ to the ruin of the complainants’ names, reputations and credit. Cooke in particular was accused of reciting it privately at his conventicles, telling his friends

wee have not only fornicators and adulterers amongst us, but also a knowne towne bull, being the verse words of the first recitede libell, and that the popes pardons called Bulls were not as well knowne to the learned as the towne bull was and is knowne to us.

Clearly this libel was on oral as well as written entity, and it was claimed that it had been said and sung in alehouses and taverns. Metcalf complained that the motivation was the destruction of his credit, which was not a tenth of what it had been, because Cooke had repeated them ‘in your highnes cittie of Yorke and townes of Kingston upon Hull, Wakefelde, Hallifax, and other places where and with whome your subject John Metcalf occupied and used such his trading.’ Furthermore, Metcalf accused Cooke of stirring up the common people against him and slandering his collection of tolls at Leeds market, trying to get him barred from collecting the toll.¹³²

The accusation of Cooke’s puritanism ran through their evidence, but was especially strong in the accusation that he was not performing the rites and

¹³¹ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3. For other libels in the region, see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, pp. 331-332.

¹³² PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3. Metcalf also complained that the libel specifically damaged his paper credit.

ceremonies of the church of England as was his clerical duty. In particular, they complained about his refusal to use the official customs for the burial of the dead: 'to bring the corpse into the church, to read appointed prayers and scriptural passages and to perform the burial 'in decent and comely manner.' They claimed Cooke declared this custom superstitious and instead displayed 'his implacable, irreconcilable malice to the evill example of the ministry and utter injury to the deade corps[es]' of those who did not hold his opinions by refusing to admit their bodies into the church and by refusing to read (or let another read) the appointed prayers or passages from scripture. They singled out three cases. First there was Robert Benson, the young son of Robert Benson of the parish of Leeds, who died on 25 December 1618. He was brought 'in decent manner' by the friends and family of the father to the Church to be buried. Alexander Cooke, however, who was present in the Church, 'out of his former pretended and settled resolution of malice, most unchristianly and uncharitably' refused 'to saie anie the prayers or read anie the parts of scripture used and set forth by the Clergie of the Church to be used by the minister at the interment and buriall of the dead.' Despite the family pleading that he let a curate do so, Cooke refused and forced Robert Benson 'to his exceeding greate griefe and sorrowe to carrie his owne childe to the grave and then and there to interre and bury him himself.' Next was Elizabeth Mawer, the wife of James Mawer, who died in November, 1618 and was brought to the church. They continued:

such was the rancor and inveterate spleene of the said Alexander Cooke towards the deade corps of the said Elizabeth Mawer that hee would by noe meanes admitt or suffer the same to be brought into the church, whereupon the said parishioners after manie requests and intreaties made unto the said Alexander Cooke both for the admittance of the said corps to be brought into the said church, as also that the prayers appointed and used at the buriall of the deade might be reade, and the said parishioners not prevailing with the said Alexander Cooke after a long staie departed thence leaving the dead corps in the church porch of Leeds aforesaid which the said Cooke after their departure thence about midnight after

most unhumanlie dragged and caused to be dragged by the leggs to the grave, and then and there to be throwne into the grave leaving the same uncovered.

Lastly, there was John Broadley, another parishioner of Leeds, who died and was brought to the church. Cooke, allegedly motivated by malice, caused the church doors to be bolted and no bells to be rung. Eventually, the parishioners departed and left the body in the church porch. Later, in the dead of night, Cooke dragged the body to the grave ‘and then and there, without reading anie prayers appointed to be saide at the buriall of the dead, uncivillie and barbarously buried [him].’ These were not isolated incidents and Metcalf listed the other instances of these practices, all against those who were not ‘of his faction.’¹³³

Neither was this the end of the matter since Cooke was also wont to climb into the pulpit and ‘in most prophane and slanderous manner’ slander the complainants and their friends in his sermons at Leeds, calling them ‘irreligious atheists, whoremasters, drunkards, epicures, infidells, abbey lubbers,¹³⁴ and other odious names not fitt to be uttered by anie true professor of the gospell.’ Sometimes he would name them and at other times refer to them more indirectly, particularly using the allusion of the libel, which his own confederates understood. Such sermons astonished his hearers, as did those in which he preached that it was superstitious to observe the birth of Christ in winter as the Church of England did, reasoning that since the shepherds watched their flocks it was summer. He preached that Good Friday was really a ‘cursed daie’ and not one for prayers and, despite the wishes of the establishment, he had often refused to administer communion to those that knelt and had ‘most contemptuously rayled and reviled at them, terming them papists and put them from the communion.’ Instead he

¹³³ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3.

¹³⁴ A post-Reformation term of abuse meaning ‘lazy monk’, with overtones of parasitism as well as idleness. See *OED*.

administered it to those who stood and sat and taught that the confirmation of children by the bishop was superstitious and 'nothing but bables and rattles.' They continued to present almost a stereotypical puritan, saying that among his 'meanie inventions and phantastick opinions breathed from time to time,' Cooke taught that the use of the ring in marriage was superstitious and allowed women to give their daughters away, all to the scandal of the Church of England.

Cooke, with his 'factious and seditious opinions' and inventions, stirred up 'much jugling and idle vaine questions and differences among his parishioners.' On some sabbath days, he displayed his 'factious and greedy humor', since, when five or six thousand were assembled to hear service at the church in Leeds, long before prayers were ended, Cooke:

departed out of the pulpitt then and there publishing that there neither should be service nor sermon in the church more as uppon that daie commanding and willing the congregation to depart and that those which helde his opinions and were his followers should resort to heare divine service and sermon at his owne vicaridge house in the said town of Leeds and thereupon divers of owne sect resorting thither hee accordin[g]ly preached openly in the yearde on the backside, and in his said howse other tymes.

At the church, particularly on days appointed for administering holy communion, Cooke had, during his service and sermons, called those parishioners who did not hold his views 'buggerers and murderers' and other names, decrying those who foolishly thought that the giving of money to the poor only at Christmas would save their souls from the devil, whereas it would in fact take them straight there. He had for instance accused George Yeadon of 'buggery and that hee had gotten a cowe with calfe', which prompted his confederates to bar Yeadon, his friends and his servants from the communion and to force them from the church, despite the

fact that they were in charity and well prepared for communion.¹³⁵

Cooke's malice, as his enemies saw it, stretched beyond the pulpit into the courtroom. He had, they thought, neglected his duty 'in making peace betwixt man and man' and instead joined forces with one Richardson in the consistory court at York in order to vex his subjects and oppress them by bringing 'a multitude of vaine and frivolous suits' for small sums of money. Since he had become vicar, he had cited around two hundred people a year

partlie to extract and get money for composicions and so enrich themselves and partlie to wreake his malice and revenge against such his parishioners as in anie soe dislike his factious and distempered humour, opinion and cariage and are not of his sect and faction (as namelie) and more perticulerlie hee hath of meere malice without anie just cause.

The complainants gave numerous examples of Cooke citing his parishioners and of making them 'take copies of severall libells put into the said court by him and the said Procter.'¹³⁶ He was accused of making John Metcalf appear and take a copy of his libel for not paying his Easter dues, despite the fact that he had offered to pay before any suit began. Cooke was accused of citing his parishioners for trivial sums, in order to cause them harm and enrich himself, for instance receiving eight pounds in costs as a result of citing John Baker for just half a penny. Such was the terror that Cooke instilled in his parishioners, particularly in his fondness for naming and shaming in the pulpit, that many paid up simply 'for quitnes sake to

¹³⁵ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3.

¹³⁶ The lawyer was Thomas Procter, from Newhall-with-Clifton, near Otley. He was a barrister-at-law and died in December, 1646. Edward Fairfax described his visit, regarding the possession of his daughters, to 'Mr Procter ... a lawyer who lives three miles from me.' William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 56. It is instructive that Fairfax visited Procter with his brother-in-law, Martin Laycock, one of Cooke's 'confederates.'

prevent his vexacons.¹³⁷

Central to the accusations was Cooke's alleged breaking of the orders of the King concerning recreations, popularly known as the Book of Sports. Cooke was said to have stirred up the parishioners not only by preaching against this book but also by inciting, directing and pulling forward his own faction to gather together and resist such assemblies with force. He also, in 'cruell, distemperate and furious manner', withstood the recreations 'cruellie beating and wounding with his owne handes divers of your highnes subjects soe civilly and orderly recreating themselves.'

Metcalf and Jackson's version of events adds detail to the sparse account provided by Cooke. They recalled that many of the younger sort had announced that on St James's Day, 1619, they would perform a rushbearing at Leeds church in accordance with the Book of Sports, that is not during the service or sermon. This was opposed by Alexander Cooke, who hated all activities that were not 'after his owne fantasticall braine sicke invention' and who, with confederates, assembled between twelve and one o'clock on that day, armed with swords and other weapons outside the church. There they

did riotouslie drawe their said weapons and swords against the drummers, pipers and other musitions and cut in peeces their drummes, pipes and other instruments of musick, cast them under their feete and breake them in peeces and raised great hurley burley and disquiet amongst the people soe quietlie and decentlie recreating themselves calling them rogues, rascalls, whores and whoremasters.

Then they followed them to the church, so that evening prayer began as soon as they arrived and the young people halted their recreations until prayers had ended.

In 1620, the parishioners of Leeds organised another rushbearing. This time it was

¹³⁷ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3.

to be on St Bartholomew's Day.¹³⁸ Cooke got wind of the plans in advance and preached against the toleration of sports in the pulpit, declaring them

impious fooleries and villaines and that god knewe not what warrant men might have from your majestie to doe them, but hee knewe they had noe warrant from God nor his word. And whosoever did by coullor of your Majesties tolleracion exercise these sports might well have their necks from the halter, but could never save their soules from hell fyre.

In his malice towards the recreations, Cooke then carried with him a case of pistols and a dagger to try to prevent the rushes being brought into the church on that day.¹³⁹ When the day came, Cooke rose early and arrived at the church by seven o'clock in the morning. When he arrived, he met the bell ringers who refused his requests not to ring their bells because they knew it was not near service time:

Whereupon the said Alexander Cooke in a great rage and furie tooke a great staffe with twoe graines of iron in it out of a mans hand [who] was present there and most maliciouslie strooke three times at one John Hargreave whoe stood by the said ringers, and at the third strooke broke it on his shoulders in the church to the great scandall of those that were there present, and there uppon presentlie caused his curate to beginne to read divine service himself with purpose of prevention and not of anie devotion, preaching that daie contrarie to his custome, never using to preach on anie Apostles or Saints dayes before that time such his palpable dealinge and prevention.

¹³⁸ The timing was likely to have been calculated to cause maximum offence to the godly.

¹³⁹ There was some debate about the motives for Cooke's hostility towards rushbearings. John Walker appeared to be commenting on local events in his manuscript when describing the execution of John the Baptist. He wrote that 'dancing was no more the cause thereof, then the decking of churches with rishes and floures are the cause why you raile against the hier powers.' 'The English hypocrite', cited in J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 149-150.

Cooke then preached all morning to prevent the rushes being brought into the church. The young people, after their dinner, returned to the church at about twelve-thirty, only to find the church doors locked. Not deterred, they went around the church to check if any of the other doors were open but, approaching a street leading to the church, they encountered Alexander Cooke who, seeing them carrying their rushes towards the church, furiously struck out at many of them. These included Aran Rose,

whoe being peaceably standing in the said streete was strooke downe to the ground with the said Cooke in such malicious and furious rage and was there by him and his said confederates (above named) aiding and assisting verie cruellie and riotouslie beaten and her bodie bruised for the space of ten dayes after shee spitt nothing but bloud neither was shee able for fowreteene dayes after to stande upp or move either of her armes shee being so verie cruellie and riotouslie beaten and bruised as aforesaid.

Cooke then went into the church, where the people brought their rushes, and hurried into the pulpit, ordering others to take the rushes down. Seeing an unwillingness to obey him, Cooke descended and returned to his house. On his way, he beat two children who had brought to the rushbearing a picture of James I and another of Prince Charles. Later, Cooke, who was by now going about with his pistols charged, took a halbert (hatchet) in his hand and shook it, declaring 'I wish I had Harrison and Metcalf heare ... that I might drive the streete of twentie of them.'¹⁴⁰

This most remarkable case clearly contains much information on the use of

¹⁴⁰ PRO, STAC 8/215/6, m. 3.

manuscript, sermon and print. Particularly important was the relationship between the sermon and the libel. The accusations against Cooke connect the spreading of the oral and written libel through sermon and courtroom as well as simply by word of mouth. The concern of the complainants was Cooke's misuse of the 'publique occasions' and clearly locates notions of a contested public sphere firmly in this period.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, they understood the value of print as a more fixed medium and focused on Cooke's breaking of the Book of Sports as contravening his majesty's laws set down 'in print', and of Cooke's refusal to do his job according to the Book of Common Prayer. Neither was Cooke unaware, since he referred the court to their own records. The incident displays how religious tensions were manifested in and manipulated around the conjunctions of manuscript, print and speech. The blurred boundaries and the distinction between public and private spaces allowed room for the otherwise marginal to express opinions that would otherwise have been unacceptable.¹⁴² Perhaps the most important lesson to draw is that traffic was not one way. Cooke used the sermon, the libel and printed works, but he was answered in manuscript by John Walker. In fact, the case shows something rather novel about libels. It shows how and why clerics could use the popular form to spread a divisive, if not unpopular, message. The use of the libel by clerics might be said to be a distinctive feature of puritans and their relations with manuscript and print. In 1607, for instance, libels were spread in Northamptonshire against the Justices of the Peace. They circulated in manuscript

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of the religious dimensions of the public sphere in England, see Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the "Public Sphere": The Champion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 587-627, and Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, esp. pp.187-331. Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Oxford, 1989). Useful on the varieties of and changes in the political public sphere is Philip Withington, 'Two renaissances: urban political culture in post-Reformation England reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 239-267.

¹⁴² James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* is the best guide to the phenomenon. I am suggesting that an analysis of power relations through the 'spaces' between media might be a useful method of getting to grips with puritanism.

and were spread as far as Leicester and Dunstable. Another was composed against ecclesiastical officials in the diocese of Peterborough and distributed to coincide with Archbishop Bancroft's visit on 22 September. It was found in alehouses, inns and shops. The suggestion is that they too were composed by puritan clerics.¹⁴³ However, a word of caution should also be sounded since we should ask whether this particular use of the manuscript libel was a feature of northern religious cultures in general rather than puritan culture specifically. In or around 1625, John Vaux, the curate of St Helen's Auckland, composed and distributed amongst his parishioners a series of manuscript libels against the abuses of local gentry including Sir George Tonge and Sir Charles Wrenn.¹⁴⁴

III.

It was not only among Protestants that there were occasions to exploit the forms of media to religious ends: it was clear in collisions with Catholics too. That such confrontations make puritanism appear coherent is really a trick of the eye, since Catholics were not always interested in divisions among Protestants. Of particular interest in this section is how the godly used each mode of communication in a variety of ways when they confronted Catholics in the series of puritan sermons addressed to the Catholic prisoners at York Castle in 1599 and 1600, and in the Star Chamber suit against a group of recusant players, which came to court in 1613. These incidents have been chosen because they have the advantage of

¹⁴³ The ballads can be found in PRO, STAC 8/205/19 (Lambe v. Lowe, Oliver, Decons et al.) and 8/205/20 (Lambe v. Lowe, Oliver, Decons et al.). There is a brief discussion in Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, pp. 332-333 and contextual information in W. J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough 1558-1610* (Northampton, 1979). A copy of the libel against the Justices exists in the Brotherton Library, Brotherton Library, Ms Lt q 17 ('Satire on Justices of the Peace for Northamptonshire, c. 1605-06'). It comprises three stitched leaves in narrow folio format and was clearly intended for circulation.

¹⁴⁴ See, W. H. D. Longstaffe (ed.), *The Acts Of The High Commission Court Within The Diocese Of Durham*, p. 36. Vaux was a religious maverick, selling his Almanacs from the communion table, casting figures to find stolen property (at a price), stirring up suits between his parishioners, giving horse racing tips, playing dice and frequenting alehouses.

drawing together some of the questions and problems already addressed with some familiar faces, such as Robert Cooke, John Favour and Thomas Posthumous Hoby.

The series of sermons organised by Robert Cecil and designed to be preached at the Catholic prisoners of York Castle in 1599 and 1600 are well known and have been the subject of recent discussions.¹⁴⁵ My analysis will differ from these by analysing them not within the context of conversion, which I doubt was the real aim, but within of a combination of the modes of communication and of performance. Again it is the ‘and’ in performance and medium that will be important here.

What we know about the events is largely derived from a manuscript account written by William Richmond. The copy that survives in the British Library is a fair copy that was clearly intended for circulation, since it included a preface to the ‘good reader’. It was, its author declared, written ‘from notes and letters as then were taken.’¹⁴⁶ The names of the prisoners who attested to the truth of the story were attached.¹⁴⁷ Given the author and the public nature of the manuscript, it seems absurd to see the document as a form of documentary proof of events but rather, as Richmond suggested, a ‘storie’ of the Protestant preachers using their ‘craftie wittes’ to pursue ‘their unfortunate warfare against the churche.’¹⁴⁸ It was a narrative account which was designed to persuade, with a beginning, a middle and an end (of sorts).

¹⁴⁵ Especially, M. C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics And Religion In England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 82-83, 159-161, 170, and Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 211-215.

¹⁴⁶ The manuscript account is BL, Additional Ms 34250, quotation at fo. 3v. (William Richmond, *A Trewe Storie of the Catholicke prisoners in Yorke Castle*).

¹⁴⁷ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 4r.

¹⁴⁸ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fos. 1v-2r.

The story went something like this. Robert Cecil organised a series of public sermons with the prisoners at York Castle with the express intention of converting the prisoners from Catholicism. The preachers, who were ‘learned men, professours of divinitie and the choice of the contrie’¹⁴⁹ came ‘in all honour and glorious showe’ together with the Lords Lieutenant, the Council of the North, Yorkshire knights and gentry, the mayor and aldermen of York and a great assembly. It was carefully stage-managed and ‘all was commended and assured of popular applause.’ The Catholics were brought to a meeting place individually and placed in front of the preacher while the people laughed.¹⁵⁰ The preachers then preached at the prisoners, challenging their faith and not allowing them to reply. Unwilling to lie down, many of the prisoners interrupted the sermons or put their hands to their ears to display their unwillingness to listen.¹⁵¹ This resulted in their being shackled so they could not do so. Every unfair tactic was used against them: the priests were separated from the laymen; the prisoners not allowed to talk to each other; and a spy was ‘putt in prison for Recusancy to deceyve the prisoners.’¹⁵² Despite such adversity, they refused to be turned, and the narrative relates the secular authorities and puritan preachers becoming increasingly

¹⁴⁹ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 1v. In this instance, ‘contrie’ is used in the modern sense, since although many Yorkshire preachers were involved (such as Robert Cooke, Edmund Bunny, Anthony Higgon, Thomas Bell (the revolted priest), John Favour and Archbishop Hutton), many came from further afield, including Richard Stock and Richard Crakanthorpe. The event affords a glimpse of godly sociability in the north of England similar to that described by Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, 1620-1643*.

¹⁵⁰ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 2v. There was an element of the demotic in the behaviour of the public that ties in closely with behaviour at executions. For the importance of laughter, see Keith Thomas, ‘The Place of Laughter in Tudor and Stuart England’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 21 (January 1977), 77-81.

¹⁵¹ The strategy of the prisoners, as it was presented, was of obedience to civil authorities but of insistence that their faith was a personal matter. For an examination of this concept, see Edmund Leites (ed.), *Conscience And Casuistry In Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and Paris, 1988).

¹⁵² BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 5v.

frustrated at their lack of effectiveness. In particular, Thomas Hoby railed against the prisoners, saying ‘you stop your ears from our sermons, and therefore we will not hear your answers.’¹⁵³ Over time, the preachers became less enthusiastic about preaching, with their theological arguments getting nowhere and with John Favour, for instance, deciding not to preach against them at all, but simply to give a ‘filthy railing speech.’ In the end the sermons were stopped, as another manuscript confirmed, because the preachers admitted defeat.¹⁵⁴

It is not my intention simply to doubt the objectivity of the manuscript. I want to argue that an awareness of form and the notions of power associated with means of publication display a further important facet both of puritans and their use of books and (more crucially) the differing values they attached to speech, manuscript and print, when confronted by Catholics. Printed books were the defence of the Protestants. For instance, in a private debate between Mr Palmer, the preacher, and a prisoner, Palmer brought out his copy of Tertullian to prove ‘that he had cited the words right.’¹⁵⁵ In debates at the King’s Manor, Robert Cooke stood ‘at a table [with] divers bookes before him’ to refute Catholic doctrine and later he opened a volume of Robert Bellarmine to dispute the existence of purgatory.¹⁵⁶ Clearly it was the symbolic value of the printed book that the Protestant authorities were drawing attention to, since Cooke well knew the passages of Maccabees he was referring to. In addition to impressing the symbolic importance of print onto Catholics, they denied them access to printed books. In one of the debates a Catholic had to snatch a Protestant’s bible to prove that what he was talking about

¹⁵³ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 29v.

¹⁵⁴ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 69v describes how Favour was so annoyed at the lack of progress that he wrote letters to London to ask to be relieved from his duties. For the other manuscript account, see, Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, p. 212 n. 116.

¹⁵⁵ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 8v.

¹⁵⁶ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 22v-23r.

was justified by scripture and another had his books taken away from him.¹⁵⁷

In contrast to this was the attitude of the authorities towards manuscripts. Certainly they knew the importance of depriving prisoners of the tools with which to write, as they took Mr Stillington's ink and paper away from him as well as his books. They associated print with 'orthodoxy' and manuscript with 'heterodoxy' but their efforts to hinder manuscript production were ineffective. The prisoners procured a copy of one of Cooke's sermons and managed to deliver it out of the prison to William Richmond to obtain an answer to it. Unsurprisingly, they were prevented from reading it out in public.¹⁵⁸ The authorities knew the impact this could have on an audience. Indeed they were not slow to use oral performances themselves. They removed the seminary priest James Bowland from the other prisoners until his resistance cracked and they forced him to read his written recantation to the other prisoners.¹⁵⁹ The irony of the attitude towards the subversive manuscript is that the Catholics managed to create and circulate the most coherent version of events. The confrontation with Catholics solidified puritan attitudes towards the public use of printed books as instruments of truth and of the manuscript as more malleable and dangerous. Orality was a contested medium and was publicly used in the context of performance: the incidents make it clear that it was important not just what was said, but also how it was said.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fos. 10v, 30v.

¹⁵⁸ BL, Additional Ms 34250, fo. 30r.

¹⁵⁹ Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, p. 215. Of course, the manner of the performative 'reading' could render this process subversive.

¹⁶⁰ For the centrality of performance in cultural and political realms, see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ch. 15 and his 'Centres, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in J. Ben David and T. N. Clark (eds.), *Cultures and Its Creators* (Chicago, 1977), 150-171. For a more recent interpretation, see James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*.

A final example highlights more direct links between performance, Catholics and puritan culture. The message is similar to that at York castle since the concern was that the printed book in the wrong hands was a recipe for disaster. That this was so might seem obvious, but I want to clarify that a further distinctive feature of puritan culture, as opposed to more mainstream Protestantism, was a paranoia about Catholics and their use of books. To do this, I must first attempt to judge 'orthodox' ideas about Catholics and books. Clearly, there were a variety of opinions and practices. The Foster bookshop, we will remember, sold a variety of Catholic books and other York booksellers sold more controversial devotional handbooks.¹⁶¹ However, the attitude towards the use of Catholic books was one of refutation. In 1597, for instance, Tobie Matthew called not for a ban on Catholic books but an embargo on the more upmarket Catholic books to which there was no official answer attached.¹⁶² I think this clarified the attitudes of the more 'orthodox', since they display a concern with popular devotional books but relative ambivalence towards more complicated and more theological books.

The attitude of puritan Catholic-hunters was rather different and I would like to demonstrate this by cutting a slice through a Star Chamber case. The case in question is that against the so-called Cholmley Players in 1613.¹⁶³ Though the material has attracted considerable attention from literary scholars, there remains much evidence with which to display a puritan sensitivity to the use of books in a performative context.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ See above, pp. 21-27.

¹⁶² Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics And Religion In England, 1580-1625*, p. 17.

¹⁶³ PRO, STAC 8/19/10 (Attorney-General v. Sir John Yorke).

¹⁶⁴ See, Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean negotiations: the circulation of social energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 1988); John L. Murphy, *Darkness and devils: exorcism and King Lear* (Athens, Ohio, 1984); Phebe Jensen, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community: the Simpsons at Gowlthwaite Hall', in Richard Dutton, Alison Gail Findlay and Richard Wilson (eds.), *Region, religion and patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*

The case surrounds the religion of Sir John and Lady Julyan Yorke of Goulthwaite Hall in Nidderdale, their harbouring of a suspected missionary priest, and the performance of a popish interlude between performances of Shakespeare's *King Lear* and *Pericles* by a group of travelling recusant players.¹⁶⁵ John Yorke was a church papist, since he appears to have attended church to avoid recusancy fines but did not receive communion. One of his brothers was executed as a Jesuit at York in 1586 and another was in exile. His wife Julyan was a recusant. Among the allegations against Yorke was that he had harboured a seminary priest called 'Gerrard', who had managed to escape when Sir Timothy Whittingham and Sir Stephen Procter had caught two others hiding in the vaults of Upsall Castle in August, 1609. At John Yorke's local chapel at Middlesmore, George Mansor, the local minister told Procter how he 'said service sometymes to two persons, sometymes to three or fower, and sometymes .. none at all.' Furthermore, the surrounding area was not conducive to Protestant reform and there had allegedly been no sermons even in their local town, Pateley Bridge, for twenty years.¹⁶⁶ Now, there was clearly more to this case than the plays themselves, and it was tied up with Procter's accusation that there had been five murder plots against him instigated by Sir William Ingelby and Mallory, concerning disputes over land and religion (and a clash of personalities).¹⁶⁷ The case resulted from the performance of the interlude and reveals some more important information about books, and the way they were held up as important objects in the Star Chamber case. Firstly, before the plays, it was alleged that Sir John Yorke, unhappy at the new preacher

(Manchester, forthcoming).

¹⁶⁵ Much of the background can be followed through Christopher Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale 1565-1634* (London, 1939).

¹⁶⁶ PRO, STAC 8/19/10, fos. 41, 22. For the character of Yorkshire recusancy, see W. J. Sheils, 'Catholics and their neighbours in a rural community: Egton chapelry 1590-1610', *Northern History*, 38 (1998), 1-25.

¹⁶⁷ PRO, STAC 8/227/1 (Proctor v. Ingilbye) and 8/227/2 (Proctor v. Ingilbye).

installed at Pateley Bridge, took advantage of the lack of an incumbent at the church of Stanwick to promote a mocking inversion of Protestant ritual. He broke into the church on the night before the sabbath and set up a wooden effigy of a preacher, adorned with a surplice and with books in front of it. He placed it in the pulpit and burned it so that it was found the next day.¹⁶⁸ The witnesses, in particular Procter, stressed that this was part of a series of incidents of bad behaviour in which Yorke used symbolism associated with the book to subvert the Protestant cause.

The interlude itself was a St Christopher play that included a disputation between a Popish Priest and an English Minister. It was performed in between other festivities to an audience of around one hundred at Gowthwaite Hall. The crucial part of the performance occurred in the disputation. As Stephen Procter recalled, ‘the English minister had under his arme or in his hand a booke like a bible’ and

being asked, what he could say or how he could defend his religion ... he answered by this booke and then offering to showe it forth it was reiected ... and ... after some flasheinge of fire, the said English minister was carried away by the divell or divells.

This was a well-crafted performance and much enjoyed by the audience who ‘greatlie laughed and rejoyced a long time together’ at the minister being taken to hell. Procter added that the players had performed it elsewhere in Protestant households, but had removed the disputation. He made it clear that of particular importance was the fact that the bible of the minister was ‘rejected and scoffed at.’¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ PRO, STAC 8/19/10, fo. 22.

¹⁶⁹ PRO, STAC 8/19/10, fo. 18.

It is probably wise not to read too much into the case, but it seems important that the issue of books was mentioned so strongly. It certainly bears comparison with the fact that Procter had searched Yorke's house looking for Catholic books and complained that the performances of plays involved prompt-books. So a further feature of puritan culture was its hyper-sensitivity to the misuse of books by others, and an awareness that the importance of books stretched beyond the text to their uses as objects.

IV.

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of local knowledge in illuminating early modern religious contexts. It has shown the value of studying the forms and manipulation of varieties of speech, manuscript and print within and without the godly cultures under discussion. Entwined together, this approach demonstrates how sets of evidence, usually shared artificially between the disciplines of literature and history, can be used to revise significantly our opinions of puritanism in the north of England, and probably beyond. The puritans, we have seen, were adept at utilising all manner of media and manipulating them as occasion demanded. It was a technique learnt as a minority movement but kept on and refined after it became the radical voice of the establishment. The examples presented display not the orderliness of Patrick Collinson's puritan movement, with its letters, secret printing presses and secretaries (a vision created from the light of post-War conciliarism and the dark of cold war subversion) but an altogether different situation.¹⁷⁰ Early Stuart puritanism was not of the ill-fated Elizabethan variety but, with the self-confidence provided by powerful backers in the north, an uglier animal. With social as well as spiritual opponents, puritanism directed its attentions at different targets. Perhaps it was the scale of the opposition in the north that alerts us to its variations, which were concealed with greater

¹⁷⁰ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*.

support in other areas.¹⁷¹ When the clergy manipulated the media and the sociability inherent in its foundation, the movement was open to charges of cronyism. Alexander Cooke used popular form to ridicule his opponents and legal arm-twisting to secure prosecution. The movement closer to the levers of power was achieved at a price. They paid lip service to helping the poor while helping themselves. Perhaps most importantly, though using the media to protest otherwise, they clearly and wilfully separated themselves from those they perceived as their enemies. The puritan movement was moving away from its courtship of the people and (re-)establishing itself as a powerful voice against the opponents of the godly project. It is to the most extreme enemies of this project, the enemies of god, and their relationship with the godly and their use and manipulation of books, that we now turn.

¹⁷¹ Northern puritanism is worth comparing in this respect with that found in towns such as Dorchester. See David Underdown, *Fire from heaven: life in an English town in the seventeenth century* (London, 1992).

Part III:

Enemies

3. Ritual Reading: Edward Fairfax's *Daemonologia* and the power of the book in possession cases in early modern England

Doctor Faustus, in Christopher Marlowe's incarnation, appeared on the Elizabethan stage sitting in his study in Wittenberg. With frantic energy he lead the audience around his library and declared:

... Divinity, adieu!
These metaphysics of magicians
And necromantic books are heavenly;
Lines, circles, letters, and characters:
Ay, these are those that Faustus most desires.¹

Faustus was advised by his good angel to lay his books aside and read from the scriptures, and by his bad angel that the said magic books held 'that famous art/ wherein all nature's treasury is contain'd'² Of course, Faustus decided that the way of the books was too enticing to be denied and conjured up Mephistophilis, signing his pact (in the form of a deed) on a scroll and reading it aloud. Books were his pathway to the magical world. Later Lucifer told him to 'peruse this book and view it thoroughly,/ And thou shalt turn thyself into what shape thou wilt.'³ Mephistophilis told him that books were the vehicle of his downfall:

... when thou took'st the book
To view the Scriptures, then I turn'd the leaves
And led thine eye⁴

¹ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. J. D. Jump (Manchester, 1976), I. 47-51.

² Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. J. D. Jump, I. 73-74.

³ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. J. D. Jump, VI. 175-176.

⁴ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. J. D. Jump, XIX. 94-96.

Faustus resolved that he wished he had never had any books and declared 'I'll burn my books!'⁵

This association between books and witches may at first appear obvious. Regrettably, however, the relationship has not been studied and did not remain constant. It is my intention in this chapter to use an interdisciplinary approach to examine the links between the two subjects. In the face of the ultimate enemy, the relationship between the godly and their books comes into a sharper focus. It will be clear that books were essential physical and textual tools with which the godly organised their lives at moments of crisis. Of particular importance will be the role of the book in possession cases, where there is an abundance of relevant source material from printed texts, manuscripts and legal documentation, much of which surrounds the religious cultures of the godly. A consideration of the physical uses of books is largely absent outside the confines of book history but is particularly relevant to witchcraft materials since many cases display a range of physical and textual uses of books in considerable detail.⁶ Though a major shift in witchcraft studies has come with Stuart Clark's monumental *Thinking With Demons*⁷, turning the eyes of the historian towards the writings of demonologists and so placing case materials in their intellectual context, a further change is needed to consider the impact of demonologies and the ways in which they affected particular readers, shaping their thought and behaviour. In this respect historians of witchcraft

⁵ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. J. D. Jump, XIX. 190.

⁶ Useful considerations of the history of the book (as text) in relation to witchcraft can be located in Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*; David Warren Sabean, *Power In The Blood: Popular culture and village discourse in early modern Germany* and in James Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter: A horrible and true story of football, witchcraft, murder and the King of England* (London, 1999). Other subject areas have considered their links with the history of the book. For ecclesiastical history, see David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England', *The Journal of Library History*, 21 (1986), 92-106.

⁷ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with demons: the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997).

would do well to adopt the study of reading habits and marginalia and, with the close analysis of individuals, put the politics back into witchcraft.⁸

This chapter examines the place of the book in possession cases in the north of England, together with references from further afield. Of particular interest is Edward Fairfax's *Daemonologia*, the manuscript account of a possession in his own family. As in the previous chapters, the focus on the first half of the seventeenth century is important, since at this time manuscript and print depended on and competed against each other in the creation and dissemination of religious cultures.⁹ 'The book', difficult to define at the best of times, I take to include printed and bound items, pamphlets and manuscripts. I do not think letters count but I have included Grimoires, the folded sheets of paper often used by witches, where the usage is similar. Often 'The book' will be the Bible, though I hope I have not let it dominate my discussion.

Part I examines in detail the case of Edward Fairfax. Part II looks at the associations the Fairfax case had with others by considering books as physical objects, in particular focusing on the less familiar uses of books. Part III examines the more textual uses of script and print in possession cases while Part IV explores how books and manuscripts shaped the behaviour of the possessed. A concern throughout the chapter is the circulation of information along a kind of 'communications circuit' between authors, participants, and readers.¹⁰ Though not expressed directly, I hope to reveal a paradigmatic shift in the chapter, from the witch using the book to the book being used against the witch, with particular attention being paid to the status of the printed word.

⁸ Anthropology and sociology have dominated a generation of witchcraft studies, particularly as a result of Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London, 1970) and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century England* (revised edn., London, 1973).

⁹ For manuscript circulation, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*.

¹⁰ For the phrase, see Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', in his *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, 107-135.

That such a shift has since been reversed should not deter us from looking for it.

I.

Edward Fairfax, ‘a man of books and peace’¹¹, was a famed poet of a famed family. Born around 1568, he wrote eclogues to rival those of Spenser and translated Tasso’s *La Gerusalemme liberata* in 1600 which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.¹² He also compiled a (now lost) history of Edward the Black Prince during 1603 and dedicated it to James I. Little is known about him other than through his printed works and manuscripts. As regards religion, he assured the readers of his *Daemonologia* of his orthodoxy:

I intreat you to be assured that for myself I am in religion neither a fantastic Puritan nor superstitious Papist; but so settled in conscience that I have the sure ground of God’s Word to warrant all I believe, and the commendable ordinances of our English Church to approve all I practice; in which course I live a faithful Christian and obedient subject, and so teach my family.¹³

That this was a rhetorical strategy seems likely. Most likely, he practised a family religion that was centred around the Bible and preaching exercises; godly in all but name. His avowed moderation enabled him to distance himself officially from noted puritan cases of counterfeit possession, which he referred to in his narrative as ‘those whose impostures our wise king so lately laid open.’¹⁴ The wider Fairfax family, many of whom Edward helped to teach,

¹¹ Hartley Coleridge, *The Worthies of Yorkshire And Lancashire* (London, 1836), p. 175.

¹² Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The recoverie of Jerusalem*, trans. Edward Fairfax (London, 1600).

¹³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft, as it was acted in the Family of Mr Edward Fairfax, of Fuyston, in the County of York, in the Year 1621: along with the only two Eclogues of the same author known to be in Existence*, p. 32. Recorded cases of possession are rare among the religiously moderate. See, Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 574.

¹⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 81.

including the Civil War generals Ferdinando and Thomas Fairfax, were also of such religious leanings. We might even see some stirrings of republicanism in Edward's translation of Tasso. That Andrew Marvell would later associate Oliver Cromwell with Geoffrey of Boulogne should alert us to its proto-republican possibilities.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Edward wrote a glowing epitaph for James I and did not live to see Milton write, 'Fairfax, whose name in arms in Europe rings/ Filling each mouth with envy, or with praise.'¹⁶ Perhaps he would not have wanted to either.

Witchcraft was not uncommon in the north of England, though the lack of systematic assize records in the period before 1640 makes any statistical analysis to compare to the Home Circuit impossible.¹⁷ The records from the church courts in Yorkshire show 117 cases were brought between 1567 and 1640.¹⁸ Other sources show the prevalence of belief in witchcraft across the land. Richard Napier, the Buckinghamshire physician, treated more than five hundred patients between 1597 and 1634 who thought they had been bewitched.¹⁹ Demonologists and clergymen, such as John Webster and Oliver Heywood, suspected that interest in witchcraft in the north was strong.²⁰ Recourse to cunning men was popular, certainly according to Fairfax but also

¹⁵ David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: poetry, rhetoric and politics, 1627-1660*, p. 339.

¹⁶ *The Poems of John Milton* ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London, 1968), p. 332. ('On the Lord General Fairfax at the siege of Colchester', 1-2). Part of Fairfax's epitaph for James reads: 'Let no black-mouthed, rank-breathed cur/ Peaceful James his ashes stir./ Princes are Gods, O! do not then/ Rake in their graves to prove them men', printed in William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ The prevalence of witchcraft cases in the surviving assize rolls suggests witchcraft was common in the north before 1640. PRO, ASSI 44.

¹⁸ P. Tyler, 'The Church Courts at York and Witchcraft Prosecutions, 1567-1640', *Northern History*, 4 (1969), 84-109.

¹⁹ See, Martin Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540-1690', in Tim Harris ed., *Popular Culture In England, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 106.

²⁰ J. Horsfall Turner (ed.), *The Rev Oliver Heywood, B. A. 1630-1712. His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* 4 vols (Brighouse, 1882-5).

to Robert Burton, who thought there was one in 'every village.'²¹ Given the evidence Fairfax presents on the process of assize, there is reason to believe that in the north, as elsewhere in the 1620s, there was a rise in acquittals for witchcraft inspired by a sceptical king and increasingly dubious higher clergy.

Edward Fairfax's *Daemonologia* is perhaps the most detailed of all Yorkshire cases, recounting as it did the case of witchcraft in his family between October 1621 and January 1623, a story that he circulated in manuscript after the trial of the witches failed to bring convictions. The afflicted were the poet's daughters, Helen, aged 21, and Elizabeth, aged 7, along with their neighbour Maud Jeffray, aged 12.²² The possessions began on 28 October 1621 when Helen, at the family home of Newhall in Fewston, near Leeds, fell into a trance, lay for three hours dead then awoke recounting 'that her imagination was that she was at church at Leeds, hearing a sermon from Mr Cooke the preacher.'²³ At first, Edward Fairfax thought that this was not a case of witchcraft: subsequent events taught him otherwise.²⁴ His daughters suffered for more than a year tormented by witches and their familiars. The witches were identified as Margaret Waite and her daughter; Jennit Dibble and her daughter; Margaret Thorpe; Elizabeth Fletcher, who was also known as Bess Foster, and whose mother had been a witch; Elizabeth Dickenson and another witch whose name was not known to the children. The women were all local, of ill-repute and either old or the daughters of witches. Margaret Waite was described as 'a widow that some years ago came to dwell in these parts, with a husband; who brought with them an evil report for witchcraft and theft.'²⁵ Her husband was

²¹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 35; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy Of Melancholy What It Is. With All The Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, And Seuerall Cures Of It*, p. 289.

²² The girls did not meet until February 1622. See William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 77.

²³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 37.

²⁴ Other cases, for instance those of Thomas Darling and the witches of Warboys, also mentioned an initial diagnosis of natural causes.

²⁵ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 32.

executed for theft and her daughter was reputed for ‘impudency and lewd behaviour.’²⁶ Jennit Dibble was ‘reputed a witch for many years’ and Margaret Fletcher was ‘a woman notoriously famed for a witch.’²⁷ Their repute came before recollection of their misdemeanours. The family discussed a list of known witches, finally coming to the name of Margaret Waite. It was only then that they remembered her giving Helen a penny for her corn, desiring her to keep hold of it. Helen’s behaviour is documented in detail and in many respects similar to that told in other contemporary accounts, especially in the close attention paid to the writhing of the adolescent female body. The torment of the girls continued beyond the unsuccessful trial of the witches at the York assizes, when the girls again fell into trances, and lasted until 1623, when the narrative broke off. The Fairfax girls appeared to be on the road to recovery, though how the case affected their later lives we cannot know.

Fairfax’s narrative occupies a place in the established literature of witchcraft that combined oral, manuscript and printed cultures. It stood alongside the famous account of the Lancashire witches described by Thomas Potts in his *The Wonderfull discoverie of witches in the countie of Lancaster*.²⁸ Indeed, Fairfax referred to this account, noting of his neighbour Henry Robinson, whose wife was afflicted for a time by these witches that ‘for besides the trouble of this wife, he had a former wife bewitched to death by the witches of Lancashire, as in the book made of those witches and their actions and executions you may read.’²⁹ Such stories of local witchcraft had long afterlives. Fairfax referred to the case of Mary Pannell who was executed at Ledston in 1603 for witchcraft and was ‘(not yet forgot)’.³⁰ Such was Mary Pannell’s reputation that Helen, in her trance of 25 January 1622, recalled that she came

²⁶ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 33.

²⁷ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 34.

²⁸ Thomas Potts, *The Wonderfull discoverie of witches in the countie of Lancaster* (London, 1613).

²⁹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 93.

³⁰ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 98.

from York to see her, offering her some ‘great rasins’ that Helen managed to refuse.³¹ That news was circulating in the case, by book or other means, is further strengthened by reference in Helen’s visions to the presumed possession of John Winn of Leeds.³²

The *Daemonologia* was not a diary but a manuscript that was circulated and intended to be read. Its very opening is enough to convince that there was a persuasive purpose behind it:

I present thee, Christian reader, a narrative of witchcraft, of which I am a woeful witness, and so can best report it. Read this without vindicating passion, and in reading let thy discretion precede thy judgment. I have set down the actions and accidents truly; observe them seriously; with learning, if you be furnished that way; if not, with reason and religion; the enquiry will afford thee matter enough to assure the wise physician that there is more than natural disease.³³

The reader is addressed throughout the narrative, which is told from Fairfax’s point of view. The narrative was placed behind a veil of empirical certainty and presented conventionally as prised from the author rather than pushed for publication. Most probably written after the event, it was based on carefully dated and detailed notes. Fairfax aimed to convince his readers of this with subtlety, privileging the written note as a source untainted with court defeat. The notes are mentioned in the narrative and one of the witches returns late in the narrative to collect his ‘fond papers’.³⁴ That the audience was real as well as perceived, we may assume from the survival of three contemporary copies of the manuscript.³⁵ Given that Fairfax was unsuccessful in his prosecution, we

³¹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, pp. 64-5.

³² William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 41.

³³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p 31.

³⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 144.

³⁵ Two are in the British Library. BL, Additional MS 32495 (Discourse of Witchcraft, by Edward Fairfax of Fewston) and 32496 (‘A discourse of witchcraft as it was acted

should surmise that the manuscript was written to persuade learned northern friends that his daughters were not frauds; the judge at the assizes thought Maud Jeffray counterfeited but that the Fairfax girls did not. In these circumstances, manuscript was the preferred form of publication as it restricted his audience, and it was perhaps unwise to press the issue of the veracity of the possessions into the printed public sphere.

In 1619, two years before the case, Fairfax and his family had moved to live in Fewston, in the forest of Knaresborough, not so very far from Leeds.³⁶ The forest of Knaresborough was a rural area of Yorkshire where the cult of St Robert still held sway and where there is little evidence of Protestantism making any impact before 1600. Fairfax himself wrote that ‘So little is the truth of the Christian religion known in these wild places and among this rude people.’³⁷ The suggestion was that the inhabitants practised some traditional religion or, even worse, witchcraft. Fairfax presented the area as one ‘in which dwell many suspected for witches, so that the inhabitants complain much of great losses sustained in their goods.’³⁸ At Fewston, Fairfax spent his days educating his own children and those of his brother, Thomas. Edward’s son, William (who we will meet later), translated the lives of the philosophers out of Greek into English. Brian Fairfax wrote that Edward’s house at Newhall was ‘famed for hospitality, and his estate flourishing’ by the time of his death in

in the family of Mr Edward Fairfax of Fuystone’). A third was sold at Sotheby’s in the sale of ‘The Fairfax Library and Archive’ on 14 December 1993. I am grateful to Marion Sutcliffe of Sotheby’s for this information.

³⁶ Accusations of witchcraft by those new in town were common, for instance in the case of the witches of Warboys. Edward Fairfax’s anxiety may have sprung from the popular idea that the devil could not harm those who lived in good neighbourhood, making their move the impetus. For an interesting commentary on the contested community dynamic, see Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun* trans. Michael B. Smith with a foreword by Stephen Greenblatt (Chicago and London, 1996).

³⁷ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 35.

³⁸ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 35.

1635.³⁹ Interestingly, the case did not prove the ruin of Fairfax and a second edition of *La Gerusalemme liberata* appeared in 1624.⁴⁰

Certainly there is scope for seeing the case shaped by a clash of cultures, along the model of dual organization.⁴¹ Local people divided along religious lines, into the godly and their enemies. In Fewston, the divides were complicated by Fairfax's recent move into the area and because Nicholas Smithson, vicar of Fewston (1591-1632) was, according to Fairfax, tolerant of the witches and 'great friends to the woman' (Margaret Waite).⁴² Others that were on the side of the women (though not of witches *per se*) included Henry Graver, a neighbour of some standing, who had visited the Fairfax household. Their support for the real locals, as opposed to the newcomers, can be seen in the petition they made of the women's good characters, which Fairfax thought was crucial in persuading the godly jury of their innocence.⁴³ On Fairfax's side were the godly, including those who gave evidence at the trial and those who visited the house 'in charity.' They included a local JP who tested the women with the Lords Prayer after Church, the lawyer Mr Thomas Proctor and Francis Pullein. Outsiders were important to this case and Fairfax let his brother and John Williams, a friend from London, visit the house and witness the possessions. The picture of the women themselves being against god was reinforced by those such as Waite who had not been to church for two years.⁴⁴ It is of course possible that there were more divisions than is suggested by the

³⁹ John Nichols (ed.), *The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury D.D.* (5 vols, London, 1783-1790), vol. 3, p. 263.

⁴⁰ Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Boulogne: or The recouerie of Jerusalem*, trans. Edward Fairfax (London, 1624).

⁴¹ For the model, see Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology 1* trans. C. Jacobson and B. D. Schoepf.

⁴² William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 58.

⁴³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 127.

⁴⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 73. For Proctor, see above, p. 175. The intersections between this case and the religious politics of Leeds can be further seen in the appearance of Martin Laycock (Helen's uncle and one of Cooke's confederates) in the visions of Helen Fairfax. See, William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 45.

binary model. Indeed, Fairfax was keen to brush over those who did not fit into his godly-against-ungodly picture. Henry Robinson, whose wife had been troubled by the witches, was nevertheless ‘a great favourer of these women questioned.’ Fairfax, therefore, refused to say much about him, other than that he was well-to-do and his wife was ‘a very good and honest woman’, but let slip that ‘at this time there is some unkindness and questions of law betwixt us.’⁴⁵ In addition, Mr Jeffray, the father of one of the possessed girls, who also tried to prosecute the witches, was said to have used wisemen. The magical presence cut across the confessional divide. Fairfax noted that wisemen, recourse to whom he rejected, were often consulted, even ‘by the best of my neighbours, and thereby they have found help, as they reported.’⁴⁶

We should not conclude simply that ‘magic’ was commonplace in the forest of Knaresborough, for it had a complex and contested religious organisation in the early Stuart period. Much of it lay within the diocese of Chester at a considerable distance from ecclesiastical authority. Further complexity concerns the wells of the area, the waters of which were said to have had healing properties.⁴⁷ Maud Jeffray intended to go to St Mungo’s well on 30 June 1622 but was stopped from going so she could take the peaches prescribed by the wiseman her family had consulted.⁴⁸ Edmund Deane, describing the local springs of Saint Magnus and Saint Roberts in 1626, wrote that the Knaresborough wells were very popular, especially with the sick, though he feared that the visits were underpinned rather by ‘our overmuch English credulity.’⁴⁹ As we will see in Chapter 4, he wrote with the purpose of appropriating the wells, especially the English Spaw, for the Protestant cause and making them a tourist attraction. Those who visited may or may not have

⁴⁵ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, pp. 93-94.

⁴⁶ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ For a fuller discussion of the wells and the propaganda effort surrounding them, see below, pp. 277-286.

⁴⁸ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 121.

⁴⁹ Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica. Or, the English spaw-fontaine*, p. 3.

shared his Protestant leanings. Interestingly, however, a printed account which described those who had been convinced of the properties of the waters was written by John Taylor, the Water Poet. He described how another member of the Fairfax family, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, who took notice of the waters after hearing of the cure of a man with a swollen leg in the spring of 1629.⁵⁰

So there is something in these parts about the building of Protestant culture on the remnants of Catholicism and ‘magical’ culture, resulting in a curious amalgam. If the prominence of the sabbat and so-called ‘continental’ ideas appear out of keeping with other cases of witchcraft in England, we should remember that Knaresborough was as close to Edinburgh as it was to London and that such demonological influences were just as likely to have arrived on a cool northerly wind of Scottish gossip as on that from the English and continental presses in the south.⁵¹

The impact of Fairfax’s narrative is difficult to gauge. Despite the popularity of Fairfax’s poetry, the *Daemonologia* went largely unnoticed.⁵² It was, however,

⁵⁰ John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica, = the English spaw, or, The glory of Knaresborough springing from severall famous fountains there adjacent, called the vitrioll, sulphurous, and dropping wells; and also other minerall waters. Their nature, physicall use, situation, and many admirable cures being exactly exprest in the subsequent treatise of the learned Dr. Dean, and the sedulous observations of the ingenious Michael Stanhope Esquire. Wherein it is proved by reason and experience, that the vitrioline fountain is equall (and not inferiour) to the Germane spaw.* (York, 1649), p. 37.

⁵¹ The differences between English and continental witchcraft have been overdrawn. For the strongest statement of this point, see James Sharpe, ‘In Search of the English Sabbat: popular conceptions of witches’ meetings in Early Modern England’, Inaugural Lecture given at the University of York, 8 March 2002.

⁵² *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, however, was always popular. It was ‘commended by the best judges and wits’ of the Elizabethan age. It was held by James I ‘above all’ and read by Charles I during his imprisonment. After the Restoration it continued to be popular and was commended by the notoriously fickle Dr Johnson in his life of Waller. See the letter from Brian Fairfax to Francis Atterbury, March 12 1704/5, printed in John Nichols (ed.), *The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury D.D.*, vol. 3, p. 258.

read by Ralph Thoresby with great interest in 1692⁵³ and appeared in Francis Hutchinson's history of witchcraft in 1718. Hutchinson, who wrote to counter those who upheld the reality of witchcraft after the Restoration, described the manuscript as Fairfax's 'vindication of his own proceeding', adding that the accused were acquitted because of their sober behaviour.⁵⁴ Subsequent mentions were rare, though William Collins (1721-59), alluded to it when writing:

How I have sate while piped the pensive wind,
To hear thy harp, by British Fairfax strung;
Prevailing poet, whose undoubting mind
Believed the magic wonders which he sung.

Sir Walter Scott described it as one of the 'most remarkable' of witchcraft cases, but did not then say much about it.⁵⁵ Later in the nineteenth century, when 'anyone in England who read, read Tasso'⁵⁶ and with the rise of 'roundhead reputations', the *Daemonologia* was printed, first in 1858-9 and then by William Grainge in 1882.⁵⁷ It was subsequently forgotten and only recently considered in detail by James Sharpe.⁵⁸ Despite this, there is much more to be gained from a detailed reading of the text and its contexts,

⁵³ See, James Sharpe *Witchcraft in Seventeenth-century Yorkshire: Accusations and Counter-measures*, Borthwick Papers, 81 (York, 1992), p. 22.

⁵⁴ Francis Hutchinson, *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (London, 1718), p. 36.

⁵⁵ Collins's poem and Scott's account are printed in Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (London, 1831), pp. 240-241.

⁵⁶ Colin Burrow, 'I Don't Know Whats' review of *Jerusalem Delivered* trans. A. Esolen, in *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 23 (22 Feb 2001), p. 12.

⁵⁷ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*. Also E. Fairfax, *A Discourse of Witchcraft*, *Miscellanies of the Philobiblion Society*, 5 (1858-9). For reputations into the nineteenth century, see Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: the English Civil War and the passions of posterity* (London, 2001).

⁵⁸ See, James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England 1550-1750* (London, 1996) and James Sharpe *Witchcraft in Seventeenth-century Yorkshire: Accusations and Counter-measures*.

especially in the information it provides to join the history of the book with that of witchcraft.

II.

Books clearly occupied an important place in the cultures in which possessions occurred. In the early days of Helen Fairfax's possession, she described her torment at the hands of a man, disguised as her cousin Ferdinando, who at first offered to make her Queen of England. The man then gave her what she needed to take her own life and Helen called for her preacher, Alexander Cooke, the godly vicar of Leeds. Still in her possession, she told Cooke of her ordeal and (wrote Edward Fairfax):

Mr Cooke took a parchment book from under his arm, and began to read prayers, and bid her not be afraid, but put her trust in God. (At that instant my son took the bible and read in the Psalms). And she said, "Hark! Mr Cooke readeth." At which instant the tempter went away and left her ...⁵⁹

The similarity between this account and that of the first possession at Loudun might convince us that there is indeed a paradigm worth exploring. At Loudun, one of the spirits 'appeared, from one o'clock till four, to sister Marthe, in the form of a man of the Church.....holding in his hand a book covered with white parchment.'⁶⁰ Indeed, as John Cotta explained in 1616, 'Whosoever is acquainted with books and reading, shall every where meet a world of the wonders of cures, by words, by lookes, by signes, by figures, by characters, and ceremonious rites.'⁶¹ As if to confirm the reality of the association, the metaphorical usage provides some linguistic glue; Pierre Le Loyer described

⁵⁹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 39.

⁶⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*, p. 15.

⁶¹ John Cotta, *The Triall of Witch-craft, Showing The True And Right Methode of the Discovery: with A Confutation of erroneous wayes*, p. 58.

the dreams of the possessed as ‘books of the night’ and Hamlet, who it seems fair to call possessed, spoke of ‘the book and volume of my brain.’⁶²

Books, especially the Bible, had a sacramental presence in the Fairfax household. Their bible was a large folio edition, bound with Psalms, fetched from a safe place to be used by the family together in their communal space. The Bible remained inside, brought out to read almost every day. That it was read, often with a candle in the evenings, might suggest more bibliocentricity than sacramental usage but the repetitious reading of passages certainly suggests some attachment to the physical object.

Beyond the Fairfax household, many others used the Bible and other books as physical objects to ward off devils among other things. There is, however, some slippage between use as an object and as a text. The bible was considered a sacred object.⁶³ Many thought that ‘a bible in the house would keep the devil out’, as the rector of Finningham, Suffolk told his parishioners on the eve of the Civil War.⁶⁴ Some thought the physical text of St John’s gospel had magical properties, though others said such an attachment was itself demonic.⁶⁵ George Gifford told of a peasant, troubled by a fairy, who wore a text of St John close against her chest. It could be used to cure the sick, wrote St Augustine, when it was laid on the heads of those suffering with fever. In Nottingham, copies of St John’s Gospel were sold by a sorcerer called Groves in the seventeenth century as a preservative against witchcraft.⁶⁶ Such an

⁶² William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, ed. John Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1934), I. v. 104.

⁶³ R. W. Scribner ‘The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the “Disenchantment of the World”’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23 (1993), p. 484.

⁶⁴ A. G. Matthews (ed.), *Walker revised. being a revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60* (Oxford, 1948), p. 339.

⁶⁵ For a Jesuit objector, see P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed.), *Martin Del Rio: Investigations Into Magic* (Manchester, 2000), p. 141. Del Rio wrote that wearing such a text such was a ‘vain observance’ especially when it was believed ‘that the writings or relics must be kept in a triangular or round container’.

⁶⁶ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 221. The opening verses of St John were thought to be particularly effective.

attachment was a survival from pre-Reformation belief, when such sacred words were commonly worn on the body. Non biblical texts worn close to the body were not so common, though there is an Irish case of the word 'ABRACADBRA' being worn around the neck to cure ague.⁶⁷ Furthermore, some books were magical when placed on the stomach of women having problems in childbirth, as the legend of Santa Margherita was used in Italy.⁶⁸ Certainly the book could be used providentially. Civil War soldiers told of being saved when bullets hit their bibles which they had placed in breast pockets.⁶⁹ Irish soldiers wore talismans to protect them at the battle of Drogheda.⁷⁰ These books were durable, even incombustible in some cases.⁷¹ That none of this was new should be stressed. Ancient athletes wore strips of cloth inscribed with magical words around their necks and Romans placed inscribed amulets around the necks of children to ward off the effects of the evil eye.⁷²

Books could be used as weapons against the devil, though not always successfully. In the Fairfax case, the Bible was used as an object to drive away the witches' familiars. Helen Fairfax, bewitched while knitting, was cured when her father placed the Bible on her knee, blocking her vision of the knitting which bewitched her. Later in the narrative, when the children had learnt what use they could put the Bible to, young Elizabeth ended her torment by picking up the Bible to drive away the spirits.⁷³ Alexander Cooke banished

⁶⁷ Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), p. 120.

⁶⁸ Peter Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 122

⁶⁹ David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England', p. 99.

⁷⁰ Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland*, p. 119

⁷¹ R. W. Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther', *Past and Present*, 110 (1986), 38-68.

⁷² P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed.), *Martin Del Rio: Investigations Into Magic*, p. 58.

⁷³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 139.

the devil from Helen Fairfax with a white parchment book tucked under his arm. In 1609 at the recusant household of Sir John Yorke in nearby Nidderdale, the bible was used as a weapon. Sir John, as a dutiful Catholic, played host to travelling players who, between performances of *Pericles* and *King Lear*, staged a Saint Christopher play which ended with a dispute between a Protestant minister and a Catholic priest. The Protestant held his prayer book as his only tool but the priest was unconvinced and the devil took the minister down to hell, to the great delight of the partisan audience.⁷⁴

The Bible could also be used in trial-by-ordeal. Sir Walter Scott related the case of an old woman from Oakly near Bedford who was accused of witchcraft in 1707. Having survived a ducking

one of the mob themselves at length suggested the additional experiment of weighing the witch against the Church Bible...[using the] argument, that the scripture, being the work of God himself, must outweigh necessarily all the operations or vassals of the devil.⁷⁵

She survived.

Books were often thrown in possession cases. Indeed the very phrase ‘to throw the book at’ may have connections with the demonic as it suggests the throwing of an imaginary book listing crimes and their punishments.⁷⁶ In possession cases the book was thrown with some vigour, often at the prompting of one’s tempter. In the case of Katherine Malpas the younger of

⁷⁴ PRO STAC 8/19/10, fo. 17. See above, pp. 185-188. Dr Johnson was said to have used his Greek Bible to knock down a bookseller, cited in David Cressy, ‘Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England’, p. 94.

⁷⁵ Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, pp. 262-263.

⁷⁶ See Adrian Room (ed.), *Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase & Fable* (London, 2001 edn.), p. 1177.

Upton, West Ham, whose family were tried in the Star Chamber in December 1621 on charges of counterfeiting possession (and making a profit from it), Article 15 of the charges read:

did you or any other and whoe by name persuade and direct the said Katherine Malpas the younger that if any Bible prayer book or other godlye or devout booke were offered unto her to read, she should flynge the same away from her, what moved you or such other person soe to persuade and direct her, was is not that the people which saw it might conceive and thinke that she was possessed with an evil spirit and that the devil would not let her read ...⁷⁷

Such behaviour was a common sign of possession by 1621. Others confirmed the pattern. The possessed Joyce Dovey threw a Bible into the fire in her fits in 1647. The possessed were at the mercy of demons who could not stand the holy book, whether open or closed, read or not. In many cases the offering of a prayer book to a demoniac aggravated the fits, as it did in the 1621 case of Edward Dinham.⁷⁸ Some caution should be held in such instances, as the metaphorical throwing of books was common. John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, wrote to Heinrich Bullinger in 1574 of the case of a boy who had been troubled by the devil but who confronted him, being 'well versed in the scriptures, which, steadfast in his faith, he boldly hurled forth against the enemy.' He probably did not mean it literally.⁷⁹

Foremost among the physical uses of books was the ancient tradition of dropping a sacred text and interpreting the passage at which the book fell open

⁷⁷ PRO STAC 8/32/13, List of Articles (Attorney-General v. Saunders, Malpas and Godfrey). On the Malpas case, see C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft in the Star Chamber* (n.p., 1938) and Richard Raiswell, 'Faking It: A Case of Counterfeit Possession in the Reign of James I', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 23 (1999), 29-48.

⁷⁸ For Dovey and Dinham, see Darren Oldridge, *The Devil In Early Modern England*, p. 116.

⁷⁹ See, R. A. Houlbrooke (ed.), *The Letter Book of John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich Compiled During the years 1571-5*, Norfolk Record Society Publications, 43 (Norwich, 1975), p. 86.

in a providential manner. This had been the case for centuries as people dropped copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to seek help in their lives. Ever one to look to traditional remedies, Charles I is said to have examined his own future with a copy of the *Aenied*.⁸⁰ In early modern Europe, the book most commonly used was the Bible and often it was dropped with a key in it, which, when it fell, would point to the exact words appropriate to the dropper. Though something of an inexact science, this was a popular tradition and was not in practice discarded by Protestants. Edward Fairfax adapted this tradition in his narrative. During a possession on 26 January 1622, the familiar of one of the witches caused Helen to put aside her Bible. William, Edward's son, went over and read 'by chance' Psalm 140 verse 8 causing the cat, who could not endure the words, to leave and Helen to recover her senses.⁸¹ The practice cut across confessional divides, though some, such as Cotton Mather and William Perkins, thought the practice itself demonic, presumably linking it to the great ability of the Devil to predict worldly events.⁸² Presbyterians in County Antrim in the late seventeenth century continued to use the Bible with key for prognostications.⁸³ Such rituals with the Bible, including 'dipping' at new year continued well beyond the Enlightenment. By extension, even the ashes of a bible could tell you things. Joseph Glanvill wrote of a witch who scorched one Mompesson's room without fire:

... the old gentlewoman's Bible was found in the ashes, the paper being downwards, Mr Mompesson took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third chapter of St Mark, where there is mention of the unclean

⁸⁰ Cited in David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England', p. 99.

⁸¹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 65.

⁸² Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world* (Boston, 1693), reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World* (New York, 1991), p. 154. William Perkins, in his *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1608), p. 107 argued that 'the diving lot performed by the opening of a booke...cannot be done without confederacy with Satan.'

⁸³ Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland*, p. 74.

spirits falling down before our saviour.....The next night they strewed ashes over the chamber, to see what impressions it would leave. In the morning they found in one place the resemblance of a great claw.⁸⁴

Bibles showed people what to believe.

Connected to this was the use of books, most often Bibles, to detect thieves or treasure. The change in such usage helps to illustrate the shift from the witch using the book to the book being used against the witch. The archiepiscopal register of York for 1510 records that a group, which included a former mayor of Halifax and a local cleric, used a magic book to conjure up a demon called Oberion in their search for some treasure guarded by another demon.⁸⁵ A sixteenth century Gloucestershire vicar was suspended for using a book of magic to detect a thief.⁸⁶ The reversal was never total but there is some impression that, in the century after Reformation, it became more common for the printed word to be used to detect thieves, while witches and treasure-hunters relied on the newly mystified manuscript.⁸⁷ The picture in the north of England is, however, not easily classified. John Vaux, curate of St Helen's, Auckland and famed for his Almanacs and horseracing tips was prosecuted by the High Commission in 1633 over allegations that he used almanacs to help find lost property; he sold his almanacs on the communion table and charged up to 5s for finding stolen goods.⁸⁸ However popular these uses of books were,

⁸⁴ Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (London, 1689) p. 321.

⁸⁵ George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in old and new England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 208.

⁸⁶ Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and mentalities in early modern England*, p. 56

⁸⁷ The mention of the manuscript in the culture of print was self-consciously illicit. See Bodin's insistence on the magician's use of virgin parchment in the finding of treasures, Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches* trans. Reany A. Scott (Toronto, 1995), p. 66.

⁸⁸ Peter Rushton, 'Women, Witchcraft, And Slander In Early Modern England: Cases From The Church Courts Of Durham, 1560-1675', *Northern History*, 18 (1982), p. 121. On the activities of Vaux, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 356, 370, 382, 454.

the demonologists were again in no doubt that they were proof of complicity with the Devil. Del Rio condemned finding thieves by using sequences of psalms, litany and prayer.⁸⁹ Of course, this model could be reversed, commonly in the use of the Lords Prayer to detect thieves and witches. Such a use occurred in the Fairfax case when a local JP suggested the test and used it against Margaret Thorpe, who could not say ‘forgive us our trespasses.’⁹⁰

As well as the physical aversion to the book, which often caused it to be hurled, demoniacs were adept at tearing up the pages of books in their fits. In 1574, in his brief and often forgotten career as an exorcist, John Foxe attempted the dispossession of Robert Brigges, a law student at the Middle Temple. The Devil, having tempted Brigges to murder William Cecil, threatened to rip Brigges apart if he refused to tear up a (puritan) sermon. Brigges, his possession showing signs of his excellent godly upbringing, replied:

Wilt thou indeed, will thou tear me if I will not tear that sermon which is the godliest sermon that was ever made. Tear me if thou canst....but I will never tear that sermon.

The polemical value of this for the godly is clear enough, but it is interesting that the Devil was averse to the printed (godly) word and wanted it torn up. For the godly, the sermon had something of the value that the bible had to the more moderate.⁹¹ In another godly case of adolescent possession, this time of Thomas Harrison, ‘the boy of Northwich’, from Cheshire, a case in which the bishop gave permission for a godly exorcism, the devil could not bear the book. William Hinde, retelling the story in 1641 noted that:

⁸⁹ P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed.), *Martin Del Rio: Investigations Into Magic*, pp. 159-160.

⁹⁰ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 88.

⁹¹ On the Brigges case, see Kathleen R. Sands ‘John Foxe: exorcist’, *History Today*, 51 (2001), 37-43.

If one came neare him with a Bible though under his cloak, and never so secret, yet he would run upon him, and ramp upon him, with great violence, to have gotten it from him, and to rend it in peeces, as he did divers, when he could come unto them ...⁹²

Francis Bacon, though he did not mean to be taken literally, advised ‘Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.’⁹³ Books were sometimes eaten or kissed in possession cases. Helen Fairfax, explaining why on one occasion she did not read to repulse the devil, said that Wait had told her that her familiar would eat any pages of the Bible from which she read. Certainly it was too sacred an object for Helen to allow this. Others, however, saw the ingestion of the pages of the Bible as a more direct pathway to God. Even in nineteenth-century Hampshire, a woman is said to have eaten pages of the New Testament between slices of bread and butter to relieve fits.⁹⁴ By extension, magicians kissed their books and magical papers.⁹⁵ Seventeenth-century court proceedings mention that oaths were sworn by kissing the bible, on which hands were laid. This represented for Protestants the symbolic ingestion of the Word, signifying orthodoxy and providing shelter from the devil.⁹⁶ Such religious attraction to books was common; indeed there are some suggestions that people tried to baptise books, perhaps to give them

⁹² William Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford in the County of Cheshire, Esquire* (London, 1641), p. 150.

⁹³ Brian Vickers (ed.), *The Oxford Authors: Francis Bacon*, p. 439.

⁹⁴ David Cressy, ‘Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England’, p. 99.

⁹⁵ Barbara Rosen, *Witchcraft in England, 1558-1618* (Amherst, 1991), p. 199.

⁹⁶ See, John Spurr, ‘A profane history of early modern oaths’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 11 (2001), 37-63.

enhanced religious properties rather than to cleanse them of errors (or original sin).⁹⁷

Books were also given as gifts to help afflicted families in times of crisis, in a long-standing tradition of charity. The issue of 'books as gifts' has been the subject of a number of innovative studies, but none consider their role in a thick description of witchcraft narratives or the gift at times of spiritual crisis.⁹⁸ This is despite the large number of cases in which books appear as gifts and the ramifications for the charity nexus into which cases of witchcraft are often placed.⁹⁹ Gifts of knowledge, which was not meant to be sold, remain to be considered alongside the changes in charity and in the status of print. The book as gift may have been the appropriate remedy to the witch who was 'out of charity', and fit into Stuart Clark's argument that witchcraft was an inverted model of godly society.¹⁰⁰

In his narrative, Edward Fairfax bemoaned the access to suitable books in the area. When he first confronted the strange behaviour of his daughters, he noted that 'some books were lent to me in physic, but they did not describe their agonies as I thought.'¹⁰¹ Later, wanting to learn about the possibility of physical transformation, he commented 'books from which I might borrow any

⁹⁷ For advice not to baptize books, see, P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed.), *Martin Del Rio: Investigations Into Magic*, p. 155.

⁹⁸ The classic study is Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* trans. W. D. Halls with a foreword by Mary Douglas (London, 2002 edn.). Interesting modern examinations are Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 33, (1983), 69-88 and her *The gift in sixteenth-century France*. For an alternative model, see Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift*.

⁹⁹ Davis did not attempt to apply her thesis to subjects outside the traditional historical zone. For the criticism, see Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Stuart Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', *Past and Present*, 87 (1980), 98-127.

¹⁰¹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 36.

help are (in this wilderness), as rare as civility is, or learning itself.¹⁰² By implication he associated the lack of learning with the extent of witchcraft and the lack of books with his inability to act. Elsewhere in the narrative, the Bible was offered to Thorpe. As a witch and out of charity she could neither accept a gift nor take the holy book and was driven out of the house and across the river.¹⁰³ Perhaps this illustrates the ‘confrontational gift.’

Other English cases shed some light on this. Demonologists, such as Henry Holland, advised circulating their works. He wrote, ‘Accept what I have written (good reader) or of thy curtesie give it free passage unto others.’¹⁰⁴ In the case of John Darrell, the puritan exorcist who exorcised Thomas Darling, the boy of Burton, in 1596, seven girls in Lancashire in 1597 and William Somers in 1598, appropriating popular conceptions of the devil for the puritans, the book was given to strengthen godly alliances.¹⁰⁵ In the case of Anne Gunter, the Berkshire girl who simulated possession in 1604, the account of the witches of Warboys was brought to Anne’s father, Brian Gunter. In addition, they received ‘Darrell’s book’, one of the dozen or so publications surrounding the godly exorcist John Darrell and a book detailing possession at Denham, presumably Samuel Harsnett’s *A Discovery of the fraudulent Practises of John Darrell* (London, 1599).¹⁰⁶ Anne said that her father read these books so that she could simulate possession convincingly. As we assume

¹⁰² William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 36. Few northern collections had extensive demonological sections. The library catalogue of Earl George Clifford, which was made on their discovery in 1739, contained several alchemical manuscripts, and printed versions of John Darrell’s *A true narration of the strange and grevous vexation by the Devil, of 7 persons in Lancashire* (n.p., 1600) and George More’s *A true discourse concerning the possession ... of 7 persons in one family in Lancashire* (Middelburg, 1600). See, Richard T Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590-1676)* (Stroud, 1997). Tobie Matthew owned several demonological works as did Edward Fairfax’s nephew Ferdinando. Ferdinando Fairfax, for instance, owned works by Weyer, Canisius and Cardano. For the demonological books at the Foster bookshop in York, see above, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Henry Holland, *A Treatise Against Witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1590), sig. B1v.

¹⁰⁵ See below, n. 187.

¹⁰⁶ See Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter*, p. 62 and PRO STAC 8/4/10, fos. 88, 100, 122 (Attorney-General v. Gunter).

that those who lent their books or who gave them as gifts were not aware of the frauds, these cases, counterfeit or not, fit into a picture of charitable relations. The book was given out of good will to counter the witch who was out of charity with her neighbours.

III.

Before considering the importance of the texts themselves, it is worth noting how important the process of writing was both in compiling evidence against witches and warding them off and in the experience of witches themselves. Note-taking was mentioned explicitly both in narratives and in legal materials, though often this was a literary convention to persuade the reader of the truth in the tale. Edward Fairfax was at pains to convince his readers that he had written notes at the time of the possessions, perhaps to chart his childrens' illnesses, and that he had written up the narrative from these after the trial. If he is to be believed, the narrative was not tainted with the bitterness of court defeat. But there is a little more to it than this. The very written word angered the witches, as if they saw it as evidence against them. Helen was asked in her vision of 20 March 1622 to steal the papers on which Edward Fairfax had written down what he had been told by Henry Graver and Thomas Forrest, namely that Forrest said he had been assaulted by the cats of Waite and that Graver himself had hired Waite to do some bewitching for him.¹⁰⁷ Later, with the girls on their way to recovery, Thorpe came into the Fairfax kitchen and demanded that William look in the trunk. Asked which one, she replied ' "The trunk in which they lay their fond papers" (meaning the notes of these accidents about the witches).' She was, however, thwarted by repetitive Bible reading.¹⁰⁸

Notes were often taken to record the symptoms of illnesses, but in cases of witchcraft they added veracity to an accusation, especially at times of increasing scepticism. The level of detail (dates, times, numbers etc.) in John

¹⁰⁷ Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 91

¹⁰⁸ Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 144.

Swan's account of the Mary Glover case suggests it was taken from notes.¹⁰⁹ Brian Gunter compiled a notebook of Anne's torment, a technique he might have learnt from the printed account of the witches of Warboys.¹¹⁰ The pamphlet of this case stressed that it was compiled from notes taken by Gilbert Pickering and Robert Throckmorton during the affair. The immediacy with which the notes became a narrative was also considered important and Throckmorton, whose account was detailed and carefully dated, insisted that it was transformed from notes to text out of 'present memory' and 'upon the sudden.'¹¹¹ In other cases, the process of note-taking was recorded at one remove. Samuel Harsnett, in refuting the claims of the godly, quoted a pamphlet in which Jesse Bee, a witness to the bewitching of Thomas Darling, referred to note-taking:

And when I was present my selfe at his fits, I tooke notes of his speeches and other thinges which happened, which notes (when I came home) I joined together, as my memory would serve me: alwaies studying rather to write them in better order, then the boy spake them, then in worse: & rather binding my selfe to the sence of the boyes words, then to the words themselves.

Harsnett, in trying to cast doubt upon 'the credit of this booke', showed how another person took notes of the case in shorthand before they were put together in a book edited by their minister, John Denison.¹¹² The existence of notes in such cases was not always simply the preservation of evidence to be presented in court but also suggestive that, in a world punctuated by the rhythm of providence, it was a duty of the godly to record celestial interventions in

¹⁰⁹ John Swan, *A True and Breife Report of Mary Glovers Vexation, and of Her Deliverance by Fastings and Prayer* (n.p., 1603), passim.

¹¹⁰ James Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter*, p. 8

¹¹¹ *The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys* (London, 1593), sig. F2v.

¹¹² Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel* (London, 1599), p. 266.

everyday life. Neither were notes politically neutral. A 1651 case detailing the fits and temptations of the preacher Richard Rothwell was recorded by Samuel Clark. Clark claimed ‘when the fit was over, he dictated, and I writ down.’ He continued,

I had a book written with his own hand, of the Temptations the Devil haunted him with afterwards, and the answers divers Godly and Reverend Ministers gave to those temptations: but the Cavaliers got them and all my books and writings.¹¹³

Here, it was not the witches that took the evidence but the Royalists, who were frequently associated (by their enemies) with the devil. Such cases show the importance of the written word in godly culture.

Written evidence was powerful and privileged in witch trials. In 1651 a petition with two hundred signatures attested to the good behaviour of Mary Hickington who was held in York castle for witchcraft. Edward Fairfax wrote that his case was foiled by a petition of witches’ good characters, which claimed that the women did not have reputations for witchcraft before this case. It was promoted by Henry Graver who

solicited and induced many persons to set their hands to the same [petition], upon advantage of which certificate such magistrates as are incredulous in these things work their deliverance.¹¹⁴

Hard written evidence, especially when testified to by neighbours, carried significant weight.¹¹⁵ Robin Briggs has suggested that numbers mattered when

¹¹³ Samuel Clarke, *A general martyrologie* (London, 1651), pp. 458, 461.

¹¹⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 127. For the 1651 petition, see, James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England 1550-1750* (London, 1996), p. 166.

it came to written evidence. He has described a Lorraine case in which a man accused of witchcraft was faced by thirty-six statements against him but the fact that he mustered thirty-seven in support of his character, including the legal master-stroke of making his accuser do so by subpoena, got him off.¹¹⁶

The process of writing was important in the experience of witches as well as in the evidence against them. Accounts of the demonic pact, relatively uncommon in English records, highlight this. Fairfax recorded that in one of Helen's visions, Thorpe described how she became a witch. A man came to her offering her money, which she refused, but he returned and

did overcome her in such sort that she gave him her body and soul, and he made her a lease back again of her life for forty years... The man did write their leases with their blood, and they likewise with their blood set their hands to them.

Thorpe then appeared (to Helen) with the lease the next day, having taken much effort to prise it from her master, revealing 'a large paper written with blood.'¹¹⁷ These so-called continental ideas were not absent elsewhere in England. On the stage, Marlowe's Faustus was encouraged to sign Mephostophilis's deed in his own blood 'For that security craves Lucifer.'¹¹⁸ An English audience would have known of the stereotype where the witch was asked to sign her name in blood in a book of the devil. A witch from Salisbury, Ann Bodenham, made new recruits sign their names in blood in the devil's book.¹¹⁹ This image of the devil as reformed by Protestants and enhanced by

¹¹⁵ For similar examples, see Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and mentalities in early modern England*, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ Robin Briggs, 'Witches, Courts and Communities in Lorraine, 1580-1640', Unpublished paper given at the University of Sheffield, 20 November 2000.

¹¹⁷ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, pp. 86-7.

¹¹⁸ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. J. D. Jump, V. 37.

¹¹⁹ *Dr Lamb's Darling: or Strange and Terrible News From Salisbury* (London, 1653), p. 5.

the godly was intrinsically associated with the book. William Hinde, describing the 'boy of Northwich', wrote:

There is no drunkard that doth drink one spooneful or drop of drink more than doth suffice nature, but the Devill doth pen it down in his book: well, it is a great book, and he doth keep it close untill the day of Judgement.¹²⁰

In New England the association of the godly with printed culture was even stronger. Cotton Mather made numerous references to the demonic pact, describing the 'Hellish rendezvous' where people were tempted, often with promises 'to sign the Devil's laws in a spectral Book laid before them.' In Mather's account of the trial of Susanna Martin at Salem in June 1692, one of the witnesses related how

there often came to him a Man, who presented him a Book, whereto he would have him set his hand; promising him, that he should then have even what he would... But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful Shapes, Noises and Screeches, which almost scared him out of his wits. Once with the Book, there was a pen offered him, and an Ink-horn with liquor in it, that seemed like blood: But he never toucht it.

In an interesting juxtaposition of the godly and bookish with the demonic and contractual cultures, Mather wrote that 'While others have laid their names in the Devil's Book; let our names be found in the Church Book, and let us be written among the living in Jerusalem.'¹²¹ European examples contain similar instructive material. The accounts of possession at Loudun contain examples of

¹²⁰ William Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford in the County of Cheshire, Esquire*, p. 153.

¹²¹ Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world*, reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 68, 84, 100, and 120.

the devil offering women papers to be signed with blood.¹²² David Sabean's chapter on Anna Catharina Weissenbutler, a thirteen-year-old witch from Germany contains a marvellous portrayal of the importance of writing to the witch. She was saved persecution by her ability to read, though her world was one of conflicting forces, torn as she was between the devil and godly society.¹²³

A fascinating glimpse of the importance of the world of books in possession cases can be seen when the possessed themselves read, neither fully aware nor ignorant of the value of the texts they read. Helen Fairfax read while possessed in a story that appeared to draw on the well-known story of the ancient bishop Synesius, later told in vivid detail by Meric Casaubon. Synesius held reading meetings where he began to read from a book, then closed his eyes only to continue reading (having grasped the style and content of the text). His audience believed that he could read with his eyes closed and sometimes his improvised performances did 'prove to be the very same that he found afterwards in the book.'¹²⁴ Helen Fairfax fell into a trance while reading the Bible, her brother William took over the reading while Helen followed it with her eyes closed;

At last her eyes were closed, and her brother William read in the book; she did hear, and groping for the candle took it out of the stick and held it to her brother with her hand, following his reading, moving the candle from side to side; yet her eyes were fast closed and she saw not at all.¹²⁵

¹²² Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*, p. 97.

¹²³ David Warren Sabean, *Power In The Blood: Popular culture and village discourse in early modern Germany*, pp. 94-112.

¹²⁴ Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise Concerning Enthusiasme* (London, 1655), pp. 160-161, cited in Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, p. 423.

¹²⁵ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 54.

Silent reading was as demonic as reading without sight. When Helen did so on 24 October 1622, it was taken as evidence of her possession and sent Edward Fairfax rushing for medical books, which provided no help. Clearly silent reading was not reading at all:

Helen took the Bible and did seem to read, but spake not that was perceived. Signs were made to her to speak up that we might hear her read. She understood the signs and said, "I do read very nigh for now I hear myself, which I did not to-day before", so she continued reading to herself, but spake not a word, and yet was persuaded that she spake very loud.¹²⁶

In other cases, Anne Gunter read a Biblical text in her sleep (which was obviously important in the appeal to godly divines). A witness said that while Anne was staying with Dr Holland, the rector of Exeter College, Oxford:

Dr John harding observed that in her fits she became blind yet she could write what purported to be confessions of the witches, but upon the light being extinguished she could not continue. He concluded that she counterfeited. She managed to read writing contained in folded papers, but the more doubtful observers thought she inspected it surreptitiously.¹²⁷

Anne's story is complicated, given the fraud, but it seems relevant that the physician Richard Haydock, who probably examined Anne while she stayed with Bishop Cotton of Salisbury, was in 1605 also brought to book for counterfeiting his own 'visions'. In these visions, he would see a biblical text,

¹²⁶ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 136. Silent reading was uncommon rather than entirely absent from life, if we are to believe Paul Saenger, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society,' *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367-414.

¹²⁷ Cecil L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft in the Star Chamber*, p. 31.

which he would then explain, criticising both the pope and the Church of England.¹²⁸

At other times and in other cases the demons got the better of situations and stopped the demoniacs from reading. It is at this stage that what they read was crucial. The importance of this was that it inverted the godly order and shows as much about how the cultures of the demonic household venerated reading as it does about the devil's abhorrence of it. In Fairfax's *Daemonologia*, Waite came to Helen in a trance, while the family read the Bible in the kitchen. The woman let her cat out of the bag (literally) to try to stop her from reading with the others.¹²⁹ Thorpe then told Elizabeth Fairfax, 'There are three in the house that are naught, for they read upon the book, that is thy father and thy two brethren.'¹³⁰ At the reading of Psalm 140 Jennit Dibble's talking familiar spirit was so annoyed that she told Helen 'Thy brother reads on the book, and makes a fool of himself.'¹³¹ In this respect, the Fairfax case is somewhat atypical as the readers got the better of the demons, even making the familiars read the Bible.

Other cases highlight the extent to which the demons did not like reading and what they did to stop it. The interventions ranged in their physicality. Anne Gunter, or the demon supposed to possess her, was upset at an impending prayer and thus kicked a lighted candle into the face of the young man who read it to her.¹³² As well as eyesight, the ability to hear the written word could be affected. In an Irish case of 1710, a curate attempting a dispossession using prayers was unsuccessful because the witch had bewitched the woman so she

¹²⁸ On Haydock, see Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter*, pp. 174-5.

¹²⁹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 54.

¹³⁰ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 145.

¹³¹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 79.

¹³² See Cecil L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft in the Star Chamber*, p. 30.

could not hear him.¹³³ The devil could also stop witches saying the Lords Prayer, as was tested in the Fairfax case, or from repenting by praying on the scaffold.¹³⁴ The devil was a strong opponent, even for the godly. By her own account, even if speaking figuratively, Lady Margaret Hoby was prevented from hearing the word by the devil in August 1599. She noted in her diary that ‘this day, as ever, the divell laboreth to hinder my profittable hearinge of the word.’¹³⁵ As we have seen, the rage of the devil could make demoniacs tear up books. Increase Mather thought the devil wanted to ‘make one huge bonfire of all the Bibles in the world.’ At Salem in New England, the devil persuaded Abigail Williams not to take the Bible which was offered to her. Instead she exclaimed, ‘“I wont, I wont, I wont take it, I do not know what Book it is, it is the Devil’s Book for ought I know.”’¹³⁶ It should not be forgotten that often there was also a polemical side to these printed accounts. William Perry, the Boy of Bilson, for instance, had a strong aversion to the names of Luther, Calvin and Foxe.¹³⁷

Reading to thwart the devil was one of the few practices recommended by demonologists. Bodin wrote that to prevent witchcraft;

each father must instruct his family to pray to God morning and evening, to bless and give thanks to God before and after meals, and to give at least one or two hours one day of the week to have the Bible read by the head of the family in the presence of the whole family.¹³⁸

¹³³ Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland*, p. 77.

¹³⁴ Richard Galis, *A brief treatise conteyning the most strange and horrible crueltye of Elizabeth Stile* (London, 1579), sig. D3v.

¹³⁵ Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, p. 10. Entry for 26 August 1599.

¹³⁶ Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world*, reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 148, 160-161.

¹³⁷ See, *The Boy of Bilson: or a true Discovery of the late notorious Impostures of certaine Romish Priests* (London, 1622), p. 27.

¹³⁸ Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, trans. Reany A. Scott, p. 147.

With regard to particular texts, Fairfax's *Daemonologia* is an excellent place to start as the family learnt to perfect their technique as time progressed. Perhaps they knew that the genuine demoniac was meant to respond to clerical rather than medical remedies. The bible was at the centre of their world. Elizabeth Fairfax was susceptible to danger because she did not read, though Fairfax was attempting to put this right; he wrote 'I am teaching my little daughter to read.'¹³⁹ The narrative offers a rare glimpse of how this was done. In a trance, Helen helped Elizabeth to learn: 'she read the 71st Psalm, and the child said after her verbatim.'¹⁴⁰ Reading aloud passages that were familiar orally, following the text with the finger (as so often depicted in the paintings of the period), Elizabeth identified the written word with the spoken and, given centre stage, began to move into the adult world.

Particular prayers and passages had great effect in warning off witches and their familiars. Especially effective were the Psalms which bound the household. When Helen recounted a vision of God saying the Lord's prayer, the family joined in the prayer then read some Psalms. William read from 140:8 ('Let not the ungodly have his desire O Lord; let not his mischievous imagination prosper, lest he be too proud') during Elizabeth's possession by a cat. This made the familiar leap upon the book but, held away, it could not bear the repeated reading of the Psalm:

At last by so often reading the psalm, and at those words and none other the contention was renewed betwixt the cat and her; in the end the cat departed, not able to endure the words any longer, whereupon she began to recover her senses by degrees.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 141.

¹⁴⁰ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 118.

¹⁴¹ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 65.

The reading of Psalm 71 by Elizabeth and Helen (noted above) and a subsequent offer of the book to the familiar drove it out of the house and over the river, significant perhaps both literally and theologically.¹⁴² Just three days later, the text was read again to help the sisters recover. Elizabeth learnt of the power of these texts. On 22 November 1622, she saw a familiar and said to it

“Art thou come? I care not for thee- turn into thy prettiest shape. I will take the book, and thou darest not abide that” So she took the bible, and turned to the 51st psalm, which her sister read, and the spirit thereupon went away...¹⁴³

Repetition of Psalms warned off witches; one said she would rather hang than read Psalms 70 and 71.¹⁴⁴

The use of the Psalms in this way was not peculiar to the Fairfax case. Martin Del Rio called such reading of Psalms ‘foolish and superstitious,’¹⁴⁵ but many were not deterred. Stuart Clark has described how the Psalms, especially 82, were among the recommended texts to counter witchcraft.¹⁴⁶ Cotton Mather noted the power of Psalms 110 and 149 to heal the bewitched.¹⁴⁷ Psalms were often read for protection, for instance against epidemics.¹⁴⁸ Richard Galis, describing his own troubles as a victim of witchcraft, wrote

¹⁴² William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 117.

¹⁴³ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 150.

¹⁴⁵ P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed.), *Martin Del Rio: Investigations Into Magic*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁶ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 415, 575.

¹⁴⁷ Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world*, reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 167.

¹⁴⁸ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 129.

I tooke my prayer booke wherin was contained aswel holsome and godly prayers as psalms, and with the brackish teares distilling from the fountaines of my eyes, I sometimes red therin, and sometimes againe singing Psalmes to the honor and glory of God which had vouchsafed of his meere mercie and godnes to strengthen me in this my afflictions.¹⁴⁹

The Psalms were also believed to assist souls in purgatory and they had magical properties. Singing them, as it was related in a medieval English sermon, over the body of a dead priest, caused the priest to get up and reply to them.¹⁵⁰

Particular sequences of biblical texts had great effect against demons. In the Fairfax case, the use of the Bible started out as response to witchcraft but changed into a means of attack. Initially it was used to calm Helen: Fairfax recalled ‘she could not be appeased till I took the Bible and read and prayed beside her, and so she shortly became quiet’. Later in her sickness, in June 1622, Helen pointed at John 11:4 urging the familiar to read it. The verse read ‘This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of god, that the son might be glorified thereby.’ Still unable to speak, Helen made the cat read John 8:44, ‘You are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him’. Edward Fairfax quoted the biblical passages in full to show their power and to explain Helen’s condition as silent rather than senseless. She clearly had her wits about her, turning the pages backwards as well as forwards to find appropriate texts. Fairfax built up the narrative tension, and ‘At the word “murderer” she pointed with her finger for the cat to see it, and nodded to her with her head.’ Next came Leviticus 20:6 as Helen put the pressure on:

¹⁴⁹ Richard Galis, *A brief treatise conteyning the most strange and horrible crueltie of Elizabeth Stile* (London, 1579), sig. A4v.

¹⁵⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), pp. 50, 142.

And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and cut him off from among his people.

Recovering her speech, Helen turned the pages and said ‘ “I will anger thee worse yet” ’ finding at last Exodus 22:18 that banished the cats and brought her to her senses. Exodus 22:18, ‘Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live’, was the ultimate sanction, the sting in the satanic tale. Helen read it aloud but could never turn to the passage again.¹⁵¹

Other parts of the Bible were also important in such cases. The words of St John’s gospel, as well as its physical text which has already been noted, had attractive qualities. In the case of the Throckmorton children;

it was said that if any should read the Bible or any other godly book before her, it would rage as before so long as they read; but because it was a thing very strange and therefore hardly believed, one did take a Bible and read the first chapter of Saint John, the first verse. At the hearing whereof she was as one besides her mind; when he that read held his peace she was quiet. When he read it again it tormented her; when he ceased, it ceased.¹⁵²

Furthermore, the Boy of Burton was read to from St John, as well as Revelation, the common weapon of the exorcist, in an attempt to cure his fits.¹⁵³ There are also examples of the effectiveness of Romans 13, 1 Samuel 28, Isaiah 49 and 50 and many parts of the book of Job.¹⁵⁴ Darrell’s sermon from St Mark’s gospel made William Somers, in his possession, foam at the

¹⁵¹ This paragraph is based on William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, pp. 119-122.

¹⁵² *The Most Strange and Admirable Discoverie of the Three Witches of Warboys* (London, 1593), sig. B3v.

¹⁵³ Cited in Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 415-417.

¹⁵⁴ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, use index for each biblical passage.

mouth.¹⁵⁵ Cotton Mather noted the importance of Revelation 5, St John and a particular case in which a woman was cured by the repetitive reading of passages from Isaiah, which were thought relevant to her own condition.¹⁵⁶ The Lord's Prayer could help as it did in the case of John Walsh who thought that saying the Lord's Prayer and Creed 'once a day ... in perfite charitie' would prevent the witch who had control of him from affecting him that day.¹⁵⁷ Often the language used was important in these ritual performances. At Loudun, it was the legitimacy of Latin that caused the devils to give up the truth to the exorcists.¹⁵⁸

Such texts were not used indiscriminately, unless they were dropped to seek the Lord's design. Caution was advised as the devil was said to make people read the Bible selectively.¹⁵⁹ Having made such a warning, Mather encouraged using the Bible, arguing that the devil would 'Tremble and Withdraw, if you show these Handwritings of the Lord.'¹⁶⁰

In some cases, especially among the godly, extempore prayers were said to have more effect than read ones. In the John Darrell case,

when a prayer was read out of a prayer booke, in the hearing of those that were possessed in Lancashire, they, the devils in them, were little moved with it: but afterwards when M. Darrell, & he (Moore), with one

¹⁵⁵ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 124.

¹⁵⁶ Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world*, reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 164-5.

¹⁵⁷ *The examination of John Walsh before Maister Thomas Williams, commissary to the Reuerend father in God William Bishop of Excester, vpon certayne interrogatories touchyng wytchcrafte* (London, 1566), sig. A8r.

¹⁵⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*, p. 124.

¹⁵⁹ Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world*, reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 156.

¹⁶⁰ Cotton Mather, *The wonders of the invisible world*, reprinted in *Cotton Mather On Witchcraft: The Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 159.

M. Dicons, did severally use such prayers, as for the present occasion they conceived: then (saith he) the parties, that is, the wicked spirits, were much more troubled ...¹⁶¹

This again showed the concern for such prayers among the godly, who also used the printed works of their fellow professors to ward off their demons. Darren Oldridge has suggested (rather ingeniously) that Lady Margaret Hoby read to dismiss her demons. Writing of her troubles ‘from the malice of my enemie’ she noted that she eased them by reading from Perkins and, to assist her, Mr Hoby then read to her from the work of Cartwright. The suggestion is that such works were used in this way because they were considered sacred.¹⁶²

Non-biblical works could also be used in other religious environments. In the Fairfax case, classics were prominent. Classical poetry signalled the ferocity of image magic. Fairfax quoted, often to demonstrate traditions, (in Latin) from Virgil’s Eclogues, from Horace, and twice from Theocritus. From Pliny he gained information about shapeshifting, making a point about its ancient standing. These ancient maxims had great contemporary relevance. It was, for instance, reported that the reading aloud of passages from Virgil could expel the demon from the possessed. Among the measures taken to test the veracity of the possession of Marthe Brossier in the late 1590s, which were admittedly numerous, was the reading of passages from Virgil.¹⁶³

IV.

It should be clear by now, and we have already covered much of the ground, that demoniacs learnt their behaviour from a series of sources, which included books. Edward Fairfax’s narrative does not initially appear to have much behaviour that is identifiable as learnt. Certainly Fairfax was aware of other

¹⁶¹ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 35.

¹⁶² Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, p. 54. Entry for 20 January 1600. This analysis is suggested in Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England*, pp. 101-102.

¹⁶³ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, p. 395.

cases, for instance of the Lancashire witches. There is the possibility that some symptoms were conditioned by the books he may have borrowed, but no evidence. Perhaps also, the literary conditioning of the father-poet had an influence on the behaviour of the children. Beyond the Bible, Edward Fairfax referred in his narrative to Elizabeth Barton,¹⁶⁴ the holy maid of Kent whose story circulated in manuscript for much of the sixteenth century and was preserved in Hall's *Chronicle*; to Henry Robinson and the Lancashire witches; of the devil's transformation using the story of Eve and St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (Book 18, Ch. 18); and to the case of Mary Pannell. Certainly his demonic reference was literate; 'Of these contracts with the devil the reports both by books and by traditions be infinite, and true perhaps, though some of them seem foolish and some idle.'¹⁶⁵ Perhaps the girls had read the story of the witches of Warboys. Certainly Helen learnt what to say about her visions from somewhere, for instance when she recalled that the devil had persuaded her to put pins in her mouth.¹⁶⁶ There is a little more to say about Edward Fairfax. Clearly he had quite an imagination, though he is not known to have gone mad like Tasso, and there is the tantalising possibility that he kept a correspondence with John Darrell, while Darrell was incarcerated.¹⁶⁷ Other characters in the narrative include the noted puritan preacher and controversialist, Alexander Cooke. Perhaps Cooke passed on a vivid impression of the devil, which is apparent in his quotation of Bodin in his *Worke for a Masse-Priest* (1617). The likelihood is that he borrowed *De la démonomanie des Sorciers* from Archbishop Matthew, since he is known to have used his library, and perhaps this reveals something more about the circulation of ideas and witchcraft beliefs.

¹⁶⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 81.

¹⁶⁵ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 88.

¹⁶⁶ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 39.

¹⁶⁷ Brian Fairfax noted this correspondence, on the subjects of papal supremacy, infallibility, and idolatry with 'one John Dorrell, a Romish priest of no ordinary fame.' See the letter from Brian Fairfax to Francis Atterbury March 12 1704/5, printed in John Nichols (ed.), *The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury D.D.*, vol. 3, p. 260. It is possible that Brian Fairfax mistook Darrell for a papist.

Stuart Clark has written about ‘acculturation by text’ and I wish to develop this strategy to explain further the cultural conditioning of the demoniacs and the writers of possession narratives.¹⁶⁸ Some of the clearest information, mainly because of the documentation, comes from the simulated cases. Anne Gunter’s possession relied heavily on other printed cases, in particular that of the witches of Warboys, something that her questioners were determined to prise from her. Brian Gunter justified the reality of Anne’s case by referring to the Warboys case. Alice Kirfoote, one of the deponents, said that ‘she h[e]ard Mr Gunter say that his daughters fitts were vearie like the fitts of Mr Throgmortons children mentioned in that booke’ which she had seen in the house.¹⁶⁹ As noted above, Brian Gunter had this book and others, including those by Darrell and Harsnett.¹⁷⁰ Such were the links with the Warboys case that ‘Catch’, one of the familiars, shared its name with another which tormented the Throckmorton children. Anne admitted that she had read this pamphlet and other books, which she could not recall and feigned her possession from them.¹⁷¹ In addition it seems fairly clear that Brian Gunter got the idea of feeding her sack and sallet oil (sherry and salad oil) from Harsnett. It is no wonder that the authorities smelt a rat when they were told of symptoms so clearly derived from books.¹⁷²

It has been noted that pamphlet literature of this type was often available in the sickroom.¹⁷³ The Warboys pamphlet in particular had a massive impact. It was

¹⁶⁸ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with demons*, pp. 509-525.

¹⁶⁹ PRO STAC 8/4/10, fo. 89r.

¹⁷⁰ Brian Gunter’s probate inventory mentions £3 worth of books (a considerable collection). These may have included books on witchcraft but they add evidence to the fact that these possessions reflected the circumstances of the environments from which they emerged. See James Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter*, p. 203.

¹⁷¹ James Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter*, pp. 5, 8.

¹⁷² James Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter*, p. 164.

¹⁷³ Clive Holmes, ‘Women: Witnesses And Witches’, *Past And Present*, 140 (1993), pp. 61-2.

of course mentioned in other witchcraft books, some of which contained virtual reading lists for a studious would-be demoniac.¹⁷⁴ Transmission cannot be solely put down to texts in many cases. John Cotta referred to the Warboys case and to the imposture of Marthe Brossier and to Elizabeth Barton.¹⁷⁵ The extensive seventeenth-century reference to the Warboys case probably owed much to the annual commemorative sermon held in Cambridge. The irony of the Warboys case is that the very pamphlet from which many learned their possession ostensibly aimed at the restriction of audience. The preface read:

In these times ... wherein every idle wit seeks to blaze abroad their vain-ness, there ought to be no small case for the restraining of trivial pamphlets, as well as to exercise the readers in matter necessary as to cut off the writing of things needless.¹⁷⁶

Robin Briggs has suggested that although books did shape behaviour in the long term, we should avoid overestimating the immediate effect of pamphlets and books.¹⁷⁷ This cold common sense is a general rule but not without exception. Brian Darcy, a JP at the St Osyth trials in 1582, was said to have known about and used Jean Bodin's treatise of 1580, *De la démonomanie des sorciers*.¹⁷⁸ Sometimes the immediate effect of certain books was down to outright sponsorship. Translations, such as that of the account of Brossier,

¹⁷⁴ For the reading lists see, for example, *The Wonderful Discovery of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* (London, 1619), sig. B4r-v, which lists the books of Gifford, James VI and I, Reginald Scot, Weyer, Virgil, Roberts and the 1604 Witchcraft Act.

¹⁷⁵ John Cotta, *The Triall of Witch-craft, Shewing The True And Right Methode of the Discovery: With A Confutation of erroneous wayes* (London, 1616), pp. 63-64.

¹⁷⁶ *The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys* (London, 1593), sig A2r.

¹⁷⁷ Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (London, 1996), p. 31

¹⁷⁸ Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, p. 188.

appeared in English within four months of the first French edition, and were deliberately spread to promote official scepticism. So when books became involved in factional religious disputes their impact could be far swifter than Briggs suggests.

John Darrell was said to have taught William Somers his possession. Harsnett wrote

Hee [Somers] had heard and read some part of a very ridiculous booke, concerning one M. Throgmortons children...whereby he saith that, that hee learned some points, and was not ignorant, as fit occasion served, to ascribe what he list to witches.¹⁷⁹

However, books were obviously not the only means of communication and Somers is thought to have been told of the Warboys case by word of mouth from John Sherrat, the puritan incumbent of St Mary's.¹⁸⁰ Certainly the Darrell case is an interesting one for assessing the impact of print. Around a dozen works on it were rushed through the presses, official and clandestine. Harsnett claimed that Darrell and his crew had been using books by Bodin, Weyer, Mingus and Thyraeus.¹⁸¹ Darrell was seen as the orchestrator and he taught Somers to behave like Katherine Wright 'That he gave them unto him in writing, and moved him to learn the practise of them.'¹⁸² Somers confirmed this in his testimony, adding that Darrell had given him a paper to practice his possession, which he had since torn up, but a copy of which he had taken in his schoolbook, which was later confiscated. Again the book and its message could come from alternative sources such as the pulpit. Somers said he heard others declare that his case was trickery and

¹⁷⁹ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 93.

¹⁸⁰ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 97.

¹⁸¹ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 28.

¹⁸² Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 79.

make mention of a booke that was set out of a certaine maide in London, that had deceived many by avoiding at her mouth pinnes and needles.....Of this booke M Darrell made mention in one of his sermons.¹⁸³

Quite what book this was is unclear, though chronology dictates that it cannot have been Edward Jorden's *A Briefe Discourse Of A Disease Called The Suffocation Of The Mother* (London, 1603). Nevertheless, and despite the claims of its modern editor, it is clear that this pamphlet did have a considerable impact. It is likely that Fairfax read it, since he wrote 'In these fits she had perfect symptoms of the disease called "the mother;" and for a long time we attributed all she said or did to it' and recalled Jorden's title almost verbatim. Alternatively, he might have got the title from one of the godly manuscript replies to Jorden, such as those by Bradwell and Swan.¹⁸⁴

Of course, many other cases had such references to other cases and books. The Loudun behaviour might have been influenced by a case at Aix-en-Provence. Demonologists were often concerned not simply about witches teaching new recruits but also about the relation with books. Ewen and Macfarlane both argued that Hopkins was influenced by continental demonologies and the *Daemonologie* of James VI and I was quoted extensively in English and European literature.

Witchcraft books could also appear on the stage, by virtue of their popularity or perhaps their eccentricity. Harsnett's *A Declaration of the Egregious Popish Impostures* (London, 1603) was at Shakespeare's desk while he wrote *King*

¹⁸³ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises*, p. 146.

¹⁸⁴ William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 37. For Jorden, see Michael Macdonald (ed.), *Witchcraft and hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover case* (London, 1991). Bradwell claimed that Mary Glover's symptoms had uncanny similarities with a book by "S. H." I am grateful to Holger Schott for help on this point.

Lear and its ideas passed into the public arena through the play.¹⁸⁵ Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584) appeared in J. C.'s 1619 play *The Two Merry Milkmaids* and was addressed by the conjurer in the play as a 'gentle book', perhaps confirming the association of Scot with the devil himself.¹⁸⁶

A further way of looking at the way books shaped behaviour is by assessing the extent of the circulation of books and manuscripts in witchcraft cases. The clandestine nature of subversive manuscript publication and uneven survival make a numerical analysis unwise but there is something to be gained from a brief if selective approach. Darrell probably wrote a narrative of the Somers case to circulate in manuscript and had certainly given a manuscript copy relating his first exorcism to the puritan, Isabel, Lady Bowes.¹⁸⁷ In the case of the witches of Northampton, which was influenced by the fact that John Cotta acted as a doctor in the case, both printed and manuscript accounts circulated with different facts, formats and purposes.¹⁸⁸

V.

This chapter, taking as its centre a religious community that was constructed along the lines of Levi-Strauss's dual organization, has examined the uses of books at times of stress. Textual contents have been stressed as well as physical

¹⁸⁵ See, Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean negotiations: the circulation of social energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 1988), ch. 4.

¹⁸⁶ See Barbara A Mowat, 'Prospero's Book', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 52 (2001), pp. 10-14.

¹⁸⁷ See, Thomas Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance: John Darrell and the Politics of Exorcism in late Elizabethan England', in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 46. For some of Bowes's godly connections, see Christine M. Newman, '“An Honourable and Elect Lady”: The Faith of Isabel, Lady Bowes', in D. Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-c.1700* (Woodbridge, 1999), 407-419.

¹⁸⁸ See Marion Gibson, 'Devilish Sin and Desperate Death: Northamptonshire Witches in Print and Manuscript', *Northamptonshire Past And Present* (1998), 15-21. This considers the differences between the well known printed account and the different manuscript account, BL, Ms Sloane 972, fo. 7.

uses. Most obviously what emerges is that possession materials that stress the uses of books tend to highlight as much about the cultures which produced them as the ungodly other they described. The book was vital in godly society, in England, Europe and America. Edward Fairfax's narrative, though an interesting case in itself, offers rare glimpses of family reading. The case is unique in its vivid description of the reading of children, from the novice through to the experienced, and it is interesting that the girls do not appear to be less bookish than the boy. Fairfax gives a picture of reading in the moderate puritan household from the inside out. It is an ideal point of reference from which to follow Patrick Collinson's appeal to discover 'how protestants saw' in order to find the key to their outlook.¹⁸⁹ The result is a religion based around the household, defined and defining itself by its exclusivity. Learning was important but it was directed toward (and taught by) ritual prayer; corporate and collective were the keys to the normative religious experience, taught and learnt as they were in the family group.

In addition it has been possible to observe the changing status of manuscript and printed books, both in the experiences of witches and among more godly society. Print was clearly important and can help us in questions of the absence of witchcraft at certain times. Clive Holmes has suggested that the mobilization of print on behalf of suspects was one of the reasons for low levels of prosecutions under Oliver Cromwell.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, from the starting-point of using witchcraft materials to show how important books were in making and shaping godly religious cultures, it has been possible to look for a larger picture of book-use and to illustrate, though not without exceptions, a shift from the witch using the book to the book being used against the witch, and slowly back again.

¹⁸⁹ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 122.

¹⁹⁰ Clive Holmes, ' "The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time": Oliver Cromwell and Witchcraft.' Unpublished paper, given at St Mary's College, London, April 2001.

Part IV:

Publics

4. 'A General in the library': Godly culture and the world of Ferdinando Fairfax

And as to Rebellion in particular against Monarchy; one of the most frequent causes of it, is the Reading of the books of Policy, and histories of the antient Greeks, and Romans.¹

For Thomas Hobbes there was an intrinsic connection between the reading of Latin and Greek literature and the causes of the English Civil War. The argument may appear a little too neat and assume a direct correlation between the scholar and the soldier, but certainly it has something to be said for it. The reading of authors, especially Cicero, Horace and Virgil, particularly in their formative years, allowed future republicans to glorify liberty at the expense of the value of monarchy.

The argument that reading could cause a revolution is unfashionable and has been dismissed by a generation of revisionists who prefer to think of the years before the revolution as years of calm.² Though this approach has something to be said for it too, in particular in its questioning of the teleologies of Whig

¹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge, 1991), p. 225.

² Important (but now dated) revisionist studies include C. Russell, 'Parliamentary History in Perspective, 1604-29', *History*, 61 (1976), 1-27; C. Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629* (Oxford, 1979); Mark Kishlansky, 'The Emergence of Adversary Politics in the Long Parliament', *Journal of Modern History*, 49 (1977), 617-640, and Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1979). It should be noted that the studies of the revisionists were anticipated by G. R. Elton, 'A High Road to Civil War', in C. H. Carter (ed.), *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: essays in honor of Garrett Mattingly* (New York, 1965), 325-347. For some attempts to place these studies in perspective, see Kevin Sharpe, 'Remapping early modern England: from revisionism to the culture of politics', in his *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge, 2000), 3-37. Also illuminating is Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake, 'Revisionism and its legacies: the work of Conrad Russell' in their, *Politics, Religion and Popularity In Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge, 2002), 1-17. Religious revisionism has aged rather better and is without a thorough-going response. See, Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), and John Morrill, *The nature of the English Revolution: essays* (London, 1993).

history, the connections between books and revolutionary ideas remain largely untested. However, they will be important in this chapter and are supported by recent studies concerned with the transmission of news, in particular in the more critical and immediate guise of manuscript transmission.³ Of course, the approach is not itself revolutionary, and there will be nods and winks towards those who have insisted on the importance of the history of ideas before the revolution, on the consumption of these ideas, and on the importance of literature to the politics of the period more generally.⁴ In particular, the work of David Norbrook has informed my hypotheses in this regard. I want to advance his model of the pre-history of godly republican culture by addressing a fuller cultural and religious perspective than he did.⁵

Such a general scope is beyond the ambitions of this thesis and would probably be too much for a fat book. However, I intend to link these ideas to the study of a neglected individual and in turn to give him as well as the subject back their due importance. Of particular importance will be the connection that this

³ Important studies whose findings have shifted the balance away from the revisionists in their consideration of news are Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 112 (1986), 60-90; F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread Among The Gentry, 1550-1640', *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982), 11-34; Thomas Cogswell, 'Underground verse and the transformation of early Stuart political culture', in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: essays presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, 1995), 277-300; Ian Atherton, 'The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century' in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), 39-65; Ian Atherton, *Ambition and failure in Stuart England: The career of John, First Viscount Scudamore* (Manchester, 1999); see also the essays in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (eds.), *The Politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001). For an attempt to summarize the importance of this research, see Alastair Bellany, *The Politics Of Court Scandal In Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002). The subject has recently been advanced by Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁴ Especially important is Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of The English Revolution 1529-1642* (London, 1972). The classic study of the relation of the political reader to classical literature is Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, '“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78.

⁵ For an exceptionally powerful theoretical framework for the impact of poetry in the period, see David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric And Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999).

research has with the preaching exercises earlier in the century and the suggestion that the historian is dealing with a continuity in godly culture throughout the early seventeenth century.⁶ That this godly culture might indeed have been or become proto-republican will be studied, in particular through a close analysis of reading practices and several incidents. The idea of a continuous, if changing, godly culture has not been adequately studied, partly because of an obsession in determining allegiance in the years of Civil War, partly because of an unstated cleavage between historians of politics and of religion,⁷ and partly because there is only a tentative understanding of what the words republic and republican really meant in the century before the Civil Wars. Patrick Collinson has suggested in an essay on 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I' that England was both a monarchy and a republic and that the study of the latter, though its meaning was not quite what it was to become, has been overlooked by those obsessed by Tudor despotism and revolutions in government.⁸

My analysis will interact with debates on the nature of an early-seventeenth century public sphere, connecting the utilisation of the pulpit in the west riding in the 1620s with the desire to spread and control printed matter in the 1640s. The nature of the public forum was clearly changing in the North, particularly with the reintroduction of a press to York in the 1640s, but the effects on

⁶ For an insistence on the cultural continuities, see Jacqueline Eales, 'A Road to Revolution: The Continuity of Puritanism, 1559-1642' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 184-209.

⁷ Among few good studies that connect the religious and political spheres in the localities, with an awareness of the roots of the connection, are William Sheils, 'Provincial preaching on the eve of the Civil War: some West Riding Fast Sermons' in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture And Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), 290-312, and Jacqueline Eales, 'Provincial preaching and allegiance in the First English Civil War (1640-6)' in Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion And Popularity In Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, 185-207.

⁸ Patrick Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I' in his *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), 31-57. The essay is concerned with the plans by Cecil to provide for conciliar rule in the event of Queen Elizabeth's death.

northern religious cultures remain relatively unstudied.⁹ Again, I will try to encompass the wider cultural perspective, through the lens of the individual. This approach does not privilege particular types of literature as Norbrook's model does, but emphasizes the importance of proto-republican godly culture while suggesting that too narrow a focus encourages a unity absent from historical reality. I will argue that the coherence of Norbrook's republican culture is partly a product of its focus and that a broader perspective encounters several varieties of republican culture, all of which contributed to a 'godly republican culture'.

My analysis will be centred around the life of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax (1584-1648). The semi-biographical approach is necessary not simply to restore the importance of a much neglected figure but also because I believe that this provides an alternative to the study of particular themes within republican culture which tend towards a unitary culture. Fairfax will help to bridge this gap. The neglect of Fairfax is rather to the benefit of his son, who has been the subject of considerable attention.¹⁰ Almost alone among important figures of the Civil Wars, Ferdinando lacks a biography. I will attempt to pull together some of the incidents from his life here and place him within a broader picture of godly culture in the north of England. He is certainly suited to such an approach, given his importance there. The wealth of neglected material will serve to illuminate the culture in which he lived and fought to defend. Furthermore, this will feed into the findings of the previous chapters, since much of the analysis will be on Fairfax's interaction with cultures of manuscript and print and the changes that were taking place within them in this

⁹ For some background, see Tony Claydon, 'The sermon, the "public sphere" and the political culture of late seventeenth-century England', in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCulloch (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2001), 208-234; Geoff Baldwin, 'The "public" as a rhetorical community in early modern England', in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), *Communities in early modern England: Networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000), 199-215; Philip Withington, 'Two renaissances: urban political culture in post-Reformation England reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 239-267.

¹⁰ The most complete study is Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, Commander-In-Chief Of The Army Of The Parliament of England* (London, 1870), which also contains important information on Ferdinando.

later period. Further biographical details will emerge as the chapter progresses, but for now I want to sketch Ferdinando Fairfax's life and career.

Ferdinando Fairfax was born the son of Thomas and Ellen Fairfax of Denton, Yorkshire in 1584. Quite where he got such an exotic name is unclear, but it is possible that it was given to him because his father had been born in the reign of Queen Mary and had met King Philip. He was educated and brought up by his uncle the poet Edward Fairfax,¹¹ along with his brothers Henry, Charles, John, William, Peregrine and Thomas, and his sisters Dorothy and Anne, Ferdinando enjoyed this most fortunate education.¹² He probably attended the puritan sermons of Robert and Alexander Cooke in godly Leeds. Ferdinando was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1603, but his career plans may not have been in the law. His father, himself an old soldier, said of him, 'I sent him into the Netherlands to train him up a soldier, and he makes a tolerable country justice, but is a mere coward at fighting.'¹³ Perhaps he eventually agreed that the contemplative life was better for Ferdinando, because he wrote in 1614, 'My greatest care ... hath been, and still is, to breed my son a scholar.'¹⁴

Ferdinando was knighted on 30 January 1607/8 and succeeded to the title of Baron of Cameron on his father's death in May 1640. He was Member of Parliament for Boroughbridge in the years before the Civil War, and Member

¹¹ See the letter of Brian Fairfax, written March 1705, in John Nicholas (ed.), *The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury D.D.*, vol 3, p. 263. [Edward Fairfax 'was very servicable to his brother lord Fairfax in the education of his children, the government of his family, and in all his affairs. The success appeared in having all his children bred scholars, and well principled in religion and virtue.'

¹² Three of his brothers died in continental military campaigns in support of the Protestant cause. William Fairfax was commemorated in print, G.[eorge] T.[ooke], *The Belides, or, Eulogie of that honourable souldier Captain William Fairefax, slain at Frankenthall in the Palatinate, when it was beseiged by Consales de Cordova, in the year 1621* (London, 1660).

¹³ Quoted in Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, Commander-In-Chief Of The Army Of The Parliament of England*, p. 12.

¹⁴ Quoted in Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 268.

of Parliament for York in the Long Parliament (1640-48). He served with distinction in military affairs in the Civil Wars and was Commander of Parliamentary forces in the north between 1642 and 1645, and Governor of York between 1644 and 1648. Having blockaded York, Fairfax retreated to Selby in 1642 and then to Leeds, after the desertion of Hotham and Cholmley. He was defeated by the Earl of Newcastle on Adwalton Moor, near Bradford in June 1643 and retreated to Hull, where he was appointed Governor, and he was again besieged by Newcastle. These events were accompanied by a fierce propaganda war between Fairfax and Newcastle, chiefly through the use of pamphlets. The tide then turned for Fairfax and his forces. He fought off the siege of Hull and then defeated Colonel John Bellasis at Selby in 1644. Joining forces with the Scots, he besieged York in 1644, where parliamentary forces established firm control. He was subsequently involved at Marston Moor¹⁵ and was alone on either side in the Civil Wars in having a Spanish motto, which read 'Viva el rey y muerra el mal gobierno.'¹⁶

In terms of religion, Fairfax was heralded as 'our Joshua of the North' and clearly had a reputation as a godly man.¹⁷ His puritanism is beyond doubt. It was probably formed by his father and his education in Leeds at the end of the sixteenth century. He has been described as 'a zealous puritan and

¹⁵ This paragraph is based on Fairfax's *DNB* entry. For further contextual material, see A. J. Hopper, '“The readiness of the people”: the formation and emergence of the army of the Fairfaxes, 1642-3' *Borthwick Papers*, 92 (York, 1997). See also, Andrew James Hopper, 'The extent of support for Parliament in Yorkshire during the early stages of the first civil war' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1999).

¹⁶ [Long live the king, and death to bad government]. See, Ian Gentles, 'The iconography of revolution: England 1642-1649', in Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (eds.), *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 109.

¹⁷ The phrase is from John Shaw, *Two Clean Birds, Or the Cleansing of the Leper. As it was unfolded in a sermon, Preached before the Right Honourable Ferdinando lord Fairfax, Generall of the Northern Forces, and the most of his Army, on the fifth day of February, 1642 (being the Lords day, and by his Honour appointed to be kept as a Fast, upon speciall occasion) at Selbie, in the West Riding of the county of York* (York, 1644), sig. A2v.

disciplinarian'¹⁸ and had strong social links among Yorkshire's puritan circles. His father had been among the circle of friends of Lady Margaret and Thomas Posthumous Hoby.¹⁹ Ferdinando had links with Archbishop Matthew (his brother, Charles, was Matthew's chaplain) and was later a patron of puritan preachers such as John Shaw and Edward Bowles. Ferdinando was a governor of Otley Grammar School, in which he ensured the placement of godly masters such as Josias Bellwood. He was instrumental in the placing of puritan clergy. Robert More, the puritan rector of Guiseley wrote to Fairfax in 1633 asking for his help on behalf of Bradford's puritans.²⁰ He was also appealed to to fill the sequestered vicarage of Grinton in 1645 with 'an honest, faithfull, full godly man who might be of a bold spirit and an able body.'²¹ The personal piety of Fairfax is rather more elusive, but it is suggestive that a volume of notes of sermons preached in 1642 in parishes in the West Riding, particularly at Otley, the parish church of the Fairfaxes, was probably written up for Ferdinando Fairfax's information.²²

Fairfax married Mary, the daughter of the third Lord Sheffield in 1607, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and Charles, and six daughters. Thomas is famed in his own right, and Charles was killed fighting for the Parliamentary forces at Marston Moor. Fairfax married a second time in 1646, this time to

¹⁸ See, Hartley Coleridge, *The Worthies of Yorkshire And Lancashire Being Lives of the Most Distinguished Persons That have Been Born in, or Connected with Those provinces*, p. 178.

¹⁹ See, Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, p. 113.

²⁰ See, G. W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax correspondence Memorials of the reign of Charles the first* (2 vols, London, Richard Bentley, 1848), vol. 2, p. 334.

²¹ See, Robert Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family with the most distinguished personages engaged in that memorable contest* (2 vols, London, 1849), vol. 1, pp. 157-159 (Addition to the letter of Philip Lord Wharton to Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, 5 February 1644/5).

²² See, William Sheils, 'Provincial preaching on the eve of the Civil War: some West Riding Fast Sermons' in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture And Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, p. 295. If the volume was for Ferdinando, it suggests a continuity of interest in preaching exercises perhaps begun by his youth in Leeds.

Rhoda, the widow of Thomas Chapman of Hertfordshire, with whom he had one daughter. He died at his home at Denton on Monday, 13 March 1648 and was buried at Bolton Percy.

To explain how the life of Fairfax fits into the wider picture, I will examine the construction and use of his library and his attitude towards learning in general, his own printed works and works about him, his involvement in a campaign to popularise the healing properties of mineral waters and the uses of manuscript, speech and print that surrounded his death, and the manipulation of his reputation. Of particular importance throughout the chapter will be a focus on the continuities in godly cultures in the 1620s and 1630s and the change and importance of the notion of a public sphere in this period. Of course, that godly culture will not be static, and we cannot expect consistency in one man over a whole lifetime, but such an analysis will aim to produce a more rounded picture of the nature, importance and variety of godly cultures in the north of England in this period. Pushing deeper into the seventeenth century, I hope to show the changes in these cultures as well as the continuities.

I.

Italo Calvino's short story, 'A General in the Library' opens up some of the unquestioned modern assumptions about the relationship between soldiers and works of history. It tells the tale of the officials of Panduria who began to suspect that the books in their ancient libraries might be critical of war and the doings of generals. To see if they were right, they sent a general and his men to review the literature. They quickly became engrossed in the variety of messages in the history books and, finally providing their report, declared that battles were most often characterised by folly and that the ruling classes were responsible for most kinds of human misfortune.²³ The story is a good one and clearly in the spirit of Calvino's other stories on the problems of tyrannical regimes. It is also important in demonstrating some of the assumptions commonly made in the modern world. That the book and the soldier are

²³ Italo Calvino, 'A General in the Library', in his *Numbers in the Dark and Other Stories* trans. Tim Parks (London, 1996), 64-69.

essentially oppositional, representations of the passive and the active world. Soldiers today might read novels and ‘ripping yarns’ but they do not read serious literature that encourages them to think critically.

In the seventeenth century, literary modes also tended also to separate the practices of reading and fighting, the sacred and the profane. Most famously, Andrew Marvell wrote in his ‘An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell’s Return from Ireland’:

The forward youth that would appear
Must now forsake his muses dear,
Nor in the shadows sing
His numbers languishing.
’Tis time to leave the books in dust,
And oil the unused armour’s rust:
Removing from the wall
The corslet of the hall.²⁴

However, it would be wrong to take such literary conventions as historical facts. In fact, reading was important to war and politics in the seventeenth century, and such reading was likely to have been of history and classical literature. This is of crucial importance, particularly when faced with reading as an active construction on behalf of the reader, whose findings could be of military and political importance.²⁵ Fairfax was both a reader and a general and his reading is the subject of this section. Instead of approaching this unstudied relationship with modern assumptions, I think we should bear in mind two points. Firstly that soldiers were encouraged to read, especially from the scriptures,²⁶ and secondly that an appropriate image to take into the rest of the

²⁴ Andrew Marvell, *Poems and Letters*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth (3rd edn., 2 vols, Oxford, 1971), vol. 1, p. 91.

²⁵ For the active in early modern reading, see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, “‘Studied for Action’”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78.

²⁶ The manuscript tract of Henry Webley, for instance, contains a section of advice on how soldiers should fit bible reading into their day and why it mattered. See, BL Ms

section is that of Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of the Protestant cause, who rode into battle with Hugo Grotius's *De Jure Belli* under his arm.²⁷

This section will first focus on Fairfax's library, while the next considers his attitudes towards learning, and how this manifested itself in his political action. Though the subject of the revolutionary reader has recently been tackled by Kevin Sharpe, my analysis of Fairfax will reveal a somewhat different and more complicated picture of the complexities inherent in this relationship.²⁸

Ferdinando Fairfax was an avid collector of books and assembler of libraries. In fact, 443 items bearing his mark of ownership survive at York Minster Library, in addition to numerous others which have either been lost, sold or dispersed with the records of the Fairfax family. The books at York Minster Library, which are catalogued in Appendix C, are all marked with his characteristic sign of ownership, the capital letters 'F.F.' usually prominently placed on the title page [See Plate 7]. It is not entirely clear that Fairfax himself placed his initials on his books. It was common for collectors of large libraries in the period to appoint someone to buy books for them and for them to place the marks of ownership on them. However, some details make it probable that Fairfax initialled his books, in particular the survival of other books, never given to York Minster, also containing the inscription. This would appear to rule out the possibility of the initials being placed on his books only after he donated them to the library. The *liber donarum* of the Minster Library simply mentions that 'plures libros' were deposited and that they contained his

Royal 17B XXXIII, fos. 23r-v, (Henry Webley, *A breek and godly exhortatione to the daylye reedinge of the Holye Scriptures*). Webley argued that no soldier could die valiantly without reading scriptures, nor could one who had not read the Psalms be conversant in war. The scriptures would then provide more protection than shield or breastplate.

²⁷ For Adolphus and Grotius, see John Bossy, 'Satisfaction in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1700', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Retribution, Repentance, Reconciliation*, Studies in Church History, 40 (Woodbridge, forthcoming).

²⁸ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*.

THE FF
SUPPLICATION
OF CERTAINE
Masse-Priests falsely called
Catholikes.

Directed to the Kings most excel-
lent Maiestie, now this time of Parlia-
ment, but scattered in corners, to mooue
mal-contentts to mutinie.

Published with a Marginall glosse,
for the better vnderstanding of the Text, and
an answer to the Libellers reasons, for the
clearing of all controuersies there-
of arising.

James. 4.
Petitis & non accipitis, eo quod male petatis.
Yee supplicate, and doe not obtaine, because yee aske leyydly.

2. Cor. 6.
What agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols?

LONDON
Imprinted for *Williams & Aspley.*
1604.

mark 'F.F.'. What is clear is that he donated these books, perhaps with others without his mark, to York Minster Library, sometime between 1644 and his death in 1648. His motives for doing so are not stated, but we can perhaps assume that, following Frances Matthew's example, Fairfax left these books to further the intellectual standing of York and increase its reputation for godliness.²⁹

The details that can be ascertained from Fairfax's library as to his buying and reading of books are at once impressive and frustrating. There is certainly a wealth of material, but unlike Lady Hoby, Fairfax neither annotated his books nor dated his acquisitions.³⁰ Some of the details as to his reading, therefore, are made simply as hypotheses, though I hope probable and illuminating ones. The first important detail about Fairfax's library is that it was composed of the collections of others as well as books he purchased new or individually. The circumstances of such acquisitions are somewhat shady, but clearly important. The library contains numerous books originally in other collections, some of which appear to have been acquired in large numbers, and others which are simply single items. Of particular interest are the large numbers of books Fairfax acquired from William Mount, Sir John Hotham, Lord Saye and Sele,

²⁹ See, C. B. L. Barr 'The Minster Library', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), 487-539.

³⁰ Other 'political' collectors, such as Robert Cotton, tended to date their purchases. See Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 48-83. There are exceptions to this rule. Many of the books were acquired second-hand by Fairfax and contain the dates and prices of previous purchasers as will be discussed below. In addition, two books do contain significant marginalia by Fairfax. These are (Arnold) Mylius, *Principum et Regum Polonorum Imagines ad Vivum Expressae* etc (Cologne, 1593), which is currently on sale at Maggs Brothers Ltd., Berkeley Square, London, W1 (Sellers reference: Ref EA5840). This book is inscribed on the Flyleaf 'Fer. fairfax ex dono reverendis: Patr: To: mathei Archiepis:p Eborum May 5o. 1608', and was a gift from Matthew to Fairfax shortly after he had been knighted. It was given in turn by Fairfax to William Ingilby. I am grateful to Arnold Hunt for this reference. Another important book containing marginalia is a Bible presented to Fairfax by his father on the birth of his son, Thomas (later Third Lord Fairfax). It appears that Ferdinando used this Bible to record the births of his children and other such information. The book is now lost, but see, Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, Commander-In-Chief Of The Army Of The Parliament Of England* (London, 1870), p. 10.

and Archbishop Richard Neile. They contain important information and are worth considering in detail.

At least thirty-four items in the Fairfax collection were acquired from the library of William Mount (1545-1602).³¹ Mount was born in Mortlake in 1545 and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1566. He resigned his fellowship between 1569 and 1570, studied medicine and took orders, being appointed Master of the Savoy in 1594, perhaps due to the patronage of Lord Burghley, whom he served as domestic chaplain. His manuscript writings concerned the distillation of waters as well as Latin verse.³² He died in 1602.³³

How Fairfax gained Mount's books is not clear. He may well have acquired them through his own connections with Robert Cecil, after they had already come to York. It appears that Mount had an interest in the religious affairs of the north, since he wrote to a Mr Hicks in 1594 asking that the Dean of York's letters should be presented to Lord Burghley.³⁴ However they came to Fairfax, it is likely that he had some interest in their contents as well as their material value (which was considerable). They are also important in their own right.

³¹ These items are listed in Appendix C as numbers, 238, 241, 246, 273, 280, 291, 297, 299, 302, 313, 329, 332, 333, 342, 343, 364, 366, 357, 383, 388, 392, 396, 397, 399, 401, 408, 410, 413, 425, 427, 428, 429, 434, 445. Some other items may have also originated with Mount, but all these are signed by him.

³² His writings on waters can be found at BL Lansdowne MS 65, art. 75 (Directions for making distilled waters) and MS 68, art. 88 (Ingredients for 'Sage Water', 1591). Some correspondence also survives in Lansdowne 83, art. 38 (Dr. William Mount, Master of the Savoy, congratulates Mr. Hicks on the birth of his son, and sends Mrs. Hicks some cordials, Jan. 27, 1596); Lansdowne 10, art. 13. (Mr. William Mount, a Student in King's Coll. Cambridge, to Sir Wm. Cecill; begging him to relieve his necessities, March 3, 1568); Lansdowne 78, art. 33 (Dr. William Mount, to Mr. Hicks; that the Dean of York's letters may be presented to Lord Burghley, and an answer obtained March 24, 1594) and Lansdowne 80, art. 70 (Dr. Mount, to Robert Cecil; concerning his preferment at the Savoy, and other private affairs, 3 March 1595).

³³ The information for this passage is drawn from *DNB*.

³⁴ BL Lansdowne Ms 78, art. 33. (Dr. William Mount to Mr. Hicks; that the Dean of York's letters may be presented to Lord Burghley, and an answer obtained 24 March 1594).

The majority of these books were on medical subjects, such as gout³⁵ and served a practical purpose for Mount, if not for Fairfax. Others were on related scientific subjects such as alchemy, astronomy and mineral baths.³⁶ Other books were on subjects such as Canon Law, Italian Literature, and religion, from works on the Jesuits to commentaries on the Psalms.³⁷ How important these subjects were to Fairfax's own life is not apparent, though it is occasionally worth making connections. For instance, the acquisition of Mount's copy of a book by Gabriello Fallopio, which was concerned with mineral waters and baths, bears some relation to Fairfax's interest in the healing properties of mineral waters discussed below.³⁸ By contrast, individual items on Italian literature, so out of character with the rest of the Fairfax collection, may have had little interest.

Mount also bought many of his books second hand.³⁹ The book by Fallopio, mentioned above, suggests a circulation of books amongst doctors, since Mount stated that he had bought it from 'Doctor Julio' on the binding.⁴⁰ Furthermore, his copy of Arnaldus, *Arnaldi de Villanova medici acutissimi opa nuperrime reuisa* had previously been inscribed 'Thomas Harry cirurgin.'⁴¹

³⁵ See, for example, Appendix C, no. 241.

³⁶ Appendix C, nos. 313 and 429 (Alchemy), 392 (Astronomy), and 302 (Baths).

³⁷ Appendix C, nos 428 (Canons Law), 364 (Italian Literature) (364), 246 (Jesuits), 399 and 408 (commentaries on the Psalms).

³⁸ Gabriello Fallopio, *Gabrielis Fallopii Mutinensis, medici ac philosophi praestantissimi* (Venice, 1569). Appendix C, no. 302. For Fairfax and mineral waters, see below, pp. 281-282.

³⁹ Items bought second hand are listed as Appendix C nos. 302, 408, 410, 425, 427, 428. These items were previously owned by 'Doctor Julio', Henry Marshall, W. Braynewood, Laurence and John Twyn, 'Fytx James', and Paul Holden.

⁴⁰ Appendix C, no. 302.

⁴¹ Appendix C, no. 396.

Mount annotated many of his books, leaving behind both an interaction with his texts and some of his professional experiments and recipes.⁴² In general, such marginalia clearly involved an amount of practical testing of the scientific basis of a book's contents. Though this is not the place for a discussion of Mount's marginalia,⁴³ it is noteworthy that some of these techniques, in particular a detailed examination of text, coloured his responses to more religious books too, which were also professional, such as his copy of Martin Bucer's commentary on the Psalms.⁴⁴ Furthermore his motto, inscribed on a majority of his books, made clear his humility before God in his work as Doctor and divine: 'sola mihi misero Crux tua Christe salus.'⁴⁵

If the shared interests with Mount in areas of religion and of science make Fairfax's acquisition of his library understandable, Fairfax's ownership of the library of Richard Neile requires more explanation. The Fairfax collection contains twenty items previously owned by Neile.⁴⁶ Neile's opposition to the puritans in the north was unlikely to have gone down well with Fairfax, who appears to have shared much common ground with Archbishop Matthew. It is clear then, that the transition of this library was most likely to have occurred after Neile's death and without his knowledge. We might expect that Fairfax acquired Neile's books to prevent rather than promote the spread of its contents. However, as we shall see, those books which Fairfax got hold of suggest that the two men had more similar intellectual foundations than their more political animosity would point to. It is also possible that they were indeed from opposite poles but that Fairfax got hold of Calvinist books for

⁴² For a particularly interesting example, see Appendix C. no. 397. Mount also tended to put the price he paid on his books.

⁴³ There is a wealth of material that warrants a full study of this subject.

⁴⁴ Martin Bucer, *S. Psalmorum libri quinque ad Ebraicam veritatem versi, et familiari explanatione elucidati* (Strasbourg, 1529). See, Appendix C, no. 408.

⁴⁵ See the particularly clear example on his copy of Thomas Erastus, *Disputationum de nova medica Philippi Paracelsi* (Basel, 1573). Appendix C, no. 291.

⁴⁶ See Appendix C, nos. 111, 177, 222, 249, 255, 256, 269, 276, 282, 283, 284, 288, 300, 336, 341, 353, 370, 384, 400, 437.

their merits. where Neile had read them to be better acquainted with his opponents.

Richard Neile (1562-1640) was born in Westminster and educated at Westminster School and St John's College, Cambridge. Having the patronage of Lord Burghley, his first major position was Dean of Westminster (1605-1610). Though no great theologian, Neile rose steadily to higher office aided by an unrivalled capacity for business and the favour of the king. He became bishop of Rochester in 1608, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1610, bishop of Durham in 1617, bishop of Winchester in 1627 and archbishop of York in 1631. He was an important patron of Laud, who was his chaplain, and of John Cosin and Richard Montagu. A strong opponent of the puritans, Neile was a leader in the so-called Durham House Group, which acted for the reintroduction of beauty and order in the English Church against the Puritans. He died in 1640.⁴⁷

We know these books were owned by Neile, since he signed and often dated them. Some were signed 'Richardo, Couentriensis et Lichfeldensis episcopatus praesule' giving them an approximate date of purchase.⁴⁸ Others were signed more specifically, for instance 'Rich Neile, 1602.' On others he used his motto 'Rich Neile. Vinit redeptor quid desperem' or inscribed in a self-consciously traditional style, 'Richardi Neale et amicorum.'⁴⁹ The subject matter of these books was wide-ranging, encompassing religious works and meditations, notably works of Calvinist liturgy, which suggest not only that Neile had a

⁴⁷ For Neile's biography, see *DNB*, A. W. Foster, 'A biography of Archbishop Richard Neile, 1562-1640' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1978) and A. Foster, 'The function of a bishop: the career of Richard Neile 1562-1640' in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds.), *Continuity and Change: Personnel and administration of the Church in England 1500-1642* (Leicester, 1976), 33-54. For Neile's action against puritans whilst Archbishop of York, see J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', ch. 2 and passim. The best analysis of the Durham House Group is Hugh Trevor-Roper 'Laudianism and Political Power' in his *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth Century Essays* (London, 1987). 40-119.

⁴⁸ Appendix C, no. 111.

⁴⁹ Appendix C, nos. 177, 222, 300 and 336.

greater capacity for theology than has been thought, but also that his anti-Calvinism did not stretch to rejecting their books.⁵⁰ He also had works on politics, astronomy, philosophy and logic, medicine, letters and notably classical speeches and poems, from statesmanlike Cicero, to Homer and Ovid.⁵¹ Whether these books are representative of Neile's interests, or a selection from them by Fairfax, is difficult to ascertain. However, the books contain some important details. In particular, some of them were gifts or bought second-hand and previously owned by 'G.P.', 'Midilton', 'Mr Blacbourne, prest', his brother William Neile, and Richard Barnes, the former bishop of Durham.⁵² The identification of these books, especially since some of them appear to have been at some variance with the inclinations of Fairfax, is important in making a systematic evaluation of his library.

Another subset of Fairfax's library is that of Sir John Hotham, which if not extensive in size, is of considerable importance.⁵³ Hotham was the son of John Hotham of Scarborough, the Sheriff of Yorkshire. In his youth, Hotham served as a soldier on the continent before returning and being knighted in 1617. He was Member of Parliament for Beverley in the parliaments of Charles I and an enthusiastic collector of Ship Money while sheriff of Yorkshire in 1635. Clarendon described him rather sharply as a 'rough and rude man, of great covetousness, of great pride, and great ambition.'⁵⁴ Though he had no sympathy with puritanism, he was moved to take the side of parliament in the Civil War, after an attempt to remove him from his position as governor of Hull. He was anxious for a reconciliation between the king and parliament and

⁵⁰ Appendix C, nos. 111, 222, 300, 341, 400, 384 (religious works) and 353 (Calvinist liturgy).

⁵¹ See, Appendix C, nos. 177 (politics), 255, 256, 276, 437 (astronomy, philosophy and logic), 288 (medicine), 283, 284 (letters), 249, 282, 370 (classics).

⁵² See, Appendix C, nos. 249, 437, 384, 276, 353.

⁵³ The items owned by Hotham are Appendix C, nos. 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 169, 178, 351 and 415.

⁵⁴ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The history of the rebellion and civil wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (6 vols, Oxford, 1888), vol. 5, p. 434.

was often at odds with Fairfax. He deserted the parliamentary cause in June 1643 in an attempt to betray Hull to the King but was hastily arrested by his former allies and, through the pressure of Cromwell and influential puritans, was executed in January 1645.⁵⁵

The books were certainly owned by Hotham. He signed and dated some [See plate 7] and signed the first of the tracts on Arminianism which were bound together at the time.⁵⁶ In fact, these tracts are of great importance, since they all dealt with the subject of Arminianism and were probably bought at the time by Hotham. Since they were bound together, this provides more evidence to suggest that in the minds of booksellers and readers, there was some coherence to the Laudian religious standpoint.⁵⁷ The other books owned by Hotham include a heavily annotated copy of Matthew Sutcliffe, *The supplication of certaine masse-priests falsely called Catholickes*, which was signed 'John Hotham 1636.' Hotham appears to have reasoned his own religious position against this anti-Catholic text in the changed atmosphere of the 1630s [See plate 8].⁵⁸ Other books cover the crucial subjects of the appropriate conduct for princes, philosophy, as well as more pleasurable ones, such as Greek literature. Two of the books had previous owners, 'Ro: Beckwith' and John Robinson.⁵⁹ Again it is not clear exactly what Fairfax was doing with these books. His 'acquisition' was more likely plunder in this case, but it is informative that he

⁵⁵ Hotham's career is sketched here out of the *DNB*.

⁵⁶ Appendix C. nos. 169, 351, 415 and 38.

⁵⁷ Appendix C. nos 38, 37, 34, 33, 32, 31, 33 (second copy). This case is argued in Andrew Cambers, 'Pastoral Laudianism? Religious Politics In The 1630s: A Leicestershire Rector's Annotations', *Midland History*, 27 (2002), 38-51. The coherence is downplayed in Anthony Milton, 'The creation of Laudianism: a new approach', in Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Popularity In Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, 162-184, but cf. n. 3 on the coherence of the publications of 1636-7.

⁵⁸ See, Appendix C, no. 169.

⁵⁹ See, Appendix C., 178 (princely conduct), 415 (philosophy), 351 (Greek literature), 178 and 351 (previously owned).

An Answer to the Masse-priests

... they never failed to cut Christians throats; where they were masters, as the infinite Murders and Massacres of Christians there doe testify. neyther would they now content themselves to live peaceably, but that they see Christians all Townes to stand upon their guardes. but looke the chaynes of Law, and then assuredly these Wolves would not sayle to declare their woolluyn

Thirdly, no man wish to abrogate Lawes without iust causes. if then penall Lawes against Massepriests and their factious abettors should be abrogated, then they must shew, that their doctrine, and practise in killing Kinges, and making insurrections for their massing religion is changed. but in doctrine they say their synagogue cannot erre. their practise is declared to continue by the treason of *Walsion* and Clerke, two Masse-priests, and other Masse-louers their adherents.

Fourthly, to reuerse penall Lawes against this generation, were probably to dishonour her Maiestie, that now is with God, and all the State and Parliament, that approued and made those Lawes. for that were nothing else, but a publike sentence, declaring, that it was cruelly both to make such Lawes, and also to execute them.

Fifthly, as well might they require Lawes against notorious Traytors to be reuerced, as the Lawes against Massepriests and their factious adherents, whereof most are in case of treason. the same also were nothing else, but to giue liberty to such, as are combined with forreine Princes, and inttaine intelligence with open enemies, and are still packing to bring into *England* popish slaury and idolatry. for this is also the case of Massepriests and their factious abettors.

Sixtly, this would be a poynt contrary to christian policie. for neither did the Iewes at any time reuerse Lawes either against idolaters, and false prophets, or else against perturbors of States: nor did christian Emperours euer thinke it reasonable, to repeale their Lawes against the numerous circumcellions; fellowes much like to the Iebusites. Augustine

epist. 48. ad Vincentium, sheweth that the terror of Lawes against the Idolaters, did much profit. Finally, if our King should require the king of Spaine or Pope to reuerse their lawes, and demolish their butcheries and houses of Inquisition, or else if our brethren in Spaine and Italy would request the same, I beleue the Italians and Spaniards would not do it. what reason then haue Princes to requit that of others, which they will not themselves yield to others? if they would yield first, I thinke, they should not sinde churldun Princes of our Protestion vnto safeable.

Princes of our Protestion vnto safeable. Nay, we cannot safely yield any mitigation, or suspension of Lawe, considering the violence that the enemies of Religion vse in prosecuting their plots, and maintaining their errors. Queene Elizabeth then professed

pretended Supplication. red most, when she shewed her selfe most resolute in executing her Lawes. and should wee then our selues to be more base minded, then a woman, whose sexe is naturally fearefull? *Paradise cinitates* faith Tully lib. 5. in Per. *disperat* is omnibus rebus hoc solent extius existimare habere, vi damna in integrum restituantur, vincti soluantur, exules reducantur. This is the extremitie and most pernicious ende, which lost common-wealths are drawne vnto, to restore condemned persons, to let prisoners loose, and to bring home fugitiues. What better estate I pray you should wee then haue, if, dissolving Lawes, wee should bring home fugitiues, and giue liberty to damned Massepriests, as the *castrenatum colonii*, that is, the true claymers of chaines and fetters, as the comicall Poet calleth a certaine fellow much of their disposition?

H A P. III
Reasons of State against Toleration of popish Religion, requested by the Massepriests: . . .

IN makers of Religion, it is not altogether fit to depend vpon humane Policy, that must alwayes submit it selfe to diuine Lawes. yet when Policy concurrith with Religion, christian men should thew themselves neither well instructed in Religion, nor State, if they should neglect rules of State. *spote prudentes sunt serpentes, be wise* faith Christ, Mat. 10. as serpents. if then toleration of popish religion, such as is demanded, be contrary to groundes and rules of Policy; then I thinke no christian politike and wise man will iudge it fitting to receue a swarme of locustian Massepriests and Friers, stinging like Scorpions, and biting like Lions, Apocal. 9. into the bowles and bowels of the State, nor permit a gallimafray of massies, and hochpot of popish superstitions, to be tolerated eyther by Law, or conniueance of Officers.

But that is apparant first, for that no King can liue without danger, where either such birdes are suffered to flye abroade, as these are, or such doctrine taught, as they bring. for if it be lawfull to employon and lay violent handes vpon Princes and Kinges ex communicate, and deposed by the Pope, as *Chinards* positions recorded in the register of the Parliament of Paris Anno 1594. purport, and as *Parsons* in his booke of *Tutes Part. 1.* would prouoe, and as *Emanuel Sa* in his aphorismes verb. *Tyrannus* affirmeth, and as *Walspoude* that veneficall Iebusite told *Syure*, and finally, as the practise of Massepriests, in attempting at diuers times to suborne Murderers to kill Kinges, plainly sheweth; no King can be safe in his Kingdome, if these or their adherents can come neere him. they will lay percase, that the Pope will not excommunicate our King. but that is a ridiculous supposall, especially considering the christian Profession of his Maiestie, and the Popes lawes against such, as the aduersaries of Religion

Matthew Sutcliffe, The supplication of certaine masse-priests falsely called Catholickes (London, 1604), sigs. 113r-114v. YML, Shelfmark: (Old Library) XY 11/2. These two pages show Hotham's considerable interaction with this text.

preserved these books, some of which he was likely to have had little sympathy with.

A further set of books appear to have been acquired from William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele (1582-1662). He was educated at New College, Oxford, where he became a fellow in 1600. He was an ambitious man and a steadfast puritan, backed by godly relations such as Sir Robert Harley.⁶⁰ Towards the end of James I's reign, he was an opponent of the court, though he had a brief flirtation with Buckingham in the aftermath of the failed Spanish match, which gained him promotion to the rank of viscount. His alliances soon swung back and he was prominent in the refusal to pay the Forced Loan of 1626 and Ship Money and became a strong proponent of parliament's cause. During the personal rule, for reasons of piety as well as profit, he was engaged in schemes of colonization, in particular as a joint founder of the Providence Island company. Thwarted in other colonial enterprises in New England, he devoted his energies to the settlement of Providence Island. In the reign of Charles I, he was a strong opponent of royal policy and he became an important parliamentary figure, known as 'Old Subtlety' for his political tact. He was a moderate independent peer in the civil wars and influential in the passing of the self-denying ordinance. After 1648, he strove for a reconciliation between King and parliament and he played no part in public affairs following the King's execution, spending periods in retirement on the Isle of Lundy and at home at Broughton, where he wrote pamphlets against the Quakers. He returned to public affairs in 1660 and sat in the Convention Parliament and was appointed as one of the council of the colonies. He died in 1662.⁶¹

Eleven items in the Fairfax collection were owned by Saye and Sele and signed 'Gul Saye' and 'Guiliemi Saye.'⁶² They included four biblical commentaries, a

⁶⁰ Jacqueline Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the Outbreak of the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 61.

⁶¹ For the career of Saye and Sele, see *DNB*.

⁶² Appendix C nos. 293, 354, 357, 361, 363, 385, 395, 418, 419, 420, and 446. The Minster catalogue lists these as being owned by William Sage, which I think is a palaeographical mistake.

book on the Gospels, a biblical index and a collection of works (bound together) by Duns Scotus.⁶³ He had a presentation copy of Alexander Nowell's, *Katechismos* (1573) which was inscribed 'Gulielmi Sayei ex dono Alexandri Nowelli.'⁶⁴ Only one has the name of another owner; a biblical commentary owned by Andreas Peerson and William Whalley.⁶⁵ Three items have manuscript annotations.⁶⁶

There is no extant information as to how Fairfax gained these books, though it would be nice to believe (given their similar religious sensibilities) that they were acquired in connection with the search of Saye and Sele's study when, after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, the court believed he had treasonably encouraged the Scottish invasion and had his study searched for documents that would condemn him. However they came to Fairfax, it seems clear from their practical religious subjects that they were left to the library as working books for religious scholars.

Those of Hotham, Neile, Saye and Sele and Mount are only the most numerous of the books in the Fairfax collection that had previously been owned. Those others, mainly single items, will be discussed along with Fairfax's own collection. They included books owned by important figures such as Archbishop Tobie Matthew, King James I, Archbishop John Williams,⁶⁷ and a list of others: 'W.B.', Francis Blenkyson, 'J. Cleland', John Price, Robert Newell, William Heale, Henry and Richard Briggs, William Bayly, Thomas Brice, James Robinson, William Knighte, Robert Snellinge, William Clyff, John Caranus, Guilelmus Coppinger and Robert Baker.⁶⁸ Rather obviously, the

⁶³ For Scotus, see Appendix C., nos 418, 419 and 420.

⁶⁴ Appendix C., no. 293.

⁶⁵ Appendix C., no. 363.

⁶⁶ Appendix C., nos. 357, 418, 420.

⁶⁷ Appendix C., no. 335 (Matthew), 122 (James I) and 186 (Williams).

⁶⁸ Appendix C., nos. 94 (W. B.), 147 (Francis Blenkyson), 161 (J. Cleland), 262, 279, 292 (John Price), 263, 339 (Robert Newell), 265 (William Heale), 269 (Henry and

older the books in the Fairfax collection, the more likely they were to have been previously owned. They covered a range of subjects, roughly in keeping with Fairfax's other books, including classics and ancient history, books of law, of rhetoric and logic, politics, books of reference (dictionaries and biographies), and many of religion, covering church history, catholic liturgy, the defence of purgatory, prayer, biblical commentaries and works on sin, the sacraments and the Virgin Mary.

These books certainly have some interest, either in their subject matter or in their connections with previous owners. The Biblical commentary previously owned by Archbishop Matthew suggests that the gift of Mylius was not the only intellectual exchange between them.⁶⁹ Others suggest that some items were simply in the collection for safe keeping during the civil war. This is a possibility with the book once owned by the sixteenth century Precentor and Treasurer of York, William Clyff.⁷⁰ In addition, it is intriguing how a book from the royal library came into Fairfax's possession. The subject matter is important, since it suggests that Fairfax, if he read these books, was generally drawn towards works thoroughly in keeping with godly culture, but that he was quite prepared to own books of Catholic doctrine too.

However, it is the books for which the surviving evidence suggests Fairfax was the sole owner that must make up the centre of his godly culture, as far as it can be reconstructed through his library. These include 347 of the 446 extant items. Their ownership is likely to have been more personal and it is unlikely that they came from others with whom he had little sympathy but for whom he preserved them. They were also much more likely to be recent publications, and therefore may have had practical uses in contemporary situations. I do not

Richard Briggs), 277 (William Bayly), 298 (Giles Tomson), 315, 391 (Thomas Brice), 356 (James Robinson), 369 (William Knighte), 380, 382 (Robert Snellinge), 403 (William Clyff), 411 (John Caranus), 439 (Guilelmus Coppinger), 444 (Robert Baker).

⁶⁹ For Matthew's book, see Appendix C. no 335. For the gift of Mylius, see above, n. 30.

⁷⁰ Appendix C., no. 403.

propose to examine each item but to look for particular groupings of works that might signal some of his interests, while considering briefly some books of particular importance. This approach is impressionistic, and thus will not form the basis of solid conclusions, since there is little manuscript annotation and that which does survive is impossible to ascribe to Fairfax.⁷¹

The subject areas among Fairfax's library are certainly diverse and should dispel any notions that puritans were simply interested in matters of Calvinist theology. In fact, I will argue that godly culture could encompass a variety of subjects without diminishing its theological coherence. Though religious books made up the majority of Fairfax's collection, and influence many other subject areas, I will consider these neglected areas of godly culture before moving on to more familiar territory. At issue is the nature, use and significance of the library.

Several books in the library were strictly books of reference, such as dictionaries and books of epitaphs and epigrams. Though these could be imbued with religious fervour, their main use was likely to have been for reference. This may itself be of importance in signalling that Fairfax's was more than a collection of dusty books and in fact a working library, in which works of reference were consulted on matters of information and language, since his other books covered many subject areas and languages including French, Italian, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and English.

A significant subset of more than twenty works in Fairfax's library was composed of medical books, and though their general age suggests that they may have been bought second-hand or inherited, they contain no other marks of ownership. Their existence is probably indicative of Fairfax's interest in the books of William Mount, which were also predominantly medical. They may have been of practical importance to Fairfax himself and equally they may

⁷¹ Very few of these books are annotated. Some few are annotated and have no previous owner, for instance Appendix C. no. 386. However, in such cases (given the hand) it is likely that the annotations were in fact by others, but that they did not inscribe their names on the items.

show that his interest lay in areas of scientific knowledge. Such interest, signalled by a dozen or so books on astronomy, some of which were recent acquisitions, may have been an important component of his religious culture. It would be reinforced by several books of mathematics and geometry and some on natural history.⁷²

Probably in tandem with such scientific interests was a concern for books on philosophy and the law, which could well have served practical ends in his worldly affairs. These included books of logic and rhetoric, clearly important for the budding statesman, and books that would have been useful in his roles as Justice of the Peace and Member of Parliament, for instance on the laws of property and of marriage.⁷³ However, such categories were not discrete and thought must go in to differentiating between those that we might have expected him to own in his professional capacities and those which display his intellectual baggage. So, while they are still books about law, those which dealt with ecclesiastical law perhaps show us something about his views on Roman Catholicism, while those such as Abraham Fraunce's *The lawiers logicke* (1588) display more of his professional interests, since they dealt with practical and theoretical legal issues, and were most probably aimed at students.⁷⁴

In searching for the essence of godly culture, it is all too easy to forget the political sphere of puritanism, which is out of fashion among interpretations of the English revolution. However, Fairfax's library contains a significant number of books that are primarily political and connect his godly religious culture with a distinctive political standpoint. Some of these items are worth considerable attention. Importantly many of these books, which number more than twenty-five, concerned monarchy. They include thirteen works of poetry

⁷² For examples, see Appendix C nos. 221 (Medicine), 307 (Astronomy), 35 (Mathematics), 398 (Geometry) and 12 (Natural History).

⁷³ Appendix C., no 128, 320.

⁷⁴ Appendix C., no 230.

produced on political occasions.⁷⁵ Many of them were collections of poems on the deaths and successions of monarchs, and the births of their children. Such works were not, however, politically neutral. Originating in the universities, their congratulatory nature was a front for attempts at political persuasion. This is particularly clear in the items praising the (failure of) policy for the Spanish match in 1623.⁷⁶ Their very existence is an expression of the heavily politicised value of poetry. The fact that they were retained in the Fairfax collection suggests that he most likely had an affinity with those who saw the Providence of God acting against the desires of Prince Charles.⁷⁷

In addition to these poems on monarchy, Fairfax owned some other suggestive books on the rules for princes, the relationship between church and state, and the 'Protestant cause' in European politics. These included classic works such as the translation of Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*.⁷⁸ Clearly this book could have considerable importance in the 1630s and beyond, as it had had as propaganda value for Henry VIII's break with Rome. Taken together, this group of books had some importance, though whether it is wise to speculate on the potential importance of Fairfax's pocket edition of Machiavelli in the creation of a godly republican culture is open to debate.⁷⁹ Less controversial is the significance of reading works such as *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632).⁸⁰ This work was clearly more than a newsletter, given the grave anxieties among the godly of England's lack of commitment to the Protestant cause in Europe. Thus the very iconography of the title page could be important in the

⁷⁵ Appendix C, nos. 14, 16, 19, 39, 45, 54, 56, 57, 85, 108, 158, 171, 172.

⁷⁶ Appendix C., nos. 54, 56, 57.

⁷⁷ The best study of this affair, combining close analysis of religious and political attitudes, is Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁷⁸ Appendix C., no 290.

⁷⁹ Appendix C., no 138. It is possible that there was an awareness of the symbolism inherent in owning these kind of books.

⁸⁰ Appendix C., no 18.

development of godly culture [see plate 9]. In it, Gustavus Adolphus was in harmony with the Protestant message, battle ready on his horse, while below were the words of Psalm 45. This was in stark and deliberate contrast to the inaction of Charles I, at whose wavering the message was clearly aimed.⁸¹ I do not think, therefore, that it is fanciful to interpret this combination of books as a marker both of his godly culture and ideas about the virtues, if not of republicanism, then of accountable monarchy.⁸²

For Hobbes, as we have seen, the revolution was in part a product of the enthusiasm shown towards republican values by readers of ancient histories. Analysing the content of Fairfax's library, it is at least possible that his influences included histories, but less likely that they included ancient histories. In fact, he had scarcely any books about Roman history.⁸³ He did, however, have a number of books that can be classified as history, over half of which were about ecclesiastical history. Some of these books, for instance Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiam cognitionem* (1627) display an interest in the theory of history.⁸⁴ Other books suggest an affinity with particular historical figures. Particularly suggestive is his biography of Thomas Bodley,⁸⁵ in the shadow of whose Protestant tradition of library building Fairfax may

⁸¹ This suggestion is made in Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*, p. 49. It is also suggestive that Sharpe gives much weight to William Drake's attachment to the works of Machiavelli.

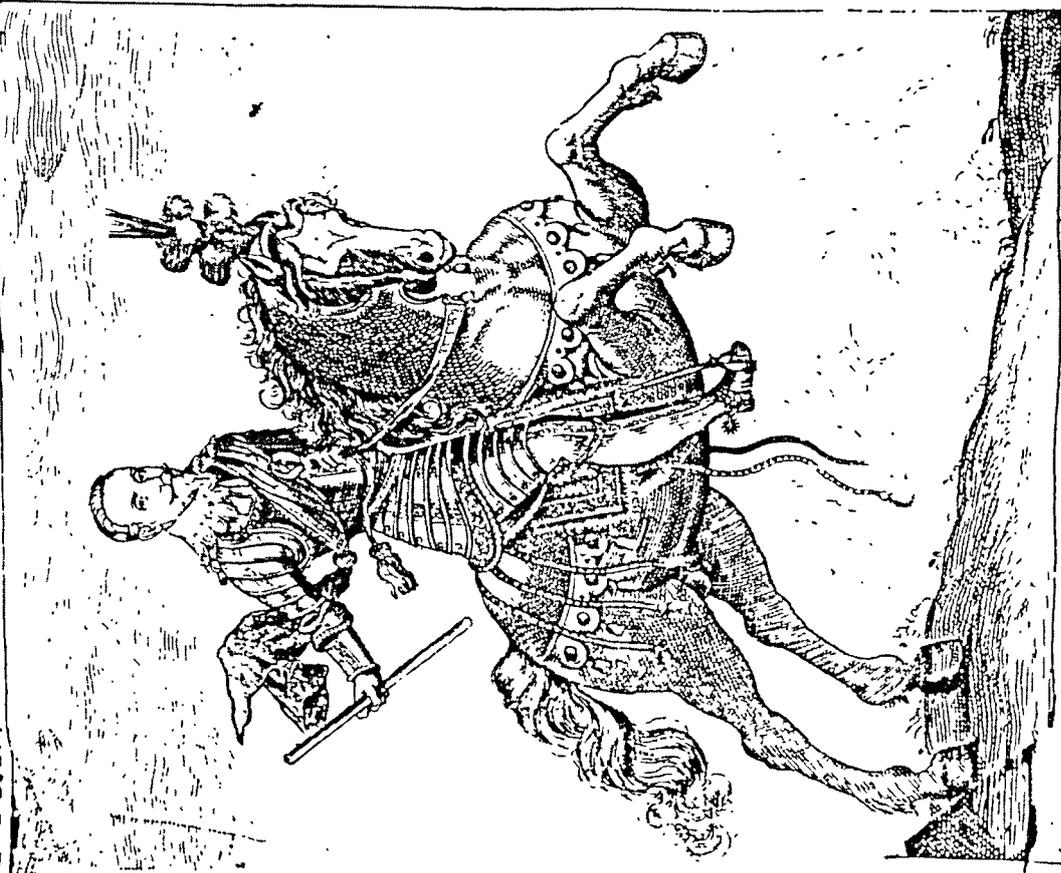
⁸² Fairfax's support for the 'Protestant cause' might have owed something to his father, who, in the 1620s, had written and distributed a manuscript tract entitled 'The Highway to Hedelbergh.' See, BL Add Ms 28236 ('The Highway to Hedelbergh by Thomas Fairfax, the First baron of Cameron.')

⁸³ Appendix C., no. 262. This scarcity may be tempered by Fairfax's appreciation of Roman artefacts, though this in turn is rendered unlikely by the fact that the most notable discovery, of a Roman sacrificial altar, with an inscription to Jupiter, was in fact presented by Fairfax to King Charles, during his visit to York in 1639. See, Francis Drake, *Eboracum: Or The History And Antiquities Of The City of York, From its Original to the Present Times* etc. 2 vols. (2 vols, London, 1736), vol 1, p. 56.

⁸⁴ Appendix C., no 29.

⁸⁵ Appendix C., no 103.

GUSTAVVS ADOLPHVS D. G. SVECORVM REX &c &c



Psal. 45. 4 & 5.
G. 1 thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, etc.

Good'like haue thou with thine honour:
rise on, because of the word of truth,

For Nathaniell Bucers & Nich. Bourne. G. Aboulin Sculpit

THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The first part.

W H E R E I N,

OUT OF THE TRVEST

And choysf Information, are the
famous Actions of that warlike Prince

Historically led along: from his Majesties first entering into the EMPIRE, vntill his great Victory over the General TILLY, at the Battell of *Leipsich*.

The times and places of every Action being so sufficiently observed and described, that the Reader may finde both Truth and Reason in it.

Now the third time, Revised, Corrected, and augmented.



L O N D O N.

Printed for Nath: Butter and Nicholas Bourn.

I 6 3 2.

Plate 9. William Watts, *The Swedish Intelligencer The first part*. (London, 1632), frontispiece and title-page. YML Old Library, Shelfmark: U 1.M.17(1). Appendix C, no. 18. The orderly order in the frontispiece which married scripture and war contrasted with the realities of Caroline England.

have been consciously following. The ecclesiastical histories are rather more wide-ranging, and included books as new as those bought in the 1630s and as old as those from the early sixteenth century.⁸⁶ They do not indicate any particular grouping, and include Catholic as well as Protestant histories. They do, however, indicate an interest in the recent history of the Church, that was clearly of importance in England in these years.⁸⁷

The largest section of books in Fairfax's library is explicitly about religion, comprising perhaps two thirds of all his books. Though they have coherence when described as religious, it is worth considering the subsets among them and the particular effect they might have had on Fairfax's religious and political culture. They include Protestant, Puritan, Catholic and Jesuit works, books of doctrine of all kinds, catechisms, books of sermons, the works of the Church Fathers, Bibles and Biblical commentaries, books about saints, contemporary religious controversies, sin and discipline.

Many of the books touched on matters of current political importance. As well as Hotham's books on the Arminian controversy, Fairfax owned some of the key works in this theological dispute, including those by Richard Montagu, John Pocklington and Thomas Jackson.⁸⁸ In addition, he had works on the sabbath by Francis White and Edward Brerewood, suggestive of his attachment to puritanism and discipline and of an awareness of the importance of the theological debates of the 1630s.⁸⁹ Collections of books printed some years before may also have had an important political resonance, in particular a cluster of works directly concerned with the Oath of Allegiance printed at the start of the seventeenth century.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Appendix C., nos. 15, 417.

⁸⁷ For this subject, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1603-1640*.

⁸⁸ Appendix C., nos. 6, 28, 30, 41, 42, 43.

⁸⁹ Appendix C., nos. 7, 11, 23.

⁹⁰ Appendix C., nos. 119, 131, 143.

In terms of theology, Fairfax himself may have had a consistent position, but his library betrays an interest in all sides of debates, containing English and Continental, Protestant and Puritan, Catholic and Jesuit works. Of interest is a group of sermons, stretching from recent acquisitions right back to those of the late fifteenth century. Certainly the time span is indicative of the sense of the past that English Protestants had, which is often discarded by historians studying particular theological groupings at a specific moment, as though they existed in isolation. This cultivation of the roots of the English sermon tradition, including those of Longland, bears some relation to the character of the books that his son, Thomas Fairfax, left to the Bodleian library.⁹¹ In addition, Fairfax certainly owned the essential books about English puritanism, including those of Richard Field and Peter Fairlambe together with works of Calvinist theology and books about the heroes of England's early Reformation, such as Ponet, and those of the continent, including Luther and others.⁹²

However, few conclusions can be drawn from the ownership of these books. Fairfax had a large number of books on Catholic doctrine, saints' lives and the controversies between Catholics and Protestants.⁹³ These included not just the acceptable refutations of Catholic works, but the original texts, catechisms, books of Catholic prayer and such like. He also had books about witchcraft and dreams.⁹⁴ It would be wrong to conclude that his interest in Catholicism was suspicious, but the predominance of such works make it impossible to place too much weight on some of his explicitly 'godly' books as markers of his own

⁹¹ Appendix C., no. 412. Thomas Fairfax left books including some with family links, such as his grandmother's copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and others that connected the godly cause to a Protestant 'tradition', especially the Wycliffite Bible. For a brief survey of the donation, see Clements R. Markham, *A Life Of The Great Lord Fairfax, Commander-In-Chief Of The Army Of The Parliament Of England*, p. 369.

⁹² Appendix C., nos. 156, 155, 344, 352.

⁹³ Appendix C., no. 214.

⁹⁴ Appendix C., nos. 195, 257, 242.

religious culture. Perhaps it is possible to gain something from the kinds of books not in the library, in particular more popular vernacular literature and plays. We would not expect puritans to have kept such material as tokens of their culture, even if, as Peter Lake has suggested, some of the more ‘popular’ forms of literature, such as murder pamphlets, could often contain a distinctly puritan message.⁹⁵ Certainly the library contains important suggestions, but for evidence relating to the heart of Fairfax’s religious culture we must look elsewhere.

II.

If the content of Fairfax’s library reveals little that can be described as distinctive in his godly culture, his attitude towards learning and how he acted on it reveals rather more. I have already considered Fairfax’s importance in the promotion of the godly at Otley Grammar School, his links with the sermons in that area in the years before the Civil Wars and his links with godly preachers and godly towns in the North of England.⁹⁶ There is considerably more than this, however, in particular his attitude towards learning apparent in his political actions during the Civil Wars.

Perhaps the key action in Fairfax’s preservation of learning was the due care he took to secure York Minster Library during the siege of York. Fairfax prevented the sacking of the library, gave orders to save the archives of the chapter and archbishopric and instructed the corporation to pay the salary of the library keeper.⁹⁷ Certainly this arose from a concern for order and discipline that was hostile to iconoclasm of all kinds, including the smashing of York’s stained glass. However, this preservation of the centre of knowledge (which contained a good deal of Protestant heritage, including Tobie Matthew’s

⁹⁵ For the most recent reiteration of this point, see Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrists Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, esp. p. 264.

⁹⁶ See p. 244 above.

⁹⁷ See Bernard Barr, ‘The Minster Library’ in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster*, p. 503.

library, and was of considerable monetary value) was also a symbolic act. Fairfax would have been aware of this symbolism and it was a shrewd move since the puritans were characterised as destructive by their enemies. Furthermore, his own library contained so much material that concerned the validity of the English Church, even during popish oppression. Interestingly, the guard on the library illustrates some common concerns with his son, Thomas, who guarded the Bodleian library and of whom John Aubrey wrote:

memorandum, when Oxford was surrendered (24 June 1646) the first thing General Fairfax did was to set a good guard of soldiers to preserve the Bodleian Library. It is said there was more hurt done by the cavaliers (during their garrison) by way of embezzling and cutting off chains of books, than there was since. He was a lover of learning, and had he not taken this special care, that noble library had been utterly destroyed- which N.B.; for there were ignorant senators enough who would have been contented to have had it so. This I do assure you from an ocular witness.⁹⁸

Considering the guard of the library in a broader context than simply the siege of York, it is certainly possible to relate Fairfax's actions to a desire to promote godly religious culture in the North of England and to see the specific role of the library in this promotion. The particular incident to which I will refer has not been the subject of much attention, partly because it remained a dream and partly because there are few studies of learning in York, especially beyond the medieval period.⁹⁹ The campaign I refer to, and in which Fairfax was involved, was the attempt to establish a university in the north of England.

The campaign can be followed through a set of letters, which show how integral the foundation of a university was to the permanent establishment of

⁹⁸ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Richard Barber (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 112.

⁹⁹ There are numerous studies relating to early periods, but the only sensible study impinging on this period remains, Johann H. Morgan, *Education And Learning In The City Of York 1300-1560*. Borthwick Papers, 55 (York, 1979).

godly culture in the North of England. Henry Fairfax wrote to his brother Ferdinando on 20 March 1640/1:

I have here inclosed some propositions lately made at Manchester, in a public meeting there, concerning an university; which, if you please to consider what good it may bring to our whole North, and other parts; what glory to the Parliament to be the founder of that, and what honour to your lordship to be chief agent in it; posterity may bless you, and the work itself will speak that the like hath not been in England (if Cambridge be the last), not of two thousand years.¹⁰⁰

Besides the obvious hope of the patronage of his brother, the letter is illuminating, especially in the permanence of the cultural changes proposed by the godly. The petition, addressed to Parliament and written on behalf of 'the nobility gentry, clergy, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the northern parts of England' gives us more detail.¹⁰¹ It argued that the lack of a university in the north had been a hindrance to the kingdom, bringing 'misery and unhappiness'¹⁰² to the Northern counties, since many were without an education as they were unable or unwilling 'to commit their children of tender and unsettled age so far from their own eyes, to the sole care and tuition of strangers.'¹⁰³ The general tone was heartfelt as they pleaded for 'the necessity of a third university, and the convenience of such a foundation in the town of Manchester, for the future advancement of piety and good learning amongst us.'¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Henry Fairfax to Ferdinando Fairfax, 20 March 1640-41. G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence. Memorials of the Reign of Charles the First* 2 vols. (2 vols, London, 1848), vol. 2, p. 271.

¹⁰¹ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 271-274.

¹⁰² G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 271-272.

¹⁰³ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 272.

¹⁰⁴ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 272.

The reasoning was expressed in six points. Firstly that the distance of the universities from the north meant that many preferred to bring them up in the country, or else send them to foreign universities, which may have been a code-word for seminaries. Second, that it was very expensive to send children away, since the universities were already overcrowded, and that many were forced to leave before taking any degree and take up positions as unlearned country clergymen. Third, that a university would encourage godly clergy in the north of England, against the rising threat of papists. Fourthly, that it was not right that the charity of northern gentlemen funded southern universities. It would be a blessing to the commonwealth to give them an establishment to bless with their benefactions. Fifthly, such a university would give honour to the north, which is so removed from court and universities. And sixthly, that Manchester 'be the fittest place for such a foundation'¹⁰⁵ being at the centre of the North, a place of antiquity, fame and ability well suited in position and resources to house a university, with the convenience of an existing college.

Rather unsurprisingly, Manchester was not without competition for this new centre of godly learning, and two petitions survive from the nobility, gentry, clergy, freeholders and other inhabitants of the city of York.¹⁰⁶ The first petition read similarly to that of Manchester, simply stating the case for the foundation, with five points as to why it should be in York. They too claimed that many northern parents were reluctant to send their children to the southern universities, sometime sending them to Scotland, but with a university in York, that many Scots might come to England for their education. Secondly, Oxford and Cambridge were too expensive. Thirdly that a new establishment would counter a rise in popery that was at its height in these parts. Fourthly that the kingdom would receive honour from a university at York, as the Scots had 'long glorified in the literature of four.'¹⁰⁷ Finally that York was clearly the most appropriate place, being at the centre of the northern parts, 'a very ancient

¹⁰⁵ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 273.

¹⁰⁶ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 274-280.

¹⁰⁷ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 275-276.

and famous city, supported by the strong pillars of commerce and trade from many foreign kingdoms', with a navigable river, affordable food, accommodation and fuel, an existing college with a big enough hall for the readers and lodgings for students, many fair houses, formerly for deans and prebends, but that could be put to 'some pious uses' and also St William's College which could be of use. The most important feature, however, was described in a separate paragraph:

And lastly, there is the benefit of a library, sometime the most famous in Europe, but being burnt about that time the university of Paris was founded, it may now again be made to flourish by the help of charitable persons.¹⁰⁸

A second petition, from the inhabitants of York made the association of learning and godliness even clearer, since its first paragraph settled on stating that the establishment of such a university would enable many young scholars to be made 'fit for the discharge of the ministerial function in the Church of God', especially in the North. The existing universities, they argued, were (and would continue to be) 'the glory of Europe', but they were full and yet many Church livings were filled by ignorant men. Secondly, it would help the civility of the North:

we have been looked upon as a rude and almost barbarous people in respect of those parts, which, by reason of their vicinity to the universities, have more fully partaken of their light and influence, so we cannot but be importunate in this request; in which, if we may prevail, we hope it will be a special means of washing from us the stain of rudeness and incivility, and of rendering us (to the honour of God and this kingdom) not much inferior to others in religion and conversation.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 276.

¹⁰⁹ G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 278.

They made it clear that those who would be willing to give their children to the ministry, but were dissuaded by the cost of Oxford and Cambridge, would be able to do so with a northern university. They argued that it was unlikely that the north would be cured of popery without scholars and that York would be the best place from which to launch such an offensive. It had all the resources mentioned in the previous petition, such as an existing college (the Bedron) and a printer.¹¹⁰

Of course, nothing came of these plans, primarily because, as Fairfax replied to his brother's letter, it was expensive and since it would have had to go through Parliament, which comprised so many men from Oxford and Cambridge, it would have met stern resistance.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, Fairfax himself was in favour and it is therefore important to relate it back into his personal and public godly culture, which connected godliness, northern identity, the library and the prospect of a new university.

III.

One place we might look for further information about Fairfax's godly culture would be in his printed publications, and in writings about him. For the moment, I will exclude those items that dealt with his death, which I will come to later in the chapter. For now, however, I propose a brief examination first of those works which he put his hand to, either as sole or co-author, followed by an analysis of those books which concerned his political actions in some form or other.

Those that Fairfax wrote can be dealt with swiftly, certainly from the angle of religious culture, if not civic virtue, rhetoric and military strategy (which will

¹¹⁰ The virtue of a press was found in an alternative version of this petition. See, G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 280.

¹¹¹ For Ferdinando Fairfax's reply, see G.W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 180.

not be explored here).¹¹² Around thirty items carried Fairfax's name, though some of these were duplicate items simply with differing places of printing.¹¹³ They were short, cheap publications, designed for the widest possible audience and relating in general either letters or speeches of military and political affairs. Some had a potential local audience, but in general they appear to have been written for urban centres and their readers. That the audiences might not have been exclusively learned is suggested by the occasional use of black letter, which is considered to have been the most (intel)legible type.¹¹⁴ Of course,

¹¹² For the compelling argument that the references to the literature of chivalry in the exchange between Newcastle and Fairfax opened up a language in which both could articulate their attitudes towards war, see J. S. A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 183-185.

¹¹³ The main texts (not including variant editions) are: *A letter from the Right Honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, to His Excellency Robert Earle of Essex. Relating his late prosperous successes against the popish army in the north* (London, 1643); *A declaration of the Right Honourable the Earle of Newcastle His Excellency, &c in answer of six groundlesse aspersions cast upon him by the Lord Fairefax* (York, 1643); *A true and exact relation of the great victories obtained by the Earl of Manchester, and the Lord Fairfax;* (London, 1643); *The good and prosperous successes of the Parliaments forces in York-Shire: against the Earle of New-Castle and his popish adherents* (London, 1643); *Newes from the siege before Yorke* (London, 1644); *A reall protestation of many, and very eminent persons in the county of Yorke* (London, 1642); *A letter from the right honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sir Hugh Cholmley, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Henry Cholmley, committees of the Commons house of Parliament residing at Yorke.* (London, 1642); *The articles of the surrender of the city of Yorke to the Earle of Leven, Lord Fairefax, and Earle of Manchester* (London, 1644); *The answer of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax to a declaration of William Earle of Newcastle* (London, 1643); *A letter sent from the right honorable the Lord Fairfax, to the committee of both kingdoms: concerning the great victory, lately obtained (by Gods blessing) at Selby in York-shire* (London, 1644); *An answer of the Right Honourable Earle of Newcastle, his excellency &c. to the six groundless aspersions cast upon him by the Lord Fairefax* (Oxford, 1642); *A happy victory obtained by the Lord Fairefax and Captaine Hotham* (London, 1642); *A fuller relation of that miraculous victory which it pleased God to give unto the Parliaments forces under the command of the Right Honourable the Lord Fairefax, against the Earle of New Castles army at Wakefield in Yorkshire* (London, 1643); *A Letter from Generall Leven, the Lord Fairfax, and the Earl of Manchester, to the committee of both kingdoms, and by them communicated to the Parliament concerning the great victory it hath pleased God to give them over the forces under the command of Prince Rupert and the Marquesse of Newcastle, at Marstam-moor, neer York* (London, 1644); *A copy of a letter sent from the Lo. Fairfax to the mayor of Hull and by him sent to the committee of both kingdoms, concerning the great victory obtained against Prince Rupert about the raising the siege at York* (London, 1644).

¹¹⁴ For the wide appeal of Black Letter, see Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England' in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in*

some of these publications touched on religious matters, but they reveal little about godly culture itself. They tend to signify that churches were considered an essential forum for public political knowledge: for instance Newcastle's *A declaration* (1643) was to be 'published in all the Churches and Chappells within this city and County of Yorke.'¹¹⁵ Otherwise God was invoked as he to whom victory was ascribed and dedicated. These were generic works that reveal little from our perspective. At one level of abstraction, they might betray something: namely that they deliberately obscure the centrality of his puritanism in the public political forum.

Probably because they cover a wider range of subjects, those works about Fairfax yield up a little more information. Particularly important are a series of sermons, which display more about Fairfax's godly culture. In particular, I will consider two sermons by John Shaw: *Two Clean Birds* (York, 1644) and *Brittains Remembrancer* (York, 1644).¹¹⁶ *Two Clean Birds* was a publication of a sermon which was originally preached before 'our Joshua of the North', that is Ferdinando Fairfax.¹¹⁷ It was clearly part of the parliamentary cause, dedicated to Robert, Earl of Essex and published shortly after their success at

Transition, 97-131. For an example of the use of Black Letter (Italic), *The good and prosperous successe of the Parliaments forces in York-Shire: against the Earle of New-Castle and his popish adherents* (London, 1643).

¹¹⁵ William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, *A declaration of the Right Honourable the Earle of Newcastle His Excellency, &c in answer of six groundlesse aspersiones cast upon him by the Lord Fairefax, in his late warrant bearing date Feb. 1642* (York, 1643), p. 10.

¹¹⁶ John Shaw, *Two clean birds, or, The cleaning of the leper as it was unfolded in a sermon preached before the right honourable Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, Generall of the northern forces, and the most of his army, on the fifth day of February, 1642 (being the Lords day, and by his honor appointed to bee kept as a fast upon speciall occasion) at Selbie, in the West Riding of the county of Yorke* (York, 1644); John Shaw, *Brittains remembrancer: Or, The nationall covenant. As it was laid out in a sermon preached in the minster at Yorke, before the Right Honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Lord Generall of all the forces raised in the North, for the King and Parliament, and the Honourable both Commissioners for the two kingdomes of England and Scotland, and the standing-committee for the county of York, upon Friday Sept. 20, 1644 when his honour, with the said Commissioners committee and divers knights, gentlemen, and citizens, solemnly took the nationall covenant.* (York, 1644).

¹¹⁷ John Shaw, *Two Clean Birds*, sig. A2v.

York as part of a campaign to restore civic and godly order. As a sermon, it naturally concerned the practice of religious life. Taking as its text passages from Leviticus, the sermon attempted to relate the story of the clean birds killed by the earthen vessel to the contemporary political and religious situation. Clearly then, the papists were represented by the birds which, if they were not to be killed, were to be converted by the earthy vessels that were the godly. The point of the sermon then, was that the only way this could be achieved was by the upholding of the spiritual purity of the godly. Since it was preached to Fairfax, we can assume that he had sympathy with its message. It had some clear points on the practice of godly life. It was to be without sabbath breaking and swearing and discipline was to be enforced by spiritual soldiers, the clergy.¹¹⁸ Popish filth was to be cleansed with godly order and a seriousness for the Bible, which was not to be loosely interpreted. As Shaw wrote, ‘wanton talk which men call mirch and jesting, the scripture calls filthy communication.’¹¹⁹ So here was a plan to cleanse the people of sin. Incidentally, the dedicatory material suggests some affinity with the idea of the true church. Shaw prayed for better times since ‘the people of God [have] been scorned and nicknamed a long time, for Waldenses, Hussites, Lollards, Lutherans, Hugenots, Precisians, Puritans, (or all in one) Round-heads.’¹²⁰ The sermon was clearly aimed at the further reformation of the city of York, even if the printed version had a more general purpose. The local agenda was one pursued vigorously by Fairfax and its religious tone was surely characteristic of his religious temperament.

Britains Remembrancer was written from a sermon preached on 20 September 1644 at a high point of enthusiasm for the godly cause. Shaw preached at the Minster before Fairfax, the English and Scottish commissioners and the county committee for Yorkshire, on the occasion that many took the covenant. This was a public occasion, and the tone was heavily puritanical, though it warned

¹¹⁸ John Shaw, *Two Clean Birds*, p. 24.

¹¹⁹ John Shaw, *Two Clean Birds*, p. 8.

¹²⁰ John Shaw, *Two Clean Birds*, sig. A3v.

of a job half-done. How far Fairfax agreed with his particular points, for instance the defence of the covenant and the hostility towards the office of bishops, is not clear, but the prominence Fairfax is given in the printed version is suggestive of a thoroughly puritanical position both in politics and religion.

IV.

Books were clearly important to godly cultures but they were not everything. A fuller examination of the cultural aspects of Fairfax's godly culture will reveal broader concerns. The problem with such an approach is that primary material is not always evident. In this section, I will attempt an examination of the cultural perspective by examining Fairfax's links with the mineral waters of healing wells and an attempt to popularise them in print together with the importance of Fairfax as a cultural symbol for the godly, through a brief analysis of the dreams and visions in which Fairfax appeared and a summary of their importance. Clearly, some of the information is important not simply to Fairfax's godly culture, but also in examining the impact of print more generally in the north and the appropriations between elite and popular, godly and traditional cultures.

In particular, I would like to focus on a propaganda campaign that centred on the holy wells of Knaresborough and the links the campaign had to more urban areas, particularly York. The Knaresborough wells were a series of springs spread over a small area, each of which had its own distinct purpose. They included 'stinking' sulphur wells and 'sweet' wells, a petrifying well which turned objects placed into it into stone, and two more famous wells: that of Saint Mungo at Copgrove and Saint Robert. The waters of each had their own properties and visits to the saints' wells, in particular, had long been popular. Briefly, the Reformation placed such sites in danger of redundancy, since they were associated with saints and were often the destinations of now outlawed pilgrimages. However, they regained importance late in the sixteenth century when they were walled up and expert opinion was sought in order to make best use of their waters. It was with the recognition of the medical values of the waters, particularly under the guidance of Timothy Bright, the rector of

Methley and the famous author on melancholy, that the wells became important again.¹²¹

The 1620s saw a concerted attempt to popularise the waters, in competition with established continental resorts such as Spa. It is the means through which this campaign was attempted, that of print, which is of particular concern for my purposes. A series of short locally ‘published’ works emerged to popularise the waters. The first of these was Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica. Or, the English spaw-fontaine etc.*¹²² Deane’s book was printed in London but clearly had a local audience in mind, since its title page signified that it was ‘to be sold by Richard Foster, neere the Minster gate in Yorke.’¹²³ Though in a large folio format, the book was relatively short, and divided into numerous chapters on the specific uses and properties of the waters. The book was written in 1626 by Edmund Deane, a ‘Dr in Physicke’ who lived in York, and addressed to the other ‘physitians’ of York. He wrote, he suggested, out of duty and at the request of local doctors and against the slanders of the malicious. In particular, Drs Bright and Hunton had encouraged him to write it. The book focused on the ‘English Spaw’ which was otherwise known (by the locals) as the ‘Tewhit Well.’¹²⁴ The preface set out its agenda to rival Spa and, though it suggested that it was asking a bit much for Knaresborough to surpass Spa, claimed it could match it. Knaresborough was presented, in the manner of a tour guide, as

¹²¹ The best guide to these wells is Alexandra Walsham, ‘Reforming the Waters: Holy Wells And Healing Springs in Protestant England’, in D. Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-c.1700* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 248- 255. Contextual information can be found in James Rutherford (ed.), *Spadracene Anglica* (Bristol, 1922).

¹²² Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica. Or, the English spaw-fontaine* (London, 1626). There had been previous attempts to popularise such waters. See, for instance, John Jones, *The benefit of the auncient bathes of Buckstones which cureth most greuous sicknesses : neuer before published* (London, 1572).

¹²³ It is likely that Richard Foster was a relative of John and Anthony Foster, who had run a successful book business in York earlier in the century. See above, p. 21.

¹²⁴ Tewhit was the common name for the lapwing, *Vannellus cristatus*. For a suggestion of a link between a magical culture and the spring, we might note that Fairfax’s *Daemonologia*, as well as including a visit to St Mungo’s Well, has a witch with a familiar in the shape of a large yellow bird called “Tewhit.” See, William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 33.

an ancient market town situated on a hill (as godly centres were meant to be), which had wholesome waters and clean, dry and pure air. It lacked nothing ‘for the content and entertainment of strangers.’¹²⁵ Clearly the pamphlet was encouraging the tourist trade, assisted by the local print. It suggested that, unlike Spa, from where the waters could be taken to all parts, the waters from the English Spa became less effective the further they were taken from their source and were virtually worthless if taken as far as York. The properties of the waters were good, he insisted, for all sorts of diseases, for worms in children and for women in childbirth. They needed to be taken under supervision, and a physician should be consulted first. It is abundantly clear that the pamphlet was an attempt to use the properties of the waters to drum up a tourist trade and to bolster the business of the local doctors. It was also a distinctly reformed campaign as Deane was keen to appropriate the wells of Saint Magnus and Saint Robert but to strip them of their saintly popularity. Deane thought that the ‘incredible wonders and miracles’ previously attributed to the saints’ wells were rather ‘fictions and lies’ whose popularity was down to ‘our overmuch English credulity, or ... rather superstition.’¹²⁶

The next issue was compiled by Michael Stanhope in 1627. Entitled, *Newes out of York-shire*, and printed in London, it was an attempt to spread the printed message further than had been attempted in the previous year.¹²⁷ A smaller and probably cheaper publication, it was dedicated to the wife of Lord Stanhope. It

¹²⁵ Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica. Or, the English spaw-fontaine* (London, 1626), p. 2.

¹²⁶ Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica. Or, the English spaw-fontaine* (London, 1626), p. 3. There is also a suggestion that the waters of saint Mungo’s Well were used to counter the fits of possession. Edward Fairfax’s *Daemonologia* records that Maud Jeffray, whose father allied with the local godly party, had been intending to go to St Mungo’s well on 30 June 1622, presumably to relieve her of her possession. In fact she did not go, it was revealed to Helen Fairfax in a vision, as she was prevented from doing so and made to eat the twelve peaches prescribed to her by a wiseman. See, William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 121.

¹²⁷ Michael Stanhope, *Newes out of York-shire: or, an account of a journey, in the true discovery of a soueraigne minerrall, medicinall water, in the West-Riding of Yorke-shire, neere an ancient towne called Knaresbrough, not inferiour to the spa in Germany Also a taste of other minerrall waters of seuerall natures adioyning. By M.S.* (London, 1627).

also had a new preface to the reader in which Stanhope made it clear that ‘In substance I differ not much from the Spadacrene lately published by a grave Doctor.’¹²⁸ It was a brief reworking of this text for a wider audience with some more specific references to the recent healing of the waters. He followed it with *Cures Without Care*¹²⁹ and there were further publications after 1649, when Edmund Deane’s *Spadacrene Anglica* was revised and published with additions by John Taylor and printed by Thomas Broad ‘to be sold in his shop at the lower end of Stonegate, near to Common-Hall-Gates.’¹³⁰

This last was an interesting publication since it added to Deane’s original text ‘A Relation of Certain Particular Cures Done by Vertue of Minerall Waters, neare Knaresborow in the west-riding of the County of Yorkshire’, which had been written by Michael Stanhope around 1632 and was designed to present the cures done by the waters ‘to the publick view.’¹³¹ It is particularly significant for our purposes since it shows the geographical range of the well’s popularity and its inter-relation with important members of the godly community in the north of England.

¹²⁸ Michael Stanhope, *Newes out of York-shire*, sig. A4r.

¹²⁹ Michael Stanhope, *Cures without care, or A summons to all such who finde little or no helpe by the use of ordinary physick to repaire to the northerne Spaw Wherein by many presidents of a few late yeares, it is evidenced to the world, that infirmities in their owne nature desperate and of long continuance have received perfect recovery, by vertue of minerall waters neare Knaresborow in the West-riding of Yorkeshire. Also a description of the said water, and of other rare and usefull springs adjoyning, the nature and efficacie of the minerals contained in them, with other not impertinent notes. Faithfully collected for the publique good by M. St.* (London, 1632).

¹³⁰ John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica, = the English spaw, or, The glory of Knaresborough springing from severall famous fountains there adjacent, called the vitrioll, sulphurous, and dropping wells; and also other minerall waters. Their nature, physicall use, situation, and many admirable cures being exactly exprest in the subsequent treatise of the learned Dr. Dean, and the sedulous observations of the ingenious Michael Stanhope Esquire. Wherein it is proved by reason and experience, that the vitrioline fountain is equall (and not inferiour) to the Germane spaw.* (Published (with other additions) by John Taylor apothecary in York : And there printed by Tho: Broad, being to be sold in his shop at the lower end of Stonegate, near to Common-Hall-Gates, 1649).

¹³¹ John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica, = the English spaw*, p. 29.

Certainly the list promoted in print the cures done to visitors who came from far and wide: from Derbyshire, Edinburgh, Nottinghamshire, Northumberland and Suffolk, as well as from Yorkshire. Its properties were more powerful than other wells. In the summer of 1631, for instance, the Countess of Buckingham, having been advised to take the waters of Wellingborough to cure her shortness of breath but to no avail, was advised by 'a learned artist' to come to Knaresborough, where she was cured. William Thompson, the postmaster of Wetherby, after suffering from a fever for twenty-eight weeks in Cambridgeshire where the doctors gave up hope, came to Knaresborough and was cured. Many also came from Yorkshire to cure ailments ranging from vertigo to stones, ulcers, infertility, headaches and epilepsy.

The waters were recommended by the more zealous Protestants and dispel any notions that their religious culture was above appropriating popular cures. The wife of the minister at puritan Beverley, Mistress Ellis, was cured of an ulcer. Furthermore,

The Lady Hoyle wife to the new lord major of the City of Yorke, after she had been the mother of foure children, did fall into a strange infirmity. Her face (for the most part every ten or eleven weeks after she had conceived) did swell and grow very red, many knots arising in diverse parts of her face. The swelling sometimes was such that it almost deprived her (for the time) of her sight: during the continuance of which trouble she miscarried of three or foure children together. It must be supposed one of her ability (being happy also by enjoying a tender, loving husband) could want no means that part could afford, but no proof or good successe was found. She was at last advised to repaire to the *Spaw*, where she stayed about 3. weeks, finding apparent signes of her bodies alteration. Within two moneths of her return home, it pleased God she conceived, continuing in a constant state of health to the time of her delivery. She hath since then hath been blest with diverse children, not having the least touch of her former distemper.¹³²

¹³² John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica*, pp. 35-36.

The sulphur well also had its Protestant enthusiasts. Mr Smith, a shoemaker from York troubled by scurvy, was advised 'by a learned scholler in the Citie (by profession a Divine yet versed of late in physical notions) to send for the sulphur spring water to his house.'¹³³ He was cured. In 1631, one Greathead, a Yorkshire minister, came to Knaresborough to visit a noble lady who took the waters of the dropping well. He was sceptical of the practice but, struck down by a serious illness, he too was persuaded by a Dr Web to drink the waters and he recovered.¹³⁴

Most remarkably, there is also the account of a poor man's visit to the sulphur well in 1629. He bathed in the waters daily and cured a badly swollen knee. This was observed by a 'A noble Knight (who lived then near Knaresborow) [who] took (as there was good cause) speciall notice of this strange cure, whose unblemished reputation is a sufficient warrant to satisfie me in the publishing of it.' This was Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, identified by the initials Sr F F in the margin, whose endorsement suggests that we should not divide between puritan cultures and popular healing cultures.¹³⁵ This is clearly significant since it gives us the location of Fairfax at this time, which has previously been unclear. It also suggests that his godly culture was adaptable to incorporate ideas once thought superstitious but now increasingly scientific, particularly after the publication of Edward Jorden's *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes*.¹³⁶

¹³³ John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica*, p. 38.

¹³⁴ John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica*, p. 39.

¹³⁵ John Taylor, Edmund Deane and Michael Stanhope, *Spadacrene Anglica*, p. 37. It might also be noted that, as far as attitudes towards healing and their acceptability among Protestants went, there was a distinction between drinking the water and bathing in it. Such a division, in a slightly different context, might be followed through Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Quackery and Enthusiasm; or Why Drinking Water Cured the Plague', in A. Cunningham and O. P. Grell (eds.), *Religio Medici: religion and medicine in seventeenth-century England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1996), 313-339, and his 'Bathing and Baptism: Sir John Floyer and the Politics of Cold Bathing' in K. Sharpe and S. Zwicker eds. *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley (CA) and London, 1998), 197-216.

¹³⁶ Edward Jorden, *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes, and Mineral Waters* (London, 1631). For Jorden's career and his link to religious 'orthodoxy', see Michael

Indeed, there is clearly a progression in the series of publications about the wells towards the courting of a readership that is expressly scientific. For instance, John French's, *The York-shire Spaw* (1652) was a significantly longer work with a Latin dedication. Furthermore, its preface to the reader presented an account of his visit to Knaresborough in 1651 with the express aim of convincing other professionals of the chemical properties of the waters, 'Especially some worthy Drs in the South.'¹³⁷

The above discussion of the attempts to popularise the waters shows that propaganda campaigns, moving through types of media, with different audiences in mind, could be accomplished successfully within a distinctly godly culture. The publications are important because they show that there was no division between popular and elite, godly and superstitious, regarding the waters, but rather that the godly appropriated both the means of communication and the scientific arguments that enabled them to place the healing properties of mineral waters firmly within their culture. They also help broaden our perspective on two individuals, Lady Hoyle and Ferdinando Fairfax.

Commonly, Lady Elizabeth Hoyle, the wife of Alderman Thomas Hoyle of York, is described as a model of puritan virtue.¹³⁸ Her husband rose in the civic hierarchy, becoming Governor of the York Company of Merchant Adventurers in 1629, Lord Mayor in 1632 and 1644, as well as representing York in parliament in 1628 and 1640. His godly credentials are impeccable. He was

MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London. Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover case* (London, 1991).

¹³⁷ John French, *The York-shire spaw, or A treatise of four famous medicinal wells, viz. the spaw, or vitrioline-well; the stinking, or sulphur-well; the dropping, or petrifying-well; and St. Mugnus-well, near Knares-borow in York-shire. Together with the causes, vertues, and use thereof. Composed by John French, Dr. of Physick* (London, 1652), sig. A4v.

¹³⁸ See especially, Claire Cross, 'A Man of Conscience in Seventeenth-Century Urban Politics: Alderman Hoyle of York', in John Morrill, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *Public Duty And Private Conscience In Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G. E. Aylmer* (Oxford, 1992), 205-224. Important contextual information on York puritanism and biographical detail on Hoyle can be found in J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 175 ff.

churchwarden of St Martin's, Micklegate in 1613 (his sister married the minister, Philip Nesbitt) and he made use of civic office to provide provision for the poor of the city. He was a friend of William Hart, the Merchant Adventurer and former preacher at the English Church at Emden, whom he also appears to have housed on his return to York.¹³⁹ Despite a Laudian clampdown, Hoyle was instrumental in bringing a godly preacher, John Birchall, to St Martin's in 1633, who swiftly got into trouble with the ecclesiastical courts before his death in 1640. Hoyle also had links with the northern godly. Alexander Cooke, for example, specified in his will that his son Thomas Cooke should be brought up as an apprentice under the care of 'Mr Thomas Hoyle nowe Lord Mayor of Yorke ... for I accompt of him as a man fearing God and learned.'¹⁴⁰ John Shaw, the godly preacher and leader of the York puritans in the 1630s, also sent one of his daughters to be educated in the household.¹⁴¹ Hoyle's life, career and friends are all indicative of a factional puritanism in York that was centred around preferment and sociability, in particular in the parishes of St Martin's, Micklegate and All Saint's, Pavement.

Elizabeth Hoyle is conventionally described as a model puritan, 'a lively pattern of heavenly conversation.' Much like Lady Hoby, she heard sermons, meditated, read and catechized her household.¹⁴² The two portraits that appear of her life might seem at odds with each other. In her funeral sermon, originally preached by John Birchall but published in 1644 and to be sold at Thomas Broad's shop in Stonegate as part of the attempt to re-establish civic rule in York, she was presented as a pious puritan. However, such an account was

¹³⁹ The parish register records at Hart's death that he had been a 'sojornerer with the worshipfull Thomas Hoyle Alderman', See J. A. Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York', pp. 202-203.

¹⁴⁰ For Alexander Cooke's will, see BI, The Episcopal Registers, 1215-1650 (Harvester Microfilm, Pt 1: The Archbishops of York, Reel 15, Item 31/232).

¹⁴¹ Claire Cross, 'A Man of Conscience in Seventeenth-Century Urban Politics: Alderman Hoyle of York', p. 224.

¹⁴² For the quotation and general impression, see John Birchall, *The non-pareil, or, The vertuous daughter surmounting all her sisters* (York, 1644), p. 8.

coloured by political circumstances, especially in the emphasis placed on civic virtues and her care for the poor. On the other hand, the image cast in the propaganda for the wells was of godliness and of medical danger averted by the healing waters. It suggests that, for a time, her medical condition was good, unlike the poem appended to the funeral sermon, which emphasized the misery of her medical condition: 'you bore twelve children (if I do not erre)/ And soon eleven of them you did interre.'¹⁴³ The differing portraits alert us both to the value of using such sources to glean personal details, and also to the pitfalls. Each printed publication had a reading public in mind and often a political purpose. One is never really enough and is often misleading in narrowing the focus of godly culture, especially when the focus is on the generic mediums such as funeral sermons which tend to illustrate personal and individual piety in a conventional manner.

The information gleaned from such unlikely sources on godly individuals is clearly of importance since it widens the perspective on seemingly well-known individuals. Of course, they have the same problems of other printed materials, but taken in combination they help to provide a wider perspective on godly religious cultures. For Ferdinando Fairfax, the information of his support for the mineral waters is doubly important since it helps to reveal the connections between the importance of scientific improvement to the early Stuart godly and that which is better known for the middle years of the seventeenth century. For the Fairfaxes this can be seen as a move from supporting the attempts to popularise mineral waters to actively using them for health purposes, again within their godly cultures. The correspondence of the Fairfax family reveals that Ferdinando was actively engaged in correspondence relating to the wells and probably in their promotion, as can be seen in the letters of Lord Morely and Monteaige to Ferdinando in 1644 describing an extended stay at Knaresborough.¹⁴⁴ Further correspondence reveals that Ferdinando and his

¹⁴³ John Birchall, *The non-pareil, or, The vertuous daughter surmounting all her sisters*, p. 39.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family with the most distinguished personages engaged in that memorable contest* (2 vols, London, 1849), vol 1, pp. 137-138.

brother Charles wrote to each other about the possible outbreak of plague in the summer of 1646, and that their knowledge was directly influenced through the printed word. As Charles wrote to Ferdinando, 'The advice of the London Physicians, in a printed book, hath been of excellent use ...'¹⁴⁵ There is also the suggestive if not explicit evidence of Ferdinando Fairfax's residence at Bath in 1646 which may have been for medical reasons.¹⁴⁶

To complete this section, it is necessary to examine the psychological effect of Ferdinando Fairfax as a strong cultural symbol for the godly. Though I do not propose to analyse them for their meaning (which often results in disaster), the dreams and visions in which Fairfax appeared are surely of some importance. I have already shown how Fairfax appeared to Helen Fairfax in one of her possessed visions in November 1621. Edward Fairfax recalled:

she saw a black dog by her bedside, and after a little sleep, she had an apparition of one like a young gentleman, very brave; and a hat with a gold band, and ruff in fashion; he did salute her with the same compliment, as she said, Sir Ferdinando Fairfax useth when he came to the house to salute her mother...

As it happens, of course, the man was really a demon disguised as her cousin, since he tried to make her kill herself, could not abide the name of God and was scared off by Alexander Cooke. However, it is suggestive, both of the dress and demeanour of Ferdinando Fairfax at this time, when he probably lived at Scough Hall in the valley of the Washburn only two miles from Edward Fairfax's family at Newhall.¹⁴⁷ This example is perhaps not surprising

¹⁴⁵ Robert Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family with the most distinguished personages engaged in that memorable contest*, vol. 1, pp. 303-306.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family with the most distinguished personages engaged in that memorable contest*, vol. 1, pp. 293-296.

¹⁴⁷ See William Grainge (ed.), *Daemonologia*, p. 38.

in its content, a young girl with a vision (real or imagined) of her shining cousin, but it is interesting, since it links together some of the personalities and themes of this thesis.

A little less expected, though not exactly representative, was the vision of the London puritan, Nehemiah Wallington. Wallington, who may have formed his opinions about Fairfax through the printed word, had a dream about Fairfax. In general, according to his historian, Wallington's dreams were predictable enough, and taught obvious moral and religious lessons. His dream about Fairfax, which he had one Sunday morning, was slightly different. He wrote of his dream: 'Lord Fairfax was come to my house' and mused 'if he were in my shop, what coming and looking there would be on him, saying this is the Lord Fairfax, this is he that won so many battles, and so what an honor it would be to me to have such a person at my house.' Clearly this was wishful thinking, but Wallington dressed it up in puritan piety: 'these thoughts brought to my mind many sweet heavenly meditations [in] which I did much desire of the Lord that he would come to the house of my soul.'¹⁴⁸ Clearly it would be wrong to make too much of such dreams, but it is interesting that the unconventional dream was about Fairfax, whose renown affected Wallington profoundly. It is certainly evidence that Fairfax had an iconic status among the godly and that he was capable of framing the godly cultures of others.

V.

The final section in this chapter concerns the death of Ferdinando Fairfax and its manifestations in print and manuscript. In tune with a considerable body of recent research, I believe that the study of death is a very useful entry point into post-Reformation religious cultures.¹⁴⁹ As such, it has several aims: to describe

¹⁴⁸ See, Paul S. Scaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, California, 1985), pp. 186-7. For the dream, see BL Add Ms 40883, fo. 104r.

¹⁴⁹ Among the best studies for England are: David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, And Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997); Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead:*

the death and funeral of Ferdinando Fairfax, to explore funeral practices in the years of civil war, and to connect the history of the book to research on death. This will fill some considerable gaps, since there is a dearth of secondary studies on death in the civil war,¹⁵⁰ which is surprising because the period witnessed a high mortality rate and a large number of funeral sermons were preached and published.¹⁵¹ I will bring a local perspective to such events and consider the audiences of these printed funeral sermons, which remain undiscussed.

To begin, some essentials and points where the sources agree. Ferdinando Fairfax died on 13 March 1647/8, which was a Monday, at his home in Denton and was buried in the Church at Bolton Percy on the Wednesday. As the parish register at Bolton Percy recorded, 'Fferdinando lord Ffairfax Baron of Cameron dyed att Denton March y^e 13. Brought to the Parish Church of Bolton p-cie, and there buried in Brockett Quire within the said Church.'¹⁵² This much is relatively well-known, along with the fact that his death had been caused by a blow to his foot where a corn had been growing, which became gangrenous, and in turn brought on a fever which killed him. However, the lack of

Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 2000) and Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002).

¹⁵⁰ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, And Death* and Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* contain some discussion. More specific work can be found in Barbara Donagan, 'The casualties of war: treatment of the dead and wounded in the English Civil War', in Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (eds.), *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), 114-132. There is an interesting discussion in, Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Civility and Civil Observances in the Early Modern English Funeral', in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack (eds.), *Civil Histories: Essays presented To Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), 67-85.

¹⁵¹ Ralph Houlbrooke estimates, using the STC, 50 (or 96) sermons printed in the 1640s rising to 119 in the 1650s, see Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, Appendix 2, pp. 386-387. David Cressy's figures are slightly higher: 61 for the 1640s and 117 for the 1650s, see David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, And Death*, p. 572, n. 39. I have included both sets of figures and those for the 1640s and 1650s since it seems wise to treat the two decades together. Rather like catechisms, however, there is no study of the publication of manuscript funeral sermons, the number and importance of which (and difference from the printed variety) remain to be studied.

¹⁵² See, Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 303.

surrounding material discussed by historians has resulted in a general misconception that, as well as being a puritan, Fairfax and his family had no taste for elaborate funereal celebrations.¹⁵³ This is a mere fiction that fits conveniently into a perceived picture of puritan piety. In fact, the celebration of Fairfax's funeral was elaborate, if not unduly showy, and suggestive of the central place of death in godly cultures. I wish to briefly describe the general culture of remembrance in the Fairfax family before describing the particular accounts of Ferdinando Fairfax's funeral.

There is a rather remarkable amount of information relating to the commemoration of the Fairfax family members and their deaths. It is worth examining briefly since it is rarely discussed and yet Ferdinando Fairfax's funeral bears some similarities with it and of course influenced later funerals in the family. Ferdinando's brothers who had died fighting on the continent were commemorated as Protestant heroes, as Philip Sidney had been in the sixteenth century. In particular, the death of William Fairfax, which had occurred at Frankenthall in the Palatinate in 1621, was related in print by one 'G.T.' in a publication of 1660, *The Belides, or, Eulogie of that honourable souldier Captain William Fairefax*.¹⁵⁴ Nor was this particularly unusual, since there was a host of poetry surrounding the deaths of various Fairfaxes, much of which remains (unstudied) in manuscript, preserved at the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds.¹⁵⁵ In addition, Thomas Fairfax documented some of his own fears about death in a manuscript book which he called 'Thoughts of

¹⁵³ See, Andrew Hopper, '“Fitted for Desperation”: Honour and Treachery in Parliament's Yorkshire Command, 1642-1643', *History*, 86 (2001), p. 153.

¹⁵⁴ G[eorge]. T[ooke]., *The Belides, or, Eulogie of that honourable souldier Captain William fairfax, slain at Frankenthall in the Palatinate, when it was besieged by Consales de Cordova, in the year 1621* (London, 1660). The publication is clearly retrospective rather than an original manuscript publication. It is discussed in Barbara Donagan, 'The web of honour: soldiers, christians, and gentlemen in the English civil war', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 365-389.

¹⁵⁵ See, Brotherton Library, The University of Leeds, Special Collections, MS Yks 2, ('Analecta Fairfaxiana', compiled by Charles Fairfax (1597-1673)), *passim*.

Eternity.’¹⁵⁶ The content was of fears of death, in particular what happened to the body after death and the memory of one’s achievements. However, it cannot be read as a purely personal account, since it was most likely an abridgement of Henry Hawkins’ translation of the French Jesuit Jean Puget De La Serre’s *Douces pensees de la mort*. The book had been translated by Hawkins and printed at Saint-Omer in 1632, presumably for the English Catholic market. It is interesting because Thomas Fairfax adapted the Catholic text to suit his Protestant purposes.¹⁵⁷

However, the greatest body of material surrounds the death and burial of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax. This material, though not previously studied, contains a remarkably rounded perspective on events through a variety of modes of communication, namely inscriptions and manuscript poems, manuscript accounts (of sermons), broadsides and news items. Since they have not been studied, I will describe the material and what it shows before bringing thematic concerns together, but I would like readers to consider the material for the light it sheds on the circulation of information and the questions of intended and real audiences.

There was a good deal of poetry that surrounded the occasion. This compares with a tradition of poems on the deaths of family members, such as those by John Favour (junior) on the death of Frances, the daughter of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, in 1649, probably in an attempt to solidify patronage links with Sir Thomas Widdrington. Those poems about Fairfax include the inscription on his tomb written by Widdrington which has been described by Markham and I will not cover here. Furthermore, there is the poem of John Favour, the son of John Favour, on Fairfax’s death. This poem, which began with the lines, ‘I promis’d you a verse, my duller moode/ Mak’s the verse badd but yet my promise good’, ran to 194 lines in praise of his honour and virtue and of the virtue of his

¹⁵⁶ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. CFM 13. (Thomas Third Lord Fairfax, ‘The Thoughts of Eternity’).

¹⁵⁷ Henry Hawkins (trans.), *The sweete thoughts of death, and eternity. Written by Sieur de la Serre*. (Saint-Omer, 1632).

daughters. It was addressed to Fairfax's son-in-law, Sir Thomas Widdrington. The poem, and we might agree that the verse was bad, is certainly of interest, since it may have been circulated in memory of Fairfax, or perhaps presented (or read) to the family. It is also vital in connecting the kinds of godly cultures which I have been discussing through familial links, since Favour was the son of John Favour, a crucial player in framing the character of early puritan culture in the West Riding. It was not the only poem, however, and there remains that of Mr Thomas Calvert, a minister in York, which survives in manuscript but was at one stage (in 1648) in print. It was a fairly long poem, for a learned audience who could understand his rather plodding Latin and the tone was gratulatory. It should also be noted that other such relatively trivial material, such as anagrams written on Fairfax, are of significant importance in illustrating the variety inherent within godly cultures: the anagram that compared Fairfax to Alexander, for instance, provides some substance for the links between republican and godly cultures.¹⁵⁸

The publication in the most popular format, in terms of the educational ability of the audience, was a broadsheet, that is a single page of newsworthy information. It was written by Henry Walker, an ironmonger who became an Independent minister, was partial to writing cheap puritan publications, and promoted books and personalities.¹⁵⁹ On the death of Fairfax, he wrote *An Elogie Or Eulogie On The Obits of the Right Honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairefax: Who dyed upon Munday, the 13th of March, Anno Dom. 1647*.¹⁶⁰ The broadsheet contains new information surrounding Fairfax's death and reputation. It began with an acrostic, that is a poem in which the first letter of each line, when read down the page, spelled out the name Fardinando Lord Fairefax. It read:

¹⁵⁸ Brotherton Library, Ms Yks 2 ('Analecta Fairfaxiana', compiled by Charles Fairfax (1597-1673)).

¹⁵⁹ Walker wrote a series of publications for the puritan cause including letters of events, godly sermons and works against episcopacy. See, Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 14-15, 61-67.

¹⁶⁰ Henry Walker, *An Elogie Or Eulogie On The Obits of the Right Honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairefax: Who dyed upon Munday, the 13th of March, Anno Dom. 1647* (London, 1648).

FAR more DivINE, AND cleer, is nOw, LORD FAIREFAX gone,
 Above; to praise JEHOVA, at his Royall Throne;
 Remote from Earth: He swift to Heaven ascended (high)
 Dect in a wreath of Tryumph, (peircing through the skie.)
 Into celestiall glory (upon Angels wings)
 Now Halelujahs to the Lord of Hosts he sings.
 Adieu, brave Honour, England with brinish teares may say,
 Night clad in sable blacke, mournes for the losse of day.
 Death hath befriended Heaven with the Fathers soul,
 On whose meeke Son: let Angells miriads of blessings roule.
 Light (shining downe from Heaven) the darkest cloud expells,
 On Earth; when Sun with glittering most bright excells:
 Riseth in splendour, ascends with smiles: But sets in dismall turning,
 Death thus hath vail'd our light, and left us all in mourning.

Fairefax; valiant, and true: For Englands peace he stood,
 And to his wife, kindred, neighbours, was wise and good,
 Iust unto all; And mercifull; As orbs of stars.
 Reliefe shin'd comfort, from his sparkled hands. And bars
 Effectuall, for truths defence he did erect:
 False hypocrites unmaske, and wickednesse detect.
 And now his soul's in glory (though Xenius mount above)
 Xantibus his son is here; The Generall of love.

Certainly, this poem, in its glowing praise for Fairfax, is what we might expect. It praises his honour and clearly suggests that his reputation was a national one. Though conventional, it is interesting in its praise of his traditional values and in particular his concern for peace, whether it be domestic, community or nationwide. The concerns are broadly godly, though there is no discussion of his religion as such. Importantly, the end of the poem, as with some of the other publications, moves the focus of attention from Ferdinando towards his son Thomas, here described as 'The Generall of love.'

Adjacent to the poem is a picture of a skeleton, probably meant to be that of Fairfax, and below that the etymological route (a transliteration and then translation) of his name from Hebrew, which resulted in the telling phrase: 'He

hath separated a sufficient sonne,/ that wounded the wild Asse.’¹⁶¹ The contemporary contextual relevance is so obvious as not to need description. Further below this is an elegy making more explicit his place among the godly and the importance of his life in the struggles of the civil war. It read:

Renowned Fairfax, whom the State did love
Is now ASSENDED to His GOD above,
Hee liv’d and dy’d in Honour, full of years:
His death sets sluces ope, to powre out teares.
 When wicked men began to rise,
 The godly party to surprize,
 And make them slaves
 To many knaves,
 To spoyle our goods
 And spill OUR bloods;
 He parted with his son most dear
 Who of their holes did all them clear,
The Father’s dead, and gone to rest above,
The son hath wrought our peace, if wee had love,
By God Almightyes power, then let us all,
Give him the Glory, and Love, reciprocally

Thomason annotated his copy by placing the words ‘a coxcome’ after Walker’s name. The poetry was admittedly not very good but the very existence of such a publication is important in that it spread the reputation of Fairfax to a wide audience, with varying levels of literacy. The promotion of his reputation was aided by a woodcut of Fairfax, placed above the poems, which appears to be an individual (if not a true) likeness, rather than a copy of a generic template.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Walker was well-known for these word games in which the transliteration and subsequent translation yielded hidden meanings. See, Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660*, p. 67.

¹⁶² This material is drawn from Henry Walker, *An Elogie Or Eulogie On The Obits of the Right Honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairefax: Who dyed upon Munday, the 13th of March, Anno Dom. 1647* (London, 1648). Thomason’s note can be found in BL, T[homason] T[racts]: 669 f. 11 [137].

The second publication, which is somewhat freer from the constraints of genre, allows a thicker description of the death and funeral as well as the reputation of Fairfax. The publication in question was written by Thomas Austin and entitled *A perfect narrative of the late proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, in relation to the affaires of England. Also the manner of the funerall of the Right Honourable, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax: with the chief heads of his Lordships funerall-sermon, preached by Mr. Bowles. 15. March instant. And sundry other particulars concerning the L. Widdringdon, Sir Thomas Glemham, Sir Charles Lucas, and others late going into Scotland.*¹⁶³ Thomas Austin was an obscure figure but we should assume, since he published from York in 1648 that he was a Parliamentarian, and certainly Robert Austin, who printed the work, was involved in other publications in support of the Parliamentary cause.¹⁶⁴ The *perfect narrative* was a short item of just a few pages of newsworthy information. It was written in a simple style, perhaps aimed at the reading soldier, but since it contained no pictures and was entirely in prose, we cannot assume that it was targeted at those who were at the lower end of the literate scale. It was written as a letter from York on 18 March 1647/8 and published quickly in London, probably for a wide-ranging geographical audience. It related that Ferdinando Fairfax had died in his home at Denton on Monday 13 March and was buried on Wednesday 15 March. On the Wednesday morning, his corpse was taken from the house in a chariot drawn by six horses and accompanied by two hundred eminent persons to Bolton Percy. On the way, they had been met by the new Lord Fairfax and his wife together with fifty of the chief officers of Thomas Fairfax's forces. Once at Bolton Percy,

¹⁶³ Thomas, Austin, *A perfect narrative of the late proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, in relation to the affaires of England. Also the manner of the funerall of the Right Honourable, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax: with the chief heads of his Lordships funerall-sermon, preached by Mr. Bowles. 15. March instant. And sundry other particulars concerning the L. Widdringdon, Sir Thomas Glemham, Sir Charles Lucas, and others late going into Scotland.* (London, 1648).

¹⁶⁴ For example, Robert Austin, *The Parliaments rules and directions concerning sacramentall knowledge: contained in an ordinance of the Lords and Commons of the 20th of October 1645. Drawn into questions and answers: (which answers in the bigger character are the ordinance it self in the words of it.) With an addition of Scripture-proofs: and some brief directions for self-examination. By Robert Austin, D.D. For the use of the place where he himself is pastour; and the benefit of such other people, as stand in need of the like help.* (London, 1647).

Ferdinando Fairfax's body was taken to the house of his brother where the company of at least three hundred was entertained with wine and cakes and each was given a black riband.¹⁶⁵

Thomas Fairfax and the noblest in the party then carried the body into the Church and

being assisted with divers Torch-lights, did interre in his Fathers Sepulchre, being about nine a clock at night, after which M. Bowles ascending the Pulpit, first sung a Psalme, then prayed and made a sermon according to the usuall manner, in the first place prefacing according to the occasion, and afterwards taking his text 2. Chron. 22.33 concerning the death and buriall of King Hezekiah the great Reformer and restorer of the Church and State of Judah.¹⁶⁶

The narrative then focused on a particular passage which was 'much taken notice of for speaking by way of parallel between that good King and the noble Lord deceased.' The comparison was that although Hezekiah was a great Reformer, he was succeeded by one who undid his good work, but Ferdinando Fairfax 'left one behind him that treads in his Fathers steps, and I may say, one by whose faithfulness and industry under God, we enjoy our present peace and security.'¹⁶⁷

The audience (of the tract, as well as the sermon) was then told of Fairfax's qualities and encouraged to imitate him in five points. First, he was a serious man, as Bowles entreated, 'in his younger yeares he was given to the study of

¹⁶⁵ Thomas, Austin, *A perfect narrative of the late proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland*, p. 2. It was not uncommon for the death arrangements of the Yorkshire gentry to involve transportation over long distances. For example, Sir William Slingsby arranged the transportation of his own tomb across the county in 1634, packed up in sugar chests. See David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p. 472.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas, Austin, *A perfect narrative of the late proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas, Austin, *A perfect narrative of the late proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland*, p. 3.

Arts and Sciences, that must make him usefull and servicable to his Countrey, and not to Dogs, Hawkes, &c.’ Then he was to be imitated ‘In the choice of his wife, one who was vertuous, wise &c.’ Thirdly he was a model, ‘As a Justice of Peace, being very laborious in his place that way.’ Also, ‘As a Gentleman of the Countrey, faithfull to his trust, willing and ready to reconcile differences between neighbour and neighbour, &c.’ Finally, addressing the hearers more directly, Bowles urged them to imitate Fairfax ‘As a souldier (you that are Souldiers) faithfull, couragious and resolute.’¹⁶⁸ Clearly all this information is an advance on what has gone before. It is important for my purpose in providing links between his study and his public roles and military honour. It is also indicative of a godly culture that is clearly puritan but not barren: the funeral was elaborate and expensive, and the message, especially through the Biblical text, was forward looking.

There are limitations with the *perfect narrative*, since as it is relatively brief, it is less clearly a representation of the course of events than, as its title suggested, a relation of the most important aspects of it. However, the Fairfax funeral is remarkable because there is another fuller account of the funeral sermon that takes us to the heart of the puritan culture of death in the context of civil war and is itself an important addition to current knowledge of Parliamentary funeral sermons, puritan funeral sermons and Yorkshire customs more generally. This is a manuscript copy of Bowles’s sermon, written in a book of sermons by Simon Russell of South Holme, who otherwise has left no impression on the historical record.¹⁶⁹ What he did, however, was listen to and note down in full more than a dozen sermons, including those by Edward Bowles, Mr Wales (one of the brothers), and Mr Byard. Since the names are synonymous with the preaching exercises of the West Riding, it would be safe to assume that the note-taker was attending such lectures in the middle of the seventeenth century. The book also gives the location of some of the sermons,

¹⁶⁸ Thomas, Austin, *A perfect narrative of the late proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland*, p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ The volume of sermons is BL Add Ms 51054, (Eighteen sermons by nonconformist ministers). Fairfax’s funeral sermon is found at fos. 50v-58r and is reproduced in Appendix B.

including those by Byard at the Harwood exercise and those by Bowles at York. The context of such exercises is important since, as we have seen, Fairfax was brought up in the atmosphere of the lectures in the early seventeenth century and probably commissioned others to take notes on the eve of the civil war.¹⁷⁰ The context was not necessarily harmonious, however, and there are suggestions of a rift between Bowles and Byard in the 1640s. At one stage this was conducted through Fairfax, since Bowles wrote to him in March 1644/5 asking that Mr Byard be removed from the county on behalf of the people since, he added dramatically, ‘Such vapours, as those of the doctor, unchecked, will breed more clouds and storms in the country.’¹⁷¹

The volume contains notes of these sermons, which were clearly written up into a fair copy from original notes. Among them is Ferdinando Fairfax’s funeral sermon, preached by Bowles, on 2 Chronicles 32:33. This is the first important fact, since it corrects a mistake in Austin’s *perfect narrative* that the text was 2 Chronicles 22: 23, which clearly it could not have been as that chapter had just twelve verses. Since the text of the sermon is reproduced as Appendix B, I will describe it here as briefly as possible, whilst drawing attention to some of its most important points in the assessment of Fairfax’s godly culture.

The first and most obvious thing to point out is the length of the sermon. It ran to over five thousands words and would have taken some time to preach, certainly at least thirty minutes. This might seem short by the standards of other puritans but, when the fact that the service started around nine o’clock in the evening and was begun with Psalms is taken into account, it shows that the

¹⁷⁰ William Sheils, ‘Provincial preaching on the eve of the Civil War: some West Riding Fast Sermons’, in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture And Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, 290-312.

¹⁷¹ See Robert Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War*, vol. 1, pp. 168-169. (Letter of Edward Bowles to Ferdinando Fairfax, London, 18 March 1644/5.)

culture of puritanism made demands in the night as well as in the daytime.¹⁷² However, both the theological message preached by Bowles together with its political context and the added details about Fairfax's life in the sermon need discussion.

The theological message of the sermon from Chronicles had an evident contextual political message. The verse which formed its substance read (as Bowles preached it): 'And Hezekiah slept with his fathers and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchers of the sons of David and all Judah and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem did honour him at his death.'¹⁷³ Bowles read the text, then explained why they were gathered there, with some emotion. He described how Fairfax had served his country and his 'double burden' to mourn and preach, settling down to his purpose which he described as 'to speake a word in season so to profit of the liveing and the honour of the dead in both which I shall follow the conduct of the Text which I have read unto you.'¹⁷⁴

Briefly, the text from 2 Chronicles portrayed Hezekiah as a distinctly religious king who had been a reformer of the corrupted Jewish church and state. The sermon then provided a narrative of his death and burial, teasing out the precise meaning of Hezekiah sleeping with his fathers: that is that it was a metaphor for death itself and a reference to the need for a burial to be conducted within a familial setting, in a family tomb. This much is far from unexpected and it is certainly a well-chosen text which recalled contemporary problems with church and state, which Fairfax had overcome, and the momentum gathered in a campaign which the sermon hinted was to come to glory with Fairfax's son. Hezekiah, as both a military and religious figure, was an important icon for the godly in the civil war and in times of peace and was often used as a parallel by

¹⁷² Despite considerable evidence on night-time conventicles, the history of nocturnal godly activity has yet to be studied. For an idea of how to begin, see Norbert Schindler, 'Nocturnal disturbances: on the social history of the night in the early modern period' in his *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany* trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Cambridge, 2002), 193-235.

¹⁷³ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 50v.

¹⁷⁴ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 50v.

the godly to refer to their campaign to return the country to true worship. As Lady Isabel Bowes had added to a letter of her husband written to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1603, the Earl should read ‘the good King Hezekiah.’¹⁷⁵ The suggestion is of a continuing relevance of such a biblical text through which their contemporary situation was represented. Bowles then progressed into the main body of the funeral sermon in a manner that was particularly distinctive of godly practice, and certainly the way in which they wrote out sermons. He gave a practical explanation of the text with a series of descriptions and observations which were first stated, then expanded, and to which applications and objections were made. Biblical references were made explicitly as he made his points, often with references made to the godly.¹⁷⁶ The three central points were that death was a sleep, that it came to all, and that honour should be shown to the dead. The points are not dramatic in themselves, but they are certainly interesting in the context of a funeral sermon. He stressed the importance of preparing well for one’s death, but also the need for mourning, which is suggestive of the utility of the funeral for the godly in focusing as much on the living as on the dead. Furthermore, the stress that honour should be shown to the dead indicates the variety of practices of the godly. Bowles stressed the need for decency when burying the godly which is somewhat at odds with the total lack of decency shown by Alexander Cooke in the burial of the ungodly.

Toward the end of the sermon and after the measured explanation of the biblical text, there was a deliberate and distinct change of subject and of tone, from the honour of the dead towards the duties of the living. The sermon took on contemporary relevance in substance as well as allusion. Bowles broke the tone and stated, ‘All that I have further to say is briefly to reflect these things upon the present occasion.’¹⁷⁷ He said, ‘you have accompanied him to the

¹⁷⁵ See, Christine M. Newman, ‘“An Honourable And Elect Lady”’: The Faith Of Isabel, Lady Bowes’, in D. Wood (ed.), *Life And Thought In The Northern Church c.1100- c.1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross* (Woodbridge, 1999), 407-419.

¹⁷⁶ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 54v.

¹⁷⁷ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 56v.

grave and given his body a civall and christian buryall' which he said was a display of their honour.¹⁷⁸ He continued that they could not be 'defective in the mourneing part if you understande the loose: such a man at such a time when church and state perticularly this county stand in soe great need of them who will be valiant for the truth.'¹⁷⁹ The country was in need, he continued, at such a time when 'the maine timber of the house decays' but, if those that rejoiced in evil were fought, the godly party would rise to win.¹⁸⁰

The message continued that those who heard the sermon would win if they imitated Fairfax's virtues: it would be an honour to him and a service to God.¹⁸¹ The virtues which they were to imitate painted Fairfax as a quiet man of civil war politics. Bowles said he seemed 'never remarkable' but argued that this was because of a tendency to be 'quicke sighted of infirmity and more dull at the apprehention of vertue'¹⁸² and so listed the points in which emulation was required. These add to those listed by Austin and are especially in the commendation of the link between Fairfax's learning and his virtue.

The list began with an invocation to imitate Fairfax as a young man

that gave not himselfe to voluptuous licentious course as most of that quality and age have done following hounds hawkes horses and sometimes worsor catell but he betooke himselfe after some competent scill in arts to the use of armes which rendered him fit to serve his countrey both in time of peace and warre.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 56v.

¹⁷⁹ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57r.

¹⁸⁰ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57r.

¹⁸¹ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v.

¹⁸² BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57r.

¹⁸³ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v.

Certainly this was an interesting point when addressed to a military audience and suggests that the godly preacher (and audience) had a position about military honour that perceived itself as distinctive from the traditional one. Secondly, Bowles advised them to follow Fairfax in his choice and treatment of a wife. Fairfax chose and cherished, to follow the wording, well: 'a noble and religous lady, not as them who sacrifice there quiet and estate sometimes to a fancy.'¹⁸⁴ Connected with this (obviously) was to imitate him as a father, and interestingly the first point in this regard was that it was done 'in a tender, carefull and religous education of his children: which hee discharged with a fatherly mixture of athority and love which begate in them a proportionable love and reverance sweetly tempered togeather.'¹⁸⁵ Clearly funeral sermons might be somewhat idealised versions of the past, but notwithstanding this, it is interesting the stress Bowles placed on the emotional side of parenting, and the links these had with godliness.

The tone then became more public. He urged imitation as a Justice of the Peace, again as part of a godly programme. He preached for his hearers to follow Fairfax 'in that office which he painfully and faithfully discharged shewing himselfe a very great frend to his countrey in his profesed enmity to Alehouses and wandering rogues the shame and losse of this nation.'¹⁸⁶ His hearers were likely to have been glad of the next demand, to imitate Fairfax 'as a souldier in corrage and fidelity', though there was a somewhat pointed reference to the fickleness of the Yorkshire gentry since he added that Fairfax's godliness was 'maintained in the midst of so many defections of those ingaged in the same cause with him.'¹⁸⁷ The public role of the godly was not to be to the neglect of education and he stressed: 'Imitate him in his pious charity to his

¹⁸⁴ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v.

¹⁸⁵ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v.

¹⁸⁶ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v. To some extent this may modify views about the effectiveness of regulating alehouses. Kevin Sharpe has suggested that the efforts of one JP were likely to have been thwarted by the next. See, Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 482-485. Bowles may have been preaching about the 1640s and so not be contradicting Sharpe's point.

¹⁸⁷ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v.

friends in contributing to the maintenance of divers yong scollers at the universities and scooles that they might be more fit to serve the church and state.’¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, they were to copy him ‘in the sobriety and temperance of his cariage his modesty and courtisy in speech and behaviour which alwaies diserve to be accounted vertues: though th’ rudenes of this age hath worne them to much out of fashion.’¹⁸⁹ Finally, and with no trace of irony, given he had lost a patron, Bowles urged, ‘imitate him in that favourable respect which he alwayes afforded to the faithfull ministers of the gospell.’¹⁹⁰

Drawing the several accounts of Fairfax’s death and funeral together, we come to some conclusions, some rather expected, others less so. Perhaps most expected are the different portrayals through different forms of publication, which of course were aimed at slightly different audiences, for different motives of profit, information and commemoration respectively. The cheap and more popular broadsheet was somewhat sensationalist, with its prophetic verses and picture of a skeleton, though it clearly had a commemorative and newsworthy purpose too. The printed survey of Austin was a pretty accurate rendition of the funeral: it was not sensationalist but commemorative, placing the funeral in the context of contemporary events. Such commemoration was not personal however, but rather forward looking, praising Fairfax but looking to his son to take things further. Finally, the manuscript sermon transcript was much more personal an account, though the emotion was tempered by the public importance of the military funeral. All three tell us more than we knew about Fairfax and all three collectively make an important point. They demonstrate that the variety of means of representation of events show not simply different viewpoints but the variety of perspectives that can be usefully classed as godly cultures. They reached different audiences but did so within a broadly godly framework that encapsulated and exploited, from within and without, the variety of modes of communication available to the godly.

¹⁸⁸ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v.

¹⁸⁹ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 57v-58r.

¹⁹⁰ BL Add Ms 51054, fo. 58r.

VI.

This chapter has used the story of the life of one man to rebuild our picture of godly cultures both before and during the Civil Wars. Most obviously, this has resulted in rediscovering the importance of Ferdinando Fairfax who has been the subject of little scholarly attention, despite his great importance in the fashioning of northern godliness. The wealth of information surrounding his life and death warrants a full-length study. However, the importance of the chapter does not lie simply in covering up a bald patch of the republican landscape. Instead, while admitting that the approach is by its nature selective, I hope that I have illustrated the importance of biography in the genesis and sustenance of religious cultures in the seventeenth-century. To have done so, as I have shown, is not to have played a trick on the people of the seventeenth century but to have described a means of representation with which they were familiar and adept at manipulating.

The approach has illustrated both the possibility and the plausibility of the intellectual substance and coherence of godly and republican cultures. It has shown both the potential and the dangers in using libraries to evaluate mentalities. Despite the controversy surrounding the validity of the use of 'lives' based on short biographies, funeral sermons and diaries in this period to illuminate individuals, I have shown the validity of this approach. By focusing on an individual through a range of different kinds of source material, I have shown how it is possible to overcome issues of the constraints imposed by issues of genre in such material.¹⁹¹ Importantly, the range of material points not only to the existence of republican culture but also to its plurality and complexities, a point that has been overlooked in studies concerned with a

¹⁹¹ See, Patrick Collinson, '“A Magazine of Religious Patterns”: An Erasmian Topic Transposed in English Protestantism' in Derek Baker (ed.), *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History. Studies in Church History*. 14 (Oxford, 1977), 223-249 and Jacqueline Eales, 'Samuel Clarke and the "lives" of godly women in seventeenth-century England', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), *Women in the Church, Studies in Church History*. 27 (Oxford, 1990), 365-76. A nuanced article is Peter Lake, 'Feminine piety and personal potency: the "emancipation" of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe', *The Seventeenth Century*, 2 (1987), 143-165.

narrower range of material.¹⁹² With an awareness of the types of form and representation, and of their tensions and complexities, biography remains an important means of rediscovering the intellectual and religious cultures of early modern England.

¹⁹² Especially David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric And Politics, 1627-1660*.

Conclusion

I.

By the 1650s, the world had changed. The political public sphere was developed and sustained by a vast increase in the number of printed publications. In the atmosphere of political crisis, and with a thirst for reliable knowledge, print had become the accepted medium in which to express all manner of opinions. There are certainly many studies that tell us about the revolution in print during the Civil Wars but it is worth asking if we are being crushed by the number of them, rather than convinced by their arguments.¹

At first glance, the evidence appears unmistakable, but explaining it is rather more difficult. Is it justified to argue that since the subsequent moments of crisis, such as the Restoration and the popish plot, were fermented and negotiated through print, that the Civil Wars mark a watershed in the representation of political discussion?² After all, people still read and sang libels, wrote poems and penned letters, though admittedly the majority of those discussed by historians were in fact transmitted and mediated by print. We are also confronted by a narrative of change which asserts the real value of the face-to-face meeting and the private letter above the illusory power of print. It is not my intention to oppose this revolution in communication, but, by asking some questions about the preceding period, to qualify its novelty, if not its impact. Firstly, therefore, how had the value of non-printed communication changed? Secondly, can we explain why the explosion in the volume of printed material coincided with the Civil War?

There is hardly space to answer such questions competently here, but it is important to make a few points because the outlines of answers impact upon

¹ See, for instance, Dagmar Freist, *Governed by opinion : politics, religion and the dynamics of communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* (London, 1997). Adrian Johns, *The Nature Of The Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* contains an extensive bibliography of such works.

² The most recent discussion of print in the Restoration, concerned with issues of genre and the multiplicity of its meanings, is Mark S. R. Jenner, 'The Roasting Of The Rump: Scatology And The Body Politic In Restoration England', *Past and Present*, 177 (2002), 84-120. For a powerful analysis of both Restoration and popish plot, see Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000).

not just what was to come but also on what had passed and our assumptions about the early seventeenth century as a whole. Firstly, though nobody should doubt the velocity of change towards print in the 1640s, we are in danger of neglecting the importance of manuscript entirely and of throwing out not just the baby with the bathwater, but the bath itself. Certainly print predominated, but the evidence for its opposition to manuscript actually comes from those antiquarians who were concerned with preserving the dusty records of the past for their own sake and not as a result of a real decline in such modes of communication. Perhaps, as Andy Wood has suggested, we are swallowing the views of those in whose interest it was to place print in opposition to manuscript, elite against popular culture. The words of John Aubrey (expressed in manuscript) are worth repeating:

Before printing, Old Wives tales were ingeniose and since Printing came in fashion, till a little before the Civil warres, the ordinary Sort of people were not taught to reade & now-a-dayes Bookes are common and most of the poor people understand letters: and the many good Bookes and the variety of Turnes of Affaires, have putt the old Fables out of dores ...³

Unless we see them for what they were, that is nostalgic exclamations about the good old days, such statements distort our image of the early seventeenth century. They also paint a rather imbalanced picture of restoration society as one obsessed with print and politics and do not acknowledge the continuity in letter-writing, manuscript publication and the rebirth of theatre. Furthermore, in some areas the value of the manuscript was rising, particularly among nonconformists whose ability to publish in print was restricted.

Secondly, why did print take off in the middle of the century rather than another time? Clearly there is a political dimension to this: the end of effective

³ BL, Lansdowne Ms 231, fo. 140. Cited in Andy Wood, 'Custom And The Social Organisation of Writing In Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 9 (1999), p. 258.

‘censorship’ (or was it the end of the punishment of printed misdemeanours?) and the importance of distributing news quickly in a protracted and volatile political conflict such as the Civil War.⁴ However, even this explanation is misleading. Do we not think that all wars change everything? Did not, in fact, the revolution in print precede the political revolution? There were also material issues concerning the speedy transportation of large volumes of print that enabled a mass audience to read the news while it was still relevant. Furthermore, there were refinements in the printing industry and an awareness that it was acceptable to cut corners in the material quality of publication, if it meant that the news could be provided quickly.

It might be asked how novel this situation was. The Marprelate tracts had done exactly the same thing at the end of the sixteenth-century: they were cheap and tatty, they flew off secret presses, and they provided acerbic satire (news). They sold too.⁵ Such forerunners of the Civil War printed revolution are precisely relevant to the materials and issues discussed in this thesis. The nature of print surrounding the Civil War can be explained, at least in part, by the fact that, in changed political circumstances, it revealed to more public, national and international audiences precisely those kinds of tensions in religious and political culture that I have examined. Fundamentally, such a change could happen because of the character of early Stuart puritanism in the localities and emerged from manipulation of media. That the first few decades of the seventeenth century produced much unremarkable printed material is really beside the point, especially when we take into account Stuart Clark’s point about inversion being a characteristic of printed material.⁶ The generic pattern of much printed material concealed the religious and political complexities and ambiguities of early Stuart England. Pointing out the pre-

⁴ For the meanings of censorship, see Anthony Milton, ‘Licensing, censorship, and religious orthodoxy in early Stuart England’, *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), 625-51.

⁵ For the best guide to puritan satire, see Patrick Collinson, ‘Ecclesiastical vitriol: religious satire in the 1590s and the invention of puritanism’. In John Guy (ed.), *The reign of Elizabeth I: court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge, 1995), 150-70.

⁶ Stuart Clark, ‘Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft’, *Past and Present*, 87 (1980), 98-127.

history of the revolution in print, I think locates the dramatic watershed in communication and its manipulation as a product of the extended Reformation, that is in the implementation of the Reformation ideas, customs and beliefs in the localities in the early seventeenth century. It was from this slow, undramatic but crucial change that the Civil War emerged. This is not simply returning to Laurence Stone's explanation for war. Instead, using a wide-angle lens that takes in religion, politics and literature, and considers issues of medium and genre, it presents a more diverse, exciting and (I believe) accurate picture of early seventeenth-century England.⁷

II.

'He that reads and digests, shall be transformed into the image of it, be acted by the spirit which breaths in it.'⁸

Edward Rainbowe's description of the effects of the Bible, related in the funeral sermon of Anne Clifford which was printed in 1677, is important. It shows how central books were to both material and spiritual issues. Often, such remarks were metaphorical but sometimes they were meant literally. Either way, as the chapters of this thesis have demonstrated, they show how religious cultures were mediated through and organised by books of various kinds.

A conclusion is not the place to repeat the contents of a thesis, but one in which to reflect on its findings and to make clear their importance to wider issues. Briefly, my discussion of the intellectual world of Lady Margaret Hoby has demonstrated the value of using a variety of source materials in combination in

⁷ This view of early Stuart politics revisits the issues of Lawrence Stone, *The causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642* (London, 1972) via a generation of work on manuscript, in particular Richard Cust, 'News and politics in early seventeenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), 60-90, and most recently, Alastair Bellany, *The Politics Of Court Scandal In Early Modern England: News culture and the Overbury affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁸ Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached At the Funeral of the Right Honorable ANNE, Countess of Pembroke* (London, 1677), p. 62.

order to shed light on a seemingly well-known individual. The combination of the material about reading in her diary together with her marginalia shows the strength and vitality of godly culture in the family group. It shows how complex religious issues could impact upon the devotional lives of real people in meaningful ways. In particular, it raises important questions about the oral and communal dimensions of reading, particularly within the family group, in the development of godly beliefs.

Although, at first sight, it might have seemed a world away from the piety of Hackness, the situation in Halifax under John Favour and in Leeds under Alexander Cooke fed in to a similar religious style. The incidents of urban conflict both manipulated and depended on print and manuscript in a variety of ways. Taken together, the incidents clearly show that only with an awareness of the complexities of media and the particular local context can the historian get to grips with the ambiguities and complexities of urban religious politics at the local level.

Chapter 3 explored material usually discussed by historians of witchcraft. It illustrates how an awareness of religious context can show the politics of possession cases and bring new life to the subject. In particular, the chapter stressed the importance in such cases of the book being used not simply as a text but also as a material object which some people smelled, felt and tasted. The chapter showed how behaviour which is usually described as 'ritual' was often mediated by the written and printed word, and even learnt from books. Importantly, the cases show how there was no simple division between printed and magical cultures in this period. In dealing with the actions of the godly against their most deadly enemies, the chapter demonstrated the utility of the book as object and as text in warding off the devil and the strength of the association between literacy and godliness in this particular environment. Once again, the family was the most important unit of godly religious organisation.

The final chapter uses a broadly biographical approach to illuminate the neglected figure of Ferdinando Fairfax. It demonstrates the limitations as well as the potential of using libraries to reconstruct early modern religious and

intellectual cultures. Again, the variety of source materials was crucial in illuminating the vitality and plurality of godly cultures in this period.

Though each chapter has a different focus, taken together they make a number of important points to add to current debates about religious cultures and the history of the book. The contribution to the history of the book is the most obvious and can be dealt with quickly. Put simply, the thesis has demonstrated the importance of religion to the history of the book. It has shown how people read in religious ways and for religious purposes. We need more studies prepared to demonstrate the dominant pietistic styles of reading practised in the period, rather than the more atypical (and exciting) readers that have hitherto been described.⁹ In addition, the range of materials available with which to assess Lady Hoby's reading has enabled me to advance discussions of marginalia. In addition to showing the importance of marginalia in reflecting and constructing religious practices, I have made clear the importance of considering the spaces between text and margin in the formation of religious and political ideas. Furthermore, the thesis adds the history of the book as object to discussions of reading and shows how these were particularly important in religious contexts.

It could be objected that this thesis is concerned with expensive books and unpopular piety: questioning both the typicality of the people discussed and of their religious cultures. Admittedly, those sections that focus on readers, in particular Lady Hoby, do not concentrate on those lower down the social scale. However, I hope I have shown how her religious concerns, which were formed and mediated through her reading, could have a practical impact on the people from the surrounding area. Unfortunately, it has not been about the humbler people who might have read the material described by Tessa Watt, though this

⁹ Though important especially in considering the nature of the political in this period, studies such as L. Jardine and A. Grafton, '“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78, and Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* do not help to build a model of normative reading practices, particularly of a religious variety. Particularly informative for religion and reading is Frances Harris, *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin*.

is likely to be an issue of the survival of evidence rather than popular illiteracy. Nevertheless, the focus on a small number of real readers has helped to distance the thesis from the unifying tendencies of studies which attempt to survey a much greater number of works. Instead, I have given people the respect they deserve and have shown the capacity many of them had to understand and deal with relatively complex theological issues.¹⁰

Since the thesis deals with real readers and their religious concerns, I think it makes two important contributions to the history of puritanism. Firstly, and as a product of the range of media discussed and their tensions and ambiguities, I think it takes away the unhelpfully unifying term of religious culture and replaces it with a plurality of religious cultures.¹¹ In turn, this has a direct impact on the meaning and utility of the terms ‘puritan’ and ‘godly’. As I hope I have demonstrated, there were a range of religious cultures that can be meaningfully described as godly in this period, but they were not all alike. I am suggesting, therefore, that such terms are perfectly acceptable and accurate if we acknowledge their diversity and variations. Perhaps the plurality is particularly applicable to the north of England, or perhaps it seems so because there godly cultures were ranged against Catholic ones. The regional focus is itself important in this respect because it has allowed the varieties of godly cultures to be teased out more easily and contrasted against each other more forcefully. An awareness of the resulting puritanisms is important because it side-steps pointless discussions about the validity of the term based on individuals. Instead, the puritanisms, which were godly cousins rather than brothers, help us to explain what came next, especially the collective reaction against Laudian ‘innovations’ and the subsequent divisions among the godly.¹²

¹⁰ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print And Popular Piety 1550-1640*. Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*.

¹¹ See also, Martin Ingram, ‘From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540-1690’, in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 1995), 95-123.

¹² The debates about puritanism can be followed through Patrick Collinson, ‘A comment: concerning the name puritan’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 31 (1980), 483-8 and Peter Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism - again?’, in Francis J. Bremer (ed.),

The second point is to highlight the divisiveness of puritanism. Having acknowledged its variations and contradictions, it is not contradictory to stress this issue of its organisation. That the godly appear particularly cohesive when we see them ranged against their enemies is not coincidence but an issue of their structural organisation. The godly organised themselves against their 'ungodly' neighbours on a variety of levels from the household upwards: in the reformations of manners attempted in the towns and parishes and in the virulent anti-Catholicism expressed at moments of national crisis.¹³

Acknowledging the diversity of godly cultures while at the same time realising how their structural organisation of opposition allowed them to feel a kind of solidarity has important consequences. In particular, it helps to explain the development of a struggle between opposed religious cultures in the 1640s and their subsequent fragmentation.

Puritanism : transatlantic perspectives on a seventeenth-century Anglo-American faith (Boston, MA, 1993), 3-29.

¹³ See also Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery : the structure of a prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in early Stuart England : studies in religion and politics, 1603-1642*, 72-106.

Appendices

Appendix A:

Lady Hoby's Annotations

This appendix contains a full transcription of Lady Hoby's marginal annotations on her copy of Philip du Plessis-Mornai, *Fowre Bookes Of The Institution, Use And Doctrine Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church. As Likewise, How, When, And by what Degrees the Masse is brought in, in place thereof*. (London, Printed by John Windet, for I. B. T. M., and W. P., 1600).

The book is to be found at York Minster Library, Shelfmark: Hackness 47.

These annotations have never been printed before.

The left-hand column contains the number of the page Lady Hoby annotated and a transcription of her marginal notes. The right-hand column contains a brief analysis of the nature and context of each note under the headings of annotation type, the subject of the passage and a description of the annotation.

Although I have attempted to categorise each note in the interests of providing a clear thematic discussion in Chapter 2, it should be noted that there is often considerable overlap between categories. Readers will only be able to judge for themselves by looking at the original and the plates in Chapter 2. I have, however, thought it useful to produce this appendix as an addition to the writings of Lady Hoby which have already been printed and to use the descriptions as a guide to the material.

The original spelling of the annotations has been retained, though abbreviations have been expanded. In quotations from the printed text, I have modernised i and j and u and v where necessary.

The First Booke of the Masse

Page 1.

‘the ende of both the propitiatory and gratulatory sacrifices of the ould law’

Annotation type: Paraphrase.

Subject: The question of sacrifice in the origins of the lords supper.

Description: Annotation adjacent to two underlinings: all the propitiatorie sacrifices of the law, and two lines later: And all the sacrifices of thanksgiving likewise. The annotation conflates two lines of text into one idea.

Page. 2

i) ‘the ende of the pascall lambe’

Type: Paraphrase.

Subject: Sacrifice of the paschal lamb.

Description: Adjacent to four lines of intermittent underlining: ‘this killing of this lambe should bee renewed every year... in the memorie of the benefites alreadie received, as in the expectation and faithfull looking for of greater that were to come and to be received.’ (Part omitted: to teach and instruct the ages to come, as well)

Notes: ‘ende’ instead of ‘killing’

ii) ‘how the passover is a sacramente’

Type: Splits printed footnote

Subject: Passover

Description: Passage underlined is ‘A Sacrifice offred up to God by his people: (for as) properly are sacrifices offered up to God by the people, as Sacramentes come from God are given to the people, as is witnessed when he saith.’ Lies between two italicised passages.

Marginal note adjacent to first section of underlining. Printed note reads: ‘In the passover is a sacrament and a sacrifice.’

iii)'how the passover is a sacrifice'

Type: Splits printed footnote

Subject: Passover

Description: As previous, adjacent to second section of underlining.

Page 3.

i) 'In the lordes supper is to be considered both a sacrament and sacrifice'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Sacrament/Sacrifice

Description: Adjacent to underlining that the lords supper, like the passover: 'wherein as also (in this) wee have likewise to consider both a sacrament and a sacrifice'.

Notes: i, ii, iii and iv serve as a marginal guide to a paragraph of a whole page that has no notes except two biblical refs.

ii) 'How the lordes supper is a sacrament'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Sacrament/Sacrifice

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'A Sacrament, in that God there pretendeth unto us (bread and wine).'

iii) 'how the lordes supper is a sacrifice'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Sacrament/Sacrifice

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'A Sacrifice in like manner, for that in the holy Supper we give thankes to God, for this great deliverance which we receive, from the servitude (and punishment of sinne in the death of his welbeloved).'

iv) 'how the lordes supper & the paschall lambe differ'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Sacrament/Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Follows passage explaining the difference, that the Lamb was a sacrament of deliverance to come, while the 'holie Supper is the sacrament of grace alreadie wrought and purchased.'

Page 18.
'what the service of the Jewes was'

Type: Paragraph summary

Subject: Service of Jews/origin of sabbath

Description: No underlining. Note adjacent to start of paragraph detailing the service of the Jewish Sabbath.

Page 19.
i) 'that is from the Jewes'

Type: Continuation of printed footnote

Subject: Origins of Christian Service

Description: No underlining. Continues (directly) footnote: 'That the service of Christians was derived from thence.'

ii) 'the service of the primitive church'

Type: Flag

Subject: Origins of Christian Service

Description: No underlining. Passage on the first Christians framing the service after that of the Jews, with the differences, and the manner of service.

iii) 'confession of sinnes is the first parte of divine service used in the primitive church'

Type: Flag & follows footnote

Subject: The origins of Confession

Description: No underlining. Directly underneath printed ref. to Matth 3. and Mar. 1. Adjacent to passage on John the Baptist and sin and passage 'for without the knowledge of sin, no man can come to the acknowledgement of grace' and Paul's sermon to the Jews in the synagogue at Antioch on remission.

Page 20.

Type: Paraphrase

i) 'the pastour being the mouth of the people to gode is to confesse unto gode¹ the iniquitye of the people'

Subject: Original Confession (opposed to modern)

Description: No underlining. Extracts verbatim phrase 'mouth of the people'. Adjacent to passage on today's priest working 'onlie for himselfe' but the original ones setting the iniquities of the people before God for remission

ii) 'all the partes of divine service are here proved'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Origins of service (reading gospels etc.)

Description: No underlining. Serves as guide for long paragraph with biblical references but no marginal gloss. Adjacent to passage on St Paul, at the Lord's supper, 'handleth the word of God amongst them, and continueth his speech until midnight, that is he did not only reade unto them, but expounded it unto them also, and drew out from thence doctrines for their use after the manner used in preaching.'

¹ 'Gode' struck through. Illegible interlineation.

Page 22.

i) 'In the primitive church the elementes were given to the people without using any wordes besides the institution itt
2,

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Origins of service- singing

Description: No underlining. Next to italicised passage stating that it is unknown who added singing to the Liturgy at the offering, *inter offerendum*. Only clear that 'the holie Fathers in the first times' did communicate 'without anie voice heard', same on Holy Sat. and Easter Sun. They did not say 'Offero, Sacrificio, Offerimus, Sacrificamus.'

ii) 'In the first ages of the church there were noe other garmantes used, then ordinary apparell'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Origins of service- vestments

Description: No underlining. Next to italicised passage stating that early services were said with '*common apparrell*', priestly robes varied between places and over time. '*there are some parts of the world, lying Eastward, which yet use them as at the first.*'

Page 23.

'The order or service in Iustine Martyres tyme'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Order of service c. 160 AD

Description: No underlining. Next to long italicised passage (Greek marginalia) beginning with the reader reading, and then the exposition to the assembly. Note directly adjacent to line that after prayer ended, the bread, the wine, and the water are brought to be offered.³

² Illegible.

³ My translation from Greek προσφερεται

Page 25.

‘that alone to be regarded Jesus Christe
hath judged meete & conveniente’

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Manner of service

Description: Next to underlined passage-
God appeared and said this is my son,
hear him: (Whereupon then it must
follow, ‘that we are not to regard what
everyone before us hath judged meet and
convenient to be done, but unto that
which Jesus Christ hath done, which is
before all: because wee are not to apply
our (selves to follow and imitate the
custome of man, but the truth and veritie
of God).’

Page 29.

‘the best men in their wisdome are
confounded when they walke not by the
rule of Gods worde’

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Manner of service- following
god

Description: Next to underlined passage:
‘these good men under (a shadowe of
drawing Jewes and Gentiles unto Christ,
in course) of time did faire (and softly
bring into the Church both Judaisme and
Paganisme.’

Notes: ‘good men’ becomes ‘best men’

Page 30.

‘a brief representation of the whole
servyce of gode in the pureste tyme of
the church’

Type: Paragraph summary

Subject: Manner of Service in old church

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to
passage summarising the manner of
service in the old church, as in the
previous chapter (confession, scripture
reading, preaching etc.).

Page 33

i) 'whosoever is worthy to communicate in prayer with the sayntes is worthy to receive the lords supper with them'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Worthiness to receive Lords Supper- by prayer

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage on worthiness- worthy to receive (even if say you are unworthy) by consequence of the communion which is in prayers.

ii) 'four hundred yeare after Christe; or ever the worde (Masse) was used'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Use of the word 'mass'

Description: Adjacent to underlining: '(till) Four hundred years after the death of our Lord' i.e. this was the first time 'mass' was used- never mentioned by Saint Jerome, by Saint Augustine twice- not in the 'sence and signification' as today.

iii) 'the ainciente fathers seldome used the worde masse, & that then in a far other sence then it is used nowe to witt, so havunge leave to departe'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Use of word 'mass'

Description: Note ends at underlining of 'Either sacrifice or sacrament'. Adjacent to note, passage is about Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose never using mass in the modern sense, never meaning sacrament or sacrifice.

Page 34.

'how grossly the worde Masse is translated & drawne from its first signification'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Use of the word 'mass'

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'But what fa(tall) change or translation was destinated unto this word, that from an ill throwne) Latine word, signifying leave or libertie, it should necessarily be drawne in first to signifie a part of Gods divine worship and service, then a pretended sacrifice: Thirdly, (a wor)ke wrought for the salvation of the quicke and the dead: (and finally, to leape into the roome of the market place, called Palladium in Rome, promising as large and plentiful store of wares and marchandise for the Christian soule, as ever that other did commodities for the carnall bodie?'

Notes: Note at top of 8 underlined lines.

Page 35.

'before the supper of the lorde was administered everyone accordinge to his habitye presented a gifte'

Type: Completes printed footnote

Subject: Manner of old service- gifts

Description: No underlining. Continues printed note: 'Of Offrings or oblations.' Note is at the beginning of a chapter.

Page 36.

i) 'a wicked mans gifte was not then received, that he might therby knowe that they thought him unworthy of their holy communion'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Gifts/ exclusion

Description: Above underlining: '(the) Sacrifice which they should bring unto God, were to approve them to bee in state to bee partakers of the prayers of the Church.' The underlined passage is the reasoning for the statement in the marginal note.

ii) 'psalmes used to be sunge whyles the offeringes were in bringenge to the table'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Old Church- Psalms during offerings

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage stating psalms sung during offerings, only certain verses.

iii) 'the use of these offeringes where old in time they served'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Offerings

Description: Close to note ii). No underlining. Adjacent passage stating that one part of the offerings began to be used for the maintenance of the pastor (an abuse).

iv) 'seven thinges to be observed in the oblation of the first frutes'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: (Hebrews on) Oblation of First Fruits

Description: No underlining. Direct quotation, without Hebrew books. Introduces list in text.

Page 37.

i) 'long prayers were mente to be divided into articles, to every one whereof the people were to cry (amen)'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Division of prayers/ Saying 'amen'

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to line at start of paragraph, saying that long prayers were divided up and the people, 'that they might be kept the more attentive, were bounde to aunswere, Amen'.

ii) 'The forme of administeringe the lords supper'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Priest's words in administering the Lord's Supper.

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage recounting the words of the priest, answers of the people. Words are in italics. Some of the words are in Greek.

Page 38.
'What itt is that maketh the sacramente'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Power of words in sacrament.

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage stating that (in the old church) the bread and the wine were held to be consecrated 'by vertue of the institution of our Lord ... and not by vertue of certaine wordes spoken over the elementes.'

Page 39.
'Which hath alwayes beene attributed unto the institution, & to the effortless power thereof and not to a certaine⁴ number of wordes'

Type: Continues printed marginal note

Subject: Power of words in consecration.

Description: No underlining. Continues directly printed note: 'Of the consecration or blessing.' Adjacent passage that consecration 'was not attributed unto certaine wordes, and much lesse unto a prefixt and set number of wordes, but onelie to the institution of the Lord, and to the effectuall power thereof.'

⁴ 'certaine' is interlined.

Page 43.

‘the church of Rome did not bringe furth
one doctor of note in the time of all the
learned men in former ages’

Type: Paraphrase (almost quotation)

Subject: Church of Rome- Doctors

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage that Church of Rome did not produce doctors of ‘anie name or note’ from the time of the ‘great lights’ of the Greek and Latin Church (Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostome, Basil etc.) States this was ‘il hap or rather curse’- especially as the time was plentiful in learned men.

Page 44.

‘Anastasius the author of standing at the
Gospel’

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Standing at the Gospel

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage clarifies that Anastasius, about the year 405, decreed that clerks and unlearned people should stand at the reading of the Gospel.

Page 47.

‘the exorcisinge of water he purge away
manes sinnes fetched from the gentiles’

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Origins of exorcism

Description: No underlining. Note beneath printed note to Hippocrates. Note adjacent to italicised passage quoting Hippocrates: ‘*In going in (saith hee) wee sprinkle our selves with this water, to the end that if we have any sinne, we may bee purified and made cleane.*’ Gentiles sprinkling themselves with water when entering their temples is further up the page.

Notes: Lady Hoby extracts the word ‘exorcising’ from 8 lines further down the paragraph.

Page 49.
'The first occasion of using the crosse'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Use of cross

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage (faced by the opposition of Jews and Gentiles) that the Christians were not ashamed of the cross, put it in their forehead 'and made it their marke and badge.' Time of teaching of Saint Paul.

Page 52.
'what the masse was in the first ages of it'

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Nature of the early mass

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'It was an assemblie of Christians, calling upon the name of God by Jesus Christ'

Notes: The note and the extract come close to the question and response common in catechisms.

Page 53.
'how the supper of the lord was administered in ancient tyme'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Blessing of sacraments

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'a rehearsall of the pure and holy institution of the (Supper;) of a prayer unto God.' Passage is on the blessing of sacraments in the service and how this was done. Note also seems to refer to three subsequent underlinings: 'with a commemoration of the holy Martyrs'; 'of the participating and communicating of the bodie and blood of our (Lord)'; 'finally there was the dissolving or breaking uppe of the (whole assemblie concluded and finished by a post-communion, that is, by a solemne thanksgiving.'

Page 54.
'when the Letanye firste came in'

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Introduction of the Litany

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage on the Litany first in the Eastern then in the Western Churches. Later in paragraph a line is underlined: 'They contrived and drewe into certaine articles, the publicke necessities and calamities, that did presse them or threaten (them).' Words of priest then response, praying to Saints and the Virgin Mary only came in later.

Page 55.
i) 'Who first instituted processions'

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Processions

Description: Underlined passage: 'Agapetus the first did institute the processions, at the first, before the Masse at Easter' is slightly below note.

ii) 'Vigilius the authour of Candlemas feaste'

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Candlemas

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage gives him as the author of the feast and the reason why it was used (the pagan feast of Proserpina).

iii) 'The occasion of Candlemas feaste'

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Candelmas

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage on the need not to upset the pagans, so the feast kept for the Virgin Mary.

Page 56.
'When the psalmes came to be sung in partes'

Type: paraphrase/Q&A

Subject: Psalms in parts

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage states that originally sung whole with one voice, but then divided into parts and then verses: clergy one verse, people the other etc. (Time of Gregory).

Page 61.
'broughte in by Gregorye'

Type: Continues printed footnote

Subject: Changes in vestments

Description: No underlining. Continues directly printed marginal note: 'Alteration in apparrell.' Adjacent passage (2 lines further down): 'Gregorie brought in the pontificall and statelie garmentes.'

Page 71.
'masses for the deade'

Type: Breaking down paragraph

Subject: Masses: for the dead

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage italicised, refers to the words of the Council of Cavalion: '*Let the remembrance of the dead be made in all Masses.*' (reasoning was that 'therein is prayer dayly made for the living.')

Page 72.
i) 'masses said againste tempestes'

Type: Breaking down paragraph

Subject: Masses: against storms

Description: Adjacent underlining: 'Good against tempestes.' Also council of Cavalion. Just one of many 'types' of mass she underlined (sickness, wars, purging offenders, adulterous priests, enchanter, hallowing cities etc.)

ii) 'St Gregoryes masse delivereth soules out of purgatorye'

Type: Breaking down paragraph

Subject: Masses: to help those in purgatory

Description: In same list of types of mass. Adjacent to underlining: 'if it bee S. Gregoryes, (it delivereth soules out of Purgatorie.'

iii) 'a good reason why people was easyly drawne to runne to the masse instead of receiving the lordes supper'

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Masses: popularity

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage says that it was inevitable that 'the people cast off the holy supper, for to runne to the Masse, the practice whereof is so easie, and yet withall so readie to bring salvation.'

Page 73.
'the foundation of worshipp'

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Exclusion of laity from service

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'That it was sufficient if there was one answerer, whome they called Campanarium, that is, he who is wont to ring the bell.' The whole passage details how the priests set themselves above the laity, that the laity should not communicate with the priest but with the clerks, and later with neither priests nor clerks; the underlined passage follows. Finally priests took away the cup of the Lord.

Page 75.

‘How the communion came by degrees to fall to the ground’

Type: Paraphrase/ Q&A

Subject: Communion: abuses

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage states that the holy Supper was cut off from the people, frustrating the ‘ordinarie use of the bodie and blood of Christ.’ From weeks, it became months, then quarters, and finally once a year.

Page 85.

‘Thomas Aquinas his reasons why the cup is kept from the laity’⁵

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: Adjacent to underlining (after stating ‘these are his reasons’) ‘first’; later in paragraph ‘The second’ and further down ‘The third, For feare.’

Notes: Text quotes Aquinas ‘*Why doe not the people receive the blood under the wine.*’ Hoby changes emphasis: puts the cup before the people.

Page 86.

‘Thomas Aquinas reasons why the supper of the lorde should be administered in both kinds’

Type: Flag for list/ Q&A

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised passage beginning: ‘*This sacrament (sayeth hee) is given under a double kinde for three reasons... .*’

Page 88.

i) ‘Of the condemning of John Hus & Jerome of Prague against their faythfull promise, when they called them to the counsell’

Type: Paraphrase

Subject: Martyrs/ oaths

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage, Hus and Jerome condemned before they were heard and despite: ‘the publike and sacred oath and promise’ of Emperor and Pope.

⁵ ‘communalitey’ struck through before laity

ii) 'the canon enacted for the taking away of the cup from the laity'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicized passage quoting the words of the council. Previous line before the italics is '(let every man judge whether the spirit of Christ or Antichrist did speak in this Council)'. Canon declared only the priest could drink the wine, that it was '*the commendable custome of the Church ... that for the avoiding of certaine daungers and scandals, this sacrament shall be onely administered under one kind.*'

Page 89.

i) 'Why the giving the cup to the laity should be cutt of'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: No underlining. Continues footnote: 'The foolish reasons of the Council.' Adjacent text introduces a list of reasons.

ii) 'a blasphemous conceit of papistes'

Type: Reference

Subject: Interpretation of Scripture

Description: Adjacent to underlined, italicised passage: 'as Cardinal Cusanus saith in his second epistle to the Bohemians, *That the institution of the scripture doeth change in time, and apply it selfe unto the ceremonie that is curreant and received.*'

Page 91
'the wicked curse of the councell of
Trente'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'In the meane time it curseth all them which hold that [the Communion under the two kind is necessarie, either in respect of salvation, or otherwise in respect of the commaundment of God].' This is in an enormous paragraph on Trent and Communion. Trent last mentioned 41 lines before note.

Page 93
i) 'Confutation of theyr first reason taken from the sacrament of the ould lawe & shadowes of ours in the nue testament'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage refutes the validity of the argument that wine should be withheld because the sacraments in the Old testament had 'no drinke.' The objection to this comes rather later in the paragraph.

ii) 'a proof that Christe did administer the cup unto his disciples not as preistes consecratinge but as faythfull men receiving'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'And to take it then at the hardest, Jesus Christ having spoken unto them, whom they call *non conficientes*, and having commaunded them to take the cup, it should follow, that the commaundement of God doeth of necessitie charge them to communicate under both kindes, which is directly contrarie to the Article of the Council of Trent.'

Page 94.

'The answeere unto Christes breakinge
breade alone Luke 24 & givinge to his
disciples'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Communion

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage refers to Luke 24 at the supper at Emmaus in which Jesus (after resurrection) broke only bread and gave it to two of the disciples. The 'answer' comes further down: this was not consecrated bread but simply food at the end of a journey.

Page 95.

'Answere unto Actes 2 & 24'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Communion: both kinds

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage states that (Acts 2 and 24) prove that the apostles communicated in the breaking of the bread. This is in response to the argument that the apostles did not communicate.

Page 98.

i) 'The ancient church was very precise
in seeing to theyr cleargye that they were
unreproverible'

Type: Reference

Subject: Clerical discipline in Old
Church

Description: Adjacent passage underlines 'performance' and 'of discipline' in the following: 'Now the old Church, that they might the better containe and kepe such as had charge of the dispensing of the word in the performance of their dutie, did hold them under a more straitte and severe kind of discipline... .'

ii) 'discipline for cleargye men very stricte in the ould churches'

Type: Reference

Subject: Clerical discipline in the old Church

Description: Continuing almost directly under previous footnote, sparse underlining of the continuing passage as follows: '.... and if it had happened, that any one of them had swarved in the confession of Jesus Christ, or grievously failed in any parte of his dutie, according to

Notes: In this note and the previous the underlined words are of little significance. Hoby had underlined with short strokes along the beginning of 6 lines to remember the passage, rather than draw attention to particular words.

iii) 'In Cyprians tyme those which abused holy orders were never received into the same agayne'

Type: Reference

Subject: Clerical deprivation in the old Church

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised passage (quoting Cyprian) that refers to rebellious/ disloyal/ undutiful pastors. If they repent they can come back to the Church as laymen and can receive the Eucharist, 'but not to blesse and distribute it.'

Note: note comes some way above the passage that states that they would not be allowed to minister again. The original Cyprian has the more positive message that they would be allowed back into Gods community; Hoby extracts in a more negative and divisive manner.

The Second Booke

Page 106

i) 'churches in the beginning were builte only to gode'

Type: Reference

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'In this first antiquitie it is not read that they were built or dedicate to any other then God onely: and therefore were called *Dominica*, κυριααι.'

ii) 'against building churches to angells'

Type: Reference

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised passage, from Saint Augustine, stating that if we build churches to any angel, '*should we not be accursed of the truth of Christ, and of the church of God.*'

iii) 'churches began to be dedicated unto sayntes in Justinians tyme'

Type: Reference

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage states that it was after a time of imitation of paganism that 'saints crept up into the places of Gods' and churches were built for them.

Page 107.

i) 'were fetched from the Jewish rites as things not known of in the simplicitie of christianitye'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Continues footnote: 'The dedication of Temples'. Wording of note follows adjacent text.

ii) 'when unction was added in the dedication of churches'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Continues footnote: 'Anno 350'. Adjacent text states that 'unction' was added to the dedication of churches, following Jewish custom, but not practised again until the time of Gregory the First.

iii) 'when perfumes & the reliques of sayntes beganne in dedication of churches'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Follows footnote: 'An. 600' Adjacent text states that Gregory the First also introduced perfumes and relics into dedication of Churches.

Page 108.

'when the superstitious dedication grewe unto itt full ripenes'

Type: Continues footnote.

Subject: Churches: dedication

Description: No underlining. Follows footnote: 'Anno 1000. D.68 c. eccles. semel.' Adjacent text, c. 1000: 'it was grown into a full and absolute forme.' i.e. sprinkling walls with holy water, saying certain prayers in dedication of the Church.

Page 109.
'how the table came to carry the name of
an altar'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Altars: the name

Description: Above intermittently
underlined passage 'by S. Paule himselfe
(who calleth the almes sacrifices) this
Table by consequence, did likewise
sometimes beare the name of the Altar.'

Notes: Hoby's underlining is similar to
Page 98 ii).

Page 110.
'when altars began to be made of stone'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Altars: stone

Description: No underlining. Adjacent
passage: 'But after the time of
Constantine, use prevailed by little and
little, whereupon they became to be
made of stone.'

Page 111.
'the superstitions used in consecrating
altars'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Altars: consecrating

Description: No underlining. Adjacent
passage lists (over long time span)
superstitions, though the original uses
the word first for temples then carries on
the sense to altars e.g. holy water, salt
wine, ashes, singing Psalm 51 etc.

Page 121.
'how images furste gate footinge in the
church'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent
text: Images used by Jews after Gentiles,
then Christians, readily took to 'thinges
(especially) indifferent.'

Page 122.

‘Images att the first made for monuments
and for noe religious use’

Type: Reference

Subject: Images (origins)

Description: No underlining. Follows
passage quoting Tertullian. Adjacent text
reads ‘But that it was but for a
monument or remembrance, and not for
any religious use... .’

Page 123.

‘the oulde writers by cross understoode
not the woode but Christe fastened unto
itt’

Type: Reference

Subject: Cross: meaning of

Description: No underlining. Note comes
3 lines above passage: ‘the olde writers
by the Crosse did not understand the
woode, but the Lorde himselfe fastned
unto it.’

Page 124.

‘the to much seeking of humane confort
the occasion of idolatry’

Type: Reference

Subject: Images: idolatry

Description: No underlining. Adjacent
text refers to the ‘curiositie’ and
‘seeking of humane comfort’ of
Meletius of Antioch, who wanted people
to have his picture on their walls after
his death etc.

Page 125.

i) ‘Gregory helde that images should not
be for worshippe but for instruction’

Type: Reference

Subject: Images: purpose

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to
italicised passage quoting Gregory
(whose position could have put him in
danger of being condemned for heresy
‘if he had beene at Trent.’): abuse to
worship pictures, should be ‘*only to
teach the histories of such as they did
represent to such as could not reade.*’

ii) 'the pagaynes made the same answer for theyr idols which papistes doe for theyr images'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage which is later italicised gives this answer that they were visible signs to know the nature of the invisible God.

iii) 'when images came toward their full strength for erecting them in church'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent italicised passage (from S. Augustine): *'That those who are subject and apt to learne lies, who seeke for Jesus Christ & his Apostles in the paintings of wals, & not in the scriptures.'*

Page 126.

i) 'Pope Constantine the first that caused the decrees of how callinge images'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: Adjacent underlining: 'Then Constantine the Pope called a councell at Rome, where he caused it first to be affirmed and decreed, that images ought to be honoured, and excommunicated the Emperor Philippicus, & c. Also he 'would have his feet kissed in the citie of Nicomedia by the Emperor Justinian.'

ii) 'the bull dealing with the popes of emperors'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Popes vs. Emperors

Description: No underlining. Footnote: 'Bonif. 1.8 dec. 1 Anton. Arch. Florent. 1. 14 c. 1.8 I. Canon. Perlatum D.3 de consecr.' Adjacent passage on Greg. II excommunicating Leo at Ravenna.

Page 127

i) 'when the doctrine of images grewe'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage, partly italicised, states that Adrian I, against all his predecessors, including Gregory the Great, decreed '*That the images of Christ, of the virgine Marie, & of all the saints must be worshipped & adored.*'

ii) 'the upholder of Images was a bloody & brutish woman'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Images

Description: Note 3 lines above underlining: '[one being held in the time of Constantine the great] the deliverer of the Church, and the other in the time of a mad and brutish woman, that was the bloodie butcher to murther her owne son, addicted to south sayers, borne of Paganes, and continuing no lesse by profession, of whom histories make mention, that *the Sun was eclipsed, that it [might not behold her enormous and detestable deeds & that the earth did shake the Citie of Constantinople as wearie of bearing them].*'

Page 129.

i) 'Allegations for Images'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Note at start of paragraph. Allegations refer to the arguments at the Councils of Nice.

ii) 'Allegations agaynste images & the adoringe of them'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Note at start of paragraph. Allegations refer to the Council of Frankfurt (set directly against those of Nice).

Page 134.
'the blasphemous speeche of pope adrian about images'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage on Adrian giving his Legates a little book about the supremacy of the Pope and the worshipping of images: that none could be admitted to their charge unless they had put their name to the book.

Page 135.
'The worshipping of god in images proved unlawfull'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: no underlining. Adjacent to two passages, italicised, quoting S. Augustine: [Above] '*The signes of the Jewes are profitable, because they are ordained of God: but those of the Gentiles unprofitable, as their images, pictures, &c. notwithstanding that in them they bee properlie given to honour their Gods.*'

[Below] '*If thou honour the signes, instead of the thing signified, intending the honour unto these, and not to them: yet this is notwithstanding a carnal servitude, whereas Christian libertie hath even delivered the Jewes.*'

Page 136.

i) 'An idolatrous songe used in the church of Rome'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images: song about

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised song: '*Behold the wood of the Crosse, we worship it; O holie Crosse, graunt that Justice may grow and increase in good men, and pardon thou the transgressors and the sinners, &c.*'

ii) 'How the ornamentes of images followed the adoration of them'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage detailing this process.

iii) 'The grosse prayer that is made att the consecrating of the crosse'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images: the cross

Description: Adjacent to underlining: 'For in consecrating of the Crosse, they pray unto God: That all such as shall kneele downe unto the same, may have remorse and compunction of heart and remission of their sinnes.'

iv) 'The idolatrous prayer used att the consecration of the Virgines image'

Type: Reference

Subject: Images: Virgin Mary

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'When in like manner they consecrate an Image of the holie virgin, they pray: *That it may bee of power against thunderinges and lightinges, against floudes, civill warres and invasion by forraine and barborous people.*'

Page 139.

‘Againste the expresse commandmente of god no man must doe any thinge without a speciall exception from him’

Type: Reference

Subject: Images

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised passage (quoting Tertullian):
‘It agreeth verie well, that the same God who hath forbidden me in his Law to make any similitude or likenes, hath likewise commaunded by an extraordinarie commaundement for to make that of the serpent: If thou worshippe and feare this same God, thou hast his Law for thy direction therein: Make not anie similitude or likenes, and if thou consider the commaundement that commeth after, injoining one to bee made, in that thou art to imitate and do as Moses did: Make no image or likenes contrarie to the law, if this same God do not expressly commaund it.’

Page 141.

i) ‘An edict agaynst Jewish ceremonyes anno 400’

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Jewish ceremonies

Description: No underlining. Continues footnote: ‘Concil. Laod. 29.36.37.38.’
Adjacent text is that, at the Council of Laodicea, c. 400, Christians were forbidden to use and part of the ceremonies used in the Jewish service.

ii) ‘The supper of the lorde in the primitive church administered with common breade’

Type: Reference

Subject: Lords Supper: bread

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states that ordinary bread, as eaten in peoples houses, was used. Was not unleavened.

iii) 'When unleavened breade began to be in use'

Type: Reference

Subject: Lords Supper: bread

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text about the decretal of Clement III (c. 1188) against the priests who used wooden cups and leavened bread.

Page 143.

i) 'Mixing of wine with water is a thinge indifferent so longe as itt is not made significante'

Type: Reference

Subject: Sacraments: wine

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text is a long passage on watering down the wine e.g. Aquinas, not in the Gospel but necessary in some countries due to the strength of the wine. Important at Trent. Few lines further down 'this mingling of wine and water is not any whit significative or respecting the misteries which are therein sought and searched for; but growing onely, eyther of the custome of the countrie, or of some apparant seemelinese.'

ii) 'Transubstantiation brought in a speciaall regarde of the earthly vessell & neglect of the spirituall'

Type: Reference

Subject: Transubstantiation

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text (above) states that transubstantiation made all the cups be made of the same material and the cups be hallowed. Directly adjacent is that antiquity could not conceive of 'this monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation' and (further down) that councils from this time used their energy to convert 'from the spirit to the flesh, from spirituall temples, to materiall ones.... to the implements & instruments onely which they used in administration hereof.'

Page 149.

i) 'would have all to singe in the church'

Type: Continues footnote/ Reference

Subject: Singing in Church

Description: No underlining. Follows footnote: 'Isidorde eccle. Offi. c. 10.' Adjacent to italicised passage, quoting Isidor, Archbishop of Seville: '*That when there is singing in the church, it behoveth every man to sing...*'

ii) 'when religion began in Englande'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Religion in England

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to text stating that Saint Augustine, coming to a barbaric island where people communicated by grunting, 'did there change and alter both the forme and tongue wherein they had before celebrated their service.'

Page 150.

i) 'St Augustine resolved to use barbarisme rather than not be understoode'

Type: Reference

Subject: Language

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised quotation of Saint Augustine: '*... it is far better that the Grammarians should reprove us, then that the people should not understand us.*'

ii) 'When service begane to be used everywhere in the Romayne language'

Type: Reference

Subject: Language: Latin service

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to passage stating that the attempt 'to impose and thrust the set forme of the Romish service upon all nations' was c. 700.

iii) 'singing of oulde began all with
hearte, voyce & understanding'

Type: Reference

Subject: Languages: singing

Description: No underlining. Adjacent to italicised passage (Quoting Saint Basil):
'Let the tong sing, but let the hart & understanding at the same time sound and reach the sence & meaning of that which is sung.'

Page 151.

'How the Romayne language came to be
used in all the westerne provinces'

Type: Reference

Subject: Languages: Latin

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states this was done by the changing of services and tongues by Gregory and above all by the work of Pipin and Charlemagne.

Page 152.

'Why the scriptures were written in the
Greek and Hebrew tongues'

Type: Reference

Subject: Languages: Greek and Hebrew

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew because this was the language of Israel and the Greek for the New Testament, as it was 'very common, knowne unto all the East parts, where Christianitie did first spring and spread abroad.'

Page 153.

'Presently after the apostles tyme the
scripture was translated into all tongues'

Type: Reference

Subject: Languages

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states that after the Gospel was preached, it was translated into many languages (Hebrew/ Arabic/ Scythian).

Page 157.

‘The pope directly contraye unto the fathers in his decrees of readinge the worde of god’

Type: Reference

Subject: Reading

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states: ‘The old Writers did chide the Laitie as culpable of a notorious crime, for not having of Bibles, and here the Pope and his shavelinges do punish the Laitie for having of them, they do confiscate the Bibles’

Page 158.

‘Mutteringe used by the romishe priestes in the consecration directly contrary to christs institution’

Type: Reference

Subject: Language: muttering

Description: No adjacent underlining. Adjacent passage on the need for clarity being straight from Christ. underlining later in paragraph: (Council of Cologne c. 1300) ‘*That the priest must hasten as fast as he can, in the saying of the Canon, for feare of being interrupted by some hicket, vexing, neesing or otherwise.*’

Page 159.

i) ‘the pretended cause of mutteringe the wordes of consecration’

Type: Reference

Subject: Language: muttering

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage that ‘certaine shepherdes who had learned these wordes by heart, did abuse them in saying them over their bread’ etc.

ii) 'the papistes make all the laity no better than swyne and dogges'

Type: Reference

Subject: Laity

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text (continuing from muttering) states that those who go against the Romish way, 'doth fulfill the saying of our Lord, *In giving pearles unto wine, and casting holie things before dogs.* And what will they say then of all the old Church? and amongst whome shall all the faithfull during the time of so manie ages be accounted, but amongst hogs and dogs?'

iii) 'accurseth them, which againste the church of Rome shall houlde with the scripture'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Language: muttering / Trent

Description: No underlining. Follows note: 'Concil. Trident. c.8.9' Adjacent passage (Trent): '*If anie man condemn and disalow the manner and fashion of the Church of Rome, for speaking the Canon and wordes of consecration verie low, or by affirming that the Masse ought to be saide in a common and vulgar tongue, let him be accursed.*'

Page 161.

i) 'Sygnes have no other power than that which the Lorde giveth than'

Type: Reference

Subject: Signs

Description: Adjacent underlined passage: 'whereas our Lord breathed upon his Apostles, saying unto them: *Receive the holie Ghost: the Primitive Church, notwithstanding, did not practise the same; because such signes have no other power then that which God hath given unto them; and therefore must not presumptuously be conceived to have anie such, except there appeare the expresse institution and ordinance of the Lord for the warrant of the same.*'

ii) 'How bishops were chosen in the olde church'

Type: Reference/ Q & A

Subject: Bishops

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage on the simplicity of the election of bishops, as seen in the case of Fabian. Stresses that the whole church, including Elders and Deacons, came together in the election.

Page 162.

i) 'the cause of the first electing of bishops'

Type: Reference/ Q & A

Subject: Bishops

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states that in the old Church the Priests did 'chuse one from amongst themselves to be Bishop.'

ii) 'bishops in their firste ordination not above other ministers'

Type: Reference

Subject: Bishops

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text reads: (in the old Church) 'by the law of God, the Bishop could not assume or chalenge any more to himselfe then the Priestes: and that the Priest or Elder did nothing which the Bishop did not ...'

Page 163

i) 'which in the oulde church were none but ordinary attyre'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Vestments

Description: No underlining. Follows note: 'The priestlie garmentes'. Adjacent text, simply states that the priestlie garments did not differ from his ordinary attire. Plain and did not follow fashion.

ii) 'how churchmen attire came to differ from the secular sorte'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Vestments

Description: Note above underlining: '[Afterward as the apparrell of men doth hardly continue in one state, they begun to alter amongst the secular sort, and were notwithstanding continued in one fashion] amongst the Church-men & thereupon grew the difference betwixt the one and the other.'

iii) 'When ministers were firste appoynted to weare a speciall kinde of garmente'

Type: Continues footnote/ Q&A

Subject: Vestments

Description: No underlining. Possibly continues footnote: 'Plat. in viae. Sylvestr.' Adjacent passage is italicised, quoting Sylvester I. Previous passage states that by the time of Constantine, ministers were appointed to wear 'a speciall kind of garment.'

Page 164.
'the fonde devices and ordinances aboute ceremonies'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Vestments

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage on the Canons on differences in clerical dress between normal days and holy days, and difference between clerical and lay. Adjacent text: 'as also they should bee diverse, according to the diversitie of feastes, as white, blacke, redde, greene, &c. white ones upon the festivall dayes of Confessors and Virgins; redde ones, upon the festivall dayes of the Apostles and Martyrs'

Page 165.

‘A grosse devyce of givinge a consecrated hoste to priests which had nerely received orders’

Type: Reference

Subject: Eucharist

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: ‘In the end, Transubstantiation was added unto the rest, and that the Priest who was to bee received into the Order, shoulde have given him by the Bishop a consecrated host, which he shold be eating for the space of full 40 daies, everie daye taking some part thereof’

Page 170.

‘Nazianzene avoucheth that his fathers⁶ wife was an helpe to him in his ministrye’

Type: Explains footnote

Subject: Clerical marriage

Description: No underlining. Note is beneath footnote: ‘Nazianzen. de matre.’ Adjacent passage states that Nazianzene ‘seconded him with a wife: such a one ... as was his mother to his father, who helped him much, yea so much as that thereby he had a great deale the more leasure & time to his Ministerie.’

Notes: Notes shows a mistake and the correction at least a second reading.

Page 181.

‘The fruite of single life constrayned was the murtheringe of children’

Type: Reference

Subject: Clerical marriage

Description: Hoby underlined the end of six consecutive lines adjacent to her note. Passage reads: ‘And whereas they holde forth S. Gregorie as a strong bulwarke for their defence; I cannot but laugh at (sayeth hee) their rashness, and I pittie their ignorance: for hee

⁶ ‘fathers’ is interlined.

*earnestlie repented himself of this dangerous heresie. Therupon also he taketh occasion to make mention, how that S. Gregorie having sent to fish his pond, there were brought unto him more than sixe thousande heads of yong children, which drewe deep sighes from the bottom of his soule, caused him to confesse that this was the just fruit of his forced single life; and to flie from his Decree, to the good advise and counsel of the Apostle: *It is better to marrie then to burne: and he added thereunto, it is better to marrie then to give occasion to death.*'*

Page 185.
'of the state of religion and especially of marriage in priestes'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Clerical marriage

Description: No underlining. Continues footnote: 'In England'. Adjacent passage, at the start of the chapter, is about the date when religion came to England; there is information later in the passage relevant to the note, such as chastity in monks, and decree of Otto Archbishop of Canterbury c. 950 that the marriage of priests was heretical.

Page 188.
'from whence prohibition of marriage to the cleargy was fetched'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Clerical marriage

Description: Adjacent passage: (said Jesus) 'By the fruites we know the trees... This law [i.e. 'forced continencie'] sprung and tooke his beginning from the Gentiles and the Priestes of the Gentiles.'

The Third Booke

Page 194.

‘all holy ceremonyes of the church have theyr foundations in Christ’

Type: Reference

Subject: Ceremonies

Description: Adjacent underlining: ‘And therefore in this Mediator, all the holy ceremonies of the Church of God, doe take their roote and foundation; whether they bee those which are ordained for to offer up our holy service unto God in:’ (Underlining continues four lines later) ‘... or those which are ordained to allure us to the grace of God.’

Page 195.

i) ‘are the two ceremonyes of the church the former whereof is offered by man to god and the latter given by god to man’

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrament and Sacrifice

Description: no underlining. Continues footnote: ‘Sacrifice and Sacraments.’ Adjacent passage explains the two types of ceremony. Sacrifice- man to God. Sacrament- God to man.

ii) ‘ what a sacrifice is’

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: Adjacent underlining: ‘a sacrifice is an acte or worke, by which we acknowledge, in the knowledge of the true God, the whole homage which we owe unto him, and the faults which in our infirmitie we commit therein.’

iii) 'what a sacrament is'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrament

Description: Adjacent to beginning of underlining: 'A sacrament [is a holy ceremony instituted of God, in which the faithfull are confirmed,] by signes [exhibiting that which they represent of the grace of God promised unto the] faithful in the covenant which it hath pleased him to make with them.'

Page 196.

'how the supper of the lord is a sacrament, and how a sacrifice'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrament/
Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'It is instituted for a Sacrament of the new Testament, in as much as it is the reall receiving and communicating of the bodie and blood of Christ'

Page 197.

'the large signification of sacrifices, and sacramentes sometimes'

Type: Reference

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrament/
Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'In the meane time wee will note and observe by the way, that these wordes *Sacrifice* and *Sacrament*, doe not alwaies keepe the proper limites and boundes: but that sometimes they runne in their generall signification, and are taken eyther for all holy offices, or for all the signes used in the Church to signifie any thing.'

Page 200.

i) 'an answer to the objection of others offering of Christe offers though he offer himselfe but once'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'And no man is here to say, that in deed hee hath offered himselfe once, but that others are to offer him hereafter; for in that he hath shewed the sufficiencie of this sacrifice...' States it is not enough to sacrifice repetitively.

ii) 'An answer to the shifte of an unbloody sacrifice'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'Christ is no more offered after a bloody manner; but by a certaine kinde of sacrifice without blood.'

Page 201.

i) 'An answer to that shift that theyr unbloody sacrifice is not propitiatory but applicatory'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: Note above underlining: [we are all priests] 'to represent and daylie offer up unto God, the sacrifice of his onely Sonne, in the fervencie of our prayers, made in a lively faith, to the ende that it might please him, upon the view of the same, to forgive us our offences.'

ii) 'An answer to Gen: 14 and that filthy stuffe which from the falsification of that place they bringe'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: Catholic argument from Gen 14 '*Melchisedech king of Salem brought, or caused wine & bread to be brought: and he was the priest of the high God ...* [But] Christ is a Priest according to the order of Melchisedech; and he brought bread and wine; therefore Jesus Christ hath sacrificed bread and wine, and under bread and wine his body and blood: and the priestes do the same daily according to his example.'

Notes: 'filthy stuff' is Hoby's phrase.

Page 204.

i) 'is objected and answered'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Follows footnote: 'The Passover.' Adjacent passage is about the paschal lamb, and whether it is (Catholic) a figure of Christ, or (Protestant) a figure of Christ crucified, upon the Altar of the Crosse.

ii) 'The pas'

Type: Aborted note

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice.

Description: 4 lines above note iii). May have been about to note adjacent passage: 'The Paschall Lambe then is not properlie the figure of Christ eaten in the holy Supper.'

Notes: Hoby initially noted too far up the page and aborted; the revised version is note iii) below.

iii) 'The paschall lambe was not sacrificed but eaten'

Type: Reference

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'That as the Lambe (say they) was sacrificed uppon the Table, so Christ should be upon the Altar.' Passage continues that the lamb was not a sacrifice.

Page 206.

i) 'Answere unto the places of Esay'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'Behold here (say they) Sacrificing Priestes: behold also the ordaining of Sacrifices: for these prophesies have relation to the newe Testament and therefore to a propitiatorie Sacrifice, for the quicke and the deade: and therefore to the Masse. How many Syllogismes had there neede to bee brought in, before that wee shall come to make this conclusion?'

ii) 'the Answere unto this place is Daniel'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice.

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'for Daniel saith: *After the time that Iuge Sacrificium the continuall sacrifice shall bee taken away, and that there shall be set uppe the abomination of desolation, 1290 dayes, &c.* Wherefore this must bee the Masse. But before all other thinges it is to bee noted here, that the word *Sacrifice* is not there at all, and therefore that which is left unexpressed, may be aswel supplied by this word Service, as Sacrifice.'

Page 216.
'how the word (sacrifice) was first used amongst Christians'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'He would also take away thereby this stumbling stone which Antichrist hath very cunningly cast in the way, having drawne from this word sacrifice, which is to say, *A holy & consecrate kind of dutie or service*, (a phrase and tearme first used by Christians generally, for the whole exercise of devotion). Context of passage is of Catholics using the word for masses for the dead, remission of illness etc.

Page 217.
'what kinde of sacrifices are offered in the new testament'

Type: Flag for list/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text lists: 'sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, spirituall sacrifices, the calves of our lips, the works of charitie, &c.'

Page 228.
'The supper of the lord was celebrated very often in the primitive church'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion

Description: No underlining. Note at start of paragraph. Relevant text 3 lines down: 'During the fervent and devoute zeale of the Christian Church, the holie supper was celebrated everie Lordes day, yea in some churches everie daye.'

Page 229.

i) 'By what degrees the use of the communion was lost'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text: '... the Church is constrained to make Canons; *That at the least three or foure should alwaies communicate with the Priestes.*'

ii) 'the right use of the communion was first lost at Rome'

Type: Reference

Subject: Communion

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text states that bread and wine reduced in quantity, bread to 'no bigger than a penie' and wine 'from manie cups to one, from a great to a little one.'

Page 230.

'how the sacrifice of the altar came in'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Italicised adjacent text: 'Pope Gelasius his ordinance: *That the sacrifices which shall be offered by the people at the Masse, shall be distributed into foure partes, that is, for the Bishop, for the Cleargie, for the poore, and for the maintaining of the Church.*'

Page 232

'the sacrifice of the masse made more effectual then of the crosse'

Type: Reference

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text: 'The Schoolemen which came after him, have been so bold as to rob the Crosse of Christ, to hang the jewels, even the power thereof about the necke of their Masse.'

Page 233.

‘the supposed and pretended power of the masse’

Type: Reference

Subject: Mass

Description: No underlining. Adjacent italicised passage [on a popish error]: ‘*That it is cleane an other thing to be present at the Masse, then to communicate in the holie supper: That the Masse, ex opere operato, by the worke wrought, that is to say, by being onely present, without receiving anie thing, or yet bringing anie good motion thereunto, doth apply unto everie such person present at the merites of Christ.*’

Page 235.

‘A rehearsall of the principall errorrs in the masse⁷’

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Mass

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text: ‘But what? And is there such abomination in the Masse? Let us make a plaine and simple rehearsall of the principall errors therein, without anie making of them more heinous and grievous, then they are indeede. The first’

Page 237.

‘Although that the patriarkes could not enter into paradise by the papistes doctryne before Christes cominge, yet if there was purgatory deliverance from thence unto limbes paine had beene needfull

Type: Reference

Subject: Purgatory

Description: No underlining. Note slightly above relevant text: (to Church of Rome) ‘Paradice was not opened to the Fathers, unto the death of our Lord. For woulde not this have beene a refreshment and comforte unto them, to have been translated from Purgatorie, into the limbes: from a place of dolour and paine, and that such as they describe it to bee, into a place of rest?’

⁷ ‘popery’ struck through, replaced with ‘the masse.’

Page 254.

'Reasons to prove that Matthew 15.22 cannot be understood of purgatory gathered from the place'

Type: Reference

Subject: Purgatory

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'Who is he then that doth wish us to understand these words of a Purgatorie? But further how can it stand and agree with their rules? Seing that mortall sinnes as they call them, 'have no doore open to enter in there?'

Page 260

'what is ment by sacrifice, and why soe'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacrifice

Description: Adjacent text: 'And this we hold to be so much the more agreeable, because the triall is by nature to go before the sentence of judgement; as also for that this triall is made for the instruction of the Church, by manifesting and making knowne, on what side the truth standeth.'

Page 293.

'In thre thinges things we honour the sayntes'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Saints

Description: Adjacent text: 'After this fashion say I, honor we the saints, praising God in them, praising them in God, and conforming our selves unto them by his grace.'

Page 304

'A good answeere to the popish shift of
the sayntes seeing our thoughtes in God'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Saints

Description: Adjacent text: 'they
answeere that they see our thoughts, not
as they are in our spirits, but in God.
And we answeere them, that this is a
devised fantasie without any
foundation.'

Page 305

'A good place to prove that the sayntes
know nothing done upon oath⁸'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Saints

Description: No underlining. Follows
footnote: '2. King.22.20.' Adjacent text:
'God saith unto Josias: *I goe about to
gather thee unto thy forefathers, and
thine eyes shall not see the evils which I
will bring upon this place.*' Augustine
uses this passage and Esay 63.16 to
prove 'that the Saints know nothing of
all the matters that happen unto men.....'

⁸ 'know' struck through before 'prove.'

The Fourth Booke

Page 393.
'the use of the sacramentes'

Type: Flag for list

Subject: Ceremonies: Sacraments

Description: Underlined passage, throughout the paragraph, on what the sacraments do: 'speake and testifie ouwardly, both unto their eares and eyes, by the analogie and agreement of their nature, and inwardly to their understandings and hearts, by the working of the holy Ghost accompanying them more is, they worke within, a faith of the free promises of the Creator a confirmation' [of the conjunction between God and the faithfull] ... [make people] 'both in their affections, as also in their actions, to put their trust in God, through Jesus Christ, to renounce and foresake themselves, for the love of him, and to wish well and doe well unto their neighbours, but especially to the members of the same bodie, both in him and for him.'

Page 394.
'The difference betwixt spirituall & naturall diclinie in the effect of itt'

Type: Reference

Subject: Sacraments

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage is first about baptism then about the nature of the sacraments, the bread and wine being nourishment of the faithfull. Bread and wine does not become flesh and blood but 'converteth and chaungeth us into his substance, maketh us flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones: and causeth us to live in him and by him &c.'

Page 398.
'the ould sacraments'

Type: Continues footnote

Subject: Sacraments

Description: No underlining. Follows footnote: 'Wherein our Sacraments excell.' Adjacent passage, having asked how the new sacraments are better: 'The answere is cleare and plain: the word Propheticall and Apostolicall are of one efficacie, Christ is in the one and in the other, equall and like unto himselfe everie where: so farre as that our Lord speaking of the Propheticall Scriptures, saith, *Examine them, for you believe to have eternall life in them.*'

Page 397 (sic).
'the sacraments of the ould law were rather antitypes & correspondent figures then tipes of our sacraments'

Type: Reference

Subject: Sacraments

Description: No underlining. Adjacent text: '... the old Sacraments cease not to be figures of ours, as Circumcision, of Baptisme; and the Passe-over, of the holy Supper. But certainly, antitypes rather then types, and correspondent figures, not bare and naked figures... .'

Page 398 (sic).
i) 'The first rule of the fathers for the right understandinge of a sacrament'

Type: Reference/ list/ Q&A

Subject: Sacrament

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'And this shall stand for the first, *That Christ is the substance of all the Sacraments, as well of the old as the new Testament; and that in them he was received, yea drunken and eaten, that is to say, most neerely communicated, as the Apostle hath told us.*'

ii) 'the second rule'

Type: Reference/ list/ Q&A

Subject: Sacrament

Description: No underlining. Directly under last note, at the start of the next paragraph. Adjacent text: 'The second, they that teach us, is; that the same Christ which is received in the Sacraments, is also received in the word, yea drunken and eaten in the same'

Page 401.

'The word of god is the life of the sacramentes'

Type: Reference

Subject: Sacrament

Description: No underlining. Adjacent passage: 'In these Sacraments, how precious so ever they be, there is no gaine or good to bee got, without the institution of God; for his word is the life therof.'

Page 404.

'What itt is to eate and drinke the body & bloude of Christ'

Type: Reference/ Q&A

Subject: Sacrament

Description: Underlined passage: 'To eate this flesh, to drinke this bloud, is to draw by faith, our spirituall life, out of the fountaine of his flesh broken for us: of his blood shed for us: of Christ the sonne of God crucified for us.'

Appendix B:

Ferdinando Fairfax's Funeral Sermon

BL Add. Ms. 51054. Sermons by Presbyterian Ministers.

Ferdinando Fairfax's Funeral Sermon. Preached by Edward Bowles.¹

Fo. 50v A sermon Preached at the ffunerall
of the Honourable fferdinando Lord
ffairfax who was buryed at Bolton
percy in the County of yorke
March 15 1647²

those that honour me will of honour saith
the lord 1 Sam 2 30

Text

2 Chron 32 33v

And Hezekiah slept with his fathers and they buryed him
in the chiefest of the sepulchers of the sons of David
and all Judah and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem
did him honour at his death.

Wee are here mett together upon a sad and solemne accation
to performe our last and just office to the body of a
noble lord who spent the strength of it in the service of
his countrey: A double burthen lies upon me to
mourne and to preach if I loved pulpit Apologyes
I could safely shew the dispraportion of it: But I shall
rather setle to my worke: which is to speake a word in

¹ A note on the flyleaf reads 'This book belongs to Simon Russell, South Holme.' The original spelling and layout has been retained, though numbered points are in bold.

² 1648 New Style.

season so to profit of the liveing and the honour of the
dead in both which I shall follow the conduct of the
Text which I have read unto you

Fo. 51r

And Hezekiah slept with his fathers &c these words are a
narative of the death and buriall of Hezekiah one of the best
Kings of Judah a great furtherer of Reformation in the
Jewish church and state exceedingly corrupted
His death was shaddowed with this expression He slept
with his fathers: which is as a vaile to cover the grimme
visage of the king of terrours as death is called Job 18 14 and
it is frequently used in the scripture: as concerning David
it is said after he had served his generation he fell on sleepe
and was laid unto his fathers: And it is verified sometimes in
respect of place as appears by the mill of the patriarch
Jacob who requires his sons to lay him with his fathers and
to bury him in there burying place: It was usuall then and
it is a custome derived to these dayes that men should set
apart burying places for there familyes not by any Relidgous
conservation but a civall seperation: And of this Jacob
besides the civall had also a relidgous intent and use for his
desire to be buryed in Canann was a pledge of his believe
that god would perform: the promise unto his seed of bring-
ing them into that good land: but secondly it is used in
scripture when it is not verified in respect of place: as
in Abraham of whom it is said he was gathered unto his
Ancestors but in the care of Macpelah which he purchased
when he buryed Sarah his wife: neither is it probable
that David of whom it was said 1 Kings 2:10 that he slept
with his fathers was buryed with them: for he was buryed

in the city of David but where it is not verified in respect of place: It is true in respect of state or condition and signifies to goe into the same state in respect of corporall death as A mans father were: soe that these expressions to be gathered to ones fathers, to sleep with ones fathers, to goe to ones fathers signifie noe more then to dye:

His Buriall is not barely mentioned but set forth with circomstances

1 of the persons they to whom it appertained that were neerest to him accompanied with many others

Fo. 51v **2** the place in the sepulchers of the sons of David _____³
not onely so but in the chiefest of them it was usuall in ancient times to have sepulchers prepared with much care and cost Apud Eypios sepulchiorum quam domorum cura the Egyptians had more care of there sepulchers than there houses: the Jews also were very careful in this as Abraham gave example Gen 23 16 which we find was continued till the gospel as we find Math 27 60 concerning Joseph of Arimathea: the company all Judah and Jerusalem did him honour at his death: what that honour is shall be mentioned afterward I proseed to observations

obs 1 Death is a sleepe

2 that all men even great and good men not accepted must lye downe unto this sleepe:

3 Proportionable honour may be given to the dead as well as to the liveing: of these in order

1 Death is a sleepe in the holy ghost the best maister of language so expresses it Dan 12 2 many

³ Illegible.

of them that sleepe in the dust shall awake Psal 13:3
 lighten mine eyes lest I sleepe the sleepe of death.
 And more especially may it be used of the godly as
 Christ of Lazarus: our friend Lazarus sleepeth:
 John 11: 11 14 and so the apostle 1 Thes 4 13
 I would not have you ignorant concerning them
 that are asleepe: And suitable to this expression the
 bier is called a bed as in the Margent: the grave also
 a bed Job 17 13 the grave is mine house I have
 made my bed in darknesse: Isa 57:2 death hath
 chambers for lodging Prov 7 27 some are
 furnished and adorned so stately monuments for the
 rich who many times take more care for their bodies
 then their soules: Some only bare walls and

Fo. 52r homely but the guests find no difference And according
 hereunto death is called night John 9:4 darknesse
 Job 10 21 because they are seasons for sleepe: the greek
 word for burying places is _____⁴ which signifies
 places to sleepe in: the similitude betwixt death and sleepe
 lies especially in these 2 particulars first sleepe is rest and
 so is death and that in scripture expression Job 3 17
 there the wicked cease from troubling there the weary be at
 rest saith Job of death: Why hast thou disquieted mee
 to bring up saith the supposed Samuel 1 Sam 28 15
 & so it is extraordinary said of men when dead they are at rest
 But here we must distinguish there is something more in rest
 then in sleepe some men sleepe but rest not they are troubled
 with tossings and dreames others sleepe soundly and quietly

⁴ The Greek is illegible.

soe it is in regard of the rest of death some sleepe to the halves and enjoy but a broken imperfect rest as wicked men who though they rest as to there bodyes till the day of Judgement when they arise to everlasting paine and shame yet there soules are ill at ease: Some ancients have thought that the soules of men have slept unto the day of Judgement by which step Satan hath Indevoured to lead men to the opinion of the mortality of the soule: which if he can bring men once unto they have noe other principall to live by then that of epicures let us eate and drinke for tomorrow we shall dye: there will be and end of us In this age so fruitfull in errour this oppinion that beene also revived but it is fit to be reiected: Severall arguments might be produced against it It is true indeed there are actions of the mind that depend on its union with the body & those must needs cease in the disunion but we also find that the soule without the body can act within it selfe as when the body is asleepe we sin an extasy when the soule is as theare out of the body⁵ we finde its workings in

Fo. 52v dreames & apprehensions and therefore the seperation of it from the body hath no reason to put A period to its actions philosophy goes this farre with us in that Aspertion Anima seperata intelligit: and severall places of scripture discountinence the opinion of soulesleepers as that of the soules under the altar which cry out how long lord Revell 6:9:10 as also the Parable Luke 16 of the poore man and the rich which cannot bee a representation of anything after the day of Judgement because the tormented man saith he

⁵ 'of the' is interlined.

had thre brethren on earth: to which I adde that of the
Appostle Paul Phill 1 where hee saith he desires to be
dissolved and to be with Christ and that death was gaine to him
in that respect which it could not be if his soule were not
to enjoy immediate communion with Christ after his death
Paul had beene a loser by the bargane if his soule from
doeing service heere and enjoying some fellowship with
Christ by faith had onely by death been put into a sleeping
condission: This I thought fit to take notice of by the way
And so returne to my purpose the wicked I say enjoy but
A partiall rest for there bodyes but there soules are ill at ease:
The godly sleepe soundly in death there bodyes sleepe Isa 57 2
they shall enter into peace they shall rest in there beds:
the dead that dye in the lord rest from there labours Revell 14 13
from all the toyle and vexation that here they have endured
and there soules rest from sin from terrours from the buffetings
of Satan and a Accuseing conscience and are with Christ
in paradise a place of great fellicity though there

Luke 23:43

2 hapinesse bee not consumable till the Resurrection
the proportion betwixt sleepe and death holds in this that
they who sleepe expect to awake againe or be awakened
and so may those that dye many of them who sleepe in
the dust shall awake Dan 12 2 It is said indeed that
man lyes downe and riseth not untill the heavens be noe more
they shall not awake nor be raised out of sleepe Job 14 12
but then he shall: the night of death is longe and darke

Fo. 53r

But there is a day after it a morning when the righteous
shall have dominion Psal 49 14 then the sunne of righteousnes
shall arise in a most gloryous maner & be revealed from heaven

onely heere take notice of these perticulars that they who lye
 downe to sleepe in death awake not of themselves the must bee
 called up with that mighty voice which cryed Lazerus come
 forth John 11 the power of Christ shall raise men by the
 trumpe of god the voice of an Archangell 1 Thess 4 16 but to
 different ends as it was with Pharos Butler and baker both
 were brought out but one to honour the other to
 confusion so the righteous who dwell in the dust shall awake
 and sing: the wicked shall awake & tremble and howle for
 sorrow and vexation of spirit. the wicked rise to fall againe
 the godly to be exalted to the highest heavens to the enjoyment
 of what is prepared for them which eye hath not seene:

Isa 26

Isa 64

Application If death be but a sleepe & sleepe a rest from which we may
 expect an awakening let us not good men feare death Death is to
 nature a king of terrours it is to sin yet more terrable then can
 be expressed it is a prison that holds ungodly men in chaines
 to the great day of the Revellation of the Judgement of God But
 it is far otherwise with them who live to the lord & die in him
 Jeasus Christ that put his owne bloud into the face of death
 so that the pale & grim countenance of it is much altered
 It is noe more death for that in Ordinary Scripture expression
 signifies destruction (& misery) Gen 3:17 Rom 6:21 as life sets forth
 blesednes it is but sleepe he that believes shall never dye saith
 Christ our life John 11 25 as if nothing were worthy the name
 of death but everlasting destruction: It is childish to cry when
 we are laid downe to sleepe and yet it is the condishion of gods owne
 children many times to draw backe and strive when we come to be
 uncloathed as the Apostle calles dyeing 2 Cor 5:4 though it be
 not so much a stripeing as shifting oure earthly cloathes for

Immortality. That it may not⁶ be so with us let us prepare for our sleepe that it may be sound and sweet not onely A partiall rest to our bodyes from labour and travell but a compleate rest

Fo. 53v to the soule and body from sin and sorrow: to that purpose let this counsell be acceptable

- 1 Provide a good bed and pillow to rest on and truely that is noe other than Jeasus Christ: according to that expression of the Apostle 1 Thess 4 14 these that sleepe in Jeasus shall god bring with him: a promise that is a chamber of rest to the soule: Come my people enter into your chambers Isa 26 Hee that by faith hath laid his head in the bosome of Jeasus Christ and committed himselfe by A lively hope to his everlasting armes may there sleepe securely though it be the sleepe of death: he gives rest to the soule Math 11 29 but on the contrary in sin thee is noe rest the wicked are like the trouble sea that cannot rest Isa 57:20 to dye a mans sins is the short of all misery which christ threatened to the Pharisies John 8 21 and he that would not dye in his sinns let him take heed he live not in them for there is but a step betwixt life and death And let me adde there is noe resting in services he that thinks to sleepe safely upon that bed of his owne making will find thornes and briars in it that will disturbe him nay destroy him one draught of the bloud of Christ with an infusion of his spirit is the best sleeping potion in the world I may adde probatum est
- 2 would you sleepe well worke hard Sollomon tells us that the sleepe of a labouring man is sweet eccles 5 12 you

⁶ 'not' is interlined.

will find it so in this case he that hath been dilligent to
worke the worke of him that sent him while it is day
John 9:4 to worke out his salvation with feare and
trembling 2 Phill 11 he that hath beene constant and
unmoveable alwayes abounding in the worke of the lord
shall find much advantage of it when he comes to lye downe
to rest in death As Paul I have fought a good fight
I have finished my course henceforth is laid up for me A
crowne of righteousnesse 2 Tim 4:6:7 So Luther when about
to dye thus raises his head o lord thee have I loved

Fo. 54r thee have I preached thee have I served into thy hands I commend
my spirit: the more troublesome the worke the lord hath set us
about hath proved through the oppostition of evell men the surer and
sweeter shall our rest be it is a righteous thing with god to

2 Thes 1:7 give rest to them that are troubled

3 Would you sleepe well in the night of death take heed of slumbering
& security in the day of life: he that would sleepe well must
watch well Blessed is he whom the lord when he commeth shall
find working and watching: those that sleepe in sin and security
especially in the day time of the gospell are many times
awakened in conscience at death and never rest againe

obs 2 Death is a sleepe that all men must lye down unto:
both the word and world give continuall evedence of this truth
Job 3:19 the small and the great are there that is honourable
men and meane men who are small and great in quality
and these two extreames comprehend all the intermedia or
middle sort that come betweene them as the uprising and
downe siting mentioned 139 Psal 2 include all the actions of
the whole day. The going out and comming in Psal 121 8

comprehend all a mans affaires: Death is the way of all the earth 1 Kings 2:2 Wise men also dye Psall 49 10 the Righteous perish Isa 57:1 Lazerous the friend of Christ sleepeth John 11 the Apostle tells us as the ground Rom 5 12 death hath passed upon all men for that all have sinned: Death is a penalty enacted upon lapsed mankinde by Satute Law of heaven: It is appointed for all men once to dye Heb 2:27

1 object.

it maybe here objected that all men have not undergone this penalty as Enoch who was by faith translated that he should not see death Heb 11 5 And Elias who was mounted to heaven in a fiery charriot 2 Kings 2:11 It is answered that the lawgiver hath power to dispence with his owne law and doth it sometimes to show that though hee hath us yet not himselfe but the law saith *privilegia nec legum faciunt nec Infringant* priviledges

Fo. 54v

neither make nor breake a law *privilegia sunt stricti juris* It is further said by the Apostle 1 Cor 15 we shall not all dye but hee saith also we shall all be changed which shall be equivalent to a death which is called a change Job 14 14 and it is a great one

obi. 2

But another scruple heere may be interposed concerning the death of the godly for as for the wicked there need be no question because they are dead in trespasses and sinnes even while they live and it is noe wonder if they dye for them: but godly men being free from the guilt and dominion of sin how come they to be subiect unto death the fruit of sin especially when that our saviour saith if a man keepe my sayings he shall not see death John 8 51 and also John 11 he that liveth &

beleiveth in me shall never dye

1 It may be answered first godly men dye because they are men: what man is he that liveth and shall not se death Psal 89 49 thou turnest man to destruction Psal 90 3 they are earthen vesells and will breake Quod natum est poterit mori Hee that is borne may dye

2 they are not wholly exemped from sin as not from acting it so neither from chastiments for it: and consequently not from affliction or death or death: neither is it good they should be soe David saith it was good for him that he was afflicted Psal 119:71 And Paul sais it was good for him to dye Phill 1:23 that his imperfect communion with christ might be the more full and neere that his vile body might be fashioned unto a gloryous body at the resurection To dye is gaine: but we adde that though the godly have noe priveledge from death yet they have a great priveledge in death: there death is materiall the same with other men it is a seperation

Fo. 55r of the soule from the body but it differs in many respects: the righteous hath hope in his death Prov 13:32 not a groundlesse presumptios confidence as wicked men have but a lively hope by vertue of the resurection of Jeasus Christ from the dead who is the first fruits of them that sleepe Death to the godly is but a change of life non vitum rapit sed reformat to the ungodly it is a lose of life: Death to the godly is the enterance of Joy: to the wicked it is the beginning of sorrows the godly are conqueres in death as Christ was: the wicked are conquered by it: death gnaweth up on them And as for those places of scripture where it is said:
Rom 8:16 Righteousnes delivereth from death Prov 10 2 and he that
Psal 49:14

beleeveth in mee shall never dye John 11:26 they must be ment
of an eternall death which is death indeed: naturall death is but
the shadow of death: and a sleepe rather then death in respect of
the other: the Hebrues called there burying place the house of the
liveing: Betheajm: the Apsotle saith some are dead while they
live and perticularly they who live in pleasure and thinke there is
noe life to theres 1 Tim 5:6 others live when they are dead

Coll 3:3 for their life is hid with Christ in god whence noe death can reach

Application Let us not then take it ill that our frends dye: it is the way
of all flesh 1 Kings 2 2 community is some allay & mitigation
to callamity: which made the heathen say fferre quam fortem
patiunter omnes nemo recuset: let noe man refuse to suffer
that which all men must And the Apostle uses the same argument

to the corinthians: ther hath no tentation befallne you but what
is comon to man 1 Cor 10 13 And likewise Peter in comforting
1 Peter 2:9 the saints letts them that the same Affliction are accomplished
in there brethren which are in the world: we are noe beter
then our fathers as old Eliah said and wee must not thinke much
to sleepe with them

- 2 If any man aime to be excellent let him not seeke it in any
earthly thing that appertaine to this present life

Fo. 55v All outward differences and distinctions of men though heere
they may and must be observed yet they vanish with thy life
Death is an absolute leveller: the small and the great
are there and the servant is fre from his maister Job 3 19
who would care for being a king in a stageplay
which lasts but two or thre houres and then all fellows
again: Such are all worldly excellencies whether of
riches honour power frends or whatsoever this world affords

swallowed up in the grave: Great men dye: wise men dye
valiant men dye: it is the way of all the earth: If
man excell in outward things and not in grace and goodnes
his excellency that is in him goeth away: they dye even
without wiscdom Job 4:21 let men therefore strive
to bee good rather then great: the righteous is more
excellent then his neighbour Prov 12 26 when rich & poore
honourable & meane: learned and ignorant: shall tumble
together in the dust without any distinction: ther shall bee
an everlasting differance betwixt the godly and ungodly
Math 25 46 come ye blessed to the one: goe ye cursed belongs
to the other: let this therefore breake the breaste of any
proud gallant who is puffed up with refections upon his
worldly advantages: let him know that if hee excell not
in vertue as David saith of the saints Psal 16 2 though
his excellency mount up to the heavens and his head
reach unto the clouds he shall perish for ever like his
owne dung they which have seene him shall say where
is hee Job 20:6:7

- 3 *If death be the comon end of all men then let us prepare
for it: we cannot avoide it let us soe order our affaires
that wee may abide it: if we cannot shift it wee must
not slight it: Hee that would dye well once let him
with the Apostle dye daily in his owne thoughts and
meditations: let him make death familiar to him not
withstanding all its terriblesse by conversing with it
in his thoughts*

Fo. 56r let us get our hearts loose from all these outward⁷ comforts

⁷ 'outward' is interlined.

least when they come to be taken away from us there be a rent or wound made in our spirits by the close adherency of them and as the heart must be got loose from the world so it must cleave close to Jeausus Christ who by death hath taken away the sting of death: who hath destroyed that devouring lion and made the carcase of it to afford honey for the refreshment of the saints to whom death is the end of there misery the beginning of there happinesse And consider that if you be not fit for death you are not provided for any thing: for anything may bring death for ought we know we may meet with death in the pot: death in the street: death in the chamber Hee that is not provided to dye is not provided to goe abbroud: A tile from the house a fall from the house may spoile him: hee is not fit to eate his meat a crum may choake him not fit to goe to bed for he knows not whether hee shall rise again or not This hath been the lot of many and Quod cuiquam acudit cuivis potest that which befalls any one may befall every one: Nay a man is not fit to paire his nailes for unguiculi scisura & as seneca relates: the very very cutting of a naile sometimes hath cost a life: whil tam exignum est quod in perniciem humani generis non valeat there is nothing so little but it may destroy a mans life if god give it leave: but if through the graces of god and the sprinkling of the bloud of christ a man bee ready to dye: hee is ready for any thing: all these outward things laid together can bring but death and he that can grant the conclusion in any dispute need not be troubled about the premises: hee that is prepared for death is prepared for trouble: let it therefore be our care to kill sin before we dye that it may dye in us and not we in it: which is the summe of misery John 8 21 soe shall wee bee ready for that sentance of death in our soules which there is noe

escapeing: for death is a sleepe: the grave is a bed wherein
wee must all lye downe Serins aut citins &c. Sooner or later
obs 3 proportionable honour may & aught to be done to persons in
there dcath: there is a ground of this in nature as we see by
the universallity of the custome in all places of shewing respect
to the diseased: the Eastearne nations were very plentious in
there ceremonies of this kind as indeed in all other

Fo. 56v the patriarch the kings of Judah were very carefull in this
The honour performed to them may be reduced to thre heads
1. A decent interment of the body: which Christ accepted
of from Joseph Math 27 60 Indeed where it canot
bee had we say ffacilis lactura sepulchri Sepelit
nepura relictos: it is an easie lose: But the scripture
makes so much of it as to make it a part of a temperall
curse to want a comely buriall it was part of Jezebells
punishment 1 Kings 21:23:24 It is said by way
Jer 22:19 of threatening against Jehojakim that he should be
buried with the buriall of an asse: god hath given
man a preheminece aboves the rest of the creatures
on earth and it extends to his dead corps especially
this is due to the bodyes of the saints which are members
Eph 5:30 of Jeasus Christ & not disunited from him even in death
2. An atendance of the body to the grave this was solemnly
performed by David and others to Abner 2 Sam 3 30
the like custome we find Luc 7 12 where we read of
the widows son whom christ raised caryed forth and
it is said much people was with her
3. Mourneing for the dead is a part of honour performed
to them: the people honoured Moses exeedingly &

they mourned him for 30 dayes Deut 34 8 It
was a part of Jehojakims curse that he should dye
unlamented Jer 22 18 Josiah was thus honoured
2 Cron 35 24 onely we must mourne moderatly
least in honouring others we dishonour ourselves:
let us remember we are christians as well as men &
must thinke of a resurrection 1 Thess 4 13 All that
I have further to say is briefly to reflect these things
upon the present occasion: you have all ready discharged
part of this honour to the body and memory of this
noble lord you have accompanied him to the grave
and given his body a civall and christian buryall

Fo. 57r I beleeeve also you cannot be defective in the mourneing part if
you understande the loose: such a man at such a time when
church and state perticularly this county stand in soe
great need of them who will be valiant for the truth:
The county seemes to mee to cloy out as the church Micah 7 12
woe is me I am as when they have gathered the fruits the
good man is perished: It is not onely a trouble but a presage
of more when god takes away men of honour and
Integrity it is a forerunner of more evills Isa 3:2:3 when
the maine timber of the house decays it pretends ruine:
If therefore any vile dangerous spirit make our mater of
lamentation an occation of rejoyceing and is guilty of an
unworthy rejoycing⁸ in evill as tyrus
upon the fall of Jerusalem Ezek 26:2 they are brought
low and I shall be replenished: the fall of such men
shall be our rising: let them see there fault and also

⁸ I have omitted the Greek text, which was given here alongside the English.

there folly Prov 24 17 18 Blesed be god that we may say
 uno avulso non deficit alter: we have yet a branch of the
 same stocke and oh that we had more
 T'ow motions I have more to make towards his honour:
 first that as you have buryed his bodye soe you would
 together with it Bury his infirmities: It may be the
 purblind world may looke upon somethings as infirmity
 which hee used even to enemies: it was hard for one soe
 much a Gentleman to be otherwise But what was really
 an infirmity let it be forgotten there is none of us but shall
 have need of that favour which is now desired: let us shew it
 as wee expect it: there is no man but as he stands in need
 of mercy from god so of charity from men
 Secondly that you would honour him as in the covering of
 his Infirmities so in the Imitation of his vertues and
 excellencys and in so doeing you shall not onely honour him
 but god and your selves also

Fo. 57v And though his worth was never remarkable yet
 because we are wont to be quicke sighted of infirmity
 and more dull at the aprehention of vertue give me
 leave to point at them

1 Imitate him as a young gentleman: that gave
 not himselfe to voluptuous licentious course as most
 of that quality and age have done following hounds
 hawkes horses and sometimes worsser catell but he
 betooke himselfe after some competent scill in arts
 to the use of armes which rendered him fit to serve
 his countrey both in time of peace and warre

2 Imitate him as a husband in chooseing & cherishing

A noble and reldigious lady not as them who
sacrifice there quiet and estate sometimes to a fancy

- 3 Imitate him as a father in a tender carefull and
reldigious education of his children: which hee
discharged with a fatherly mixture of athority and
love which begate in them a proportionable love
and reverance sweetly tempered togeather
- 4 Imitate him as a Justice of Peace you who succeed
him in that office which he painfully and faithfully
discharged shewing himselfe a very great frend to
his countrey in his profesed enmity to Alehouses and
wandering rogues the shame and losse of this nation
- 5 Imitate him as a souldier in corrage and fidelity which
he expresed and maintained in the midst of so many defections
of those ingaged in the same cause with him
- 6 Imitate him in his pious charity to his frends in contrib-
uting to the maintenance of divers yong scollers at the
universities and scooles that they might be more fit to serve
the church and state
- 7 Imitate him in the sobriety and temperance of his cariage
his modesty and courtisy in speech and behaviour which alwaies
deserve to be accounted vertues: though th rudenes of this

Fo. 58r age hath worne them to much out of fashion

- 8 lastly imitate him in that favourable respect which he always
afforded to the faithfull ministers of the gospell: as in other things
So in this especially was he sutable to the noble paterane in the
Text Hezekiah who spake comfortably to the Levites who
taught the good knowledge of the lord when others lookt
upon them as troublers of Israell as once Ahab upon Elijah

Appendix C:
Ferdinando Fairfax's Library Catalogue

This appendix contains a catalogue of the surviving books in the library of Ferdinando Fairfax at York Minster Library.

All those books marked with the characteristic initialing 'F.F.' have been included.

Each item is listed under the number found in a search of York Minster Library's online catalogue. To find a list of these numbers, access the library catalogue at

<http://libcat0.york.ac.uk/F/MTREDVB6E16F4K7KFT86F8CJX6H54LIL8DYUTQPX4FI FMBJX9G-13135?func=find->

[b&request=fairfax%2C+ferdinando&find_code=WPR&adjacent=N&x=51&y=13](http://libcat0.york.ac.uk/F/MTREDVB6E16F4K7KFT86F8CJX6H54LIL8DYUTQPX4FI FMBJX9G-13135?func=find-b&request=fairfax%2C+ferdinando&find_code=WPR&adjacent=N&x=51&y=13)

(1 May 2003).

This link will provide a numbered list of those items in the Fairfax library. 449 entries are listed, though item numbers 1 and 2 have been omitted because they were printed long after Fairfax's death.

For each entry, I have listed the author, title, full provenance (including previous owners), the subject area, date, and notes which indicate annotations, special features or bibliographical data.

The entries should be self-explanatory. Rather than write all names out in full, I have used 'FF' as an abbreviation for Ferdinando Fairfax, 'Mount' for William Mount, 'Hotham' for John Hotham, 'Neile' for Richard Neile etc.

3 Walker, Clement, *The mysterie of the tyvo iynto's, Presbyterian and Independent. Or, the serpent in the bosome*, (London, 1647).

Prov: FF.

Subject: Presbyterians/Independents.

Notes: TT i.523

4 Comber, Thomas, *Voces votivae ab academicis Cantabrigiensibus pro novissimo Caroli & Mariae principe filio emissae* (Cambridge, 1640)

Prov: FF

Subject: Birth of Prince Henry (Monarchy)

Notes: STC 4495

5 Chillingworth, William *The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation*. (Oxford, 1638)

Prov: FF

Subject: Protestantism

Notes: STC 5138

6 Pocklington, John *Altare christianum: or. the dead vicars plea. Wherein the vicar of Gr. being dead, yet speaketh* (London, 1637)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church of England/ Altars

Notes: STC 20076. Part of Williams/Heylyn controversy.

7 White, Francis, *An examination and confutation of a lawlesse pamphlet, intituled. A briefe answer to a late Treatise* (London, 1637)

Prov: FF

Subject: Sabbath

Notes: STC 25379a.

8 Cambridge University, *Carmen natalitium ad cunas illustrissimae principis Elisabethae decantatum intra nativitatis Dom.* (Cambridge, 1635 6)

Prov: FF

Subject: Princess Elizabeth (Monarchy)

Notes: STC 4479

9 Franciscus a Sancta Clara [Christopher Davenport], *Devs, natvra, gratia. Sive tractatvs de praedestinatione, de meritis & peccatorum remissione* (Lyon, 1635)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church of England. 39 Articles

Notes: 3rd edn.

10 Ireland, *Anno regni Caroli Regis Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae et Hiberniae, decimo & undecimo.* (Dublin, 1635)

Prov: FF

Subject: Laws

Notes: STC 14136.7

11 White, Francis, *A treatise of the sabbath-day. Containing a defence of the orthodoxall doctrine of the Church of England* (London. 1635)

Prov: FF

Subject: Sabbath

Notes: STC 25383

12 Moffett, Thomas *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum olim ab Edoardo Wottono. Conrado Gesnero.* (London. 1634)

Prov: FF

Subject: Entomology Insects

Notes: STC 17993

13 Preston, Thomas, *A patterne of christian loyaltie: whereby any prudent man may clearely perceive, in what manner the new oath of allegiance* (London, 1634)
Prov: FF
Subject: Oath of Allegiance, 1606
Notes: STC 13871

14 Cambridge University, *Rex redux, sive musa Cantabrigiensis voti damnas de incolunitate & felici reditu Regis Caroli* (Cambridge, 1633)
Prov: FF
Subject: Charles I/ Poetry (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 4491

15 Isaacson, Henry, *Saturni ephemerides sive tabula historico-chronologica containing a chronological series or succession* (London, 1633)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church History
Notes: STC 14269

16 Cambridge University, *Anthologia in regis exanthemata: seu gratulatio musarum Cantabrigiensium de felicissime conservata* (Cambridge, 1632/33)
Prov: FF
Subject: Charles I/ Poetry (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 4475

17 Hallier, Francois (Bishop of Cavaillon), *Defensio ecclesiasticae hierarchiae, seu vindiciae censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis* (Paris, 1632)
Prov: FF
Subject: Hermanus Loemelius
Notes: /

18 Watts, William, *The Swedish intelligencer. The first part. Wherein, out of the truest and choysent informations etc.* (London, 1632)
Prov: FF
Subject: 30 Years War. Gustavus Adolphus. Protestant Cause. Monarchy
Notes: STC 23522

19 Cambridge University, *Genethliacum illustrissimorum principum Caroli & Mariae, etc.* (Cambridge, 1631)
Prov: FF
Subject: Charles I/ Henrietta Maria. Poems (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 4486

20 Metius, Adrianus, *Adriani Metii Alcmara. D.M. ... Primum mobile : astronomice, sciographice, geometrice, & hydrographice* (Amsterdam, 1631)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: /

21 Roman Catholic Church (Archdiocese of Paris), *Epistola Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum Parisiis nunc agentium, ad Archiepiscopos & Episcopos* (Paris, 1631)
Prov: FF
Subject: Catholic Church. Controversy.
Notes: Reply to books by Edward Knott and John Floyd.

22 Seton, John, *Dialectica Joan. Setoni Cantabrigiensis, annotationibus Petri Carteri, ut clarissimis ita brevissimi* (Cambridge, 1631)
Prov: FF
Subject: Philosophy. Education. Logic
Notes: STC 22257. Seton was a prebend of York Minster.

23 Brerewood, Edward, *A learned treatise of the Sabaoth, written by Mr. Edward Brerewood, Professor in Gresham Colledge*, (Oxford, 1630)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sabbath
Notes: STC 3622. Part of an exchange with Nicholas Byfield.

24 Nicolaus, Franciscus, *Altare incensi siue, aurea methodus se, suaque omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam animae suae salutem ...* (Douai, 1630)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ref. Theology. Soul.
Notes: /

25 Butler, Charles, *Rhetoricae libri duo. Quorum prior de tropis & figuris, posterior de voce & gestu praecipit* (London, 1629)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ramus
Notes: STC 4200. bound with 26. below.

26 Butler, Charles, *Oratoriae libri duo. Quorum alter ejus definitionem, alter partitionem explicat: in usum scholarum* (Oxford, 1629)
Prov: FF
Subject: Rhetoric. Oratory.
Notes: STC 4194.5

27 Habrecht, Isaac, *Planiglobium coeleste, et terrestre. Sive, globus coelestis, atque terrestris nova forma ac norma* (Strasbourg, 1628)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: CLC H 25

28 Jackson, Thomas (Dean of Peterborough), *A treatise of the divine essence and attributes. By Thomas Jackson ... The first part.* (London, 1628)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: STC 14318.5.

29 Bodin, Jean, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Strasbourg, 1627)
Prov: FF
Subject: History
Notes: /

30 Jackson, Thomas, *A treatise of the holy catholike faith and Church. Diuided into three bookes. By Thomas Jackson* (London, 1627)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology.
Notes: STC 14319

31 Featley, Daniel, *A parallel: of new-old Pelagiarminian error.* 1626
Prov: FF
Subject: Arminianism. Pelagianism.
Notes: STC 10735. Bound with six works opposing Arminianism, in order: 38, 37, 34, 33, 32, 31, 33.
First work in bound set also has signature of John Hotham.

32 Featley, Daniel, *A second parallel together with a writ of error sved against the appealer.* (London, 1626)
Prov: FF (but first work in bound set also has signature of John Hotham)
Subject: : Arminianism. Pelagianism.
Notes: STC 10737

33 Featley, Daniel, *Parallelismus nov-antiqui erroris Pelagiarminiani*. (London, 1626)
Prov: FF (but first work in bound set also has signature of John Hotham)
Subject: Arminianism. Pelagianism.
Notes: STC 10734. Against Montagu. 2 copies.

34 Featley, Daniel, *Pelagius redivivus: Or Pelagius raked out of the ashes by Arminius and his schollers*. (London, 1626)
Prov: FF (but first work in bound set also has signature of John Hotham)
Subject: Arminianism. Pelagianism.
Notes: STC 10736. Reissue and translation of 33.

35 Metius, Adrianus, *Adriani Metii Alcmariani arithmeticae libri duo et geometriae lib. VI. Huic adiungitur trigonometria* (Leiden, 1626)
Prov: FF
Subject: Mathematics
Notes: /

36 Metius, Adrianus, *Adriani Metii Alcmar. Prof. Mathes. in Acad. Frisiorum De genuino usu utriusque globi tractatus* (Amsterdam, 1626)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: /

37 Rous, Francis (the elder), *Testis veritatis. The doctrine of King Iumes... Of the Chvrch of England. Of the Catholicke Chvrch*. (London, 1626)
Prov: FF (but first work in bound set also has signature of John Hotham)
Subject: Arminianism. Predestination.
Notes: STC 21347.

38 Wotton, Anthony, *A dangerous plot discovered. By a discourse, wherein is proved, that, Mr: Richard Movntague* (London, 1626)
Prov: 'John Hotha'[m] and FF.
Subject: Anti-Catholicism. Arminianism.
Notes: STC 26003.

39 Cambridge University, *Cantabrigiensium dolor & solamen: sev decessio beatissimi Regis Jacobi pacifici* (Cambridge, 1625)
Prov: FF
Subject: Poems on death of James and succession of Charles. (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 4477

40 Church Of England, *A forme of common prayer, together with an order of fasting* (London, 1625)
Prov: FF
Subject: Prayers
Notes: STC 16540

41 Jackson, Thomas, *A treatise containing the originall of unbelief, misbelief, or misperswasions* (London, 1625)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: STC 14316

42 Montagu, Richard, *Richardi Montacvtii Angli antidiatribae, ad priorem partem diatribarum J. Caesaris Bulengeri adversus* (Nuremberg, 1625)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: /

43 Montagu, Richard, *Appello Caesarem. A ivst appeale from two vniust informers.* (London, 1625)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy.
Notes: STC 18030

44 Becan, Martin, *Manuale controuersiarum huius temporis* (Munster, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: /

45 Cambridge University, *Epithalamium illustriss. & feliciss. principum Caroli Regis* (Cambridge, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Poems on Charles and Henrietta Maria (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 4484

46 Casaubon, Meric, *The vindication or defence of Isaac Casaubon* (London, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: STC 4751

47 Cherubini, Flavio, *Flauij Cherubini ... compendium bullarij a Laertio Cherubino ... nuper editi, a B. Leone primo vsque* (Lyon, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Papal Bulls
Notes: /

48 *Anno regni Iacobi, regis Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, & Hiberniae* (London, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Laws
Notes: STC 9507.5

49 Gruterus, Janus, *Florilegii magni, seu Polyanthaeae tomvs secvndvs Jani Gruteri.* (Strasbourg, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Dictionaries/ Encyclopedias
Notes: /

50 Pontanus, Ioannes Isaac, *Tractatus de globis, coelesti et terrestri eorumque usu. Primum conscriptus & editus a Roberto* (Amsterdam, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: /

51 Sanctius, Gasparus S. J. , *Cantumputeolanus, In quatuor libros Regum & duos Paralipomenon commentarii.* (Antwerp, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: /

52 Ussher, James, *An answer to a challenge made by a Iesuite in Ireland* (Dublin, 1624)
Prov: FF
Subject: Jesuits. Ireland.
Notes: STC 24542

53 Donne, John, 1572-1631, *Encaenia. The feast of dedication. Celebrated at Lincolnes Inne, in a sermon thereupon Ascension day* (London, 1623)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sermons
Notes: STC 7039

54 *Gratulatio academiae Cantabrigiensis de serenissimi principis reditu ex Hispanijs expotatissimo* (Cambridge, 1623)
Prov: FF
Subject: Poems (Monarchy). Spanish Match.
Notes: STC 4487. Bound with 56.

55 Filliucius, Vincentius, *Qvestionvm moralivm de Christianis officiis et casibvs conscientiae ad formam cvrsvs qvi praelegi* (Antwerp, 1623)
Prov: FF
Subject: Jesuits.
Notes: /

56 Herbert, George, 1593-1633, *Oratio qua auspicatissimum serenissimi Principis Caroli, reditum ex Hispanijs celebravit.* (Cambridge, 1623)
Prov: FF
Subject: Monarchy. Spanish Match.
Notes: STC 4487.

57 Oxford University, *Votiva, sive ad serenissimum, potentissimumque Iacobum, magnae Britanniae, Franciae & Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1623)
Prov: FF
Subject: Monarchy. Spanish Match.
Notes: STC 19026

58 Calderwood, David, *Scoti tou tuhontos Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Paraenesin. Ad Scotos Genevensis* (Amsterdam, 1622)
Prov: FF
Subject: Daniel Tilenus.
Notes: Shaaber C 12.

59 Gerhard, Johann, *In harmoniam historiae euangelicae de passione, crucifixione, morte et sepultura Christi* (Frankfurt, 1622)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ecclesiastical history
Notes: /

60 Harpsfield, Nicholas, *Historia Anglicana ecclesiastica a primis gentis svseptae fidei incvtabulis* (Douai, 1622)
Prov: FF
Subject: Catholic Reformation history.
Notes: /

61 Aristotle, *Epitome doctrinae moralis, ex decem libris ethicorum Aristotelis* (Strasbourg, 1621)
Prov: FF
Subject: Philosphy. Ethics.
Notes: /

62 Denison, John, *De confessionis avricvlaris vanitate, adversvs Bellarmini, et de sigilli confessionis impietate* (Oxford, 1621)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy. Confession. Bellarmine.
Notes: STC 6586.

63 Magirus, Johann, *Physiologiae peripateticae libri sex, cum commentariis, in quibus praecepta illius perspicue* (Geneva, 1621)
Prov: FF
Subject: Philosophy
Notes: /

64 Preston, Thomas, *Reverendorum patrum D. Thomae Prestoni ... & Fr. Thomae Greenaei* (London, 1621)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: STC 20286.7

65 Reynolds, John, Merchant, *The triumphs of Gods revenege [sic], against the crying, and execrable sinne of murther* (London, 1621)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sin. Murder. Providence.
Notes: STC 20942

66 Salian, Jacques, *Annales ecclesiastici veteris testamenti... quibus connexi sunt annales imperii Assyriorum, Babylo[n]i* (Paris, 1621)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ecclesiastical history.
Notes: /

67 Balsamon, Theodoros, *Canones SS. Apostolorum, conciliorum generalium & prouincialium: sanctorum patrum epistolae* (Paris, 1620)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious commentary
Notes: /

68 Carthagenae, Ioannes de, *Homiliae Catholicae in vniuersa Christianae religionis aroana...* (Paris, 1620)
Prov: FF
Subject: Prayers
Notes: /

69 Dominis, Marco Antonio de, *De republica ecclesiastica pars secunda continens libros quintum, et sextum* (London, 1620)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: STC 6995.5

70 Tornielli, Agostino, *Annales sacri, et ex profanis praecipvi, ab orbe condito ad eundem Christi passione redemptvm, etc.* (Antwerp, 1620)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ancient history.
Notes: /

71 Abbot, Robert, *De suprema potestate regia exercitationes habitae in Academia Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarminum* (London, 1619)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church and State. Bellarmine.
Notes: STC 47

72 Castiglione, Baldassare, *Balthasaris Castilionis Comitis De curiale siue aulico, libri quatuor* (Strasbourg, 1619)
Prov: FF
Subject: Courtiers
Notes: /

73 Coninck, Aegidius de, *Commentariorum ac disputationum in vniuersam doctrinam D. Thomae de Sacramentis* (Antwerp, 1619)
Prov: FF
Subject: Aquinas. Sacraments.
Notes: /

74 De Azevedo, Alfonso, *Commentariorvm ivris civilis in Hispaniae Regias constitvtiones.* (Antwerp, 1619)
Prov: FF
Subject: Law (Spanish)
Notes: /

75 Preston, Thomas, *Roger Widdringtons last reioynder to Mr. Thomas Fitz-herberts reply concerning the oath of allegiance* (London, 1619)
Prov: FF (Initials crossed out).
Subject: Oath of Allegiance, 1606
Notes: STC 25599

76 Abbot, Robert, *De gratia, et perseuerantia sanctorum, exercitationes aliquot habitae in Academia Oxoniensi* (London, 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology: Perseverance. Grace.
Notes: STC 46.

77 Basil, St., the Great, *Sancti Patris nostri Basilii Magni Caesareae Cappadociae Archiepiscopi, Opera omnia* (Paris, 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sermons. Theology.
Notes: /

78 Downname, George, *Dissertatio de gubernatione ecclesiae, maximeque de presbyterio, & episcopatu, ... pertractans* (Middelburg [Netherlands], 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church government.
Notes: /

79 Lape, Cornelius a, *Rever. patris Cornelii Cornelii a Lapide e Societate Iesv, in Lovaniensi Academia sacrae scripturae* (Paris, 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary.
Notes: /

80 Molanus, Joannes, *Ioannis Molani Doctoris Theologi Louan. Bibliotheca materiarum quae, a quibus auctoribus* (Cologne, 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Bibliography
Notes: /

81 Paschasius Radbertus, *S. Paschasii Radberti Abbatis Corbeinsis opera. Quorum pars multo maxime nunc primum prodit* (Paris, 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Lords Supper. Biblical commentary
Notes: /

82 Sternhold, Thomas, *The whole booke of psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins* (London, 1618)
Prov: FF
Subject: Psalms
Notes: STC 2560.5

83 Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo, *Operum Roberti Bellarmini... Nunc postremo ab authore recognita.* (Cologne, 1617)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy.
Notes: Vols 5, 6 and 7 only.

84 Boverio, Zaccaria, *Demonstrationes symbolorum verae, et falsae religionis aduersus praecipuos, ac vigentes catholicae* (Lyon, 1617)
Prov: FF
Subject: Reformed Theology. Anti-Catholicism.
Notes: /

85 King, Adam, *Nostodia. In serenissimi, potentissimi, et invictissimi monarchae, Iacobi magnae Britanniae, Francia* (Edinburgh, 1617)
Prov: FF
Subject: poetry on James I (Monarchy).
Notes: STC 7487.

86 Cassander, George, *Georgii Cassandri Belgae theologi, Impp. Ferdinando I. et Maximiliano II. a consiliis* (Paris, 1616)
Prov: FF
Subject: Anabaptists. Church Unity. Catholics.
Notes: /

87 Chemnitz, Martin, *Harmoniae euangelicae, a praestantissimo theologo D. Martino Chemnitio... & per D. Polycarpum* (Frankfurt, 1616)
Prov: FF
Subject: Lutheran theology
Notes: /

88 Godwin, Francis, *Rerum Anglicarum Henrico VIII. Edwardo VI. et Maria regnantibus, annales nunc primum editi.* (Germany?, 1616)
Prov: FF
Subject: C16 History.
Notes: STC 11945

89 Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo, *De justificatione impij libri V. Explicati et castigati studio Davidis Parei.* (Heidelberg, 1615)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: /

90 Fitz-Simon, Henry, *Britannomachia ministrorum, in plerisque et fidei fundamentis, et fidei articulis dissidentium.* (Douai, 1614)
Prov: FF
Subject: Reformed Theology.
Notes: /

91 Pareus, David, *In Genesin Mosis commentarius. Quo... argutiae... R. Bellarmini & Ben. Pererii* (Geneva, 1614)
Prov: FF
Subject: Joseph Scaliger
Notes: /

92 Smith, Henry, *Aeternum euangelium sive Christianae veritatis vindiciae et triumphus, adversus omnes atheos* (Oppenheim, 1614)
Prov: FF
Subject: Reformed theology. Anti-Catholicism.
Notes: /

93 Aurelius, Abraham, *In nuptias illustrissimi principis Frederici V. Comitis Palatini ad Rhenum* (London, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Marriage of Elizabeth and King of Bohemia (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 960

94 Becan, Martin, *Controversia Anglicana de potestate pontificis et regis; recognita et aucta. Contra Lancellottum* (Mainz, 1613)
Prov: 'W. B.' and FF
Subject: Religious Controversy (against Andrewes). Bellarmine.
Notes: /

95 Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo, *Roberti Bellarmini Politiani Societatis Jesu theologi Cardinalis De amissione gratiae & statu* (Heidelberg, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sin
Notes: bound with 106 and 109.

96 Carleton, George, *Consensus Ecclesiae Catholicae contra tridentinos. Demonstrans vnam ac Ecclesia Catholica conseruata* (London, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Council of Trent
Notes: STC 4631

97 Estienne, Robert, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae, ex aliis etiam authoribus, praeter Ciceronem, collectus, etc.* (Basel, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Dictionary
Notes: /

98 Goldast, Melchior, *Collectio constitutionum imperialium, hoc est, imperatorum, caesarum, ac regum augustorum* (Frankfurt, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: History
Notes: /

99 Pareus, David, *Davidis Parei In divinam ad Corinthios priorem S. Pauli apostoli epistolam commentarius* (Heidelberg, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary
Notes: CLC P 200.

100 Tostado, Alonso, *Alphonsi Tostati hispani episcopi Opera omnia quotquot in Scripture sacrae expositionem et alia* (Cologne, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

101 Ussher, James, *Gravissimae quaestionis, de Christianarvm ecclesiarvm, in occidentis praesertim partibus* (London, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church history
Notes: STC 24551

102 Vigor, Simon, *Ex responsione synodali data Basiliae oratoribus D. Eugenij P.P. IV. in congregatione generali III.* (Cologne, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Council of Basel
Notes: /

103 Wake, Isaac, *Iusta funebria Ptolemaei Oxoniensis Thomae Bodleii equitis aurati celebrata in academia Oxoniensi* (Oxford, 1613)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biography (of Thomas Bodley)
Notes: STC 3194

104 Anselm, St., *Divi Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis opera omnia qvatvor tomis comprehensa* (Cologne, 1612)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology. Church Fathers.

Notes: /

105 Barclay John, Poet, *Pietas. Siue publicae pro regibus, ac principibus, ... vindiciae. Aduersus Roberti...*

Bellarmini (Paris, 1612)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy.

Bellarmino.

Notes: /

106 Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo, *Roberti Bellarmini Politiani Societatis Iesu theologi Cardinalis Liber unus de gratia primi hominis* (Heidelberg, 1612)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy.

Bellarmino.

Notes: /

107 John Chrysostom, *Tou en hagiois patros hemon Ioannou Archiepiskopou Konstantinoupoleos tou Chrysostomou ton heuriskom* (Eton, 1613)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: STC 14629a

108 Oxford University, *Iusta Oxoniensium*. (London, 1612)

Prov: FF

Subject: Poetry. Prince Henry (Monarchy)

Notes: STC 19021

109 Pareus, David, In *Roberti Bellarmini Iesuitae Cardinalis librum I. de verbo Dei scripto disputatio aphoristica* (Heidelberg, 1612)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy.

Bellarmino.

Notes: /

110 Borrello, Camillo, *De regis catholici praestantia, eius regalibus iuribus, & praerogatiuis commentarii* (Milan, 1611)

Prov: FF

Subject: Catholic Church. Dogmatics.

Notes: /

111 Cangiser, Theophilus, *Dabid tou prophetoanaktos euche zelou te diapurou ... Davidis regii prophetae votvm ardentis zeli* (Eton, 1611)

Prov: 'Richardo, Couentriensis et Lichfeldensis episcopatus praesule'

[Richard Neile]. FF

Subject: Psalms

Notes: STC 2353.5

112 Pareus, David, *Davidis Parei collegiorum theologicorum quibus vniversa theologia orthodoxa* (Heidelberg, 1611)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

113 Saravia, Adrien, *Diversi tractatvs theologici, ab Hadriano Saravia editi: quorum titulos sequens pagina indicabit*. (London, 1611)

Prov: FF

Subject: Calvinist theology

Notes: STC 21751

114 Sheldon, Richard, *Certain general reasons, proving the lawfulness of the Oath of Allegiance* (London, 1611)
Prov: FF
Subject: Paul's Cross Sermon, March 1610. Oath of Allegiance, 1606. Papal power.
Notes: STC 22393

115 Barradas, Sebastianus, *Commentaria in concordiam et historiam euangelicam*. (Mainz, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ecclesiastical history
Notes: /

116 Bosquier, Philippe, *Orbis terror, seu concionum de finibus bonorum et malorum, libri duo. Auctore V.P.F. Philippo Boskie* (Cologne, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sermons
Notes: CLC B 211.

117 Buys, Jan, *Viridarium christianarum virtutum, ex sacrosanctae scripturae sanctorum[ue] patrum sententijs* (Mainz, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Christian Life.
Notes: CLC B 2806.

118 Carleton, George, *Jurisdiction, regall, episcopall, papall. Wherein is declared how the pope hath intruded* (London, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Papacy
Notes: STC 4637

119 Donne, John, 1572-1631, *Pseudo-martyr. Wherein out of certaine propositions and gradations, this conclusion is euicted*. (London, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Oath of Allegiance, 1606.
Notes: STC 7048

120 Gregory, Nazianzen, St., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni in Iulianum inuectiuae duae. Cum scholiis Graecis nunc primum editis* (Eton, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: STC 12346. (Greek).

121 Hittorp, Melchior, *De diuinis Catholicae ecclesiae officijs et mysterijs, ... ad religionis Christianae incrementum* (Paris, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

122 James I, *A booke of proclamations, published since the beginning of His Maiesties most happy reigne ouer England* (London, 1610)
Prov: James I and FF.
Subject: Proclamations.
Notes: STC 7759. Royal arms in gold on covers.

123 La Bigne, Marguerin de, *Auctarii bibliothecae patrum et auctorum ecclesiasticorum, tomus secundus* (Paris, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

124 Morton, Thomas (Bishop of Durham), *The encounter against M. Parsons, by a review of his last sober reckoning, and his exceptions urged* (London, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: STC 18183

125 Morton, Thomas, *The encounter against M. Parsons, by a review of his last sober reckoning, and his exceptions urged* (London, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy.
Notes: STC 18183. Reply to R. Parsons.

126 Vorstius, Conradus, *Tractatus theologicus de Deo, sive De natura & attributis Dei, omnia fere ad hanc materiam* (Burgsteinfurt, 1610)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

127 Bonaventura, Saint, Cardinal, *Opera, Sixti V. Pont. Max. iussu diligentissime emendata, ... quae omnia in tomos septem distributa.* (Mainz, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: Catholic doctrine.
Notes: /

128 Egerton, Thomas, Viscount Brackley, *The speech of the Lord Chancellor of England, in the Eschequer Chamber, touching the post-nati.* (London, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: Law (Property)
Notes: STC 7540

129 Heinsius, Daniel, *Danielis Heinsii in obitum v. illustr. Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caes. a Burden f. eruditorum principis* (Leiden, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: Epitaphs. Scaliger.
Notes: /

130 Henisch, Georg, *Arithmetica perfecta et demonstrata, doctrinam de numero triplici, vulgari, cossico & astronomica* (Augsburg, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: Mathematics
Notes: /

131 Leech, Humfrey, *Dvtifvll and respective considerations vpon fovre severall heads of prooffe and triall* (Saint-Omer, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: Roman Catholicism. Oath of Allegiance.
Notes: STC 15362.5

132 Magini, Giovanni Antonio, *Primum mobile duodecim libris contentum, in quibus habentur trigonometria sphaericorum* (Bologna, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: Mathematics.
Notes: /

133 Mariana, Juan, *Ioannis Mariana... tractatus VIII... Nunc primum in lucem editi.* (Cologne, 1609)
Prov: FF
Subject: History/ Theology
Notes: /

134 Marta, Orazio, *Tractatus de iurisdictione per, et inter iudicem ecclesiasticum* (Mainz, 1609)

Prov: FF

Subject: Law (ecclesiastical)

Notes: /

135 Benedictis, Benedictus de, *Iacvla ecclesiae Christi catholicae ex catholicorum ipsisque haereticorum assertionibus deprompta* (Venice, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Heresy

Notes: /

136 Buys, Jan, *Panarion, hoc est, Arca medica variis divinae Scripturae priscorumque patrum antidotis adversus* (Mainz, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Sin

Notes: CLC B 2805

137 Clavius, Christophorus, *Christophori Clavii Bamb. ex Societate Iesu, in sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco commentarius* (Geneva, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Astronomy

Notes: /

138 Machiavelli, Niccolo, 1469-1527, *Nicolai Machiavelli Florentini Disputationum de republica, quas discursus nuncupavit. Libri iii.* (Frankfurt, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Monarchy/ Republics.

Notes: /

139 Morton, Thomas, *A preamble unto an incounter with P.R. the author of the deceitfull treatise of mitigation*

(London, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy

Notes: STC 18191

140 Parsons, Robert, *The iudgment of a Catholicke English-man, living in banishment for his religion* (Saint-Omer, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Catholic literature. Oath of Allegiance, 1606.

Notes: STC 19408.

141 Philostratus, *Opera quae exstant, Philostrati iunioris Imagines, et Callistrati Ecphrases. Item Eusebii Caesariensis* (Paris, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Biography/ Church history

Notes: /

142 Theodoretus, *Beati Theodreti Episcopi Cyrensis, theologi vetvstissimi. Opera omnia quae ad hvnc diem Latine* (Paris, 1608)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

143 Blackwell, George, *A large examination taken at Lambeth, according to his maiesties direction ... of George Blakwell* (London, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: Oath of Allegiance, 1606.

Archpriest controversy.

Notes: STC 3104.

144 Busti, Bernardinus de, *Rosarium sermonum per quadragesimam* (Cologne, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: Sermons.

Notes: /

145 Euclid, *Posterioribus libri IX. Accessit liber XVI. De Solidorum Regularium cuiuslibet intra quodlibet* (Frankfurt, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: Mathematics

Notes: /

146 *Controversiae memorabilis inter Paulum V. Pontificem Max. et Venetos; de excommunicatione* (Villa Sanvincentiana, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: History. Papacy.

Notes: /

147 Parsons, Robert, *Qvaestiones dvae de sacris alienis non adeundis, ad usum praximquae Angliae breuiter explicatae* (Omer, 1607)

Prov: 'Ffrancisca Blenkyn[sop]' ex dono J. B.' FF

Subject: Church History.

Notes: Shaaber P 44.

148 Sanchez, Tomas, *Dispytationvm de sancto matrimonii sacramento.* (Antwerp, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: Sacraments. Marriage.

Notes: /

149 Scaliger, Joseph Juste, *Elenchus vtriusque orationis chronologicae D. Davidis Parei: quarum secunda operis calci addita* (Leiden, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: Oration

Notes: /

150 Wake, Isaac, *Rex platonicus: sive, De potentissimi principis Iacobi Britanniarum Regis* (Oxford, 1607)

Prov: FF

Subject: James I (Monarchy)

Notes: STC 24939

151 Bosquier, Philippe, *Ara coeli, seu concionum de honorarco a magis orientis, Iesu infanti in Beth-lehem oblato, decades* (Douai, 1606)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy.

Notes: /

152 Clemangiis, Nicolaus de, *Speculum ecclesiae pontificae. Nicolaus Clemangis Archidiaconus Baiocensis* (London, 1606)

Prov: FF

Subject: Catholic Church

Notes: STC 5397

153 Crashaw, William, *Falsificationvm Romanarvm... Romish forgeries and falsifications* (London, 1606)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy. Anti-Catholicism.

Notes: STC 6014

154 Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536, *Adagiorum Chiliades iuxta locos communes digestae. Quibus Hadriani Junii* (London, 1606)
Prov: FF
Subject: Adages
Notes: /

155 Fairlambe, Peter, *The recantation of a Brownist.* . (London, 1606)
Prov: FF
Subject: Puritanism
Notes: STC 10668

156 Field, Richard, *Of the church, fiue bookes.* (London, 1606)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: STC 10857.

157 Filesac, Jean, *De sacra episcoporum avtoritate. Sev Ad Tit. De Off. Iud. Ord. lib. I Decretal. Commentarius.* (Paris, 1606)
Prov: FF
Subject: Law (Decretals)
Notes: /

158 Goad, Thomas, *Proditoris proditor. Siue Decachordon, plectrum admouente Horatio, concinens liberationem Britannica* (London, 1606)
Prov: FF
Subject: Poems. Gunpowder plot (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 11924

159 Affinati D'acuto, Giacomo, *The dumbe divine speaker, or: Dumbe speaker of diuinity* (London, 1605)
Prov: FF
Subject: Christian life
Notes: STC190

160 Conti, Natale, *Mythologiae: siue, explicationis fabularum libri decem... Eiusdem libri IIII de venatione* (Cevennes, Fr., 1605)
Prov: FF
Subject: Myths
Notes: /

161 Haer, Floris vander, *Antiquitatum liturgicarum arcana. Concionatoribus et pastoribus uberrimum promptuarium* (Douai, 1605)
Prov: 'J. Cleland' . FF
Subject: Catholic Liturgy.
Notes: /

162 Kingsmill, Thomas, *Classicvm poenitentiale, etc. (- Tractatvs de scandalo, etc.)* (Oxford, 1605)
Prov: FF
Subject: Penitence. Scandal
Notes: STC 15006.

163 Llamas, Hieronymus, *Svmma ecclesiastica, siue instrvctio confessariorvm & poenitentivm absolutissima* (Mainz, 1605)
Prov: FF
Subject: Confession
Notes: /

164 Loeus, Robertus, *Effigiatio veri Sabbathismi* (London, 1605)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sabbath
Notes: STC 16692

165 Mariana, Juan de, *Ioannis Marianae Hispani, e societate Iesu, De rege et regis institutione libri III. ...* (Mainz, 1605)
Prov: FF
Subject: Duties of Kings (Monarchy)
Notes: /

166 Covell, William, *A modest and reasonable examination, of some things in use in the Church of England* (London, 1604)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church of England. Puritans.
Notes: STC 5882

167 Kepler, Johann, *Ad Vitellionem paralipomena, quibus astronomiae pars optica traditur* (Frankfurt, 1604)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy. Optics.
Notes: /

168 Panigarola, Francesco, *F. Francisci Panigarolae ... in sacrosancta, quae legi solent a dominica prima post Pentecosten* (Venice, 1604)
Prov: FF
Subject: Liturgy. Commentaries.
Notes: CLC P 124.

169 Sutcliffe, Matthew, *The supplication of certaine masse-priests falsely called Catholikes*. (London, 1604)
Prov: 'John Hotham 1636.' FF
Subject: Religious controvesy. Catholicism.
Notes: STC 14429.5. Ms notes by Hotham.

170 Arias, Francisco, *R.P. Francisci Arias, Societatis Iesu theologi, tractatus tres spirituales* (Cologne, 1603)
Prov: FF
Subject: Spiritual Life
Notes: CLC A 980.

171 Cambridge University, *Threnothriambeuticon. Academiae Cantabrigiensis ob damnum lucrosum* (Cambridge, 1603)
Prov: FF
Subject: Queen Elizabeth I (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 4493.

172 Oxford University, *Academiae Oxoniensis pietas erga serenissimum et potentissimum Iacobum* (Oxford, 1603)
Prov: FF
Subject: Elizabeth I and James I (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 19019

173 Pareus, David, *Davidis Parei Silesii Controversiarum eucharisticarum una de litera et sententia verborum Domini* (Heidelberg, 1603)
Prov: FF
Subject: Eucharist
Notes: CLC P 211

174 Gibbons, Nicholas, *Questions and disputations concerning the Holy Scripture* (London, 1602)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary
Notes: STC 11815

175 Keckermann, Bartholomaeus, *Systema s.s. theologiae, tribus libris adornatum per Bartholomaeum Keckermannum Dantiscanum* (Hannau, 1602)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: CLC K 32

176 Bagshaw, Christopher, *Relatio compendiosa turbarum quas Iesuitae Angli, vna cum Georgio Blackwello archipresbytero* (London, 1601)
Prov: FF
Subject: Archpriest controversy.
Notes: STC 3106.

177 Lenccius, Ioannes Baptista, *Ioannis Baptistae Lencci. Obseruationes politicae, et varijs historiarum & ciuilibus doctrinae* (Strasbourg, 1601)
Prov: 'Rich Neile, 1602'. FF
Subject: Politics
Notes: /

178 Nannini, Remigio, *Civill considerations vpon many and svndrie histories as well ancient as moderne, and principallie* (London, 1601)
Prov: 'John Hotha' 'Ro: Beckwith'. FF
Subject: History. Rules for princes (Monarchy)
Notes: STC 18348

179 Zanchius, Hieronymus, *De religione christiana, fides, etc.* (Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, 1601)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology.
Notes: /

180 Athanasius, St., *Ta euriskomenn apanta. B. Athanasii archiepiscopi Alexandrini opera que reperuntur omnia* (Hcidelberg, 1600)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church fathers
Notes: Adams A 2087

181 Estella, Diego de, *Reverendi patris fratris Didaci Stellae, Minoritani regylaris observantiae provinciae Sancti Iacobi* (Antwerp, 1600)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary
Notes: /

182 Genebrard, Gilbert, *Chronographiae libri quatuor. Piores duo sunt de rebus veteris populi* (Paris, 1600)
Prov: FF
Subject: theology
Notes: Adams G 400

183 Gretser, Jacob, *De modo agendi Iesuitarum cum pontificibus, praelatis, ... et inter se mutuo.* (Ingolstadt, 1600)
Prov: FF
Subject: Jesuit controversy
Notes: Adams G 1238

184 Hugo, de Sancto Charo, Cardinal, *Vgonis de S. Charo, S. Romanae Eccl. tit. S. Sabinae Cardinalis primi Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Venice, 1600)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary.
Notes: /

185 Toledo, Francisco, *D. Francisci Toleti E Societate Iesv S.R.E. Presbyt. Card. Tit. S. Mariae Transpvtinae commentarii* (Paris, 1600)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary
Notes: Adams T 777

186 Turnebe, Adrien, *Viri clariss. Adriani Turnebi Regii quondam Lutetiae Professoris Opera* (Strasbourg, 1600)

Prov: ABY John Williams. FF

Subject: Classical Literature.

Notes: Adams T 1143. Copious Ms notes.

187 Wolf, Johann, *Iohan. Wolfii I.C. Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI. Habet hic lector doctorum* (Lauingen, 1600)

Prov: FF

Subject: World history. Encyclopedia.

Notes: Adams W 236.

188 Alagona, Petrus, *Compendium manualis Nauarri, et commentarii eiusdem de Vsuris* (Cologne, 1599)

Prov: FF

Subject: Casuistry. Confession.

Notes: CLC A 251.

189 Hunnius, Aegidius, *De indulgentiis et iubilaeo Romani pontificis tractatus, scriptus et oppositus duobus libris Roberti Bellarmini* (Frankfurt, 1599)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy. Bellarmine.

Notes: Admas H 1185

190 Philodikaios, Irenicus, *A treatise declaring, and confirming against all obiections the just title and right of... James the sixt* (Edinburgh, 1599)

Prov: 'Fairfax'

Subject: James I's succession (Monarchy)

Notes: STC 19881.5

191 Androzzi, Fulvio, *R.P. Fulvii Androtii, Societ. Iesu Theologi considerationes de frequentands communionem [sic]* (Mainz, 1598)

Prov: FF

Subject: Communion

Notes: Adams A 1091

192 Bruno, Vincenzo, *Meditationes, in septem praecipua festa B. virginis. Item commune sanctorum.* (Cologne, 1598)

Prov: FF

Subject: Meditations

Notes: /

193 Palaeotto, Gabriele, *De bono senectvtis, etc.* (Antwerp, 1598)

Prov: FF

Subject: Old Age. Politics.

Notes: Adams P 84

194 Scaliger, Joseph Juste, *Iosephi Scaligeri Ivli Caesaris F. opvs de emendatione temporvm* (Leiden, 1598)

Prov: FF

Subject: History

Notes: Adams S 568. Ms notes on pastedown.

195 Thyraeus, Petrus, *Daemoniaci, hoc est: De obsessis a spiritibus daemoniorum hominibus, liber vnus.* (Cologne, 1598)

Prov: FF

Subject: Witchcraft

Notes: /

196 Zepper, Wilhelm, *Ars habendi et audiendi conciones sacras. Hoc est: quid ante, sub et post conciones sacras* (Seigen, Ger., 1598)

Prov: FF

Subject: Protestantism

Notes: BM STC German, p. 934.

197 *Tes theias graphes, palaius delonde kai neas siathekes agianta* (Frankfurt, 1597)

Prov: FF

Subject: Greek Bible

Notes: Adams B 797

198 Manchettus, Antonius, *Aurei flores doctorum septem tractatibus collecti: in quibus continetur doctrina non solum sacris* (Venice, 1597)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

199 Polanus Von Polansdorf, Amandus, *Sylloge thesium theologiarum, ad methodi leges conscriptarum et disputationibus Roberti Bellarmini* (Basel, 1597)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious controversy. Bellarmine.

Notes: Adams P 1738.

200 Zanchius, Hieronymus, *Hieronymi Zanchii tractationvm theologiarvm volvmen librvvm de operibvs creationis proxime seqvens* (Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, 1597)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: Adams Z 57.

201 Acosta, Joseph de, *De natura noui orbis libri duo. Et de promulgatione euangelii apud barbaros* (Cologne, 1596)

Prov: FF

Subject: New World

Notes: Adams A 124

202 Hunnius, Aegidius, *Epistolae divi Pavli ad Corinthios prioris expositio plana et perspicva. Cvm oratione post praefationem* (Frankfurt, 1596)

Prov: FF

Subject: Biblical commentary

Notes: /

203 Irenaeus, St., *Diui Irenaei, Lugdunensis Episcopi, et martyris, Aduersus Valentini* (Cologne, 1596)

Prov: FF

Subject: Heresies

Notes: Adams I 161

204 Lopez, Juan, *Epitome Sanctorum ad conciones, desumptae ex Origene, Basilio, Chrysostomo, Hieronymo* (Rome, 1596)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church fathers

Notes: /

205 Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon: cum notis & obseruationibus variorum.* (Leiden, 1596)

Prov: FF

Subject: Roman history

Notes: Adams P 873

206 Zepper, Wilhelm, *Institvtio de tribvs illis religionis svmmis capitibvs, qvae hodie inter Euangelicas Ecclesias* (Hannau, 1596)

Prov: FF

Subject: Protestantism

Notes: /

207 Beust, Joachim von, *Orthodoxa enarratio euangeliorum, quae diebus dominicis et sanctorum festis in ecclesia Dei explicantur* (Leipzig, 1595)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

208 Bozio, Tommaso, *De Italiae statu, antiquo et nouo, libri quatuor, aduersus Machiauellum* (Cologne, 1595)

Prov: FF

Subject: Statecraft

Notes: Adams B 2634.

209 Cabasilas, Nilus, *De primatu papae Romani libri duo, ex bibliotheca Vaticana: Bonauentura Vulcano interprete* (Leiden, 1595)

Prov: FF

Subject: Papacy

Notes: Adams C 5. Bound up with a Greek manuscript.

210 Martial, *M. Val. Martialis, Epigrammaton libri XV. ... Post Hadr. Iunii emendationem recogniti* (Strasbourg, 1595)

Prov: FF

Subject: Epigrams

Notes: Adams M 713

211 Suetonius Tranquillus, Caius, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit* (Geneva, 1595)

Prov: FF

Subject: Roman Emperors (Monarchy).

Notes: Adams S 2053

212 Zepper, Wilhelm, *De politia ecclesiastica. Sive forma, ac ratio administrandi, et gubernandi regni Christi* (Herborn, Ger., 1595)

Prov: FF

Subject: Lutheran Church polity

Notes: Adams Z 135

213 Dadraeus, Joannes, *Loci communes similibus et dissimilibus, ex omni propemodum antiquitate* (Cologne, 1594)

Prov: FF

Subject: History

Notes: /

214 Lipomanus, Aloysius, *Vitae sanctorum, ex probatissimis authoribus, et potissimum ex Rmo. D. Aloysio Lipomano* (Antwerp, 1594)

Prov: FF

Subject: Saints lives.

Notes: /

215 Luis de Granada, *Dux peccatorum* (Cologne, 1594)

Prov: FF

Subject: Asceticism

Notes: Adams G 971

216 Macarius, Saint, *Sancti patris Macarii, eremitaе Aegyptii, Homiliae spirituales quinquaginta* (Frankfurt, 1594)

Prov: FF

Subject: Christian Life

Notes: Adams M 5

217 Palaeotto, Gabriele, *Illustrissimi et reuerendissimi D.D. Gabrielis Palaeotti, ... De consultationibus sacri consistorij* (Ingolstadt, 1594)

Prov: FF

Subject: Cardinals

Notes: Adams P 93. bound with 218.

218 Paleotto, Gabriele, *De imaginibus sacris, et profanis... libri quinque. Quibus multiplices earum abusus, iuxta Concilij* (Ingolstadt, 1594)

Prov: FF

Subject: Images. Council of Trent.

Notes: Adams P 87.

219 Cowell John, *Antisanderus duos continens dialogos non ita pridem inter viros quosdam doctos Venetijs habitos* (Cambridge, 1593)

Prov: FF

Subject: Religious Controversy

Notes: STC 5898

220 Salignac, Bernard, *Bernardi Salignaci Burdegalensis Arithmeticae libri duo, et Algebrae totidem, cum demonstrationibus.* (Frankfurt, 1593)

Prov: FF

Subject: Mathematics

Notes: Adams S 130

221 Celsus, Aulus Cornelius, *Aurelii Cornellii Celsi De re medica libri octo.* (Leiden, 1592)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams C 1249

222 Mercator, Gerhard, *Evangelicae historiae quadripartita monas, sive harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum, etc.* (Duisburg, Ger., 1592)

Prov: 'Rich Neile. Vinit redeptor quid desperem'. FF

Subject: Gospels

Notes: Adams M 1297

223 Luis de Granada, *Exercitia, in septem meditationes... distributa: ... Latina facta, opera ac studio Michaelis ab Isselt* (Cologne, 1591)

Prov: FF

Subject: Asceticism

Notes: /

224 Chimarraeus, Jacobus, *Panis quotidianus animae coelestia esurienti ex tribus farinae satis* (Cologne, 1590)

Prov: FF

Subject: Devotional Literature

Notes: Adams C 1457.

225 Clement, T. Flavii Clementis Alexandrini *Presbyteri, et ecclesiasticae scholae magistri* (Paris, 1590)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology. Church fathers

Notes: /

226 Baronio, Cesare, *Annales ecclesiastici ...* (Antwerp, 1589)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church History

Notes: Adams B 238.

227 Bercheur, Pierre, *Dictionarii seu repertorii moralis Petri Berchorii... pars secunda (-tertia)* (Venice, 1589)

Prov: FF

Subject: Ethics

Notes: Adams B 809.

239 Lossius, Lucas, *Annotationes in epistolas quae dominicis et festis diebus in ecclesia leguntur* (Frankfurt, 1586)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

240 Portum, Christianus ad, *Ad Sebastiani Verronis Friburgensium apud Heluetios parochi ac sacerdotis Iesuatri* (Geneva, 1586)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology.

Notes: Adams P 1971. Epistle by Beza.

241 Sachetto, Hieronimo, *Hieronymi Sacheti Aeliani medici, philosophi, civisq[ue] Brixiani. De podagricis, & arthriticis* (Brescia, 1586)

Prov: W. Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine. Gout.

Notes: Adams 544

242 Cardano, Girolamo, *Somniorum Synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes, libri IIII.* (Basel, 1585)

Prov: FF

Subject: Dreams. Medicine.

Notes: Adams C 693

243 Hofmann, Daniel, *Libellus apologeticus Danielis Hofmani... respondens chartis ministrorum ecclesiae Bremensis* (Helmstadt, 1585)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church History.

Notes: /

244 Jansen, Cornelius, *Commentariorum in suam concordiam, ac totam historiam euangelicam partes IIII.* (Lyon, 1585)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church History.

Notes: Adams J 88

245 Sancto Geminiano, Ioannes de, *Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus locupletissima* (Lyon, 1585)

Prov: FF

Subject: Canon law

Notes: Adams S 262

246 Bidembach, Wilhelm, *Doctrinae Iesuitarvm praecipva capita, a doctis quibusdam solidis rationibus testimoniisque sacrarum* (La Rochelle, 1584)

Prov: W. Mount. FF

Subject: Controversial Lit. Jesuits.

Notes: Adams J 154.

247 Bude, Guillaume, *Lexicon Hellenoromaicon: hoc est, Dictionarium Graecolatinum* (Basel, 1584)

Prov: FF

Subject: Dictionary

Notes: Adams D 422

248 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Sententiae Ciceronis, Demosthenis, ac Terentii. Dogmata philosophica* (London, 1584)

Prov: FF

Subject: Philosophy

Notes: STC 5319

249 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia quae exstant, a Dionys.* (Geneva, 1584)
Prov: 'G.P.' Richard Neile + motto. FF
Subject: Classical Literature
Notes: Adams C 1663

250 Hosius, Stanislaus, *Opera omnia in duos diuisa tomos,... Accessere necessarii atque copiosi indices.* (Cologne, 1584)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams H 1025.

251 La Rua, Hieronymus de, *Controuersiarum theologiarum partim posituarum, partim scholasticarum* (Rome, 1584)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams L 224

252 Lavater, Ludwig, *In librum Solomonis qui Ecclesiastes inscribitur ... Accesserunt breues rerum & verborum locorum* (Zurich, 1584)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary
Notes: /

253 Truxillo, Thomas de, *Thesaurus concionatorum... autore... Thoma de Trugillo* (Lyon, 1584)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams T 1009

254 Bercheur, Pierre, *Dictionarii seu repertorii moralis Petri Berchorii... pars prima.* (Venice, 1583)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams B 808.

255 Scribonius, Wilhelm Adolf, *Triumphus logicae Rameae, ubi tum in ipsa praecepta P. Rami addita* (London, 1583)
Prov: R. Neile. FF
Subject: Logic
Notes: STC 22113

256 Scribonius, Wilhelm Adolf, *Rerum naturalium doctrina methodica* (London, 1583)
Prov: R. Neile. FF
Subject: Philosophy. Astronomy.
Notes: STC 22110

257 Weyer, Johann, *Ioannis Wieri De praestigiis daemonum, & incantationibus ac ueneficiis libri sex,* (Basel, 1583)
Prov: FF
Subject: Witchcraft
Notes: Adams W 149

258 Beze, Theodore de, *Tractationum theologiarum, in quibus pleraque Christianae religionis dogmata aduersus haereses* (Geneva, 1582)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology. Heresy
Notes: Adams B 957 and 959 (2 volumes).

259 Christopherson, John, *Historiae ecclesiasticae scriptores Graeci, nempe: Eusebius... Socrates Scholasticus... Theodoritus* (Cologne, 1581)
Prov: FF
Subject: Church History
Notes: Adams S 783

260 Cornerus, Christophorus, *Psalterium Latinum Davidis... cum familiari et pia expositione*, (Leipzig, 1581)

Prov: FF

Subject: Psalms

Notes: Adams B 1472

261 Gemma, Reinerus, *Arithmeticae practicae methodus facilis, per Gemmam Frisium... conscripta* (Antwerp, 1581)

Prov: FF

Subject: Mathematics

Notes: Adams G 383

262 Herodian, *Herodiani histor. lib. VIII. Cum Angeli Politiani interpretatione, & huius partim supplemento* (Geneva, 1581)

Prov: 'Johannes Priceus, 1637' [John Price] 'Henricius Stephanus J. Sambuco D. D.' on t.p. . FF

Subject: Roman History

Notes: Adams H 388

263 Lycosthenes, Conrad, *Apophthegmata, parabolae et similitvdines ex optimis vtrivsqve lingvae scriptoribus* (Paris, 1581)

Prov: Signature of Robert Newell on t.p. FF

Subject: Dictionary

Notes: /

264 Palacios De Salazar, Paulo, *In duodecim prophetas, quos minores vocant, commentarius* (Lisbon, 1581)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

265 Bristow, Richard, *A reply to Fulke, in defense of M. D. Allens scroll of articles, and booke of purgatorie*, etc. ('Louvain' [i.e. East Ham], 1580)

Prov: 'Guilliemus Heale' [William Heale]. FF

Subject: Catholic Literature. Defence of Fulke on purgatory.

Notes: STC 3802

266 Carion, Johannes, *Chronicon Carionis expositum et auctum multis et veteribus et recentibus historiis* (Wittenberg, 1580)

Prov: FF

Subject: History

Notes: Adams C 715

267 Aristotle, *Aristotelis Stagiritae. Libri omnes, quibus historia, partes, ... animalium, atque etiam plantarum* (Lyon, 1579)

Prov: FF

Subject: Natural Philosophy

Notes: Adams A 1751

268 Aristotle, *Aristotelis Stagiritae libri omnes, quibus tota moralis philosophia, quae ad formandos mores* (Lyon, 1579)

Prov: FF

Subject: Moral Philosophy

Notes: Adams A 1751

269 Freigius, Johannes Thomas, *Quaestiones physicae; in quibus, methodus doctrinam physicam legitime docendi, describendiq* (Basel, 1579)

Prov: 'Henrye & Rychard Briggs' + motto 'Proxima puris sors est manibus

nescire nefas' Signature 'Henricus Briggs' + motto. FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: Adams F 1024

270 Junius, Franciscus, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra, sive libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorum... Latini recens ex Hebraeo* (Frankfurt, 1579)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams B 1249

271 Lancellotti, Giovanni Paolo, *Institutiones iuris canonici, quibus ius pontificium...libris quatuor comprehenditur* (Lyon, 1579)
Prov: FF
Subject: Canon Law
Notes: /

272 Coyttar, Johannes, *Ioannis Coyttari thaerei alnisiensis, consiliarii et medici regii* (Paris, 1578)
Prov: FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams C 2865

273 Ducret, Toussaint, *Commentarii dvo: vnvs de febriū cognoscendarum curandarumque ratione: alter, de earundem crisibus.* (Lausanne, 1578)
Prov: W. Mount. FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: /

274 Eisengrein, Martin, *Confessionale, in quo materia de confessione peccatorum apud Catholicos* (Ingolstadt, 1578)
Prov: FF
Subject: Confession
Notes: Adams E 92.

275 Lossius, Lucas, *Annotationes scholasticae in euangelia dominicalia et ea quae in festis... leguntur in ecclesia* (Frankfurt, 1578)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

276 Freigius, Johannes Thomas, *Ioannis Thomae Freigii, quaestiones eotinai kai deilinai: seu logicae & ethicae* (Basel, 1576)
Prov: 'Richardi Neale ex dono fratris Guil Neale'. FF
Subject: Ethics. Logic.
Notes: Adams F 1020

277 Ramus, Petrus, *P. Rami, professio regia. Hoc est, Septem artes liberales, in Regia cathedra* (Basel, 1576)
Prov: 'Guilelmus Bayly'. FF
Subject: Logic
Notes: Adams R 115

278 Sonnius, Franciscus, *Demonstrationum ex verbo Dei de septem sacramentis ecclesiae liber I. Partitus in septem tractatus* (Antwerp, 1576)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sacraments
Notes: Adams S 1434

279 Terentius, *Terentius a M. Antonio Mureto locis prope innumerabilibus emendatus* (Leiden, 1576)
Prov: John Price. FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

290 Erastus, Thomas, *Disputationum de medicina nova Philippi Paracelsi Pars Prima: in qua, quae de remediis superstitiosis* (Basel, 1573)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams E 910.

291 Erastus, Thomas, *Disputationum de nova medicina Philippi Paracelsi pars quarta et vltima* (Basel, 1573)

Prov: W. Mount + motto ('Sola mihi misero Crux tua Chrite salus, 1576.')

FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams E 910.

292 Erythraeus, Valentinus, *Valentini Erythraei, de ratione legendi, explicandi, & scribendi epistolas, libri tres.* (Strasbourg, 1573)

Prov: John Price. FF

Subject: Rhetoric.

Notes: /

293 Nowell, Alexander, *Katechismos, e prote paideusis tes Christianon eusebeias, te te Hellenon k[a]i te Rhomaion dialekto* (London, 1573)

Prov: 'Gulielmi Sagei ex dono Alexandri Nowelli.' FF

Subject: Catechism

Notes: STC 18707.

294 Paracelsus, *Chirurgia magna, in duos tomos digesta.* (Strasbourg, 1573)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: /

295 Mercuriale, Girolamo, *De Morbis cutaneis et omnibus corporis humani excrementis tractatus* (Venice, 1572)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams M 1324

296 Rampegolo, Antonio, *Figurae bibliae clarissimi doctoris theologi F. Antonij de Rampelogis Genuensis, ordinis Eremitarum* (Cologne, 1571)

Prov: FF

Subject: Biblical commentary

Notes: CLC R 64.

297 Fallopio, Gabriello, *Gabrielis Fallopii mutinensis, philosophi ac medici claris. Tractatus De compositione medicamentorum* (Venice, 1570)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: bound with 308.

298 Hilary, St., *D. Hilarii Pictaaurum Episcopi Lucubrationes quotquot extant, olim per Des. Erasmus Roterod* (Basel, 1570)

Prov: Giles Tomson. FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: Adams H 556.

299 Mercuriale, Girolamo, *Hieronimi Mercurialis variarum lectionum libri quatuor. In quibus complurium, maxime[que] medicinae* (Venice, 1570)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams M 1337

300 *Meditationum ac precationum Christianarum libellus formandis tum conscientiis, tum moribus fidelium*, (Geneva, 1570)

Prov: 'Richardi Neale et amicorum'.
FF

Subject: Meditations
Notes: Adams M 1031

301 Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo, *D. Avrelii Avgvstini Hipponensis Episcopi, cvivs praestantissima in omni genere monimenta* (Basel, 1569)

Prov: FF
Subject: Church fathers
Notes: Adams A 2166

302 Fallopio, Gabriello, *Gabrielis Fallopii Mutinensis, medici ac philosophi praestantissimi* (Venice, 1569)

Prov: Mount. FF (bought from 'Doctor Julio' on binding)
Subject: Mineral waters. Baths.
Notes: /

303 Pantaleon, Heinrich, *[C]hronogr[a]phia ecclesia[e] Christi... a Christi natiuitate ad praesentem hunc 1568 annum* (Basel, 1568)

Prov: FF
Subject: Church History
Notes: Adams P 175

304 Ambrose, Saint, Bishop of Milan, d. 397, *Omnia quotquot extant* (Basel, 1567)

Prov: FF
Subject: Church fathers
Notes: Adams A 942

305 Cucchus, Marcus Antonius, *M. Antonii Cvcchi ivris consvlti, institvtiones ivris canonici, nyper ab ipso autore auctae* (Cologne, 1567)

Prov: FF
Subject: Canon Law
Notes: /

306 Flacius, Matthias, *Clavis scripturae S. seu de sermone sacrarum literarum* (Basel, 1567)

Prov: FF
Subject: Sermons
Notes: Adams F 556.

307 Schoenborn, Bartholomaeus, *Computus, vel calendarium astronomicum, continens praecipuarum partium temporis descriptiones* (Wittenberg, 1567)

Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: /

308 Fallopio, Gabriello, *Gabrielis Fallopii mutinensis, medici, ac philosophi praestantissimi De simplicibus medicamentis* (Venice, 1566)

Prov: FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams F 141

309 Frarinus, Petrus, *An oration against the vnlawfull insurrections of the protestantes of our time* (Antwerp, 1566)

Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy
Notes: STC 11333

310 Fulgentius, Saint, *Opera, quae scripsit omnia, magno labore conquisita* (Basel, 1566)

Prov: FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: Adams F 1138.

311 Dioscorides, Pedanius, *Evporista Ped. Dioscoridis Anazarbei ad Andromachvm, hoc est de cvrationibvs morborvm* (Strasbourg, 1565)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams D 659

312 Dorman, Thomas, *A disprovfe of M. Nowelles reprovfe* (Antwerp, 1565)

Prov: FF

Subject: Church and State

Notes: STC 7061. Dispute with Nowell.

313 Fallopio, Gabriello, *Secreti diuersi et miracolosi; nuouamente ristampati* (Venice, 1565)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine. Alchemy.

Notes: /

314 Rastell, John, *A replie against an answer (falslie intituled) in defencce of the truth,* (Antwerp, 1565)

Prov: FF

Subject: Catholic Controverial literature.

Notes: STC 20728

315 Strigel, Victorinus, *Hypomnemata in omnes libros Novi Testamenti, quibus et genus sermonis explicatur* (Leipzig, 1565)

Prov: Thomas Brice. FF

Subject: Biblical commentary

Notes: Adams S 1934

316 Cyril, St., *S. Patris Nostri Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Hierosolymorum, Catecheses illuminatorum Hierosolymis XVIII.* (Paris, 1564)

Prov: FF

Subject: Catechisms

Notes: CLC C 2209. Ms notes

317 Ferrier, Augier, *Augerii Ferrerii ... De lue Hispanica siue morbo Gallico lib.2. ... Avec un extrait desdits liures* (Paris, 1564)

Prov: FF

Subject: Law

Notes: CLC F 257 (French Language).

318 Harding, Thomas, *An ansuvere to Maister Iuelles chalenge* (Louvain, 1564)

Prov: FF

Subject: Catholic Church

Notes: STC 12758

319 Spangenberg, Cyriacus, *In sacri Mosis Pentateuchum, sive quinque libros, Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numeros, Deuteronomium* (Basel, 1563)

Prov: FF

Subject: Biblical commentary

Notes: Adams S 1533.

320 Ziletti, Giovanni Battista, *Matrimonialium consiliorum ex clarissimis iure consultis tam veteribus, quam recentioribus* (Venice, 1563)

Prov: FF

Subject: Law. Marriage.

Notes: /

321 Hessels, Johannes, *Confutatio nouitiae fidei, (quam vocant specialem.) Authore Ioanne Hessels a Louanio, ... Adiunctus* (Louvain, 1562)
Prov: FF
Subject: Faith
Notes: Adams H 494. Bound with 322.

322 Hessels, Johannes, *Tractatus pro inuocatione sanctorum, contra Ioanne[m] Monhemiu[m], & eius defensorem Henricum* (Louvain, 1562)
Prov: FF
Subject: Saints
Notes: Adams H 502.

323 James, Saint, *Liturgiae, siue missae sanctorum patrum: Iacobi apostoli... Basilij Magni,... Ioannis Chrysostomi* (Antwerp, 1562)
Prov: FF
Subject: Liturgies.
Notes: Adams L 844.

324 Kling, Conrad, *Catechismus catholicus, summam Christianae institutionis IIII. libris succinctim coplectens* (Cologne, 1562)
Prov: FF
Subject: Catechisms
Notes: Adams C 2219.

325 Melanchthon, Philipp, *Omnium operum reuerendi uiri Philippi Melanthonis* (Wittenberg, 1562/63/67)
Prov: FF
Subject: Religious controversy (Melanchthon's Works)
Notes: Adams M 1068/ M 1069.

326 Smith, Richard, *De Missae sacrificio, succincta quaedam enarratio* (Louvain, 1562)
Prov: FF
Subject: Lord's Supper.
Notes: Adams S 1311

327 Smith, Richard, *Confutatio eorum quae Philippus Melanthon obijcit contra Missae sacrificium propitiatorium* (Louvain, 1562)
Prov: FF
Subject: Lord's Supper. Purgatory.
Notes: Adams S 1315

328 Altimarus, Donatus Antonius, *Donati Antonii Altimari medici atque philosophi neapolitani* (Venice, 1561)
Prov: FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams A 833

329 Gabucinus, Hieronymus, *Hieronymi Gabucinii, fanestris medici, ac philosophi, De comitiali morbo libri III.* (Venice, 1561)
Prov: Mount. FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams G 7

330 Gregory IX, *Decretales Gregorii IX. Pont. Max. suis commentariis illustratae:... repurgatae,...restitutae* (Paris, 1561)
Prov: FF
Subject: law (Decretals).
Notes: Adams G 1225

331 Hervagium, Johannes, *Sacrorum utriusque Testamenti librorum absolutissimus index, quas concordantias maiores vocant* (Basel, 1561)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams H 447.

332 Zwinger, Theodor, *In Galeni librum de constitutione artis medicae* (Basel, 1561)
Prov: Mount. FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams Z 210

333 Zwinger, Theodor, *In artem medicinalem Galeni, tabulae & commentarij: per Theodorvm Zvinggervm Basiliensem* (Basel, 1561)
Prov: Mount. FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams Z 209

334 Bredenbach, Matthias, *LXIX Psalmos seu hymnos prophetae Davidis priores* (Cologne, 1560)
Prov: FF
Subject: Psalms
Notes: /

335 Pilkington, James (Bp. Durham), *Aggeus the prophete declared by a large commentarye* (London, 1560)
Prov: 'Matthew', probably Tobie Matthew. FF.
Subject: Biblical commentary.
Notes: STC 19926.3

336 Terentius [*Opera*], in quem triplex edita est P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis commentatio (Lyon, 1560)
Prov: Neile et amicorum. FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: Adams T 353

337 Alvarez Guerrero, Alphonsus, *Thesavrus Christianae religionis et specvlvm sacrorvm svmmorvm Romanorvm, Pontificvm* (Venice, 1559)
Prov: FF
Subject: Christian Dictionary
Notes: Adams A 855

338 Becon, Thomas, *Coenae sacrosanctae domini nostri Iesu Christi, & Missae Papisticae, comparatio* (Basel, 1559)
Prov: FF
Subject: Lord's Supper.
Notes: Adams B 441. Bound with 334.

339 De Tournes, Jean, *Insignivm aliquot virorum icones.* (Lyon, 1559)
Prov: Robert Newell. FF
Subject: Ancient biographies
Notes: /

340 Gemma, Reinerus, *De radio astronomico & geometrico liber. ...Adiunximus breuem tractionem Ioannis Spangenbergij* (Paris, 1558)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: Adams G 392

341 Tittelmans, Franciscus, *Francisci Titelmanni Hassellensis, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (Lyon, 1558)
Prov: R Neile. FF
Subject: Mass. Meditation.
Notes: CLC T 678.

342 Fumanelli, Antonio, *Antonij Fumanelli Veronensis, medicae artis peritia & usu in Italia longe celeberrimi* (Zurich, 1557)
Prov: Mount (1567). FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: /

343 Hippocrates, *Hippocratis medicorum omnium principis, de flatibus liber* (Paris, 1557)
Prov: Mount. FF
Subject: Medicine.
Notes: BM STC French, p. 227.

344 Ponet, John, *Diallacticon viri boni et literati, de veritate, natura atq[ue] substantia corporis & sanguinis* (Strasbourg, 1557)
Prov: FF
Subject: Lords Supper.
Transubstantiation
Notes: Adams P 2047. Bound with 338.

345 Gemma, Reinerus, *De astrolabo Catholico liber quo... instrumenti... vsus explicatur* (Antwerp, 1556)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: /

346 Brasavola, Antonio Musa, *Antonij Musae Brassavoli medici ferrariensis* (Zurich, 1555)
Prov: FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: Adams F 470

347 Fine, Oronce, *Orontii Finaei delphinatis, regii mathematicarum Lutetiae professoris, De mundi sphaera* (Paris, 1555)
Prov: FF
Subject: Astronomy
Notes: Adams F 470

348 Fernel, Jean Francois, *Io. Fernelii ambiani, medicina*. (Paris, 1554)
Prov: FF
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Notes: /

349 Gardiner, Stephen, *Confutatio cauillationum, quibus sacrosanctum eucharistiae sacramentum* (Louvain, 1554)
Prov: FF
Subject: Eucharist
Notes: Adams G 234.

350 Gropper, Johann, *Institutio Catholica, elemeta Christianae pietatis... complectens* (Cologne, 1554)
Prov: FF
Subject: Piety.
Notes: /

351 Hermes, *Hermou tou Trismegistou Poimandres. Asklepiou horoi pros Ammona basilea* (Paris, 1554)
Prov: 'John robinson'. 'John Hotham, 1636'. FF
Subject: Greek Literature
Notes: Adams H 346.

352 Luther, Martin, *Tomus primus (-septimus) omnium operum... Catalogum autem singularum partium inuenies* (Wittenberg, 1553)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology
Notes: /

363 Brentz, Johann, *Evangelion quod inscribitur, secundum Ioannem, usque ad historiam de Lazaro a mortuis suscitato* (Schwabisch Hall, Ger., 1545)

Prov: Andreas Peerson, William Whalley, Gul. Sage. FF

Subject: Biblical commentary

Notes: /

364 Apuleius, L. *Apulegio tradotto in volgare dal Conte Matteo Maria Boiardo... Nuouamente reuisto* (Venice, 1544)

Prov: Mount 1571. FF

Subject: Literature.

Notes: Italian language.

365 Royardus, Joannes, *Homiliae in omnes epistolas feriales quadragesimae iuxta literam* (Antwerp, 1544)

Prov: FF

Subject: C16 Sermons.

Notes: CLC R 1039

366 Mondella, Luigi, *Aloisii Mundellae, apud Brixiam Italiae medici praestantissimi, epistolae medicinales* (Basel, 1543)

Prov: Mount. FF.

Subject: Medicine.

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367 La Roche, Nicolas de, *De morbis mulierum curandis, authore Nicolao Rocheo doctore medico.* (Paris, 1542)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine.

Notes: Adams R 639

368 Arnaldus, *Arnoldi Novicomensis medici atq; philosophi celeberrimi opera* (Strasbourg, 1541)

Prov: FF

Subject: medicine

Notes: Ms notes on endpapers

369 Fregoso, Battista, *Opus incomparabile, in IX libros digestum, de dictis & factis memorabilibus* (Basel, 1541)

Prov: William Knighte. FF

Subject: Theology

Notes: /

370 Homer, *Poieseis Homerou ampho he te Ilias kai he Odusseia, ... Opus utrumque Homeri Iliados et Odysseae* (Basel, 1541)

Prov: R. Neile. FF

Subject: Poetry

Notes: Adams H 750.

371 Aetius, *De melancholia, siue atrae bilis morbo, ex Galeni, Rufi, & Aetii Sicamii* (Antwerp, 1540)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: BM STC Dutch, p. 80.

372 Arculanus, Johannes, *Io. Arculani omnes, qui proximis seculis scripserunt, medicos longe excellentis opera* (Basel, 1540)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams A 1540

373 Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536, *Des. Erasmi Roterodami in Nouum Testamentum annotationes ab ipso autore iam postremum sic recognitae* (Basel, 1540)
Prov: FF
Subject: Biblical commentary.
Notes: Adams E 309.

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Prov: FF
Subject: Church fathers. Humanism
Notes: Adams E 893

375 Gallonio, Antonio, *De ligno sancto non permiscendo, Antonio Gallo medico autore* (Paris, 1540)
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Notes: /

376 Tittelmans, Franciscus, *Elucidatio in omnes Psalmos iuxta veritatem vulgatae et ecclesiae visitatae aeditionis Latinae* (Paris, 1540)
Prov: FF
Subject: Psalms
Notes: Adams T 750

377 Bude, Guillaume, *De curandis articularibus morbis comentarius* (Paris, 1539)
Prov: FF
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Notes: /

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Subject: Philosophy
Notes: Adams A 1778. Interleaved.

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Notes: BM STC German, p. 276.

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Prov: Robert Snellinge. FF
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Notes: /

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Subject: Astronomy
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Prov: Robert Snellinge. FF
Subject: Bible. Selections.
Notes: CLC B 1236.

383 *Collectaneorum de re medica Auerrhoi philosophi, post Aristotelem atq; Galenum... sectiones tres* (Lyon, 1537)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams A 2312

384 Haymo, *D. Haymonis Episcopi Halberstattens. homiliarum, nunc quarto diligentissime excusarum, pars hyemalis* (Cologne, 1537)

Prov: 'Mr Blacbourne, prest'. R Neile + motto. FF

Subject: Homilies

Notes: Adams H 91

385 Pellicanus, Conradus, *Index Bibliorum, etc.* (Zurich, 1537)

Prov: Gul. Sage. FF

Subject: Bible. Index.

Notes: Adams P 954.

386 Gardiner, Stephen, *Stephani Wintoniensis Episcopi De vera obedientia, oratio. Vna cum praefatione Edmundi Boneri* (Hamburg, 1536)

Prov: FF

Subject: Obedience. Church History

Notes: Adams G 235. heavily annotated.

387 Sadoletto, Jacopo, *Iacobi Sadoleti Episcopi Carpentoractis in Pavli epistolam ad Romanos commentariorvm libri tres* (Lyon, 1536)

Prov: FF

Subject: Biblical commentary

Notes: Adams S 72. Ms notes

388 De Tarenta, Valesco, *Philonium. Excellentissimi ac optimisquibusque practicae medicinae studiosis viris longe vtilissimum* (Lyon, 1535)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine.

Notes: Adams T 137

389 *Portiforium seu breuiarium ad vsum ecclesie Sarisburiensis castigatum, suppletum, marginalibus quota* (Paris, 1535)

Prov: FF

Subject: Breviary

Notes: STC 15833

390 Marsilius, of Padua, d. 1342?, *The defence of peace: lately translated out of laten in to englysshe. With the kynges moste gracyous* (London, 1535)

Prov: FF

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Notes: STC 17817

391 Munster, Sebastian, [*Otsar yesha` sefer hannevi'im*] ... *Veteris instrumenti tomus secundus, prophetarum oracula atq* (Basel, 1535)

Prov: Thomas Brice. FF

Subject: Hebrew Bible.

Notes: Adams B 1240

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Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Astronomy.

Notes: /

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Prov: William Clyff [Archdeacon of London/ Cleveland. Precentor of York 1534-8. Treasurer 1538-47] FF.

Subject: Charles V's coronation (Monarchy)

Notes: Adams B 68.

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Prov: FF

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Notes: Adams E 1042

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Notes: Adams G 387. Ms notes.

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Prov: FF

Subject: German history.

Notes: /

407 Apian, Peter, *Cosmographicus liber Petri Apiani mathematici, studiose correctus, ac erroribus vindicatus* (Antwerp, 1529)

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Notes: Ms notes

408 Bucer, Martin, *S. Psalmorum libri quinque ad Ebraicam veritatem versi, et familiari explanatione elucidati* (Strasbourg, 1529)

Prov: Henry marshall. W. Mount. FF

Subject: Psalms. Commentary.

Notes: Ms notes

409 Tacitus, Publius Cornelius, *Andreae Althameri Brenzii scholia in Corneliu[m] Tacitu[m] Rom. historicu[m]* (Nuremberg, 1529)

Prov: FF

Subject: Roman History

Notes: Adams T 47

410 Theophylactus, *Theophylacti Archiepiscopi Bulgariae, in omnes D. Pauli epistolas enarrationes, diligenter recognita* (Cologne, 1528)

Prov: W Braynewood. Mount. FF

Subject: Epistles

Notes: Adams T 600

411 Borrhaus, Martin, *De operibus dei.* (Strasbourg, 1527)

Prov: John Caranus. FF

Subject: Doctrine

Notes: Adams C 2504

412 Longland, John, *Sermones Ioannis Longlondi theologie professoris dei gratia Lincolni Episcopi* (London, 1527)

Prov: FF

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Notes: STC 16790 et al. Ms notes

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Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Adams A 746

414 Salvagus, Porchetus, *Victoria Porcheti aduersus impios Hebreos, in qua tum ex sacris literis, tum ex dictis Talmud* (Paris, 1520)

Prov: FF

Subject: Roman Catholicism

Notes: Adams S 187

415 Maximus, Tyrius, *Maximi Tyrii philosophi Platonici Sermones e Graeca in Latinam linguam versi Cosmo Paccio interprete* (Basel, 1519)

Prov: 'John Hotham, 1636'. FF

Subject: Philosophy

Notes: BM STC German, p. 603.

416 Barzizius, Christophorus, *Introductoriu in medicinam legenti cuilibet perutile* (Augsburg, 1518)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: BM STC German, p. 68.

417 Antoninus, [Forciglioni], Saint, *Historiarum domini Antonini archipresulis Florentini tribus tomis... pars prima* (Lyon, 1517)

Prov: FF

Subject: Ecclesiastical history

Notes: Adams A 1209

418 Duns Scotus, John, *Scriptum secundum Oxoniense Doctoris subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti ordinis* (Venice, 1515)

Prov: Wm Saye. FF

Subject: Catholic Doctrine.

Notes: Adams D 1124. Ms notes.

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421 Durantis, Gulielmus, *Rationale diuinarum officiorum* (Lyon, 1515)

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Notes: /

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Prov: FF

Subject: Sermons

Notes: Adams P 569.

423 Turrecremata, Johannes de, *Expositio in psalterium reverendissimi D.D. Johannis ysperi de Turre Cremata*. (Paris, 1513)
Prov: FF
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Notes: Adams T 1173

424 Fitzralph, Richard, *Summa Domini Armacani in Questionibus Armenorum nouiter impressa et correcta a magistro* (Paris, 1512)
Prov: FF
Subject: Theology. Sermons.
Notes: Adams F 550

425 Lefevre D'etaples, Jacques, *Contenta ... Epistola ad Rhomanos. 1.67. Epistola prima ad Corinthios. 2.2.06. 3. Epistola secunda* (Paris, 1512)
Prov: 'Laurentii Twyni ex dono Johannis Twyni'. Mount. FF
Subject: Biblical commentary.
Notes: /

426 Lochmaier, Michael, *Celeberrimi Sacre Theologie necno[n] Jurispontificij Doctoris: et Artium Magistri, ac Ecclesie Patau* (Haguenau, Fr., 1507)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sermons
Notes: Adams L 1396

427 Pinder, Ulrich, *Epiphantie medicorum. Speculum videndi urinas hominum. Clavis aperiendi portas pulsuum. Berillus disc* (Amsterdam, 1506)
Prov: W. Mount 'dedit ... Fytz james, 1576'. FF
Subject: Medicine.
Notes: Ms notes

428 Carletti, Angelo, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientio: per Venerabilem fratrem Angelum de Clauasio* (Lyon, 1505)
Prov: Paul Holden. W. Mount. FF
Subject: Canon Law
Notes: /

429 John of Gadesden, *Rosa Anglica practica medicine a capite ad pedes nouiter impressa* (Venice, 1502)
Prov: Mount 1568. FF
Subject: Medicine. Alchemy
Notes: Adams J 281

430 Lyndwood, William, *Prouinciale seu constitutiones Anglie cum summariis atq; iustis annotationibus*. (Paris, 1501)
Prov: FF
Subject: Ecclesiastical law
Notes: Adams L 2115

431 Wann, Paulus, *Quadragesimale siue tractatulus Pauli Wa[n]n Doctoris Sacre Theologie* (Haguenau, Fr., 1501)
Prov: FF
Subject: Sermons
Notes: CLC W 112

432 Ketham, Joannes de, *Fasciculus medicine. [Consilium Petri de tausignano pro peste euitanda. Anothomia [sic] Mundini* (Venice, 1500)
Prov: FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: CLC K 71

433 Dinus, *Expositio Dini Florentini super tertia [et] quarta [et] parte qui[n]te fen quarti canonis Auice[n]ne* (Venice, 1499)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Goff D 196

434 'abd Al-Malik Ibn Zuhr, Abu Marwan, *Abhumeron Abynzoar (liber theizir dahalmodana vahaltadabir ... editus in arabico* (Venice, 1497)

Prov: Mount. FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Goff A 1410

435 Muhammad Ibn Zakariya, Abu Bakr, Al-Razi, *Contenta in hoc volumine. Liber Rasis ad Almansorem ... [et al.]* (Venice, 1497)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Goff R 176

436 Savonarola, Michele, *Sauonarola de pulsibus, urinis: et egestionibus.* (Venice, 1497)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Goff S 300

437 Aristotle, *Hoc in uolumine continentur infrascripta opera Aristotelis uidelicet; in principio: vita eiusdem* (Venice, 1496)

Prov: Midilton. Neile. FF

Subject: Philosophy

Notes: Goff A 966

438 Herolt, Johannes [*Sermones discipuli*]. (Nuremberg, 1494)

Prov: FF

Subject: Sermons

Notes: Goff H 119

439 Albertus Magnus, *Opus insigne de laudibus beate marie virginis, alias Mariale apellatum.* (Strasbourg, 1493)

Prov: Gulielmus Coppinger. FF

Subject: Virgin Mary

Notes: Goff A 248

440 Benzi, Ugo, *Ugo senensis super aphorismos Hypo. [et] sup[er] co[m]me[n]tu[m] Gal. eius interpretis.* (Ferrara, 1493)

Prov: FF

Subject: Medicine

Notes: Goff H 540

441 Ptolemy, *Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei. Centiloquium eiusdem. Centiloquium hermetis* (Venice, 1493)

Prov: FF

Subject: Astronomy

Notes: Goff P 1089

442 Caracciolo, Roberto, *Sermones Roberti de Licio de laudibus sanctorum* (Speyer, 1490)

Prov: John Argentine. FF

Subject: Sermons

Notes: Goff C 146.

443 Rolevinck, Werner, [*Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens*] (Strasbourg, 1490)

Prov: FF

Subject: World History

Notes: Goff R 275

444 Alexander, *Summa que
Destructorium viciorum appellatur*
(Cologne, 1485)
Prov: 'm gooyese in thoresday market'
[H Goes, printer in York, 1510] Draft
Letter to George Rossater C16. Robert
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Subject: Vices
Notes: Goff A 392

445 Ibn Masawayh, Yuhanna, Incipit
*liber de co[n]solacio[n]e
medicinaru[m] simpliciu[m]
solutiuaru[m] Johannis heben mesue*
(Lyon, 1478)
Prov: Mount 1587. FF
Subject: Medicine
Notes: CLC Y 7

446 Bassolis, Johannes, *Profundissimi
sacre theologie professoris F. Joannis
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sententiarum* (Paris, 1516-17) Adams
B 372.
Prov: FF and Guiliemi Saye. With
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Subject: Doctrine. Theology.
Philosophy.
Notes: 2 vols. (Parts 2-4). With loose
ms. note in Part 2. Also ms.
annotations in margins.

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Additional MS 32495 (Discourse of Witchcraft, by Edward Fairfax of Fewston).

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Mylius, (Arnold), *Principum et Regum Polonorum Imagines ad Vivum Expressae* etc (Cologne, 1593). (Sellers reference: Ref EA5840). (Ms annotations. A gift of Archbishop Matthew to Ferdinando Fairfax). Unsold as of 22 May 2003.

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a) The Books of Edmund Bunny:

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Hessus, Helius Eobanus, *Psalterivm Davidis carmine; redditum per Eobanum Hessum*. (Strasbourg, 1544) Shelfmark: (Old Library) X.O.6(2).

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b) The Books of Sir Thomas Posthumous and Lady Margaret Hoby:

Du Plessis-Mornay, Philipe, *Fowre Bookes Of The Institution, Use And Doctrine Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church. As Likewise, How, When, And By What Degrees The Masse Is Brought In, In Place Thereof* (London, 1600). YML, Shelfmark: Hackness 47. (Ms annotations of Lady Hoby).

Du Plessis-Mornay, Philipe, *A Treatise of the Church* (London, 1606), Shelfmark: Hackness 66 (Signature of Lady Hoby).

Donne, John, *Pseudo-Martyr* (London, 1610) Shelfmark: Hackness 57 (Ms annotations of Lady Hoby).

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Morton, Thomas, *Of the institution of the sacrament* (London, 1631), Shelfmark: Hackness 44. (Signature of Thomas Posthumous Hoby).

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Mercator, Gerhard, *Atlas Sive Cosmographicae* (Dusseldorf, 1595), Shelfmark: (Old Library) III A 8. (Signature of Thomas Posthumous Hoby).

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