Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England

IAN GREEN
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Preface

This study forms the second part of a trilogy of works on the ways in which Protestant ideas and images were communicated in early modern England. Each part has a different focus. Part 1 was a study of one particular type of instruction, and has appeared as The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740 (Oxford, 1996). Part 3, provisionally entitled Religious Instruction in Early Modern England, will survey all of the most commonly deployed methods of instruction including many not tackled in much detail in the previous parts, such as the oral delivery of sermons, the new music in church, and the use of visual aids in church, churchyard, and home. The discussion in this second instalment, on the nature and impact of print, should therefore be viewed in the context of the trilogy as a whole. Print clearly contributed in a variety of ways to the Protestantization of England, but it was by no stretch of the imagination the only or the crucial means by which the Protestant message was conveyed to those who were illiterate or had only limited reading skills.

When I began work on this volume, books were still books, and I was (trying to be) an historian. But nowadays we acknowledge that ‘a text exists only because a reader gives it meaning’, with the result that ‘historians regard print as a cultural artefact’, and ‘we are all semiotists now’. One does not have to follow cultural historians slavishly to welcome the transformation they have helped to effect in the way that we regard the way that the typical products of the printing press were handled, any more than one has to go all the way with the ‘new historicists’ or the ‘cultural materialists’ to admit that early modern texts need to be placed firmly in context and seen as capable of many interpretations. From my point of view, however, just as important as these changes have been others of a practical kind: the publication of much fuller versions of the Short-Title Catalogues for this period, which have made a statistical approach much more feasible; and the microfilming of a high proportion of early modern printed works, which has enabled scholars to examine widely scattered copies much more easily than before. What all these changes

2 See below, pp. 4, 25–6, 32–4. I have benefited from reading the works of Alan Sinfield, Jonathan Dollimore, Alistair Fox, Deborah Shuger, J. H. Knott, jr., and others, but their focus is rarely on the best-sellers examined here.
encourage is a much wider look at the ways in which print and Protestantism were connected.

Until comparatively recently, however, historians have tended to use a telephoto rather than a wide-angle lens. Until the 1980s, many chose quite legitimately to focus on the way in which print was used in a polemical way: to stress where Protestant teaching differed from Catholic, or ‘godly’ and dissenting ideals from those of conformist and conservative episcopalians. Thus in Knappen and Haller’s ground-breaking studies of Elizabethan and early Stuart puritanism in the 1930s, Christopher Hill’s influential socio-economic account of puritanism in the 1950s, Peter Milward’s surveys of controversial works in the 1970s, Peter Lake’s meticulous analyses in the 1980s of the differences between ‘Anglicans’ and ‘Puritans’, and the nature of contemporary anti-Catholicism, and later studies by Anthony Milton and Neil Keeble on the early and later Stuart periods respectively, the printed treatises, sermons, and pamphlets of the early modern period were painstakingly taken apart for evidence of the shades of opinion that distinguished nonconformists from conformists.\(^3\) In addition, a major new edition of a landmark of contemporary publishing, John Foxe’s *Actes and monuments*, has recently been undertaken.\(^4\) However, such was the length of many of these polemical works, or the scholarly level at which they were pitched, that it was open to question how much impact they had beyond the educated elite, which was grist to the mill of those historians like Christopher Haigh and Keith Wrightson who were already sceptical of the impact of the new religion on the lower orders.\(^5\)

In recent years, this scepticism has provoked a strong reaction among scholars such as Peter Lake (again), Tessa Watt, Alexandra Walsham, Margaret Spufford, and Eamon Duffy, all of whom have used the telephoto lens in a different but equally striking way: to bring into sharp focus the nature of particular genres and printed media such as ballads, pictures, and chapbooks where it was felt that the educated elite had gone to some pains to ensure that their message was conveyed to those with little or no formal education.\(^6\)

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4. David Loades is Director of the Foxe Project, sponsored by the British Academy; for recent work on Foxe, see below, Ch. 7.v.


6. For a discussion of their views, see below, Chs. 7.vii and 8.
historians, together with others like David Cressy, Ronald Hutton, and Christopher Marsh who have used a variety of manuscript and printed sources to dissect popular reactions to Protestantism, have indicated the outlines of ‘a religious culture which, if not thoroughly Protestant by exacting clerical standards, was distinctively post-Reformation’, and which cut across barriers of status, education, and wealth. In a stunning new survey of the use of print which appeared after this book was nearly ready for the press, *Providentialism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), Alex Walsham showed how the cluster of beliefs about divine intervention in human affairs that can be found in four contemporary genres – ballads, pamphlets, anthologies of cautionary stories, and sermons urging repentance – may have provided a ‘cultural cement’ between old and new, elite and popular, and ‘godly’ and ungodly thinking which helped to anchor and entrench the Reformation in England. The message in these works was subtly transfigured by the medium in which it appeared, as part of the process by which a society hitherto largely reliant on oral and visual modes of communication became ‘deeply penetrated by and dependent upon the medium of print’.

The ‘alternative view’ which is the subtitle of this study is not meant to downgrade earlier accounts or the invaluable studies of recent years, all of which have contributed so much to our understanding of many aspects of the process by which England became Protestant. Rather it stems from the realization that when a wide-angle lens is used a very different version of the same scene emerges. This incorporates not just scholarly tomes at the top and cheap tracts at the bottom, but also all the intermediate types of publication which, it will be argued below, may have increased much more rapidly in number and variety than those at either the top or the bottom, provoking fresh questions such as ‘who bought these works?’ and ‘why?’ Using this lens means we can also cover not just polemical works by authors at the ‘godly’ or High Church wings, but also the less controversial works of an instructive, encouraging, or devotional nature in between. Again, it will be suggested below that in terms of sheer numbers these didactic, edifying, and devotional works may have constituted much the most striking use of the printing press in early modern England, though it also raises the fresh question of how we fit these much more consensual works into our existing picture of a medium devoted to polemic and the resolution of crisis. The new evidence offered here may well help to explain the genesis of Judith Maltby’s ‘parochial Prayer

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8 Walsham, *Providentialism*, 5–6, 247, and passim.
Book Protestantism’ and Don Spaeth’s ‘village Anglicanism’, and what Martin Ingram and Reg Ward have recently described as the ‘degree of unspectacular orthodoxy’ and ‘undogmatic Protestantism’ exhibited by the majority of English men and women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹ Again it should be stressed that this support for a quieter revolution does not exclude the possibility that some of the men and women who owned Prayer Books and psalters may also at times of crisis have bought anti-Catholic tracts or prophetic sermons.

This study is also different in that (like the previous one on catechizing) it tries to avoid the usual time-scales in order to bridge the gulf which often separates those working on the Reformation of the sixteenth century or the origins of the civil wars from those studying the rise of toleration, the origins of the Evangelical Revival, and late modern urban religion. So many studies of print stop in 1642 when the story is but half told, or start in the 1650s or 1660s without having looked at the first part of it. Whether one subscribes fully or not to the idea of a ‘Long Reformation’,¹⁰ there are too many developments in the use of print which span much or all of the period c.1530–1730 for a study such as this one to focus on only one part of it. And it is hoped that in the process much light can be thrown not just on the exact nature of events in different parts of the period, but also the different forms of elite and popular Protestantism that had emerged by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For having begun research in the mid-seventeenth century, I must confess to being as curious about what happened to English Protestantism in the hundred years after Laud and Cromwell, to produce an age of toleration and revivals, as about how Protestantism was shaped in the hundred years before, in an era of conversion and confrontation.

What also distinguishes this study from previous ones is the attempt to adopt a more statistical approach, by focusing on those works which sold best and most consistently over a period of decades: in short, to devote special attention to supply and sales in what we have been reminded was an age of growing consumerism.¹¹ The construction of a sample of best-sellers and steady sellers poses both technical problems, as explained below, and difficulties of interpretation, such as how much space should be devoted to titles which did not sell huge numbers of copies (including Foxe’s Actes and monuments, which because of its huge size and cost passed through a surprisingly small number of editions) but which from other sources we know to have been

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extremely influential. In such cases a common-sense approach has been adopted and such works have been discussed briefly. A focus on best-sellers also throws the role of publishers into much sharper relief, and it will be argued here that their role was both more significant and more intrusive than previously thought.

What has also been attempted here is to advance the process of trying to match types of publication with types of owner or reader. It must be stated clearly at the outset that it would need a different methodology and a different set of sources (and a book twice as long) to do justice to the question of just how books were read. We urgently need a series of studies on individual and collective reading practices, and contrasts in reading competence, and in attitudes and expectations between different communities of readers, though this will not be easy given the very small number of individuals who have left clear evidence of their reading habits and their responses to what they read. But this study, taken together with other evidence, should at least help to provide a much clearer context for future examinations of how print was approached, used, and comprehended, and especially of the different ways in which bibles, prayer books, psalters, and edifying manuals were used, which may or may not have been the same as the way in which controversial works were read. Meanwhile, examples of ownership and reading habits are given below where details are available.

Definition of a ‘religious’ publication is always problematic. Do we, for example, include any newspaper, pamphlet, or verse exulting at the defeat of the Armada, the Spanish Match, or the Popish Plot on the grounds that it is anti-Catholic and therefore Protestant and ergo religious? Or do we say such a work was more political than religious, more for information than edification? Equally do we include any work which proclaims a pious intent or uses devotional language, even if its main function was to teach people the rules of grammar or the art of cooking or husbandry? The definition of ‘religion’ adopted here is a work in which the author’s or editor’s main purpose seemed (to me) to fall into one or more of three categories: to express a personal statement of faith; to impart doctrinal or ecclesiastical information of what was intended to be a Protestant kind; and to exhort or to try to help others to adopt what were considered to be the correct forms of Christian conduct. ‘Main’ together with ‘doctrinal’ and ‘ecclesiastical’ effectively excludes simple news reports and Thomas Tusser’s *Five hundred points of good husbandry*, but ‘intended’ and ‘considered’ are used to ensure the inclusion of authors and

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12 See below, pp. 414-15.
13 Roger Chartier has led the way in encouraging us to study reading as well as the texts themselves: see below, Ch. 1.iii. For wider perspectives, see A. Manguel, *A History of Reading* (1997), and Cavallo and Chartier, *History of Reading*, which appeared as this book was being revised for the press. A forthcoming study that should throw much light on reading practices in the political sphere is K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: the Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (Yale, 2000).
publishers who probably saw themselves as acting in the Protestant cause, even if their writings suggest that they were less than 100 per cent orthodox by official standards.

‘Protestant’ is also used here to cover all shades of opinion, from radical to conservative, which rejected papal supremacy and other crucial tenets of the Church of Rome. Sectaries tend to lose out when we look at steady sellers, since relatively few of their works got past the first or second edition, so ‘Protestant’ here in practice often means episcopalian, presbyterian, and moderate Independent. What have been excluded, with some reluctance but in the interests of manageability and space, are publications for the English Catholic community which have already been listed and analysed to a high standard.

It is undoubtedly true that from the 1530s to the 1580s and even to the 1620s there was a close interaction between Catholic and Protestant works – through the polemical tit for tat which led to battle lines being drawn ever clearer, and through the pinching of good ideas and techniques from the other side and turning them to one’s own advantage. But by the seventeenth century, it seems to me, the two sides’ works had become for the most part quite distinct, and in a trio of works on how Protestantism was disseminated from 1530 to 1730, this was the crucial factor in excluding Catholic works here, though attention has been drawn at the appropriate stage to areas of overlap and intersection.

In the first chapter there is a brief survey of the expansion of the print trade in England, and of the key players in what is to follow: authors, publishers, and readers. In Chapter 2 an example of co-operation between zealous clergy and profit-minded publishers is provided by the huge quantity of printed bibles disseminated throughout England in a growing variety of formats tar-

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16 A. Walsh, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1999); cd., 4 ‘Domme Preachers’: Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print’, *Past and Present* (forthcoming); and see J. Barnard and D. McKenzie (eds.), *The History of the Book in Britain IV (1557–1665)* (forthcoming), ch. 2, section 1. See also below Chs. 5–7 for examples of Protestant borrowings from Catholic models.
geted at the needs of different types of reader. Then in Chapter 3 are outlined the wide variety of technical aids which were made available to help the public search the scriptures for themselves – a cardinal feature of Protestant thinking. Here too, however, there was a shift from an early concern to provide heavyweight works for ‘elephants’ to providing intermediate and more elementary works suited to ‘lambs’.

Chapters 4–7 are based on a sample of over 700 publications first published between 1530 and 1700 which appear to have passed through at least five editions in thirty years. In Chapter 4 the rationale and method of constructing this sample of best-sellers and steady sellers are explained, as are some of its broader characteristics, such as the numerical preponderance of sales of officially sponsored works over those of unofficial ones, and of consensual and edifying works over polemical and prophetic. In the same chapter some of the salient characteristics of and changes in the larger categories in the sample, such as sermons and treatises, are also briefly described. Then in the next three chapters the sample is treated thematically. In Chapter 5 we look at manuals of prayers and meditations, and works designed to help prepare the faithful for the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Not only were these more numerous and popular than generally realized, but their content often represented a coming together of authors who were at variance over ecclesiology and soteriology. The calculating mind of publishers is also evident, however, in the many derivative works soon being produced for middling and lower-middling sections of society.

A large measure of agreement among authors and a dose of commercial opportunism are also evident in the handbooks on godly living and dying which we examine in Chapter 6. Handbooks on the inner life of faith, also examined there, are somewhat different in that they constitute the only genre in the whole sample where a clear high Calvinist emphasis can be found in a significant proportion of works from the 1590s to the 1640s; it was also one of the few genres that publishers did not feel inclined to plagiarize. However, this high Calvinist emphasis was faltering by the 1620s and 1630s, and would be overtaken in the next half century by a more general and not exclusively Calvinist emphasis on repentance.

In Chapter 7 we look at religious verse (of all levels of competence from Donne and Herbert to John Taylor and John Bunyan), improving biographies, cautionary tales, open letters, allegories, and illustrated bible stories for children, all of which combined a spoonful of entertainment with a dose of edification. Once again we find diversification as authors identified pastoral needs and publishers hastened to supply possible gaps in the market. In Chapter 8, two types of publication which historians have recently suggested were designed for the people – the ‘godly ballad’ and the ‘penny godly’ chapbook – are re-examined, and both their ‘godliness’ and their orthodoxy are called into question. The main stimulus to their production came, it is suggested
here, from commercially minded publishers with limited knowledge of or interest in official teaching but a keen eye to what the people wanted to read. In Chapter 9, by contrast, there is an analysis of a particular title – Sternhold and Hopkins’s metrical version of the psalms – which was officially accepted and came to be widely used in the parish churches of early modern England. Not only did ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ probably sell more copies than any other religious publication of the period, but also it was soon appropriated by the people, who refashioned the metrical psalms in their own image.

In the Conclusion we consider some of the broader conclusions that can be drawn about the nature and impact of the message disseminated by print. No attempt will be made to deny the value of existing studies on the impact of print and of the disputes and crises they reflect, but it will be suggested that the warp of polemical print is incomplete without the weft of consensual, edifying print. The resulting web suggests that in less pressurized times and in the longer term at least three ‘Protestantisms’ evolved. The most orthodox was that pushed by the clergy, both conformist and moderate nonconformist, and that minority of the laity, drawn from nearly all social levels, who followed closely in their wake. There were differences of strategy and of ideology between conformist and nonconformist that at times proved highly divisive, but this first ‘Protestantism’ represented a shared ideal of faith as the key to salvation, and of the role of the ministry and the church in the life of faith.

The second version was favoured by many others among the educated laity who, influenced by their classical education and social position, tended to give as much weight to authority, morality, and reason as to faith in their public and private religious practice. If the first version was the Protestantism of William Perkins, Jeremy Taylor, John Milton, and Nehemiah Wallington, the second was that of William Shakespeare, the ‘king’s water-poet’ John Taylor, Dr Johnson, and lesser known laymen such as William Coe, a gentleman farmer, and Thomas Turner, a shopkeeper. The third version was strongly influenced by an older matrix of pre-Christian and medieval ideas on the natural and supernatural world, and regularly put such trust in the saving value of good works that it was barely orthodox at all by the standards of the clergy. On the other hand in terms of outward behaviour (which is often all we can judge by), it apparently combined these older views with adherence to new Protestant practices, such as the use of vernacular rites of passage and other church rituals, the new festive calendar with its jingoistic, anti-Catholic overtones, the singing of psalms and hymns, and the revering of the Bible as a symbol of ‘the religion of Protestants’.

It will also be suggested that the impact of these three forms varied both within and between the different readerships of print. The most orthodox message was given a head start by the speed with which the clergy of all persuasions adopted it, but increasingly the genres in which the other two versions were purveyed appear to have secured a firm hold on the market. This
pattern helps to explain how Protestantism slowly but surely achieved a dominant position in England, but also why the Protestantism of the gentry, the middling sort, and the lower orders in the later Stuart period was often not what had been intended by the first reformers and their zealous successors. This in turn offers new light on the further changes within English Protestantism in the centuries after the Act of Toleration of 1689, when the choice was not just between different levels of commitment to organized religion but also between different forms of Protestantism, both old and new.

The spelling and punctuation of quotations from contemporary texts have been modernized, but the titles of works have been left in the original form in which they are recorded in catalogues. Unless otherwise stated, all books cited were published in London. Apart from works listed under ‘Abbreviations’, publications are cited in full the first time they appear in a chapter but in a shortened form thereafter.

The completion of this second part of the trilogy (and some progress on the third) would not have been possible without the grant of a British Academy Research Readership in the Humanities which freed me from teaching in the academic years 1993–4 and 1994–5. I am deeply grateful to the Academy for this award. I am also very grateful to the many scholars who have helped with advice, especially Geoffrey Nuttall who has been a constant source of information and inspiration. Once again I am also greatly indebted to my wife for patient listening on a heroic scale, and for shrewd advice from a fellow professional. However, on this occasion, the book is dedicated not to her but to my parents, one of whom until his eyesight failed had always been a voracious reader of books on religious history and a preacher of unconventional sermons, while the other has helped keep alive in this electronic age the tradition of congregational music begun by ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ over 430 years ago.

I.G.

Belfast
October 1999
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Abbreviations

Unless stated otherwise, all the books listed below were published in London.

Baldwin, *Shakespeare’s ‘Small Latine’*  

Bennett, *English Books and Readers*  
H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603* (Cambridge, 1965); and *1603 to 1640* (Cambridge, 1970)

Blagden, *Stationers’ Company*  

BL  
British Library

BLC  
British Library Catalogue

*Calamy Revised*  

Carter, *History of OUP*  

Corbett and Norton, *Engraving*  

Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*  

DMH  

DNB  
The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephens and S. Lee (63 vols., 1885–1900)

Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*  

Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*  

ESTC  
Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue (on CD-ROM)

Freeman, ‘Parish Ministry and the Diocese of Durham’  

Gilmont, *Reformation and the Book*  
Green, *Christian’s ABC*  

Hind, *Engraving in England I–II*  

*History of the Book in Britain IV*  
J. Barnard and D. McKenzie (eds.), *The History of the Book in Britain IV (1557–1695)* (Cambridge, forthcoming)

Jaggard, *Catalogue*  
W. Jaggard, *A catalogue of such English books* (1618)

Keeble, *Baxter*  

Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*  

Knott, *Sword of the Spirit*  

Lawler, *Book Auctions*  
J. Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1898)

Maunsell, *Catalogue*  
A. Maunsell, *The first part of the catalogue of English printed bookes* (1595)

McKitterick, *History of CUP*  

NUC  
National Union Catalogue

Rivers, *Books and their Readers*  

*SCH*  
*Studies in Church History*

Sharpe and Lake, *Culture and Politics*  
K. Sharpe and P. Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994)

Sommerville, *Popular Religion*  

Spufford, *Small Books*  

Spurr, *Restoration Church*  

STC*  
Stranks, Anglican Devotion


TC

E. Arber (ed.), The Term Catalogues 1668–1709 (3 vols., 1903–6)

Walker Revised


Walsham, Providence

A. Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1999)

Watt, Cheap Print


Wing

The Rise of Print and its Public

Two zealous Protestants writing at opposite ends of our period, John Foxe and Samuel Mather, were in complete agreement that ‘the art of printing’ had done wonders for England. It had been created by God, said the martyrrologist Foxe, to enable Christ’s church to be repaired, abuses repressed, and true doctrine restored; and, added the dissenter Mather, it had enabled the ‘most sublime truths’ enshrined in the Word of God to be reproduced ‘less expensively’ than before, and so put in the hands of ‘the poorest persons amongst us . . . in their own language’.1 Modern historians have also been tempted to draw a strong connection between the advent of moveable type and the dissemination of new ideas: it has been assigned a leading role in Luther’s success in Germany, and Protestantism in England has been termed ‘a religion of the book’.2 Reconstructions of the process by which England became Protestant and of the subsequent divisions within Protestantism have also leant heavily on surviving printed works.3

But the more one looks at both print and Protestantism in early modern England, the more doubts and queries arise. It is not just that Catholics used print as well, perhaps less frequently than Protestants at first, but increasingly often and with as much enterprise from the mid-sixteenth century.4 Nor is it the questions begged by a phrase like ‘religion of the book’—who read that book, and how, and what happened to the majority who could not read?5 It is also, more fundamentally, ‘what kind of print?’ and ‘what kind of Protestantism?’

1 The whole works of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes (1573), sig. Aii (and for a similar comment in Acts and monuments, see W. Haller, The Elect Nation. The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’ (New York, 1963), 110); S. Mather, A vindication of the Holy Bible (1723), 11–12.
3 See above, Preface, nn. 3, 7, and 14.
English presses produced at least half a dozen very different types of religious text. There was the sacred book itself—the Bible—the only text for which errors of compositing were likely to lead to a punitive fine on its producers.\(^6\) Then there were the aids to bible study: commentaries, annotations, paraphrases, lexicons, concordances, and so on.\(^7\) Different again were works of a functional nature: liturgies, psalters, aids to meditation and to preparation for the Lord’s Supper—works to be used regularly as part of worship or spiritual exercise.\(^8\) Then we come to improving works of a didactic or inspiring kind, to be read quietly for edification: sermons and treatises on the life of faith, and handbooks on godly living, and godly dying.\(^9\) A variant of this genre was works which combined edification with entertainment: sacred verse, improving dialogues, uplifting biographies, cautionary tales, and so on.\(^10\) This still leaves two very contrasting types of religious publication: overtly polemical works,\(^11\) and single-sided sheets and short tracts of a kind often referred to today as ‘cheap print’, aimed at less experienced or demanding readers.\(^12\) Did all these types have the same impact?

And how uniform was the Protestantism in them? One would expect differences of opinion between conformist and nonconformist in the polemical zone, and differences of emphasis between these same groups, and between moderate and High Churchmen as well, in the commentaries, liturgies, and advisory handbooks.\(^13\) But one should perhaps also anticipate subtle differences between works written by the clergy and those by the laity, and between those designed for women and for men, and for readers with only two or three years’ education in a dame school or charity school and those who had been at grammar school or university. Certainly a recent study of English catechisms of this period has indicated substantial differences of doctrine within a single genre between forms aimed at elementary, intermediate, and advanced students.\(^14\) Another key factor was the relationship between author and publisher. Where an official editor or established author had the whip hand, for example in commissioning a new translation of the Bible or publishing a potential new best-seller, the Protestantism would undoubtedly be that of the instigator. But where a work had been commissioned by a publisher, as we shall see was the case with many aids to bible study, devotional works, edifying-cum-entertaining titles, and ‘penny godlies’, then we are much more likely to encounter the Protestantism that publishers thought would sell well, which was often quite different.\(^15\)

In a recent study of *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, Mark Edwards

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\(^6\) See below p. 48, and Ch. 2 *passim*.  
\(^7\) See below, Ch. 3.  
\(^8\) See below, Chs. 5 and 9.  
\(^9\) See below, Ch. 6.  
\(^11\) See below, Ch. 7.  
\(^10\) See below, Ch. 4.  
\(^12\) See below, Ch. 8.  
\(^13\) See above, n. 3; and below, Chs. 2, 3, 5, and 6.  
\(^14\) Green, *Christian’s ABC*, especially ch. 5, and pt. 2.  
\(^15\) See below, Chs. 3, 5, 7, and 8.
asked the question what would the early German Reformation look like if we paid most attention to what the public learned about Luther from the local press, and when they learned it. By sidelining well-known events like the Wittenberg theses of 1517 and publications in Latin with limited circulation and familiar only to a humanist elite, and focusing instead on best-sellers in the vernacular, Edwards feels able to offer a narrative that reinforces the importance of print as a medium of communication but is very different in shape and detail from the established one.\footnote{Edwards, \textit{Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther}, 163, 171, and \textit{passim}; I had already constructed my sample when I came across Edwards’s work, and that of David Hall, ‘The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600–1850’, in W. Joyce (ed.), \textit{Printing and Society in Early America} (Worcester, Mass., 1983), 29–35.}

A similar question is being asked here, though on a much longer time-scale. How might the impact of the Reformation in England appear if we paid most attention not to the familiar events of the middle third of the sixteenth century, or the reigns of Charles I and James II, or to works that are well known but had relatively limited circulation, such as the Admonition Controversy between Whitgift and Cartwright, or the Marprelate Tracts, or Richard Montagu’s \textit{New gagge for an old goose} and \textit{Appello Caesarem} in 1624–5,\footnote{P. Milward, \textit{Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources} (1977), ch. 2; P. Collinson, \textit{The Elizabethan Puritan Movement} (1967), 119–21, 391–6; and for Montagu, STC 218038, 18030–1.} but to what people may have learnt from the less controversial best-sellers and steady sellers of the day? By looking at these, and the changing patterns of sales over an extended period, in a series of eight essays comprising Chapters 2–9 below, we should be able to offer a wider panorama than usual of how Protestant ideas were communicated, and what Protestant perceptions may have emerged as a result.\footnote{There is still the wider context of aural and visual stimuli to be considered: I will be tackling these in a later volume. Meanwhile, see Watt, \textit{Cheap Print}, and Walsham, \textit{Providence}.}

Opting for a wide-angle lens has two immediate effects. One is that more emphasis than usual will be placed on the impact of officially approved works which, as on the Continent, were replicated in hundreds of thousands of copies: bibles, prayer books, and catechisms, and in England the greatest best-seller of all—the metrical psalms of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’.\footnote{See below, Chs. 2, 4, 5, and 9; for types of books published on the Continent, see Gilmont, \textit{Reformation and the Book}, 38, 47, 68–77, 136–40, 171–2, 205–6, 228–31.} The other is that more space than usual will be devoted to the role of publishers. In the enormous diversification of formats and genres which we will explore, especially from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century, were publishers responding to demand, or leading the way? In producing a best-seller were they trying to spread Protestantism, or to make money, or were the two perfectly compatible? And what kinds of Protestantism did they disseminate?\footnote{See below, especially Chs. 2–3, 5, and 7–9.
There is nothing on the book trade in English sources to compare with the very full records of the censors in France: both the Stationers’ Register and the Term Catalogues are very incomplete as records of what was published. Moreover, the Anglo-American approach to print has for long been dominated by study of the technical aspects of printing and book distribution, and by the textual concerns of literary criticism rather than cultural or sociological analysis. What little has been written about reading habits was until recently dominated by statistical approaches: how many could write and read, or can be shown to have owned books? But, as Roger Chartier has warned us, ‘Printed matter is set—always—within a network of cultural and social practices that give it its meaning’; and if we are to understand the impact of print we must try to see how the same text was apprehended in different ways by different readers influenced by their social, educational, and cultural backgrounds.\(^{21}\) The best starting point on this journey is to look at the three points of the triangle of text, book, and reader represented by the views of authors, printers and publishers, and readers.\(^{22}\)

i. Authors

Once placed on pedestals by scholars for the eternal truth of the message they conveyed, early modern authors are now set firmly in their contemporary milieu and their texts are viewed in a multi-faceted way.\(^{23}\) But the link between authors and their texts remains strong. The great majority of authors of religious works in early modern England chose to identify themselves on the title-page (or at the end of the preface) of the first edition.\(^{24}\) The practice of including a portrait of the author, sometimes with a flattering caption or verse, became increasingly common in the early Stuart period for both conformist and ‘godly’ authors, and by mid-century was being aped by the producers of cheap print.\(^{25}\) Autobiographical insights were encouraged by the fact that works with personal anecdotes or observations tended to sell better than those whose authors adopted a generalized or impersonal tone.\(^{26}\) And the

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\(^{22}\) Chartier, Order of Books, 2–3, 10, and ch. 1 passim.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., ch. 2; J. Dollimore, Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries (2nd edn., 1989), Introduction; Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, 3–4, 13–16.

\(^{24}\) For occasional exceptions, for different reasons, see the works by More, Geree, and Peters cited in Green, Christian’s ABC, 6 n. 24, and pp. 50, 66–8, 654–5, 669–9; Keeble, Literary Culture of Nonconformity, 112–13; and for Richard Allestree’s anonymity, below, pp. 260–1, 333.

\(^{25}\) Hind, Engraving in England II, 156–8, 184, 188–9, 247–8, 259, 262–3, 266; and Corbett and Norton, Engraving, passim. Two versions of a portrait of Sibbes can be found in three of his works bound in Bodleian Library, Mason AA.195 (A fountain sealed, 1637; Tea and amen, 1638; and A breathing after God, 1639). For images in cheap copies, see below, Ch. 8.

\(^{26}\) For examples, see below, Chs. 6.viii and 7.v.
intellectual and legal copyright of religious works was generally recognized by
the respectable end of the print trade, even if the less respectable end had few
qualms in cashing in on authors’ reputations by producing pirate editions of
existing titles or fraudulent new works attributed to well-known authors.\(^7\)

The transition from manuscript to print culture was also handled without
too many problems. Initially a few clergy were suspicious of print, on the
grounds that it might lead people to think that live preaching was no longer
needed, but increasingly authors of religious works appear to have preferred
print to scribal publication, because of the great effort and expense of obtain-
ing handwritten copies and the many errors that crept into such copies.\(^8\)
Epistles dedicatory to current or potential patrons could be printed before the
text, and were increasingly accompanied by a second more general one,
addressed to the ‘Christian reader’, the author’s parishioners, or other read-
ers envisaged.\(^9\) Presentation copies for a prized patron could be printed with
a special title-page or on larger or top-quality paper, and bound in an expen-
sive material.\(^10\) While printers and publishers may have had an initial advan-
tage in deciding on how the text should be presented to the public, there is
evidence that more experienced authors and editors had clear views on the
format and typeface to be used and the advantages of a particular layout, that
some took advantage of a fresh printing to make improvements based on
readers’ reactions to the earlier edition, and that some even tried to set retail
prices.\(^11\) A growing minority of authors in the Stuart era may also have
insisted on a specially executed frontispiece so that the words in their message
could be reinforced by another kind of symbol, though in at least some cases
the frontispiece may have been a publisher’s ploy to catch the eye of browsers
in a bookshop.\(^12\)

\(^7\) See below, pp. 260–1, 424, 479–80. Copyright was not the same then as now, as is explained in P.
of Early English Drama (Columbia, 1997), 398–9.
\(^8\) Walsham, Providence, 54–6; the main categories of work traced by Harold Love in Scribal Publica-
tion in Seventeenth-Century England (Oxford, 1993) were literary and political; cf. D. F. McKenzie, ‘Manu-
script-Speech-Print’, in D. Oliphant and R. Bradford (eds.), New Directions in Textual Studies (Austin,
1990), 93–8. Works with some religious significance did circulate in manuscript, for example cate-
chisms and metrical versions of the psalms, and meditations on the scriptures: Green, Christian’s ABC,
46–7; and below, Ch. 9.vii.
\(^9\) See below, pp. 9–10; and Green, Christian’s ABC, 6, 33–8, 73–6.
\(^10\) For an example, see below, p. 60 n. 75.
\(^11\) For a complaint about printers inventing titles, see McKenzie, ‘Manuscript-Speech-Print’, 98; for
authors’ alterations to later editions and clever use of typeface, ibid., 99–100; Green, Christian’s ABC,
32, 66–7, 90, 153, 157, 254–7, 260–5; and R. Sharrock, ‘ “When at the first I took my pen in hand”:
(Oxford, 1988), 87–90; for authors’ dealings with publishers, see also Calendar of the Correspondence of
109, and below, n. 97.
\(^12\) Corbett and Norton, Engraving, 8, 22–3, 133, 152, 175, 180, and plates 9(a)–(b), 32, 73–4, 76(a), 79,
86(b); and below, pp. 336, 441–2; Walsham, Providence, 250–66; W. P. Williams, ‘The First Edition of
Of these authors, only a small minority were laymen. A recent survey of eight hundred authors of religious works published during the reign of Elizabeth found that only 3 per cent were laymen, and the proportion in the sample of steady-selling works analysed in Chapters 4–7 of this study is only marginally higher, though these authors made a significant contribution to certain types of work, such as aids to bible study, collections of prayers, and morally uplifting works. A growing number of female authors can also be found writing devotional works or offering sage advice to their children, including noblewomen as well as women of middling rank. A minority of full-time printers and publishers also became involved in writing for the press themselves or commissioning other laymen to do so for them, from the Day family and several other leading stationers under Elizabeth, and Michael Sparke under the early Stuarts, to some publishers of cheaper works such as Thomas Passinger, Elizabeth Clark, and Nathaniel Crouch. During the 1640s and 1650s there was also a temporary increase in the number of published authors drawn from the socially and educationally disadvantaged sections of society. After the Restoration this freedom was again reduced, but men from humble backgrounds such as John Bunyan, a tinker, Benjamin Keach, a tailor, and John Fox, a shoemaker, and women with unorthodox views, such as Theodosia Alleine and Elizabeth Bathurst, regularly succeeded in getting their ideas into print. Each of these groups of authors probably had a specific group of readers in mind: in the case of educated lay men and women and authors from poorer backgrounds it was for the most part people like themselves, but in the case of publishers it was often a broader but still fairly well-judged combination of prospective readers.

Throughout our period, however, the typical authors of best-selling or steady-selling works were full-time clergymen. ‘Full-time’ is not meant to


34 See below, pp. 269, 412, 583.

35 See below, pp. 255–60, 475–6; and for works by Sparke, Passinger, Clark, and Crouch, see Appendix 1.


37 Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England, 418–28; Keeble, Literary Culture of Non-conformity, 144–5; and below, Appendix 1 under the relevant names.

38 See Appendix 1 s.v. Allestree, Andrews (Lancelot), Baxter, Bayly, Becon, Bernard, Brooke, Comber, Dent, Dorrington, Dyke (Daniel and Jeremiah), Flavell, Goodman, Hall (Joseph), Horneek, Keach, Patrick, Perkins, Preston, Rawlet, Scott, Smith (Henry), Stillingfleet, Taylor (Jeremy). There have been studies of some of these, e.g. L. B. Wright, ‘William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of “Practical Divinity” ’, Huntington Library Quarterly, 3 (1939–40), 171–96; Keeble, Baxter; and there are several monographs on Andrews, Hall, and Taylor, though not necessarily from the point of view of their authorship of more popular works.
exclude unpaid Baptist and Quaker preachers, many of whom, as just noted, wrote and published voluminously, and often in an innovative fashion. But full-time ministers not only had more time to write and publish than part-timers, but also shared a similar social background of moderate affluence, and an education and a career pattern that distinguished them from the more radical dissenters. Whether conformist or nonconformist, this career usually consisted of several years’ schooling and (except in the 1640s and 1650s) a spell at university, followed by a teaching post in a school or university, or an assistantship or curacy, and then a full-time living or salaried preaching post. Many of the authors whose works are considered in this volume lived in or near the capital or a university town, but a significant minority lived either in the provinces (from preference or lack of powerful patrons) or in semi-retirement (due to persecution or ill-health), and evidently spent a great deal of time at their desks as a result.\(^{39}\)

Historians have tended to focus on the writings of the ‘godly’, ‘credal Calvinists’, and dissenters, and it has even been suggested that such men dominated the religious publications of the early modern period. Neil Keeble, for example, has written that ‘nothing on the conformist side can match [the] figures’ for sales of the most popular nonconformist publications in the late seventeenth century.\(^{40}\) This is highly debatable: as this study will show, not only were the authorities able to make much fuller use of the printing press than nonconformists ever could, but also conformable clergy and well-intentioned laymen and women made just as much use of the medium as those who criticized some aspects of the church. Indeed, in many genres they made much greater use of it. One could easily prove the point with statistics,\(^{41}\) though to do so is to risk being trapped in a sheep-and-goats approach to religious history.

For if we devote more attention to the kind of didactic and edifying works which sold steadily for decades, we find regular overlaps in aims, content, and technique, and little evidence of a clear divide along party lines. A ministry that at the Reformation had rejected most of the visual aids and much of the liturgically and socially reinforcing pageantry of the medieval church was ready to make up lost ground by borrowing from fellow clergy or from the Continent the latest ideas and techniques of communication.\(^{42}\) Moreover, in

\(^{39}\) This comment is based on the backgrounds and authors of works discussed below in Chs. 3–7, as traced in DNB; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses . . . 1500–1714* (4 vols., Oxford, 1891–2); J. Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses . . . Port I* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922–7); Walker Revised; and Calamy Revised. See also Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 45–7, and Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, 144–5.

\(^{40}\) Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, 128–9, and cf. 139; and above, Preface, nn. 3, 7, 14, and below, Ch. 6.

\(^{41}\) Of the clergy listed in n. 38 above, for example, a dozen conformed in full, and another dozen conformed only partially before 1640 or were outside the church after 1662. See also below, Chs. 4–7.

areas of religious instruction such as catechizing and schooling, there had been from an early stage a clear realization that the best policy was to avoid controversy and keep the message as simple as possible. And in the seventeenth century there was a growing awareness in many quarters of the ministry that controversy was ‘unprofitable’ and damaged a minister’s chances of getting his message across to the less well educated or less strongly motivated. As Richard Baxter told his fellow reformed pastors in 1656, throughout the whole course of our ministry, we must insist upon the greatest, most certain and necessary things, and be more seldom and sparing upon the rest. It will take us off gauds, and needless ornaments, and unprofitable controversies, to remember that one thing is necessary. Other things are desirable to be known, but these must be known, or else our people are undone for ever.  

There is a paradox here: the message was becoming simpler at the same time as the medium became more sophisticated. But it was not a paradox confined to one segment of the clergy. Of course there remained many serious differences between conformists and ‘godly’ clergy in both the approach and content of their works. But it is arguable that what authors like Perkins, Smith, Preston, Sibbes, and Baxter shared with authors like Hooker, Andrewes, Hall, Taylor, and Allestree, either in background and careers or pastoral experience and incentives, was as important as what divided them. And among these shared elements, two are of particular interest here: the manner in which these men had imbibed their ideas through the medium of print (and often from the same texts) at school, university, and in their study thereafter; and the sublime confidence which we will see they exhibited in their prefaces and texts that this same medium could be used to bring others to the same or very nearly the same level of knowledge or commitment. It was a sign of the times as well as of his personal preferences, when Baxter stated that a sermon in print was better than a sermon preached because it could be consumed repeatedly. ‘Books’, he wrote elsewhere, ‘are the best teachers, under God, that many thousand persons have.’  

How and why did authors get into print? Commissioning by the authorities or private individuals was relatively common in the sixteenth century, but less so thereafter. At the Reformation many senior clergy had to buckle down to provide the new Church of England with the best possible translation of the Bible, an approved liturgy, an elementary and a more advanced catechism, and a set of homilies to be read by clergy not qualified to write their own sermons. A measure of royal or episcopal encouragement also lay behind the

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gestation of works like Jewel’s *Apologia* and Hooker’s *Laws of ecclesiasticall politie*, and support from another highly placed individual is evident in Secretary Walsingham’s memorandum on the need to respond to Catholic books filtering into England and how the costs of such a campaign could be met.\(^\text{47}\) Publishers too were then actively financing translations of foreign works into English.\(^\text{48}\) But such direct sponsorship was much less common in the seventeenth century, partly because the established church had settled on its formularies, and partly because English authors seemed perfectly capable of producing useful, saleable works on their own account.\(^\text{49}\) That having been said, there were still some cases of prompting from above,\(^\text{50}\) and the relationship between author and patron could remain close. Jeremy Taylor, for example, become chaplain to Frances, Lady Carbery, after he had lost his posts during the first civil war, and she actively encouraged him to write and publish. He wrote *Holy living* for her, and *Holy dying* was also ‘intended first to minister to her piety’, but ‘she desired all good people should partake of the advantages which are here recorded’, and so it too was published for wider use.\(^\text{51}\)

Dedications are a potentially valuable source of information into authors’ intentions, but naturally have to be treated with caution. The practice of inserting a prefatory dedication spread during the sixteenth century from weightier works of scholarship and literature to shorter pieces such as devotional aids and even sermons by the turn of the century, but are not found in the more ephemeral literature of the period, such as chapbooks and ballads, and only occasionally in works of propaganda, at least before the civil war.\(^\text{52}\) We must also guard against authors who were dedicated followers of fashion. An analysis of 568 dedications in 1,700 Elizabethan religious works has shown a strong initial clustering around powerful figures such as the queen, leading peers, councillors, courtiers, and prelates, but this soon gave way to dedications to local gentry and diocesan bishops, and to multiple dedications to several named dedicatees or the ruling body of a college or corporation, or to a whole category such as the ‘clergy’, ‘divines’, ‘pastors and teachers’, or ‘divinity students’ of the Church of England.\(^\text{53}\) There was a certain clustering


\(^\text{48}\) See below, pp. 16–17, 48.

\(^\text{49}\) For a parallel in catechisms, above, n. 42.

\(^\text{50}\) The *Collection of cases* was a set of anti-dissenter tracts first published with official approval in 1685, and reissued at Gibson’s initiative in the 1730s; cf. Strype’s biography of Grindal: W. A. Speck, ‘Politicians, Peers, and Publication by Subscription 1700–1750’, in Rivers, *Books and their Readers*, 53.

\(^\text{51}\) Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640*, 35–8; Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 70–1, 86.


\(^\text{53}\) Calderwood, ‘Elizabethan Protestant Press’, 175, 185 n. 6, 193–6, and ch. 6 passim; and for dedications to the clergy, see Williams, *Index of Dedications*, 216–17; Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640*, 92–3; and Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 6, 76.
of ‘godly’ authors’ dedications around peers like Leicester, Huntingdon and Bedford, and of more conformable clergy’s works around the queen, Sir Thomas Egerton, and Sir Christopher Hatton, but there were also cases where figures in power attracted dedications from both ‘godly’ and contented conformists, as in the case of Cecil and Essex.\textsuperscript{54}

A request for the dedicatee’s protection against anticipated criticism may have owed more to convention than reality.\textsuperscript{55} But in many cases the dedicator was probably also seeking help in getting a work published,\textsuperscript{56} or a post in the dedicatee’s gift.\textsuperscript{57} Such hopes were not necessarily inconsistent with the advancement of the principle or cause with which the author identified. But where the praise lavished on the piety and virtue of the dedicatee or dedicatees was as fulsome as it often was—in works by ‘godly’ and dissenting as well as conformist authors—it is hard to decide where the author’s own priorities lay.\textsuperscript{58}

It might seem easier to find the balance in the case of two other forms of address which became much more common in the seventeenth century, though again caution is needed. The first of these consisted of an epistle targeted at a wide readership—‘dear reader’, ‘dear Christian’, ‘godly’ or ‘courteous reader’, or ‘all faithful Christians’, or the author’s parishioners of all ages, all ranks, and both sexes.\textsuperscript{59} In this case we have to guard against vanity publishing, or pressure from publishers,\textsuperscript{60} but such addresses tend to have much more by way of exhortation than those to individuals, which may provide a useful clue to authors’ motives. The other new type of address was targeted at a more specific but generic readership: ‘ladies’; ‘the better sort’ or the ‘poor’; ‘youth’ or ‘the old’; ‘the unlearned’ and those of ‘limited capacities’; or ‘all weak Christians that have a desire to be saved’.\textsuperscript{61} Such forms of address reflect a growing awareness in authors’ minds of the need to target printed...
works at specific groups, but may also again reflect publishers’ awareness of new or insufficiently tapped markets.\textsuperscript{62}

Moreover, we should not expect a contemporary author’s standards of ‘poor’ and ‘ignorant’ to be the same as today’s, or take an author’s estimate of what was a ‘short’ or ‘easy’ work at face value.\textsuperscript{63} The ‘poorest library’ that Baxter could conceive, for those who ‘for want of money or time can read but few’ books, consisted of nearly a hundred volumes, many of them quite expensive and demanding works; and when he moved onto the next largest library, a ‘poor man’s library’, this was several times larger than that.\textsuperscript{64} When John Pearson turned his sermons on the Apostles’ Creed into the \textit{Exposition of the Creed} for two types of readers—those without knowledge of ancient languages who could read the text alone, and those with such skills who could read the well-stocked margins as well—the result was nearly 800 quarto pages or 400 folio pages set in roman type, costing 10 shillings bound, and probably with the greatest appeal to hard-pressed clergy.\textsuperscript{65} The prices of books (as opposed to pamphlets) in the first half of our period were concentrated in the range from 8d. or 10d. to a few shillings, and in the late seventeenth century between 1s. and 4s.—prices which could be afforded by gentry, yeomen, and some freeholders, and the urban elite of professionals, merchants, and shopkeepers, but not by the genuinely poor.\textsuperscript{66} As we will see in the following chapters, many committed authors did come to realize the benefits of using print intelligently and flexibly: better targeting, improved design for specific readers’ needs, or simply producing shorter, cheaper religious works in existing or new genres. But it is probably fair to say that a significant proportion of clerical authors continued to view print in a fairly conventional way—in the light of the kind of books they themselves had read or enjoyed reading. It is probably also true that most of the shortest and cheapest works of all in the seventeenth century were issued by publishers seeking to make a quick buck, and disseminated a very different message from that spread by informed and zealous clergy.\textsuperscript{67}

The typical authors of religious works described in the last few pages were all powerfully persuaded of the value of print in disseminating Protestantism, but tended to cluster near the middle of the spectrum of views that ran from separatist to recusant. More significantly, they also tended to target their

\begin{itemize}
\item Bennett, \textit{English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640}, 110–11; a work dedicated to a member of the landed elite but then printed in a cheaper format or old-fashioned black letter, or including prayers for all sorts and conditions of people, such as Christopher Sutton’s \textit{Godly meditations} (see below, Ch. 5), probably combined a specific and a general target.
\item Bennett, \textit{English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603}, 130–1; id., \textit{English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640}, 83–6 (but cf. 99–101); Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture of Nonconformity}, 139–43.
\item R. Baxter, \textit{A Christian directory} (1673), 922, 923–6, and (1678), pt. iii. 194–5; Keeble, \textit{Baxter}, 36–43.
\item J. Pearson, \textit{An exposition of the Creed} (1669), sigs. Aq’ and passim.
\item For prices, see below, pp. 39–40; and Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture of Nonconformity}, 134, 141.
\item See below, n. 200, and Chs. 5–8.
\end{itemize}
works at a middling type of Christian, ranging on a vertical scale from those at the bottom with some literacy, knowledge, and opportunity to read, to those near the top who read fluently and had time and money for studying (but not writing) religious works. By the end of our period, as we shall see, authors were certainly providing much better for those at the lower end of this range of reader than at the start. But for those beneath them—the functionally illiterate—their main contact with print was likely to be through hearing or seeing.\textsuperscript{68} But this is to anticipate our third variable—readerships.

\textit{ii. Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers}

The rise of the English print trade was far from smooth. It was set up in the late fifteenth century with the intention of producing cheaper copies of the kind of work previously copied by hand, but under a cautious Henry VIII Continental printers still provided many books for the English market. Edward VI's reformist guardians ensured that there was a marked increase in the number of trained English printers, but as part of her policy of curbing dissent Mary reduced their numbers and the scale of their output.\textsuperscript{69} Under Elizabeth expansion was impressive but not spectacular: the number of licensed printers trebled, and the number of titles may have risen from about 125 to about 180 a year. But a combination of government fear of criticism, senior stationers’ concern to block new competitors, restrictive practices among the workers, and the relatively small number of presses in England meant that output was still small compared to that of the great publishing houses of the Continent like the Frobens, Plantins, and Elzeviers.\textsuperscript{70}

In the seventeenth century there were further obstacles: periodic government attempts to limit the numbers of printers and presses and tighten controls on publication; major disruptions to the trade in London owing to civil war in the 1640s and plague and fire in 1665–6; and loss of business to printers and publishers setting up in Scotland, the English colonies in America, and Ireland.\textsuperscript{71} But the pressures for expansion both from within

\textsuperscript{68} See below, Chs. 4.iv, 4.vi, 5.iv, 5.xviii, 7, and 9.


the trade and from an expanding and increasingly prosperous reading public could not be withstood, and there was soon sustained expansion not only in London, but also at the two universities and by the eighteenth century in many provincial towns too. To books and pamphlets were added newspapers and periodicals, and the many products of a rapidly expanding political press.\textsuperscript{29} A contemporary catalogue for the period 1666–80 lists 3,550 titles, an average of over 250 a year, and by the mid-1720s there were said to be 75 printing-houses in London alone (compared to about 22 in the early 1580s and 26 in the late 1660s, just after the Great Fire), and a further 28 in the provinces, though this may well be an underestimate.\textsuperscript{73} A very crude estimate of production based on the number of items listed in the Short-Title Catalogues of surviving copies of printed books would suggest that two and a half times more editions were printed in the sixty years between 1641 and 1700 than in the preceding century and a half, and in the eighteenth century this upward trend continued at an even faster rate. Nor does this calculation take into account the fact that the size of impression permitted—the number of copies run off before the type was broken up and reused—was much greater in the late seventeenth than in the late sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{74}

Works of ‘divinity’ comprised the great bulk of the titles listed in the catalogue of a bookseller, Andrew Maunsell, in 1595, and over half of William London’s stock in 1658; and although this proportion fell to below a half in Robert Clavell’s \textit{General catalogue of books} in 1680, and the ‘term catalogues’ in which later Stuart publishers advertised new books and reprints, ‘divinity’ remained easily the largest single category. Indeed, ‘divinity’ as a proportion


\textsuperscript{74} Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture of Nonconformity}, 128; Plant, \textit{English Book Trade}, 85–6; Feather’s figures for printers, booksellers, and engravers are much higher than the older ones of Plomer: \textit{Provincial Book Trade}, 28–9; McKenzie, ‘Printers of the Mind’ 54, 56–7.

\textsuperscript{75} This estimate is based on the 36,000 records in the original Short-Title Catalogue for the period to 1640; the 90,000 in the revised Wing for the period 1641–1700 (as calculated by M. Bell and J. Barnard, ‘Provisional Count of \textit{Wing} Titles 1641–1700’, \textit{Publishing History}, 44 (1998), 89–97); and the 312,000 ‘bibliographic records’ for the eighteenth century in the ESTC (in April 1997). On print runs, see below, pp. 176–7, 182–4; but note McKenzie’s warning that most titles continued to be printed in small runs: ‘Printers of the Mind’, 58, and cf. 64–6.
of new titles actually rose in the period 1690–1709.\footnote{Maunsell, Catalogue, 1–123 and passim; W. London, A catalogue of the most vendible books (1658), sigs. K1–T2; and passim; A. Growoll and W. Eames, Three Centuries of English Booktrade Bibliography [and] A List of the Catalogues (New York, 1903), 25–6, 31, 33, 49, 59–60, 70–2 and table opposite p. 72; 123; and cf. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1558–1603, 250; and Jaggard, Catalogue, sigs. A1–B2 and passim; details of the increase in ‘divinity’ titles in the ‘Term Catalogues should appear in History of the Book in Britain IV. ‘Religion’ was still the largest single category of work in the eighteenth century as a whole: J. Feather, ‘British Publishing in the Eighteenth Century: a Preliminary Subject Analysis’, The Library, 6th ser., 8 (1986), 32–46. See also K. Wilson, The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1783 (Cambridge, 1991), 36–7; and J. Brewer, The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century (1997), 171–2. For the problems of tracing cheaper titles, see below, n. 105.} While none of these lists can be taken as a totally accurate reflection of book production or sales, the broad pattern is consistent. One can sympathize with the feeling of Robert Burton (when writing The anatomy of melancholy in the middle of the reign of James I) that ‘there be so many books’ on divinity ‘that whole teams of oxen cannot draw them’. In the early 1680s the most prolific author of his day, Richard Baxter, took a much rosier view: ‘Great store of all sorts of good books through the great mercy of God are common among us’; ‘no nation . . . in their own tongue hath the like’\footnote{Cited in Keeble, Baxter, 1–3.}. The prime mover in all this was not the printer or the bookseller but the publisher. Trade printers reproduced a given text for an agreed price, and unless they handled forbidden texts ran relatively few risks beyond stiff competition for work from fellow printers.\footnote{R. B. McKerrow, ‘Edward Alle as a Typical Trade Printer’, The Library, 4th ser., 10 (1930), 121; Calderwood, ‘Elizabethan Protestant Press’, ch. 7, and sources cited there; and Blayney, ‘Publication of Playbooks’, 389–90.} Booksellers acquired books wholesale and sold them retail, together with much else, such as stationery and blank forms; unless they handled banned wares, their main risk was unsold copies.\footnote{Blayney, ‘Publication of Playbooks’, 390–1, 413–15; Feather, ‘Cross-Channel Currents’, 6–7.} It was the publisher who took the greatest risks: acquiring a text, paying in advance for hundreds of copies to be printed, and then trying to make a profit by selling them wholesale or retail. Publishing was not then a profession, though most publishers of any standing were stationers—members of the Stationers’ Company which, with government support from 1557, became the key body for controlling the trade.\footnote{I here follow Blayney (391–413) rather than older accounts based on W. W. Greg, ‘Entrance, Licence, and Publication’, The Library, 4th ser., 25 (1945); on the Stationers, see Blagden, Stationers’ Company; on risks, Took, ‘Government and the Printing Trade’, 187, and Calderwood, ‘Elizabethan Protestant Press’, 212.}
came not from the first edition, when initial overheads such as payments for the manuscript, authority to publish, licence, and registration had to be covered, but from the second, third, and further editions (and even then competitors might try to produce pirate copies). Thus Richard Baxter was offered £10 for the first impression but £20 for each subsequent edition of his *Saints everlasting rest*. What every publisher dreamt of, then, was either the right to print established steady sellers or the acquisition of a new best-seller.

The governments of Henry VIII and Edward VI, perhaps at the instigation of Cromwell and Cranmer, issued patents for the production of specific titles and later whole genres in English, such as bibles, official prayer books, reformed primers, ABCs and catechisms, and works of scriptural exposition, and also for similar works in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French. The purpose of these patents was, first, to protect the publisher who had been put to the expense of setting up the work for a period long enough to enable him to gain a reasonable profit before others were allowed to cash in, but also, secondly, to enable the government to ensure that accurate texts were produced and reasonable prices set. At first this system seems to have worked fairly well in providing the books needed in thousands of churches and hundreds of cathedrals, colleges, hospitals, and schools; but it did begin to degenerate when those who held patents began to squabble amongst themselves over their lucrative monopolies, and the government countenanced the idea of selling trade privileges as a means of raising extra revenue. Under Elizabeth the fortunate few stationers who had a virtual monopoly within a monopoly faced increasingly bitter rivalry and organized piracy on a considerable scale by those denied a share in these markets. It was claimed, for example, that batches of 10,000–15,000 pirate copies of *The ABC with the catechisme* had been printed illegally on a number of occasions in the 1580s. These jealousies did not disappear, and in the case of bible production would again become acute in the 1640s. But by 1603 some of the major patents had been transferred to the hands of the Stationers’ Company, which created ‘stocks’ such as the ‘English Stock’, and stationers currently down on their luck would (for a while) be permitted to earn some money by printing an edition of *The ABC with the catechisme* or Sternhold and Hopkins’s metrical psalms for the Company to publish.

Although the fortunate few sold so many copies that they soon became the

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80 Blayney, ‘Playbooks’, 405–13; Calendar of Baxter’s Correspondence, § 1019.
82 Ibid., 17–18; and for competition over devotional works, see below, Ch. 5.
wealthiest and most influential members of the Stationers’ Company, they did not confine their efforts to producing their protected titles. John Day, who had the patents for metrical psalms and *The ABC with the catechisme* under Edward and Elizabeth, and who by 1581 was operating no less than four presses, published scores of other works representing hundreds of editions, over a third of which could be defined as ‘religious’.

William Seres, who had the patent for primers (including *The primer and catechisme*) and psalters (with pointed psalms as opposed to metrical), also published scores of other religious works under Edward and Elizabeth; and Christopher Barker, who through powerful friends at court and paying a ‘great sum’ to the Clerk of the Privy Council had by 1577 acquired the sole right to print the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer as well as the statutes of the realm—all enormously valuable privileges—also published over fifty other religious works.

But when it came to finding new titles not covered by existing patents and licences, many other printer-publishers and bookseller-publishers got in on the act. The entries in the Stationers’ Register are by no means a comprehensive guide to works published, but recent analysis shows that Thomas Man owned or had a share in 135 titles, the great majority of which were doctrinal or edifying, while George Bishop, who owned a press but had most of his titles printed for him, possessed at least 86 copyrights, including 19 works by Calvin. A similar pattern of a few men with a large number of copyrights and a large number with a few can also be found in the later Stuart period. But as with official titles, control of the most popular religious works tended to end up in the hands of a small circle of publishers, as we shall see.

In many cases, such men did not wait for authors or translators to come to them, but actively initiated proposals. In 1569 a gentleman translator, Arthur Golding, was approached by two London booksellers, Lucas Harrison and George Bishop, to translate (at their expense) the *Postill, or exposition of the gospels* by the Danish Lutheran, Niels Hemmingsen. The gamble paid off, and...
in succeeding years Golding was commissioned by the same men to translate works by David Chytraeus, Jean Calvin, and Augustine Marlorat.\textsuperscript{90} Similarly Thomas Norton translated Calvin’s \textit{Institutes} into English ‘at the special request of my dear friends of worthy memory, Reginald [Reyner] Wolfe and Edward Whitchurch’, while staying at the latter’s house; and Sir Francis Walsingham encouraged Thomas Cartwright to reply to the new Catholic translation of the New Testament, while George Bishop, in return for the copyright and a payment of £40, maintained William Fulke and his two men and their horses for nine months until the \textit{Answer to the Rhemish Testament} was ready for the press.\textsuperscript{91} In the preface to his new translation of Thomas à Kempis’s \textit{Imitation of Christ}, Thomas Rogers (then a Suffolk rector with some experience of the press) made it clear that the translation had been ‘taken in hand at the motion of the printer hereof’, Henry Denham, ‘whose zeal to set forth books for the advancement of virtue, and care to publish them as they ought to be’, he wished other printers would follow. Denham also encouraged Rogers to translate works by St Augustine for him to publish.\textsuperscript{92} Such commissions were less common by the early seventeenth century, as English authors increasingly supplied the demand for works in English, though the market for translations of religious works by Continental scholars like Grotius and by some of the German pietists and Catholic mystics and others never disappeared altogether.\textsuperscript{93}

Much the most common method of acquiring profitable texts was to gain control of the works of an author of proven popularity, or to seek new authors whose texts might in turn become best-sellers or steady sellers. When authors and publishers died, their copyrights might pass to their widows or heirs, or be bought by their former partners or rivals, as when Thomas Woodcock purchased a number of the copyrights of his fellow publisher Lucas Harrison in 1578, including seven works by Calvin, four by Beza, and four by other Continental reformers.\textsuperscript{94} In the early seventeenth century, John Legate, who had published a number of works by William Perkins during the latter’s lifetime, spent several years steadily acquiring control of all those titles he had not published hitherto, so that he could issue the complete collected works of the Cambridge master.\textsuperscript{95} By the time of John Tillotson’s death in 1694, over fifty of his sermons and discourses were in print and selling well, and his widow was able to sell the manuscripts of over 200 sermons in shorthand to a printer for 2,500 pounds or guineas—an incredibly large sum for that time, but one

\textsuperscript{90} Bennett, \textit{English Books and Readers 1558–1603}, 107–11.
\textsuperscript{91} Calderwood, ‘Elizabethan Protestant Press’, 207, 222.
\textsuperscript{92} Thomas à Kempis, \textit{Of the imitation of Christ}, tr. T. Rogers (1596), sigs. a8–g; Calderwood, ‘Elizabethan Protestant Press’, 217; and see Appendix 1 below, s.v. Augustine.
\textsuperscript{93} See Appendix 1 s.v. Grotius; and below, Chs. 5–6.
\textsuperscript{94} Calderwood, ‘Elizabethan Protestant Press’, 223.
\textsuperscript{95} See below, p. 479.
that demonstrates beyond doubt the huge profits to be made from steady-selling titles.\textsuperscript{96}

Another option was to persuade an author with a good track record to place his next manuscript with the same publisher. Perkins usually published through Legate, but not always; Baxter used Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton, and subsequently Nevill Simmons, but again not always; while Bunyan used a number of different publishers.\textsuperscript{97} Such an option was not without risk: the usual publisher might reject an author’s latest manuscript for sound, commercial reasons, as when Nevill Simmons declined to publish Baxter’s very large \textit{Methodus theologiae Christianae.}\textsuperscript{98} Yet another option was to seek the next Perkins, Baxter, or Allestree, especially where a new author’s style or material was similar to that of a proven best-seller. In this case, the fear of unsold copies of an unknown new author’s work could be outweighed by the prospect of a publishing coup, or screwing a favourable deal out of an inexperienced but ambitious author.\textsuperscript{99}

A less honest but increasingly common solution was to commission works which were so similar to successful ones that they might be mistaken for them. Examples of this would include the lavishly illustrated \textit{Booke of Christian prayers} published by the Days in 1578, which was a cross between an old-fashioned primer and a Protestant devotional manual,\textsuperscript{100} and works issued under a name very similar to but not quite the same as that of a famous author; for example ‘W. Perkins’, ‘R. Baxter’ or ‘R. B.’, ‘J. B.’ (for John Bunyan), or ‘Sampson Smith’ (for Samuel Smith). Works could also be attributed to ‘the author of \textit{The Whole Duty of Man}’ with impunity because the author in question chose to remain anonymous.\textsuperscript{101} Failing all these, there was outright piracy, or importing copies printed outside England, for example in Holland or Scotland, for sale inside.\textsuperscript{102} The rather blunt teeth of the censorial watchdogs, the difficulties faced by the searchers at the ports, and the legal difficulties of enforcing copyright meant that plagiarism and fraud of this kind were not uncommon throughout the early modern period, and especially by the mid to later Stuart period. The fact that the quality of the plagiarists’ work was often much inferior to the original did not necessarily diminish the profits to be made.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{96} D. D. Brown, ‘The Text of John Tillotson’s Semons’, \textit{The Library}, 5th ser., 15 (1938), 18–20; and below, Appendix 1, s.v. Tillotson. Concentration of copyrights in a few hands could act as a disincentive to producing cheaper copies, but as we will see there are also cases of publishers repackaging titles to catch new readers’ eyes or producing cheaper editions to secure more sales.

\textsuperscript{97} See previous paragraph; Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture of Nonconformity}, 123, 125, 133; and Sharrock, ‘Bunyan and the Book’, 80–7.

\textsuperscript{98} Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture of Nonconformity}, 130, though the work was later published after Baxter had provided a heavy subsidy: ibid. There were other safety nets for larger items, such as joint publication, and subscription publishing: see below, pp. 118–24.

\textsuperscript{99} For the generous terms John Lewis gave to the printer of his catechism, see Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 195; other busy clergy made similar deals: Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture of Nonconformity}, 132–3.

\textsuperscript{101} See below, pp. 256–8.

\textsuperscript{102} See below, pp. 479–80, 477, 424, 260–1, and BLC for Smith and Appendix 1, s.v. ‘Whole duty’.

\textsuperscript{103} As in the case of bibles: see below, pp. 54–6. See above, n. 71; and below, Ch. 8.
Other ways to make money were to enter the lists of controversy, or to latch onto the coat-tails of a current *cause célèbre*. But this carried even greater risks than usual. Polemical works with outspoken views, such as the Marprelate Tracts, were likely to attract opposition from the authorities, while too cautious a statement might mean sales would not cover the cost of paper and printing. Similarly, when chasing a current story, whether it was a popish plot, a new prophecy, or the cautionary tale of a particularly gruesome murder, publishers had to act quickly and would not expect to sell such works for long. Indeed, although such works have tended to be the ones that have caught historians’ eyes, publishers may have risked no more than 600 or 800 copies for the first edition, and the vast majority did not get past a first edition. In short, a steady seller that required regular editions of a substantial print run, year in and year out, was a much more reliable form of income.

What can be said about the religious commitment of members of the print trade? There can be no doubt that there were many printers, publishers, and booksellers who were sincere Protestants, even to the point of risking persecution to make available copies of banned titles. Nearly a dozen printers are known to have been in trouble with the authorities in England before the fall of Wolsey, Wareham, and More and the rise of Cromwell and Cranmer, and some of these like John Gough and new figures like Edward Whitchurch and Richard Grafton were later imprisoned or made to pay a bond of £100 after Cromwell’s fall in 1540. A recent survey of the stationers and printers active during the reign of Edward VI suggests that at least 30 per cent were supporters of Protestant reform; under Mary, some had to flee the country or lie low, though most of the more moderate managed to survive in business or even to prosper.

Elizabethan and early Stuart authorities tried to make life hard for those producing recusant works or radical or controversial works on the Protestant side, such as the works of William Prynne and Henry Burton which Michael Sparke published under Charles I. Unabashed, when challenged in court, Sparke defended his right to publish these works by reference to Magna Carta!
Similarly, the parliamentary and commonwealth authorities made life hard for figures like Richard Royston and William Dugard. Royston was bookseller to Charles I (and later to his sons) and from the early 1640s the publisher of the works of Jeremy Taylor, but was imprisoned for a while on a charge of publishing scandalous books and pamphlets, and suspected of a part in the printing of that ‘virulent and scandalous pamphlet’, the *Eikon basilike*.\(^{110}\) The pressure brought to bear by Sir Roger L'Estrange and other royal officials on those prepared to print and publish works by Protestant dissenters after 1660 is well documented, though we should draw the same distinction as under Elizabeth between a radical press which was prepared to work outside the law and was the particular object of the authorities’ ire, and a more conservative group of dissenters who worked under constraints but were prepared to seek licences and publish legally, on the whole with great success.\(^{111}\)

Some early printer-publishers developed a close personal or professional bond with individuals who had influence in the church: Whitchurch, Grafton, and Berthelet with Thomas Cromwell in the late 1530s; Reyner Wolf with Cranmer, and later Parker and Whitgift; John Day with Somerset, Parker, Cecil, and Leicester; William Seres with Cecil; Henry Bynneman with Parker, Leicester, and Hatton; Christopher Barker with Walsingham, and so on.\(^{112}\) There are also many fairly well-known cases where printers or publishers specialized in the production of works of a particular author, as already noted, or by authors of a particular hue.\(^{113}\) In the late sixteenth century, staunch supporters of the established church like Whitgift, Bancroft, Saravia, and others tended to go to a publisher like Christopher Barker, John Wolfe, or Henry Bynneman rather than Thomas Man, Thomas Woodcock, and Lucas Harrison, who specialized in the publication of works by ‘godly’ authors such as Edward Dering, John Field, George Gifford, Eusebius Paget, William Perkins, Henry Smith, and many others.\(^{114}\)

Similarly, in the early seventeenth century, Michael Sparke not only came to scorn the ‘popish books, pictures, beads, and such trash’ which his master had produced when Sparke was his apprentice, but also tried to redress the balance later by publishing numerous anti-Catholic and anti-Arminian’

\(^{110}\) Williams, ‘First Edition of *Holy Living*’, 100–6; William Dugard was also accused of publishing the *Eikon basilike* and was again in trouble in 1652 for publishing an anti-Trinitarian work: Kostenberg, *Printing, Publishing and Bookselling in England*, 145–6, 151–2.


\(^{113}\) In addition to the cases cited here, see John Legate’s efforts to corner the market in Perkins’s works (above, n. 95), and C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 198–200.

works, as well as his own best-selling collection of prayers, *Crumms of comfort*, which he compiled from out-of-print works. Sparke’s complete conviction of the power of print is also evident in the notes in his will that the mourners at his funeral, instead of being given ‘biscuits or plums’, should be handed copies of his own devotional treatise, *Groanes of the spirit*, a supplement to *Crumms*. He also wanted copies of Bayly’s *Practise of piety* to be given to fifty apprentices, and copies of his own devotional works to the poor of Virginia and the Bermudas. In the late seventeenth century, Richard Royston, restored as bookseller to the crown, specialized in works by staunch episcopalian, while half a dozen other publishers, such as Brabazon Aylmer, Benjamin Alsop, and Nevill Simmons published works by the more conservative puritans ejected in 1662, and a third, smaller group published works by Independents, Baptists, and Quakers. As recent work by Dr Kate Peters has stressed, the Quakers in particular were adept at setting up a rival organization to the Stationers’ Company.

It was not unknown for publishers to write prefaces for works they had commissioned, or where the author had died or was not available, and to stress the importance of advancing ‘true religion’ by spreading the knowledge the Christian required for salvation. But it is also striking that when they did write they demonstrated the layman’s tendency to equate ‘religion’ with knowledge and morality rather than the theologian’s emphasis on saving faith. Thus in a preface to his patron, Sir Christopher Hatton, in an edition of Musculus’s *Common places of Christian religion* in 1578, Henry Bynneman wrote that classical philosophers had through the use of reason come to believe that man’s chief end was to live virtuously, and ‘we by faith and express commandment are moved steadfastly to believe’ the same:

If then the knowledge of God and heavenly things be the chiefest end and mark whereat man ought to shoot, it must needs be concluded that those men’s studies and labours deserved the greatest praise which are employed to the attaining and directing of others hereunto.

In a prefatory epistle to Thomas Wilcox’s exposition of some psalms in 1591, Thomas Man observed:

There are two things especially that behoveth all good men to have regard of in this life. The one is the enlarging of the kingdom of Christ, to the uttermost of their powers in a lawful and holy vocation. And the other is simplicity and plainness, in the

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places that God putteth men into, or in the words or works that he enableth them to perform therein.\footnote{119}

Even more pronounced forms of this tendency to equate faith with works will be found when we look at examples of ‘cheap print’ written or commissioned by publishers.\footnote{120}

The sincerity of these men is not in doubt, but nor is their commercial instinct for producing and selling books. All regular printers and publishers had the clear intention of making a profit; only private individuals or organizations would contemplate losing money when disseminating improving works.\footnote{121} Losses meant going out of business, which was no good to them or their potential readers: the only question was how much profit was warranted, and on this there was not surprisingly a difference of views. What publishers might see as a reasonable profit for the risks already taken and to be taken with the next new title, others saw as greed. Allegations of crass commercialism and a readiness to print anything that would make money regardless of principle or law can be heard as early as the 1540s and 1550s, from quarters as different as the ‘godly’ Thomas Becon and Queens Mary and Elizabeth, but was still evident in George Wither’s complaint about the typical stationer in 1625: ‘to a papist he rails upon Protestants; to a Protestant he speaks ill of papists; and to a Brownist, he reviles them both’.\footnote{122} In a little pamphlet published in 1641, Michael Sparke publicly accused those monopolizing the bible trade in the British Isles of making excessive profits from it; and shortly before his death, in a work characteristically entitled \textit{The plots of the Jesuites}, he was still complaining of the appearance of those ‘base poisonous popish books’ that he had come to hate as an apprentice.\footnote{123}

Charges of printing anything for profit might have been levelled with some justice against the poorer members of the trade who were kept away from the best pickings by well-established stationers. But a high proportion of the more successful printers and publishers of the period either changed their pattern of publication later in life, or opted to publish titles ranging from ‘godly’ or dissenting to ultra-conformist, or produced a mixture of edifying and irreverent works as well as edifying, and even in some cases Catholic as well as Protestant—a pattern very common on the Continent too.\footnote{124} John Day had


\footnote{120} See below, Chs. 5, 7, and 8.

\footnote{121} Among the latter, I am thinking of Richard ‘Florilegius’ Younge, Thomas Gouge, Richard Baxter, Clement Ellis, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

\footnote{122} Took, ‘Government and the Printing Press’, 185, and cf. the case of Redman on p. 99; for Wither’s complaint (and his grudge against the Stationers’ Company), see Watt, \textit{Cheap Print}, 51.

\footnote{123} Rostenberg, \textit{Printing, Publishing, and Bookselling in England}, 164, 199–200; and for Baxter’s complaints about the ‘luxuriant fertility of the press’ crowding out pious books, and about piracy of his own works, see Keeble, \textit{Baxter}, 2, 8.

\footnote{124} For early examples of printers and publishers producing different types of work, such as Thomas Berthelet, John Turke, and Thomas Gaultier, see Took, ‘Government and the Printing Trade’, 189–91, 203, 201–2; for the Continent, Gilmont, \textit{Reformation and the Book}, 159, 196, 200–1, 247, 249, 261.
been a leading printer of Protestant texts under Edward and then after a brief spell in prison continued this work under cover in Mary’s reign; in the next reign he published works by a variety of Continental reformers, from Luther and Bullinger to Zwingli and Calvin, and a variety of English authors, from Marian martyrs like Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, and survivors like Becon and Foxe, to conformists like Jewel, Aylmer, and Grindal. His commercial success led to his being attacked by the young Turks of the print trade, and his closeness to privy councillors to his being pilloried by the presbyterian propagandists of the 1570s as a government lackey.

Thomas Purfoot published works by Calvin and was possibly linked to the separatist Henry Barrow; Christopher Barker may have moved in the same direction, from the Walsingham circle to an arch-conformist one; while John Charlewood had a number of ‘godly’ authors on his books, like Bale, Bunny, Crowley, Dering, and Fulke, and published some strongly anti-Catholic works, but was still accused of secretly printing Catholic works, and definitely printed the ‘Pasquil’ tracts which were written in reply to the Marprelate Tracts.

The classic case of poacher turned gamekeeper was John Wolfe, who began as a rebel against the printing establishment, but as soon as he was admitted to the inner circle pursued his former allies like Roger Ward (who pirated thousands of copies of The ABC with the catechisme) and Robert Waldegrave (printer of the first Marprelate Tracts) without a qualm. Described by one historian as ‘an opportunist whose convictions . . . were adaptable to any economic situation’, Wolfe published the ‘godly’ Eusebius Paget, John Rainolds, George Gifford, and Dudley Fenner, but also the conservative Bancroft, Saravia, and Leonard Wright (another anti-Martinist), and the devotional works of the Jesuit Robert Southwell.

Various other examples could be given of Elizabethan stationers who produced translations of Catholic works as well as Protestant titles, or works by ‘pagan’ classical authors and popular street literature as well as ‘godly’ works.

In the Stuart period, the same pattern can be found. Michael Sparke published many ‘godly’ works legally, but also is alleged to have pirated works by Dent and Preston and a set of sermons by the more conservative Lancelot.

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Andrewes. Francis Tyton published dozens of works by Richard Baxter and earlier ‘godly’ authors like William Perkins, but also produced works by a wide range of conformist authors such as Andrewes, Hammond, Jeremy Taylor, and Gauden. Brabazon Aylmer published for ejected nonconformists, and came to own the copyright of Milton’s *Paradise lost*, but was also the regular publisher for a number of bishops and other conformist clergy, some of whom aroused the ire of dissenters like Bunyan. John Dunton was urged by a friend to propose to the daughter of a successful author, Thomas Doolittle, so that he could ‘have her father’s copies for nothing’, but instead he married the daughter of another author, Samuel Annesley, whose works he subsequently published, along with works by the High-Church Samuel Wesley and the ubiquitous Daniel Defoe. In 1719 Thomas Wood was not only publishing the quite substantial works of John Hayward, but also offered for sale ‘chapmans’ books, bibles, testaments, and common prayers’, wholesale or retail, ‘at very easy prices’. This list would be even longer if it included all those at the cheap end of the print trade, especially the ballad partners, who one minute were printing ‘godly’ ballads and pamphlets urging readers to repent before it was too late, and the next minute romances, fairy tales, bawdy rhymes, and joke-books—the type of work which regularly upset conservative clergy at the harm they caused unwary readers, and contributed to the unsavoury reputation in which such publishers were generally held. On a spectrum of sincerity this last group as a whole were thought to come down heavily on the side of profit rather than principle.

Commercial instincts were not incompatible with Protestant zeal. But for every printer, publisher, or bookseller who on a spectrum of sincerity leant a long way towards principle, there were many, probably a clear majority, who came down on the side of profit, and this evidently had a strong impact on what texts they produced, and in what form.

### iii. Readers

Early modern England was neither a completely oral nor a fully literate society. An increasing number of adults and children used texts as never before, but millions made do without being literate, though they regularly came into contact with print through hearing a rite of passage read from a Book of Common Prayer, a metrical psalm ‘lined out’ from a copy of ‘Sternhold and

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130 S. Patrick, *The hearts ease* (1660), sigs. 7–12.
133 J. Hayward, *Hell’s everlasting flames avoided* (1719), sig. Ar.
Hopkins’, or the official short catechism declaimed, or through hearing a ballad sung or seeing the text and images of a cheap woodcut pasted on the wall of an inn. The act of reading also varied according to time and place—study, bedchamber, field—and milieu—school, church, study group—and normal habit, which sometimes included methods such as reading aloud in pairs or groups that have all but disappeared today. Thus heads of households might read the Bible or an improving work out loud to servants who were illiterate; children in elementary schools were urged to read the Bible to their parents, especially if the latter themselves could not read; neighbours might read to each other, in an alehouse or at home; and in church the text of the Bible, and the official liturgy, catechism, and psalms were regularly declaimed from a printed copy. The stress today is not only on the plural uses of a text and its different meanings to different readers, including some not intended by the author, but also on the interaction between oral and literate forms of culture.

Nor can readerships be distinguished by simple fault-lines based on status, education, or access to books. Of course, there remained differences of this kind. At one extreme were scholars and professionals who used books every day; at the other were those with only limited reading skills, who were more likely to come into contact with works which combined print with an oral or visual stimulus; while in between was the kind of reader who comprised Edmund Burke’s ‘reading public’ in the late eighteenth century—those who preferred shorter works such as newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and read only the occasional book. But other, vertical distinctions cut across these


horizontal ones: between male and female readers, young and old, and dissenters and conformists, though even here there was probably a spectrum rather than a simple division. We should therefore probably be thinking not of two or three distinct readerships but of many ‘communities of interpretation’, and, moreover, not of fixed or discrete communities, but fluid, overlapping readerships, with individuals or groups shifting from one category to another as their reading skills developed or their ideas changed, or simply when they were in the mood for entertainment rather than edification.\textsuperscript{139}

Although schooling in the late medieval period is now known to have been more widely available than was once thought, it is certain that the total number of readers increased considerably in early modern England. The numbers of people who were fully or actively literate in England—could both read and write—may have risen from about 10 or 15 per cent in the 1530s to about 30 per cent a century later in southern England, and somewhat later (between 1660 and 1720) in the north, and this in a population which had grown from perhaps 2.5 million in the 1530s to 5.5 million by the 1700s. However, many more children—and strongly motivated adults—may well have learnt to read a few lines or pages at school, home, or work, but not gone on to the next stage of learning how to write their name, so that these figures are certainly minima rather than maxima. They also conceal much higher rates of literacy among the landed gentry and professional men than in the lower orders, among men than women, in town than country, nearer the capital than further away, and so on. But it is also reasonably clear, first, that the great majority of these increases were in the ranks below that of the gentry, especially yeomen, merchants, and tradesmen, and, secondly, that country areas were slowly catching up with urban ones, so that a much broader, more national pool of readers was emerging.\textsuperscript{140}

This is supported by many indicators: the extremely high figures that can easily be reached when calculating production of abridged or cheaper printed works, especially religious ones; the numbers of schools to educate those from the middling orders or the poor that historians have recently found to have existed alongside the better-known grammar and other endowed schools, even before the Charity School Movement began; samples of inventories in three Kentish towns from 1560 to 1640 and eight English regions for the

\textsuperscript{139} As previous notes, and Cavallo and Chartier, \textit{History of Reading}, 3–4, whose ideal approach—from milieux or communities that share a relationship with writing—is not really possible with the materials used in this study. However, many examples of shifts in style and content to meet perceived new needs, and of overlapping and shifting readerships, will be given in the following chapters of this study.

period 1675–1724; and contemporary accounts such as John Clare’s description of the books of a local farmer of the ‘old school’ and a poor cottager.\textsuperscript{141} While the ability to read was perhaps not as high in late seventeenth-century England as it was in Holland, Scotland, or New England, it was much higher than in pre-Reformation England or in contemporary France, Spain, or Poland. Moreover, as Rab Houston has pointed out, the link between literacy and religious belief is an amalgam of several elements—including wealth, status, location, desire for literacy, and predisposition to accept the authority of printed sources—rather than a simple confessional connection.\textsuperscript{142}

The types of books people acquired can be gauged, if unevenly, from the records of private and institutional libraries, auction catalogues, probate inventories, diaries, letters, and other anecdotal evidence, together with the comments made by authors or publishers on title-pages or in prefaces about the intended or actual sale of their works.\textsuperscript{143} Looking at the first of these—libraries—we immediately come across a simple but fairly fundamental divide: between clerical and lay libraries. This holds true of both conformists’ and dissenters’ libraries. It was not just that as professionals the clergy tended to have larger libraries of religious works, but also that they were specialized to the point of marginalizing non-religious works. By contrast, laymen’s stocks of religious works were smaller and polychrome, with religious titles balanced or overshadowed by whatever forms of secular reading attracted a particular collector.

\textbf{iv. Clergy}

Most bishops had libraries, some very large. Archbishop Richard Bancroft built up a collection of 8,732 books and manuscripts, many acquired from his predecessor Whitgift, which he then contributed to the library in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth. The core of both this and the 2,667 items given to the same library by his successor, George Abbot, consisted of biblical commentaries, doctrinal and polemical works (including many Catholic ones), the works of the Fathers, histories, and studies of the law, along with a quota of \textit{literae humaniores}.\textsuperscript{144} At one stage Richard Baxter had so many books that

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when a shelf with large folios on it broke under the strain, he was showered with bibles, commentaries, and—a nice irony for a dissenter—the complete works of Augustine. He lost his books in the upheavals of the 1660s, but by 1691 had another 1,400 in his possession, nearly a third in Latin, and many from abroad; the rest included a large number by conformist clergy as well as more predictable Reformed authors. Between 1676 and 1700, in the region of 350,000 second-hand works were sold by auction in London, the great majority being the collections of a string of eminent divines who had acquired several thousand volumes each, again predominantly patristics, commentaries, philology, doctrine, histories, and controversy. At the other extreme of the profession, clergymen of average or below average means tended to go for the best aids to bible study they could afford and the occasional improving work.

However, those anxious to keep in touch with the latest thinking on biblical interpretation and doctrine but short of funds could turn to the institutional sector. In the last two-thirds of the sixteenth and the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century, many cathedral libraries suffered badly from man-made or natural disasters, but not all the news was bad. Canterbury’s library, derelict for ninety years after a fire in 1538, was eventually restored, and borrowing was extended from the dean and residential prebends to any Six Preacher, petty-canon, local minister, or gentlemen approved by them; York received Toby Matthew’s collection; Hereford’s was reorganized in the years 1595–1611; a new library room was designed for St Paul’s by Wren; Winchester’s collection was restored to the cathedral after the Restoration and augmented by a substantial bequest from Bishop Morley; Llandaff’s library was refounded in 1670; and the basis of Exeter’s large eighteenth-century collection was laid by Dr Edward Cotton in 1676. By the mid-nineteenth century most cathedrals had a library of 2,000–5,000 books, mainly theological in content, and members of the local clergy and laity approved by or recommended to the chapter were allowed to borrow books. Works regularly borrowed from cathedral libraries in the eighteenth century included Walton’s polyglot and the Critici sacri, different versions of the New Testament in Greek, as well as the more popular commentaries,

146 Lawler, Book Auctions, pp. xvii, xxxiv–xxxvi, 6, 9, 64–5, 75–6, 104–5, 109–11, 144. Such clergy managed to afford the six-volume Walton polyglot and the nine-volume Critici sacri: see below, Ch. 3.
paraphrases, and concordances of the day such as those of Hammond, Patrick, and Cruden.\textsuperscript{149}

Borrowing was also made easier for local parish clergy in good standing by changes in the university libraries: the liberalization of rules on who could borrow; the gradual abandonment of the chaining of all the folios and large quartos, and the increasing move to smaller formats which could be borrowed; the depositing of books printed by the university printer or the Stationers’ Company; and some large bequests from individual donors, often leading academics and churchmen.\textsuperscript{150} The governing bodies of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, anxious that both current and past members should be well equipped to participate in the debates of the day, ensured their collections kept pace with the expansion of book production; and these extra works, together with generous bequests from old members, were in many cases housed in new purpose-built libraries.\textsuperscript{151}

Money was also spent on and books regularly donated to the libraries of the better-endowed grammar schools of the Tudor and early Stuart period, such as Eton and Merchant Taylors’. Even a provincial school, such as Shrewsbury in the early seventeenth century, had over 700 items in 1634, rising to nearly 1,500 in 1736: its library was a miniature cathedral library, down to the chains and the classification of books into bibles, patristics, commentaries, theology, church history, and so on, and it is again likely that clergy in the area, especially if they had some connection with the school, were allowed to consult the books acquired.\textsuperscript{152} Certainly the ‘public library’ of theological books established by the corporation of Coventry in the grammar school there in 1602 seems to have been designed for clergy and scholars, and the 600 books given at Bury in Lancashire for the use of ‘Bury parish and the country thereabouts of ministers . . . schoolmasters and others that seek for learning and knowledge’ also appear to have passed to the grammar school set up there a few years earlier.\textsuperscript{153}

To these one must add the scores and eventually hundreds of libraries set up specifically to help local clergy obtain the books they needed. Isolated examples have been found from the middle third of the sixteenth century, but


\textsuperscript{153} Kelly, \textit{Early Public Libraries}, 74, 76.
during the closing decades of that century and first few decades of the next, libraries were set up in at least twenty towns up and down the country, especially in East Anglia. The one set up at Bury St Edmunds in 1595 within a few years contained nearly 200 volumes; that at Ipswich was set up in 1599 when an alderman left thirty Latin books and manuscripts for the use of ‘the common preacher of the town for the time being, or any other preacher minded to preach in the same church’; and in Norwich (then without a proper cathedral library) the civic authorities in 1608 set up a library of predominantly theological works, many in Greek and Latin, ‘for the use of preachers, and for a lodging chamber for such preachers as shall come to this city’. In the years following the Restoration many more such libraries were set up in the north, the Midlands, and the south-west, as in the Birmingham area in the 1660s, when a long-serving local incumbent and schoolmaster divided his books into three batches: 300 of his most useful works were given to set up a library at St Martin’s, Birmingham, for use by ministers in that town; a further 700 were given for the use of clergy and teachers in three specified parishes and two schools to the south of the city centre; and 270 volumes of ‘school books and philosophy’ were given to the grammar school where he had been master.

Between 1680 and 1720 new libraries were being set up at the rate of about two a year, in small towns and rural parishes rather than the larger towns of the previous phases, and with a growing concern to make books available to the public as well as the professionals. However, since many new libraries were the results of donations by individual incumbents for the benefit of their successors in that living, or were the product of the campaign of Thomas Bray (an Anglican cleric totally convinced of the huge benefits to be gained from the greater dissemination of the printed word) to set up lending libraries in every deanery and in parishes worth only a few pounds each year, these new libraries were still predominantly designed for and used by parish clergy. The curate of Flookburgh in north Lancashire who received seventy calf-bound theological volumes in 1725 by this means was urged not only to be grateful to the local knight who had paid for them but to make good use of what ‘must be an agreeable companion to a man of letters destitute of books in a solitary country’. By the time of Bray’s death in 1730, lending libraries had been set up in the four Welsh dioceses, and the Trustees for Erecting Parochial Libraries and Promoting Other Charitable Designs claimed to have established at least fifty-six libraries in England and ten in Wales and Monmouthshire.

55 Kelly, Early Public Libraries, 80.
56 Ibid., 90–109.
57 Ibid., 107, 109.
In this way, and through borrowing from better-off fellow clergy, the notorious poverty of many of the parish clergy was at least partially alleviated, and a poorly paid ministry was not necessarily a poorly informed one. Three features separated most clerical collections from comparable lay ones: the inferior quality of the bindings, the lower proportion of classical works, and the small number or total absence of lighter literature such as plays, satires, topical verses, and prints. For most of our period, the books bought, borrowed, or lent by the clergy were overwhelmingly theological, liturgical, and pastoral.

v. Gentry

A gentry readership can be defined in terms of its members’ rank, education, wealth, and ready access to books. But it needs to be subdivided according to gender because male and female members often had different educational experiences or reading tastes, and according to religious predisposition, in that some might lean towards the ‘godly’ or Calvinist, and others towards a non-Calvinist, Erasmian, or Grotian standpoint, while many others (as their catalogues or own writings clearly show) were sufficiently catholic to combine the two. Gentry readers also overlapped with non-gentry readers, in a grammar-school class or at university or inn of court, or in subscription lists to new publishing ventures such as Samuel Wesley’s illustrated bible stories in verse and Philip Doddridge’s Family expositor; they also overlapped when purchasing a work aimed at ‘the meanest reader’, such as Allestree’s Whole duty of man. When the lady of the manor had three books chained in the porch of the church at Cokethorpe Park—Thomas à Kempis’s Imitation of Christ, Allestree’s Whole duty of man, and Nelson’s Companion to fasts and festivals—we may presume she knew their contents and thought them suitable for the use of parishioners as well. Moving down a few grades to what is now termed ‘cheap print’, we find that much of our knowledge of ‘godly’ ballads and

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158 See above, n. 146, and Lawler, Book Auctions, passim.
159 On female readers in the gentry, see below, Ch. 10.vi.
161 O’Day, Education and Society, 31–8, 104–5, 146–7, 197–8; and see below, Ch. 2.v and 2.xiii; for ownership of The whole duty of man by the duke of Ormonde, Queen Anne and the duchess of Marlborough, see Sommerville, Popular Religion, 23.
chapbooks derives from the accident that these flimsy works were bought, bound, and unwittingly preserved for posterity by affluent purchasers.\footnote{For the collections of Wolfreston and Pepys, see below, pp. 472–3, 573, and 578; and for Robert Burton’s mixed purchases, N. K. Kiessling, The Library of Robert Burton (London, 1988).}

Indeed, what has been termed ‘creative bricolage’—the idiosyncratic synthesis of ideas from a variety of sources—went much further than this.\footnote{Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, 15.} Not everybody bought books and manuscripts on the scale of Lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Knyvet, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Kenelm Digby, the Duke of Lauderdale, or the Marquis of Anglesey, all of whom collected well over a thousand books and manuscripts.\footnote{Krivatsy and Yeandle, Dering, 146, and 137–269 passim; Lawler, Book Auctions, pp. xxxvi–xxxix, 130, 153, and 170.} But many with smaller libraries were involved in the rapid rise of antiquarianism; the exercises in Roman, medieval, and Tudor history undertaken in the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods; the constant interest in classical models of society, philosophy, and the arts; and the flourishing market for contemporary poetry and plays, as well as later developments such as the Royal Society—all of which testify to much wider horizons than Wittenberg, Geneva, or Canterbury.\footnote{Heal and Holmes, Gentry, 278–82, and ch. 1; Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, chs. 1–4, 7; Blayney, ‘Playbooks’, 414; Lawler, Book Auctions, 136; and see above, n. 160, and below, following notes.}

Among the many explanations of good and evil that overlapped and interacted with that provided by the established church, there were significant elements in Stoicism, chivalry, civic and Christian humanism, political theory, historical writing, and many forms of literature (both ‘high’ and ‘low’) and the visual arts, as well as astrology, magic, the occult, and later deism.\footnote{Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, passim; K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971); and now Walsham, Providentialism, ch. 1 and passim.} The Christian humanist admiration for the Stoics, for example, is evident in Erasmus’s edition of the works of Seneca, which he described as ‘holy’ in that it ‘excite[s] one to enthusiasm for a life of moral integrity’, makes us lift our hearts to heaven, and ‘kindle[s] in us the love for what is good’. The need for self-understanding and self-control to overcome evil, the consequent need for virtues such as ‘prudence’, ‘temperance’, ‘gravity’, and ‘fortitude’, and for ‘constancy’ in the face of external difficulties, created a blend of Stoicism and Christianity which has been traced in many works written by and for the educated elite in the Tudor and early Stuart periods, not least the many Latin and English textbooks in which humanists tried to inculcate good grammar and virtuous behaviour at one and the same time.\footnote{L. Jardine, ‘Humanism and the Sixteenth-Century Cambridge Arts Course’, History of Education, 4 (1975), 16–31; M. Todd, Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order (Cambridge, 1987), chs. 2–3 (despite the title, Todd argues that puritans and non-puritans shared a common basis in Christian humanist thought).} Echoes of this can still be found in the early eighteenth century in the Tatler and the Spectator, periodicals designed to make the polite religious and the religious polite, and admired
in Dissenting Academies as well as by Anglicans, and as late as the 1750s in Dr Johnson’s *Rambler*—a periodical that was part neo-classical precept (with many references to Renaissance humanists) and part Anglican morality.168

Humanists also saw moral value in history, and literature, including poetry and tragedy. ‘To praise good men’, wrote the historian William Camden in his *Britannia*, ‘is but to show a light of direction as out of a watch tower to posterity’. The sudden flowering of English interest in Tacitus from the 1590s to the 1610s and beyond is now well documented, and although it was his pragmatic, analytical skills that were particularly admired, his ethical stance also made him more acceptable as an analyst than Machiavelli, to both supporters and critics of the crown and court. ‘I have learned of Tacitus that the principal business of Annals’, wrote Camden in his own annals, ‘is to preserve virtuous actions from being buried in oblivion.’169 Poetry too was seen as providing both moral instruction and pleasure, as in the epitaphs written by and for the famous or particularly virtuous, and published on broadsheets or in prefaces.170 Influenced by Italianate models, Protestants like Spenser and Sidney used pastoral verse to depict the innocence and purity of rural life as a basis for criticizing the vices of urban life or the transitoriness of success at court.171 Dramatists like Shakespeare and Jonson might set their plays in classical or pre-Reformation times or mythical surroundings, but they also regularly encouraged the audience to evaluate the relative merits of rival views of good and evil and of morality.172 The ‘romance’, the ‘character’ literature of the early Stuart period, and the picaresque and rogue novels of the later seventeenth century were other genres which offered diversion, but also engaged with the moral and political questions of the day.173 Even the order and decorum of classical architecture being reintroduced into England, and the depiction of abstract qualities and virtues such as ‘Religion’, ‘Faith’, ‘Truth’, and ‘Constancy’ in statues, memorials, plasterwork, paintings, and frontispieces, had a strong didactic quality.174

Recent work has also demonstrated a strong theological and moral dimension
in early Stuart politics. Those who wanted to stress the divine right of kingship tried to reconnect visible institutions with a sacred, patriarchal order in heaven that was both absolute and benevolent. Under Charles I there was also an attempt to achieve the ideals of temperance, honesty, integrity, and discipline that it was thought all right-thinking men wished to see in those appointed by God to rule the country, while those currently out of favour with the king saw those in favour as self-seeking, extravagant, and morally corrupt. Much of this feeling was expressed in forms other than explicitly Protestant ones, but ran along lines that were parallel to or even converged with the message in the devotional manuals, godly living handbooks, advice on worthy reception of the sacrament, improving thoughts, and uplifting verse which were targeted at or dedicated to well-born readers. But where orthodox Protestant works portrayed morality as a proof of faith as well as a means to civilize society, less orthodox ones slid towards a moralism in which good deeds were seen as meriting divine recognition and reward.

In short, a gentry readership can be identified, but its reading habits and cultural horizons were easily the widest of all the readerships we are considering here, and its strategies for categorizing and interpreting a world it could only half understand and so had to half-create, were the most complex of all. As a result, it will be harder to assess the impact of works of ‘divinity’ on this group than any other group of readers.

vi. The ‘Middling Sort of People’

Of those below the gentry but above husbandmen and labourers with little or no capital but their own labour, there was already a large supply in late medieval England. But during the early modern period their numbers increased considerably: according to some estimates they then comprised between a third and a half of the number of families. The ‘middling sort’ had to work hard using their hands or skills, but were financially independent of the landed elite; and prompted by the opportunities and demands of the expansion and diversification of agriculture, manufacture, and trade, a growing proportion of them learned to read and write, and use part of their disposable wealth to buy books for themselves and pay for the education of their children. In her sample of inventories from eight English regions for the...
period 1675–1725 Lorna Weatherill found that nearly half of the inventories
worth over £500 mentioned books, a quarter to a third of those worth
£101–500, and a fifth of those worth £51–100. It was men and women like
these—lesser gentry, yeomen, and prosperous husbandmen in the country,
and professionals, larger entrepreneurs, master craftsmen, and shopkeepers in

If the gentry had very wide horizons, those of the urban elite were not
much narrower. Towns went through many changes during the early modern
period, not simply in size, but also in function and character. Individually and
collectively, richer townsmen had to face periodic economic crises, occasional
epidemics, social tensions, and pressures from the local gentry and the central
government. But one of the biggest set of changes—in attitudes, rituals, organ-
ization, and property-owning—was the result of the Reformation, which has
led historians to pose a double question: what did the Reformation do for the

Citizens responded to these many challenges in different ways, but these often included the cul-
vation of such virtues as industry and thrift, and appealing to a sense of civic
identity based on common interests and cultural assumptions. This often took
edifying forms, such as the organization of purified urban rituals, and the pro-
vision of schools, hospitals, poor relief, lectureships, libraries, and later assembly

Moreover, the intermediate position of the richer middling sort—with less power than
the gentry but more than the poor—encouraged them to develop and flex
their collective muscle, as well as tolerate individual aspirations to rise in the
world and cultivate the sort of self-discipline that might bring that about.\footnote{As previous note; and M. C. McClendon, The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich (Stanford, 1999); Wilson, Sense of the People, 73–83; W. M. Jacob, Leg People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, 1996), chs. 5–6; and in general Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination, pt. 4.}

Being literate, as most of them were as early as the sixteenth century, they also
(like their counterparts in mainland Europe) had access through print to a
world of knowledge, and when in the mood recreation, that those beneath
them could only experience in other ways—through the pulpit, plays, street

\footnote{J. Barry, ‘Introduction’, in Barry and Brooks, Middling Sort of People, 2–4, 8–11, 14–25; and Wilson, Sense of the People, passim.}
theatre, and ballads. And their great spending power concentrated the minds of those publishers and authors who lived among them, especially in the biggest conglomeration of all—London.

The more prosperous middling readers—in town and country—were, like the gentry, in the market for sermons on why God had sent the plague, or fire, or war, and for funeral sermons on people they knew, as well as for collections of prayers and handbooks on godly living and godly dying, works combining edification and entertainment such as religious verse and improving biographies (and the occasional cautionary tale of a more lurid kind), and copies of catechisms and small bibles and prayer books for their children to take to school or church. The main distinction between gentry and middling readerships was perhaps that the former, having in many cases had a longer and more classically based education, were more likely to be attracted by the improving epigrams, essays, and more florid epitaphs of the day, and to the ‘characters’ and ‘emblems’ that came into fashion in the early Stuart period, while the latter went for works helpful to their business or health or flattering to their status: what L. B. Wright dubbed ‘handbooks to improvement’, ‘lessons in diligence and thrift’, ‘instruction in domestic relations’, and ‘guides to godliness’. In a survey of steady-selling Elizabethan publications, for example, Laura Stevenson found that the merchant’s literary image changed from that of greedy usurer to a more heroic ‘businessman in armour’, prepared to defend his prince or entertain him at a lavish banquet. But in the same period, publishers and professional or semi-professional writers also developed a number of other genres: popular histories, travel stories, plays, verse, amusing stories, cautionary tales, and the moralistic pamphlet. The last of these is particularly relevant here: a short work costing about fourpence, heavily dependent on older traditions of casting a disapproving eye over drunkenness, sexual licence, roguery, and current fads, but doing so in new, diverting, and self-referential ways that would attract buyers. Elizabethan and Stuart readers would also have seen the development of other forms of fiction such as romances, novels, and periodicals produced with an educated middling market in mind but again often a partly didactic purpose too.

A further distinction might also be drawn, this time within both gentry and

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\(^{184}\) See above, nn. 140–2, 180; T. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II (Cambridge, 1990), 193–6; Wilson, Sense of the People, 34–6; and cf. Wurzbach, Rise of the English Street Ballad; and for Europe, L. Jardine, Worldly Goods (1996), ch. 3.

\(^{185}\) As above, nn. 178–80; Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination, ch. 4.

\(^{186}\) See below, Chs. 2, 4–7; and Walsham, Providence, ch. 6.

\(^{187}\) L. B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, 1935), chs. 5–8; Stevenson, Praise and Paradox, pt. 2.

\(^{188}\) The best recent studies are Clark, Elizabethan Pamphleteers; Halasz, Marketplace of Print; and Walsham, Providence.

urban readerships, between conformists and nonconformists. Those at the former end of the spectrum were on balance more likely to read the works of Christopher Sutton, Richard Allestree, Simon Patrick, and Anthony Horneck or to buy some of the growing variety of pieces of church music, while those at the latter were more likely to read a ‘godly’ author such as Henry Smith or Arthur Dent, or later Richard Baxter, Joseph Alleine, James Janeway, John Flavell, or John Bunyan. On the other hand a number of these authors’ works, as we shall see, probably had a much broader readership than such a division suggests;\(^{191}\) and this distinction may prove less significant than the others mentioned already, or than the new categories which emerged as growing specialization led to works for groups such as women, children, and adolescents.\(^{192}\) The rapid rise of the provincial book trade at the close of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, with booksellers in a growing number of regional centres and market towns offering, among other works, sermons, catechisms, and church music by local authors, was due to the demands of these expanding gentry and urban readerships, together with the local clergy and teachers mentioned earlier.\(^{193}\) This leaves us at least one other important set of readers, again probably growing in numbers for much of our period: the lower ranks of the middling sorts and the upper ranks of the lower orders—those smaller shopkeepers, skilled artisans, and apprentices in the town, and freeholders and literate labourers in the countryside who were not short of curiosity but who earned only eightpence to a shilling a day (when they had work) and so had less disposable income for books or the education of their children.\(^{194}\) Such people might come into contact with edifying literature in various ways other than purchase: through borrowing from a neighbour or a minister (conformist or nonconformist);\(^{195}\) through inheritance or marriage;\(^{196}\) or through being given a cheap bible or edifying work by an employer, a member of the SPCK or Charity School movement, or the author.\(^{197}\) The age of distributing religious

\(^{191}\) For examples of these authors’ works, see Appendix 1 below, and Chs. 5–7.
\(^{192}\) See below, Ch. 10.vi.
\(^{193}\) See above, nn. 72–3, 160, 180, 185; and on music, below, Ch. 9.iv.
\(^{196}\) Keeble, *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus*, 3–4; Prior’s Kitchen, Durham: the will of Edmund Cotes (1685)—gifts of Hammond’s *Practical catechism*, Allestree’s *Whole duty of man*, Rawlet’s *Treatise of sacramental covenanting*, G. B.’s *Weeks preparation*, and Tillotson’s *Sermons* to named individuals (all of these titles can be found in Appendix 1 below); see also the wills of J. Ladler (1679) and T. Trewin (1676), and probate inventory of J. Morehouse (1596).
works in large numbers had dawned long before the prime of John Wesley, Hannah More, and the Tractarian Movement.

But it was also at readers like these, in London throughout our period, and in the country from the seventeenth century, that publishers targeted an increasingly wide range of small-format works in black-letter type: pamphlets, ballads, chapbooks, almanacs, and cheap educational aids, most of them costing no more than a penny or tuppence or at most a few pence each. The themes tackled in some of these works were the promotion of conventional values such as good neighbourliness and doing one's duty in life, and reassurance for those who felt threatened, either spiritually or physically, by economic hardship, war, or plague. Stevenson’s analysis of popular Elizabethan literature also detected an improvement in the literary image of the craftsman—from clown or rebel to a ‘gentle craftsman’ who would fight for his country when necessary, but preferred to be in his humble shop, singing, dancing, and flirting with pretty girls. However, a growing proportion of these works also offered a frisson of titillation through a cautionary tale about lust and murder, or a whiff of brimstone in a hellfire sermon warning unregenerate sinners not to leave repentance a moment longer. In some cases these were written by educated authors trying to reach less educated readers or they were unauthorized abridgements or inferior copies of works by genuine authors; but in many others the doctrinal message became garbled or a simple moralism.

Standing in the pit of a theatre also cost only a penny, and here too the tradesmen and apprentices could enjoy a mixture of escapism and indoctrination. For once again, as with the other lay readerships discussed above, it is the mixture of messages that is striking: the new, revised Christian one alongside older ideas, albeit often dressed in new garb.

Indeed, when we look at this lowest level of reader, and the many more who could not read at all, we have not only medieval and Reformation but also pre-Christian traditions to deal with. Martin Ingram has recently argued that there was not a single ‘popular religion’ opposed to an official or elite religion, but a range of overlapping and interacting ‘religious cultures’, not necessarily related to social divisions, and in complex interaction with official doctrine and precepts; and work by David Cressy, Ronald Hutton, and Christopher Marsh tends to confirm this. Print, it will be suggested below,

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200 There is a difference of emphasis here from Dr Walsham’s argument in *Providence*; this is explained in more detail below, Ch. 7.vii.

201 Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox*, 71–2; and see above, n. 172.

played a not insignificant part in this complex interaction too, by disseminating in large quantities both the official message, through clergy, parish clerks, teachers, and paterfamilias, and the alternatives to that message in ballads and chapbooks written by non-specialist laymen.\footnote{vii. Matching Books and Readers}

A precise correlation of the books printed in the early modern period and the types of reader or listener who came into contact with them is doomed to failure because of the patchy nature of the sources. We must also remember that readers from apparently similar backgrounds—social, cultural, or as part of a ‘community of interpretation’—may have interpreted the same text in different ways.\footnote{See below, Chs. 4.iv, 4.vi, 5.iv, 8, and 10.} But we may yet learn something from asking in general terms what kind of reader may have read what kind of book, and what kind of author or publisher produced which kind of book and why; and a broad correlation of this type is possible if we use a combination of considerations, such as length, price, and typeface.

The price of an unbound work was based mainly on the number of sheets used, though the quality of paper could be a factor too: the cheapest works were printed on very poor-quality paper, important works or presentation copies on the very best.\footnote{See above, p. 4, and n. 162; and Cavallo and Chartier, History of Reading, 3–4, and chs. 5–10 passim.} While a work printed on a single sheet such as a ballad, almanac, or short catechism might cost only a halfpenny at the start of our period or a penny later, and a large almanac, jest book, or other chapbook of 24 pages cost 1½d. before 1640 or 2d. in the later seventeenth century,\footnote{See above, n. 198, and for an example of the best, below, p. 48.} a sermon of 24–50 pages, an intermediate catechism, a copy of the metrical psalms, or later a book of verse for children might cost from 3d. or 4d. to 6d., while Becon’s Pomonauder of prayers—over 200 pages, but on very small octavo—cost 8d. in the 1560s.\footnote{See above, n. 198; Stevenson, Praise and Paradox, 66; T. Watt, ‘Piety in the Pedlar’s Pack: Continuity and Change, 1578–1630’, in M. Spufford (ed.), The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520–1725 (Cambridge, 1995), 257–61; Walsham, Providence, 34; and Barnard, ‘Stationers’ Company and its Stock’, 22.} A work of about 200–300 pages of a more standard size was likely to cost at least tenpence or a shilling unbound, such as Thomas à Kempis’s Imitation of Christ, Sibbes’s Bruised reed, and Bunyan’s Good news for the vilest of men.\footnote{As previous note. The source usually cited for prices is F. R. Johnson, ‘Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550–1640’, The Library, 5th ser., 5 (1950), 83–112; but Blayney has pointed out (Playbooks, 410–11) that the prices cited by Johnson were probably trade prices, i.e. wholesale, rather than the retail he assumed; and the same may be true for prices cited from the Term Catalogues. There is clearly an area of ambiguity here that needs further work, but I have cited prices without comment on whether they were retail or wholesale because they at least give a general idea of the relative price of one work compared to another.} Longer works of several hundred pages such as the two

\footnote{As previous note; but see also below, Appendix 1, and Keeble, Literary Culture, 134–5, 141.}
volumes of official homilies, Calvin’s *Institutes*, Hooker’s *Ecclesiasticall politie*, the combined *Holy living* and *Holy dying* of Jeremy Taylor, or Drelincourt’s *Christian’s defence against the fear of death*, cost 4–6 shillings; and by the time we reach the collected works of popular authors, we are talking of much higher figures: 13s. 4d. for Samuel Hieron’s *Workes* unbound, 20s. for Joseph Hall’s works unbound (28s. bound), and 33s. for three volumes of William Perkins’s, again unbound. A copy of a full-size King James bible would probably have cost 25s. unbound or about £2 bound, while a polyglot bible or a collection of the related commentary, the *Critici sacri*, would have cost several pounds, even when bought second-hand at auction. It does not take too much to calculate that while a youth of modest or humble background such as Baxter or Bunyan might occasionally acquire a relatively expensive work in a cheap edition, or in the growing second-hand market (fed by a lively trade in stolen books), it was only adults of moderately good income who were going to be able to afford many such works, and the candles—and perhaps the spectacles—to read them outside daylight hours.

To length and price we can add other features such as typeface and the quality of any illustrations. The characteristic black-letter type of the early Elizabethan period was ousted in the 1580s and 1590s by the more fashionable roman type, though it was retained for some publications of an official kind, such as proclamations and some sizes of bibles published in the early seventeenth century, and for some unofficial works targeted at those with limited reading skills. Thus the fact that the majority of the ‘sermons’ and other chapbooks attributed to ‘John Hart’ and ‘Andrew Jones’, and a majority of the ‘penny godlies’ in the Pepys collection, were still being printed in black letter in the period from the 1650s to the 1680s, suggests that a lively market still existed among those who preferred such type.

Such works were also much more likely to have illustrations on the title-page or elsewhere derived from the same crude woodcuts that were used on broadside ballads, whereas the more expensive the text, the more likely that an engraving had been commissioned or an existing plate modified to enhance its appeal and impact. The effect of adding pictures of quality was usually to add considerably to the cost, even double it, and thus narrow the market accordingly. This may have been the reason why, with a few notable exceptions, English publishers used pictures much less than their German counterparts, and thereby may have missed a trick.
Where authors either wrote in Latin, or included quotations in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew and did not bother to translate them, the target was probably (though not always) a reader thought to be versed in such languages, especially if the work was dedicated to a patron, a senior cleric, or someone else to be impressed.\footnote{Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture}, 141 for a presbyterian addressing ‘the vulgar reader’ but using Hebrew, Greek, and Latin and expecting familiarity with a wide range of philosophical ideas.} If time had permitted, a detailed analysis would also have been made here of the vocabulary and grammar of each work.\footnote{As attempted by M. U. Chrisman in her recent book, \textit{Conflicting Visions of Reform} (Atlantic Highlands NJ, 1996), 5–6, 8–11, 14–15, and \textit{passim}.} However, a general estimate can be made of the proportion of difficult or multi-syllabic words used and the complexity of sentence structure, and the degree of simplicity or complexity has also been added into the equation in the analyses which follow.

There are other possible clues in the background of the author, the preface, dedication, or title or text (such as a warning to Londoners, or young people), and evidence of use in the copies themselves (autographs, bindings, or annotations), or in other sources (letters, diaries, or biographical material).\footnote{Examples of these will be given in the following chapters.} On the basis of these and all the other criteria given here the intended and actual targets of many of the religious works of the early modern period can be suggested with a modicum of confidence. And where better to begin than the book which in Chillingworth’s famous phrase constituted the essence of the ‘religion of Protestants’?\footnote{W. Chillingworth, \textit{The religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation} (1638), 375.}
English Bibles and their Owners

The Bible in English has gone through many changes over the last 600 years, but the most striking undoubtedly occurred in the early modern period. Between the 1520s and the 1610s several different translations were made, and between the 1550s and the 1720s the way in which the Bible was presented and disseminated was transformed. The only comparable period of change was between 1804 and 1864 when a similar combination of evangelical zeal and hard-headed commercial enterprise again transformed the way in which cheap bibles were produced and distributed. But whereas in the earlier period the driving force shifted from scholarly concern to publishers’ interests, in the later it was the zealots who had the whip hand over the print trade throughout. In this chapter we will examine the mixture of enthusiasm and self-interest that provoked the changes of the first period, and the impact this had on the ownership of bibles in the early modern period as a whole.

i. ‘Here may all manner of persons . . . learn all things that they ought to believe’

If there was one book that the English reformers, like their Continental counterparts, thought should be universally available, it was the Bible—in the vernacular. One of the first English translators of the sixteenth century, William Tyndale, echoed both Erasmus and Luther when he expressed the hope that his translation of the New Testament would ‘cause the boy that driveth the plough’ to know as much of the scriptures as priests, and the prefatory material of a number of editions of the Matthew and Great Bibles and some editions of the Bishops’ Bible contained an ‘Exhortation to the study of the Bible’ drawn from the sacred text itself. In his ‘Prologue’ to the second folio edition of the Great Bible in 1540, Cranmer argued that the Holy Ghost had so ordered it that publicans, fishermen, and shepherds could benefit from bible study as well as great doctors:

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1 For the earlier period, see below; for 1804–64, see L. Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, 1991), passim.


Here may all manner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned, rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men, virgins, wives, widows, lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons of what estate or condition soever they be, may in this book learn all things that they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning almighty God, as also concerning themselves and all others.

Against those bishops and laymen who opposed the translation of the Bible into English, Cranmer defended the idea on various grounds: a vernacular bible offered the instruments of our salvation; all, even the simplest, would understand some of it; it would help people understand sermons better; it would armour them against temptation; and—last but not least?—King Henry VIII had approved the idea (at least for a while). Already in 1537 Bishop Lee of Coventry and Lichfield had instructed his clergy ‘to exhort, and admonish every man to read the Bible in Latin or English’; and in 1538 the second set of royal injunctions had ordered the clergy to ‘discourage no man privily or apertly [openly] from the reading or hearing of the . . . Bible’, but rather ‘expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same’. By the early 1540s vernacular bibles were being set up in many (though by no means all) parish churches for anyone to read, and a proclamation had made it clear that laymen could read the Bible at all times and places convenient; and in 1547 and 1559 royal injunctions were issued to ensure that the clergy themselves were regular students of the scriptures, and to encourage the laity to become so too.

Official support was not always pitched at such a high level. As early as the autumn of 1538 free circulation of new copies of the Bible had been restricted, and in 1543, fearful of the speed and direction of change, Henry placed limits on who should read the Bible. Nobles and gentry might read an English bible to their families, individual members of the upper and middle ranks might read it privately, but the lower ranks must not read it at all.

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2 Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, ed. W. H. Freer and W. M. Kennedy (3 vols., Alcuin Club Collections, 14–16, 1910), ii. 20; Documents Illustrative of English Church History, ed. H. Gee and W. J. Hardy (1896), 276.

3 Tudor Royal Proclamations, i. 393–6, 398, ii. 119, 121. The 1547 injunction concerning the laity seems to have been a blend of Lee’s article and the injunction of 1538; the same article in 1559 omitted the qualifying clause ‘authorized and licensed thereto’ in the 1547 injunction which was probably a vestige of the 1543 statute mentioned below.

Similar impediments were revived under Mary, and removed again soon after the accession of Elizabeth, though official exhortations thereafter were perhaps a mite more cautious: the 1559 injunction added a clause to the effect that men should read the Bible ‘with great humility and reverence’, and the prefatory epistles to the new translations of the Bible in 1568 and 1611 also tempered encouragement to read with warnings against vainglorious and over-precise interpretations.  

This caution should not be overdrawn. From the 1560s both officially inspired and personal statements would again press on the laity the duty and the benefits of studying the scriptures. Bishop Jewel stressed the great advantages to be gained from close acquaintance with a work that contained all that men needed to know about life and salvation. He also described the Bible as ‘a paradise full of delights’, an image picked up and developed in the epistle to the reader at the start of the King James Bible: the scriptures were ‘a whole paradise of trees of life’, ‘a pannary of wholesome food’. ‘Happy is the man that delighteth in the scripture, and thrice happy [he] that meditath in it day and night.’ One enthusiast broke into verse, entitled ‘Of the incomparable treasure’, which was printed at the start of many Geneva Bibles:

Here is the spring where waters flow | To quench our heat of sin:  
Here is the tree where truth doth grow | To lead our lives therein . . .  
The tidings of salvation dear | Come to our ears from hence:  
The fortress of our faith is here | And shield of our defence.

However, while first- and second-generation English reformers regularly encouraged all to read the Bible, they seem to have lacked a clear or consistent policy on how to secure this. There were few practical measures to expand elementary education or enforce bible ownership, such as can be found in other Protestant states in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and no campaigns to test adults’ scripture knowledge regularly, or to disseminate large numbers of bibles, such as would be found in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and indeed England as well by then. Education in England owed most to the private initiatives of many bishops, preachers, authors, teachers, and benefactors who believed that literacy was a means

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9 Tudor Royal Proclamations, ii. 6, 54, 119; and see below, Ch. 2.ix; Cranmer’s 1540 preface (above, n. 4) had contained a note of caution and was reprinted in the Bishops’ Bible.

10 For the stress on duty, see W. Whitaker, A Disputation on Holy Scripture (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849), 233–49; J. Calvin, The catechisme or manner to teache children the christian religion (Geneva, 1556), 124; S. Egerton, A briefe method of catechizing (1615), 42.


12 Jewel, Treatise, 1182; The Holy Bible (Authorized Version) (1611), sig. A4v.

13 DMH nos. 154, 154–5, 178, 194, 210, etc.

14 See G. Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indocstruction of the Young in the German Reformation (Baltimore and London, 1978); and below, Ch. 2.xii, and 2.xvi.
of overcoming popery and that encouraging the people to read the Bible in their homes would produce a more Christian community. And it was the commercial instincts of the printers, publishers, and booksellers of the day that as much as anything else stimulated public interest in bible owning, and ensured that bibles of the right sort were produced in sufficient quantities. In the next nine sections of this chapter, we shall look at the enthusiasts’ attempts to provide as accessible a translation as possible and the printing trade’s attempts to produce as many copies of it as the market could stand; and in the last six sections we shall try to identify what sort of men, women, and children may have owned the copies they produced.

ii. Accuracy and Accessibility in Translations into English

Between 1525 and 1611 over half a dozen major new translations of part or all of the Bible into English were published, and nearly all of them were subsequently revised to a greater or lesser extent. William Tyndale published a complete New Testament in Worms in 1526, and revised versions in Antwerp in 1534 and 1535; editions were produced in England soon afterwards. Miles Coverdale’s first translation of the whole Bible was also printed in Germany, in 1535, but was later modified and published in England, and then formed the basis of much of the Great Bibles of 1539–40. The so-called ‘Matthew’ Bible, combining Tyndale’s translation of half of the Old Testament and all of the new with Coverdale’s of the rest, was first published in Antwerp in 1537, but was subsequently published in England both in the original form and in much revised versions by Richard Taverner and Edmund Becke. The Geneva Bible of 1560, in part an original translation, in part built on an earlier edition of the New Testament by William Whittingham, was another to be produced abroad first, but from the 1570s in England too. By 1576 the

15 Visitation articles enquired if bibles and other books were available in church for the laity to read, e.g. Frere and Kennedy, Visitation Articles and Injunctions, iii. 301; bishops were also actively involved in setting up and designing regulations for schools, e.g. Baldwin, Shakspere’s ‘Small Latine’, i. 297, 302–3, 345–6, 432–3; for exhortations to read the Bible and confidence in the results, see above, nn. 4, 9–12; W. Gouge, Of domesticall duties (1622), 539–40; D. Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order (Cambridge, 1980), 4–6; J. Morgan, Godly Learning (Cambridge, 1986), 153–6; Haigh, English Reformations, 180–96, 286–7; M. Todd, Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order (Cambridge, 1987), chs. 2, 4; and Spufford, Small Books, 212. In ‘The Contribution of the Geneva Bible of 1560 to the English Protestant Tradition’, Sixteenth Century Journal, 12 (1981), 8, 17, D. G. Danner has suggested that an emphasis on the reading and understanding of the Bible as opposed to hearing the Word preached was a particularly English trait.


18 Ibid., 2063–5, 2080, 2090; 2068–72, 2074–6, 2079, 2081, 2089, 2091–2, 2094, 2096, 2098–98.5, and 2102–3.

19 Ibid., 2066–7, 2077–8, 2083, 2087–8. 20 Ibid., 2871, 2093, 2095, 2106, and 2177 ff.
Geneva New Testament had been revised by Laurence Tomson and new notes inserted to take advantage of Beza’s Latin translation of 1565; and in 1592 the first of two translations of the revised text and notes on the Revelation of St John produced by Franciscus Junius, a Huguenot minister, was made available (the second was by Tomson again, in 1602). Finally there was a Catholic translation into English published in two parts in 1582 and 1609, and known from its provenance as the Rheims-Douay version, and there were two purely English ventures, both officially inspired and both heavily indebted to earlier translations—the Bishops’ Bible of 1568 (much revised in 1572) and the King James or Authorized Version of 1611.

Of the three elements that may be identified in the making of these English bibles, the key one was the desire to incorporate the very latest insights provided by Continental scholars who were busy trying to find more reliable Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testaments and refine their understanding of the precise meaning of those texts. Even the Rheims-Douay translation was scrutinized by English reformers for any fresh light it might throw. English scholars made a relatively small contribution to the process of purifying the text of the scriptures, at least until the London Polyglot text of 1657, but a growing number were zealous in acquiring enough knowledge of ancient languages and customs to be able to take full advantage of what was done abroad. And in their concern for authenticity, the greatest possible accuracy of translation of individual words and phrases into the vernacular, and the incorporation wherever possible of the ambiguities or allegorical elements in the original, they were the equal of Continental scholars.

A second strand of the story is the growing concern for fidelity to the style of the original, and the growing skill of translators and editors in finding English equivalents for the often very different word order and syntax of the original texts. In doing so, it has been suggested, they were helped by certain similarities between English, Hebrew, and Greek syntax, but above all by their feeling for language and idiom and their readiness to create English equivalents which were both subtle and elegant. But it was the third element that is most germane to our purpose—the desire for the text to be readily accessible, in the sense both of being easily understood by non-specialist audiences and of being readily available to all who wanted to possess a copy for study.
or reference. Ease of comprehension by ordinary readers could be assisted by the choice of format and typeface, and by apparatus such as marginal notes explaining or paraphrasing the original words or phrases—features to which we shall return shortly.

iii. Piety and Profit in the Introduction of Bible Printing into England

In the 1530s bible printing was a novelty in England: printed copies of the standard medieval text, the Latin Vulgate, were imported from the Continent. Nor was it a task to be undertaken lightly. Setting up three quarters of a million words, long in advance of the first sales, required considerable capital, and from the late 1530s to the late 1550s there were political risks too, due to shifts in royal policy and opposition from conservative clergy and laity. Against this background we may assume that profit was not the sole or even the chief motive of the first producers of bibles in England.27

Thereafter the risks receded, and with the protection provided by powerful allies at court, printers could expect to recover their outlay and make a profit on top. The chief ally of John Day and Richard Jugge was Archbishop Parker who commissioned the Bishops' Bible of 1568;28 Christopher Barker’s patron was Sir Francis Walsingham who, in addition to securing a licence for him to print the Geneva Bible, also helped Laurence Tomson who, as we have seen, was responsible for the new English translation of the Geneva New Testament which was also published by Barker, in 1576.29 Barker claimed to have spent the enormous sum of £3,000 in eighteen months in setting up new editions of the Bible in the late 1570s, and his son Robert allegedly laid out £3,000 on the new Authorized Version in 1611.30 Initial outlays remained high in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and may have deterred all but the most ambitious from tying up their capital for years before they would see a return.31

That good profits could nevertheless be made in the bible trade is made very clear not only by the amounts the Barkers invested, but also by the periodic attempts from the 1570s to the 1650s and beyond to challenge the monopoly of bible publishing held by a few men in London, and by other

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28 Parker used Day a lot, but the idea that his patronage went further than this seems to stem from Strype, and is examined critically by C. L. Oastler, John Day, the Elizabethan Printer (Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Publications, 10, 1975), 19–21.
29 Pollard, Records, 32, 293–4; Eason, Geneva Bible, 5 and DMH, 82–3. For the flattering portraits of leading courtiers inserted into the 1568 Bishops’ Bible, see below, Ch. 2.viii.
men’s willingness to pay good money for a share in that market. In the first half of the seventeenth century various malcontents estimated that hundreds or even thousands of pounds’ profit were being made each year by monopolists selling bibles at greatly inflated prices, though other evidence suggests that the margin was not as great as they thought. In 1660 two men were prepared to pay £80 a year for the privilege of printing bibles for Oxford University, while in 1664 a moiety of the more valuable right to print bibles in London for the remaining twelve years of the grant was valued at £1,300. But an annual profit of £100 or £200 was not to be sneezed at, and there was always the possibility of business expanding.

While profit probably became a paramount consideration, there are many signs that the members of the book trade co-operated actively with translators and church authorities: in 1540 Thomas Cromwell allowed the king’s printer to print a smaller, cheaper edition of the 1539 Great Bible for private study; in 1568 the translators of the Bishops’ Bible agreed with the printer that he should bestow ‘his thickest paper on the New Testament, because it shall be most occupied [regularly used]’; and in the 1580s a printer defrayed the costs of William Fulke while he was preparing a comparative version of the Bishops’ and Rheims New Testaments for the press. Moreover, on some occasions such care was taken by the editors and master printers with the selection of paper, the quality of type, the accuracy of setting, and the commissioning of new engravings for the title-pages that it seems clear that personal and professional pride was also at stake, for instance in the first editions of the Bishops’ Bible in 1568 and the Authorized in 1611, the first Cambridge editions of the King James Bible, especially that of 1638, the first Oxford quarto of 1675, and Baskett’s 1717 folio. Conversely, a printer or publisher still ran the risk of paying a heavy fine for producing an inaccurate copy of such a sacred text, as the producers of the ‘wicked’ bible found to their cost in 1631 when they left out the ‘not’ in the commandment against adultery, though it is possible that this was a piece of sabotage by a rival to discredit the king’s printer.

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37 Pollard, Records, 39–42, 57, 313–29; McKitterick, History of CUP, 114–17, 143, 147, 149, 153–4, 167–8; Blagden, Stationers’ Company, 135–6, 140–2; H. R. Plomer, ‘The King’s Printing House under the Stuarts’, The Library, 2nd ser., 2 (1901), 370, 373; and DMH 217, 249; and see Baskett’s ambitions in Carter, History of OUP, 166–76.

38 McKitterick, History of CUP, 149, 202; M. Sparke, Scintilla, or a light broken into darke warehouses (1641), reprinted in DMH, 183–7; W. Kilburne, Dangerous errors in several late printed Bibles (1659), 14; DMH 205, 239; and Plomer, ‘King’s Printing House’, 370, 373; evidence adduced below suggests numbers of editions were lower in the 1660s but that the numbers of copies were not necessarily lower than a few decades earlier or later. See also Carter, History of OUP, 97–8, 174. In 1722 the remaining thirty years of a patent to print bibles in London were deemed to be worth £10,000, or about £330 per annum: DMH, 287.

39 Dickens, English Reformation, 134; DMH, 71, 104.


41 DMH, 162, and cf. 249; and McKitterick, History of CUP, 196–7. Only a 1,000 copies were produced of this edition—a relatively low number.
Scholars, publishers, and printers also ensured that the scriptures were made available to the public in a variety of forms. For the better educated there were improved Latin versions of the complete Bible or the New Testament alone, imported bibles in Hebrew and Greek or with polyglot texts, and comparative versions in Latin and English, Anglo-Saxon and English, French, Dutch and English, and so on. For those with more formal education and more leisure, four editions of the comparative version of the Rheims and Bishops’ New Testaments were published to show good Protestant Englishmen where the former was wrong; while in the 1650s a polyglot text was prepared and published in England by ejected episcopalian clergy, with no interference from the Cromwellian Protectorate, so that ‘every private man’ (of means) could have at his disposal the original sources and major translations of the Bible. For those who did not need a complete bible, again probably mainly scholars, there were editions of segments of the Old Testament, such as the Pentateuch and the Book of Psalms; there was also *The third part of the bible, conteyning five excellent bookes* (Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon), in a form ‘most commodious for all Christians’ according to the title-page; and for those living in Wales and Ireland there were occasional editions of the Bible in Welsh (from 1588) and Irish (from 1685).

As we shall see in later chapters, different parts of the Bible were made available to the public in other guises too, such as paraphrases in prose or verse, epic poetry on scripture themes, and tiny ‘thumb bibles’, while those with less formal education were offered a variety of works: rhymed summaries of the scriptures, little books of questions and answers to help master the contents of the Bible, and catechisms which relied heavily on extracts from the scriptures. But apart from the special case of the metrical psalms, which will be examined separately in Chapter 9, the forms of scriptures which the average Englishman was most likely to encounter were just two: a complete bible in English, and a New Testament in English. An obvious starting point is the scale of production, but for technical reasons, explained in Appendix 2 below, it must be stressed most strongly that any totals offered here are conjectural, especially after 1620.

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38 DMH, 103–4, and STC: 2888, 2900–900.3, 2917, 2947 (Fulke’s work was reprinted after each new edition of the original was published abroad); *Cambridge History of the Bible III*, 92.

39 STC: 2350–1, 2351–2, 2370 seqq.; 2130, 2137, 2156, 2228; 2246, 2278, 2394, 2334.


41 See below, Chs. 3 and 7.

42 See below, Ch. 3.
iv. Approximate Numbers of Editions of Complete Bibles and New Testaments

When we look at Table 2.1, the most striking feature is the relatively small number of complete bibles published before the 1570s. By the 1550s perhaps only four editions of the original Coverdale translation, seven of the Matthew version, and thirteen of the Great Bible had appeared, and since some of these had been published abroad or at least set in type abroad, it is hard to know how many copies reached England. This relative dearth is not altogether surprising given the lack of enthusiasm of many Henrician and Marian bishops for translations, the absence of a tradition of publishing bibles in England, and the relatively high retail cost of the early folio editions—at least 10s. for a copy of the Great Bible, or 12s. bound. This figure was considerably higher than the price of comparable works, such as the King’s Book or the first Edwardian Book of Common Prayer, which retailed at 1s. 4d. and 2s. 2d., and three times the price of aTyndale New Testament, as we shall see shortly.43

Table 2.1 Approximate Number of Editions of Complete Bibles in English Compared to Editions of the New Testament in English 1525–1640

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Bible</th>
<th>New Testament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1520–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2 [2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540–9</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>14 [3] +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570–9</td>
<td>18 [1]</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580–9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590–9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600–9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13 +++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610–19</td>
<td>45 [1] *****</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620–9</td>
<td>33 [1] *****</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630–40</td>
<td>76 [1] *****</td>
<td>16 ++++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: STC. Figures in square brackets represent number of editions in main column known to have been printed on the Continent; there may well have been others. Editions produced in or specifically for Scotland and editions of the Rheims-Douay Bible have been excluded.

* Counts 2087–7.6 as one edition.
** Excludes STC 2090.
*** 2106 counted s.a. 1570.
**** Includes 2180.
***** Includes 2274.
****** Excludes 2340 and 2344, but includes 2179.

43 Tudor Royal Proclamations, i. 297–8; J. F. Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles (1953), 261–4 for prices in the South; Dickens found a figure of 14s. being paid by one Yorkshire parish: Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York (Oxford, 1959), 179; R. B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford, 1927), 122; Took, ‘Government and the Printing Trade’, 188.
What did sell well at this stage, as in Luther’s Germany in the 1520s, were copies of the New Testament alone, especially the Tyndale version, but also the original Coverdale and the Great Bible versions of the New Testament. Between 1525 and 1566 about forty editions of Tyndale’s Testament were produced, though owing to official hostility half of these had to be published abroad—in Cologne, Worms, Antwerp, France, and Zurich. If we then add on Coverdale’s first translation of the New Testament (eleven editions, five of them published abroad) and the Great Bible version (eleven separate editions but also used in five editions of volume 1 of Erasmus’s Paraphrase), we find that Testaments outsold versions of the complete Bible by a ratio of more than two to one in the years 1525–66. Not until the 1570s did editions of the whole Bible outsell those of the New Testament alone.

The reasons for the popularity of New Testaments at this stage are not hard to fathom. Reformers saw the New Testament as the fulfilment of the Old: it brought the glad tidings of Christ’s sacrifice for our redemption from the sin of Adam; the one made clear what in the other was obscure. It was not surprising then that, like Luther and other translators, Tyndale began with the New Testament, and that his work was not only by far the most regularly reprinted version of the scriptures in English but also perhaps one of the most influential works in the early stages of the English Reformation, giving humanists, undergraduates, and professional men as well as shopkeepers, clothworkers, and shepherds some notion of what the ferment on the Continent was all about. The New Testaments must also have been much cheaper to buy and more portable than the heavy, expensive folio editions of the complete Bible. In 1526 Robert Barnes was in line with a general retail range of 3s. to 4s. when he charged two Lollards 3s. 2d. for a copy of Tyndale’s New Testament, but a wholesale price of as little as 9d. was charged for batches of the 3,000 copies of the Worms edition of 1526 which reached England.

With gradually increasing stability under Elizabeth, and the publication in tandem of the Bishops’ Bible, from 1568, and the Geneva Bible, from 1575, the approximate number of editions of complete bibles printed in England rose quickly from 8 in the 1560s to 17 in the 1570s and to 24, 23, and 26 in the next three decades—a curve that tends to support the recent view of a ‘slow’ Reformation that did not take widespread hold in England until late in the

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The next sharp rise, to about 44 editions in the 1610s and perhaps over 70 editions between 1630 and 1640, was due almost entirely to the exceptional numbers of editions of the King James Bible. As can be seen from Table 2.2, between 1611 and 1640 approximately as many editions of the complete Authorized Version may have been published as of all other complete versions published since 1535 put together: including editions published abroad this time, the figures are approximately 140 King James editions, and 140 of the Matthew, Great, Bishops’, and Geneva. The size of an average print run was also usually larger in the early seventeenth century than in the mid-sixteenth, so we are talking of larger as well as more editions. Writing in 1641, Michael Sparke, a London bookseller with a strong interest in bible production, suggested that print runs for folio editions of the Authorized Version were 1,500 for the top quality versions and 3,000 for the cheaper, while for quarto the figure was 3,000, and for octavo 6,000 or even 10,000. These figures should not be taken as gospel: there are indications that some print runs

### Table 2.2: Approximate Number of Editions of Different Translations of the Complete Bible into English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Coverdale (1535)</th>
<th>Matthew (1537)</th>
<th>Great (1539)</th>
<th>Bishops’ (1568)</th>
<th>Geneva (1560)</th>
<th>Authorized (1611)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1530–9</td>
<td>3 [2]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550–9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 [1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560–9</td>
<td>7 [1]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 [2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570–9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9 [1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580–9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590–9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600–9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610–19</td>
<td>13 [1]</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620–9</td>
<td></td>
<td>33 [1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630–40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1[1]</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>91 &gt; 140</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: as Table 2.1.
were smaller and others larger than these figures suggest, and from the 1620s there is the further muddying of the waters caused by continuous reprinting in some formats (described in Appendix 2). But that output was far higher in the 1630s than the 1530s and much higher than the early 1580s is beyond doubt: a revolution in bible printing had occurred.50

The 1630s were probably the peak: during the 1640s and 1650s as Table 2.3 shows, levels of production of complete bibles were perhaps nearer those of the 1610s and 1620s. One possible cause of this was overproduction under Charles I. Even if we leave the growing stock of second-hand copies out of the calculation, it is clear that levels of production in England had risen so rapidly in the 1610s and again in the late 1620s and 1630s that there was a real risk that the market would be flooded. Indeed, in the late 1620s and early 1630s some London-based publishers had deliberately produced extra copies and sold them below the usual price in a bid to undercut the prices of the first Cambridge editions then coming on the market. In other words, the levels of production of the late 1620s and the 1630s may have been artificially high and the levels of production not sustainable, even in normal circumstances.51

Table 2.3 Approximate Numbers of Editions of Complete Bibles and New Testaments 1641–1729

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Bible</th>
<th>New Testament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1641–9</td>
<td>54 (10^2) [14] *</td>
<td>8 (9^2) [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650–9</td>
<td>41 (9^2) [3] **</td>
<td>4 (2^2) –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660–9</td>
<td>32 (5^2) [8] ***</td>
<td>7 (4^2) –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670–9</td>
<td>39 (8^2) [8] ****</td>
<td>5 (11^2) –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680–9</td>
<td>49 (25^2) [9]</td>
<td>6 (7^2) – ++++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690–9</td>
<td>32 (4^2) [1]</td>
<td>7 (7^2) – +++++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700–9</td>
<td>39 (1^2) [2] +</td>
<td>8 – [3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710–19</td>
<td>26 (3^2) [1] ++</td>
<td>4 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720–9</td>
<td>26 (3^2) – ++++</td>
<td>8 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>338 (68^2) [46]</td>
<td>57 (40^2) [4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: DMH, Wing', and ESTC. Round brackets contain the number of queries in addition to the approximate decennial total (in bold), square brackets the number of editions in the approximate decennial total (or in a few cases the queries) that were possibly or probably published abroad. Editions published in Scotland and Ireland and Catholic versions have been excluded.

* Excludes DMH, nos. 578–9, but includes STC 22340.
** Includes STC 2330, 2330.2, and 2330.8.
*** Includes STC 2330.3, 2330.4, 2330.5, and 2330.6.
**** Includes STC 2330.9.

* Excludes DMH, nos. 578–9, but includes STC 22340.
** Includes STC t081301, 081320, 089292, 183500, 183572, and n.011371 and 011371.
*** Includes STC t183502.
++++ Includes STC t089257, 089280, and 183498
+++++ Excludes DMH, no. 793.
++++++ Excludes DMH, no. 829.

50 Ibid., 162, 166, 178, 183–5, and 200; and Pollard, Records, 66–7 for a suggestion of 5,000 copies per edition of early Authorized Version folios.
51 STC 2284–3100; DMH, 183.
decline in production in the 1640s and 1650s was also due in part to the disruption of production and sales caused by the political uncertainty of those years. The virtual monopoly of bible production by a few printers was again challenged, as were so many other monopolies at that time, and the privilege of printing bibles was apparently offered to several London stationers by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Most refused the offer, perhaps because of the cost of the initial outlay of setting up such a big work, and the risk of unsold copies, especially of the larger copies to be put in churches, if the ecclesiastical climate changed again or a new translation was called for. Quicker, easier profits could be made by selling large quantities of the polemical pamphlets which were all the rage at the time.

The pre-war producers tried to keep a hold on the market, but the demand which they could not meet seems to have been met by a typical piece of enterprise by the Dutch who, in conjunction with English booksellers anxious to challenge the monopolists, had already produced a number of pirate editions of Geneva and King James Bibles. Some of the Dutch products were facsimile copies of particular English or Scottish editions that had proved popular; others were hybrid editions which combined the King James text with the Geneva Bible’s notes. The Dutch editions seem to have been printed in huge numbers. Estimates of 6,000 and 12,500 for a single delivery, or of 40,000 or an incredible 700,000 copies being produced in the space of a few years, were bandied about at the time. Even allowing for exaggeration by hostile witnesses, the scale of Dutch production of bibles in English was clearly high. But some of these editions were found to contain errors, and in 1645 Parliament prohibited their sale until copies had been checked by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The result of this ban is not clear: it would appear that Dutch copies were still being produced and perhaps brought into England in the 1650s. In 1653 and 1657 steps were taken to inaugurate a new English translation of the Bible, but as with many other ecclesiastical initiatives of that period it proved stillborn. The polyglot edition prepared by sequestered episcopalian clergy with time on their hands did reach fruition in 1655–7, but was never intended as a best-seller.

In 1660, relative normality—and the genuine King James version—were restored, though the scale of production of the 1630s was probably not reached again. From the admittedly speculative figures in Table 2.3, and

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52 Blagden, Stationers’ Company, 135–6, 140–2; Kilburne, Dangerous errors, 5–6. For a printer who was definitely not reluctant to try his hand but won a reputation for inaccuracy, see John Field: DMH, nos. 605–6, 630, 633, 633–9, etc; and McKitterick, History of CUP, 322–7, 329–30.
53 For Sparke’s quarrels with Robert Barker, see DMH, 182–5 and DNB on Barker. For some post-1640 Dutch editions, see above, n. 48; DMH, 181, 189–90. For earlier Dutch editions, see STC 22177, 2179–80, 2184.5, 2274, 2309, and 2328.5.
54 DMH, 166, 178, 181.
55 Ibid., 177–8, 182, and STC 2230, 2330.2.
57 See below, Ch. 3.iii.
counting only those editions about which we can be partly sure (that is, excluding the queries and the Dutch editions), it would appear that the average numbers of repeat editions of complete bibles per decade for the period 1660–1729 might have been in the region of 35, slightly higher than that of the 1580s–1600s but lower than the peak decades of the first half of the seventeenth century. The somewhat lower level of production after 1660 might have been the result of those Jeremiahs who thought that ‘the Bible in English under every weaver and chambermaid’s arm hath done us much hurt’, and that the lower orders should be educated for their station in life. But it may be doubted if the people who aired these views had much influence on the provision of education or the production of bibles, both of which remained at quite a high level throughout the latter half of the early modern period, and received a boost with the attempts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to disseminate bibles among the poor and needy.

It would, in fact, be misleading to talk of a marked decline in bible production or in demand for bibles in England after 1660. In the first place, as was pointed out above, levels of production in England in the late 1620s and the 1630s may have been artificially high and perhaps not sustainable, given that the upward curve of population growth in the sixteenth century was flattening by the mid-seventeenth century, and also many bibles were being handed down from generation to generation or entering the second-hand market. Secondly, Scottish demand for bibles which, as we shall see shortly, had probably accounted for a certain proportion of sales of English-produced bibles in the sixteenth century, had probably all but disappeared as regular production of bibles and New Testaments began north of the Border in the 1630s. Moreover, as we shall also see shortly, the formats used increasingly after 1660 were geared even more to the needs of the general public than in the pre-war period, and the print runs for these middling or smaller formats may have been quite high, which in part compensated for the reduced number of editions. In the early 1670s, when a new edition (of 6,000 copies) of the Welsh bible was mooted, the project was turned down by booksellers in London on the grounds of the outlay involved, but also because they were (they claimed) selling 30,000 English bibles every year—at a time when our figures suggest an average of only three or four fresh editions every year. Equally in 1720 Baskett was printing 10,000 copies each of his octavo and


59 DMH, 88–9, 128–9; 164, 167 ff.; and below, nn. 159–60; also see the complaints of cheap Scottish imports damaging English sales c.1634–6: Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1636–37, 267.
duodecimo editions. Perhaps some of those 30,000 bibles sold each year had been printed abroad. Indeed, it was alleged that some English booksellers without a share in the official trade encouraged Dutch production as a means of getting into this lucrative market, and in 1679 a bishop complained to Archbishop Sancroft that ‘Dutch bibles . . . supply half this kingdom, all Scotland, all Ireland, and all our plantations’. It might be more accurate therefore to think of English bible producers trying to find the correct balance between supply and a public demand in England that was still substantial and, to judge from the pattern of repeat editions, fairly constant from the Restoration to the Evangelical Revival. It may be added that virtually all of the bibles produced after 1660 were of the 1611 Authorized Version, though it is of interest that there was still enough demand for the hybrid version mentioned above for about five more editions of the Authorized Version with the Geneva notes to be published in Amsterdam between 1672 and 1715, probably for English nonconformists or Scottish presbyterians.

Meanwhile the production of separate New Testaments had first stabilized and then declined. Once the publication of complete bibles had become a matter of routine, the production of Testaments seems to have taken second place. From the 1570s to the 1630s, publishers found a market for only about fifteen editions a decade, though there are indications that Testaments may have been printed in even larger print runs than complete bibles: in 1641 Michael Sparke spoke of runs of 4,000 for Cambridge twenty-fourmos, 6,000 for London duodecimos, and 12,000 for London octavos. During the 1650s, production of Testaments for sale as separate works (to students or in some cases to those wanting a black-letter copy) seems to have fallen away dramatically, and only occasionally to have exceeded the level of six editions per decade thereafter, as we shall see shortly, though again the size of the print runs for the standard octavo format may have been above the average. The cheapness of complete bibles in smaller formats by the 1620s and 1630s and the relatively small number of specialist students who wished to own a New Testament by itself are probably the two main reasons for this relative decline, and the rolling production of separate Old and New Testaments from the mid-seventeenth century was perhaps as much a reflection as a cause of this situation.

v. Diversification of Formats

At least part of the reason for the rapid growth of production of complete bibles from the 1540s to the 1630s lies in the increasing diversification of the

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60 Ballinger, *Bible in Wales*, 33; Carter, *History of OUP*, 173. One conclusion that can be drawn from Sparke’s figures is that in the case of complete Bibles the smaller the format, the larger the print run (though in the case of Testaments the reverse was true).
61 DMH, 217; Carter, *History of OUP*, 72 n. 4, and pp. 95, 98.
62 DMH., nos. 742–3, 782, 807, 936. 63 Ibid., p. 185.
formats in which bibles were produced—a trend in which publishers played by far the largest part, by both reflecting and anticipating shifts in demand. As can be seen from Table 2.4, most of the complete bibles published in the 1530s and 1540s were folios—to be placed in churches; but in the 1550s more quartos and the first octavo were printed, for use by individuals rather than institutions. Thereafter, the production of folios would consistently be exceeded by that of quartos and octavos; in fact, during the second half of Elizabeth’s reign more quartos would be published than all other sizes put together.

By the 1620s and 1630s, however, the most popular format was a size smaller—the octavo: it was, in fact, the production of an unprecedented number of octavo editions that accounts for the peak of perhaps more than seventy editions printed in England between 1630 and 1640 (though the same period did witness a record number of quarto editions as well). The early seventeenth century is also notable for the first appearance of the duodecimo bible, a size which proved increasingly popular in the 1640s and 1650s and after the Restoration when, though precision is not possible, it appears that twice as many duodecimos were published as of any other format (see Table 2.5). In the 1640s there appeared the first examples of complete bibles in the even smaller formats of eighteenmo and twenty-fourmo; the latter was described in the 1650s as ‘very small to carry in pockets’. These new formats achieved modest sales in the later seventeenth century but did not oust the duodecimo, perhaps because the type used was too small to be read with com-

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**Table 2.4** Formats of Editions of Complete Bibles 1530–1640

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Quarto</th>
<th>Octavo</th>
<th>Duodecimo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1530–9</td>
<td>5 [3]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540–9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550–9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 [1]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570–9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8 [1]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580–9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590–9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600–9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610–19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20 [1]</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620–9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16 [1]</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630–40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22 [1]</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: as Table 2.1.*

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64 For other cases of diversification of format being linked to popular demand, see Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, 126, and Howsam, *Cheap Bibles*, 103–4, 107.
different qualities of paper as well. The reasons for this, and to some extent for the increased number of formats in general, were essentially pragmatic: to provide copies of the Bible at a price which everyone could afford. The full-size folios were expensive, especially the sumptuous first editions mentioned above: 27s. 8d. for the Bishops’ Bible, 53s. 4d. or 58s. for the King James version. Even when sold in loose sheets, folios were on average twice as fort for any length of time, especially in poor light or with ageing eyes. With the production of bibles in these even smaller formats, the trend towards the diminutive had reached its climax, unless one counts nineteenth-century attempts to print a miniature bible; and in 1692 a London printer and bookseller advertised for sale no fewer than fourteen different types of bible in nine different formats, some of which, as we shall see shortly, were available on different qualities of paper.

The diversification of formats went further than these tables suggest, however, in that there were at least two different sizes of folio produced—a larger and a smaller—for all the major English translations of the Bible, and in the case of the Authorized Version both larger and smaller folios were issued on different qualities of paper as well. The reasons for this, and to some extent for the increased number of formats in general, were essentially pragmatic: to provide copies of the Bible at a price which everyone could afford. The full-size folios were expensive, especially the sumptuous first editions mentioned above: 27s. 8d. for the Bishops’ Bible, 53s. 4d. or 58s. for the King James version. Even when sold in loose sheets, folios were on average twice as

DMH, 200; on difficulties in reading in poor light or weak eyes, see below, n. 175; Howsam, Cheap Bibles, 103; and D. Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom (1981), 120–5; in the famous depiction of a family reading bibles in a cottage (‘Sunday Morning’ by Alexander Carse), the oldest member sits at an open door: reproduced in J. Brewer, The Pleasures of the Imagination (1997), 170.


DMH, 70, 133. An even larger, copiously illustrated, and probably well-bound copy of the Oxford 1717 folio cost £4 7s. 6d: ibid., 244; and cf. C. Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (1993), p. 66 and n. 75.
expensive as quartos and more than twice as dear as octavos or smaller formats,\textsuperscript{69} and the cost of binding a folio would have added substantially to the price. In the 1630s and 1640s, the best quality bibles in sheets could cost up to £2, and a decent binding anything from 6s. 6d. to 11s., depending on the type and quality of the materials used.\textsuperscript{70}

One obvious way round the problem of expensive folios was to produce smaller, cheaper ones. In the 1580s Whitgift heard that parishes in some parts of the country either had no bible at all or only a battered one, or one that was not of the translation authorized by the synod of bishops (i.e. the Bishops’ Bible). So, in his own words, he ‘caused her Highness’s Printer to imprint two volumes of the said translation . . . a bigger and a less: the largest for such parishes as are of ability, and the lesser for chapels and very small parishes’.\textsuperscript{71} When the Authorized Version appeared thirty years later, ‘church bibles’ were also produced in two sizes of folio, priced (according to a bookseller writing in 1641) at 30s. a quire for the larger (unbound) and 17s. 6d. a quire for the smaller, a size which he thought was ‘excellent for poor parishes’. Similarly we can be moderately sure that of the various folios published at Cambridge in the reign of Charles I, the dearest (on royal paper) sold for 30s. a quire (unbound), the middling (on medium-sized paper) for 22s. 6d., and the cheapest (on demy) for 16s., and that issues on thin, inferior paper cost only 10s.\textsuperscript{72} At a book auction in London in 1685, large bibles in folio ‘for churches’ were advertised on four sizes of paper (imperial, royal, fine, and ordinary), and small folios (with the Book of Common Prayer and ‘singing psalms’ added in) on two qualities of paper, both much less than half the price of the cheapest large folio. A few years later yet another London bookseller offered larger folios ‘for churches’ on three qualities of ‘royal’ paper—superior, fine, and ordinary—as well as a smaller folio ‘for families or churches’.\textsuperscript{73} In the case of the Bishops’ and King James versions, more editions of the large folios than of the small were apparently produced, presumably on the assumption that most copies would be sold to cathedrals, parish churches, and collegiate institutions that would want and could afford the larger size. With the Geneva Bible, the situation was reversed: eleven of the fourteen folio editions printed in England were small folios. But since this version was not supposed to be used for readings in church, the smaller size suggests that these small folios,

\textsuperscript{69} DMH, 183–4, and see below, pp. 60, 95.
\textsuperscript{70} DMH, 183–4; anon. A general note of the prizes for binding all sortes of bookes (1646) [I am grateful to Helen Weinstein for this reference]. McKerrow, Introduction, 122, suggested binding a folio in a durable material would add at least a fifth to the price and might double it. For an octavo bound in silver and velvet, see below, n. 188.
\textsuperscript{71} E. Cardwell, Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England (2 vols., Oxford, 1844), ii. 31–2; and cf. Haigh, English Reformations, 250–1, for the dearth of bibles in many parishes in the 1560s and 1570s.
\textsuperscript{72} DMH, 183–4; McKitterick, History of CUP, 197.
\textsuperscript{73} Lawler, Book Auctions, 81; McMullin, ‘Paper-Quality Marks’, 40.
like the ubiquitous Geneva quartos, were aimed at private readers or perhaps colleges and schools.\textsuperscript{74}

The provision of quarto, octavo, and duodecimo formats clearly represented further attempts to provide cheaper bibles for different types of purchaser. Quartos sold loose cost about 6s. or 7s. in the early Stuart period, and on one occasion, in 1629, 5s. (these were possibly sold at a loss—the London printers who produced them were trying to undercut the sales of a cheap Cambridge small folio). By the end of the century, there was a choice of no less than four quartos in three sizes—large, ‘middle-sized’, and small—with the large being available on two qualities of paper.\textsuperscript{75} Octavos of a standard size cost even less—3s. 4d. or 4s. in the 1630s—though octavos printed on larger paper, which provided larger margins, sold at almost the same price as quartos. A duodecimo printed in London also cost only 4s., while an imported Dutch one—if the bookseller could get it past the customs—might sell at 1s. 8d. to 2s. 4d. By the early eighteenth century, John Baskett felt able to produce large quantities of cheap bibles for charities like the SPCK to give away, at prices of 3s. for an octavo, and 1s. 9d. for a duodecimo (both in quires). The retail price of complete bibles in the smallest formats of all is not clear, but to extrapolate from the prices of different formats of New Testaments at the same time, it was probably in the region of 3s. To all of these prices one has to add the cost of binding, which would have probably been a few pence: in 1646 the cheapest binding for a duodecimo or octavo was 8d. or 9d. However, one may guess at the profits that could still be made from sales of copies in these smaller formats by the determination of the London printers to limit the university presses to folios and quartos only.\textsuperscript{76}

In aiming at compactness and cheapness, publishers may have broadened their potential market in some ways but in others they limited it. The incentive to cram as much text onto the page as possible meant that most of the notes, cross-references, and other helpful apparatus we shall be looking at shortly, had to be left out, which probably reduced the appeal of octavos and duodecimos to the more scholarly reader.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{74} Source as Table 2.3; and see below, pp. 86–7.

\textsuperscript{75} DMH, 183–4; McMullin, ‘Paper-Quality Marks’, 40; and cf. the presentation copies of Baskett’s 1717 folio printed on vellum: DMH, no. 943.

\textsuperscript{76} DMH, pp. 184–5; and nos. 1022, 1015; Hill, English Bible, 18, 66; Mandelbrote, ‘Bible and National Identity’, 167; McKitterick, History of CUP, 171, 196–7, 215; Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1641–43, 34; and Carter, History of OUP, 29, 59–60; anon., General note of the prizes. There are prices for the sheets sold at auction in 1685 (Lawler, Book Auctions, 81–2), but mention of some mildewed duodecimo sheets being replaced and of many of the works being printed at Oxford (ibid., 81, 84) suggests that this was old stock, perhaps going back to the occasion in the mid-1670s when London printers deliberately undercut the prices of the Oxford press which was just venturing fully into the bible market at that point: F. Madan, A Brief Account of the University Press at Oxford (Oxford, 1908), 14–15; Carter, History of OUP, ch. 8.

\textsuperscript{77} See below, p. 78.
perhaps because of a shortage of the smaller size of black-letter fount or because the fussier shapes of very small black-letter founts tended to clog up with ink at the printing stage, or perhaps because roman type takes up less space on the page than black letter and so required fewer sheets and so less expense in production. There was a certain irony here in that roman type was probably not the preferred type for many slow readers who at this date would have welcomed a cheap copy of the bible but were more familiar with black-letter type. Nevertheless, as Tables 2.4 and 2.5 indicate, it was these smaller sizes which, for reasons we will explore further later, proved so popular in the seventeenth century: well over half of the editions of the King James version consisted of octavos and duodecimos. Here too, however, the choice was greater than these Tables suggest: at an auction in 1685 five different types of octavo were available—in large and small size, with or without notes, and on different qualities of paper—and duodecimos were available in two sizes, while in 1694 various duodecimos were also offered to the public—a larger on either fine or ordinary paper and a smaller with ‘a larger and lesser letter’.

In the production of separate New Testaments, there was a similar trend towards smaller formats, though not such a marked one since, being much shorter, Testaments were from an early stage less likely to be found in a folio or a quarto. There was only one folio edition of a Testament, of Tyndale’s translation in 1536, and as early as the 1530s octavo was by far the most common format used both by Continental printers and English publishers. Thus nearly half of the Testaments printed in England from the 1530s to the 1630s were octavos, and only in the 1630s was octavo not the best-selling format (see Table 2.6). From the 1580s, however, an increasing proportion of Testaments were printed in smaller formats: sixteenmos, twenty-fourmos, and thirty-twowmos. The experiment with the last of these proved short-lived, but in the period 1600–40 as many editions were published in twenty-fourmo as in octavo.

In the second half of the seventeenth century demand seems to have swung back to octavo at first: of the 40 editions fairly definitely intended to be separate Testaments produced between 1641 and 1699, 21 were octavo, as against 10 duodecimos, 4 quartos, 3 vicesimo-quartos, and a folio; and of the seven different kinds of Testament offered at auction in 1685, five were in octavo, on different quality paper or with different sized type. But then in the early eighteenth century the pendulum seems to have swung again, this time to duodecimo: of the 20 equivalent editions produced between 1700 and 1729, 12 were duodecimo, compared to 6 octavos and 2 quartos; and in 1720 John

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78 Lawler, *Book Auctions*, 82; McMullin, ‘Paper-Quality Marks’, 40; I owe the point about roman type requiring fewer sheets to Helen Weinstein.

79 This calculation leaves out editions printed abroad. For a slightly different pattern with German Testaments—more folios and fewer quartos, but mostly octavos again—see Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, 126.
Baskett described a duodecimo New Testament in the Oxford Bible Press as ‘always printing’. Publisher and printers were, as ever, keeping a close eye on customers’ preferences.

vi. Changes in Typeface

Another factor to bear in mind when assessing the pattern of production of both complete bibles and Testaments is the type of fount used. Many of the imported Vulgates of the 1520s had been printed in the French style of type, but from the 1530s to the 1550s most imported Testaments and bibles and all home-produced versions of the same were printed in black letter, or English letter as it came to be known in the trade. Thereafter, both bibles and Testaments followed the same general pattern of changes in type that operated in the case of most larger works: a steady move towards roman, with only a minority of copies in black letter after the 1580s and 1590s.81 Thus, in the 1570s and 1580s the proportion of complete bibles printed in black letter fell to three-fifths, and by the 1590s and 1600s to below a half (see Table 2.7). The lowest point reached was in the 1620s when nearly 85 per cent of complete bibles were in roman type, but then the trend was slightly reversed with a fifth of the bibles printed between 1630 and 1640 being set in black letter.

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80 A calculation based on DMH, 188–260; for the 1685 copies, Lawler, Book Auctions, 82; for Baskett, Carter, History of OUP, 173.

81 Roman type had been used in Latin Bibles by the 1520s, but the first version regularly printed in roman was the Geneva: Cambridge History of the Bible III, 426–8, 436, 444; DMH, 183; and cf. McKitterick, History of CUP, 83, 115, and 417 n. 37. But many English-produced copies of the Geneva Bible were not in roman; see below, pp. 63–5.
However, the global percentages are misleading in that they tend to conceal the underlying strength of the demand for black-letter editions of complete bibles, for it was only the appearance and popularity of the octavos and duodecimos which were printed in roman that tilted the balance strongly in favour of roman. If we confine our attention to the two larger formats—folio and quarto—we find that the proportion of black-letter editions never fell below a half, and that most of the time it was three-fifths or above. From the figure of 100 per cent in the 1550s it fell to about 70 per cent in the 1590s and 1600s and to 60 per cent in the 1610s, but after a dip to 50 per cent in the 1620s there was then a recovery to 57 per cent in the 1630s. The demand for black-letter editions can be seen even more clearly in the case of the Geneva and King James quartos: the first editions off the presses were printed in roman type, but in both cases black-letter editions were soon produced and outsold roman editions thereafter.

As can be seen from Table 2.8, the choice of typeface in editions of separate Testaments was in general the same as in those of complete bibles. First, the proportion in black letter dropped from nearly 100 per cent before the 1570s to a half, and then to below a third in the 1580s and 1600s. But by the 1610s, the proportion had risen again to nearly a half and would remain at about that level to the 1630s. Similarly, it was the larger formats—in this case quartos, octavos, and duodecimos—which by the early Stuart period were usually still being printed in black letter, and the smallest—sixteenmo and smaller—which had been in roman from an early stage.

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Table 2.7  *Proportion of Editions of Complete Bibles in English Printed in Black Letter 1535–1640*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Quarto</th>
<th>Octavo</th>
<th>Duodecimo</th>
<th>Total (all formats)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1530–9</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540–9</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550–9</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560–9</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570–9</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>0/2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580–9</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>0/5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590–9</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>7/11</td>
<td>0/7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600–9</td>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>9/14</td>
<td>0/9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610–19</td>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>11/20</td>
<td>0/13</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620–9</td>
<td>0/2</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>0/16</td>
<td>0/7</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630–40</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>12/22</td>
<td>0/39</td>
<td>0/9</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: as Table 2.1.*

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82 STC, 2093, 2106, 2126–7, etc.; 2219–20, 2225, 2227, 2230–1, etc.; and DMH, 61, 74, 89–90, and 134–5, 138–9, 141.
In the case of Testaments, there were, however, a few departures from the norm. During the reign of Elizabeth, Geneva Testaments (with the exception of two early quartos) were always printed in roman, whereas Bishops’ Testaments were without exception all printed in black letter, and in the popular octavo format these consistently outsold the Geneva version.

It is also interesting that after the King James version of the New Testament became available in 1611 in quarto and in three other formats, the printing of fresh, black-letter editions of the Bishops’ New Testament in octavo continued until 1618, as if there was a brand loyalty to the older version. From the early 1620s a black-letter octavo King James Testament may have taken over this corner of the market: whereas the octavo editions of the complete King James Bible were in roman type, those of the Testament alone were in black letter and sold very well in the 1620s and 1630s. Moreover, in the later seventeenth century about a quarter of the separate King James Testaments were printed in black letter, and were by that stage the only form of black-letter scripture then being produced regularly in England.

The reasons why printers swam against the tide in continuing to use black letter in many editions of bible and Testament in the seventeenth century are not altogether clear, but we can begin to make some sense of it if we make two assumptions: that the choice of a roman or a black-letter edition was not completely arbitrary, but corresponded to some official decision or commercial pressure; and that where black letter was chosen after the 1570s it was

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Table 2.8  Proportion of Editions of Testaments in Black Letter 1525–1640

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Quarto</th>
<th>Octavo</th>
<th>Duodecimo</th>
<th>16mo</th>
<th>24mo</th>
<th>32mo</th>
<th>Total (all formats)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1525–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530–9</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>20/20</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>9/9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>5/11</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1/3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>3/7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600–9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0/3</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610–19</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7/9</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0/3</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620–29</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>0/7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630–40</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0/9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: as Table 2.1.

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83 Compare STC: 2876–82, etc., and 2873.3, 2873.5, 2875–759.5, etc.; there were approximately 25 editions of the Bishops’ Testament in octavo, compared to 14 of the Geneva.
84 STC: 2912–12.5, 2914, 2916, 2918.3, 2918.7; and compare 2221–3, etc. and 2921, 2924–5; DMH, nos. 556–9, 602, 617, 649, 652, 751, 821, 845, and see 883–5.
partly on the grounds that it would bring the text to a wider range of readers, 
not just the scholars who could read both roman and black letter with ease, 
but also those who had received a more traditional or limited education and 
were more at home with black letter. Both of these assumptions are open to 
challenge. A fresh edition might have been set up in a particular type out of 
habit or because a printer was short of type in the other fount. Equally many 
people could probably read both founts, as was tacitly conceded when a black-
letter bible was printed with marginal notes or headings in roman. This was 
the case, for example, with the Bishops' Bible and the Geneva black-letter 
quarto.85

Against this it seems unlikely that the choice of black letter for the first 
editions of the King James Bible at a time when most scholarly works were 
printed in roman was accidental, since so much care was taken over all other 
details of its production.86 Equally we may surmise that commercial consid-
erations operated regularly; for example, where booksellers could see copies 
of a particular edition were not selling well or they were receiving demands 
for copies in a different typeface, they would encourage printers and publish-
ers to switch, as may have been the case in the transfer from roman to black 
letter in the first quarto editions of the Geneva and King James Bibles.87 The 
 survival of black letter in a significant proportion of folio and quarto editions 
of the bible and the mild upturn in black-letter bible production in the early 
Stuart period would also seem to indicate a sustained demand. The continu-
ing use of black letter for octavo Testaments throughout the seventeenth cen-
tury is also striking: such copies were for obvious reasons cheaper than 
complete bibles, and continuing production may well reflect sustained 
demand from the less well-to-do as well as the less well educated.88 In gauging 
demand, it is perhaps also germane that when bible printing began on a reg-
ular basis in Scotland in the 1630s, well after the transitional phase of the last 
decades of the sixteenth century and in an area where primary education still 
began with black letter, a growing number and finally the clear majority of 
editions of separate Testaments produced there were set up in that letter.89

In England as late as the reign of Queen Anne there may still have been a 
similar demand for black letter, if we can trust an incident narrated in 
Boswell's Life of Johnson. The good doctor was the son of a bookseller in 
Lichfield—itself a sign of the times—and as a child he had been taught to

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85 Cambridge History of the Bible III, 444; and e.g. BL. 3037 e.1; Bodleian Bib. Eng. 1568.b.1; 1574.b.1; 
1575.c. 1; 1575.c.1; and 1588.d.1.
86 See above, nn. 30, 35.
87 See above, n. 82.
88 For humble Lollards' acquaintance with single books of the New Testament rather than the 
whole, see M. Deanesly, The Significance of the Lollard Bible (1951), 7, and cf. Hudson, Premature Reformation, 
252; see also below, n. 90.
89 Compare DMH, nos. 496, 549, 575, 606, 704, 752–3, 822–3, 836 with 373, 420, 456–7, 481–3, 
506 and 508; and on the continuing use of black letter in late seventeenth-century Scotland, J. Clarke, 
Bishop Gilbert Burnet as Educationist (Aberdeen, 1914), 17.
read by a local widow who could herself read only black letter. One day she asked her pupil if he would borrow a black-letter bible for her from his father. Unless Johnson senior had a second-hand bible in black letter or perhaps an imported one, he would probably not have been able to oblige, but he could have lent the widow a black-letter Testament such as was still being produced in England in the 1690s and in Holland in the 1700s.

vii. Technical Apparatus

Late medieval bibles had contained a certain amount of technical apparatus to help the Latinate reader find his way round the text; for example, the Biblia Magna printed in Loudun in 1525 (a copy of which is now in the British Library) was accompanied by tables, cross-references, translations of Hebrew names, and a number of small woodcuts highlighting incidents in the text. But in the various vernacular versions of the Bible introduced into England from the 1530s to the 1610s, one finds a much larger assortment of aids to study or comprehension, as in Lutheran and Calvinist bibles of the same period. Most of these aids stemmed from editors’ initiatives, but were enthusiastically supported by publishers anxious to cast the net of readership wider.

These aids included advice to relative beginners on how to study the whole Bible or particular parts of it; summaries of the contents of the whole Bible or of individual books or chapters, to help ‘simple and learned’ readers ‘further’ their ‘knowledge in the word of salvation’; headers at the top of each page indicating the main incidents recounted on that page; notes in the margins to provide cross-references, alternative translations of particular words or phrases, and ‘plain expositions of such places as unto the simple and unlearned seem hard to understand’; occasional maps (for example, of the Near East in the time of Christ), or diagrams (for example, of the layout of the Temple); technical information on specific points such as the genealogy of Christ or the date of the Passover, and a historical table stretching from

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90 Boswell’s Life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill (6 vols.; Oxford, 1934–50), i. 43. By the nineteenth century, the reverse was true: the poor could read roman but not black letter: Howsam, Cheap Bibles, 101.
91 See DMH, nos. 845, 883–5.
92 BL 3096.4.5.
93 The comments in this paragraph and following ones are based on DMH and my own examination of copies of the different versions of the Bible and Testament held by the British and Bodleian Libraries and the Bible Society’s collection housed in Cambridge University Library. The specific features listed at the start of this sentence are described in more detail below. The quotations are from BL.C23.a.27 (a Geneva New Testament of 1575), sig.qiiir and p. 816; and C.18.c. 5 (the Matthew Bible of 1537), sig.*r.
94 Different versions of a map of the Near East appeared in the 1535 Coverdale Bible, Jugge’s Tyndale Testaments in the 1550s, most larger Geneva Bibles, some of the last editions of the Great Bible, and many larger Bishops’ and King James’ Bibles; for the background see C. Delano Smith and E. M. Ingram, Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600. An Illustrated Catalogue (Geneva, 1991); on the Temple, see the Coverdale Bible and the 1576 Genevan folio.
Adam to the date of publication to help place events in context; and tables at the end offering a translation of Hebrew names or marking a step in the direction of a full concordance.

The chapters of the first Protestant bibles had, like those of medieval bibles, been divided into large segments, though Luther sometimes rearranged these to highlight verses he thought especially important. But from the 1550s in first the Genevan and then the Bishops’ and King James versions the practice of dividing the text into numbered verses was adopted, which further facilitated the task of finding a specific word or phrase.

The differences between the apparatus provided in the various versions of the scriptures on sale in England were of three kinds: between larger and smaller formats, between earlier and later practice, and between officially sponsored versions and alternative versions tolerated by the authorities. The first one need not detain us long. A full-sized folio page measured about 350 by 230 mm (15” × 9”), and a smaller folio about 260–280 by 170–190 mm. (101⁄2” × 7”). Both of these were large enough to take a lavish engraving on the title-page, a fair-sized map or well laid out genealogy, and the full range of headers, marginal notes, and other apparatus that early modern editors favoured.

At the other end of the scale, a page of duodecimo (140 × 70 mm, 51⁄2” × 23⁄4”) or smaller format (95 × 40 mm, 31⁄4” × 11⁄2” for a twenty-fourmo) was so small that most of the illustrations and tables found in larger formats were impractical, and only abbreviated summaries or headers and a selection of notes or no notes at all could be accommodated.

The publishers of intervening sizes usually managed to incorporate much of the textual apparatus, sometimes at the expense of making the page seem cramped, but not always the maps or tables found in folios. Thus, most quartos had either all or most of the range of technical aids found in folios, but in the case of octavos there was considerable variation from edition to edition,

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95 On the genealogical tables later associated with Speed, see Bishops’ Bibles and Testaments, DMH, 132, and STC 23039–39f.g; on the date of the Passover, see the small folio Bishops’ Bible of 1575. Historical tables of different kinds appear in the Matthew, Great, Geneva, and Bishops’ versions.

96 Tables of Hebrew names were provided by early Geneva Bibles; the Matthew Bible had an alphabetical table of contents (‘abomination’, ‘abrogation’, etc); but for proper concordances by Herrey, Cotton, and others, printed separately but often bound up with bibles, see below, Ch. 3.vi.

97 Edwards, Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther, 122–3; Pollard, Records, 27. In the more expensive and spacious editions, the typesetter began a new line for each new verse; in the cheaper ones, this was not done. The old division of the text into segments was preserved in some of the earlier editions into which verses were introduced.

98 These measurements are from editions of the Bishops’ and Authorized Versions, as recorded in DMH, 70 ff., 190 ff., and 158 ff.; as examples, see BL C.152.h.46 (Coverdale, 1535), C.18.c.5 (Matthew, 1537), Z.d.7 (Great, 1562), 3015.p.2 (Geneva, c.1569).

99 DMH, nos. 428, 437, etc, and e.g. BL 3049.aaa.24 (Authorized duodecimo, 1617), C.46.a.19 (Authorized 16th, 1625), and C.108.p.25 (Authorized 24mo, 1626).

100 See, e.g., below, pp. 76–8.
and from complete bible to separate Testament. As a general rule a Testament in octavo would be provided with most of the apparatus found in a quarto or the parent work, sometimes abbreviated, but a complete bible in octavo, even the Genevan version which in the original, larger formats usually had the full range of apparatus, had a very limited amount of supplementary material. The much greater length of the full bible gave the printer of an octavo edition a strong incentive to cram as much of the text onto the page as possible in order that the final product should not be too fat or too expensive, which left little or no space for helpful apparatus. In all this, it is unclear who was responsible for deciding which headers or notes to leave out or abridge, but the finger points firmly at the publisher rather than the editor, with consequences we will come to shortly.

viii. Visual Aids

Two of the more striking differences between earlier and later practice involve visual aids and editors’ prefaces. There was a temporary but sharp reduction in the number of woodcuts reproduced on the printed page of text in the later sixteenth century, almost certainly because of the iconophobia of the mid and late sixteenth century highlighted recently by Margaret Aston and Patrick Collinson. Thus the Matthew Bible of 1537 had over 60 fine woodcuts in the text, the imported Geneva Bible of 1560 had 26 pictures in the text, and the Bishops’ Bible of 1568 had no less than 124 woodcuts illustrating incidents in both Testaments. But those printed in England from the 1570s had only the occasional map or plan. Printers were still likely to slip in a small cut to fill up a half-empty page at the end of a section, or use decorated capital letters that were to hand (incongruously on one occasion when the scenes depicted were from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*). But even this practice became much less common in the seventeenth century.

The practice of inserting woodcuts or engravings printed on separate pieces of paper between the loose sheets of a bible at the binding stage was...
not altogether abandoned. Thus the black-letter Geneva folios printed between 1583 and 1616 had a full-page engraving of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden inserted just before the start of the Old Testament, and the Genealogies of Holy Scriptures which were inserted into early editions of the Authorized Version also had a few ‘cuts’ in them. But this also became much less common. Illustrations were inserted into a limited number of editions of the King James version in the late 1620s and the 1630s, but were dropped after arousing some hostility in England and a great deal in Scotland.

Individual publishers or owners had engravings inserted in a surprising number of copies dating from the 1650s and 1660s, like those commissioned by John Ogilby based on paintings by Rubens, Tintoretto, Jordaens, and others; at an auction in 1685, 180 ‘cuts for bibles in quarto, folio, and octavo’ were offered for sale, at 6 shillings each, as were much cheaper ‘cuts to bind with the testament in octavo, for the use of children’; and a London bookseller in 1692 would offer ‘a curious set of sculptures for bibles in folio, in quarto, and in octavo, containing above 170 cuts’. But, although illustrations were not uncommon in collections of stories taken from the Bible published from the 1670s, as we shall see, it would be almost at the end of our period of study, in the reign of George I, that a generous supply of illustrations would again be found regularly in home-produced bibles.

One aspect of bible illustration remained relatively immune from this process. Throughout the early modern period, the title-pages of larger formats continued to provide space for suitable illustrations, either on scriptural themes or on more topical matters. As examples of the former we may cite the Fall, Moses in Sinai, and Christ rising from the dead and commissioning the apostles to preach the Gospel on the title-page of the Coverdale Bible of 1535; the crossing of the Red Sea on the title-pages of the 1560 folio edition of the Geneva Bible; the angels appearing to the shepherds on the cover of the Tomson revision of the Geneva New Testament in 1576 (a quarto); the tents of the twelve tribes of Israel, the figures of the four evangelists, the symbols of the dove and the lamb of God, and the open book inscribed Verbum Dei manet in aeternum on the title-pages of the Geneva-Tomson-Junius quartos and later on some black-letter King James quartos; the name of Jehovah (in Hebrew), Moses receiving the Law, the Fall, Abraham and Isaac, the apostles and Evangelists, the Transfiguration and Resurrection, and Christ in judgement and treading the wine-press on the 1607 Geneva-Tomson-Junius folio;

107 DMH, nos. 178, 210, 225, 268, 301, 348; and p. 132.
109 DMH, nos. 645, 668, 675, 689, 699, 712, 824, 897, 942–3, 965–6, 969–70, 973, 1019, 1031, etc. (in addition see the manuscript revision of DMH in the Bible Society collection at Cambridge University Library: nos. 608(2), 656(3), and 669(5)); Lawler, Book Auctions, 83; McMullin, ‘Paper-Quality Marks’, 41; Carter, History of OUP, 160, 203; Walsham, Providence, 264–5; and for illustrated works containing bible stories, below, Ch. 3.xiii–xiv.
and many of the same details, together with others such as Moses and Aaron, and the paschal lamb and pelican, on the King James folios; Solomon enthroned on the folio produced by John Field at Cambridge in 1660 (though doubtless this had a topical connotation also); the female figures symbolizing the Law and the Gospel on the general title-page of the Oxford quarto of 1675, and the obelisk and base on which are inscribed ‘The Law of Love from the Hill of Sion’ and ‘The Law of Fear from Mount Sinai’ on the New Testament title-page of the same; and the motifs on the title-pages of the Oxford folio of 1680: the veil of the Temple rent in twain on the general title-page, and St John on Patmos on the New Testament one.¹¹⁰

The most revealing examples of the topical or overtly political illustration date from 1539 and 1568–9. The first is the well-known general title-page used in the first folio edition of the Great Bible, a modification of a motif on the title-page of the Coverdale version of 1535. This depicts Henry VIII distributing copies of the Bible to the bishops on one hand, and to Cromwell and his chief advisers on the other; next, these dignitaries are shown distributing them to the people, who greet them with shouts of ‘Vivat Rex’ and ‘Long live the King’.¹¹¹ The second is the general title-page of the first folio edition of the Bishops’ Bible of 1568: much of the page is taken up with a portrait of the Queen in an oval frame inscribed with her titles and surmounted by the royal coat of arms and the arms of Ireland and Wales, while underneath is a Latin text ‘Non me pudet evangelii Christi. Virtus enim Dei est ad salutem omni credenti’, which for the sake of those with no Latin was translated on the New Testament title-page as ‘I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God unto salvation to all that believe. Romans 1’. In the first quarto edition of the same version in 1569, the title-page bore a representation of Elizabeth on a throne, crowned by allegorical figures, Justice and Mercy, while the throne is supported by Fortitude and Prudence; underneath a man with an hourglass preaches to a seated congregation, and at the bottom of the page are the words ‘God save the Queen’.¹¹² The blend of classical and Christian motifs and of political and ecclesiastical statements—the monarch rules with God’s support and must be obeyed, bible-reading and preaching are to replace the bad old ways—needs no further comment, unless it is that the most active supporters of the new translations seem to have been anxious to identify the crown very closely with their ventures.

It is perhaps inapposite to use the term ‘visual aid’ to describe these illustrated title-pages, in that the motive for their creation and deployment was perhaps less instruction of the unlearned than adornment or flattery. Indeed, the irony of the situation was that the less learned were much more likely to

¹¹⁰ DMH, nos. 107, 146, 248–51 (a description of later Dutch editions but applicable to the original English ones such as 274–5, 285, 298, etc.), 323, 289, 309, 668, 719–20, 756.
¹¹¹ Ibid., nos. 18, 46.
¹¹² Ibid., nos. 125–6.
see one of the cheaper, smaller copies of the Bible which contained few or no illustrations than one of the very expensive editions which was likely to be kept safely away from the grubby fingers of the multitude. Hence perhaps the distaste of John Dryden—who was one of those who thought the Bible too widely available—at the prospect of the ‘tender page’ being ‘gall’d’ by ‘horny fists’. The lavish engravings used on the title-pages of the premier English translations were probably designed to reflect the importance of the contents in the eyes of its editors, and the intrinsic value of the copy in the publisher’s eyes, rather than to enhance the meaning of the text. Expensive editions had top-quality paper, large print, and engravings by the best craftsmen of the day; less valuable editions had thinner paper, smaller print, and plainer title-pages with simple decorated borders or architectural motifs.

The substitution of allegorical figures for scriptural ones in the Bishops’ Bibles of 1568–9 may have reflected a growing unease with graven images, but this did not prevent depictions of scriptural motifs appearing in many subsequent bibles, such as the Adam and Eve in the Geneva black-letter folios, and the assembled biblical luminaries and symbols (dove, lamb, sun and moon, etc.) on the most lavish cover of all—that of the title-page of the Authorized Version of 1611. Given the king’s personal interest in this translation and the flattering dedication to him in it, such indulgence was perhaps seen as permissible: the people most likely to see a copy would be too well educated to succumb to image-worship. There is certainly an air of flattery or self-congratulation about the Bishops’ Bible of 1568, which included not only portraits of the queen, Burghley, and Leicester, but also the initials of Archbishop Parker together with his arms and those of Christ Church Canterbury within a decorated capital letter. The iconophobia of the elite seems to have been selective and socially differentiating, though a certain unease with this situation, as well as hard-headed commercial considerations of appealing to less affluent readers by keeping the costs down, may help explain the disappearance of many of these illustrations after early editions.

**ix. Prefatory Material**

Another difference between earlier and later practice was the removal of the general summary of the scriptures in the preface. Two early versions, the Matthew and the Great, and a third of a conservative nature, the Bishops'....

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113 J. Dryden, *Religio laici* (1682), 25; for others concerned about the lower orders reading the Bible, see above, n. 8, and below, n. 215.

114 See above, n. 35; DMH, 132, 206. Examples of plainer title-pages include the octavo Tyndale New Testament of 1534, and the Geneva-Tomson New Testaments and King James Testaments in small formats; in the later Stuart period, Testaments and small format Bibles tended to have even plainer title-pages.

115 See above, nn. 35, 107; and DMH, 71.
were all prefaced by ‘The sum and content of the holy scripture’ which gave the gist of Old and New Testaments under a series of headings. Thus the Old Testament was said to contain a description of the nature and power of God, the creation and fall of Adam so that all men are under the devil’s yoke, a foretelling of our deliverance through Christ, and the giving of the Law so that men could see their sins. The New Testament was epitomized as the sending of Christ to show the richness of divine grace, Christ the true lamb, Christ our master, example, and advocate at the last judgement. This summary was itself encapsulated as follows: the Bible was given us to know and believe ‘that there is one God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent: and that in believing we should have everlasting life through his name’. In addition to a revised version of this general summary, the prolegomenon of the Bishops’ Bible provided a summary of the contents of each book in tabular form, probably by Archbishop Parker himself who also wrote the preface to the Bible as a whole and the prefaces to the Book of Psalms and the New Testament. By contrast, the Geneva and Authorized versions had no such general summaries at the start, though both provided short summaries at the head of each new chapter, and in addition the Geneva Bible offered an account of the ‘argument’ of books or groups of books at the start of the relevant section. The reasons for the disappearance of the broad summary in the preface are not clear: was it felt that the trend towards book and chapter summaries made the prefatory ‘Sum’ superfluous, or that by the second and third generations readers were sufficiently educated not to need one, or was it thought safer to leave the handling of the broader sweep of interpretation to preachers and experienced scholars?

In the case of the separate Testaments the pattern is slightly different: both the Bishops’ and Geneva Testaments were provided with a discrete preface, but again the King James Version had no general summary, perhaps because by then the sort of reader who owned a separate Testament was deemed less likely to need one. The Bishops’ Testament was prefaced by ‘A preface into the New Testament’, and the Geneva by ‘The epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Law’ which was attributed to Calvin and first printed in English in the Whittingham New Testament of 1557. Both of these stressed that the New Testament was the fulfilment of the Old and made clear the whole mystery of our salvation and redemption. The New Testament was written ‘that we should believe . . . and by our belief should enjoy life everlasting’, ran the former; the Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Christ, it went on, adding that if we are the children of grace let us delight in all spiritual works and fruits of the spirit as God’s dear elect, a
The New Testament was as different from the Old as the new covenant was from the old, ran the epistle of the Geneva New Testament, but the glad tidings of the Gospel were that men and women of all degree and race were called to salvation: ‘No one is refused if that by assured confidence he embraceth that which is sent and presented unto him’—a statement which non-Calvinists too could accept.

x. Advice and Marginal Notes

The essential difference between official and unofficial versions of the Bible was that the Geneva Bible—the only Protestant version licensed but not actively endorsed by the English authorities—tended to offer more direction: in most editions it offered more specific advice on how to study the Bible, and it also followed Luther’s lead in providing many more notes than any of the versions officially commissioned in England. In his preface to the Great Bible, Cranmer had been quite firm about the need for the Bible to be ‘had and read of the lay and vulgar people’ and studied at home between sermons to help fix the preacher’s text in the mind; but beyond some encouragement to persist when the reader did not understand all that he read, he gave little in the way of detailed advice. The Bishops’ and Authorized Bibles also offered encouragement rather than practical help. Only those black-letter editions of the Geneva Bible in quarto and small folio which were published with Grashop’s ‘How to take profit in reading the scriptures’ in the preface offered much in the way of sensible advice, and much of this now seems predictable: judge the scriptures according to the purpose for which they were written and the period in which they were written; avoid interpretations contrary to the Christian faith as summarized in the Creed and Decalogue; read interpreters, confer with those who can open the scriptures, and prove by scripture what you hear in sermons. At times Grashop’s advice seems condescending to modern eyes: the reader was urged to adopt such a method as was suitable to his calling and state of life, and the suggestion that he or she should read the works of commentators was qualified with the remark ‘if he be able’. But this was at least realistic, and it was the best advice a potential bible student was likely to find outside the occasional comment in a sermon or remarks in a catechism or commentary, unless he turned to the small but not insignificant

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119 e.g. BL 3052.a.27 (Bishops’ octavo, 1608), sigs. A1r–2v.
120 e.g. BL C.23.a.27 (Geneva octavo, 1575), sigs. *ii–vii.
122 DMH, nos. 159, 164–5, 170, etc, 210, 225, 268, etc.; the citation is from Bodl. Bib. Eng. 1582.e.1 (Geneva black-letter quarto), sig. [G2r].
number of separate works offering advice on how to read and study the Bible to which we will come in the next chapter.\footnote{123}

The disparity between the number of marginal notes in the Geneva Bible and the number in other versions was quite marked; so also, though to a lesser degree, was the difference in character or function of the notes. There were reasons for this. Following the lead of Luther, who had provided helpful explanations and long glosses in the margins of his ‘September Testament’, Coverdale had wanted detailed annotations in the margins of the Great Bible of 1539, but those then in power apparently felt it was impolitic to include them. Some of the notes in the ‘Matthew’ Bible may have given offence; perhaps it was also thought that annotations could lead to an interpretation for which the king or the country at large was not yet considered to be ready.\footnote{124} In the 1560s Archbishop Parker saw the need for a better translation than the Great for use in church, but declined to use the Geneva Bible for that purpose, probably because of the existence of what he saw as ‘prejudicial notes’ in its margins. The translators of the Bishops’ Bible, organized by Parker, were told to avoid ‘bitter’ or controversial notes, and they obediently restricted the scope of their marginalia, for the most part, to cross-references and possible alternative readings, though some of the potentially subversive Geneva notes slipped through the net.\footnote{125} Later still, James I also took exception to some of the Geneva notes, such as the one to Exodus 1:19 which he rather oddly complained ‘allowed disobedience to kings’. As a result the translators of the Authorized Version, like those of the Bishops’, usually confined their notes to cross-references to similar or reinforcing passages elsewhere or to alternative, often literal, readings.\footnote{126}

Most of the notes in the Geneva Bible of 1560 were also exegetical rather than controversial. According to the prefatory epistle, the notes were designed to help the ‘simple reader’ understand an unusual term or metaphor, or to provide a paraphrase of an otherwise puzzling literal translation; they also indicated a similar passage elsewhere.\footnote{127} Nor was the doctrinal content of the explanatory notes heavily loaded towards the Genevan position: the great majority were in the Protestant mainstream rather than on that side of the river in which the high

\footnotesize\begin{itemize}
\item e.g. W. Goode, A new catechisme (1645), 15–16; and below, Ch. 3.xi.
\item The Bible and Holy Scriptures (Geneva, 1560), sigs.***iv and iv'.
\end{itemize}
Calvinist current ran strongly. Various scholars who have looked at the 250 explanatory notes in Romans, that is, those notes which offered elucidation in the form of opinion as opposed to those which offered simply an alternative translation or reading, have suggested that only six or seven or at most ten notes could be called Calvinistic, and this in a book of the New Testament that was particularly prized by admirers of Geneva and Heidelberg. One has even suggested that, compared to Erasmus’s notes on the New Testament, the Genevan ones are far briefer and ‘rather anaemic as polemics’. 128

There were differences of emphasis between the authors of the Genevan notes and the views of many leading English churchmen, for example over ecclesiology and discipline, but differences of doctrine were minimal, at least until the introduction of a harder Bezan line in the Tomson revision of the New Testament and the fanatically anti-Catholic tone of Junius’s notes on Revelation, though even here, it has been suggested, Tomson played down some of the more extreme assertions on church government in Beza’s marginal notes. 129 The main difference was one of policy: the translators of the Geneva Bible had few inhibitions about moving from elucidation to interpretation and application, and on some issues their notes made flat assertions where the leaders of the English church preferred to hold back or to rely on the weight of authority—that of the Early Church or the official formulares of the day. Men like Parker, Whitgift, Hooker, and Andrewes were not hostile to bible study; they were not even particularly hostile to the Geneva Bible—Parker said that outside church services, it did ‘much good to have diversity of translations and readings’. 130 But they were opposed to marginal notes in official translations which placed a permanent and potentially polemical slant on a matter open to different interpretations.

The prefatory material in official translations indicates—perhaps predictably—that their editors were more exercised by the possibility of bible readers reaching unusual or even heretical conclusions than those who edited unofficial translations. In his 1540 preface Cranmer warned readers against vainglory and frivolous disputation; the Bishops’ preface warned of the dangers of the excessive scrutiny and analysis of the sacred text of which Jewish scholars were said to have been guilty; and the King James’ translators took a sideswipe not only at Rome but also at ‘scrupulous brethren’ nearer home. 131

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130 Pollard, Records, 27–8, 286; Cambridge History of the Bible III, 159; and see below n. 144.

Where the editors of the Geneva Bible not only advised their readers how to avoid unusual interpretations, but also effectively reduced the risks of deviation by themselves providing a larger amount of interpretation than any other English bible, the English authorities seem to have felt that there were safer means than marginal notes for pursuing more detailed analysis, or for examining issues that went beyond the fundamentals on which the Bible was crystal clear and on which all reasonable Protestants could agree. Like Luther after his earlier optimism had faded, many English bishops may have come to believe that for the majority of the people those proper channels were the mastering of more advanced catchisms, supervised study at school and university, listening to sermons by licensed preachers, and the reading of approved exegeses. Once the church had a plentiful supply of graduate clergy, licensed to preach, and an up-to-date translation in the King James version, the need for the notes in the Geneva Bible was reduced. Certainly it was only about this time that restrictions appear to have been placed on the production of the Geneva Bible in England and on imports of copies printed abroad, a move which began under the Calvinist Abbot rather than the non-Calvinist Laud.

Human curiosity being what it is, however, it would not have been surprising if in the period up to 1611 someone wanting a complete bible for personal use chose the version which offered the most help to the average reader. And that version was without doubt the Genevan—described by one recent authority as ‘a portable and omnicompetent vade-mecum’ and above all it was the Genevan quarto. Within a few years of its first being printed in England, sales of the Genevan quarto swamped those of its main rival—the quarto Bishops’ Bible which was not republished after 1584—and from the late 1570s to the early 1610s quarto proved to be easily the most popular format for the Geneva Bible. Of the 91 editions of the Geneva Bible in English published in England and abroad by 1640, 52 were in quarto. However, only 14 of these Geneva quartos, all in the more scholarly roman type, included the very latest versions of the New Testament: 6 had the Tomson revision which incorporated many points from Beza’s Latin version of 1565, and 8 had both this first revision and the Junius version of Revelation. But while the majority of quarto editions, those in black letter, may have lacked the latest revisions, they did contain the following: in the prefatory material Grashop’s notes on bible study, the inspirational verse quoted earlier (‘The incomparable

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It is not being suggested that the publication of the Authorized Version was the sole reason for the ending of Geneva Bible publishing in England; rather that there was more to this cessation than simple hostility to its footnotes. On Luther’s later position, see Gawthrop and Strauss, ‘Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany’, 31–9. Cambridge History of the Bible III, 444.

Sources DMH and STC; this calculation excludes editions probably destined for Scotland. Betteridge’s calculations in ‘Bitter Notes’, 46, seem to be based on DMH alone and pre-date STC.
treasure’), a catechism, and other helpful guides, and in the text itself summaries at the start of each book and chapter, numbered verses, a multitude of marginal notes, and a few maps. From the early 1580s there was also the enormous convenience of Herrey’s concordance to the Geneva text which was available separately but appears to have been regularly bound in with it, to judge from many surviving copies. 136 Although the text was set in black letter, the arguments, marginal notes, and most of the other material were printed in roman; 137 so, provided a reader who bought or obtained a copy of one of these editions could read roman with as much facility as black letter, he had an enormous amount of help at his disposal.

It is possible that the popularity of the Geneva quartos—and small folios—in England, and possibly in Scotland too, owed much to the doctrinal thrust of the apparatus, specifically its teaching on predestination, the church, discipline, and related matters for which it has become famous. As Christopher Hill has put it, ‘the “seditious” notes were there to be seized on by students of the Scriptures who were looking for them’, and ‘had all the authority of the printed text, and of Geneva’. 138 But this argument should not be taken too far. As we have seen, the great majority of the notes, at least in the 1560 version, were neither predestinarian nor ‘bitter’, but were designed to help the ‘simple reader’ understand the scriptures—to which end they may have had some success if we accept Fuller’s remark that the people liked the Genevan notes because they were like spectacles which helped them see ‘the sense of the scripture’. 139 One should also not assume that use of a Genevan Bible excluded use of any other version. From the scriptural phrases they used it has been established that Spenser was familiar with the Great, Bishops’, and Genevan translations, and Shakespeare with the last two of these, though much more with the Bishops’ than the Genevan. 140 Moreover, some churchmen who were not ardent Calvinists, like Andrewes and Laud, when preaching often read out their text from the Geneva translation, presumably because they had used that version during their student days for its convenience and quality, and continued to do so in the study and pulpit if not at the lectern after they became priests. (Again the convenience of having Herrey’s concordance to the Geneva version may have played a significant part in this development: Clement Cotton’s and John Downname’s full concordances of

136 As last note; examples BL 3037.e.1 and Bodl. Bib. Eng. 1582.e.1. See STC 13228b–38 for Herrey’s Two right profitable and fruitfull concordances.
137 See above, n. 85.
139 See above, pp. 74–5; Eadie, English Bible, ii. 52; and below, Ch. 3, n. 74; and Betteridge, ‘Bitter Notes’, 48.
140 G. W. Landrum, ‘Spenser’s Use of the Bible and His Alleged Puritanism’, PMLA 41 (1926), 517–44; R. Noble, Shakespeare’s Biblical Knowledge (1935), 75–7; this is qualified by Baldwin, Shakespeare’s ‘Small Latin’, ii. 646–7; see also Eadie, English Bible, ii. 37–8; and Hill, English Bible, 58.
the Authorized Version were not available until the early 1630s. It is perfectly possible then that the apparatus of the Geneva quarto confirmed many a committed Calvinist in his or her views, but how many uncommitted or hostile readers it swayed towards Calvinism is not easily gauged.

This applies even more to those editions of the complete Geneva Bible published in octavo. These were moderately popular—24 of the 91 editions of the Geneva Bible printed in English were in this format—but the text of the New Testament was not the Tomson-Junius but the older 1560 version, and the amount of notes and other apparatus was seriously curtailed by the dictates imposed by the smaller format. It also applies to copies of the Geneva New Testament published separately in smaller formats, those sixteenmos, twenty-fourmos, and thirty-twomos which constitute a majority (26 out of 42) of the Geneva Testaments published in English. These did have the Tomson text, and some had cross-references or shortened chapter summaries, but that was all in the way of guidance: no maps, no summaries, and no explanatory notes. Those purchasers who bought one of the smaller formats of the Geneva Bible or Testament—or indeed of the King James equivalents—may not have put a high priority on the apparatus provided.

Evidently, many factors came into play when prospective purchasers were choosing between one version and another, for example the calibre of the translation, whether it was the version approved for a specific use (in church or school), the convenience of the format, the type of print used, and of course the cost. But equally we cannot dismiss the possibility that the quantity and quality of the apparatus played some part in selection, as the editors or publishers had presumably hoped that they would. In the case of bibles likely to be used in church or by conformist clergymen or laymen, it was obviously convenient for the text to be preceded by tables which indicated when Easter fell and which lessons and psalms were to be read on which day, and for the most commonly used Prayer Book services to be printed in the prefatory material. Alternatively, it was handy for such people if, as was often the case, bibles were printed and bound with a complete Book of Common Prayer or a copy of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ printed in the same format and typeface (as we shall see later). In this context it is also interesting to note that the utility of the apparatus of the first quarto Geneva Bibles published in England, in black letter, was further enhanced by the fact that between 1579 and 1585 the publisher also supplied them with a number of features normally found only in copies of the Bishops’ Bible: the most regularly used parts of the Book of Common

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141 Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, 107. Even the quotations in the translators’ preface to the Authorized Version are from the Geneva Bible: Danner, ‘Contribution of the Geneva Bible’, 6. For the Cotton and Downname concordances, see STC 5842–4, 5846, and 7125.5–32; and below, Ch. 3.

142 See the three examples cited above, n. 101, and Bodl. Bib. Eng. 1600.f.1 (Geneva octavo). The same exclusion applies as in n. 135.

143 e.g. BL C.65.a.2(f) (16o, 1613); 3053.aa.4 (24o, 1609); and C.I.8.a.26 (32o, 1599). Of the 14 octavo Testaments, 3 had the original Geneva text, 8 the Tomson, and 3 the Tomson-Junius.
Prayer (with some alterations and omissions), a matching psalter, and the broad prefatory summaries of the scriptures mentioned above.\textsuperscript{144} After 1585 these insertions were discontinued but both full-length and abridged versions of the Prayer Book were regularly printed in separate quartos to match the Genevan quartos, and subsequently with a variety of formats of the Authorized Bible too, for those wanting a bible and a prayer book, as many apparently did.\textsuperscript{145}

xi. Patterns of Ownership

What happened to the greatly increased numbers of bibles and Testaments produced in early modern England? Obviously a large number went to scholars and clergy, but the records also show that many lay people who owned sufficient property to have required a will or to have necessitated the taking of a probate inventory owned a bible, and that some even had a special place in their homes to keep it, such as a shelf in the parlour or a bible box. However, how often that bible was read or studied seriously as opposed to being kept handy in the office as a sign of godliness (as one lawyer did in an Inn of Court), or being displayed in the home as a status symbol, or acting as a useful place in which to record marriages, births, and deaths, or even being used for ‘magical’ purposes such as divination and healing, is a matter on which such sources throw little light.\textsuperscript{146}

It is not possible to divide any notional totals of bibles produced into the number of family units, partly because of larger or better-bound copies being passed down from one generation to another and the existence of a growing second-hand market for bibles, and partly because many wealthier collectors evidently acquired copies of more than one translation of the Bible or had both a complete bible and a separate New Testament. The catalogues of the libraries of two Jacobean archbishops whose books passed to Lambeth Palace Library show that Bancroft owned at least 102 bibles and Abbot 37; it is also known that Bishop Andrewes had 17 bibles, 8 Old Testaments and 4 New in his library; and a lesser cleric like William Crashaw had enough bibles to bequeath copies to all his godchildren. Among the laity, a Cavalier MP,


\textsuperscript{145} Green, ‘“Puritan Prayer Books” and “Geneva Bibles”’, 314–50; STC: 16311.5, 16311.9, 16313, etc; and cf. below, Ch. 5.iv.

Sir Thomas Bludder, owned at least 14 bibles in 1643; by his death Samuel Pepys had acquired 10 complete bibles, a score of Testaments or other sections of the Bible, and 18 different versions of the psalms, mostly published in England; John Locke’s collection included 31 bibles and 24 Testaments, some from abroad but again mostly published in England; while Isaac Newton had over a dozen bibles, a dozen Testaments, and other sections of the Bible, about half of which were printed in England. Certain trends and categories of user can be discerned in England; but first we must look briefly at another aspect of sales.

xii. Sales outside England

There can be no doubt that many copies produced in England were purchased by people living in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, or abroad. A number of copies were shipped over to Ireland to provide episcopalian clergy and the literate Protestant laity there, at least until bibles in English were printed in Belfast and Dublin in the early eighteenth century. But many Church of Ireland parishes were extremely poor and the clergy little better off, and at least in the early Stuart period the prices of bibles were said to have been kept high by a deal between publishers in London and Dublin. The numbers exported to Ireland therefore were probably not sufficient to have made great inroads into the English output of bibles on a year-to-year basis. This would have been even more true of English diplomats, merchants, and exiles on the Continent or further afield: indeed, in their case not only were their numbers small, but an alternative source of bibles in English would have been available in Geneva and later Holland from a much earlier date than in Ireland.

The only major seepage of bibles, at least until the 1630s, was probably to Scotland where the size and wealth of the population together with the reformers’ commitment to bible study must have created a not inconsiderable

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148 DMH, 242, 260, 262–3, etc.


demand in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. From the 1530s to the 1580s the demand for bibles in English was presumably met mainly from England, and from the 1550s perhaps also direct from Geneva. However, in 1579 this reliance on imported copies was reduced when the first bible in English was printed on Scottish soil—a reprint of an early London edition of the Geneva Bible. It seems likely that this edition was well subscribed, since an order of the General Assembly insisted that every parish pay the purchase price of £4 13s. 4d. (Scottish) before printing began, and an act of the Scots Parliament ordered every household of substance to buy a copy, on pain of a £10 (Scottish) fine for non-performance. There was, however, still some demand for English bibles north of the Border. In 1601 there was an intriguing episode when Robert Barker, the printer with a monopoly of printing English bibles, complained to the English Privy Council that two fellow stationers had been instrumental in securing the printing of an octavo edition of the Genevan Bible at Dort in Holland to match an edition of The psalmes of David in metre, used in the kirk of Scotland printed at their own expense—a work that was clearly destined for sale in Scotland. It is instructive that this 1601 edition was an octavo, and that a couple of New Testaments also printed in Dort, in 1601 and 1603, and also apparently destined for Scotland, were respectively a thirty-two and an octavo in the Geneva-Tomson revision. In other words, Scottish churchmen and students wanting a more compact format or a more up-to-date version were turning to editions supplied from south of the Border.

The second complete edition of the Bible to be printed in Scotland was published in 1610. This was the Geneva-Tomson-Junius version, and as a result of pressure from provincial assemblies copies of this edition were probably bought by most parishes and perhaps by some of the laity. On the other hand, the second edition like the first was a folio, and although this was the period when the basis of the parish school system was being laid in Scotland, it was not until the early 1630s that bibles in octavo and duodecimo were first printed there. New Testaments in thirty-two and octavo were printed there a little earlier—in 1619 and 1628 respectively; but these were in roman, so that anyone wanting a black-letter one had to wait a few more years or to buy one from England. The first Scottish edition of the complete Authorized Version was printed in Edinburgh in 1633, perhaps to coincide with the English edition of 1611.
with the belated coronation of Charles I, and from that date Scottish production of this version increased and presumably kept pace with Scottish needs. Indeed, there is clear evidence that in the mid-1630s Scottish-produced bibles were cheaper than English equivalents, and so were being sold south of the Border. In the short term this was stopped, amid allegations of another deal, this time between printers and booksellers in Edinburgh and London, to keep prices high. But the practice almost certainly started again later in the century: given the cost of transporting larger books from London to, say, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, it was evidently cheaper to get a bible from Scotland, even if the two were nominally the same price when they left the printers.\(^\text{158}\)

It would be hard to put a figure on the demand from Scotland in the period before 1630, but to judge from Scottish production in the later seventeenth century—approximately 31 editions of the Bible between 1649 and 1729 and 19 of the New Testament between 1641 and 1694—it was unlikely to have been much more than the equivalent of 3 or 4 editions of a bible and 2 or 3 of a Testament per decade.\(^\text{159}\) Before 1560 any English version might have been welcome north of the Border, but from the evidence already adduced one would also presume that most of the copies sent north thereafter would have been of the Geneva version. If correct these assumptions would thus represent a maximum of about 15–20 editions of Geneva bibles and perhaps 10–15 of Geneva Testaments imported into Scotland from c.1560 to c.1610 (though not all copies of the Geneva Bible would necessarily have been imported from England). Between c.1610 and c.1630 the equivalent of about 6 to 8 editions of the Authorized Version and 4 to 6 of the Authorized Testaments might have been sent north.\(^\text{160}\)

\text{\textit{xiii. Institutional and Scholars’ Libraries}}

Let us now return to the situation in late Tudor and early Stuart England, where one or two general trends in institutional use and various possible categories of private reader can be identified. The folio editions of the Great,

\(^{\text{158}}\) As last note, plus DMH, nos. 618, 724–5, 729, 739, etc.; on the alleged collusion ibid., pp. 183–5; Mandelbrote, ‘Bible and National Identity’, 166–7; and R. A. Houston, Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600–1800 (Cambridge, 1985), 16. The surviving demand in Scotland for a Geneva version, or a King James with Geneva notes, seems to have been met by the ever enterprising Dutch: see above, nn. 54, 62.

\(^{\text{159}}\) These figures are based on a comparison of DMH, 188–233, Wing, and ESTC for the period 1641–1729. On the one hand one must allow for a smaller Scottish population in the sixteenth century, on the other for larger print runs in the seventeenth century.

Bishops’, and Authorized Versions, provided in at least two sizes and prices, were clearly designed to provide the copies which the authorities had ordered to be put in cathedrals, colleges, and parish churches: this was understood by the publishers at the time, as we have seen. There is also the fact that virtually no folio editions were published in England in the 1640s and 1650s when the established church’s authority was in abeyance, but production of folios began again in earnest at the Restoration. If we allow somewhere between 750 and 1,500 copies for the print run of a sixteenth-century edition of a folio ‘church bible’ (which is perhaps on the low side), and between 1,500 and 3,000 copies for an early seventeenth-century one, and make the assumption (unlikely to be true given the poverty of many parishes) that a copy was bought by most of the 10,000 churches and chapels in the land, then about 8 to 10 editions of the former or 4 to 6 of the latter would be accounted for. But at least 12 folio editions of the Great Bible were printed, eleven of the Bishops’, and 13 of the King James; and so, unless the press runs were much smaller or Scottish demand much higher than suggested above, at least some of the folio copies of the official versions—as well as most of the folio editions of the Geneva Bible which have been left out of the calculations so far—must have been put to other uses.

The most likely use for these extra folios and for many quartos was in institutional libraries in cathedrals, colleges, and schools, or in the hands of different types of private reader: theologians or academics in other faculties, graduate clergymen, and strongly motivated and moderately prosperous lay men or women. The catalogues of various episcopal libraries in the seventeenth century and of various cathedral libraries in the eighteenth century suggest that they contained copies of the premier English editions, alongside bibles and Testaments in Greek and Hebrew, polyglot versions and imported bibles. The same was probably true of university and college libraries, and of the libraries of the better-endowed schools, which were intended for the use of masters and senior pupils. Individual senior clergymen had extensive libraries of religious books, such as William Perkins, whose library was bought

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162 Source as for Table 2.1.


from his heirs by William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, for use in Ireland, and William Crashaw, who built up two libraries, of which the first and larger (left behind in London and Cambridge when he moved to a post in the North) contained 4,000 books on the scriptures, patristics, church history, law, cosmography, and history. Later in the seventeenth century various nonconformist ministers also built up extensive collections, such as Richard Baxter, Lazarus Seaman, and John Owen, as did many conformist clergy too, such as Dean Swift and Laurence Sterne. The probate inventories of the fellows and more prosperous alumni of Tudor and Stuart Cambridge show that many of them owned moderately expensive imported and domestic bibles and rather cheaper Testaments. The works mentioned in different inventories include several polyglot bibles valued at about 10s., over a dozen Greek bibles ranging from 4s. to 6s. 8d. (probably depending on the quality of the binding), hundreds of Latin bibles worth anything from a few shillings to over a pound, and scores of English bibles; after 1560 these were mainly the Bishops’ and Geneva versions and valued at 8s., 10s., and 12s., with one quarto at 5s. in the early seventeenth century. Again Greek and Polyglot New Testaments heavily outnumbered English ones, but there were a number of the latter too, worth anything from 4d. to 2s. or more.

The inventories of a number of Elizabethan and Stuart clergymen in the relatively remote diocese of Durham show that a number there too possessed bibles, Testaments, and commentaries in English, Greek, and Latin, and that the English ones were likely to be folio. The vicar of Berwick-on-Tweed whose will was proved in 1607 had possessed a Geneva Bible worth 10s., and a petty canon of Durham who had died in 1603 had ‘an English bible’ also worth 10s., a price suggesting that the copies were cheap folios or bound quartos. An interesting light on the educational standards required by at least one later Stuart bishop (again in a moderately remote diocese) and the books to which the clergy needed access, is thrown by an entry in the diary of Francis Evans, secretary to Bishop Lloyd of Worcester from 1699 to 1706. One Thomas Bell was about to be instituted to a living in Worcestershire (perhaps a rich one given its aristocratic patron), but although he had an MA he had to promise the bishop to undertake a year-long course of intensive study of

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168 Prior’s Kitchen, Durham, Prob. 1596 (J. Morehouse), 1659 (M. Pearl), 1682 (J. Machon), 1685 (E. Cotes); 1607 (R. Clarke) and Prob.1603 (G. Smith); and cf. Freeman, ‘Parish Ministry and the Diocese of Durham’, 52.
parts of the Bible in both Greek and Latin, beginning with the first five books of the Bible, moving onto the second lesson for morning prayer each day for four months, and then onto the second lesson for evening prayer for the next four months. For this he was told he needed a Greek translation of the Septuagint and Bishop Fell’s edition of the New Testament in Greek, a Vulgate Latin bible and the annotations of Junius and Tremellius on the Old Testament and Beza’s on the New, Diodati’s annotations on the whole Bible, Simon Patrick’s commentary on the Septuagint, and Henry Hammond’s paraphrase and notes on the New Testament. Young Bell also signed a paper saying that every few months he would ‘repair to the Bishop, and give him an account of my study and improvements’.

Lloyd may have been trying to deter what he regarded as an unsuitable candidate whom he could not legally refuse to institute to the living; it seems unlikely that he would have demanded the same of a curate or an ordinand being appointed to a poor parish that was desperate for an incumbent. But if young Bell did persist, then at least one rural Worcestershire parish would have had a particularly well-read incumbent with the core of a good library of bibles and commentaries. Nor were such works the special preserve of clergymen. A bibliophile with good access to the London booksellers like Sir Edward Dering of Kent possessed a Greek Testament and scriptural commentaries in Latin; a physician in the North-East in the 1660s had a Greek bible (valued at 10s.) and a Greek Testament as well as two English bibles in quarto; Pepys acquired bibles and Testaments in Greek, Latin, English (including a 1539 Great Bible), Anglo-Saxon, French, Spanish, and Malay, and a 1657 polyglot; while John Locke not only had his own copy of the polyglot, a Vulgate in Greek and Latin, and bibles and Testaments in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch, but also published his own paraphrase and notes on the epistles of Paul.

What the better educated and endowed members of the universities, the parish clergy, the gentry, and the professions would almost certainly have wanted, apart from imported copies of prized foreign versions such as Tremellius’s Latin Old Testament and Syriac New Testament, was a copy of the translation which incorporated the best scholarship or the latest revisions, perhaps for comparison with an older version. Presumably they would also have welcomed some of the technical apparatus, such as a text divided into verses, cross-references, alternative readings, and concordances, though they would probably have paid less attention to the helps designed to encourage or

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169 Diary of Francis Evans, Secretary to Bishop Lloyd, 1699–1706 (Worcestershire Historical Society, 45, 1903), 123–4.
assist ‘simpler souls’. They would have had the money to buy and provide a workmanlike binding and the space to store such a copy, as well as the opportunity for extended study. Folio and quarto editions would have met all these requirements, and from an early date, the 1560s, there would also have been the extra advantage of plenty of copies of all the major versions being available in roman type. The small folio and quarto formats must have been more convenient to handle and carry round than the full-size folio, especially the quarto. It was a later quarto edition that became known as the ‘preaching bible’, perhaps because it was easier to carry into the pulpit than a full-sized ‘church bible’, perhaps because of the wide margins on which notes could be made.\textsuperscript{71} Moreover, in the small folio and quarto editions in roman type, especially in the Geneva versions from the middle of Elizabeth’s reign to the middle of James’s, committed students would have both the latest scholarship and the most useful technical apparatus available in one volume. It was probably a copy of this kind that was used by Perkins and Andrewes.\textsuperscript{172} It is also possible that it was such scholars or their devoted followers who bought the Genevan New Testament in an octavo format: from 1576 the translation was the Tomson revision (later the Tomson-Junius) with the fuller notes which were not available in smaller formats of the Testament or indeed of the complete Geneva Bible; it was printed in roman type, and reasonably priced at a 10d. or a shilling (in loose sheets). The fact that this octavo did not achieve the wide popularity of the Bishops’ or King James’ octavo Testaments in black letter might support this supposition: it was an edition useful to an elite minority.\textsuperscript{73}

xiv. Owners among the Moderately Well-Educated Laity and Clergy

Another category of reader comprised the adult who wanted a bible for regular or occasional use, but was perhaps less concerned than the scholar that it was of the very latest version: this would cover the less educated clergy of the first half of Elizabeth’s reign and later, and lay men and women who had only limited inclination or time for study or a limited amount of formal education. In the first half of our period, such a reader may well have been more at home with black letter than roman type, and have welcomed such apparatus as black-letter editions contained for the simpler reader. It is noticeable, for example, that it was only into selected editions of the Geneva Bible, namely

\textsuperscript{71} DMH, no. 697; on Tremellius, see Cambridge History of the Bible III, 71–3; and Leedham-Green, Books in Cambridge Inventories, ii. 97–8, 102–3.
\textsuperscript{72} Though the catalogue of Andrewes’s library (see above, n. 147) shows only a Coverdale, a Matthew, and a Bishops’ Bible, he must have kept a King James and probably a Geneva with him on his travels.
\textsuperscript{73} See above, n. 83. There were approximately 14 octavo editions of the Geneva Testament between 1560 and 1616, compared to about 26 of the Bishops’ Testament between 1568 and 1619, and 12 of the Authorized between 1621 and 1638: source as Table 1.
black-letter quartos and small folios, that Grashop’s ‘How to take profit in reading the scripture’ was inserted.\textsuperscript{174} Such a reader may also have wanted the volume partly for use during church services and welcomed the fact that some editions (including some Geneva quartos) were printed with part of the Book of Common Prayer in the preface, or could be bound up with a prayer book or psalter printed in the same format and fount. That members of the laity regularly brought their bibles to church is reflected in the complaint of the churchwardens of Grimstead that their church’s windows were too small ‘to let in sufficient light for the congregation to make use of their bibles’, and in an incident involving George Fox we will encounter shortly.\textsuperscript{175}

At this point it is worth recalling that quartos were the most popular format from the 1580s to the 1610s, and that, although both the Geneva and King James quartos were printed first in roman, publishers were soon issuing a higher proportion of black-letter editions.\textsuperscript{176} Such quartos may well have been the family bible of that period, sturdily bound in good leather with brass-reinforced corners and clasps,\textsuperscript{177} read out at family devotions or used as a safe place to keep family records, as in the case of two 1582 black-letter Geneva quartos that survive in the Bodleian Library (Bib.Eng.1582.e.1) and British Library (C.110.g.18). Their contents are identical, and include not only the scriptures but also the more frequently used sections of the Book of Common Prayer such as the rites of passage and the prose Psalter; and in both, blank spaces at the start of the New Testament have been used to record family details, in the former baptisms from 1575 to 1610, in the latter deaths, births, and marriages of an extended family from 1570 to 1689 (together with a note that “This was my mother’s bible and the old closures being decayed I got it new bound January 1649”). It may also have been this category of reader who sustained the sale of black-letter octavos of the Bishops’ and King James versions of the New Testament well into the seventeenth century when one would have expected roman type to have prevailed. A significant proportion of yeomen and of those Elizabethan and early Stuart citizens of Kentish towns whose wills have been analysed by Peter Clark owned a complete bible or a New Testament.\textsuperscript{178} Systematic examination of surviving copies should also yield more information about ownership and use, not only through family details and inscriptions, but also through the type of binding chosen, and the titles of any companion works with which the bible was bound.\textsuperscript{179}

\textsuperscript{174} See above, n. 122.
\textsuperscript{175} See above, n. 144, and below, n. 177; and Spurr, \textit{Restoration Church}, 357 n. 129.
\textsuperscript{176} See above, n. 82.
\textsuperscript{177} DMH, nos. 218, 234, 243, 273, 293, 365, 395, 411, 474.
\textsuperscript{179} See following paragraphs.
If the black-letter quarto was perhaps the family bible at the turn of the sixteenth century, its successor was probably a small folio or a quarto in roman. The ‘great bible’ kept by a goldsmith of Lincoln in his parlour in the late 1670s, which had a second-hand value of 8s. od. at his death, was probably either a folio or a quarto, as was the bible of the brickmaker in the same city valued at 6s. 8d. a few years earlier; and whereas the larger folio advertised by Peter Parker (lessee of Oxford University Press’s privilege to print bibles from 1678) was described as being ‘for churches’, the smaller was described as ‘for families or churches’ (presumably poorer churches). We also know that in 1667 Pepys looked at a large folio ‘with chorographical sculptures by J. Ogilby’, but rejected it because it was ‘like to be so big that I shall not use it’. Equally, when in 1728 a publisher advertised a concordance ‘fitted to bind up with all sorts of house bibles . . . for the more easy finding out of the useful places therein contained’, it was to quartos in roman that he was referring. In the early Hanoverian period a quarto sold at 9s. unbound, which was only a fraction higher than the 6s. or 7s. of the early Stuart period. Again systematic analysis of inscriptions and other clues, such as the initials or names of the owner stamped into the cover, may tell us more about the typical owners of these volumes. The bibles used by outraged members of the Lake District congregation to beat a Quaker when he disrupted their service, and the bible which drew blood when used to hit George Fox on another occasion, were clearly fairly large and stoutly bound—as well as being deemed suitable for use on trouble-makers.

Other categories of bible reader may have emerged only in the second half of Elizabeth’s reign and diversified thereafter: those who wanted pocket-sized bibles or Testaments. Owing to their small size, octavos and duodecimos were the cheapest available in the early Stuart period, but, as we have seen, though printed in roman type most of them also contained much less in the way of apparatus and margin, which probably reduced their appeal to scholars. It seems likely that these middling to small formats were at the outset aimed in particular at two groups: affluent adults anxious to have a convenient copy to hand; and the children of the well-to-do, who were given such copies by their parents, godparents, or other relations.

As we shall see in later chapters, many of the surviving copies of smaller-format bibles are bound in sequence or back to back with a Book of Common

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*a* Probat Inventories of Lincoln Citizens 1661–1714, ed. J. A. Johnston (Lincoln Record Society, 80, 1901), 71, 53; by comparison the use of ‘small’ in describing the two bibles and ‘other small books’ of a mercer (ibid., 10) suggests an octavo or duodecimo; for Parker, see McMullin, ‘Paper-Quality Marks’, 40.

*b* DMH, 206.

*c* Ibid., no. 992.

*d* Ibid., pp. 249, 184.

*e* DMH, nos. 839, 996.


*g* When the Elzevier family in Holland was cut off by war from its paper supplies and introduced duodecimos in minute type to conserve stocks, scholarly readers complained, perhaps because of the eye strain involved or because the narrow margins left little space for annotating the text: L. Febvre and H.-J. Martin, The Coming of the Book (1984), 89.
Prayer and/or a copy of the metrical psalms of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ of matching size and typeface. This implies that attendance at church or family devotions was intended, since a set of two or three octavos or duodecimos bound in an attractive cover would have been much easier to heft in the hand during the service than the equivalent two or three volumes in quarto or folio. It is also notable that throughout the Stuart period it was on the smaller sizes of bible—the octavos, duodecimos, and vicesimo-quartos—that more expensive binding materials were used. The puritan Sir Thomas Barrington had an octavo bible bound in velvet with his coat of arms cut into the silver plates and clasps set into the binding: the finished article cost him 27 shillings. The Bible Society’s collection also includes a 1651 duodecimo bound in leather but with silver corners, clasps, and plates, inscribed KM; a 1679 octavo with silver corners and plates inscribed MR; a 1673 duodecimo with a tortoise-shell cover and silver corners and clasps, and a 1660 octavo bound in morocco decorated with inlaid work and inside an inscription: ‘For the excellent and virtuous Madame Dugdale ex dono Dr. South’. Other examples could be given of smaller copies with expensive bindings and the owners’ arms or initials stamped on them or on a leather name-label inside the cover, all suggesting that these were regarded as valued possessions and that their owners (or donors) intended them to be used for some time. A few small copies may have been used as part of a travelling set, like the twenty-fourmo King James New Testament printed on vellum which is one of the forty-four miscellaneous volumes covered with brown morocco and fitted into a wooden case as part of the Bridgewater Travelling Library (now in the Huntington Library, California).

All of the examples in the last paragraph betoken wealth rather than intellectual curiosity, and the owners of such copies were probably either gentry or of prosperous middling rank. Presumably the ‘bibles’ that the fashionable Belinda had strewn on her dressing table amid ‘Puffs, powders, patches . . . billet-doux’, in Pope’s *Rape of the lock*, were of this kind since there would hardly have been room for anything larger. However, one would probably be right to think that the fashion for smaller bibles had spread a fair way down the social ladder by the late seventeenth century. In 1692 in his shop near the

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187 DMH *passim*; for back to back copies, see nos. 372, 383, 535, and BL C.65.i.1 (A. V. 12th Testament 1621, with Book of Common Prayer and ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’), C.108.p.23 (A. V. 24th Testament 1626, with Book of Common Prayer and ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’) and C.124.c.10 (A. V. 32nd Testament 1636, with Book of Common Prayer and ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’); the last of these was owned by an Elizabeth Amery in 1687. For valuably bound copies, even in larger format, on sale in Cambridge in the sixteenth century, see McKitterick, *History of CUP*, 16. See also below, Chs. 5 and 9.


189 Ibid., nos. 366, 498, 582, 637, and 1022 (cf. 729).

190 DMH, nos. 275, 315, 368, 390, 392, etc.

Royal Exchange in London, Peter Parker was offering half a dozen different types of octavo, duodecimo, and twenty-fourmo, so that purchasers could buy whichever copy suited their pocket best; and a bookseller in Lincoln in 1671, presumably catering for local citizens and some country gentry, had in stock half a dozen quartos, seven octavos, a dozen ‘gilt’ duodecimos and sixteen ‘plain’ ones, and a couple of twenty-fourmos. Small format bibles were sold for binding with matching copies of the Prayer Book and metrical psalms well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

By then, other groups of the laity had also been in the market for smaller copies for some time, including pupils of both sexes and their teachers, and philanthropists. The sons of gentry, yeomen, merchants, and professional groups who attended an Elizabethan or Stuart grammar school would at an early age have become familiar with roman type in the schoolbooks used at those institutions, and many were probably either loaned (by a teacher who had a stock of them) or required to obtain their own personal copy of the bible or New Testament. This was needed so that they could find a preacher’s text or use it for some other purpose, such as committing a section of it to memory or translating a passage of it into Latin or Greek—both common school exercises at this time. An octavo or smaller size would have been both cheap and easily carried around by schoolboys, and a smaller typeface and reduced range of apparatus would presumably not have bothered them. Roger Ward’s stock of books at Shrewsbury in the 1580s was dominated by school textbooks, and included a number of octavo bibles as well as copies of Proverbs and of the New Testament in Latin, which also figured prominently in contemporary educational theory; and two-thirds of the bibles in the stock of the Lincoln bookseller in 1671 were what was by then the more popular duodecimo, for sale at 3s. 6d. for gilt-edged copies, and 3s. for plain.

How the sisters of such schoolboys came to be familiar with roman type is less clear, since fewer attended schools; but it may be presumed that those who had tutors used many of the same grammar books or improving works as their brothers, and that as a result roman type posed no barrier for better-educated girls like Anne Lady Halkett who as a child was taught ‘orderly every morning to read the Bible’ and the ‘Marye flayrefax’ (perhaps the daughter of the later general, Sir Thomas) who inscribed her name in a bible in roman

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195 A. M. Stowe, English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (New York, 1908), 152 n. 139; Baldwin, Shakespeare’s ‘Small Latine’, i. 346; and at a humbler level, Spufford, ‘First Steps in Literacy’, 410–11.
type now in the Bible Society collection. If we look at the surviving octavo and duodecimo copies of bibles and New Testaments of the early Stuart period, we also find that quite a few are encased in embroidered covers that were clearly the owner’s work, like the 1638 octavo in the Bodleian which the inscription inside tells us belonged to Sarah Dodd (Bib.Eng.1638.f.3). Some of the materials used in these embroidered covers, for example gold or silver thread, were sufficiently expensive to suggest professional skills may have been involved, but in most cases the coloured silks, ordinary metal thread, and velvet or satin background would probably have been available to any moderately prosperous daughter being encouraged to practise her needlework or drawn-thread work. The designs on the covers could be abstract or floral, but in some instances depicted scriptural scenes, the Virgin and Child or John the Baptist, or female figures symbolizing Faith and Hope, or Justice and Mercy, or a pelican pecking its breast. The practice of embroidering covers seems to have survived into the 1670s at least, though it should be added that many daughters received a much more extensive education, such as Roger North’s sister who became a noted Hebraist. Her interest in the Bible was encouraged from an early age: North remembered that when as young children they asked for a story on Sundays, their mother insisted it was ‘a Sunday one, as she called it’—a ‘scriptural history which was more pleasing to us because more admirable and extraordinary’.

As time passed, other markets for smaller copies emerged among those teaching schools below grammar school level, and those disposed to giving or lending bibles to the less well-to-do. In the early eighteenth century both boys and girls from poorer backgrounds were taught in the Charity Schools, and the programme laid down for these schools in The Christian school-master (written by a Yorkshire vicar, James Talbot, at the suggestion of the SPCK) stipulated that in the first year children would learn the rudiments (the ABC and catechism), in the second they would read the psalter and the New Testament, and in the third they would read the Bible and learn to write. A variant of this was found in the school set up by a Leicestershire clergyman, Richard Hill, at Thurcaston: in what he called his ‘Bible School’, the children were to be taught to read and understand the Bible, and the five classes were named Primer, Battledore, Bible, Testament and Psalter. Such curricula

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98 DMH, nos. 352, 534, 552, etc. 99 Ibid., nos. 277, 436, 484; and Bodl. NT 1611 f.1.
100 DMH, nos. 327, 393, 478, 547, 546, 610.
101 Ibid., no. 714. In the case of samplers, scriptural texts and religious motifs survived much longer, of course.
102 R. North, The Lives of the Norths, ed. A. Jessop (3 vols., 1890), iii. 4–5. I owe the point about North’s sister to Scott Mandelbrote.
104 Ibid., 72–3 (a battledore was a form of hornbook, to teach reading).
obviously necessitated the buying of multiple copies of the Bible or New Testament, almost certainly the cheapest ones available given the limited funds available. At Hallaton in Leicestershire and elsewhere those students who showed promise were given their own copies of the Bible, Book of Common Prayer, and metrical psalms.\textsuperscript{205}

The idea of giving bibles to those who could not afford to buy them was in fact not a new one. In the 1630s Herbert Palmer had given bibles to new communicants, while shortly afterwards at Kidderminster Richard Baxter gave a copy to ‘every family that was poor, and had not a bible’, and from the reference to the bibles costing 5s. we can be moderately sure that the copies were cheaply bound octavos or duodecimos.\textsuperscript{206} In 1660 a schoolmaster based in London referred to a recent act of charity by which 40 shillings was to be spent each year to buy English bibles for children in the parish who could best read them; while in Myddle in Shropshire, Joshua Richardson bequeathed bibles and some copies of Baxter’s \textit{A call to the unconverted} to certain poor people living there.\textsuperscript{207} In the mid-1680s, there was a trade sale of bibles with the hope that ‘charitable gentleman and reverend clergymen’ would be encouraged to ‘bestow some copies among their poor neighbours or parishioners, who are not able to purchase what they are capable of reading to their benefit’; and shortly afterwards John Rawlet, the author of the best-selling \textit{Christian monitor}, also asked ‘rich landlords and gentlemen’ to provide poor children with some education and a copy of the Bible. His estimate that 5s. would provide a home with a copy of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and \textit{The Whole Duty of Man} suggests that he too was thinking of the cheapest possible editions, perhaps bought at bargain prices in job lots.\textsuperscript{208}

Rawlet’s appeal was put on a more regular basis by the efforts of other individuals and societies like the SPCK in the early eighteenth century, when an octavo bible retailing at 3s. unbound or a duodecimo at 2s. remained excellent value for the well disposed donor. In the case of bulk purchases such as the SPCK could make, it was apparently possible to purchase books at two-thirds the published price. Thus whereas in 1712, in the early days of the SPCK, one of its corresponding members complained that booksellers had raised the price of bibles from 3s. to 4s., shortly afterwards John Baskett was producing duodecimo bibles in quires for the Society for 1s. 9d., and octavos in quires at 3s., and later, in the 1750s and 1760s, prices for unbound sheets were as low as 1s. 8d. or 1s. 10d. Such copies were given away to children in Charity Schools, adults in workhouses, and members of the armed forces.\textsuperscript{209}

\textsuperscript{205} J. Talbot, \textit{The Christian school-master} (1707), 68; M. G. Jones, \textit{The Charity School Movement} (Cambridge, 1938), 150.  
\textsuperscript{206} Cressy, \textit{Literacy}, 50.  
\textsuperscript{207} Ibid., and C. Hoole, \textit{A new discovery of the old art of teaching schoole} (1660), 292.  
\textsuperscript{208} Lawler, \textit{Book Auctions}, 79; J. Rawlet, \textit{The Christian monitor} (1688), 53.  
Outside our period the giving of bibles to the poor was taken up by the Church Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society.

If the suppositions in these last few paragraphs are correct, then what we have here is a shift from the phenomenon of the book as a gift to a friend or near relation noted by Natalie Zemon Davis, with all that such a gift could then imply,\textsuperscript{210} to the practice of giving books impersonally as a work of charity. The two probably continued side by side. The copy of a 1613 Authorized quarto in which the recipient wrote ‘Peter Godwin | his book. | God give him grace | therein to look. Amen’ was almost certainly a gift from a relative, since other annotations suggest Peter was aged thirteen when he wrote it and two other Godwins (too old to have been his parents) had recently died; a century later, in 1715 a similar sentiment was expressed by Arthur Collman when he was given a much-annotated copy of a combined bible, Prayer Book, and psalter dating from 1599.\textsuperscript{211} But alongside this, the giving of bibles as a work of charity increased, and as the scale of giving rose, so the size of the format and the price tended to be forced down.

\textit{xxv. Owners among the Lower Orders}

There was almost certainly another category of reader. From the time of the Lollards to that of the Evangelical Revival, there are too many examples of weavers, shepherds, tinkers, and other artisans wanting to know what the Bible said for us to doubt that there were many who had received little formal education or who were largely self-taught but who obtained copies of the scriptures and either read them avidly or heard them read and in some cases memorized whole epistles. When Henry VIII legalized the reading of the Bible in English, ‘divers poor men’ in Chelmsford bought a New Testament, ‘and on Sundays did sit reading in [the] lower end of the church, and many would flock about them to hear their reading’. Our source for this—the son of a local shopkeeper—decided he would have to learn to read, and clubbed together with his father’s apprentice to buy a copy ‘and hid it in our bed straw and so exercised it at convenient times’.\textsuperscript{212} In 1543 when Henry VIII tried to prevent women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen and under, husbandmen, and labourers from reading the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Bodl. Bib.Eng.1613.e.3 (opposite title-page of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ and end-paper); BL 3051.cc. 6/1–3 (opening leaves of BCP). This verse can be found in edifying works as well as bibles of all sizes given to children and servants by well-meaning adults through to the late nineteenth century. For examples in bibles, see Bible Society Collection in CUL, nos. H489(1) (John and Elizabeth Mills), H497 (Thomas Medhurst), H621 (Richard Richards), H669 (i) (Mary Roberts), and H736 (John Thorp).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
new translations of the Bible, it was probably not a pre-emptive strike but a belated attempt to close the door. Certainly the Gloucestershire shepherd, Robert Williams, who bought a copy of the New Testament for 14d. in 1546, was upset that permission to study the book had been ‘abrogated that shepherds might not read it’. The inscription continues: ‘I pray God amend that blindness. Writ by Robert Williams keeping sheep upon Saintbury Hill, 1546.’ A few years later, it was a servant girl who persuaded Roger Holland, a merchant tailor in London, to read the Bible and Prayer Book and go to sermons given by Protestant preachers; and in Cardiff a fisherman sent his young son to school to learn to read, and each night the boy read the Bible to his father after supper. In the wills and inventories of eastern England examined by Professor Margaret Spufford, she found a thatcher and a fisherman both leaving a bible to their sons, and a few years later in 1648 a chandler who left two bibles, to his son and daughter. There is other, more anecdotal evidence for this popular desire to read the sacred text. The conservative duke of Newcastle blamed the troubles of the 1640s on the easy availability of English bibles among weavers and chambermaids, while in Behemoth Thomas Hobbes complained that ‘after the Bible was translated . . . every man, nay, every boy and wench that could read English, thought they spoke with God Almighty and understood what he said, when by a certain number of chapters a day they had read the scriptures once or twice over.’ More reliable evidence is provided by the autobiographies written by many of lower middling or humble background in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Oliver Sansom, Thomas Boston, Thomas Carleton, Josiah Langdale, and John Whiting, and both the mother and wife of Oliver Heywood. In most of these bible reading was described as a stage of either the process of learning to read or spiritual awakening. As late as the 1830s, when a barrister named Liardet conducted an enquiry into the ‘State of the Peasantry in the County of Kent’, he found that when children were asked if they could read, ‘a common answer was, “Yes, a little in the [New] Testament”, which in many cases had been their first and only primer. The same enquiry found that the one book that a majority of labourers had in their homes was a bible or Testament, in some cases paired with a prayer book or hymn book.

94 ENGLISH BIBLES AND THEIR OWNERS


However, such insights are relatively rare, and although Testaments may have been within the reach of the poorer sections of society, a complete new bible was probably beyond all but the most determined or frugal of purchasers. In the 1630s a Cambridge New Testament in twenty-fourmo was said to be have been priced about 6d., a London Testament in duodecimo about 7d., and an octavo about 10d. But at the same time, a new bound copy of even the cheapest bible—say 4s. for the text and 1s. for the binding—represented about a week’s wages for an unskilled labourer who was earning 8d. to 1s. a day, and over half a week’s pay for a craftsman earning eighteen pence a day. To put it another way, bibles were many times dearer than a ‘godly’ ballad or a ‘penny’ or ‘twopenny godly’ targeted at those members of the lower orders who could read, and several times dearer than most other printed aids, such as short catechisms or simple handbooks. The production of bibles in smaller formats by the reign of James I may have put a bible within the reach of an artisan or labourer—if he could read roman type. Subsequently, there was perhaps a slight drop in the price of octavos, and familiarity with roman probably became more widespread; but even 3s. for an octavo or 2s. for a duodecimo or twenty-fourmo in the 1730s represented perhaps two or three days’ wages for a labourer earning 12d. a day, more if (as was likely) the copy was bound, no matter how cheaply.

Copies of a bible may well have been acquired by other means, either through a growing second-hand market (fed, to judge from some cautionary tales, by stolen copies), or as a gift, or an inheritance from days when the family finances were in better condition, or a long loan (though probably not from one of the new lending libraries which tended to be socially exclusive at first). It is possible but perhaps unlikely that the four bibles and other small books valued at 30s. in the hands of a retired husbandman in Cambridgeshire in 1668, and the bible worth 5s. in the possession of a travelling barber whose total worldly wealth including his horse and harness was £12. 19s. 0d., had all been bought new by the men concerned. In short, it is hard to relate any of the shifts of format or layout described in this chapter directly to the demands of those beneath the middling rank of prosperity or education.

For once printers and publishers may have missed a trick. Wedded to their restrictive practices of breaking up type, and slow to adopt new technology such as stereotyping when it emerged, they were unable or unlikely to produce

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218 DMH, 183.
220 See below, Ch. 8.i, and 8.xi; and above, Ch. 1.vii.
a bible at a price that would suit everyone’s pocket, and they were by nature not disposed to give copies away at below cost price: rather the reverse—they were regularly accused of keeping prices artificially high.\textsuperscript{223} Nor had the authorities in Tudor and early Stuart times been either able or willing to sponsor cheaper bibles; it was not until the early eighteenth century, as we have seen, that increasing numbers of pious individuals put pressure on the trade to lower prices.\textsuperscript{224} But there probably was a plebeian readership for the Bible, and when printers and binders were whipped into line and forced to accept new technology by hard-headed evangelicals in the early nineteenth century, the possibility of producing huge quantities of really cheap bibles, at 1s. 6d. or even at 1s., at last emerged. Nor were these copies necessarily given away: many of the cheapest copies were bought by workers through penny-a-week subscription schemes. Demand in Manchester rose from 5,000 copies per year in the late 1830s to 10,000 in the early 1840s and suddenly to 20,000 copies in one month in 1845.\textsuperscript{225}

xvi. Patterns of Production in England and Elsewhere

This classification of readers has been painted in broad strokes, and badly needs to be tested against regional and local sources and further examination of surviving copies of bibles and Testaments. It will also almost certainly need to be supplemented by other categories or sub-categories of reader than those suggested here, and by different individuals and different ‘communities of interpretation’ who actually read the Bible: out loud or silently, sequentially or at random, with or without a commentary or paraphrase, or thematically using a concordance, and so on—many of which we will consider in the next chapter. But this chapter may serve as a starting point, and its broad conclusions chime in moderately well with the pattern of expansion and diversification in other genres of religious instruction to be discussed in the following chapters.

It would also be instructive at some future date to compare what we know of the English patterns of bible production and readership with that of Lutheran Germany and Scandinavia and Calvinist Holland and Scotland over the same period. A preliminary appraisal would seem to suggest that in some ways the English experience fits in with that of other countries but in most respects it does not.

In Lutheran Germany, there was massive production of Luther’s translation into German of the New Testament, but more limited sales of the full Bible, which did not appear until 1534.\textsuperscript{226} It has also been persuasively argued

\textsuperscript{223} DMH, 182–7.  \textsuperscript{224} See above, n. 209.  \textsuperscript{225} Howsam, Cheap Bibles, 162–6, and passim.  \textsuperscript{226} Edwards, Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther, 123, 126–9; Pelikan, Reformation of the Bible, 49–52, 135–7; Gilmont, Reformation and the Book, 38–9, 68–73, 88–90.
that fear that the less-educated would misinterpret the Bible soon persuaded Luther and his supporters to place more reliance on catechizing than direct bible study, except for those with sufficient education to be entrusted with their own copies. As a result the number of complete bibles produced in late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Germany, in relation to the number of nominal Protestants in that country, was probably lower than in England. Prices remained relatively high: Gawthrop and Strauss estimate that a bible would have cost an unskilled labourer a month’s wages, and a mason or carpenter a week’s wages; and ownership probably did not extend much beyond the ranks of the clergy and the lay establishment. It was only with the ‘Second Reformation’ brought about by pietists in eighteenth-century Prussia that bible production boomed in Germany. Less worried by then about heresy; and able to convince the secular authorities that a literate, bible-reading population was more likely to be a useful and obedient one, the pietists were able to secure support for their educational programme and the capital to start the production of cheap but well produced bibles. By the second decade of the eighteenth century one of these bibles may have cost only one and a half days’ subsistence wages, and a Testament only half a day’s. With a little stick and a fair amount of carrot, the pietists soon achieved much success in terms of literacy rates across the social divides, though how far this was matched by advances in biblical knowledge or understanding is harder to gauge.

Protestants in Scandinavian countries also accepted the importance of religious education and of encouraging bible reading in the home. Lutherans in Denmark followed a similar route to the pietists in Prussia. In the sixteenth century, those fortunate enough to go to school had learnt the Lord’s Prayer, Creed, and Decalogue with their ABC in the first form, and then studied Latin and the Bible; as for the rest, they were supposed to be given religious instruction by their parents at home, or in rural areas by the parish deacon once a week. This programme may have had some success, but it was not until the 1690s–1720s that some vigour was put into it by pietist-inspired clergy and laymen, who set up schools in which children were taught to read a primer, the Bible and Psalms, and Luther’s short catechism at no charge (writing and arithmetic had to be paid for). By that date, however, their co-religionists in Sweden had already instituted a programme of mass literacy for the whole population, including parents. One of the main problems there was the limited development of the printing trade in Northern Europe: until the

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nineteenth century such bibles as there were in Sweden were expensive and used mainly by pastors for church services and sermons. For most Swedes, religious instruction consisted of learning a catechism and memorizing a set of biblical verses that outlined Christian duties and obligations. These verses were not reproduced in book form but on a plaque, the ‘Hustavla’, which was hung on the wall at home and, together with a psalm-book, used in daily family worship. Regular tests of knowledge by the minister and sanctions against the ignorant produced a significant rise in literacy and scripture knowledge if not bible reading in the full sense of the term.230

Scotland was different again. Owing to a combination of a powerful kirk and a body of landlords who were prepared to pay for the people’s education, there was an even earlier start to an official programme of setting up schools in every parish; but by comparison to Germany (and England and Holland), there was a relatively late start to bible production on any scale. Also, as we have seen, the authorities in 1579 seem to have thought that it was the rich rather than the poor who would be expected to acquire copies, and, until literacy rates were higher, there was a continued insistence that the young and ignorant should first master the official catechism of the day and the basic formulae of the faith. By the mid-eighteenth century literacy rates were considerably higher, and the attitude that everybody should be able to read the Bible was probably well established in some quarters: on his travels in the Lothians in the 1760s, George Robertson saw family bibles among both farmers and the much poorer cottars.231 A nearer parallel to the English experience, at least on the printing side, was probably in Holland, where there was a rapid expansion of the book trade from the end of the sixteenth century and particularly in the first half of the seventeenth. However, in Holland, unlike England, there was a campaign to promote literacy and bible reading which, as in the other countries mentioned here, seems to have yielded good results in the space of a few generations, and bible ownership became relatively widespread.232

By contrast, the English appear to have made a good start but then faded. The rapid expansion and diversification of bible production in England that has been outlined in this chapter was due primarily to a combination of God and Mammon. The first generation of reformers gave the initial stimulus by actively supporting the idea of printing vernacular bibles; if they had fears that the lower orders might misunderstand the Bible, these were not as

strongly felt or as firmly acted upon as in mid-sixteenth-century Germany. Meanwhile, English printers, publishers, and booksellers latched onto the fact that there was a potentially large and growing market for bibles among not only the clergy and teachers but also the upper and middling ranks of a country which was relatively more prosperous and which by the early seventeenth century had a rapidly rising standard of literacy.\(^{233}\) The process of keeping the text up-to-date by incorporating the latest revisions, and the book trade’s ingenuity in finding new combinations of format, typeface, and apparatus, meant more sales—which should have pleased the church—and growing profits for the producers and retailers—which must have delighted the trade. By the mid-seventeenth century the owning of a bible and perhaps to a lesser extent the regular reading of that bible had become a firmly established habit, at least among those who were relatively well-to-do or devout or both. Among such people, there would have been solid support for Chillingworth’s famous assertion that ‘the BIBLE, I say, the BIBLE only, is the religion of Protestants’.\(^{234}\) But this process seems to have peaked in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and production either stabilized or fell to a slightly lower but still quite respectable level thereafter, with periodic surges when societies like the SPCK and BFBS moved into bible publishing. By the late nineteenth century the practice of encouraging those who were learning to read to practise on the Bible was waning,\(^{235}\) and Britain would eventually become known as a nation not of bible-readers or even bible-owners but of bible-givers, especially to those in benighted countries unfortunate enough not to be British.\(^{236}\)

The key question for us remains what use was made of these bibles by their many different owners in early modern England? What is suggested by an examination of formats, typeface, and apparatus, together with prices and probable sales, is that there was not one standard English bible, but many different types; and the scholar wanting the latest translation and notes and broad margins for his own annotations, the gentleman or lady with an expensively bound and monogrammed status symbol, the schoolboy translating part of the Testament into Latin, and the child given a new or hand-me-down copy may have been expecting different things from his or her particular bible. There is a striking mixture of the pious and the secular in Arthur Collman’s inscription in his bible that he ‘owneth this book. | God give him grace thereon to look. | The rose is red, the leaves are green. | God bless our noble King and Queen (23.10.1715)’; and to judge from the materials we will be

\(^{233}\) See above, pp. 26–7, 34–8; and in general Houston, *Literacy*, chs. 6–7.

\(^{234}\) W. Chillingworth, *The religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation* (1638), 375.


\(^{236}\) While most Britons ignore the Bible today, the Bible Society was recently appealing for ‘A hundred million bibles . . . for eastern Europe’—an echo of its early campaign for a ‘Million Testaments for China’: Howsam, *Cheap Bibles*, 185–6.
examining in the next chapter he might well have been encouraged at his age to look to the historical books of the Bible for other examples of how virtue would be rewarded.  

The first English reformers’ hopes of having all from king to ploughboy reading the Bible went a long way towards completion, but the publishers’ success in devising and disseminating cheaper, simpler bibles meant that readers with lower expectations often ended up with the bibles with fewest prefaces and notes. This meant that such readers were in a position either to use it as the clergy probably wished—as a means of corroborating orthodox teaching and preaching—or to impose on it older semi-Pelagian conclusions about virtue leading to salvation, or even to draw their own uninhibited and sometimes radical conclusions, demonstrating (in some conservatives’ eyes) the truth of old warnings that placing vernacular bibles in the laity’s hands was a two-edged sword. Which of these three paths the laity took could depend in part on their personal inclinations or the communities of which they were members, but it could also depend on how they viewed and read the Bible—a subject to which we now turn.

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237 BL 3051.cc. 6/1–3; and below, Ch. 3. There is also a hint of the magical—or the valetudinarian—in another contemporary inscription: ‘Who reads a chapter when he rises shall not be troubled with ill eyes’ (BL C.110.g.18).

238 This last point is developed below, Ch. 3.xv.
The elephant and the lamb: different ways of approaching the Bible

i. Strategies for Helping Bible Readers

‘Courteous reader, ’tis said of scripture that it is deep enough for an elephant to swim in, and yet shallow enough for a lamb to wade through’, wrote Ralph Venning in the late 1640s; and he was only one of a number of mid-seventeenth-century English authors who adopted this patristic metaphor. For while it was generally agreed among Protestants that the complete Bible should be made available to everybody, it was also realized that while some passages were so clear and safe that even the youngest and most innocent reader could be trusted to negotiate them, others were so deep and dangerous that even great intellects could drown in them. What is also interesting about the metaphor is its recognition that not all readers would be the same. ‘Elephant’ was presumably used to describe those highly educated individuals with a knowledge of the original languages in which the Bible was written and at ease with the Latin in which crucial aids to bible study were written, and with the time and the tools to study mysterious passages. ‘Lamb’ by comparison would have denoted primarily those who by virtue of their tender years or limited education or background knowledge would need guiding to the clear shallows, until they were ready to attempt deeper waters. For the metaphor was not meant to represent a permanent state of affairs in each reader: implicit was also the idea that lambs could gain wisdom and might even by some curious metamorphosis become young elephants, wiser but not yet fully equipped students, which is why (as we shall see shortly) there emerged not a two- but a threefold division in published supplements to bible study.

The date at which the use of the metaphor became more common is also instructive, because arguably there was a sea change in aids to bible study in

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2 As Venning readily conceded: *Mysteries*, sig. A3'; Venning thought wading was safer, but Clarke said we should always study the deeper waters: *Survey*, p. iii.

3 See below, nn. 19, 31.

4 Examples will be given in the final portion of this chapter.
the middle third of the seventeenth century. Before then, aids were published in reasonable quantities, but their use was not seen as crucial. Those who wrote the prefaces to the Great, Bishops’, and King James Bibles between 1539 and 1611 had been moderately confident that its essential truths were evident to all, so that even the ‘vulgar’ could profit from reading the scriptures; beyond that they relied on a warning to readers to avoid speculation and doctrinaire conclusions, and when they encountered obscure or difficult passages to defer to the wisdom of the church—that is, the clerical pachyderms who understood such matters. Meanwhile, the ‘godly’ clergy of late Tudor and early Stuart England were confident that the Bible was its own interpreter, with the help of the Holy Spirit, though they were always prepared to provide guidance on the harder passages in the Bible, above all through sermons, but also through commentaries and other ancillary works.

However, from the mid-seventeenth century both conformists and the more conservative nonconformists seem to have become much more strongly convinced of the need to help lambs by means of simpler commentaries, paraphrases, expository notes, and other such works. Whether this shift was due to a shared fear of the radical views of scripture that emerged in the 1640s and 1650s, and then of the scepticism that surfaced increasingly in the next few decades, or to a realization among publishers and authors that there was a growing market for such works, especially among the expanding numbers of middling sort who could afford such aids and had the inclination and time to use them, is not yet clear: it was probably a bit of both. But whatever the cause, the consequence can be seen both in the myriad publications of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian periods, and in the comments of the intellectual heavyweights of the day. It is hard to imagine William Whitaker or William Perkins saying what William Harris, a presbyterian minister, said in 1717 that ‘reading the scriptures is made more profitable by some exposition upon them’; nor is it easy to imagine Matthew Parker or Lancelot Andrewes replying as Dr Johnson did to Boswell’s query whether to read the Bible with or without a commentary: ‘To be sure, sir, I would have you read . . . with a commentary.’ If historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are correct in asserting the continued centrality of the Bible to English Protestants’ view of their faith, then two of the supporting girders of that perception were the massive increase in the supply of bibles described in the previous chapter, and the vastly increased numbers of copies of approved aids to bible study churned out by the presses in the second century after the Reformation.

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5 See above, Ch. 2.i. 6 See below, nn. 16–18.

7 The first two are cited below; the others in T. R. Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism, Literature, and the Eighteenth-Century Reader’, in Rivers, Books and their Readers, 103.

In Chapter 2 we saw an early and dramatic shift in bible production from copies for scholars and lecterns to bibles for families and children, but in the case of ancillary works the shift was slower, more complex, and less complete. Instead what we find are authors and publishers evolving a three-pronged assault. The first element of this was to provide specialist commentaries and treatises for the intellectual pachyderms of the day, in particular academics and senior clergy and the occasional bibliophile or committed scholar among the laity. For the most specialized works of all, such readers initially had to rely heavily on tomes imported from abroad, often at a very high price—the Paris polyglot cost £50.9 However, a small but growing number of technically accomplished works did begin to appear in England in the seventeenth century, though the market for such had a natural ceiling, and we sometimes find publishers trying to broaden the sales of specialist works by appealing to the curiosity of an intermediate readership.

The second prong of the strategy was to publish works targeted more specifically at those lesser clergy, ordinands, and lay men and women who, though they had limited or no knowledge of ancient languages beyond perhaps some Latin, were moderately well educated, had some spare cash, and the time and inclination to enter the deeper waters of scripture with help from the specialists. This category of intermediate works included commentaries, annotations, and a variety of technical aids such as substantial concordances, lexicons, background histories, chronologies, and harmonies; and it ranged from quite demanding works at the top—long, technical, expensive works, dedicated to persons of note, often sprinkled with Latin and Greek quotations that were not translated—to publications at the bottom that were simplified versions of more advanced treatises, and made some concessions to the smaller amounts of education, time, and cash that many readers possessed. If there was an essential difference between works in the first two categories, both before and after the mid-seventeenth century, it was that the authors of truly specialist tomes treated their readers as equals (adult elephants) to whom they were merely offering the tools they would be perfectly capable of making themselves if they had the time, whereas the authors of intermediate works tended to regard their readers, whether in holy orders or not, as enthusiastic but only partly equipped amateurs (trainee elephants or at least older lambs in need of advice and guidance from an experienced hand). However, within this second category, there was also arguably a shift from works targeted equally at clergy and laity to works aimed at either the lesser clergy and ordinands or the laity. Moreover, to judge from such indicators as the comments of authors and publishers on title-pages and prefaces about their

9 J. Bennett and S. Mandelbrote, *The Garden, the Ark, the Tower, the Temple: Biblical Metaphors of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Museum of the History of Science in Association with the Bodleian Library, 1998), 177.
intended readers, the shift in dedicatees from a peer or bishop at the outset to ‘the Christian reader’ later on, and the increasing avoidance of untranslated phrases in ancient languages, there was at the same time also a demonstrable shift within those works targeted especially at the laity, from works aimed at a status-conscious, classically educated landed elite to ones aimed at the rapidly expanding middling ranks of society as well. Condescension was mixed with pragmatism.

The third prong was to devise works more suited to what to modern eyes might seem to be the real lambs: the young, and the ignorant or inexperienced adult. The educational theory of the day suggested that what such individuals needed above all else was a sound foundation of knowledge of scripture—such as how many books the Bible contained, who wrote them, and what were the chief episodes in each—which could then act as the basis for later comprehension. Beginners were also offered works combining edification and entertainment, such as endless scripture quizzes designed to test knowledge, summaries of the Bible in verse, often cleverly designed to facilitate memorizing, and from the 1680s selected bible stories accompanied by pictures. Once again we find many more examples in these genres by the later seventeenth century, and especially c.1680–1740, when the appearance of commercial ventures by enterprising publishers is a good sign of how potentially lucrative this market for aids to bible study was becoming. Titles in the intermediate sector remained more numerous, probably because of the superior purchasing power of the landed and commercial elites. The clergy, charitable laity, and fond parents might give copies of cheaper editions of bibles to those in need of them, but their generosity did not (with some exceptions) extend to doling out large quantities of simpler study aids as well, hence their lower sales.

The story that emerges here therefore is of authors and publishers providing ‘milk for babes’ somewhat belatedly, to balance their earlier provision of ‘meat for men’, but also being flexible enough to provide many different forms of work which would appeal to those in between, and even some works such as concordances and aide-mémoires which both the greatest scholar and the simplest reader might have occasion to use.

ii. Hermeneutics and Reading Practices

This chapter will not attempt to discuss in any detail the changes in hermeneutics—the rules for interpretation of scripture—that took place between the late Middle Ages and the early Enlightenment, which is undoubtedly central to our understanding of the impact of the Bible in early

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\[\text{See above, pp. 92–3.} \quad \text{For the catechetical parallel, see Green, Christian’s ABC, 74.}\]
modern England; but a brief word is advisable. The vast majority of the publications surveyed in this chapter formed part of that wider reaction among many Catholic and Protestant authors against what was seen as the undue emphasis on allegorical interpretation in the Middle Ages. Their authors wished to return to two other elements in the hermeneutic tradition: above all the literal, but also (in practice) the moral. The Bible was a source of revealed wisdom, containing promises of redemption to be taken literally; but it was also the supreme guide to holy living, in the form of the Old Testament Law, supplemented by Christ’s moral teaching in the Gospels. This did not mean that the allegorical or typological meaning was totally rejected. On the contrary, typology was widely retained as an instructive application of the literal meaning, especially in the treatment of the Old Testament as a foretaste of the New. Thus it was literally true that Adam was born in the Garden of Eden, as stated in Genesis, and this tells us much about God’s power and purpose; but Adam before he fell into sin was also a ‘type’—a prophetic similitude—of the sinless Christ, the son of God, being born on earth as man. The stories of the Garden of Eden, the Ark of Moses, the Tower of Babel, and the Temple in Jerusalem (as we have been recently reminded) were all seen as metaphors of knowledge, but also as undoubted historical phenomena which could teach man by example how he ought or ought not to behave to obtain knowledge legitimately.

There were undoubted differences of opinion and emphasis. Against the caveats of Erasmus that some parts of the Bible might remain a mystery to man’s limited intellect, Luther and Calvin and their followers responded that scripture generated its own light for believers, so that no part of it need remain dark. It was not a large step from this to arguing that the Bible was not just a book to be read and studied, but a field of force which through the Holy Spirit could have a transforming effect on the lives of those who read it in faith. Other English writers, such as Cranmer, Hooker, Laud, Jeremy Taylor,


14 As previous note; and cf. W. Perkins, *The arte of prophecying* (Cambridge, 1609), in *Works* (1608–9), ii. 737; Articles 6 and 7 of the 39; and Baxter: Knott, *Sword of the Spirit*, 77–8.

15 As n. 13; Perkins, *Arte*, 740–7; and Bennett and Mandelbrote, *Biblical Metaphors*, 10–11, and *passim*.

and later commentators such as Barrow, South, Stillingfleet, and Tillotson, also tended to be more optimistic than Erasmus, especially on the essential truths about salvation which they felt God would not have left ambiguous. But they were wary of the risks of extreme biblicism and licence that could follow when individuals were encouraged to interpret scripture in the light of what they felt was the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit. All sides could agree that the Holy Spirit was the medium through which the inspired Word had been communicated by God to man; and all might agree that the help of the Holy Spirit was needed, by the individual or the collective unit, to help understand some of the harder passages in the scripture. But rather than submit solely to what Perkins called the ‘inward testimony of the Holy Ghost speaking in the scriptures’, or expect the Bible to have a transforming effect on the individual or the nation, mainstream episcopalians and a moderate puritan like Baxter tended to allow a role for reason, aided by grace and guided by faith, and for ‘the general consent of antiquity’—the views of the Early Church and Fathers.

This potentially serious parting of the ways was, however, kept within bounds by the technical problems posed by interpretation and by the sources and methods used by both sides. Not only arch-conformists like George Herbert but ‘godly’ ministers and authors like William Whitaker, John Rainolds, Laurence Chaderton, John Rogers, Richard Greenham, and later John Owen, Richard Baxter, Thomas Delaune, and Matthew Henry agreed that, while everybody should study the scripture, the soundest interpreters were those with knowledge of the original languages in which the Bible was written, which in practice usually meant the best-educated ministers of the day. Interpretation of the scriptures was ordinarily the particular work of the ministry, wrote John Rogers in 1630, adding that it was not to be attempted by Christians in families or private meetings ‘any further than they have good bottom from what they have learned by the ministry of the word’, thus confirming what Patrick Collinson has dubbed ‘the circular principle at the heart of seventeenth-century biblical culture’, that the faithful hear sermons

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preached by clergy who had studied the Bible and then prove their truth by reading the scripture themselves. On doctrinal matters at least, conformists and nonconformists also shared a readiness in practice to consult the best commentaries and editions available, whether these were patristic or scholastic, Protestant or Catholic; and they also shared a willingness to use their reasoning powers, however damaged by the Fall, to apply Augustine’s ‘analogy of faith’, which said that no biblical interpretation should contradict fundamental Christian doctrine as stated in what Perkins called ‘the most manifest and familiar places’. As for the potentially transforming effect of reading the Bible, this can still be found in the second century after the Reformation in the writings of a moderate dissenter and evangelical like Philip Doddridge, but it was strictly confined to the spiritual life of the individual, and indeed to the sections he labelled ‘practical improvements’ which followed each segment of his paraphrase. In other words, there was a distinction between the commentary as such (which was largely literal and moral) and the application of the text to the reader’s life.

Another degree of polarization occurred over two related matters: the weight to be given to the Old Testament compared to the New, and the lengths to which typology could be taken. In both cases it was at the radical end of the spectrum that we find the most assertive attitudes, and at the more conservative the least. Where some radicals were tempted to see Old Testament teaching as prescriptive commands for their own day, mainstream Protestants never forgot that the Old Testament had to be viewed in context and through a Christological filter: it was an essential part of the book known as the Bible, but in essence was only the prolegomenon. As for typology, most accepted the basic form which saw Adam as a ‘type’ of Christ and other scriptural characters or incidents as exemplars of Christian behaviour, but a few writers were prepared to go much further, often by focusing on the prophetic passages in Daniel or Revelation which fuelled the millenarian speculations of the 1640s and 1650s. However, by comparison with the sectaries’ mystical views and apocalyptic expectations, the writings of episcopalians and moderate dissenters, which tended to dominate the output of the early modern

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21 On sources, see Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 115; and below, following paragraphs; on the analogy of faith, see, e.g. Perkins, *Arte*, 737; Owen (cited Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 100); Baxter (*Sword of the Spirit*, 76–7); Lowth, *Directions*, 39–42; and in general, Pelikan, *Reformation of the Bible*, 23–8, 35–7.

22 Doddridge, *Family expositor*, passim. The same distinction can be found in works published before 1640 as well.

printing press for all but a few years in the mid-seventeenth century, remained on the whole cautious.\textsuperscript{44}

Other challenges to the hermeneutic status quo did occur: the emphasis on the inner light which led some Quakers for a while to doubt the value of scripture; the Socinians who denied the existence of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ; the lay philosophers who questioned the authorship and validity of the Bible; and both old and new challenges from Catholic scholars.\textsuperscript{45} Some of these were more serious than others, but together these threats may have reinforced that shift in perception, suggested at the start of this chapter, towards the need for greater provision for lambs. Otherwise the most visible effect of these challenges were the number of polemical works pitched at academic level, and the increasing frequency in later aids to bible study of a defence of both faith and reason when considering the authenticity of the scriptures.\textsuperscript{26} But even these comments were much more likely to be found in the introductions than the texts of eighteenth-century aids to bible study: in the text the stress on the literal meaning of the Bible and the essential guidance it contained on doctrine and piety remained much the same as in the time of Cranmer and Parker.

There is one other deliberate omission in this chapter—on the way in which the Bible was actually read—and this is again a reluctant one given that we know many read it on a daily basis, and that it was obviously of vital importance to sensitive individuals such as Richard Sibbes, George Herbert, Richard Baxter, and John Bunyan, as well as more radical figures like Gerrard Winstanley.\textsuperscript{27} But the aim of this chapter and the previous one is to establish what an analysis of patterns of publication can contribute to our understanding of how people in early modern England were led to approach the Bible. Finding out how deep into the water the lambs went is the next step, and should

\textsuperscript{44} As previous note; Knott, \textit{Sword of the Spirit}, chs. 2–3; and Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 101–2. Mainstream and radical millenarian interpretations are discussed in W. Lamont, \textit{Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603–60} (1966), and the works cited below, Ch. 4, nn. 280, 284–5.


\textsuperscript{26} For Reedy’s comments on the ‘attenuated rationalism’ of many mainstream works, see \textit{Bible and Reason}, 143; and cf. previous note.

be a better informed one if we can key into the equation what we know of the kinds of bible and ancillary study they were most likely to have encountered.

iii. Specialist Works

Let us begin by looking at the works destined for specialist readers. In *Ecclesiastes, or, a discourse concerning the gift of preaching*, a handbook for preachers first published in 1646 but reprinted several times over the next few decades, John Wilkins warned fellow clergy against a ‘pompous show’ of book learning, but then went on to insist that preachers should have knowledge of the three ‘learned’ languages (Greek, Latin, and Hebrew) as well as the ‘vulgar’ ones, and have access to the many books he listed which contained texts of the Bible in its original languages.\(^a\) A fine scholar himself and a future bishop, Wilkins’s lists contained the titles of hundreds of concordances, harmonies, chronologies, and commentaries on each book of the Bible—by authors as diverse as the Fathers and Doctors of the Church through the medieval Schoolmen to contemporary scholars of all persuasions. Moreover, not only were the great majority in the ‘learned’ languages, they had also been published abroad. His admiration for Continental scholarship is evident in the fact that within each set of approved commentators—dozens for each of the larger books in the Bible, and rarely less than five or six for the smaller—he placed an asterisk against the few that scholars deemed ‘most judicious and useful’, and on very few occasions did a work published within England and in the English language merit such an honour.\(^b\) Wilkins’s unwillingness to let preachers compromise by using simplified versions of such works in their own vernacular was also shown in his contemptuous dismissal of ‘the common postillers’ whose efforts were ‘for the most part rejected by our gravest, most judicious divines, as being generally useless and empty’.\(^c\) In practice many lesser clergy had to compromise, because they either lacked the resources to stay at school or university long enough to acquire Hebrew and Greek, or had difficulty gaining access to copies of such works; and by the 1640s some radicals were rejecting altogether such an emphasis on what they saw as man-made wisdom. But a dozen repeat editions of Wilkins’s text in the later seventeenth century indicate that the same standards were being set for the high-flyers of the day as in the first century after the Reformation.\(^d\)

From the point of view of the English print trade, this was a mixed blessing. The numbers of schoolboys, undergraduates, and adults who could read

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\(a\) J. Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes* (1656), 32–9.

\(b\) Ibid., 39–68.

\(c\) Ibid., 65 (and below, nn. 47, 50, 55).

\(d\) On linguistic knowledge and the borrowing of books, see following paragraphs; on rejection of humane learning, see above, n. 25; and C. Hill, ‘The Radical Critics of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1650s’, in his *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (1974), 127–48; for earlier detailed advice on training clergy by authors like Whitaker, Rainolds, Chaderton, and Bernard, see Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 112–17.
Greek was sufficiently great to justify the setting up of new titles in Greek, such as William Whitaker’s translations of Nowell’s ‘larger’ and ‘middling’ catechism into Greek in the 1570s, and the first Greek New Testament to be published in England, in 1583. But the numbers who could read Hebrew and later Syriac, Arabic, and other Near Eastern languages, increased but slowly, despite efforts from Fisher, Cranmer, Parker, and Laud to set up regular tuition at the universities. And with such a limited market for works in oriental languages, Hebrew type was not used in England until the 1590s, and this, like the sets of type in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic scripts bought in 1637 for the press at Oxford, had to be manufactured abroad.

Not until Sir Henry Savile printed an eight-volume edition of the Greek works of St John Chrysostom at Eton between 1610 and 1613 did an English scholar make a substantial contribution to early modern biblical scholarship. And it was another forty years before the *Biblia sacra polyglotta* was published, in six volumes between 1653 and 1657, by a number of ejected episcopalian clergy and some moderate presbyterians, led by Brian Walton. Not only was this the best polyglot produced anywhere, with the most authentic texts available, set in parallel columns for ease of reference, and showing a greater awareness of the significance of textual criticism of ancient texts than ever before, but also it marked the point at which English printers joined the ranks of the leading exponents of their craft. Even so, such efforts were extremely risky from a commercial standpoint. Savile had to lay out £8,000 on his venture, copies cost £9 a set, and many remained unsold for some time. Fortunately for the editors of the Walton polyglot, there was such competition for new copies that prices were forced up to £17 or £18, and second-hand copies fetched over £10. But this frustrated the editors’ hopes that ‘every private man’ could have at his disposal the original sources and major translations of the Bible. The accompanying nine-folio volumes of *Critici sacri* (1660) that reproduced a great number of the best (European) commentaries, mostly in Latin, were again so expensive that only the best-endowed libraries and the richest clergy and laity could afford them, even second-hand.

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32 STC: 18707, 18726 (and cf. 18711a); 2793.
This reliance on imports for the great majority of specialist works on the Bible in languages other than Latin or Greek, and a significant number of titles in those languages as well, was good news for booksellers with international contacts, but not for lesser clergy and poorer scholars living some distance from a university or cathedral library or a collector willing to lend out rare and expensive works. But it also begs the question of just how many copies were imported and into whose hands they fell. We can occasionally see books being brought in: the copies of Augustine and Cyprian brought from Basle to England by Peter Martyr in 1547; the works bought for Sir Thomas Bodley's fledgling library at Oxford by one bookseller with connections with the Frankfurt bookfair and another who travelled round Western Europe; and the library of the Bishop of Faro in Portugal, captured by the earl of Essex in 1596 and kindly donated to the same collection.

37 And if we examine the inventories of the books owned by contemporary teachers and students at universities in Elizabethan England and Ireland, or the catalogues of the collections of the richer clergy of Stuart England, we soon find significant numbers of copies of Hebrew grammars and bibles published abroad and the Bible of Tremellius (a converted Jew who applied his knowledge of Hebrew and Syriac to the production of a Latin bible which became widely used in Protestant Europe), as well as copies of the Greek and Latin works of the Fathers—all imported at some stage. In the 1640s, when a new set of notes for use with the Authorized Version of the Bible was called for by the parliament's Committee of Religion, the first port of call of the divines charged with this task was not just the notes to the English editions of the Geneva Bible (which had themselves been heavily indebted to the scholarship of Calvin and Beza), but the annotations of ‘Liranus, Strabus, Vitablus, Junius . . . Tremellius’ and Piscator, and the more recent ones known as the ‘Italian’ and ‘Dutch notes’, prepared respectively by Giovanni Diodati, professor of divinity at Geneva, and a committee of the Synod of Dort. But the other side of the coin was these divines’ concern to provide ‘brother ministers’ with a distillation of this wisdom because they knew that many of them lacked the

37 Cf. the objection on this score that John Verneuil tried to counter in his Nomenclator of such tracts and sermons (1642), sigs. 3r–4r. Books were evidently borrowed from the libraries of James Ussher (see below, n. 39) and Matthew Hutton: York Minster Library, ‘Catalogus Librorum’ (1638), folios near end; and cf. J. B. Gavin, ‘Elizabethan Bishop of Durham: Tobias Matthew, 1595–1606’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (McGill University, 1972), 316.


money or leisure to peruse the many books with which they themselves were familiar.\[^{40}\]\[^{40}\] Similarly, we can show that bibliophiles and zealots among the aristocracy and gentry owned copies of rare or imported works, and in some cases made use of them in their own writings, but we cannot be sure that the chaplains in their houses or parish clergy in nearby livings had access to the same.\[^{41}\] Much more work clearly needs to be done on the dissemination and trickle-down effect of imported works,\[^{42}\] but meanwhile we stand a better chance of gauging the effect of works published within England and predominantly in English, especially among the much wider groups of readers who could not have deciphered them if they had seen them.

If this picture of English scholarship and publishing in the first century after the Reformation seems unduly harsh, at least three points may be made to balance it somewhat. First, there were sufficient copies in major libraries and private collections of the basic tools needed for close textual criticism of the Bible to enable the production of some highly specialized publications that were of significance outside the British Isles, such as Savile’s edition of Chrysostom in the 1610s, James Ussher’s *Annales*, the Walton polyglot and *Critici sacri*, and John Lightfoot’s *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* from the 1650s to the 1670s.\[^{43}\] Secondly, Englishmen prided themselves on the learning of the clergy (even if it was in many essentials derivative) and especially on the sermons they gave. As Francis Bacon boasted in his *Advancement of learning*, if the best observations scattered through the sermons delivered in England were placed together in due order, it would make the best work of divinity that had been written since the times of the apostles.\[^{44}\] And when, in 1637 and 1642, John Verneuil supplemented the 1605 Bodleian catalogue with *A nomenclator of such tracts and sermons as have been printed, or translated into English upon any place, or book of Holy Scripture*, and when the exercise was taken further by William Crowe in his *Exact collection of English writers on the Old and New Testament* (1663 and 1668) and Samuel Letsome in his *Index to the sermons published since the Restoration* (1751), they were able to add well over 10,000 sermons on specific

\[^{40}\] [J. Downname], *Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1645), sig. B2; and cf. Poole, *Annotations*, sigs. A4".

\[^{41}\] See above, pp. 31–2; and on Camden, Raleigh, and Sir Thomas Browne’s use of commentaries, see Williams, *Common Expositor*, 31–5; and cf. Lawler, *Book Auctions*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, 155, 173, 175.

\[^{42}\] The fact that only a quarter to a third of the foreign biblical commentaries listed in the *First Printed Catalogue of the Bodleian Library*, 163–79, and 641–6 seem to correspond with those listed in Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes*, 43–63 (even allowing for works published between 1605 and 1646) indicates how large the scale of purchase of imported works was. A correlation of these, and W. Orme, *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1824) and T. H. Horne, *A Manual of Biblical Bibliography* (1839), with the records cited above in Ch. 1, nn. 144–54, would be instructive.

\[^{43}\] Wing U147–8; Pa820–4A; and L2065B–2065A; Williams, *Common Expositor*, 31; Lawler, *Book Auctions*, 4, 7, 9, 32, 53, 58, 64–5, 75, etc.

\[^{44}\] Cited by Wilkins in *Ecclesiastes*, 66; and cf. Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, ch. 3; and Verneuil, *Nomenclator*, sigs. A4".
texts, as well as hundreds of more specialized ancillary works of the types we will shortly be examining.\textsuperscript{45} For, thirdly, English printers and publishers compensated for their omissions in some areas by issuing thousands of copies of a narrower range of works for which they did have plenty of type, and by responding positively to ideas for alternative approaches or layouts. Nor did they just rely on authors approaching them with new works or suggestions for translations of foreign ones, for in a number of cases they commissioned translations themselves.\textsuperscript{46} This increasing output of intermediate works will become clearer as we look at a number of genres in turn.

iv. Commentaries

Among the first works published to expedite and consolidate the English Reformation were detailed commentaries on particular sections of the Bible, and in particular the New Testament. Prime examples are William Tyndale’s \textit{Exposition upon the v. vi. vii chapters of Mattheew}, and translations into English of Martin Luther’s \textit{Commentarie . . . upon the epistle to the Galathians}, and Niels Hemmingsen’s \textit{Postill, or exposition of the gospels}, all of which sold unusually well among the educated clergy and laity.\textsuperscript{48} Where a preacher would usually choose just a verse or two, and draw attention to the particular teaching that he had time to discuss, the author of a commentary tackled whole books or chapters, or gospel readings of several verses, and examined all the doctrines thrown up. Tyndale took a few verses at a time of his chosen three chapters, and provided a commentary on these before moving onto the next few.\textsuperscript{49} Luther’s very long work, ‘translated into English for the unlearned’ (that is, those clergy and laity with no Latin) offered a verse-by-verse explanation and comment on the entire epistle, and was commended by Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, to those troubled in conscience.\textsuperscript{49} Hemmingsen’s even longer work, the English translation of which was sponsored by two stationers ‘well minded towards godliness’, provided a brief introduction, summary, and exposition of seventy different passages from the gospels which were read regularly on Sundays and saints’ days. Hemmingsen had drawn up the work to help his fellow clergy,

\textsuperscript{45} Verneuil, \textit{Nomenclator}, \textit{passim}; W. Crowe, \textit{The catalogue of English writers on the Old and New Testament} (1668), title-page (‘three or four thousand additions’), and \textit{passim}; and S. Letsome, \textit{An index to the sermons published since the Restoration} (1751) (nearly 9,000 sermons published 1660–1751). By the early eighteenth century, authors were arguably more reliant on works of English origin than a century before, but by then a new generation of scholarship from France and Germany was becoming available and needed to be incorporated.

\textsuperscript{46} See above, Ch. 1.ii; and following pages below.

\textsuperscript{47} See Appendix 1 for further details.


\textsuperscript{49} M. Luther, \textit{A commentarie . . . upon the epistle to the Galathians} (1575), title-page, ‘To the reader’, and \textit{passim}. This was based on lectures, but checked by Luther when they were complete: Hall, ‘Biblical Scholarship’, 83–6. A copy of this work gave Bunyan great comfort.
especially in Scandinavia, and the English version became required reading for less educated clergy in Durham diocese in the 1570s and 1580s.\textsuperscript{50} The success of works like these led to translations, either privately inspired or on commission, of other works from abroad, such as Calvin’s commentaries on four books of the Old Testament and eight of the New, his \textit{Harmonie} on three of the Gospels, and his series of sermons on the whole or extended portions of at least eight other books. To judge from sales and probate records, more readers may have encountered Calvin’s writing through his commentaries and sermons (and his catechism) than the systematic theology of the \textit{Institutes} for which he is better known today.\textsuperscript{51} The success of these translations probably helped persuade English preachers who had delivered their own long sequence of sermons to publish them, as in the case of Edward Dering’s twenty-seven on the first six chapters of Hebrews, delivered in London in the 1570s, and John King’s thirty-eight sermons on the first three chapters of Jonah, delivered at York in 1594.\textsuperscript{52}

At this stage publishers probably began to welcome authors whose commentaries were shorter. Brevity could be achieved by choosing shorter books in the Bible on which to write, as in the \textit{Commentarie upon the Lamentations of Jeremy} (1593) by John Udall (better known for his diatribes against episcopacy), which covered less than 200 quarto pages and found a steady if not a spectacular market among the ‘godly’ over the next few decades, and the expositions of I and II Thessalonians by the saintly William Sclater the elder, which between them passed through seven editions from 1619 to 1638.\textsuperscript{53} Alternatively brevity could be achieved by writing a pithier commentary, such as Arthur Dent’s exposition of Revelation, which sold well from 1603 to 1633 partly because of its fiery, prophetic tone, reflected in his title, \textit{The ruine of Rome}, but partly perhaps because it offered a guide to one of the hardest books in the Bible in under 300 quarto pages. An Essex minister and frequent publisher, Dent thought this work would be accessible to ‘the common people’ and men of only ‘mean learning’ compared to the Fathers and other specialists who had been its sole exponents in the past, but its size and style probably attracted a middling audience rather than the most numerous and least educated

\textsuperscript{50} N. Hemmingsen, \textit{A postill, or exposition of the gospels} (1569), sigs. A3\textsuperscript{r}, B8, and passim; Freeman, ‘Parish Ministry and Diocese of Durham’, 55 (and cf. 38–41).\textsuperscript{51} Freeman, ‘Parish Ministry and Diocese of Durham’, 52–3 for dearth of \textit{Institutes} in clerical inventories; for Calvin’s works on Genesis, the Psalms, Isaiah, and Daniel; and John, Acts, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Hebrews; and sermons on the whole or extended portions of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Joh, Jonah, Ephesians, Timothy, Titus, and I John, see STC\textsuperscript{2} 4393–4495, 4432–3, 4441–9.\textsuperscript{52} See Appendix 1 below. Whether we classify these publications as sermons or treatises is discussed later, in Ch. 4.\textsuperscript{vii–viii}.\textsuperscript{53} STC\textsuperscript{2} 21834–47; 21830–2; for biographical details of authors discussed in the rest of this chapter, see \textit{DNB}, Walker Revised, and Calamy Revised; also cf. J. Pilkington, \textit{A godlie exposition upon [the first five chapters of] Nehemiah} (1585) (STC\textsuperscript{2} 19929); and T. Wilcox, \textit{An exposition upon the Book of the Canticles} (1585) (25622).
sections of society.\textsuperscript{54} We also find growing numbers of commentaries on often used or well-known but relatively short passages of the Bible. In the 1610s John Boys, a vicar in Kent and protégé of Bancroft and Abbot, followed Hemmingsen in producing short postils on all of the scripture passages used in Prayer Book services, especially the epistles and gospels. Published in a half a dozen volumes over a number of years, this proved a bulky compilation, but the shortness of the entry on each passage he covered proved popular over the next two decades, and may well have provided the standard fare from many early Stuart pulpits.\textsuperscript{55} Other authors published expositions of the Ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer—the models for Christian conduct and Christian prayer respectively.\textsuperscript{56} Some of these expositions were long enough for zealous clergy and lay readers to get their teeth into, but others were shorter, such as that of James I, while yet others were part of that catechetical tradition then taking root in England as a means of imparting the basics to the young and the ignorant.\textsuperscript{57}

In addition to these early commentaries and expositions, there were also of course the many published sermons on specific texts on which the English prided themselves, and which may have been sought out by the laity as well as clergy anxiously seeking inspiration from earlier discussions.\textsuperscript{58} But the sermon was by design a different medium of communication—an oral performance with a specific congregation and perhaps a specific occasion such as a funeral or a visitation in mind—and since the author’s motives for converting it into print and the public’s for buying it were not necessarily exegetical, further consideration of this genre will be deferred to the next chapter.

In the later Elizabethan and Stuart periods there was a natural temptation for authors and publishers to expand this output of commentaries and exegetical sermons. After all, if the Bible was the Word of God and ‘the book of books’ as one enthusiastic layman called it,\textsuperscript{59} then good Protestants needed to be able to understand every single part of it. If we compare the section on the Bible in Andrew Maunsell’s catalogue of ‘English printed books’ for sale in London in 1595 with later surveys of biblical interpretation, we can see how the process of filling the gaps proceeded. In 1595 no commentaries or

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} A. Dent, \textit{The ruine of Rome} (1603), sigs. aaz', aa3'.
\item \textsuperscript{55} J. Boys, \textit{An exposition of all the principal scriptures used in our English liturgie} (1610); id., \textit{An exposition of the dominical epistles and gospels used in our English liturgie} (in four parts, ‘winter’, ‘spring’, ‘summer’, and ‘autumn’ published 1609–14); for the three or four repeat editions of each, see STC 3455–7, 3458–61. As late as 1646, binders in London were expecting demand for ‘Boyses workes’: anon., \textit{A general note of the prises for binding all sortes of bookes} (1646).
\item \textsuperscript{57} James I, \textit{A meditation upon the Lords Prayer} (1619); Green, \textit{Christian's ABC}, chs. 7, 10.
\item \textsuperscript{58} See above, n. 44. One of the objects of publishing the Bodleian Catalogue and the lists of Verneuil, Crowe, and Letsome was presumably to show what had been printed, but the limited sales of these works suggests this ploy did not take off commercially.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Bridges, \textit{Gods treasurie displayed}, sig. B3'.
\end{itemize}
sermons at all were listed for Leviticus, Numbers, Ezekiel, and most of the minor prophets, and there were commentaries or sermons on only isolated texts of another dozen books of the Old Testament; there was also then a choice of commentary for only fifteen of the twenty-seven books in the New Testament, and most of those were of Continental origin. The situation depicted by Verneuil in the early 1640s (for the Bodleian Library’s holdings alone) and by Crowe in the late 1660s (when he tried to list all works in English regardless of where copies were held) was very different. By 1642 no book of the Bible was without some exposition of the whole or part in English, and by 1668 the slight earlier preponderance of works on the Old Testament had given way to a clear dominance of works on the New, despite its much smaller size. The fascination which particular books had exercised by 1595, such as Genesis (the key ‘historical’ book of the Old Testament and a point at which both commentators and readers were likely to start) and the Psalms (a much-prized ‘dogmatical’ book, widely judged to contain many foreshadowings of Christ), together with Matthew, Luke, and John (but not Mark), Acts, Romans, and Revelation, was felt even more strongly in the 1640s and 1660s; and some other books had joined their ranks such as Isaiah and the epistles to the Corinthians. These three lists are not cognate and are by no means exhaustive, but they may serve as a crude guide to increased coverage in commentaries and especially sermons in the vernacular (to those contemporaries fortunate to have good booksellers or libraries near them), and to the balance of interest between Old and New Testaments (arguably tilted more to the New than in some Protestant countries), and between ‘historical’, ‘dogmatic’, and ‘prophetical’ books (English readers were strongly into ‘historical’ books, with only a couple of ‘dogmatical’ showing well—Psalms, and Romans—and one ‘prophetical’—Revelation).

Expansion of output also took the form of individual authors covering more and more pages, though this soon proved problematic. The first published work of Andrew Willet—who spent eight years preparing it and was among those dubbed ‘stupor mundi clerus Britannicus’—was a blockbuster attack on popish errors. But Willet then turned his considerable energies to exposition, studied many of the commentaries on the Pentateuch published abroad, and wrote the equally enormous Hexapla in Genesiu (1605) and Hexapla in Exodum (1608). These offered highly educated readers ‘six-fold commentaries’ that incorporated a variety of types of interpretation, long and technical comparisons of languages and translations, the resolution of hundreds

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60 Maunsell, Catalogue, 10–21.
61 Verneuil, Nomenclator and Crowe, Catalogue, passim. These calculations are based on a count of titles in relation to the number of chapters in each book of the Bible. For the definition of the types of books used here, see Perkins, Arte, 732–4.
62 As previous notes.
63 STC 25682–88; and Williams, Common Expositor, 6–9, 19. The first ‘hexapla’ had been by Origen in the third century.
of theological questions, and a variety of practical ‘uses’. But Willet’s energies were fading by the time he reached Leviticus, and by the 1630s his publishers were finding it increasingly hard to sell the remaining copies of his earlier works.\(^64\) Such detailed commentaries on a single book of the Bible were produced only occasionally thereafter, and rarely got past one or two editions. Take, for example, the *Exposition with practical observations* (1643) on the first three chapters of Job, based on dozens of lectures given by Joseph Caryl in London. At first it sold well, but succeeding volumes on chapters 4–42 proved much harder to move, even in the troubled years of the mid-seventeenth century which would have tried the patience of Job himself.\(^65\)

The experience of John Mayer, another rural cleric who clearly spent much of his time in his study, is also revealing. Mayer had been publishing catechisms and exegetical works since the early 1620s, and would still be trying to catch the eye of whoever was currently in a position of influence in the early 1660s. But from the late 1610s to the early 1650s Mayer was engaged in a novel project that would make students in divinity ‘good text-men’, and help those Christians who loved ‘the knowledge of divine things’ and ‘read chapters daily in your families’ to ‘speak . . . effectually thereupon’. This consisted of a cumulative commentary on every single book of the Bible, based on the translations and expositions of over two hundred of ‘the most famous commentators both ancient and modern’.\(^66\) Mayer began with the smaller epistles (then under-represented in published commentaries) and Revelation in 1627, and moved backwards to cover the rest of the New Testament in two more volumes in 1631, and then the Old in four more, between 1647 and 1653. But Mayer clearly had trouble getting these volumes on the Old into print. He blamed these delays on opposition from the old regime (a safe target), the ‘greatness of the charge’ in setting up a volume, the instability of the times, and stressed that he was publishing that part of his commentary on the section of the Bible which was then ‘most scarce in our book markets’. Even so, each of the four Old Testament volumes was produced by a different printer or publisher, and hardly any were reprinted.\(^67\) Mayer was unlucky partly in the decades he was publishing, but also because he fell between stools, being too scholarly (and expensive) for many of the laity and the lesser clergy he was targeting, but not scholarly enough for the real specialists, such as Wilkins, who mentioned some of Mayer’s volumes but in only one case awarded it an asterisk.\(^68\)

\(^{64}\) Cf. STC: 25685–25685a.5.

\(^{65}\) Wing C754−77; for unsold copies of the two-volume complete work in the 1680s, see Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, 139.

\(^{66}\) J. Mayer, *A commentary upon the whole Old Testament* (4 vols., 1653, 1647, 1653, 1652), i. title-page, sigs. [A4−3].

\(^{67}\) Ibid., sig. [A4]; ii. sigs. A2−4; iv. sig. A3; STC: 17730−1.7, 17743; Wing M1422−5.

\(^{68}\) Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes*, 46–9, 52, 55–8, 62.
But, as always, publishers were prepared to be flexible, and when the market for larger works picked up after the Restoration they adopted different tactics. One was for publishers, normally very protective of their copyrights, to band together to share the costs and risks of larger ventures, such as Matthew Poole’s five-volume *Synopsis criticorum* (1669–76), prepared after he had resigned his living in 1662 and devoted himself full time to Bible study. Another was seeking advance subscriptions from prospective purchasers by dangling before them the worthiness of the cause and the prospect of buying the first copies off the press at a discount: this proved very popular from the 1680s to the 1740s and beyond. A third method, which could easily be combined with the second, was to publish a large work in a series of smaller units that could be bought as they appeared and then bound into a larger volume or volumes; such publication usually took years, but also spread the costs of the outlay. Thus the prospectus for Poole’s attempt to boil down the wisdom of the best commentators into a shorter form had the names of eight bishops and five European scholars as well as fellow presbyterians, and a flattering licence from Charles II. Up to a point this worked: the work appeared over seven years, and 4,000 copies were printed and soon sold to those who could afford five volumes of over 1,000 pages each, and could read Hebrew, Greek, and Latin with ease. But there was only a limited demand for further editions.

In targeting the upper end of the intermediate readership, those with at least some knowledge of the ‘learned languages’, Poole’s work harked back to an earlier age; but two other large commentaries that came out a few years later represented the future. In his commentary upon the historical books of the Old Testament, published after he had left his busy London parish and risen to be Bishop of Ely, Simon Patrick paraphrased, explained, and commented on almost every verse in seventeen books, beginning with five volumes on the Pentateuch published between 1695 and 1700, and finishing with a commentary on Esther in 1706. When published together, in 1727, these works filled over 1,600 folio pages in two volumes. But Patrick wore his learning lightly and avoided the pedantry of many earlier works, and despite its size the completed work passed through four editions in less than forty years among the educated laity whom it was especially designed to help. It was, for example, recommended by Dr Johnson when Boswell asked what, if any, commentary he should use; and it also became the first element in the influential ‘Patrick, Lowth, Whitby, and Arnald’—a combined commentary on the whole Bible published between 1727 and 1760 under the title of *A critical commentary and paraphrase of the Old and New Testaments*. Similarly Matthew Henry’s *Exposition on*
the Old and New Testament—an account of the ‘proper heads’ together with ‘practical remarks and observations’ on each section of the Bible, which had begun life as expository sermons to his congregation in Chester—was published in stages between 1708 and 1710, and finally occupied five folio volumes. Though a dissenter, Henry was also accorded a full-page portrait (in a wig) and red letter on the title-page for his name and that of the two Testaments. As a minister charged with opening and applying the Bible, his aim, he said, was ‘to give what I thought the genuine sense’ of the text ‘and to make it as plain as I could to ordinary capacities’—a clear statement of the relative status of author and reader. This too sold well: ten editions in the eighteenth century alone.\[72\]

The success of Patrick’s and Henry’s ventures, and other works in related genres to which we will come shortly, proved that larger works could still sell if authors and publishers adopted the right tactics and correctly identified their market. There might be limits to the pockets of scholars and the best-placed clergy of the day, but the wealth of the gentry could still be targeted, and supplemented by the disposable income of the expanding urban middling sort. The attention of both could be caught through advertisements and reviews in publications like the Term catalogues, the Gentleman’s magazine, and the Monthly review, and copies could be bought privately or borrowed from the public, cathedral, and parish libraries to which such men and women increasingly had access.\[73\]

v. Annotations and Paraphrases

A similar story unfolds when we examine works in two closely related categories: annotations and paraphrases. Compared to the blockbuster, cover-every-blade-of-grass approach adopted by many commentators on individual books or whole Testaments, ‘annotations’ promised to focus on the harder or more significant words and passages—a focus that was likely to be attractive to both hard-pressed parish clergy and money-conscious laity, and to those publishers who could see commercial possibilities in such works. The editors of most translations of the Bible had provided some marginal notes, drawing attention to possible alternative readings, explaining a strange word, or mentioning a comparable passage elsewhere. But compared to the Geneva version, the Authorized kept such notes to a minimum, and to those readers who had got used to having the helpful ‘spectacles’ provided by the Geneva notes this was a handicap.\[74\] In 1622 John Mayer offered ‘the studious reader’ A treasury of ecclesiastical expositions in the form of notes taken from the Fathers

72 Henry, Exposition, title-page, sig. a1r; Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 90.


74 The reference to spectacles can be found in [J. Downame], Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament (1645), sig. B3r; and Fuller, cited by J. Eadie, The English Bible (2 vols., 1876), ii. 51–2.
and Calvin ‘upon the difficult and doubtfull places of the scripture’, mainly in the Gospels and Acts; and the separatist Henry Ainsworth’s Annotations on the Pentateuch, first printed in Amsterdam from 1616 to 1619, were printed in England in 1627. The latter combined a full text of the Bible with notes on selected verses, and was widely admired, if felt by some to be over-reliant on recent insights from Hebraic studies. It proved moderately popular in England and North America; over a century later Doddridge judged it still ‘full of very valuable Jewish learning’.75

With the removal in the early 1640s of an establishment that was reluctant to increase the number of notes in the Authorized Version, there was a surge of such notes aimed at a mixture of more advanced and intermediate readers. Nicholas Fussell, the publisher of English versions of Diodati’s ‘Italian notes’, said he had crammed the text onto the page to keep the price down, so that people would not be deterred from buying copies and their families could benefit thereby; but the result was still over 1,200 quarto pages long. (With impeccably bad timing, Fussell also inserted a fulsome dedication to Charles I into the 1648 edition, and the translator, R. G., urged the reader to obey our mother the Church of England—presumably the presbyterian version.76) Then there were the ‘English notes’—Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament (1645)—commissioned by Parliament but targeted by the divines who drew them up at ‘brother ministers’ with limited money and leisure, as already noted. The first edition was said to have been ‘greedily bought up’ but ‘so contracted’ [compressed] that it gave less satisfaction than the fuller second edition, which occupied two volumes, and the even larger third edition some years later.77 Shortly before this third edition there also finally appeared a translation into English of the ‘Dutch notes’, commissioned by the Synod of Dort and published with the Dutch Bible in 1637. In his dedication to Protector Cromwell, the translator, Theodore Haak, expressed the hope that by this means the people of England would become better acquainted with God’s mind and will, though two volumes in folio would again not have been cheap.78 At this stage were published two shorter sets of notes on selected verses, but since Anthony Scattergood’s Annotationes on the Old Testament in 1653 and Sir Norton Knatchbull’s Animadversiones on

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75 J. Mayer, A treasury of ecclesiasticall expositions (1622), title-page, epistle dedicatory, and passim; H. Ainsworth, Annotations on the Pentateuch (1627); Williams, Common Expositor, 32; Bennett and Mandelbrote, Biblical Metaphors, 174–5; Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 105; and for question-and-answer notes on Genesis, see below, n. 204.
76 J. Diodati, Pious annotations upon the Holy Bible expounding the difficult places thereof learnedly and plainly (1648), sigs. A2r, A4r, A5r.
77 Downame, Annotations, sig. B3; D2062–4; Bennett and Mandelbrote, Biblical Metaphors, 175; and on the reception, M. Poole et al., Annotations upon the Holy Bible (2 vols., 1683–5), i. sig. A1r+; Bennett and Mandelbrote, Biblical Metaphors, 176.
78 [T. Haak], The Dutch annotations upon the Holy Bible (2 vols., 1657), i. sigs. A1r+; Bennett and Mandelbrote, Biblical Metaphors, 176.
the New in 1659 were written in Latin, they were intended for a specialist readership.\footnote{A. Scattergood, \textit{Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum} (Cambridge, 1653); Sir Norton Knatchbull’s \textit{Animadversiones in libros Novi Testamenti} (three editions between 1659 and 1677) was later published in English, as \textit{Annotations upon some difficult texts} (Cambridge, 1693). Grotius’s Latin \textit{Annotationes} (Amsterdam, 1641) were clearly known to English scholars, but an English translation was not printed until 1727.}

To these can be added other native works, but in most cases aimed at readers less familiar with the learned languages. In \textit{A help for the understanding of the holy scripture} (1643), a London rector, Arthur Jackson, aimed to provide ‘mean and unlearned men’ who ‘read some part of the Bible daily, and would gladly understand what they read’, with guidance on difficult and obscure passages. But in the three volumes on selected parts of the Old Testament that he published between 1643 and 1648—in stages, to gauge public response—he covered over 2,500 quarto pages.\footnote{A. Jackson, \textit{A help for the understanding} (1643), title-page, sig. A5'; for Jackson’s concern about size, see part 3, \textit{Annotations upon the five books . . . of the Old Testament} (1648), sigs.*3–4'.} Similarly Bishop John Richardson’s \textit{Choice observations and explanations} (1655) on selected Old Testament verses (a spin-off from his own contribution to the ‘English notes’ and approved by Thomas Gataker) covered 500 folio pages. Henry Hammond’s \textit{Paraphrase and annotations} (1653) occupied half as many pages again: he had time on his hands having been deprived of his posts in the mid-1640s. Hammond assumed his readers knew some Greek, and this, together with the complexity of his style, rendered it ‘of less general use’, according to a later critic. Perhaps Hammond was thinking of intelligent students when he published this work, as he had done when writing the \textit{Practical catechisme} which brought him to Charles I’s attention. But he did at least make some concessions to a broader readership by providing a paraphrase as well as notes on ‘the difficult places’: it was another work recommended by Johnson to Boswell, and passed through well over a dozen editions in the next century and a half.\footnote{H. Hammond, \textit{A paraphrase and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament} (1653), title-page; Sayle, ‘Merchant Taylors’ School Library’, 464; for criticism see S. Clarke, \textit{A paraphrase on the four evangelists} (1737), sigs. A9'; and for praise, Boswell, \textit{Life of Johnson}, iii. 58.}

In the mid-1670s Bishop Fell suggested the Oxford press produce an edition of the Authorized Version ‘with annotations . . . plainly and practically rendering the mind of the text, so as to be understood by the unlearned reader’, though this proposal did not get off the ground.\footnote{F. Madan, ‘The Oxford Press, 1650–75: the Struggle for a Place in the Sun’, \textit{The Library}, 4th ser., 6 (1925), 143–4.} One which did was the set of annotations on both testaments begun by Matthew Poole, finished by others after his death, and published in 1683 and 1685. The authors made clear that they were familiar with scholarly tomes, but were trying hard to pursue Poole’s aim of avoiding controversy by not shooting too high, and giving the ‘plain sense of the scripture’ to those ‘of vulgar capacities’. The result filled two huge folio volumes, but four editions were sold by 1700, and soon
after then Matthew Henry commented that it had ‘got into most hands’, presumably in bible-studying families and other groups. William Burkitt’s *Expository notes*, on the New Testament alone, also filled two volumes in 1703, but his target was again not scholars but the ‘family-governors’, especially in his Essex parish of Dedham, whom he encouraged to read a part of holy scripture in their families each day, and whom he provided with both notes and edifying lessons. Burkitt’s efforts were praised by the dissenter Matthew Henry, who acknowledged that he had begun his own exposition of the Old Testament (described above) in imitation of it; and Burkitt’s notes were reprinted many times during the eighteenth century. In short, earlier sets of annotations tended to become and stay obese, but changes in the text and in the identity of dedicatees and the terms used to describe intended readers in their prefaces confirm that the essential aim had in many later sets of notes shifted from helping the lower clergy to explain the harder parts of the Bible to their charges through sermons and other teaching, to helping ‘ordinary’ families understand these passages by themselves.

Paraphrases provide a similar case. Genuine scholars would have had no need of a paraphrase for their own studies, but a version of the scripture which made the meaning clearer by rephrasing the whole or part of the text in question was accepted as an acceptable tool for non-specialists to use: hence the insistence of the early reformers that an English translation of Erasmus’s paraphrase of the New Testament be placed in every parish church. Thereafter, paraphrases went out of favour for a while: if we do not countmetrical paraphrases of the psalms and other poetic books, the only ones mentioned in Maunsell’s catalogue of 1595 were Beza’s paraphrase of the Psalms and Erasmus’s of the New. But in the early seventeenth century, perhaps inspired by James I’s paraphrase on Revelation and meditation on Matthew chapter 27, fresh paraphrases of selected parts of the Bible were printed, such as Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Plaine and familiar explication (by way of paraphrase) of all the hard texts of the whole divine scripture of the Old and New Testament* (1633) which he had prepared ‘to give some light to weaker apprehensions’. Hall believed that ‘the clearest and shortest way of explication is by paraphrase’, claimed to have used ‘the best commentators’ and adopted ‘the

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85 Henry, *Exposition*, sig. ar (Henry also there praised Poole’s *Annotations* and Simon Patrick’s commentary on the Old Testament); Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 99.
86 There were also occasional sets of notes with a different purpose, such as the highly personal interpretation of prophetic passages in Richard Coore’s *The practical expositor of the most difficult texts* published, significantly, in 1683.
87 DMH, no. 72 (pp. 38–9); what parishioners made of Nicholas Udall’s fiery prefaces (cf. Knott, *Sword of the Spirit*, 26) is not recorded.
88 Maunsell, *Catalogue*, 19, 47; on poetic paraphrases of the Bible, see below, Chs. 7 and 9.
most safe and likely interpretations’, and paraphrased only the harder verses, leaving the clearer verses alone. Even so, by giving both the original text and his alternative he managed to top a thousand folio pages, so as in the case of the annotations we again have a disparity between format (large) and target (middling to elementary). Henry Hammond, as we have just seen, combined annotations with a paraphrase, Samuel Cradock (a congregational minister) added a paraphrase of the epistles to his Apostolical history in 1672, and Simon Patrick paraphrased so many verses as part of his Commentary upon the historical books of the Old Testament that in 1703 his work was placed on a list of paraphrases then being discussed.

The next clutch of paraphrases can be found at the turn of the seventeenth century, some controversial, some pitched at a scholarly level, and one or two for lesser clergy. An example of the last is the series of moderately short quarto volumes, published collectively as An help for the more and easy and clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures (1711–27), written by Edward Wells, an experienced rector with wide-ranging interests. In these he tried to condense larger works, such as Patrick’s ‘large and consequently chargeable’ commentary into a work that would be affordable by ‘young students in divinity who have not much to lay out even on books’. Meanwhile, paraphrases were also being aimed at families. A prime case is Samuel Clarke’s Paraphrase on the four evangelists (1703). In a preface defending his decision to provide ‘the full sense of the evangelists in the plainest words’ that would be ‘very useful for families’, Clarke, a London clergyman, weighed up the merits and demerits of a number of commentaries and earlier paraphrases, and decided that none were characterized by the ‘brevity and plainness’ that he sought. His own attempt was long—over 800 pages—but published in octavo, and passed through eleven editions between 1703 and 1771. A work that was perhaps more commentary than paraphrase was George Stanhope’s Paraphrase and comment on the gospels and epistles in the Anglican liturgy. Stanhope was a chaplain to Queen Anne, and this work was written for one of the queen’s sons who died prematurely, but after it was made public, in stages between 1705 and 1709, passed through five editions during the rest of the century.

90 J. Hall, Plaine and familiar explication (1633), sigs. B3r–5v, and passim; Hall readily conceded that for the most part the occasion and content of clergy’s sermons, lectures, and commentaries were designed to explain the harder passages of scripture: loc. cit.

91 See above, nn. 71, 81, and below, n. 151; and Clarke, Paraphrase, sig. A3r.

92 E. Wells, A paraphrase with annotations on the New Testament (2 vols., 1711–19), and An help for the more . . . understanding of the Holy Scriptures (2 vols., 1724–5), i. p. ii. An example of a controversial paraphrase is E. Waple, Book of Revelation paraphrased with annotations on each chapter (1693), copy at Lambeth Palace Library, E2825.A2; and examples of scholarly ones include J. Locke, Paraphrase and notes on five epistles (1705), and James Pierce’s continuation: A paraphrase and notes on the epistles of St Paul to the Colossians, Philippians, and Hebrews: After the manner of Mr Locke (1727).

93 S. Clarke, Paraphrase on the four evangelists (1703), sigs. A3r–5v, and passim.

94 G. Stanhope, A paraphrase and comment upon the epistles and gospels (4 vols., 1705–9), i, pp. viii–ix, and passim.
But the best example of all, and in many ways the culmination of these developments from the 1640s to the 1740s, was Philip Doddridge’s *Family expositor*, which was published in several sections over a number of years, from 1738 to 1756. Doddridge was a well-known dissenting teacher and preacher, but the publication of this work was made possible by the hundreds of men and women, laity and clergy, conformist and nonconformist, who subscribed for copies in advance. It was designed for family use, rather than scholars’ studies, and combined a variety of approaches: paraphrase (‘the most agreeable and useful manner of explaining . . . to common readers’, in his view), ‘critical notes’ (some of which offered observations, others a scholarly defence of his views), and ‘practical improvements’ (a passage after each section of the paraphrase, combining exhortation with a basis for meditation or extempore prayer). Doddridge’s preface shows how much he had learnt from the shortcomings of previous works and had thought about how his exposition was to be used in the family circle, while his clever use of typeface enabled the reader to see no less than three versions on one page: the original King James Version of the text in an inner column, and a short, pithy paraphrase (in italic) embedded in a longer explanation (in roman) in the outer column. The avoidance of controversy and strong evangelical thrust of the notes and ‘improvements’ guaranteed it wide sales in the later eighteenth century and beyond.95

In the three genres considered in the last few pages—commentaries, annotations, and paraphrases—we have thus found both authors and publishers willing to try any tactic that might help the moderately well-educated laity understand every single word of scripture they encountered. The extent to which such authors in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries tried to avoid the use of the ‘learned languages’ and to avoid controversy, and the fact that conformists and nonconformists were prepared to support and recommend each others’ efforts, are also characteristic of a number of these works. Moreover, the sales of some of these later works, as well as the occasional title in the first century after the Reformation, were sufficiently high to suggest that historians assessing the impact of the Bible must consider the filters through which many readers may have viewed the sacred text. Indeed, in the case of those volumes that incorporated a paraphrase, there was even a risk that the faithful might abandon their bibles in exchange for the easier alternative—a point to which we will return later.

vi. Concordances

Other aids to bible study also underwent many changes between Reformation and Evangelical Revival, not least concordances. An index of the chief words

used in the old Vulgate translation had existed for centuries, and from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries Continental publishers printed concordances in Hebrew and Greek for those studying the Bible in its original language, as Wilkins and others in England were well aware.\textsuperscript{96} In addition concordances were prepared in the current vernaculars into which the Bible was then being translated, and attempts were soon made to provide an English concordance, by John Marbecke for the Great Bible in 1550, and by Robert Herrey for quarto editions of the Geneva Bible in English, though the latter was sometimes advertised as being suitable for use with the Bishops’ Bible and can be found bound with early copies of the King James Bible too.\textsuperscript{97} Herrey’s lists were described as \textit{Two right profitable and fruitfull concordances}, but actually combined elements of dictionary or lexicon with that of concordance: ‘The first containing the interpretation of Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek and Latin words [in the Bible] . . . and the second . . . all such other principal words and matters as concern the sense and meaning of the scriptures’. The author’s Calvinist sympathies are evident in the space allotted in the second table to references to the ‘elect’, ‘election’, ‘calling’, ‘predestination’, and ‘reprobation’, but in other respects he followed the emphases found in the Bible, such as ‘Christ’, ‘believe’, and ‘prayer’.\textsuperscript{98}

In 1622 Clement Cotton, a member of the Drapers’ Company who was described by a London clergyman (William Gouge) as not skilled in ‘the three learned languages’ but ‘of great understanding’ and ‘unwearied industry’, produced a much larger concordance of the Geneva version of the New Testament. However, by then the King James version had become the standard text, so Cotton prepared a concordance first for its Old Testament, in 1627, and then its New Testament in 1631; the complete concordance was then ‘much enlarged’ in a second edition in 1635.\textsuperscript{99} Cotton’s aims are revealing: ‘the learned, I doubt not, are every way so furnished already in this kind with all sufficient helps in other languages’, as not to need his help; so he offered his first concordance to the ‘Christian reader, who, it may be, art such a one as myself, simple and illiterate, and yet endeavour[ing] to know Christ’. Gouge might admire Cotton’s industry but thought the final version contained too many references to common words, such as ‘God’, ‘Lord’, and ‘man’, set down without distinction, and the search began for a better alternative.\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{96} Cambridge History of the Bible III, 526–8; Wilkins, Ecclesiastes, 39–40; R. Bennet, \textit{A theological concordance} (1657), sig. A3; A. Cruden, \textit{A complete concordance to the holy scriptures} (1733), sigs. aii”.
\textsuperscript{97} Cruden, \textit{Complete concordance}, sig. a2; STC: 17300 (Marbeck), and 13228a–38 (Herrey); for the advertisement, see title-page in the [1594] quarto in the Huntington.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid. Herrey is notably thin on concepts such as ‘affliction’ and searching the ‘heart’ which came to colour later high Calvinist thinking in England: see below, Ch. 6.
\textsuperscript{99} STC: 5842, 5843, 5844, 5846 respectively; Gouge’s comments are in S. Newman, \textit{A large and complete concordance} (1650), sig. A4.
\textsuperscript{100} Elsewhere he claimed to write ‘as Lucilius in Tulli’ put it ‘not . . . “for the most learned, or for the most unlearned”, but for the middle sort’: ibid., \textit{DNB} on Cotton; and L. B. Wright, \textit{Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England} (Chapel Hill, 1935), 237.
The version which undoubtedly sold best was *A brief concordance to the Bible of the last translation* (1630) by John Downname (or Downham) who had been temporarily without a benefice in the 1620s. He drew on Cotton’s work (and his text was initially printed by Cotton’s assigns), but also made many selections for himself, and made the context much clearer than Cotton had done. Downname was no friend of Laudianism, and his selections occasionally reflect his concerns in his other writings, such as *The Christian warfare* (1604) written to help those afflicted in conscience. But the enlarged version of c.1635 came to just over 120 pages, albeit in very small roman type, which meant that the work was relatively brief and not expensive—only 10d. bound in 1671—and this brevity meant that its Calvinist tendencies were kept within bounds. Certainly it was reprinted regularly, perhaps twenty-six times between 1630 and 1730, and this does not allow for copies passing from hand to hand, such as the [1635?] copy in the Huntington Library which has autographs dated 1699 and 1718 at the back. But not everybody found this version to their taste, and from the early 1640s a number of attempts were made to supplant it, which together tell us a good deal about how both print and bible study were regarded at this time.

Most authors were at pains to explain in their prefaces why a good concordance was needed, as well as why theirs was the best. Concordances ‘much excell all indexes, tables, commonplaces, epitomes, allegories, and such other meaner helps for finding out the golden mines of the scripture’, wrote William Gouge. They were used so regularly by scholars that many expositions and discourses on the scriptures, wrote another London minister, Daniel Featley, were ‘not a little indebted’ to concordances or similar helps. But they were also useful, as other advocates put it, to humbler ‘labourers in the great work of the ministry’ and ‘all students in divinity’, as well as ‘all private Christians’, whether rich or poor, who wanted to ‘search into the hidden treasures of the scriptures, for increase in knowledge and confirmation in the faith’. A good concordance (together with your own copy of the Bible) helped you find any verse of which you knew a key word; it enabled you to see how often a word was used, and ‘what points the Holy Ghost most urgeth and inculcateth’; it helped you clarify obscure passages by showing parallel ones elsewhere, and pursue a theme or proposition, and thus prove every Christian principle, and so confirm your faith. But in devising a concordance there were three considerations—completeness, ease of use, and price—and it was not easy to reconcile the three.

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101 STC 7125.5–32 (and 7133–8); *DNB* for Downname’s clashes with authority; the copy I saw was at the Huntington; *TC*, i. 92.

102 As previous note, and below, Appendix 1.


104 Ibid., sig. A2r; and cf. the famous comment by Bunyan below, n. 129.

105 As previous notes; R. Wickens, *A compleat and perfect concordance* (Oxford, 1655), title-page; Bennet, *Theological concordance*, title-page and sigs. A4r–A4v.

106 Newman, *Large and complete concordance*, sigs. A2r–A4r; and cf. the Herbert text cited above in n. 27.
The *Large and complete concordance* prepared by Samuel Newman in his New England livings but printed in London in 1643, represented an advance on the first two scores, but not the third. It was based on Clement Cotton’s work, but its supporters claimed that it was much fuller and less repetitious, and easier to use because it gave citations in full and made the context clearer; it also drew distinctions between different relationships, for example whether Christ was the agent or the object in a particular text. But despite its many admirers, it was dismissed as ‘voluminous and dear’ by one critic, and only two further editions were printed, in 1650 and 1658, though a somewhat shortened version described on the title-page as ‘more exact and useful than... hitherto’ which appeared in 1662 did sell better. In 1655 Robert Wickens, an Independent minister in Gloucestershire, condemned recent concordances which had ‘grown so bulky, and so dear, that young men seldom had them, and poor men could not have them, but both needed them’. He also found some of the headings in existing concordances were so long and complex that people gave up before they found what they were searching for—a fault he claimed to have countered in his *Compleat and perfect concordance* by a new method of subheadings. This was praised by the Clerk of the Council who licensed it for ‘the smallness of the volume, and price which is of more general benefit to students of the Bible than any extant’, though at 800 pages it cannot have been as cheap as Downame’s or others about to be published. It was mentioned by later authors but never reprinted.

Both Robert Bennet’s *Theological concordance* (1657) and William Chadwell’s *Profitable and well-grounded concordance* (1660) went much further in the direction of availability: just over 200 pages in octavo, with headings in black letter and references in roman. Bennet, a minister in Buckinghamshire, hoped his work would be useful as an aide-mémoire to the learned, and a means to broaden the knowledge of theology students, but above all that it would be ‘more portable [and] more easy for the poor to buy’ and so of wider use than previous works. Even better, it could be bound up with the smaller bibles then being published, and used as a means of looking for precepts and promises that would ease the conscience and strengthen faith. By providing only the ‘choicest words’ and the ‘choicest scriptures’ and adding helpful sub-titles, such as ‘the correct way’ (under ‘baptism’) and ‘true repentance consists of the following particulars’ (under ‘repentance’), William Chadwell hoped to provide a work ‘fitted for the meanest capacity, and very useful for the general good’, though again no later edition has been traced. The same is true of John Jackson’s

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108 Wickens, *Complete and perfect concordance*, imprimatur, and sig. A3v; it was mentioned by Clarke, *Brief concordance*, sig. A3r and Cruden, *Complete concordance*, sig. A2r.
Index Biblicus (1668) which veered towards the fuller side of the equation in being ‘composed in a new and most comprehensive method’. This attempt may well have been sponsored by John Field who published it at Cambridge in the same year and in the same small type, crammed onto a large quarto page, as his new edition of the Bible which is sometimes known as the ‘Preaching Bible’ because it was well adapted for pulpit use. A copy of this bible survives at Cambridge bound with a Book of Common Prayer, a copy of the metrical psalms, and Jackson’s Index, which would have made it even more useful for a conformist cleric or layperson. The New and useful concordance attributed to the Fifth Monarchist Vavasor Powell in 1671 was only partly his work: he died before it was completed, and from G to Z was the work of other hands. It was also different from previous concordances in listing ‘more than in any extant’ ‘commands, promises, and threatenings’ and ‘scripture-prophecies which relate to the call of the Jews, and the glory that shall be in the latter days’, which may help to explain the timing of the second edition in 1690.

Two final examples may be given, since both clearly demonstrate the commercial element in the quest for the perfect concordance. In the preface to his Brief concordance to the Holy Bible (1696), Samuel Clarke the younger listed a number of the concordances considered above, and claimed their size could be reduced by half if the number of superfluous headings and references were pruned ruthlessly. It had been ‘judged adviseable by some booksellers (who are the most competent judges in such cases, because they know what books sell best) to procure another concordance’, and they had turned to Clarke, a dissenting minister who had recently published a variety of other aids to bible study. The list of six booksellers was led by Thomas Parkhurst, one of a group of publishers who issued a wide range of religious works. By judicious selection of entries and a canny use of abbreviations, Clarke produced a work of intermediate length that was published in the smallest format yet (not counting the Powell)—duodecimo.

On the title-page of Alexander Cruden’s Complete concordance of both Testaments and the Apocrypha (1737) there were the names of no less than eighteen publishers or booksellers, including Cruden himself, recently appointed bookseller to the queen. He tells us in his preface that he had hoped to publish in octavo, but as the entries grew in number and he tried to explain the different meanings of the principal words and what a synagogue and an elephant was, he had to change to quarto. The result—a thousand pages laid out in small type—was
priced at 18 shillings, and was probably found more useful by the ‘preachers’ than the ‘private Christians’ he said he wished to help. Despite the number of potential outlets, this concordance also sold slowly, and it was only when it was revised and condensed in the nineteenth century that it became a standard text.\textsuperscript{15}

There was thus evidently a market for smaller, less comprehensive works like Downame’s Brief concordance, which was still selling well when Cruden first appeared, but authors and publishers also clearly felt that there was an opportunity to sell many copies of an intermediate or larger work, such as the condensed version of Newman’s form, and the versions by Clarke and Cruden. The longer the work, the more opportunity also existed for an author to influence his reader’s studies in a particular doctrinal direction by the choice of headings and references. But the ones that sold best do not seem to have leant any more heavily in any one direction than, say, the average marginal note in the Geneva Bible or the Authorized Version, and their authors were as likely to favour a conservative reading of scripture on political and social matters as most of the commentators discussed in the previous section.\textsuperscript{16}

\section*{vii. Dictionaries, Lexicons, and Thesauri}

Concordances tackled words translated into English, but in all the major translations there were words which could not be readily converted into an English equivalent, such as ‘Abba’ (Mark 14:36, Romans 8:15) or ‘Anathema Maranatha’ (1 Cor. 16:22), or remained difficult for a person of average education in early modern times to understand, such as synagogue or shekel. There was also the strangeness of many of the proper names, which in their original languages often carried a meaning, such as rubicund (Adam), savior (Christ), and angel or messenger (John).\textsuperscript{17} This led to the publication of a handful of works which combined the characteristics of a dictionary, a lexicon, and a thesaurus, and in some cases a treasury of ideas too, and which were aimed at those with little or no knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. An early example was The calender of scripture (1575)—a ‘small volume’ of four hundred large quarto pages whose clerical author, William Patten, leant heavily on Continental work. Potentially problematic words were given in the original, then Latin, then English, sometimes with a supplementary note, usually in Latin, for while this work could have been used by non-linguists up to a point, it was of most use to those who were Latinate.\textsuperscript{18} Richard Bernard’s Thesaurus Biblicus seu promptuarium sacrum, a large folio published posthumously

\textsuperscript{15} A. Cruden, Complete concordance (1737), title-page, sig A2, and passim; Cambridge History of the Bible III, 528.
\textsuperscript{16} See above, Ch. 2.x, and below, Ch. 3.xv.
\textsuperscript{17} [W. Patten], The calender of scripture (1575), sigs. Aii, p. 2; R. Bernard, Thesaurus Biblicus (1644), sigs. A4, B4; T. Wilson, A complete Christian dictionary (1655), 2.
\textsuperscript{18} Patten, Calender of scripture, sig. Aiii, and passim.
in 1644, combined Patten’s approach with a thesaurus of related English words, epithets, synonyms, and affinities, with headings such as ‘God’, ‘sin’, and ‘Christ’ which would help the reader understand not just the words but the doctrine too—the principal use of the book in Bernard’s eyes. To this end, Bernard, another regular producer of books who spent most of his career in provincial parishes, also added some catechetical material at the end.\textsuperscript{119}

Much the most popular work in this category, however, was Thomas Wilson’s \textit{Christian dictionary}, printed five times between 1612 and 1647, but taking on a new lease of life in the sixth to eighth editions of 1656 to 1678 through the addition of much extra material by two other authors. Wilson was a Six Preacher in Canterbury Cathedral, and, like Bernard, was clearly familiar with Continental scholarship, the benefits of which he wished to pass on to ministers with less knowledge than himself to help them interpret texts. To this end, he gave not just an explanation but also a commentary on the use of the words he had selected for treatment, and to these he added some ‘ecclesiastical’ words not in the Bible, such as ‘Trinity’ and ‘sacrament’. His continuators seemed as anxious to bring ‘masters of families’ and ‘private Christians’ to ‘the sound knowledge and right understanding of [God’s] sacred word’, but since the work now filled nearly 1,300 folio pages such readers were not likely to have been on the breadline.\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Mysteries and revelations}—a simpler, less technical, and more selective treatment of the names of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit by the young Ralph Venning (before he became a leading Independent minister)—proved popular between 1647 and 1657.\textsuperscript{121}

Clergy with limited knowledge of ancient languages and zealous laity with time to spare were probably also the main purchasers of titles such as Edward Leigh’s \textit{Critica sacra} (which passed through four editions between 1639 and 1641) and Thomas Delaune and Benjamin Keach’s \textit{A key to open scripture-metaphors} (1681) and Keach’s \textit{Tropes and figures} (1682). The first of these was compiled by a layman of independent means, and consisted of two volumes of philological comments on the chief Hebrew words in the Old Testament and principal Greek words in the New, ‘for those wanting to understand the original tongue’ used in each Testament without having mastered the learned languages themselves; it was still being reprinted in the 1770s.\textsuperscript{122} The second and third, by a layman and a divine, both Baptists, who drew heavily on Continental scholarship, comprised two large and very technical folio volumes

\textsuperscript{119} Bernard, \textit{Thesaurus Biblicus}, sig. A5\textsuperscript{r}, and passim.

\textsuperscript{120} Wilson, \textit{Complete Christian dictionary}, sigs. A3\textsuperscript{r}, A3\textsuperscript{s}, A4\textsuperscript{r}–v; and see below, Appendix 1 for editions.

\textsuperscript{121} See Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{122} STC: 15409, and Wing L988–91: there were parallel volumes on Old (\textit{Critica sacra: observations on . . . Hebrew words}) and New Testaments (\textit{Critica sacra: or philologicall . . . observations upon all the Greek words}), but from 1650 these were published together; the quotation is from the title-page of the 1650 volume on the Old Testament.
on metonymy, metaphors, allegories, and other tropes and figures which the
authors believed abounded in scripture. As Barbara Lewalski and others have
shown, English Protestants had long been interested in tropes and types, but
there were not many ancillary aids devoted primarily to such features, and

certainly not of works which passed through more than one edition. The nearest
would be a work by a Scottish divine, William Guild’s Moses unveiled, which
was dedicated to Bishop Andrews but pitched at a relatively simple level.

With works like Leigh’s Critica sacra, we are arguably moving closer to the
preoccupation with the technical aspects of language that dominated the
education provided by grammar schools and universities. And with John
Leusden’s Compendium graecum Novi Testamenti, which was published initially in
Amsterdam, then in London from 1688 to 1719 and beyond, and which used
the parts of speech in the New Testament as the basis for dozens of exercises
in Greek and Latin, we actually reach the conjunction of linguistic training
and doctrinal instruction that had been a feature of Protestant education in
England since the 1570s and 1580s at least. In short, most of these
dictionaries and lexicological works were aimed at the moderately well educated,
and some at the very well educated. Isolated examples to the contrary were
the Table alphabeticall (1604), by a ‘godly’ minister, Robert Cawdrey, which has
been hailed as the first English dictionary, but which among its other virtues
was its claim to help the reader ‘more easily and better understand many hard
English words which they shall hear or read in scriptures, sermons, or else-
where’; and the anonymous The child’s bible (1677) which acted as an introduc-
tion to bible reading through the spelling and pronunciation of ‘all the words
that are found in the Old and New Testament’.

viii. Historical Studies

There were other ancillary works of a technical kind such as historical, geo-
ographical, and chronological accounts which specialists deemed necessary for
the proper interpretation of scriptures. There was, for example, a small but
growing stream of studies of Jewish customs and the history of the Early

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123 Wing D895–6, K101–101A; for an earlier work which passed through only one edition, see H.
Lukin, An introduction to the holy scripture, containing the several tropes, figures, proprieties used therein (1669). In
general on types and tropes, see B. K. Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric
113–18.

124 W. Guild, Moses unveiled (1620/19), epistle dedicatory and passim; and Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’,
102. For later examples of the genre, see S. Mather, The figures or types of the Old Testament (Dublin, 1673),
and Preston’s comments (101–2) on D. Collyer, The sacred interpreter (1732).

125 J. Leusden, Compendium graecum Novi Testamenti (1691); and cf. Green, Christian’s ABC, 189–93,
196–9.

126 See R. S. Peters’s introduction to the 1966 facsimile of Cawdrey’s Table (Gainesville, Fla.), p. xiv;
three later editions had been printed by 1617. For The child’s bible, see R. B. Bottigheimer, The Bible for
Church, which helped white Anglo-Saxon Protestants think themselves back into the world of the Old and New Testaments. Some of these were aimed mainly at the well educated, but others at a wider, less informed readership. Thus Meredith Hanmer’s translation into English of Eusebius’s *Auncient ecclesiasticall histories of the first six hundred years after Christ* was dedicated to the earl of Leicester; and Hanmer added a preface written with one eye cocked at contemporary practice when he suggested that a careful reading of the text would show how bishops should govern and ministers teach, and how ceremonies had crept in and Christian martyrs suffered during the first centuries of the Church’s existence. This translation was printed twice, in fairly rapid succession (given its enormous size), in 1579 and 1585, but was then not published again until 1607 and 1619. In 1659 appeared a singular work: Samuel Lee’s *Orbis miraculum, or the Temple of Solomon portrayed by scripture-light*. Lee, a learned Independent, seems to have been provoked by what he saw as gross errors in the plates in the Walton polyglot of 1657 depicting the Temple of Solomon, and so wrote a technical treatise, dedicated to his former colleagues at Wadham College, Oxford, and ‘the godly and learned in the church of Christ’, but making few concessions to the unlearned. He also commissioned several engravings and maps to back up his argument. The result was a risky venture, especially in 1659, and had to be printed at the expense of the university, and sold through ten publishers or booksellers, each of whom had his name on a different title-page and presumably received a few dozen copies to sell.

In terms of sales, however, the work cannot be accounted a success, in that it probably sold far fewer copies than John Bunyan’s *Solomons temple spiritualized* which, he claimed, was the product of a close study of nothing more than ‘my bible and my concordance’ which were ‘my only library in my writings’. Also much more successful was William Cave’s long account of the early history of the church in *Primitive Christianity*, which retailed at 6 shillings bound. In 1675 his lives of the saints were published with an earlier work, Jeremy Taylor’s life of Christ (*The great exemplar*), to make a new work—*Antiquitates Christianae*. Cave’s interest in the history of the Christian church began when he was a youngster, but he was not content merely to recount: he also urged the well-heeled readers in his London parishes to learn from and ‘to admire and imitate’ the piety, integrity, and other ‘primitive virtues’ of the early Christians. By the early eighteenth century the fruits of recent French

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127 Eusebius, *The ancient ecclesiastical histories* (1585), sig. *5*; STC 10572–6, and cf. Wing E3421–28; the issuing of a ‘fourth’ edition in 1636 suggests copies of an earlier edition may have been left unsold.

128 S. Lee, *Orbis miraculum*, epistle dedicatory, and sig. B4; Bennett and Mandelbrote, *Biblical Metaphors*, 146–8; and DNB s.v. S. Lee for the university’s involvement.


130 W. Cave, *Primitive Christianity* (1673), sigs. A8–*b*, and pt. iii. 439; also see Appendix I s.v. Cave and Taylor.
scholarship were being made available in translation, through sizeable works like Fleury’s *Historical accounts of the manners . . . of the Christians* (1698), Lamy’s *Apparatus Biblicus* (1723), and Calmet’s *Historical, critical, chronological, and etymological dictionary of the Holy Bible* (three volumes, 1732). These were usually published in fairly lavish editions, on good-quality paper, with engravings and a spattering of red letter on the title-pages, though we know that a dissenter like Isaac Watts had access to Lamy’s work, presumably through the generosity of his landed patrons. Spurred on by such works and a new surge of antiquarian interest within England, a trio of English authors also published large narratives trying to ‘connect’ the ‘sacred’ history told in the Bible with that of the ‘profane’ empires of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. *The Old and New Testaments connected*, by Humphrey Prideaux, dean of Norwich, appeared first in two folio volumes in 1716 and 1718, but regularly thereafter in smaller formats, until the sixteenth edition appeared in 1808. Samuel Shuckford’s complementary volume, *The sacred and profane history of the world connected* (1728), also proved very popular, and *A new history of the Holy Bible* (1733), intended by an impoverished curate, Thomas Stackhouse, to supplant the earlier volumes, reached four editions in the next few decades.

Meanwhile intermediate and simpler historical works with a more precise focus had begun to sell well. In *The Christian synagogue* (1622), John Weemes, a Scottish minister who in the 1630s was given a prebend in Durham Cathedral by Charles I for his efforts, wrote on ‘the customs of the Hebrews . . . and of all those nations with whom they were conversant’, though his aim, he tells us, was not just to describe but to help ‘all young students in divinity . . . understand the languages of Canaan and Greece, and make a profitable use of them in preaching’. Thomas Godwin (or Godwyn) was a Berkshire schoolmaster and rector with antiquarian interests, who wrote a best-selling book on Roman antiquities for his students in Abingdon School. But he also wrote the best-selling *Moses and Aaron*, which has the sub-title ‘civil and ecclesiastical rites used by the Hebrews: observed and at large opened for the clearing of many obscure texts throughout the whole scriptures’. Though advanced and technical in nature, the text was intermediate in length, which may have helped it sell over a dozen editions in sixty years.

Three other works may be cited from the popular end of the market. Part of Abraham ben David’s abstract of Josephus’s account of the history of the Jews to the fall of Jerusalem was reprinted in England over two dozen times from the 1560s to the 1700s. As was pointed out in the epistle to the reader,

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131 Copies seen in the Bodleian; *DNB* s.v. I. Watts for his patrons.
132 Copies seen in the Bodleian; Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 101. With Stackhouse, we are moving closer to the more commercial illustrated histories discussed at the end of this chapter.
133 J. Weemes, *The Christian synagogue* (1623), title-page; *DNB*.
134 Ibid. for Godwin’s career; and below, Appendix 1 for later editions; the work was dedicated to the earl of Pembroke.
this work was shorter and less costly than the full-length account by Josephus though (allegedly) not inferior to it in quality. The reader was urged to gain from it both pleasure and profit—the twin goals of much Renaissance historical writing—though the particular lesson that seems to have been envisaged, especially for Londoners in the editions of 1650 and 1688, was to note the severe penalties suffered by those who turned their back on God by sedition, rebellion, contempt for priests, profanity and sacrilege, and to act accordingly before a like fate befell them. In other words, its success may well have been as part of the repentance literature (and on another front the anti-Semitism) of the age rather than the result of genuine historical interests.\textsuperscript{135} Then there is a supposititious work, \textit{The testaments of the twelve patriarches}, published perhaps thirty-five times between 1574 and 1716, and said to contain the last testaments of Jacob and his twelve sons. The translator from Latin into English, Anthony Gilby, a leading puritan divine, was sincere enough, and a manuscript copy of the text (in Greek) was said to exist in Cambridge. But while the explanation offered ‘the Christian reader’ by the publisher, Richard Day, for its long disappearance from view—that the Jews had maliciously kept the text hidden because its contents regularly prefigured Christ—may have stimulated curiosity, it does not hold water; and the use of black letter in the text, even in early seventeenth-century copies, the indifferent quality of the illustrations with their accompanying four-line verses on each of the twelve sons, and the fact that the copyright was taken over by the Stationers Company all point to this being regarded as a reliably profitable piece with sufficient ‘Christian’ associations and moralistic lessons to warrant marketing as a necessary supplement to bible studies.\textsuperscript{136} Thirdly, there is \textit{The times, places and persons of the holy scripture} (1607), which after a short section on God and the Creation was dedicated mostly to descriptions of the leading figures of the Old Testament: who they were, when they lived, what they did, and how they were either like Christ or prefigured him.\textsuperscript{137} But such works were relatively rare: historical studies seem to have been written by and for elephants rather than lambs.

ix. Maps, Chronologies, Harmonies, and Debates on Authenticity

Other technical aids may be dealt with fairly quickly because they were for the most part limited in range or not reprinted much. Atlases were rare before the

\textsuperscript{135} ‘Joseph ben Gorion’, \textit{A compendious and most marveilous history} (1615), sigs. A\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{r}; renamed ‘Josippon’, \textit{The wonderful, and most deplorable history} (see below, Appendix 1), its 1688 editor cited the 1650 dedication, sigs. A\textsuperscript{4}–\textsuperscript{7}v, as well as adding a new warning: sigs. A\textsuperscript{3}v. For repentance literature, see below, Chs. 6–8.

\textsuperscript{136} Anon., \textit{The testaments of the twelve patriarches} (1610), title-page, sigs. A\textsuperscript{2}, A\textsuperscript{6}, and \textit{passim}; cf. STC\textsuperscript{7} 19465.7–73, and below, Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{137} This work has a complex bibliography, as explained under STC\textsuperscript{7} 12981–3: the copy I saw was of Hayne’s enlarged edition of 1640: Bodleian U.1.4.Th.Seld.
eighteenth century, but individual maps were quite common, and among the most frequently reproduced maps in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were attempts to depict the situation of the Garden of Eden and the Holy Land in the time of Christ and the Apostles. Depictions of the Ark, the Tower of Babel, and the Temple in Jerusalem also exercised the wits of some of sharpest brains and the talents of some of the best draughtsmen of the day.

Attempts to place the events of the Old and New Testaments in an accurate chronological framework also had a long pedigree, and in early modern England certainly existed at advanced level. William Perkins drew up a chronology in tabular form, though it may have been published only in the folio volumes of his collected Works. Much better known was Archbishop James Ussher’s Annales, a substantial work published first in Latin, then translated into English in 1658. However, chronologies were also made available in less demanding and even homely forms. The anonymous author of Times, places and persons of the holy scripture, noted above, also provided a chronological framework into which he inserted his parallels between events in Old and New Testaments and dollops of edifying advice. William Nisbet’s Scripture chronology (1655) was an accomplished and clearly argued work of intermediate standard and length (300 pages of octavo). Writing in Scotland, he commented that despite the value of the study of chronology it had been ‘little prized till lately’, so he was giving way to his colleagues’ suggestion that he print his work for others’ benefit, especially young students in theology. At the popular end we have the Brief chronologie of the Holy Scriptures (1600) by Robert Aylett, just embarking on his career as a writer of verse. This was composed in metre, and combined information—‘Sacred Genesis first of all | The scripture story doth contain. | Of years two thousands, hundreds three | And sixty eight since world began’—with exhortation—‘Repent, therefore, thy sin forsake. | Believe in him whom God hath sent’—and warnings that Christ’s second coming was nigh. Then there were the even shorter Scriptures harmony (1643) (by a layman, Edward Fisher, but with an imprimatur from Joseph Caryl) which offered ‘a brief, plain and perfect computation of the years and times from the creation of Adam unto the death and passion

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139 Bennett and Mandelbrot, Biblical Metaphors, 43–155; and above, n. 128.

140 W. Perkins, A digest or harmonie of the booke of the Old and New Testament (Cambridge, 1609) in Works (1668–9); the Digest is not listed as a separate item in STC; for Ussher, see above, n. 43.

141 anon., Times, places and persons of the holy scripture (1640), 15–241.

142 W. Nisbet, Scripture chronology (1655), sigs. † 2r, 4r.

143 R. Aylett, Brief chronologie of the Holy Scriptures (1600), sig. A3’.
of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’; and the anonymous *Times of the Bible* (1667), by an author clearly fascinated by numbers and units of measurement, and influenced (at a fairly rudimentary level) by recent millenarian speculations.

The problem of reconciling the different historical accounts given in the four gospels, and correlating events in Acts and the epistles, attracted the attention of both Calvinists and the Little Gidding circle. As usual, English scholars were initially dependent on Continental scholarship, such as Calvin’s *Harmonie* on three of the Gospels—Matthew, Mark, and Luke—which was as much commentary as harmony; in Eusebius Paget’s translation of 1584, this was still on sale in 1595 and reprinted in 1610. Soon this was supplemented by ‘The consent of the four evangelists: or the life of Christ’, inserted at the end of Robert Hill’s *Contents of scripture* (1596), and by Samuel Bruen in his abridgement of the Bible in 1623. The pious community at Little Gidding circle did not publish their harmonies of scriptural passages (which, confusingly, they referred to as ‘concordances’), but these are worth mentioning for various reasons. They were made to facilitate the learning by ‘the younger sort’ of passages from the Gospels that were used in weekday services on a monthly rota; they were constructed by cutting out the relevant texts from printed bibles and pasting them side by side onto ‘large sheets of the best white paper’; the texts were ‘adorned with many beautiful pictures’ (also cut out from printed books); and Charles I so admired the copy he saw that one was made specially for his use.

In the mid-1640s, a great Hebrew scholar, John Lightfoot, tried to take the genre further in his *Harmony of the foure evangelists* and *Harmony, chronicle and order of the Old Testament*, which were a blend of harmony and chronology, but presented in an accessible way that any educated person could follow. Lightfoot was aware of the technical problems posed by this field of work, which (as Samuel Torshel noted at the time) would need a team rather than an individual to resolve. But since he had come across nothing of this sort, on the Old Testament, in any language Lightfoot hoped his attempts might provoke some ‘dextrous hands’ to do it better. Writing at a time when millenarian speculation was reaching new heights, he also warned against ‘meddling’ with...
Revelation: ‘I see too much daring with that book already’. Samuel Cradock’s *Harmony of the four evangelists* (1668) and *Apostolical history* (harmonizing Acts and the epistles) (1672) were the products of his ‘recent years of retirement’ after expulsion from his living in 1662. But he drew on a wide range of Continental and English sources from Piscator and Lightfoot to Grotius and Hammond, was friendly with the local vicar, and showed the manuscript of the first volume to a sympathetic conformist and future bishop, John Tillotson. Compared to Lightfoot, Cradock made few concessions to those who could not read Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in the preface to *The apostolical history* he expressed the hope that ‘persons of quality or education’ would study the Bible more diligently. Nevertheless, his publisher managed to secure in advance two commendations of this work from fellow Bartholomew sufferers, who reckoned that the notes would be useful to ‘scholars’ and the text to a variety of readers: ‘such ministers as are not furnished with good libraries’, ‘young scholars’, ‘masters of families’, ‘private families’, and grown-up children. The conclusions of such harmonies were also purveyed in intermediate works such as Jeremy Taylor’s life of Christ and the section of Doddridge’s *Family expositor* on the Gospels, and at more elementary levels, in a short section of the second edition of *Index Biblicus multijugus* (1672) by Leonard Hoar, then President of Harvard, and in Samuel Clarke’s *The holy history in brief* (1690), about which more later.

Debate with the Catholic church over what constituted the canonical scriptures was not unknown in the first century after the Reformation, but both this and arguments on the divine inspiration of scripture became more heated in the next century as the Catholic challenge was joined by that of those who favoured the use of the inner light or reason in interpreting the scriptures, and those deists who queried the very principle of canonicity. Leading figures from all quarters wrote technical treatises on these matters. The Laudian John Cosin attacked the status awarded the Apocrypha by the Council of Trent in his *Scholastical history of the canon of the Holy Scripture* (four editions and a reissue between 1657 and 1684); a nonjuror, John Richardson, replied to the Deist Toland in *Canon of the New Testament vindicated* (1700); and the conformist Nicholas Tindal translated part of Calmet’s work on the Bible which included the section on the authors of the canonical texts, in *Antiquities, sacred and

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150 J. Lightfoot, *The harmony, chronicle and order of the Old Testament . . . Also . . . the harmony of the four evangelists* (1647), pt. i, sig. A3r; pt. ii, sig. b3v; id., *The harmony, chronicle, and order of the New Testament* (1655), sig. at1; and cf. S. Torshel, *A designe about disposing the Bible into an harmony* (1647), passim. For an earlier attempt to provide a ‘harmony of all the prophets’, see W. Guild, *Moses unveiled* (1620/19), pt. ii.

151 S. Cradock, *The apostolical history* (1672), sigs. b1r, b2v, c2r, and passim; id., *The harmony of the four evangelists* (1668), sig. b1r, and passim; and *DNB* s.v. Cradock.


A leading Independent, John Owen, took on both Catholics and Quakers in his *Of the divine originall, authority, self-evidencing light, and power of the scriptures* (1659); the episcopalian Edward Stillingfleet took up the cudgels in defence of the divine authority of scripture in his *Origines sacrae*, which sold eight editions between 1662 and 1709; the Calvinist conformist John Edwards’s *Discourse concerning the authority, stile, and perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693–5) appeared in three octavo volumes, the author having decided against publication in a single volume on the grounds that ‘the present age is not for big books’; but this did not stop Robert Jenkin, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, composing a very long treatise on *The reasonableness and certainty of the Christian religion*, which cost five shillings, and passed through five editions between 1698 and 1721. Other examples of defences of scripture by episcopalians and presbyterians could be given, but all of these were aimed at those with erroneous views on the authenticity of the Bible. What is interesting here is that, compared to so many of the aids to bible study discussed in previous sections of this chapter, there was relatively little percolation of the main arguments of these debates down to intermediate and elementary levels. This confirms what was suggested in a recent study of catechisms and an earlier survey of eighteenth-century biblical criticism, that while the debate between reason and revelation may have excited clergy and intellectuals, it probably passed by the great majority of the population until well into the eighteenth century. For them, the text itself and the simple, orthodox guides to its meaning were deemed sufficient.

**x. ‘Heads’ and Abridgements**

We may briefly consider two other types of aid to bible study—‘heads’, and abridgements—which mark a response to perceived needs in bible study, and represent a grey area between the works for the moderately well educated

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54 Wing C0361–3A; the copy seen of Richardson’s *Canon* is in Dr Williams’s Library; and *DNB s.v.* Tindal for the monthly instalments of Calmet’s *Antiquities sacred and profane*. The challenge by the Oratorian Richard Simon was rather different: see above n. 25.

55 Wing O784, S5616–20, E202–3, and J570–1A.

56 Shorter works included [R. Mayo], *Several hundred texts of holy scripture* (1712); S. Hill, *The harmony of the canonical and apocryphal scriptures* (1713); and [M. Lowman], *A defence of the scripture* (1721); longer ones included S. Mather, *A vindication of the Holy Bible* (1723); and J. Leland, *The divine authority of the old and New Testament asserted* (1739). There was also a certain interest in the history of the translations of the Bible into English: cf. A. Johnson, *An historical account of the several English translations* (1730), and J. Lewis, *A complete history of the several translations* (1739).

57 The formats of the works cited in this paragraph were rarely smaller than large quarto or generously spaced octavo as opposed to the cramped octavo or duodecimo of works aimed at less educated readers.

58 Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 700–1 for a rare ‘rational catechism’ (by Popple); Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 121.
and informed that we have been considering in the last few sections of this chapter, and those for genuine lambs with which it will end. The purpose of works built round the ‘heads’ or headings chosen by an author was to assist the faithful, whether inexperienced preachers or lay persons, to pull together material from different parts of the Bible by identifying the key pegs on which so much doctrine hung. If the aim was primarily to help readers make sense of the Bible and reinforce the teachings it contained, it was also to help them remember what they had understood. The function of abridgements was not dissimilar—to focus attention on the key points in the Bible, especially for the ‘weaker sort’, but in many cases the aim was rather more to act as an aide-mémoire for both well-educated and less well-educated readers.

The value of memorizing sentences from the Bible was reflected in the official orders to paint scriptural sentences on church walls, and the requirements in the 1604 canons that schoolboys learn some in school. But the idea of a number of suitable quotations gathered into a series of headings had been common since the early Reformation, not least to help less learned preachers who handled themes ‘coldly or confusedly’, as Wolfgang Musculus put it in the preface to his *Commonplaces*. First published in Latin in Basle in the 1550s, this series of essays on topics ranging from God’s works to schism and the role of magistrates was heavily supported by scriptural references, was translated into English, and published in folio in 1563 and quarto in 1578. The translator, John Man, thought it ideal for what he deemed the unlearned as well as the learned, but at nearly 1,200 pages of folio it was not a cheap or easy option, and, to judge from the many references to it in English treatises and sermons, copies fell into the hands of the well-educated and well-provided members of the clergy rather than beginners. A later example confirms that such ‘heads’ could be intended for clergy more than laity. The first epistle dedicatory of William Knight’s *Concordance axiomatical: containing a survey of theological propositions, with their reasons and uses* (1610) was addressed to ‘all faithful brethren who love Christ, especially in the ministry’, and the second even more specifically to ‘the faithful minister of God’s most holy word’. Knight, a rector in Hertfordshire, had undertaken the work to counter the charge that ‘many of us have stood under . . . “Preaching is but a voluntary discourse of a man’s own brain”’, and readily admitted it was designed to promote better preaching by combining textual analysis of a specific phrase with the citation of ‘testimonies’ elsewhere in the Bible that helped explain or reinforce it. After

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159 On sentences in church see my *Religious Instruction* (forthcoming); and in school, Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 188.

160 W. Musculus, *Common places of Christian religion* (1563), sigs. qii–iv; and sig. iv. The dedication to Archbishop Parker and warning to readers to follow the lead of English authorities on matters in debate, such as the administration of the sacraments, indicate the conformist intent of the translator. For an early example in England, see [Petrus Artopoeus], *The division of the places of the lave and of the gospel* (1548); [Walter Lynne], *A briefe collection all such textes of scripture* (1549) focused on texts concerning illness.
fourteen years’ effort in filling over 600 folio pages it was still not complete, and although Knight claimed that ‘divers’ ministers had already switched to his method when they heard of it or saw his work in manuscript, it was not reprinted.\textsuperscript{161}

It is instructive to compare this work with similar ones designed either for both clergy and laity, or more especially for the laity. In 1619 Robert Pennington published \textit{A catechisme common place book . . . for young and old, learned and unlearned} which he had evidently tried out orally in his parishes in England and Ireland. The text consisted of thirty-eight ‘heads’ in question-and-answer form, starting with Christ and heaven, passing through an interesting range of topics that included reading and writing (reading ‘divine and humane writings’ was a ‘notable means appointed by God for the increasing of our faith, and furtherance of our salvation’), and finishing with the particular and general judgement. But the answer to each of the leading questions about ‘the necessary knowledge’ needed by ‘all men that would attain unto eternal salvation’ consisted of a sequence of carefully selected scripture texts which were evidently meant to be studied carefully.\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Gods treasurie displayed} (1630) was written by a layman, F. B[ridges], who was praised by one ‘godly’ minister, Jeremiah Dyke, for his industry and familiarity with the Bible, and by another, John Rogers, for helping show both the ‘ordinary Christian’ and the minister more parallels between scriptural passages than in any comparable aid. (Rogers was clearly in a dilemma: on the one hand he urged the laity to ground themselves in scripture and described Bridges as head and shoulders above ‘the rest of his own rank’ in this respect; but on the other he warned them against ill-informed interpretations or writing books like this, and commented that God had ‘mercifully’ guided Bridges away from mistakes.) Bridges’s ‘heads’ ranged from the Creation and Fall of man and the promise of Christ, to the ministry of the Word and sacrament, and the conversion of the sinner, but also included typically ‘godly’ features such as elements of the ‘ordo salutis’ and what to do in temptation and affliction; and to make all this easier to memorize he had turned the results into (somewhat leaden) question-and-answer form.\textsuperscript{163} A work that proved a little more popular was John Hart’s \textit{The fort-royal of Holy Scriptures} (1649). Described as ‘a new concordance of the chief heads of scripture common-placed, for such as would suddenly command all the rarities in the Book of God’, this consisted of over a 100 ‘heads’, such as God’s name and titles, Christ’s life and benefits, the Holy Spirit, faith and repentance, supported by scripture references without commentary, though easily the longest sections in the 400 octavo pages were those on God’s

\textsuperscript{161} W. Knight, \textit{Concordance axiomaticall} (1610), sigs. a2\textsuperscript{r}–v, a4\textsuperscript{r}–6\textsuperscript{r}, and passim. Given its date, this work is notable for the brevity of the section under ‘election’ and the complete absence of entries for predestination and reprobation.

\textsuperscript{162} R. Pennington, \textit{A catechisme common place book} (1619), title-page, sigs. A3\textsuperscript{r}, A4\textsuperscript{r}–v, B2\textsuperscript{r}, and passim.

\textsuperscript{163} F. B[ridges], \textit{Gods treasurie displayed} (1630), sigs. A6\textsuperscript{r}–7\textsuperscript{v}, A8\textsuperscript{r}, *4\textsuperscript{r}–5\textsuperscript{r}, and passim.
wrath (twenty-eight pages), his providence (fourteen), the happiness of the
saints (seventeen), and affliction and consolation (eighteen). A preface by the
printer in the 1656 ‘third’ edition in London claimed that it had proved pop-
ular because it offered a cheaper alternative to the ‘great concordance’ (pres-
umably Downname’s) which was not only ‘now so voluminous, and so large a
price’, but also lacked the thematic approach offered by Hart.164

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we find works which
are either shorter or more sharply focused, and different in doctrinal emphasis
at some points. *The Word of God the best guide to all persons, at all times, and in all
places* (1689), by William Howell, curate and schoolmaster at Ewelme in
Oxfordshire, was said to have been designed for the less well-educated laity to
use as part of a regular programme of bible reading. It comprised a series of
headings on God’s goodness to mankind, man’s duty to God, himself, and his
neighbour, and the four last things, each followed by a handful of relevant
scriptural texts, printed in full. The whole filled only 200 pages of octavo, and
was reprinted in England and Ireland.165 Francis Gastrell’s *Christian institutes*
was a similar work but designed to educate ‘Christian youth’ in particular;
through his bases in Oxford and London, Gastrell had developed a keen in-
terest in the education of the young. For those who could not study the Bible
regularly or might misconstrue it, several abstracts or summaries of Christian
doctrine had been prepared, Gastrell noted, but his was more ‘impartial’ and
less controversial and erroneous than those, and let scripture, gathered under
‘proper heads’, speak for itself.166 Ferdinando Shaw knew of Gastrell’s work
but published a rival—*A summary of the Bible* (1730)—which combined the
qualities of ‘a scripture-dictionary, common-place book, concordance, and
comment[ary]’. The ‘principal heads’ that he had selected as those ‘most
generally instructive and useful to all Christians in these days’ were arranged
alphabetically and supported by scripture references. Though clearly aimed at
the laity, it might even be of use to ministers on their travels, thought Shaw.167

164 J. Hart, *The fort-royal of holy scriptures* (1656) title-page, sig. [A2’], and passim; from its length and
character, and the fact that early editions appeared in Edinburgh, this was probably in its original form
a genuine product of the mysterious Hart, for whom see below, Ch. 8.xiii.
165 W. Howell, *The Word of God the best guide* (1689), sig. †iv, and passim.
beyond the limit set in earlier selections of ‘heads’ on the lessons contained in the Bible on both faith and duty.\(^{168}\)

‘Heads’ were occasionally used to serve special needs. Thomas Belke’s *Scripture enquiry* (1642) was modified and expanded for publication two years later as *An epitome of sacred scripture*. But whereas the first version had a limited number of topical and polemical items in its selection of headings, the second—‘fitted for England’s present condition’ in 1644—was much more obviously intended to provide bible texts that could be used to condemn what Belke saw as the twin threats posed by Laudians and radicals.\(^ {169}\) The *souldiers pocket bible* (1643) was reprinted in 1693 for the Williamite armies with some alterations and enlargements (including a switch of source text from Geneva to Authorized) and a new title—*The Christian soldier’s penny bible*. But both consisted of headings on the Christian soldier’s duties supported by relevant texts.\(^ {170}\) Christoper Ness’s *Compleat and compendious church-history* (1680) was presented as an aid to regular bible study, ‘published for the public good’, but the organizing principle of the text was selective: God had thwarted Satan’s plots against the church in Old and New Testament times and would do so again now if we beseech him.\(^ {171}\) The headings and texts selected for *A seasonable collection of plain texts of scripture. For the use of English protestants*, published in the spring of 1688 in chapbook format, were also polemical in intent, though the fact that this particular structure was chosen for such a cheap work suggests how far familiarity with the genre of scripture-supported ‘heads’ had spread, at least among those able to dash off such a work at short notice.\(^ {172}\)

Abridgements were of two sorts. The first—to help the reader grasp the basics—was the less common. Examples include Robert Bruen’s *Summary of the Bible* (1623) and John Jeffery’s *Religion of the Bible* (1701). Bruen set out to help all who ‘desire to read the scripture with profit’, but especially the ‘unskilful reader’, the ‘weaker sort’, or the ‘simple’, whom he wished to make wise unto salvation by providing a potted history of the fortunes of the church through the ages covered by the historical books in the two Testaments, and then a selective account of the doctrines in the Epistles.\(^ {173}\) Where Bruen filled over 250 pages of duodecimo, Jeffery confined himself to a pamphlet of 29 pages in fairly large typeface. His ‘summary view of the holy scriptures’ depicted the main themes of both Testaments with a broad brush, and used the different types of books therein to illustrate different themes: the historical books

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\(^{168}\) anon., *The Christian’s duty from the sacred scriptures* (1730), title-page, sigs. A1r–2r, A6r, and passim (copy seen in the Bodleian).


\(^{170}\) DMH, nos. 577 (p. 191) and 830 (p. 229).

\(^{171}\) C. Ness, *Compleat and compendious church-history* (1680), title-page, and passim; for Ness’s turbulent career, see *DNB*.


taught ‘practical religion’ such as the Law, and showed God punishing the wicked and rewarding the obedient; the prophetic demonstrated the difference between good and evil and God’s providential care of the world; and so on. Jeffery’s little pamphlet shows a learned, senior cleric (a doctor of divinity, archdeacon of Norwich, and author of devotional works) experimenting with abridgement to try to help Christians grasp the substance of their faith and duty by ‘read[ing] the word of God with judgement and profit’ for themselves.\(^{173}\) The second sort of abridgement—a means of helping both understanding and memory—was the more common. When we turn shortly to aids to bible study in verse we will encounter the elaborate mnemonic scheme in William Samuel’s *Abridgement*, Henoch Clapham’s heavily annotated *Briefe of the Bible, drawne . . . into English poesy*, and Josiah Chorley’s *Metrical index to the Bible . . . to help the memory*.\(^{175}\) But here we may mention a handful of works in prose. Robert Hill’s *Contents of scripture* (1596) had a dual function: to help the young who were just embarking on reading the Bible by providing a précis of what they were about to read, and to assist the old to remember what they had read. For it was necessary (Hill told his knightly patrons) for all estates and ages not just to read the Bible but to remember it too. The idea of such abridgements was defended by arguments drawn from the Bible itself, and from the publication of similar works in Scotland and Germany. Hill also carefully alluded on the title-page to the unimpeachably Protestant sources from which he had ‘gathered’ his summaries: ‘Tremellius, Junius, Beza, Piscator, and others’.\(^{176}\) Ezekiel Culverwell told the reader that his *aide-mémoire—A ready way to remember the scriptures* (1637)—had been intended chiefly for the use of ‘divines and young students’, but since ‘many good Christians’ had also found it useful he was publishing it to ‘make it more common’. So ruthless was his compression of the Bible, however, that only those who had read and thought about each chapter many times, and regularly reviewed what they had mastered, could possibly make sense of it. Romans 8, for example, is reduced to ‘Comfort over corruption, [verse] 1. Flesh, 5. Spirit, 5. Abba, 15. Affliction, 18. Creature, 19. Triumph, 31. Separate, 35’.\(^{177}\)

More representative was another work by Leonard Hoar, his *Index Biblicus multijugus* (1668). Like Hill, he saw abridgement (or ‘epitome’ as he preferred to call it) as an aid to bible study, by putting the text to be read in context, but also as a help to remembering what was then read and to subsequent quoting of chapter and verse. Unlike Hill he offered ‘synchronisms, parallelisms, reconciliations of places seemingly contradictory’, comparisons of prophecies and their fulfillings, a chronology of every epoch, and a harmony of the

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\(^{175}\) See below, pp. 155‒7.

\(^{176}\) R. Hill, *Contents of scripture* (1596), title-page, sigs. A3′–8′.

\(^{177}\) E. Culverwell, *A ready way to remember the scriptures* (1637), sigs. A2′, p. 81, and passim.
evangelists; and all this for sixpence: no wonder it sold perhaps five editions between 1668 and 1672. Samuel Clarke the younger also believed in the value of abridgement to help both understanding and memory, though in *The holy history in brief*, dedicated to two gentlemen in 1690, he confined his attentions to ‘the historical parts’ of the Bible. In 1693, however, he published a much larger work on the whole Bible: *A survey of the Bible*. Here Clarke produced something that combined abridgement of each book and chapter in turn, to help the reader set it in context, with an analytical commentary on each section, which he thought would be useful for ministers preparing their sermons. But he also hoped that these analyses would be of use to ‘private Christians’ who should read them both before they read the chapter in question, and again afterwards, to fix it in their memory and ensure ‘a more comprehensive understanding’.

Once again a modern reader is struck by the energy and inventiveness shown by those authors who were anxious to produce ‘a clearer understanding’ of the Bible among the reading public at large. But one is also struck by the limited numbers of repeat editions of many of those works which lacked the appealing packaging and reasonable pricing of a work like Hoar’s. By the second half of the seventeenth century authors might have realized what was best for readers: not a ‘dumbing down’, but a more pragmatic assessment of the exact types of help needed. But publishers knew what would sell best.

\textit{xi. Advice for Beginners}

We come at last to works designed more specifically for children and adolescents, and any adults who for whatever reason were just beginning serious study of the Bible. In the first of the three genres to be considered here—advice on how to set about reading the Bible—the first readers were at the outset evidently perceived as well born and moderately well educated. But later on and in the case of the other two genres—the question-and-answer approach, and the use of verse—we are looking at works with a strong didactic element, informing less-educated readers what to do or think rather than encouraging self-help, and attempting to construct a solid basis of knowledge, often from the historical rather than the prophetic or doctrinal sections of the Bible, as a basis to greater understanding later.

Advice on how to study the Bible was available in various places. The prefaces of most official translations of the Bible; Grashop’s simple guide in the preface of many black-letter quarto editions of the Geneva Bible; the best-selling guides to godly living that we will examine in Chapter 6, such as

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181 See above, Ch. 2.ii.
Lewis Bayly’s *Practise of pietie* and Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy living*; the encyclopaedic guides of authors like Greenham and Baxter; and the occasional catechism—all contained a few pages offering advice on what and when to read, for how long, or what to look for and how to gain help. But several titles can be found devoted primarily to this task.

Predictably the first of these—*The course of Christianitie* (1579)—was a translation into English from a Latin work of Continental origin, by the moderate Lutheran, Andreas Gerardus (or Hyperius), which was based on the premiss that ‘daily reading and meditation of the holy scriptures’ is ‘very requisite and necessary for all Christians of what estate or condition soever’ if they are to acquire true knowledge of God and be brought to a sound and sincere religion, freed from the dregs of popery and ‘new sprung up heresies’. Much of the text of Gerardus’s Book I was devoted to convincing his readers that they had both the mental capacity and the duty to understand God’s will as expressed in scripture, while Book II dealt with the practicalities. If you do not read fluently yourself, share the reading round among your guests, wife, and children (one of several indications in works in this genre that such reading might be performed out loud, in a group). How long you should read for depended on your circumstances, but you should stick to what you decide; how much depended on how many times you wished to read the Bible through each year. As ‘an epitome or abridgement of the whole scripture’, the psalter should be read separately throughout the year at the rate of at least three psalms a week, or six, nine, or eleven a week for repetition of the whole two to four times a year. The other canonical books of the Old Testament should be read on the basis of fifteen chapters a week (three on one day, and two each on the other six); and the New Testament at a minimum of five chapters a week for a complete read-through once a year, or twenty chapters for four times a year. Gerardus even provided tables indicating the chapters to be read on each day of each month to achieve the desired minimum, albeit in a somewhat fractured way in the case of some of the smaller books. The zealous reader was also urged to make a paper or parchment copy of this and

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184 Gerardus made bible-reading sound like an old-style good work, worthy of praise and commendation: *Course of Christianitie*, 152.

185 Ibid., 156–75; the Apocrypha was also included at three chapters a week, but it was made clear that these counted for less than chapters in the canonical books.
fasten it to the walls of their study, parlour, privy chamber, shop, chapel, or wherever they found themselves.\textsuperscript{186}

The author who tried hardest to improve on Hyperius’s work was a Welshman, Edward Vaughan, who served as a minister in London and Derbyshire. In 1617 he claimed to have published ‘many and sundry books for the reading and understanding of the sacred scriptures’, though we know today of only four of these; and in the third—

**Ten introductions: how to read . . . the Holie Bible** (1594)—Vaughan himself admitted that he had merely added some new material to elements from the first two—

**A method . . . for the reading and understanding of the Old and New Testament** (1590), and

**Nine observations, how to read profitably and understand truly . . . the Holy Bible** (1591).\textsuperscript{187} (The fourth was **A plaine and perfect method, for the easie understanding of the whole Bible**, first edition 1603, reprinted in 1617, which consisted of a dialogue between a parson and a pastor on several matters but in particular historical aspects of the Old Testament.)\textsuperscript{188}

The *Ten introductions* is the best-organized work, and the advice it contained had four main elements. First, memorize the names of all the books, the number of chapters in each, and the authors, occasions, and ‘chief matter’ of every book—much as we have seen was done in the abridgements described above; the status and contents of the Apocrypha were also considered. Secondly, apply different sets of rules to different kinds of books: for legal books, such as the first five of the Old and first four of the New, consider the time, the place, and the persons; for the ‘sapiential’ (wisdom) books, consisting of a dozen in the Old Testament and Acts in the New, consider the context, parallel passages, and the properties of God and creatures described; and for prophetical books, such as those at the end of the Old Testament and Revelation in the New, apply a rather different set of guidelines. Thirdly, apply a set of over a dozen questions to any book, chapter, or verse in the Bible: was the scripture set forth here as a commandment, promise, ceremony, type or figure, prophecy, similitude, example, parable, miracle, allegory, sacrifice, or sacrament? Fourthly, compile your own commonplace book, not once but twice, and see how much better your judgement was in spotting the essential texts the second time around: three months’ work of this kind would benefit you more than forty years’ reading of a conventional kind. Vaughan’s advice was thus an advance on that of Gerardus and Grashop, though by no means a soft option.\textsuperscript{189} Vaughan may also have borrowed the occasional

\textsuperscript{a} Gerardus, *Course of Christianitie*, pp. 176–216. Those who had difficulty understanding were not forgotten: they were urged to keep trying until the text did make sense, and to seek help through the power of prayer and of the Spirit.

\textsuperscript{a2} E. Vaughan, *A plaine and perfect method* (1617), sigs. A3\textsuperscript{r}, A5\textsuperscript{r}; id., *Ten introductions* (1594), sig. a4\textsuperscript{r}; and cf. STC\textsuperscript{e}: 24597 and 24598.

\textsuperscript{a3} Vaughan, *Plaine and perfect method, passim.*

\textsuperscript{a4} Vaughan, *Ten introductions*, sigs. B1\textsuperscript{r}–D8\textsuperscript{r}, H8\textsuperscript{r}–K3\textsuperscript{r}, and passim.
element, such as the making of your own commonplace book, from William Perkins’s short section of advice on bible study to preachers in *The arte of prophecyng*, which appeared in Latin in 1592 and in English in 1607. Perkins had also urged preachers to imprint on their memory the substance of scripture first, but went much further than Vaughan in indicating the sequence in which specific books were then to be read: start with Romans and John—the keys to understanding the rest of the New Testament; then master the psalms among the ‘dogmatical’ books, and Esau among the prophetic, because these were the two cited most by New Testament authors; last of all come to the historical, where Genesis was picked out for special mention.\(^{190}\)

In the 1610s appeared a trio of works offering fresh advice. John Waymouth had been a maths tutor to Prince Henry, and his love of figures led him to devise *A plain and easie table* (1613). This showed how ‘any man may be directed how to read over the whole bible in a year’ at the rate of two chapters of the Old and one of the New each day of the year, and two psalms every Sunday. However, his new scheme was not perfect: the New Testament ran out in September, and the last fifty psalms dominated late December’s readings.\(^{191}\) The scores of rules in Thomas Wilson’s *Theological rules, to guide us in the understanding and practise of holy scriptures* (1615), and the rousing defence (in the preface) of the shepherd, husbandman, and spinster knowing as much about the Bible as preachers do, seemed to promise a step forward from the advice in Gerardus and Vaughan; but the text turned out to consist mostly of exhortation and general advice on what scripture can tell us.\(^{192}\)

Much the most interesting and commercially successful of the trio was Nicholas Byfield’s *Directions for the private reading of scriptures* (entered 1617) which had reached a fourth edition by 1648. The level at which this was pitched is indicated by the author’s admission that it had been written for Sir Horace Vere and his wife, and by the debt Byfield clearly owed to Perkins’s advice to preachers. But it was also the most practical and comprehensive, and the most ‘godly’, work yet published, and at 120 pages of small octavo fairly compact too. First, there was an analytical abridgement of each book and chapter of the Bible, so that ‘before he reads’ a section of scripture the reader can gauge its drift and afterwards be helped to remember it. Secondly, there was a calendar showing which chapters to read each day from 1 March to 28 February, so that the whole Bible would be read in a year. Where previous authors had mingled chapters from the two Testaments on a daily basis, Byfield suggested the Old Testament be read first, then the whole New Testament, and finally the whole Book of Psalms; he was also flexible on the number of chapters to be read, increasing them where the chapters were


\(^{191}\) J. Waymouth, *A plain and easie table* (1613), sig. A3’, and *passim*.

\(^{192}\) T. Wilson, *Theological rules* (1615), sigs. A3’–4’, and *passim*.
short or the matter was historical or ‘typical’. Thirdly, since ‘many complain of their not profiting in reading’, there were rules to help readers benefit from what they read, by enlarging their knowledge, furthering their growth in grace (by smiting them with a sense of their sins, then offering them passages that eased their distress), and—another ‘godly’ touch—showing them texts to defend those practices against which the ungodly cavilled. The content and the success of such a work offer interesting insights into the level and possible type of bible study practised by the ‘godly’ at the time, and perhaps by the wider reading public as well.

Another work which passed through a few editions and was often cited by authors of later aids to bible study was Francis Roberts’s *Clavis Bibliorum*. *The key of the Bible* (1648). A minister with presbyterian leanings, Roberts set out to write a work ‘for the help of the weakest capacity in the understanding of the whole Bible’ by combining guidance on the authors, dating, purpose, and principal contents of each book of the Bible with rules on how to study. Roberts also had a special concern for the psalms, with which both scholars and (as we will see in Chapter 9) many lay people identified closely. Unfortunately, the *Clavis* contracted a bad dose of elephantiasis, being ‘very much enlarged’ in the second edition to over 600 pages of octavo, and reaching over 600 pages of folio in the third and fourth ‘diligently revised’ editions. Moreover, despite the concern for those of ‘weakest capacity’, the work was designed to operate at two levels, with ‘more special and peculiar’ rules for scholars who had mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee, and ‘more general and common directions’ for all sorts of Christians but especially ‘the people’. The latter were urged to ‘beg wisdom of the only wise God’, ‘labour sincerely’ and constantly, read with a humble, self-denying heart, use the analogy of faith, and compare darker places with lighter in order to gauge the meaning of the former.

After the Restoration we find authors who were still anxious to get closer to grips with the needs of the average bible reader but were also becoming more defensive or paternalistic. Richard Allestree was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford when he wrote *The lively oracles given to us* (1678). Its opening contained a number of familiar suggestions about reading the Bible—the need for sincerity, reverence, prayer, concentration, and practice. But the work was mainly devoted to praising the excellency of the content and design of the Bible (in reply to those who might doubt it), and to describing the church’s role in acting as its custodian, and defending every individual Protestant’s right to read it (against Catholic restrictions on such practice). The anonymous author of *Observations on the holy scriptures* (1707), a moderately short

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93 STC 4214–15 and B6383; N. Byfield, *Directions for the private reading of scriptures* (1618), sigs. A2–3', A5–6', A9', and passim.
95 R. Allestree, *The lively oracles* (1678), title-page and passim.
duodecimo, said that he was trying to provide ‘suitable assistance’ for those who wanted to read the Bible daily but were ‘unacquainted with the learned languages’ and lacked the ‘leisure to read or ability to purchase large volumes of commentaries on the Bible’. He explained how different parts of scripture, such as the historical and poetical, had different characters and uses, and gave directions for reading scripture with profit, including both external actions such as hearing sermons, and internal such as prayer, faith, diligent attention, and application of the lessons learned to our own lives. But again, aware of current controversies on the origins of the Bible, he also felt it necessary to explain how the sacred text had been first committed to writing, and urged a middle course in the debate between those who idolized reason and those who wished to cast it aside in interpreting the revealed will of God.\footnote{196}

There was also a markedly defensive tone in some of the early sections of William Lowth’s Directions for profitable reading of the holy scriptures, which passed through four editions between 1708 and 1735. Some men were using the recent toleration as an excuse for attacking all revealed religion and civil society, while the Romanists had produced a new argument against popular access to scripture by accusing Protestant leaders of steering ‘persons of ordinary understanding’ to those sections of scripture that were fittest for them to read. This last comment was perilously near the mark, and Lowth’s prejudices were showing when he urged what he saw as a middle way between the evils of locking scripture away from the laity and the risks of making ‘every ignorant mechanic a judge of the sense and meaning of the most abstruse part of God’s word’. Lowth, a prebend of Winchester and holder of a B.D., was prepared to respect the views of any layman with some education and skill in interpreting scripture if they had reason, the analogy of faith, and the exact words of scripture on their side (or failing that the testimony of the Early Church or the Fathers), but otherwise insisted that the subject and style of different parts of scripture had been deliberately accommodated to the different capacities of mankind. ‘The Holy Spirit has condescended to the weaker and more ignorant part of mankind in that plain and unaffected style wherewith all necessary truths are delivered’ in the Gospels, Epistles, and practical books of the Old Testament, such as the Psalms, Proverbs, the Pentateuch, and other historical books.\footnote{197} In the heart of his work, moreover, Lowth concentrated on resolving problems of style and content which he thought were hindering many from studying scripture, and offering clear and practical advice on principles of interpretation in general, such as reading the plainest books first and according to the analogy of faith. He also provided summaries and expositions of what was to be expected in different types of book.\footnote{198}

\footnote{196} anon., Observations on the holy scriptures (1707), sigs. A2r–3v, and passim.
\footnote{197} W. Lowth, Directions for profitable reading (1708), sigs. A3v–, and pp. 1–6.
\footnote{198} Ibid., passim; also cf. [F. Hare], The difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the scriptures (6th edition, 1715), though this was deemed to be ironic in part: see DNB.
sales of Lowth’s work faltered, those of *The sacred interpreter* by a Berkshire vicar, David Collyer, soon overhauled it. This contained a ‘dissertation’ on revealed religion, but was mainly devoted to helping ‘those who are religiously disposed, although unlearned, to read the Holy Scriptures with understanding, pleasure, and profit’. To this end Collyer provided historical background, a chronology, and maps, as well as summaries and guidance on ‘the design and chief scope’ of each of ‘the plainest and most edifying books of holy scripture’ with which he thought ‘the unlearned and weak’ should be ‘most conversant’. Collyer’s work occupied two octavo volumes, but from its sales may be judged a close rival to Henry’s *Exposition* and Doddridge’s *Family expositor* as one of the most widely-used companions to bible study in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁹⁹

Samuel Blackwell’s *Several methods of reading the holy scriptures in private* was also quite popular (four editions between 1718 and 1736) but different from the works just described in a number of respects. It was very short—only nineteen pages of small quarto; at fourpence a copy it was cheap; and it was available for purchase near Blackwell’s living in the Midlands as well as in London. It also offered no less than five methods of study: the first followed the lectionary (sequence of approved readings) in the Book of Common Prayer for information on what to read throughout the year; the second involved reading each book in turn with a suitable commentary to hand, the titles of which were specified by the author; the third suggested that the most remarkable passages in the Bible, again listed by the author, should be read frequently; the fourth (for those short of time) suggested focusing on the psalms, Epistles, and Gospels for each Sunday of the year; while the fifth, before a reception of holy communion, consisted of the readings stipulated in the Prayer Book for the week before Easter.²⁰⁰ While longer works containing new ‘methods’ of studying the Bible continued to be printed, including some from abroad, and the occasional shorter work in the ‘godly’ tradition also appeared, such as *Plain directions for reading the holy bible to the promoting of mens salvation* (1708),²⁰¹ what we find in Blackwell’s work is a convergence of the concern for daily bible reading and greater comprehension that goes back to Gerardus and Byfield, with the increased priority given to the official liturgy as an expression of the Protestant norm in the later Stuart and early Hanoverian periods. It is also notable that the guides considered here which passed through more than one or two editions had mostly tended to be either very pragmatic or relatively short or both, and part of the longer-term trend to indicating which books of both Testaments to begin with and concentrate upon. Blackwell’s succinct


²⁰¹ e.g. L. Ellies-Du Pin, *A compleat method of studying divinity* (1720); the opening form in J. F. Osterwald’s *Grounds and principles of the Christian religion* (six editions 1704–34) was a prose summary of the Bible (and cf. Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, 48–9).
little pamphlet represents the logical outcome of all these trends, as well as a
pointer towards the success of shorter works by John Wesley, Hannah More,
and the Tractarians.\footnote{On devotion to the Prayer Book, see below, Ch. 5.\textit{iv}. The links between shorter works produced c. 1680–1730 and those produced in the following hundred years badly need exploration.}

\textit{xii. Aids in Question-and-Answer Form}

In the next two genres—question-and-answer, and verse—we find the principle of mastering the essential information in a particular book or chapter of the Bible (often before proceeding to a close reading of it) evolving both pedagogically and commercially. Authors who had been exposed to dialogues as part of their classical education, and to catechisms as part of their Christian education, had no qualms about using questions and answers to teach this essential information, though the first efforts in this direction were often lumbering. Thomas Becon’s \textit{The demaundes of holy scripture} was described as ‘very profitable for the right understanding of holy scriptures’, and recommended by the author for use in a new school in Sandwich; but being ‘drawn out of his great works’, it was nearer to an encyclopaedia of theological terms with some typically long Beconesque answers. Moreover, the second part of its text was described as ‘very profitable to all students of divinity’, which gives a better indication of its actual target; the work was not reprinted.\footnote{Op. cit., title-page, and pt. 1, sig. Avii, and pt. 2, sig. Er.} A similar fate befell two attempts to expound Genesis at a fairly advanced level: Nicholas Gibbens in \textit{Questions and disputations concerning the holy scripture} (1601) and Alexander Ross in \textit{The first booke} (1620) and \textit{The second booke of questions and answers upon Genesis} (1622). Neither author got beyond chapter 14 before poor sales persuaded them to give up—perhaps to the relief of the pupils in the school at Southampton where Ross taught. Similarly the 2,650 very short questions and as many very long answers in Richard Ward’s verse-by-verse exposition of the gospel of Matthew, published in 1640, did not get past the first edition.\footnote{STC: 11814–15, 21323, 21325–6; R. Ward, \textit{Theologicall questions} (1640).}

But by then matters were changing fast. Since the 1560s the use of questions and answers in catechisms had become much more skilful, and by the early 1580s modified versions of some ‘godly’ authors’ forms, like Dering and More’s \textit{A brief and necessary catechisme} and Eusebius Paget’s \textit{Short questions and answeres}, were being published with supporting scripture proofs added to each question, to be memorized along with the original answers.\footnote{Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 66–7.} Thereafter this would become common in works by both ‘godly’ clergy, such as Perkins and Ball, and conformist, such as Nicholson, Isham, Wake, and Lewis; and a
few authors would even go as far as devising catechisms in which all the answers were in the actual words of scripture. The greater skill in the use of questions and answers in late Elizabethan catechisms is clearly evident in three aids to bible study dating from 1602–10 which are in a different league from earlier ones, and sold much better too: more than a dozen editions of Eusebius Paget’s *History of the Bible; briefly collected by way of question and answer* between 1603 and c.1634; thirty-four editions of the anonymous *Doctrine of the Bible . . . by way of questions and answers* between 1602 and 1726; and more than ten repeats of its companion volume, *The way to true happiness*, between 1610 and c.1650.

Paget’s *History of the Bible* is an intriguing work. It has little ecclesiological material of a conventionally puritan kind and nothing of the introspective nature of high Calvinist piety. Instead it consists almost entirely of leading questions and factual answers on the events described in Genesis, Exodus, and the other historical books of the Old Testament, and then the Gospels (treated as one unit), Acts, and Revelation. In the preface of the first edition Paget claimed to have been using this little work for twenty-six years with his own children, as soon as they could speak, and his servants, to further their knowledge of the Bible. The questions and answers on a chapter of the Old Testament were read at dinner, and those on a chapter of the New at supper, and he then added observations fitted to the capacity and understanding of those present—additions unfortunately lost to posterity. He was printing it now, he said, partly because some ill-advised youth or indiscreet servant must have leaked a copy to a printer and a pirate edition had been printed, and partly at the entreaty of others. Two leading teachers, John Brinsley in his *Ludus literarius* (1612) and Charles Hoole in his *New discovery of the old art of teaching schoole* (1660), recommended Paget’s work for teaching and exercising schoolboys in scripture knowledge. Brinsley suggested a page a night be memorized, and claimed that students found the exercise both easy and pleasant; he also suggested the teacher follow up by asking what virtues were commended and vices condemned in some of the material just covered. These recommendations may help explain the regular sales of Paget’s work up to the 1630s, for copies that were heavily used in schools would soon have needed replacing.

The pirate edition mentioned by Paget is at first sight unlikely to have been the first edition of *The doctrine of the Bible*, because the latter covered all the books of both Testaments, and also because it had more by way of prefatory questions to each Testament than Paget. There are also in the Beinecke

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206 Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 32–3, 92, and Appendix 1 s.v. authors’ names.
207 Ibid.
208 E. Paget, *The history of the Bible* (1613), sigs. q2r–v.
209 J. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*; or, the grammar schoole (1612), 259; C. Hoole, *A new discovery of the old art of teaching schoole* (1660/59), 267.
Library at Yale two copies of Paget’s History, of which one is bound with a copy of The doctrine and the other with a copy of its partner—The way to true happiness. But the origins and subsequent history of this pair of works are obscure: no author’s name is ever given, and there are no helpful epistles. There are only passing references to predestination and election at the relevant points, in Romans and 2 Thessalonians, and no high Calvinist questing for assurance. Moreover, where the stream of factual answers does give way to a conclusion about Christian belief or practice, it is usually a moral lesson to obey one’s superiors or avoid excess or ostentation, of the kind associated with schoolbooks and cheap print generally. In addition, although the two works had the same publisher, were entered on the same day in August 1602, and had a huge amount of overlap, as high as 95 per cent according to one estimate, they were discrete in that The doctrine had some questions not in The way, and vice versa. Indeed, the texts of both works do not seem to have remained static or discrete thereafter, perhaps due to sloppy copying practices or efforts to save space and costs at a later date. The fact that it was The way which was bound in with many octavo copies of the Bible from the 1620s to the 1640s, despite at least one official warning against this practice in 1628, may provide a clue: perhaps The way was intended to match the octavo bibles currently being produced, while The doctrine, which was usually printed in smaller duodecimos, was intended for use independently in schools, homes, and elsewhere, and as a result sold much better. The standard of production of neither work was ever high: cheap paper and small type crammed onto the page were not uncommon at the outset, although the layout did become less cramped in later editions. At the end of the seventeenth century neither was the cheapest work on the market: the thirty-first edition of The doctrine was advertised for sale in 1698 at 18d. But they were certainly cheap as far as most aids to bible study went, and having established a niche in the market their producers could presumably insist on a generous return.

The fact that both titles were initially published by Thomas Pavier may throw some light on the puzzle. Pavier’s earlier publications included plays and poetry rather than religious works, but in 1612 he became one of the five ‘ballad partners’ named in a Stationers’ Company order, and later in his career published not only ballads but news-books, jest-books, and other ephemera. Had Pavier secured a copy of a manuscript of Paget’s ‘History

\[210\] STC 3022.7 and 25132; the estimate of overlap is by Ms K. Pantzer; but the discreteness of the two works is implicit in the fact that in 1634 different publishers had rights to the two titles: ibid. s.v. 3032. The comments on change are based on my own comparison of editions from different dates seen in the Beinecke, Huntington, BL, and Bodleian.

\[211\] Cf DMH, nos. 376, 397, 426, 448, 450, 463, 477, 505, 554, 566, and 597; and for the warning STC s.v. 3030.5.

of the Bible’, and passed it to some amenable author known to him through the publishing business, who modified it and extended it to the parts of the Bible that Paget had not tackled? The anonymity and lack of prefaces, the tendency to moralism, the poor production quality of many editions, the sloppiness of later copying, and the separation of the two copyrights in 1634 could all point to a commercial venture. In the wider context, the origin of these works does not matter. But if we assume that copies would not have been sold if they had not met a perceived need among many purchasers as educational tools, then the high level of sales does suggest that many young people must have gained their first insight into the Bible through their pages.

So successful were the trio of works considered in the last few paragraphs that there were many imitations though no serious alternatives until 1732. Rival sets of questions and answers covering much of the Bible were published as part two of John Hoffman’s Principles of Christian religion (1653), in the Quaker Ambrose Rigge’s Scripture-catechisme for children (1672), P. H.’s Historical catechism (1706) (to be learned by children ‘before they begin to read the Bible’), and a modification of this last by Daniel Bellamy, a professional writer, in The Christian schoolmaster (1737). Interrogatory forms on shorter sections of the Bible were also printed: the anonymous but expensively illustrated Itinerarium Iesu Christi: or, our blessed saviour his journall on earth in 1639, and the blind poet Thomas Gill’s little pamphlet of Questions and answers in verse upon . . . passages out of the Old Testament in 1712; and while we are at that end of the market we may note the inclusion in some later Stuart chapbooks of sets of questions and answers of what has been called the Guinness Book of Records variety: who was the oldest man in the Bible? the strongest man? and so on. But with these we are back to the commercial end of the market feeding off the genuine desires of teachers and pupils to know more about the Bible.

Isaac Watts had already produced a set of six catechetical forms (including one based entirely on names in the Bible) when he published A short view of the whole scripture history in 1732. The latter has to be seen partly in the context of the growing vogue for ‘histories’, with which this chapter will end, but may be cited here because Watts chose to compose his contribution in question and answer. As with Paget we are back to mastery of selected historical details in the Bible—Creation, Fall, the Law of Moses, the ceremonies of the Jews, and the lives and deaths of Christ and his Apostles—which are seen as a necessary precondition to mastery of the ‘doctrines and duties’ also contained in the Bible. But where The doctrine and The way tended to push comprehension to one side during their breathless gallop towards the end of each book of the Bible, Watts’s style is altogether smoother and his technique more accomplished,
and he carefully added explanatory notes and even three engravings to aid understanding. Although his choice of a question-and-answer mode may suggest he intended it to be used orally, Watts seems to have envisaged the work (which covered over 300 pages in duodecimo) being read by ‘persons of younger years, and the common ranks of mankind’ who had ‘fewer conveniences and advantages of knowledge’. And the fact that it passed through twenty-six editions between 1732 and 1820 suggests that, like others of Watts’s works, its value was almost certainly appreciated by a broader group than his fellow congregationalists.\textsuperscript{217}

\textit{xii. Aids in Verse}

The use of verse was also seen as a speedy way to master the basics of the Bible, but one that was more natural and intrinsically more enjoyable than normal methods of learning. The work of abler or more dedicated poets who wished to turn scripture into verse for edifying ends will be discussed later, in Chapter 7; here we are dealing with authors, mainly clergy, who placed instruction and memorization before all else. William Samuel’s \textit{Abridgement of all the canonical books of the Olde Testament} (1569) is an excellent early example. Samuel, a minister, offered ‘the chief principal matters in the whole Bible’ ‘written in Sternhold’s metre’, that is the form of verse used by Sternhold and Hopkins for the metrical version of the Psalms which was already gaining wide support; and readers were urged to learn to say it without book to help them ‘understand many things necessary to be known for every Christian’ and to follow when the preacher cited a text. To this end Samuel devoted eight lines to each chapter in the Bible, but began each new chapter with the next letter of the alphabet (omitting J and U) up to V (or W). Thus Genesis chapter 1 began ‘\textbf{A}lmighty God did make the heavens | And set therein these lights: | The sun, the moon, and all the stars | Appearing in our sights’; while chapter 2 started ‘\textbf{B}egin did then the Lord to rest . . .’ If a book had more than twenty chapters, Samuel began again at A. So if a reader knew the first letter of a chapter, he could work out the chapter number: to prove this Samuel appended a diagram of a hand with the tips and joints numbered one to nineteen and the palm twenty. Thus the chapter in Exodus that began ‘\textbf{W}hen he [Moses] was come he [God] gave to him | Ten just commandements: | Precepts to keep and guide us by | With all their whole contents’ was Exodus 20.\textsuperscript{218} ‘The standard of doctrinal teaching was as basic as that of the verse, but the intention was clear.

The great Laurence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College from 1561 to 1590, was not above editing a similar but older work set of verses in Latin on the New Testament,\textsuperscript{219} and by the early 1620s an English version of this had

\textsuperscript{217}Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 738–9.
\textsuperscript{218}W. Samuel, \textit{Abridgement of all the canonical books of the Olde Testament} (1569), sigs. [A4’], B1r, C1v.
\textsuperscript{219}STC: 22406, and cf. 22882.
also been produced by Simon Wastell, headmaster of the free school at Northampton, who published it together with a version of the Old Testament by John Shaw, a divine, as *A true Christians daily delight* ‘for children to commit to memory’. Six years later Wastell recast the Old Testament section but left the New unchanged in *Microbiblion, or the Bibles epitome: in verse* (1629). Too many Christians did not look to their profession, he then wrote, but to do so they must know God’s commands, as revealed in his Word, which we must memorize and meditate on. Wastell again adopted the alphabetical system for the first letter of each verse, so that ‘the scriptures we read may more happily be remembered, and things forgotten more easily recalled’. He devoted only four lines to each verse, but improved on William Samuel’s text by having the number of the verse added in superscript: thus Genesis 1 reads ‘At first Jehovah with his word | Did make heaven; | The firmament, the moon and stars; | The glistening sun so bright’. The 1629 work also had a commendatory verse by George Wither (‘Some men interpret, some again expound, | And this our author here a means hath found | To help the memory’), while at the end were placed two verses on death, perhaps composed by other admired poets of the day, Robert Southwell and Francis Quarles. All three of these additional verses, it must be said, were better than Wastell’s: not only did his own verse stumble along, but unless the reader had some prior knowledge it was obscure, as in Exodus 20: ‘Know here the Ten Commandments given | They will’d are not to fear | Nor any Gods to have but him, | Nor hew’d-stone altar near’, or Romans 9: ‘The Lord shows love to whom he will | As potter with his clay, | So dealeth he; it was foretold | Jews should be cast away’.

It may be said of Wastell and other versifiers as was said of Sternhold and Hopkins that ‘they had drunk more of Jordan than of Helicon’. Take the six-line, ten-syllable verses in Henoch Clapham’s *Briefe of the Bible, drawne . . . into English poesy*, first published in Edinburgh in 1598, but issued in a revised form in London in 1603, 1608, and 1639. The 1639 edition was said to be for ‘all young ones in Christ’s school’, and Clapham had added helpful notes with technical, historical, and doctrinal information, linked to the text by superscript letters. But the result could appear intimidating on the page, as in Genesis 1:

> When  Elohim, El Shaddai, Graces spring,  
> Jehovah, Jah, Ehieh, great God and King.  
> In persons three, one essence, ever-blest,  
> Stay of all states, cause of all causes best.

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220 STC 225103, and cf. 22389; and DNB s.v. S. Wastell.
221 Ibid.; STC 225102; S. Wastell, *Microbiblion* (1629), sigs. A4r–5r, p. 1; the main text was reprinted in 1683 as *The divine art of memory* with a preface by T. B. (DNB).
223 T. Fuller, *The church-history of Britain* (1655), iv. 73.
When he (I say) heav’n’s and earth’s host had fram’d,
He \( ^* \) man and \( ^b \) woman made: them Adam named.\(^{224}\)

As we have seen, Robert Aylett concentrated on the historical time-scale when he chose to publish his *Brief chronologie of the holy scriptures* in verse, which was just as well since his talent as a poet was minimal.\(^{225}\) In *A good help for weak memories* (1671), J. L[loyd?] claimed to have had success using the work with two children, and thought his two-line verses suitable for children aged ten and upwards, and servants. Certainly it does not start badly: ‘\( ^{\text{All}} \)’s made in six days, heaven, earth, light, seas vast: | Sun, moon, stars, fish, fowl, beasts, and man at last. | \( ^{\text{Blest is the sabbath, woman formed}} \), and so on. But by the time we get to *Revelation* 5 and 6 the verse is limping badly: Enseal’d book none but slain lamb open can: | Th’elders praise him for their redemption. Follow’d what when each seal ope was rent [?] | The horses, judgements, and the Last Judgement’.\(^{226}\) In succeeding decades the search for a better version was still on when Benjamin Harris published *The Holy Bible in verse* (1698), and yet another minister, Josiah Chorley, published two editions of *A metrical index to the Bible* in Norwich in 1711 and 1714. Chorley’s experience was that his work had helped people, ‘one small point well fixed in the memory being as the centre wherein all the lines meet’. He modified the alphabetical sequence so that A stood for chapters one to four, B five to eight, and so on: so *Revelation* chapters one to eight is summarized as ‘\( ^{\text{A}} \)\) vision Christ reveals to John. | He writes to churches four. | To other three then writeth he. | The elders God adore. | \( ^{\text{B}} \)ook with sev’n seals the Lamb doth take. | He opens all but one. | Saints sealed are whom God will spare. | Last seal: four trumpets blown’. To start *Revelation* 17 with an E obviously posed a challenge, but the author was not fazed: Enegregious whore of Babylon!’\(^{227}\)

Three works may be singled out from this crowd, though for different reasons. John Taylor, the self-styled ‘King’s Water-Poet’, was not in the same league as the best poets of the day, but his many publications proved very popular with a wide variety of readers. Among his better-selling works were *Verbum sempiternum* and *Salvator mundi*—rhymed summaries of the Old and New Testaments which were printed and bound in a format so tiny that it would later be termed a ‘thumb bible’, the complete work being only an inch and a half by an inch in size.\(^{228}\) The poet and antiquary, John Weever, had set the ball rolling in 1601 with a tiny *Agnus dei*—a life of Christ, but it was Taylor’s version of both Testaments that was reprinted a dozen times between


\(^{225}\) See above, n. 143.

\(^{226}\) J. L[loyd?], *A good help for weak memories* (1671), sigs. A2r–3r; pp. 1, 95.

\(^{227}\) J. Chorley, *A metrical index to the Bible* (1711), sigs. [A2r–4r]; p. 55.

1614 and 1727. In that year it first appeared with sixteen engraved plates and two engraved title-pages, and was reprinted scores of times more, sometimes in standard sized formats. The same justification was used as in abridgements and verse-mnemonics, that the full Bible was too large or hard for children and that nothing substantial had been omitted. The dedicatory verse to the king began: ‘Dread sovereign, I with pains and care have took | From out the greatest book this little book. | And with great reverence I have cull’d from thence | All things that are of greatest consequence. | And though the volume of the work be small, | Yet it contains the sum of all in all’. But it must be said that what Taylor added in the quality of verse compared to those described above was not matched by gains in the accuracy of his summary. Thus Genesis begins ‘Jehovah here, of nothing, all things makes, | And man before all things his God forsakes. | Yet by th’Almighty’s mercy ’twas decreed, | Heaven’s heir should satisfy for man’s misdeed’. Taylor’s support for the Church of England was firm if idiosyncratic, and his text was transcribed into the copybook of no less an author than Joseph Hall. But the many tiny printed copies themselves may well have been regarded by their owners as something of a toy, and if bound in high quality leather, or silk, velvet, or silver as some copies were, as a precious object rather like a medieval book of hours, which would probably have horrified the founding fathers of English Protestantism.

In the mid–1680s Nathaniel Crouch, who was not a minister but a publisher and scribbler, published some moralistic verses aimed specifically at children and ‘young persons’—Youths divine pastime. This was highly selective in tackling only forty episodes in the Bible, mostly Old Testament; and as an indication of the author’s theological sophistication it may be noted that the figure of Christ seems to have escaped his net. But what particularly marked out this work was the marriage of forty stories in verse with forty pictures. Crouch was probably aware that in 1671 there had appeared in London The history of the Old and New Testament in cuts, and that in 1675 Elisha Coles had published twenty-four engravings in The youth’s visible Bible—an alphabetical collection, from the whole Bible, of such general heads as were judged most capable of hieroglyphics’. In 1685 ‘180 cuts’ for bibles in folio, quarto, and octavo were advertised for sale at 6 shillings a set, as were a much smaller number of cuts to put in octavo Testaments ‘for the use of children’, at tuppence; and over the next few decades various other sets of plates on biblical subjects would be made available for sale, either for separate display or to

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19 There were four editions of the Weever between 1601 and 1610: STC: 25220–2.5; Adomeit, Thumb Bibles, 193–216. There were also pirate editions of the Taylor, e.g. anon., The epitome of the Bible (1678), and ‘Jeremy’ Taylor, The Bible, the best New-Years Gift (1724) (Bodleian I.g.36).
22 See below, Ch. 7, nn. 69–72.
23 Adomeit, Thumb Bibles, p. xv.
be bound into bibles or aids to bible study. Crouch’s choice of stories was almost certainly determined by the dramatic potential of the set of pictures which he used—images probably copied from Fontaine’s *Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1670) which in turn had mostly been derived from Matthäus Merian’s highly influential *Icones biblicae* (Frankfurt, 1625–7). Crouch’s verse was shallow and the doctrinal teaching negligible or unorthodox, but the combination of bible story and image was novel, and the price—8d.—tempting. By 1720 a dozen editions had been published, and at that point a second set of forty stories and pictures (including Christ this time) were added. Professor Bottigheimer sees Crouch’s work as a forerunner of the children’s bibles of the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though her comments on the lurid details and violence in Crouch’s text suggest that she does not see it as typical of that genre at its height.

The third work to stand out was by Samuel Wesley (father of the more famous John), an impoverished High-Church rector in Lincolnshire. Wesley senior had already published an illustrated ‘heroic poem’ on the life of Christ in 1693 (dedicated to Queen Mary), and was tempted to ease the financial burden of a large family by publishing *The history of the New Testament* in 1701 and *The history of the Old Testament* in 1704. Both works were ‘attempted in verse’ and ‘adorn’d with . . . sculptures’. What marked out Wesley’s attempt was the quantity of the engravings, 180 for the Old, and 152 for the New, and their quality—by John Sturt, a top engraver of the day. What also distinguished it was the high price that resulted: 10s. for the complete work. Wesley wrote that he hoped the work would be ‘useful to any good Christian’ and tend to promote piety—as if it had innate value, rather than being a means to the end of memorizing or understanding the real Bible. Moreover, from the expense of the undertaking and the florid dedications to Queen Anne and later the Marchioness of Normandy, it must have been the social elite and the wealthy whom he hoped would buy it in quantities, and treat it rather like a thumb bible, emblem book, or other novelty. Nor was this hope unreasonable, given the fashion for emblem books in the mid-seventeenth century, the modest success of Fontaine’s larger illustrated history in prose in the 1690s (to be discussed shortly), the quality of Sturt’s engravings, and the not indifferent quality of his own verse. Here, for example, is the summary of Psalms 1–14: ‘Thus sang the Bard, and touch’d his heav’nly lyre: | Of bad and good he sings the diff’rent fate, | And next Messiah’s glorious reign and state:  

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234 Wing *H2173B*; Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, 287–8; and cf. above, pp. 69–70, and Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, 302 for [Matthäus Merian], *A compleat-collection of cuts* (1716), and the sets of engravings by Sturt and Cole bound with bibles in Lambeth Palace Library **E185/1763** and **YC911/6411**, as well as in the following paragraphs.

235 See below, pp. 400–1, and Appendix 1 s.v. Crouch for further details; Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, 44.

236 Ibid., 44, 137.

237 S. Wesley, *The history of the Old and New Testament attempted in verse* (1704/1701), title-pages; the set I used was a mixed set: BL 1163.b.4–6.
Three mournful songs his grief and faith explain. | His penitential thoughts the sixth retain. | The next of Saul and proud Goliath treat. | And blame th’abhorr’d oppressions of the great’. But the gamble failed, and sales were limited to two editions of the first part and only reissues of the second. Surprising copies, often of mixed editions or issues, act as an intriguing reminder of an attempt by a sincere but needy man to harness the strong interest in the Bible, in verse, and in visual images current among the book-buying and book-giving public by the end of the seventeenth century.

xiv. ‘Histories of the Bible’

There is a final clutch of works, in prose, published from the late 1680s to the 1730s and beyond, which together form a sub-genre of illustrated ‘histories of the Bible’ that cannot easily be fitted into any of the categories of aid to bible study used above. Some might qualify in part as abridgements or partial paraphrases, or even simplified commentaries; most provided some historical background on developments outside the Holy Land; nearly all had lavish illustrations of the type plagiarized by Crouch and miniaturized by Wesley for their verse histories; and some have been dubbed ‘family bibles’ by Professor Bottigheimer who sees them as collections of bible stories very similar to, and helping to shape, children’s bibles, though probably at first intended for an adult readership. These works do not fit neatly into our categories because in many respects they were less aids to bible study than substitutes for it. Their authors presented the most striking episodes or palatable elements of the Bible in easily comprehensible language, supported by striking illustrations; but the results actually cost much more than an average-sized bible, and were close to being a coffee-table book that could be picked up and dipped into, rather than studied methodically as a matter of spiritual life or death.

The reason for their appearance at that time was probably fourfold. One was awareness among Francophiles and those who had lived in France for a while of the vogue there for the sets of illustrated bible stories prepared separately for the Dauphin by two churchmen—Nicolas Fontaine and Oronce Finé de Brianville—and published in Paris in the 1670s; Fontaine’s use of Merian’s images, as already noted, may have been known to Crouch by the mid-1680s. A second was the desire of zealous clergy like Anthony Horneck and Laurence Howell, sometimes backed by leading members of the laity, to spread improving works in a form that might attract the laity where a conventional commentary or copy of the Bible would not. The third element was

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1 The price appears on the second title-page of vol. iii (1663.b.6); the quotation on ibid., sig. A7; the psalms in vol. ii (1663.b.5), p. 532. For emblems, see below, Ch. 7:ii.

2 Bottigheimer, Bible for Children, pp. 43, 72, 147, 260 n. 12, and 261 n. 34; and see below, nn. 246–7.

3 Bottigheimer, Bible for Children, 41, 43–4, 72, 78, 115, 291–3.

4 For Horneck and Howell, and lay supporters, see next paragraph below.
commercial pressure: on the one hand from publishers who were aware of the demand for quality books from ‘booksellers in town and country’, and knew that illustrated books could be sold at prices inflated further above cost price than non-illustrated ones; and on the author from a few authors like Thomas Stackhouse and Laurence Clarke who thought they saw a niche in the market that earlier volumes had failed to fill. And fourthly there were the readers who bought these works, from a mixture of motives that might include piety, but also perhaps a desire to appear fashionable, or generous in the giving of presents, as when John Pratt, senior, of Clapham Road, gave a gilt-edged, well-bound copy of the 1737 edition of Laurence Clarke’s *Compleat history of the Bible* to his daughter Elizabeth, who then proudly recorded the fact on the flyleaf.

The first of these works was the work of a London publisher, Richard Blome: *The history of the Old and New Testament extracted out of sacred scripture and writings of the Fathers*, a version of Fontaine’s *Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament* translated into English ‘by several hands, supervised and recommended by Dr Horneck and other orthodox divines’. The New Testament appeared first in 1688, then the Old in 1690. The text consisted of single-page ‘discourses’ on a particular incident, such as the Creation or Gabriel’s salutation to Mary, with an appropriate engraving on the opposite page, and followed by a summary of the text of the Bible between that incident and the next chosen for matching discourse and illustration. To fund this work advance subscription was probably sought, as is indicated by the fact that each of the 234 ‘sculptures’ in the combined edition of 1699 (by a mixture of Dutch and English engravers) had the name of a dedicatee inscribed on it, some on several plates. These patrons were drawn from the aristocracy, gentry, senior clergy, army, and courtiers, and even included Kneller, the court painter. The cost and the risk of publication is also indicated by the fact that six publishers combined to market it. Not everyone found Blome’s edition of Fontaine’s Bible stories affordable or acceptable. The Quaker Thomas Ellwood thought them instructive but as far as bulk and price were concerned ‘not calculated for the meridian of common readers’, and in 1705 and 1709 he published *Sacred history*—two volumes of simplified Bible stories without pictures, aimed at ‘all, the youth especially of either sex, under whatsoever religious denomination they go’. The nonjuring divine and historian, Laurence Howell, was prompted by what he saw as the shortcomings of the Blome-Fontaine ‘history’ and the petulance and occasional lewdness of the

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243 Bodleian 106, d. 1, 2.
Ellwood to produce a rival version—*A compleat history of the Holy Bible*—with a text that was part abridgement and part paraphrase of the scripture, but focused on events and personalities, and supported by over 150 fine new ‘cuts’ by the same artist who had executed Wesley’s engravings.\(^{246}\)

The door had been opened to less scrupulous or less altruistic operators. The author of the ominously anonymous *Compendious history of the Old and New Testament* suggested in 1726 that the Fontaine and Howell productions had been too expensive to ‘allure’ the minds of the less intelligent and less educated, and the young. This new alternative was specifically aimed at schools and youth, and as such is named by Bottigheimer as the first complete children’s bible to appear in England. It consisted of 120 cuts (possibly taken from the *Compleat collection of cutts* (1716) which were based on Merian’s designs) and 120 mostly matching stories of a simple kind that required no explanation or comment. While pretending to be in the Fontaine–Howell mould, this was really in the Crouch tradition, relying on stories chosen for their pictorial potential, and with pictures that, compared to the volumes discussed already, were often prurient or contained a disproportionate amount of semi-nudity. But it must have been much cheaper than those illustrated works targeted at adults, and was reprinted at least four times in the next sixteen years.\(^{247}\) From its lavish appearance but limited number of notes, Laurence Clarke’s *Compleat history of the Holy Bible* (1737) was clearly intended for an up-market but non-specialist reader. The author admitted that the text was ‘collected’ (that is, cribbed) from Prideaux, Stackhouse, Howell, and others, and its engravings were smaller and decidedly inferior to those in Howell. That the work was ‘printed for the author’ also suggests either an inflated ego or the hope of a handsome profit. And like the other works in this clutch of ‘histories’, his focus on stories led to a very narrow view of the Bible as a sourcebook for moral conduct—how God responded to virtue and vice—rather than for faith and doctrine as well.\(^{248}\) *A compleat history of the Holy Bible* was published for the author, R. Dennett, in Sherborne in 1741, and was again highly derivative and largely a recitation of events. It had no illustrations but compensated by having many verses by Milton and others, including Dennett himself. The whole conveys a naive and simplistic view of the Bible as a noble and lofty history.\(^{249}\) The good intentions of men like Horneck and Howell had thus backfired, and by the 1720s the forces of Mammon and egotism were peddling diluted and distorted versions of the sacred text.


\(^{247}\) Anon. *A compendious history of the Old and New Testament* (1726), sigs. A2–3; Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, 44; the cuts opt both for nakedness where in other works figures are clothed, and for scenes involving seduction, incest, and circumcision scenes (on this see Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, ch. 8).


\(^{249}\) R. Dennett, *A compleat history of the Holy Bible* (1741), passim.
In this chapter we have examined well over a dozen different types of aid to bible study. Works of the most specialized kind were found to be relatively few, compared to those for a broad but undifferentiated intermediate category of readers, while those for children and ignorant adults were at first comparatively rare, but gradually became much more common, at least in terms of copies sold. Among the titles discussed in this chapter that were most often reprinted, for example, were four in the question-and-answer genre and two in verse. In addition, within a number of the genres surveyed here, there was from the middle third of the seventeenth century especially a clear shift away from works aimed at either the very well-educated or an undifferentiated readership of inexperienced clergy and zealous laity, towards works aimed either at preachers or at laypeople who had not necessarily received the classical education of the late Tudor and early Stuart gentry and citizenry. In short, the balance of works in print had moved decisively away from works for mature or trainee ‘elephants’ to works for younger and older ‘lambs’—a trend increased by the aggressive commercialism of publishers who produced verses and illustrated works which made limited demands but also had limited educational or pastoral value. As a result of these changes, and especially the increased variety of works designed for those with different levels of education, or aimed at the laity alone, we would expect to find quite large variations in the way in which people approached their reading of the Bible. But among the norms may have been memorizing an abridgement of the substance of a book before reading the text itself; individual study of the Bible either according to types of book—historical first, dogmatic last—or according to a rota, with sequential passages of Old and New Testament interspersed; and reading those passages with the help of a commentary, paraphrase, or other help. Only the more experienced or the more confident were likely to have started to read using ‘heads’ or a concordance to tackle the text thematically. In short, there was probably a larger variation in reading practice than has been suggested on the basis of studies of how ministers used their bibles when preparing sermons and treatises, or how a relatively small number of enthusiastic or radical lay men and women used their bibles for private benefit or public statements.

The conclusions reached so far in this chapter and the last may seem to fly in the face of many of those drawn by Christopher Hill in The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (1993). There are various reasons for this. First, although Hill concedes that the Bible could mean different things to different people at different times in different circumstances, it is the Old Testament as...
a sourcebook and inspiration for opposition politics and radical principles in the period c.1620–60 that dominates his account. The Bible and in particular the New Testament as a source of wisdom about salvation through Christ, which was what most readers probably turned to the Bible for throughout the early modern period, and which dominated the aids discussed in this chapter, gets short shrift. Secondly, Hill was primarily concerned with one particular product of bible study—the choice of biblical texts to justify political action: he was not really interested in the format or apparatus of the bibles read, or the methods used by scholars and non-specialists to explore and seek to understand the meaning of the text. No one can deny what Cromwell, Winstanley, or the Fifth Monarchy Men made of the Bible, but much of the route by which such individuals and groups reached that destination passes through territory which this book was never intended to cover, such as their background, education, and motivation, and the nature of political life in the 1640s and 1650s. Thirdly, Hill sees the Bible as peaking in importance in the mid-seventeenth century, and then being discredited and marginalized as a result of the multiple and mutually contradictory interpretations then reached. But in terms of the numbers of bibles produced and bequeathed from one generation to the next, and the variety of aids to bible knowledge and bible study being produced by the later seventeenth century, there is a case for saying that many more people had some awareness of what was in the scripture in the later Stuart period than in the late Tudor. The basis of popular adherence to the Bible as a pillar of Protestant self-identity in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England was laid in the two centuries after the Reformation rather than the first alone.

We may end this chapter with three other, more provisional, conclusions which tend to heighten the contrast with Hill’s. By comparison with New England, where a combination of Protestant zeal and high levels of literacy encouraged individual interpretation of the Bible as a normative experience, the scope for individual interpretation in Old England was always circumscribed, especially for the less educated. In the Edwardian and Elizabethan periods this was probably due to popular conservatism and relatively low levels of literacy, but once literacy rates had improved, it was due in large measure to the clergy being anxious that those who read the Bible in their homes drew the same conclusions as they themselves had done. The

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253 Hill, English Bible, chs. 18–20; but cf. Colley and McLeod, cited in n. 8 above.

great majority of aids to bible study throughout the early modern period, both before and especially after the 1640s and 1650s, had three functions. One was to encourage bible reading, as an end in itself and to support preaching and other approved forms of instruction. A second was to assist understanding of the meaning and significance of the harder parts of the scripture. But the third, found in ‘godly’ and presbyterian as well as episcopalian works, was to act as a brake on possible deviation from orthodox norms by the less educated. The possibility of unorthodox and even subversive interpretations by individuals or groups was always there, as the radicals of the mid-seventeenth century, the rural workers of Kent in the early nineteenth century, and the Christian socialists demonstrated. But the fact is that while the inhabitants of Old England could have travelled the same route as those of New England, on the whole they did not. And this was in no small measure because in the first place the best-educated clergy appointed themselves keepers of the arcane rite of interpreting Hebrew and Greek texts, and were backed by a paternalistic secular arm; and secondly because print, in the form of both the cheap copies of the Bible and the plentiful aids to bible study of the kind described in this chapter, was used to steer the less educated away from the prophetic to the historical books of the Bible and confirm what the clergy had already decided was the correct interpretation of the Word. Those ‘lambs’ who could not even read or did not have access to a bible were also much more likely to be exposed to the accepted interpretation orally—through approved liturgies and catechisms and orthodox homilies and sermons—than to the dramatically different interpretation conveyed by radical minorities who were as yet few in number and relatively localized.

Secondly, the aids to bible study produced in the second century after the Reformation tended to devote less space to doctrinal disputes and prophetic readings than those in the preceding century, and to give correspondingly more space to scriptural teaching on Christian morality, without necessarily descending into moralism. While Protestantism was getting to its feet in England and claiming scriptural warrant for its break with Rome, it was inevitable that sermons, treatises, notes, and other forms of commentary should highlight the points of doctrine, structure, and discipline on which the two camps diverged, and try to show the scriptural evidence for England’s being a chosen nation. Once the dogfights within English Protestantism reached serious levels, there was a temptation to stress differences here too. But when Elizabethan and Stuart scholars wished to interpret the Bible, they relied on the best commentators, regardless of standpoint; and when it came
to pursuing Brian Walton’s dream of a polyglot, or publishing Poole’s unfinished works, or funding Philip Doddridge’s *Family expositor*, or recommending the best works for a specific group to read, ‘godly’ and conformists co-operated to get the job done. By the early to mid-eighteenth century there were new sources of concern, but mainstream commentaries were relatively free of disputes over dogma and the meaning of the prophetic books in the Bible. Concern for pure doctrine and a pure church had never excluded concern for Christian duty from earlier commentaries, but this concern tended to assume larger proportions in the intermediate works of later authors like Hammond, Patrick, Henry, Collyer, and Doddridge. Similarly, in those guides for beginners and works in question and answer or verse or supported by pictures which told the uninitiated to learn from the events in the historical books of the Bible how God punished vice and rewarded virtue, we again have an emphasis on duty, albeit restrained from a descent into Crouch’s simple equation between doing good and going to heaven by the better-informed authors’ strict insistence on true faith and genuine repentance. In short, the clergy used print in many intermediate and elementary aids to bible study (as in many of the other forms of print considered in this volume) to stress the need not only for faith and repentance but also to keep to the fore the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and Christ’s two commandments in the New. This was a message that the laity were probably better predisposed to accept, if not necessarily to practise as often as they should, than the more esoteric doctrines and debates that had exercised many senior figures in earlier generations.

Thirdly, one of the most significant divides in attitudes to the Bible in the period c.1680–1740 was arguably not between church and dissent, or even between believers and sceptics. It was between, on the one hand, readers who were using aids to bible study which had been carefully designed or redesigned by paternalistic authors to enhance understanding and encourage further study of the Bible as the holiest of texts, and, on the other, adult readers who were too easily satisfied with a lavishly illustrated substitute for the Bible, together with children who were fobbed off with highly coloured bible stories that often strayed from the canonical text. Through the medium of print the readers of the first could be steered towards the views of moderate episcopalians like Patrick, High-Churchmen like Howell, dissenters like Henry, or evangelicals like Doddridge, while readers of the second and

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256 See above, pp. 110, 118, 124, and for other examples of mutual admiration between conformists and dissenters over their respective biblical aids, see Preston, ‘Biblical Criticism’, 98, 102–5.

257 On this tendency in the eighteenth century see ibid., 108–11 (and cf. 118–21), though Preston equates moral instruction (an element within a wider doctrinal message) and moralizing (the reduction of the Christian message to moral instruction alone).

258 Bottigheimer, *Bible for Children*, is excellent on the extent to which many bible stories for children deviated from the canonical text.
third might see themselves as good Christians but were unwittingly being steered towards a view of the Bible as just one among many historical accounts of the past, by an unholy alliance of publishers with little interest in theology and authors too anxious to see their own names in print. The genuine aids may help explain the solid faith of many episcopalian, dissenter, and dissenters in the second century after the Reformation and many evangelicals thereafter, but the derivative ones anticipate the downgrading of Christian teaching into just one ‘religion’ among many in the eighteenth and succeeding centuries. The marginalization of Christianity in the late modern period may have owed as much to commercialism and the new markets off which it had fed in the seventeenth century as to new critiques of the Bible and a new caution about using scripture as a source for political ideology.
4

Best-Sellers and Steady Sellers I: the Sample and its Main Categories

i. The Materials for Constructing a Sample

A generall note of the prises for binding all sortes of bookes, published in June 1646, gave the cost of binding a wide variety of titles published in all formats from the largest to the smallest. Bibles, Testaments, psalms, commentaries, and concordances dominate the list, but the titles specified also included collected sermons such as Lancelot Andrewes’s, treatises such as Hooker’s Ecclesiastical polity and Perkins’s collected Works, Foxe’s Booke of Martyrs in folio and Clement Cotton’s summary of it, The mirror of martyrs in duodecimo, together with primers and works combining edification and entertainment such as Quarles’s poetry. For, as London binders well knew, Protestants read many other types of religious work than those which were of direct help in studying the scriptures, and for the next four chapters we will be asking which types of religious works sold most copies in early modern England. What sort of content did they have? What were their authors’ motives for publishing them? Why did prospective readers acquire them? And why did some works prove to have an enduring popularity, as gauged by sales over decades? Neither the registers of the Stationers’ Company in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period nor the Term Catalogues of the later Stuart period offer a complete guide to religious publications. Publishers entered titles in the Stationers’ register to protect their interests rather than because an edition was imminent, and many works of a controversial or ephemeral nature were not registered at all, either from fear of rejection by the censors or because of the expense or delay involved. Equally the new works or editions promised by London booksellers in the advertisements they placed in the Term Catalogues did not always materialize if publishers changed their plans. Nor was it the task of the Stationers or the London booksellers to record the titles of books brought into England from the Continent or Scotland, though these were many and varied.

An alternative source is provided by the modern bibliographical aids known as the Short-Title Catalogues, which provide brief details of author

1 This broadsheet can be found in the Thomason Collection in the British Library.
2 E. Arber (ed.), A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D. (5 vols., 1875–94); and TC (see Abbreviations above). For examples of imported works, see above, Chs. 1–3, and below, n. 7 and Ch. 5; the author of anon., A generall note of the prises included a number of Continental works which he clearly expected customers to buy in quires and have bound.
These STCs are magnificent achievements, but not absolutely ideal for our purposes. In the first place there is the inequality between the three STCs. STC$^2$—the revised version of ‘Pollard and Redgrave’ covering the period from the introduction of movable type to 1640—is easily the best, having adopted extremely rigorous standards for distinguishing between copies of different editions, so that each separate entry represents a text with at least 50 per cent of the text reset since the previous edition.$^3$ By contrast ‘Wing’—the Short-Title Catalogue for the period 1641–1700—adopted a different principle of identification which focused on title-pages rather than texts. As a result the separate entries in Wing—and in the much expanded Wing$^2$—often refer not to totally discrete editions but to separate issues of much the same setting of type preceded by a different title-page, as in the case of many bibles.$^4$ The Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue (or ESTC for short) is still in progress, and has to tackle a huge number of books. As a result it too is unlikely to reach the exalted standards of the STC$^2$.$^5$

Secondly, the STCs tend to reflect the patterns of book collecting of larger institutions and well-known private collectors. Thus the longer established scholarly libraries, such as the Bodleian and the British Library, tend to be stronger on the earlier editions of the works most regularly reprinted, having less incentive to buy duplicates printed later, especially where (as was quite commonly the case) those later editions were printed in smaller formats or on cheaper paper.$^6$ Thirdly, the brief of the STC bibliographers—to list extant copies printed in England or in English—did not permit them to list items of which no copy now survives, but which we know to have been in print from contemporary evidence such as the Stationers’ register, booksellers’ catalogues (including some prepared for use at a foreign book market, such as Frankfurt), inventories of private collections, or mention in another work that has survived. Fourthly, works published abroad in a language other than English, which were imported into England, in some cases widely used, but then rested on the shelves of school, college, or cathedral libraries for 300 or more years, also do not come within their purview.$^7$

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$^3$ For the principles adopted in STC$^2$, see the introduction to vol. i.

$^4$ For the principles adopted, see Wing$^2$: i (1964), pp. v-vii, xvii; and cf. ii, p. viii; and iii, p. vii; and for bibles, see below, Appendix 2.

$^5$ Handbook for ESTC on CD-Rom.

$^6$ I am very grateful to Giles Mandelbrote of the British Library for discussions and advice on this and other points raised in this section.

$^7$ For some examples of missing works, see my Christian’s ABC, 47–8, 51, and Appendix 1; for imported works, see H. M. Adams, Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries (2 vols., Cambridge, 1967); and E. S. Leedham-Green (ed.), Books in Cambridge Inventories (2 vols., Cambridge, 1986), especially vol. ii; a widely used Latin schoolbook rarely printed in England was Leonhard Culman’s Sententiae pueriles (see below, Ch. 7,iii).
However, if what one is aiming at is a sample of Protestant literature in print rather than a definitive list of best-sellers or steady sellers, whether domestic or imported, then these shortcomings are not crucial and can be accommodated. Moreover, in practice a significant proportion of what are described in Wing and ESTC as separate editions have turned out on examination to be just that. And against the real possibility of being misled by a reliance on title-pages into overestimating repeat editions has to be set on the one hand the increased number of pirate or unlicensed editions of popular works turned out by rival printers and publishers, and on the other the possibility of copies of ‘missing’ editions turning up in a collection not yet incorporated into the STCs.

ii. Previous Attempts at Constructing a Sample

Various methods of sampling the corpus of surviving books have been tried. In 1937 Edith L. Klotz took all the English works printed every tenth year from 1480 to 1640 of which there were copies in the Huntington Library, and divided them into eight categories, including history, government and politics, literature, and sciences, and ‘philosophy and religion’, with ‘religion’ defined as ‘“guides to godliness”, controversial pamphlets, and hagiological material, in addition to Bibles, liturgies, and sermons’. Of these by far the largest—1,562 out of 3,530 works examined—proved to be ‘philosophy and religion’; the totals for this category rose from over 100 in the years 1550, 1580, and 1590 to nearly 200 in 1610 and 1620, and over 200 in 1630 and 1640. The value of this exercise was limited by the bracketing of ‘religion’ with ‘philosophy’, even if in practice philosophical titles were rare, the 8 in 1640 being the largest total of any year checked, and also by the sampler’s reluctance to tease out what types of religious works were selling well at different dates.

Two other attempts to take a cross-section through all the works published at a particular date or period were made in the 1960s and 1970s. As a result of his study of the ‘Elizabethan Protestant press’, William Calderwood concluded that of 7,953 editions (including repeat editions) printed in the period 1558–1603, 2,863 (37 per cent) were in English and ‘fall within the category of Protestant religious literature’, which (in his view) was dominated by devotional works, apologetical and polemical treatises, expositions, commentaries, and sermons. The fact that Calderwood was working with ‘Pollard and

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8 See below, n. 30.
9 Examples of piracy or unlicensed printing include various editions of Arthur Dent’s Sermon of repentance (see STC s.v. Dent); The ABC with the catechisme (see my Christian’s ABC, 175–6); and various works by Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, and Richard Allestree. Smaller, less accessible libraries, especially on the mainland of Europe, may yet yield ‘new’ copies.
10 E. L. Klotz, A Subject Analysis of English Imprints for Every Tenth Year from 1480 to 1640', Huntington Library Quarterly, 1 (1937), 417–19.
Redgrave’ rather than STC: and that he decided to omit ‘liturgies, Bibles, or portions of the scripture’ and works in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin narrow the value of his exercise. In the mid-1960s Judith Simmons examined all the books published in 1623, the year in which the Shakespeare Folio appeared. Out of 325 works examined, 120 were ‘of a religious nature’; the next largest categories were ‘current events’ (84) and ‘educational’ books, including technical, scientific, and linguistic publications as well as schoolbooks and editions of classical authors (60). Simmons was interested in English reading tastes and so left out official publications such as royal proclamations, which were not bought from choice, and Catholic books smuggled into England, as too elusive to be discussed with precision. On the other hand, she did break down her religious works into different categories, such as guides to godly living, sermons, catechisms, studies on the Bible, and prayer books, and drew some interesting conclusions. ‘Simple moral guidance sells much better than original thought on matters of doctrine, however topical or well written’; and although sermons were probably sure of a good initial sale, only twelve of the fifty-seven sermons published in 1623 passed into a second edition, in which ‘they resemble the news pamphlets’ of the day, ‘seldom reprinted once their topicality had died’. This sinking of a vertical shaft has many advantages but one would clearly need several shafts to assess changes over time.

An alternative method is to try to identify all those works which passed through a number of repeat editions in a specified period. Two such samples have been attempted for the early modern era, by Laura Stevenson for the period 1558–1603 and John Sommerville for the period 1660–1711. Dr Stevenson wanted to construct a sample of popular vernacular works which (together with scores of plays) would help her to gauge social attitudes towards Elizabethan merchants, industrialists, and craftsmen. She adopted a benchmark of three or more editions within ten years of first publication or within any decade after their first appearance, and like Simmons covered secular as well as religious works. Of the 189 regularly reprinted works she identified, much the largest group was religious, 78 in all but representing rather more individual titles since some of these were composite works; the next largest was fiction and poetry, which included religious verse. Stevenson bent the

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rules on eligibility to include Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* on the (not quite correct) grounds that ‘it was made available in churches, cathedrals and the halls of merchant companies’, but then decided to exclude bibles, psalters, prayer books, and catechisms, though these were also widely available and known to have been owned by prosperous townsmen of the period and used in the urban schools of the period.  

Professor Sommerville’s *Popular Religion in Restoration England* is much the most pertinent and valuable for our purposes. This is partly because unlike other scholars his primary target was religious works, and partly because he has a deeper understanding of the mechanics of the printing trade and the likely readerships of the Restoration period. He has also tried to apply a number of concepts borrowed from the sociology of religion to the content of the works in his sample, and provides a very detailed breakdown of his selected texts into coding categories for the main subject of each paragraph (for example, the authority of scripture, the person of God, Christ as sacrifice, conversion, and so on). This breakdown militated against a very large sample: in a preliminary article he focused on forty-two works, which was reduced to thirty-seven in his monograph when six works attributed to John Hart were dealt with as one item. He also used a control group of fifteen Catholic, Quaker, and ‘Liberal’ titles to set his works by mainstream Protestants in context. *Popular Religion in Restoration England* also has the advantage that the author was here less intent on applying labels such as ‘puritan’ or ‘dissenters’ and ‘Anglican’ than in his later publications, though it is notable that the summary of coding categories is grouped according to an author’s supposed affiliation rather than the character of the texts. There is also already an anti-Anglican bias in places, which is not helped by a tendency to see an author like Jeremy Taylor as a typical ‘Anglican’ rather than just one element in the rainbow of conformist thought.

There are, moreover, some oddities or ambiguities in the way in which Sommerville’s sample was constructed. One is the decision (again) to omit bibles, prayer books, psalters, *The ABC with the catechisme*, *The primer and catechisme*, the Westminster Shorter Catechism, and other official or semi-official works, all of which were sold or given away in vast quantities in the

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14 Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox*, 214; P. Clark, ‘The Ownership of Books in England, 1560–1640: the Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk’, in L. Stone (ed.), *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore, 1976), 95–111; on catechizing in schools, see my *Christian’s ABC*, ch. 4. Comparison of Stevenson’s list with Appendix 1 below will yield a few dozen other works that might have been included in her sample; conversely her decision to count works or editions published in Scotland adds a complication to any assessment of English book-owning.

Restoration period. Another is the decision to adopt a first-past-the-post principle: rather than take all the works which reached a set number of editions in a fixed number of years, Sommerville selected the eighteen titles which passed through most editions within the period 1660–1711 (using a cut-off point of fifteen editions), the nine which sold most editions in the period 1660–88 (in this case thirteen editions), and the ten which sold best in the period 1689–1711 (at least seven editions). The result is a sample of best-sellers rather than of steady sellers, and a lop-sided one at that, in that a seven-edition work qualified for inclusion at one end of the sample, but not at the other. If that standard had been applied throughout, perhaps a dozen works by Bunyan, eight by Allestree, and eight by Simon Patrick—three of the most popular authors of the late seventeenth century—would have qualified, instead of just one or two. In calling the results of his analyses of this sample ‘popular religion’ and referring to the ‘popular mind’ of the period, Sommerville was referring to the effect of works which sold well at all levels rather than just at humble or lower levels, though there is obviously a question mark over whether an expensive folio volume of sermons or quarto volume of religious verse was read in the same way or by the same people as a catechism or a tuppenny hell-fire sermon.

iii. A New Method of Sampling

The method adopted here has been to try to construct a sample of religious works which sold steadily over a generation: titles which were probably printed at least five times in the space of thirty years, starting either from their first appearance in print or a subsequent edition. Five was chosen to set a threshold that was low enough to include steady sellers as well as best-sellers, but high enough to eliminate those works which do not appear to have caught the public imagination sufficiently to warrant much more than a couple of editions. It also builds in a safety factor against ‘Wing’ titles which in the first instance were published with different title-pages but the same text. Thirty years was chosen partly on the basis that it approximated to a generation in contemporary eyes, and partly on the grounds that it probably took a few years for the merits of a work to be recognized and spread by word of mouth or letters to acquaintances away from the capital and university cities in which nearly all books were produced. In practice, most works in the sample sold at least five editions in much less than thirty years.

The thousands of titles which were probably not reprinted four times in thirty years include many worthy or influential publications, such as John

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Foxe’s *Booke of martyrs*, Thomas Beard’s *Theatre of Gods judgements*, and Thomas Comber’s *Companion to the altar*. Failure to reach the figure five could be due to various reasons: cost—at about 24s. the *Actes and monuments* was probably just too expensive to sell more than one edition every seven years at the outset and then at increasingly long intervals thereafter; unfortunate timing of publication—Lancelot Andrews’s *XCVI sermons* and William Chillingworth’s *Religion of protestants* were both selling well until the civil war began, and would do so again after the Restoration; or the sudden appearance of rival works—perhaps partly the case in Gilbert Burnet’s *Exposition of the thirty-nine articles* which had to compete with three alternative expositions at the end of the seventeenth century. Also some publishers perhaps did not promote a work as forcefully as others who had a large stake in the works they produced.

But failure could also be due either to public apathy—and works which sold only one or two editions probably included many published primarily at the author’s instigation, perhaps to satisfy his ego or sway a patron—or to lack of persistent interest from the buying public. As Baxter noted of himself and fellow authors, if men did not buy their books, ‘The booksellers would silence us . . . for none would print them’.

It is not being suggested for a moment that works which sold less than five editions in a generation were without influence. Where an edition or two was published for an author to distribute copies among friends and parishioners, as was the case with some catechisms and improving works and also among early Quaker meetings, it may well have had a *local* impact far greater than that of works which sold much better across England as a whole. Where a publication was part of a skilfully organized campaign to try to ensure that copies came into the hands of the movers and skaters of the day, as in the case of the *Admonition to parliament* in 1572 and the Marprelate Tracts in the 1580s, they could have a short-term influence much greater than that of a steady seller. If the political temperature was high or a work was particularly timely, the same was undoubtedly true, as in the case of the single edition of Richard Montagu’s *A new gagg for an old goose* (1624), the three editions of his *Appello Caesarem* (1625), and the four editions of John Gee’s *The foote out of the snare* in 1624 (the first three editions of which, 4,500 copies in all, were said to

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17 STC 21122–8; 23376–9; and Wing C3450–1.
18 D. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997), 4, 48, 309–30; and see below, Ch. 7, n. 194.
20 For Burnet’s work and those of John Ellis, William Beveridge, and Edward Welchman, see BLC s.v. England, Church of, Articles, Editions with Commentaries.
21 The examples of Michael Sparke and Thomas Passinger will be considered below; a publisher—George Badger—who owned the copyright of both a genuine catechetical work by James Ussher and a fake one attributed to him, continued to publish the latter even after Ussher disowned it: see Appendix 1 below. On publishers in general, see also Ch. 1.ii above and Ch. 8 below.
22 Keeble, *Baxter*, 2. Most of the works in the work cited in n. 1 above had passed through five or more editions.
have ‘vanished in a month or little more’), or the rapid sequence of editions of the fast sermons by Edmund Calamy in December 1641 (England’s looking-glasse) and Stephen Marshall in February 1642 (Meroz cursed), or James Ussher’s little tract suggesting a Reduction of episcopacie unto a form of synodical government (1656). Where there was a clutch of similar works, for example of a prophetic nature, published about the same time but which did not make the target set here, they might well have had a cumulative or mutually reinforcing effect that the method of selection adopted here will not reflect. Nor were works without some influence if there were other means of exploiting them than through individual ownership, as in the case of those copies of Erasmus’s paraphrase of the New Testament or Foxe’s magnum opus made available in some churches or company halls for interested parties.

But the great majority of works which passed through only a couple of editions were neither causes célèbres nor in the same league as the works of Erasmus and Foxe, and probably had a limited impact in the wider or long-term context; whereas all works which passed through at least five editions in the space of thirty years had evidently sold moderately well and established some kind of niche in the market. It should also be stressed that the figure five is a minimum: as can be seen from Appendix 1, a clear majority of works in the sample reached in the region of five to ten editions and may be described as steady sellers, but the net used here has also caught a number of works which by any criterion must be called best-sellers—titles which passed through at least one edition a year for ten, twenty, or more years.

There are some possible objections to this method, for example that it includes works which sold like hot cakes for a few months but hardly at all thereafter. This would include some official publications, some topical works, and a number of polemical sermons or tracts, which were very different propositions from the catechism or godly-living manual that sold steadily over ten or twenty years. This is true, but if we are trying to gauge the impact of

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54 Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, ed. W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy (3 vols., Alcuin Club Collections, 14–16, 1910), ii. 117–18, 179, 264, 289–90, 294; iii. 10, 88, 101, 137, 170, 210, 254, 284, 301, 304, 321, 336, 340; J. F. Mosley, John Foxe and His Book (1940), 147; Stevenson, Praise and Paradox, 65–6. For a late example of placing a chained copy of Foxe (in the 1641 edition) in a parish church, in mid-seventeenth century Somerset, see DNB s.v. Francis Roberts.

55 Respectively the Henrician primer of 1545, the Edwardian injunctions of 1547, and the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643; John Williams, The holy table; and T. Pierce, Primitive rule of reformation, J. Tillotson, A sermon preached (1658); and J. Gordon, Request to Roman Catholicks: see Appendix 1 s.v. Primer; England, Church of; Solemn League; and the authors named.
print, we should allow for its short-term, immediate effects as well as the slower, drop-by-drop effect, since in practice many book-buyers probably bought both types of work. Moreover, in practice the number of such titles proved to be so low—about two dozen in a sample of over 700 works—that it seemed unlikely to distort the character of the sample much.  

Another objection is the converse of the first. Should undoubted best-sellers which were regularly reprinted almost every year, or even more than once a year, such as the Book of Common Prayer, The ABC with the catechism, Bayly’s Practise of pietie, or Allestree’s Whole duty of man, be given the same weight as works like William Brough’s Sacred principles, the anonymous Art of catechising, or John Bunyan’s Acceptable sacrifice which took twenty years or more to reach a fifth edition? But it is virtually impossible to draw a satisfactory line between best-sellers and steady sellers. For example, a number of works in the sample which were not reprinted every year nevertheless were in demand for several decades, often through changing fashions in thought or practice. A third possible objection is that the unit of account in such a sample is not standard if we are comparing a handsome folio of the collected works or sermons of Henry Greenwood, Joseph Hall, or Edward Stillingfleet at one end of the spectrum with a flimsy popular tract or short catechism at the other. Again this has some validity, especially where the larger work was not a single entity but a series of discrete works reprinted and bound inside one cover, which makes it very hard for the historian to know which particular elements may have interested readers. However, as we shall see shortly, only 6 per cent of the works in our sample proved to be composite rather than unitary, and provided due allowance is made when considering the content and function of different types of publication, the advantages of being able to compare the popularity of different combinations of titles and different formats probably outweigh the disadvantages.

There are two related points about the unit of account which need to be borne in mind when sampling. One is the potentially large difference in the size of print runs, not only between different titles in a five-in-thirty-years sample, but also between different editions of the same work. Learned books were often printed in runs as small as 500, while no more than 750 or 1,000 copies might be printed of a new work being printed for distribution by the author to a limited number of friends or parishioners, or where publishers were not sure there would be sufficient demand. The upper limit of a print

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26 In addition to those named above, see ibid. s.v. Bible, ‘Books of Solomon’; Bolde; Book of Common Prayer (First and Second Edwardian); Burrough; Comber (1686); Confession of faith; Ferne; Hammond (1644); Hughes; Institution; Mornay; Pierce (1663); H. Smith (1590 × 2); Wake (1695); Wither; and Yearwood.

27 E.g. T. Becon, Sycke mans salve; anon., The doctrine of the Bible; N. Themylthorp, Posie of godly prayers; T. Sorocold, Supplications of saints; and J. Bunyan, A few sighs from hell: for further details see columns 3–5 of the relevant entries in Appendix 1.
run for ordinary works was set by the Stationers’ Company in 1587 at 1,250 or 1,500 copies (or on petition 2,500 or 3,000), and in 1635 this was raised to 1,500 or 2,000 (or upon petition 3,000). But this is not to say that all works were necessarily printed to those maxima; Michael Sparke’s *Crums of comfort*, first published under James I, was still being produced (officially) at 1,500 copies per run in the 1650s to judge from the estimated 60,000 copies from the forty editions sold by 1652; and in the late 1650s Baxter noted that the practice of reserving every ‘fifteenth book’ of a run for his own use amounted sometimes ‘not to an hundred, and sometime but to a few more’, suggesting runs of below or just above 1,500.28

On the other hand there is also no guarantee that official maxima were necessarily observed by less scrupulous printers, especially after the 1640s when controls were weakened. Permission was also given from an early stage for certain official titles such as the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and the short catechism, to be printed in runs of twice the size normally permitted, and such works may have been regularly printed in runs of 2,500, 3,000, or 4,000, or more; as we saw in Chapter 2 small format bibles were said to have been printed in runs of 6,000, 10,000, and even 12,000. In individual cases we can also see unofficial works with a proven track record being printed in large runs. In the nineteenth edition of John Rawlet’s *Christian monitor*, published in 1695, it was stated that 95,000 copies had been sold, which represents 5,000 per edition; a few years later, John Lewis, who had written a catechism for use by the SPCK and given the copyright to the printer on condition he was given 200 out of the 2,000 copies of each new edition, was annoyed to find the printer’s successors printing any number they chose up to 6,000 per edition; and editions of 10,000 copies were said to have been printed of John Worthington’s long catechism, *Hupotuposis . . . A form of sound words*—a work by a conformist clergyman but popular with presbyterians.29

In most cases we simply do not know how many copies were printed of a particular work. Nor can we quantify the steady accumulation of inherited or second-hand copies of many best-sellers (especially the larger or more expensive ones), the production of pirate copies (which may have inhibited sales of ‘legal’ copies by undercutting their price), the export of books to English-speakers abroad, and even the import of Scottish bibles into the North of England by the end of our period. But all these variables would be critical only if the main object of the exercise was to calculate global totals of copies produced, or if it could be proved that a large number of works which passed

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28 M. Sparke, *Crums of comfort* (1652), sig. q5v (and ‘officially’ because Sparke and William Turner were said to be producing print runs of 2,000 to 3,000 in 1631: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1631–3*, 35; on Baxter, see Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, 133.

through only two or three editions were printed in much larger numbers than, and so probably out-sold, works in our sample which were printed in much smaller runs. The balance of probability lies against this last possibility in that early print runs of a title were likely to be short until the publisher was confident that he would not have large numbers of unsold copies on his hands.

The second problem with the unit of account is that we can place less reliance on the separateness of the 'editions' listed in Wing than on those in STC. There was no standard procedure for numbering consecutive editions: some publishers did it, others did not, and even within the output of the same author, some of his works might have edition statements, others not. Moreover, where publishers stated a high number of editions, some are perfectly credible in that we can trace copies of many intervening editions over a period of years, while others are frankly doubtful, as in the case of a number of cheaper works which leapt from obscurity to the ‘29th’, ‘36th’, or ‘57th’ edition in a very short space of time. However, approximately 70 per cent of the works in our sample that date from the period 1641–1700 contain a sequentially numbered statement of the edition on the title-page, and are separated from each other by a year or more. Moreover, where copies of either some or all of these consecutively numbered editions survive and have been checked, there appear to have been discrete settings of all or a substantial part of the text. In short, if Wing had been constructed on the same principles as STC, the titles identified as best-sellers and steady sellers in our sample would probably in the great majority of cases have been the same. Editions without a number and editions with suspiciously high numbers and few predecessors do remain a problem, so that many of the figures extracted from Wing are marked with a question mark in Appendix 1, and will be regularly treated in the text as estimates.

The sample used in this and the next three chapters was constructed by searching through STC and Wing for titles of works that might, on closer inspection, fit the criteria of ‘religious’ described above in the Preface, and appear to have passed through at least five editions in England within a thirty-year period; editions published on the Continent, or in Scotland, Ireland, or New England were not counted on the grounds that we cannot be sure how many copies reached England. For works published after 1611, this exercise involved collating STC with Wing, and for the period after 1671 collating

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30 For further details, see column 4 of Appendix 1 below; for works by ‘Andrewes’, ‘Hart’, and ‘Jones’ with suspiciously high figures for repeat editions, see below, Ch. 8.xii; for examples of demonstrably discrete editions, see G. Keynes, A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne (Cambridge, 1924), 9–22; R. Gathorne-Hardy and W. P. Williams, A Bibliography of the Writings of Jeremy Taylor to 1700 (Dekalb, Ill., 1971), 7–13, 22–33, 34–43, 48–54; and the ‘Note on the Text’ in each of the volumes in the series of The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan, general editor Roger Sharrock (Oxford, 1976– ).

31 For the definition of ‘religious’, see above, pp.ix–x. There was a regular outflow of books from England to Scotland, Ireland, and North America as well as to English-speakers on the Continent, as in the case of bibles: above, Ch. 2, nn. 148–60.
Wing 2 with the British Library, Bodleian, and National Union Catalogues, and then, as it gradually became available, the ESTC. The resulting total of 727 titles, listed in Appendix 1, comprised 338 first published by 1640, and the balance of 389 first printed between 1641 and 1700. The earliest titles are by William Tyndale, giving us a starting-point for editions published in England of 1536, and the last, Susanna Hopton’s * Devotions in the ancient way*, was first published in 1700, giving a terminus for countable editions of works first published in the calendar year of 1700 of December 1729.

This total of 727 is slightly inflated by a certain amount of overlap between titles. In a few cases, such as some of the works of William Perkins and Joseph Hall and the sermons of Henry Smith and John Tillotson, the same work was reprinted several times both as a separate title and as part of a volume of collected works. In a few other instances there are differing versions of the same original, for example half a dozen different translations of the complete Bible and of a separate New Testament, and three of the many different versions of Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ*, which all qualified for the sample. Occasionally both a Latin and an English version of the same original proved moderately popular, as in the case of Calvin’s catechism, Nowell’s original catechism, and Gerhard’s meditations. There is also a partial overlap where a work sold five editions both in the full-length original and in an abbreviated version, as with the catechisms of Nowell, Ball, and Mayer, Richard Rogers’s *Seven treatises*, and Richard Baxter’s *Now or never*; or the converse where both an original form and an enlarged version qualify, as in the catechisms attributed to Dering and More and Paget and Openshaw.

On the other hand, the total is almost certainly too low in various respects. First of all, there is author error. The punning titles adopted by some authors or publishers, presumably in the hope of catching a browser’s eye, do not make it easy to identify a serious work of exhortation or edification, such as (to name three that were spotted) *A jewell for the eare*, *The Isle of Man*, and *The great assize.* Secondly there is probably a serious under-representation of the more flimsy publications of the period—broadsheets and small pamphlets or tracts like J.C.’s *Christ’s voice to England* and Thomas Wadsworth’s *Christ in the clouds*, for which we have an extant fifth or sixth edition but no firm evidence whether the first edition was less than thirty years before. If an owner took the pains to have his books bound properly, then even works in smaller formats could survive, as in the case of bibles in twenty-fourmo and thirty-twomo, while those who could afford more expensive books such as folios and quartos were on balance more likely to go to the extra expense of having these works bound in leather or vellum. Even if they did not, larger works had in many cases better-quality paper and stouter construction, and so were more

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32 See Appendix 1 s.v. R. Wilkinson, R. Bernard, and S. Smith.
33 See Wing 2 C52aA, and W185A.
likely to have survived the ravages of time than little octavos or duodecimos and loose broadsheets which could be easily torn up for use wherever a scrap of paper was needed inside the house—or in the privies.34 Examining the titles published in 1623, Judith Simmons found that all ten of the ballads listed in the Stationers’ register for that year have been lost (as probably were others which were not registered), and although Tessa Watt has traced the ownership of the copyright of many ballads from the Elizabethan to the late Stuart periods, in many cases we know of only one, two, or three surviving editions of these titles.35 Both early and later Stuart periods also witnessed the production of many anti-Catholic broadsides, which were probably reprinted for as long as their novelty value lasted during the periodic bursts of anti-Catholicism which coincided with periods of heightened domestic or international tension, and which may have reached five editions: we simply do not know.36 Certainly some ballads and chapbooks passed through enough editions to qualify for the sample, though they are in that grey area in which authors trying to produce serious religious works in a cheap format rubbed shoulders with scribblers anxious to turn a penny and publishers keen to prop up their profit margins—an area to which we will often return in the next few chapters.37

Before we begin to slice the sample in different ways, it might be useful to indicate its chronological distribution (see Table 4.1). By the death of Henry VIII, fifteen of the titles in our sample had appeared in print and begun to sell well; of these six were approved translations of the Bible or New Testament, and a further two were official publications with a measure of Protestant doctrine—The institution of a christen man and the Primer of 1545.38 By 1553 a further fifteen had appeared, of which eight were official: a volume of homilies, the royal injunctions of 1547, two versions of the Book of Common Prayer, a new psalter, two revisions of the Henrician primer, and The ABC with the catechisme.39 In so far as many of these early works represented a major break with the publications of the previous fifty years, they were not without considerable significance, especially where they were used orally, as we shall see shortly. But it would appear that at this stage there was no English equivalent to those early Lutheran works which were reprinted hundreds of times within a few years of their first appearance and which, together with

35 Simmons, ‘Publications of 1623’, 208; Watt, Cheap Print, 333–4; but see also below, Ch. 8.ii–iii.
37 See below, Chs. 5, 7, and 8; and for other works at the cheap end of the market, cf. the preface and chs. 10 and 11 in Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics.
38 See Appendix 1 s.v. Bible, and Institution.
woodcut illustrations and broadsheets, did so much to spread the call for reform across Germany with such speed and effect.  

In the 1560s the number of new titles in the sample rises to 25, with official publications and translations of works first produced abroad at this stage still contributing significantly, but by the 1590s the decennial total has risen to 41, with unofficial works produced within England and scattered over an increasingly wide range of genres by then predominating. In the first decades of the next century the totals rise to just below 50, and from the 1640s to the 1690s to between 55 and 75 new titles per decade, with peaks in the 1640s, 1650s, and 1670s. By this stage English presses were probably producing as many copies of as wide a range of religious works as anywhere else in Europe, and probably more than most. These increases probably resulted from not only

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**Table 4.1 First Date of Publication in England of Titles in the Sample of Best-sellers and Steady Sellers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1536–46</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1547–53</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558–60</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1561–70</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1571–80</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581–90</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591–1600</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>1601–10</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>1611–20</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>1621–30</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>1631–40</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>1641–50</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>1651–60</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>1661–70</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1671–80</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681–90</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691–1700</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>727</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Where the year of first publication is not known, the title has been entered under the year of the first surviving edition.]
the steady growth in potential readerships of the type described in Chapter 1, but also the continuing diversification of genres on offer to the public.

These developments will become clearer if we turn to an analysis of the different categories into which the works in the sample can be divided. It should be stressed at this point, however, that the categories adopted are basically for comparative purposes, and that the lines between categories, and between works that qualified for the sample and those which just missed inclusion, have not been drawn rigidly.

iv. Official Works in the Sample

There can be no doubt that in simple quantitative terms the most significant use of print to promote Protestantism was through the production of officially sponsored or approved works. Not only in England but across early modern Europe, print was used to impose or encourage uniformity of belief and worship and to inspire the devotional life of the laity. From the mid-Elizabethan period, and certainly in the early Stuart period, English presses were turning out far more bibles, prayer books, psalters, approved catechisms and primers, homilies, injunctions, and canons than before, and possibly more than any other country of comparable size and population. The case of bible production has been described in Chapter 2, but a similar story unfolds with prayer books and psalters, which printers were also permitted to produce in larger than usual print runs, usually double the maximum permitted for a sermon or treatise, and sometimes triple or quadruple for editions in small format. An estimate of about 525 'editions' of the Book of Common Prayer is perhaps not too far off the mark, though given the probability of continuous reprinting in some formats in the seventeenth century one cannot be sure how discrete such editions were. It is also a reflection of the ubiquity of the prayer book in the hands of many adults and children of the upper and middling ranks in the later Stuart period that a number of other works in our sample were designed to explain it or facilitate its use. In addition, the press was regularly in use to disseminate round the 10,000 churches and chapels in England and Wales copies of special prayers drawn up by the authorities to

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44 See below, Ch. 10, nn. 1–2.

45 J. Barnard, 'The Stationers' Stock 1663/4 to 1705/6: Psalms, Psalters, Primers and ABCs', in The Library (forthcoming; I am grateful to Professor Barnard for advance sight of this and other work by him); the basis for the estimate of 525 editions is explained in Ch. 5 below; but on continuous reprinting, see B. J. McMullin, 'The Book of Common Prayer and the Monarchy from the Restoration to the Reign of George I: Some Bibliographical Observations,' The Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 5 (1981), 81–92; and Appendix 2 below.

46 See below, Ch. 5, nn. 42–5. The sample also includes versions of the Book of Common Prayer in French and Latin: see Appendix 1 s.v. Book.
thank God for deliverance from some recent threat or to invoke his protection against an impending one.⁴⁷

Even these totals were probably surpassed by editions of the psalms. From the 1540s to the 1670s, two versions were in regular use. One was the Great Bible translation, pointed for choral singing in cathedrals, colleges, and some other churches, and regularly published either as part two of the editions of the Book of Common Prayer just described, or separately with the most commonly used Prayer Book services.⁴⁸ The other was the metrical version of the psalms known as ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, which as we will see in Chapter 9 may have passed through 790 editions from 1565 to the late 1720s. In four three-year periods between 1663 and 1696, the Treasurer of the Stationers’ Company ordered no fewer than 244,000 copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’; nor was this the sole source, since the King’s Printer was occasionally given permission to print copies as well, in impressions ranging from 8,000 to 18,000.⁴⁹ In the 1670s two rival versions of metrical psalms began to achieve some success: John Playford’s, the main novelty of which lay in the music, and John Patrick’s, which covered only a hundred of the psalms.⁵⁰ But it was only with Tate and Brady’s officially approved alternative that ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ got a run for its money from the turn of the seventeenth century,⁵¹ and only with the rise in popularity of the hymn in the eighteenth century, and the spread of choirs who could chant a pointed psalter in the nineteenth, that Tate and Brady in its turn began to fade away.⁵² It should be added that many other versions of the psalms were made in the early modern period, of which a number were printed, either separately or as supplements to devotional or educational works, some of which have qualified for the sample.⁵³

Perhaps the most frequently reproduced works of all, however, were two flimsy little works incorporating the short catechism first published in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. _The ABC with the catechisme_ was an officially approved reading primer which contained alphabets in capitals and lower case in three typefaces, and in later editions arabic numerals as well, and for first reading practice included the text of the Prayer Book catechism and a

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⁴⁷ See STC 16503–59; and Wing C4108–188JB; and cf. Walsham, _Providence_, 142–3. None of these special prayers reached the five-in-thirty benchmark.

⁴⁸ See the first and third entries in Appendix 1 s.v. Psalms.


⁵⁰ See Appendix 1 s.v. Psalms, and below, Ch. 9.iii.

⁵¹ As previous note.

⁵² On changes in parish music in general, see N. Temperley, _The Music of the English Parish Church_ (2 vols., Cambridge, 1979). For works in the sample which included hymns, see below, Chs. 7 and 9.

⁵³ A number of versions which did not qualify for the sample are mentioned in Ch. 9 below. For works in the sample which included psalms, see Appendix 1 s.v. Coote; Hart (_School of grace_); Hunnis; Kilby (1617); Morton; R. Sherlock (1673); Jeremy Taylor (1644); and cf. Cancellar; Featley (1625/6); anon., _Godlie garden_; and anon., _Second part_.

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small selection of prayers and ‘graces’ to be used before and after meals. *The primer and catechisme* was its big brother, containing everything in the *ABC* but a much wider selection of prayers, mostly from the Book of Common Prayer.\(^54\) Owing to their flimsiness, surviving copies are relatively rare, but from various indications there can be little doubt that by the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods they were regularly being reprinted two, or perhaps even three or four times a year, probably in print runs of 2,500 or more.\(^55\) Certainly in the later Stuart period, when detailed records survive in the Stationers’ Company archives, it can be shown that tens of thousands of copies of the *ABC* and *Primer* were being produced every year. In the financial year 1676/7, for example, 84,000 primers passed through the Treasurer’s hands, and in the period 1677–1700 perhaps 2 million primers were produced.\(^56\) Indeed, we may well have an increase in production in the later Stuart period at a time when the output of some other officially endorsed titles was starting to falter (for various reasons such as over-production, accumulation of second-hand copies, and changing tastes). Moreover, as has been shown elsewhere, explanations of the Prayer Book catechism (varying from the very brief to the enormously long) and short catechetical sermons on the same original were produced in steadily growing numbers from the 1620s to the early eighteenth century, and a number of these were sufficiently popular to be included in our sample.\(^57\)

There were other officially agreed or approved statements of the faith: the catechisms of Alexander Nowell (the larger and the condensed, and both in Latin and English, published fifty times in all between the 1570s and the 1660s); the two volumes of homilies first published in 1547 and 1563 and reprinted regularly thereafter; the Thirty-Nine Articles, reprinted over fifty times between the 1560s and the 1720s (and still in black-letter in the late seventeenth century) and the subject of various explanatory treatises, two of which are also in the sample; and the canons of 1604, published nearly thirty times by the 1680s.\(^58\) One might well add the defences of the English church’s structure and doctrine prepared by John Jewel at the instigation of Cecil and Parker at the start of Elizabeth’s reign, and Richard Hooker’s initiative near the end, though these obviously also qualify for the category of ‘treatise’ to be discussed below. Beyond these there are in the sample various legal and disciplinary or administrative forms which may be deemed ‘religious’ in that they were designed to help preserve the established church from its enemies: the

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\(^{54}\) See Appendix 1 s.v. ABC, and Primer; two earlier versions of the latter, those of 1551 and 1553, have been listed separately.

\(^{55}\) See my *Christian’s ABC*, ch. 4.

\(^{56}\) I am grateful to Helen Weinstein for showing me her unpublished conclusions from work on the Stationers’ Company records in the Restoration period; but see also Blagden, *Stationers’ Company*, 186, 242; Barnard, ‘Survival and Loss Rates’; and the extrapolated totals in J. Barnard, ‘Some Features of the Stationers’ Company and its Stock in 1676/7’, *Publishing History*, 36 (1994), 17 and 37 n. 31.

\(^{57}\) See my *Christian’s ABC*, chs. 3–4; and below, Appendix 1.

\(^{58}\) See Appendix 1 s.v. Nowell, Homilies, England, T. Rogers, and J. Ellis.
Edwardian injunctions of 1547, the Elizabethan equivalent of 1559, and the 1559 oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In addition, some regularly copied sets of visitation articles may well have been printed five times or more during a thirty-year period (with only the dates on the title-pages altered), and certainly had a significant part to play in the running of the established church.

It is indicative of the perceived value of print that rivals of the established church such as presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers rushed to make use of it to disseminate large numbers of copies of similar works. The presbyterians published multiple editions of the Directory, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and varying versions of the two Westminster catechisms from the late 1640s; and the Solemn League and Covenant was apparently reprinted well over a dozen times in England in 1643–5. In the early 1650s the Baptists produced A confession of faith, of several congregations . . . in . . . London . . . unjustly called Anabaptists,62 while on the Independent side, there was the Declaration of the faith—a confession agreed by the ‘congregational churches’ at the Savoy Conference of 1658, edited by Philip Nye, and published five times between 1658 and 1688.63 From the beginning the Quakers proved particularly adept at using print to defend and publicize their views. Dr Kate Peters has shown how quickly and cleverly the first Quakers used print to help establish their own identity, and keep scattered groups in touch with each other and encourage those being persecuted. Control of publications was exerted by Fox or a central committee of leading Quakers who established excellent links with radical printers and booksellers in London, and set up a sophisticated system of distribution along safe routes. But the Quakers did not target their own followers only, but also read their publications out loud in churchyards and on market days or pinned them on church doors, urging others to turn against the ‘false prophets’ among both ‘godly’ and conformist clergy. Within years Quakers were publishing scores of books every year, mostly short and cheap works, rarely reprinted, and after the Restoration, when censorship became tighter, they and their supporters in the print trade organized themselves ‘into a religious counterpart to the
Stationers’ Company’ which retailed books throughout Britain and the New World.64

Because of the brevity of the presbyterians’ period in power and the limited numbers of the separatists, together with the impediments under which both later had to operate, the numbers of repeat editions were nowhere near as striking as for the established church. Moreover, after the Restoration the differential between double print runs for official works and single for unofficial statements was reinstated, thus reinforcing the advantage of the episcopalian church over its rivals. A very crude estimate would be in the region of 5,000 or 6,000 repeat editions for the fifty titles in the sample which represented officially sponsored bibles, prayer books, psalters, catechisms, primers, statements of the faith, and administrative rules described in previous paragraphs, with the usual caveat that from the 1620s continuous reprinting makes it hard for us to know of what a discrete edition consisted.65

Multiplying by a figure of 2,000 or 2,500 at the start of our period and 3,000 at the end, we soon reach a total of between 12 and 20 million copies, which might well have equalled the number of copies of all the other works in the sample put together. For if for the moment we accept at face value the estimates of repeat editions in Column 4 of Appendix 1, which come to at least 7,500, and if we assume there was something like a standard print run for them of, say, 1,250 or 1,500 at the start and 2,000 later on (which in some cases is probably too high and in others certainly too low), this gives us a total of only 10 to 15 million copies.66 It should be stressed, however, that a great deal more needs to be known about works which passed through multiple editions and the scale of print runs involved before these guesses can be given firmer footing.

A few further points may be made about the copies of works sponsored by the established episcopalian church. First of all, their physical dissemination around the English counties was in many cases almost certainly better than that of unofficial or semi-official ones. Bishops and archdeacons regularly tried to ensure that copies of the latest translation of the Bible and latest version of the Prayer Book were placed in each parish church and chapel; and

64 M. K. Peters, ‘Quaker Pamphleteering and the Development of the Quaker Movement, 1652–1656’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1996), chs. 1–4 and passim (to be published as Print Culture and the Early Quakers, Cambridge); Keeble, Literary Culture of Nonconformity, 111–13, 121–3, 131–2; and cf. Appendix 1 below, s.v. Barclay (1673), and Fox and Ellis.

65 A total of fifty-two is reached if we include the following items in Appendix 1: ABC; Barclay (1673); Bible (excluding the Tyndale and Coverdale New Testaments, the Geneva Bible and New Testament, and the Latin New Testament); Book of Common Prayer; Brief instruction; Delaune; Directory; England, Church of; Fox and Ellis; Homilies; Institution; Jewell; Nowell; Nye; Oaths; Primers; the first three and the last two titles listed under Psalms; Solemn League and Covenant; and Westminster Assembly. For McMullin’s views on the problems of identifying discrete editions for regularly reprinted works, see above, n. 45, and below, Appendix 2.

66 When adding up totals of editions, I have excluded the very high figures claimed for the Andrewes, ‘Hart’, and ‘Jones’ works on the grounds this might artificially inflate the final figure.
many sets of churchwardens’ accounts confirm the purchase of such items, and of psalters too. Secondly, many of the official works were destined to be read out loud to congregations of whom some would almost certainly be illiterate. In the first generation after the break with Rome, when literacy rates were still low, Protestantism was brought to most English men and women primarily by oral means: the new vernacular liturgy enunciated regularly by minister and parish clerk; the set lessons from the latest translation of the Bible and the Gospels and Epistles in communion services; the declamation of the homilies by less learned incumbents or the curate; the regular recitation of the Prayer Book catechism until the younger members of the congregation had memorized it; later on, the ‘lining out’ of the metrical psalms by the parish clerk; the reading out loud of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy by the newly installed incumbent, who was also supposed to read out the Thirty-Nine Articles twice a year. Among later generations of church-goers, the role of the sermon certainly increased in regularity and importance, but much of the earlier reliance on reading out loud remained, and indeed was probably reinforced rather than undermined by the millions of copies of bibles, prayer books, psalters, official catechisms, and other works which were put in the hands of the growing number of literate parishioners.

Many of the copies of official works that came into the hands of the laity may have rested in the parlour or study as status symbols or been dusted off for occasional use on a Sunday, or at a confirmation or funeral. Indeed, to judge from the fly-leaves and later blank pages of many surviving bibles, they may have been used more often to record births, marriages, and deaths in the family, or to provide small portions of blank paper upon which children could practise their handwriting, than means of studying the inspired word of God. But two counter-arguments may be put. Historians have to guard against the prejudice that while conformists might own religious books, only the ‘godly’ were likely to read them. There is enough evidence of bibles, prayer books, and psalters being used in church and in the home or school for the former to be challenged, while the latter has not been proved to be the case for all of the ‘godly’ or dissenting laity (indeed, comments that some dissenters neglected or were unable to read improving books suggest the contrary).  

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68 Most of these points will be developed later in this study or in my Religious Instruction in Early Modern England (forthcoming); for the last of these Frere and Kennedy, Visitation Articles and Injunctions, iii. 327, 377; and D. Wilkins, Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae (4 vols., 1737), iv. 269.
69 See above, pp. 92–3, and below, pp. 190–3, and Chs. 5, 9, and 10.
70 On the use of bibles, prayers books, and psalters, see above Chs. 2–3, and below, Chs. 5 and 9; on neglect of catechisms by the ‘godly’, see my Christian’s ABC, 166–7, 221–3, 226; and on limited literacy among dissenters, see Keeble, Baxter, 43–7, and id., Literary Culture of Nonconformity, 162–4.
essential point remains that a literate person with access to a bible, prayer
book, psalter, or catechism had two means of access to the text—the aural (in
church or family prayers in the home) and the visual (as a reinforcement in
church and perhaps a supplement or an alternative at home), while the still
substantial proportion of the population who could not read, or did not have
personal copies, had only the former. In this way, the multiple copies of
official works not only formed the sharp cutting edge of Protestant evan-
gelicalism in the first generation, but also may have had a much wider poten-
tial impact on later generations than treatises and sermons which could be
read by only a minority of the population.

v. The Main Categories of Works in the Sample

Another way of looking at our sample is by trying to divide it according to
content or genre. Many of the earliest works in our sample were variations on
an existing theme: new primers, guides to godly living and dying, devotional
verse, and so on. But as the output of religious works rose, so also it diversi-
fied, and by the late seventeenth century there was a much wider variety of
works in print than in the early or even the late sixteenth century, many quite
different either in function or in content or style from their medieval pre-
decessors. By then there was a wide range of treatises, tracts, and handbooks,
of catechisms and catechetical works, and of genres combining elements of
entertainment or diversion with instruction, such as allegories, dialogues,
open letters, uplifting biographies, dreadful warning stories, improving
thoughts, and religious verse.

Here eight broad categories will be suggested. Catechisms and catechetical
works account for seventy-nine works in the sample; printed sermons total
more than a hundred titles; and treatises are easily the largest single group at
over 250, but that figure will be divided into a dozen different types of tract
or treatise in this and the next two chapters. Devotional works comprise just
under sixty titles, and handbooks on how to prepare for communion a further
two dozen. Then there is a miscellaneous group of just over a hundred works
whose authors tried to combine a measure of entertainment with instruction
or exhortation; and a smaller group of just over forty mixed works which
combined elements of two or more of the other seven. Most of what were
described in the previous section of this chapter as ‘official’ works have here
been reallocated to the relevant group—official catechisms to ‘catechetical
works’, official homilies to ‘sermons’, official apologias to ‘treatises’, prayer
books to ‘devotional works’, and so on. But this leaves a small rump (category

\[71\] ‘Sermons’ in Appendix 1 number 104, or 107 counting the three entries under ‘Homilies’;
‘treatises’ there number 252, but a dozen works on prayer and nearly twenty on communion have
elements of treatise about them.
number eight) of just over fifty works not easily classified, such as bibles, concordances, and psalters, which have either been dealt with already or will be discussed in a later chapter, together with those administrative or disciplinary works, articles of religion, and canons which as publishing events are either largely self-explanatory or have been discussed at length elsewhere.\(^2\)

In the rest of this chapter, something will be said in broad terms of the composition and appeal of the first three of the eight groups just mentioned, though a number of types of treatise will be reserved for consideration in Chapters 5 and 6. Devotional works will also be tackled in Chapter 5, while in Chapter 7 we will examine works designed to entertain as well as edify, and those whose authors used a mixture of techniques to get their point across.

As a final piece of scene-setting it may be pointed out that the average number of repeat editions for the first seven categories just described (excluding for this exercise the official titles discussed earlier which would distort the picture) was 10.6 (median 8). But whereas some of the seven categories hover about that mark, such as catechisms (average 11, median 8), and the edifying-cum-entertaining works (average 10.4, median 9), others apparently passed through more editions on average, for example devotional works (average 14, median 9), pre-communion handbooks (average 12.1, median 11), and mixed-technique works (average 12.3, median 9). Some of the subcategories into which the large group of ‘treatises’ can be subdivided were also apparently reprinted more than the average, for example calls to repent, and godly living and godly dying treatises in particular. But others of the smaller categories of treatise that we will examine, such as controversial works aimed either against Catholics or fellow Protestants, prophetic works, and cases of conscience, together with the separate category of printed sermons, apparently sold on average less than eleven editions; sermons, for example, averaged only 8.6 (median 7). Further details will be given at the appropriate point below, but already the primary function of print in disseminating didactic and devotional works is emerging.

vi. Catechisms

Catechisms were intended to provide the basis of knowledge upon which other works such as printed sermons and treatises were supposed to build understanding and commitment. Their texts consisted of questions and answers that were designed to teach children or less educated adolescents and adults the essentials of the faith, often (though not necessarily) through treatment of four staples: the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, the
Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The number of works in the sample that can be described as catechisms or dialogue-catechisms is just over seventy, though it is nearer eighty if we include works written in continuous prose but designed to explain either a specific catechism (such as Bastingius's exposition of and Ursinus's commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism) or a catechetical staple (for example, Lancelot Andrewes's exposition of the Decalogue to undergraduate catechumens at Cambridge in the 1580s). In the case of catechetical works we are in a position to assess the size of the iceberg below the sample line in that a separate study of catechisms has suggested that over 750 different forms were printed in England between the 1530s and the 1690s, so that the works in our sample represent about 10 per cent of total catechism production, though by definition this tenth was reproduced much more frequently than those in the submerged nine-tenths.

The Prayer Book catechism of 1549, enlarged in 1604 and revised in 1661–2, remained the official shorter catechism of the English church throughout the early modern period except for a short break in the period 1646–60. Moreover, as already noted, it achieved far wider distribution through being printed as part of the approved ABC and Primer used in schools. It was also the basis for fifteen other titles in the sample, in all of which experienced clergy of various persuasions sought in various ways to make the original catechism easier to learn and understand. These works varied in length and intended target: one or two were for relative beginners, others were quite clearly for young ordinands or advanced students, but most were probably for use at an intermediate level in church, school, and home. The prefaces of some of these works together with the replies to episcopal questionnaires in the early eighteenth century also make it clear that some of the longer forms were not intended to be learnt verbatim, but rather to be read regularly until the gist was mastered; also sections of some longer catechetical expositions were either read out by the clergy from the pulpit or desk, or used as the basis for a short catechetical exposition during evening prayer.

In addition to works based on the official shorter catechism, there are four works which derive from a larger form by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, approved by convocation in the 1560s: two versions of his original

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73 See my Christian's ABC, pts. 1, 2.
74 See column 6 of Appendix 1 s.v. catechisms or catechetical work.
75 Green, Christian's ABC, 51–8; to reach the total of 750, take the figures in columns 1, 2, and 3 for the decades 1530s–1690s in Table 1 on p. 51.
76 Ibid., 20, 33, 61–2, 71–2.
77 See above, nn. 54–6.
78 Those of W. Hill, J. Mayer (two versions), R. Bernard, and M. Nicholes in the period 1616–31, and of E. Boughen, W. Nicholson, R. Sherlock, T. Comber, T. Ken, J. Williams, Z. Isham, T. Bray, and the anonymous author of The art of catechizing from the 1640s to the 1690s: see Appendix 1 below.
79 Green, Christian's ABC, chs. 3, 4.
dialogue-catechism, one in Latin and the other in English, and aimed at older students and ignorant clergy, and two versions of the abridged version of that catechism, again in Latin and English, intended for catechumens who had mastered the Prayer Book catechism of 1549 but were not yet ready for the full-size Nowell form. 80 On the presbyterian side, the sample contains five versions of the Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechisms, in differing combinations—separately, the two together, or with the Westminster Confession of Faith—or with the supporting scripture texts in full rather than the reference alone. 81 In addition, four works in the sample offered explanations of or helps to memorizing the Westminster Shorter catechism, while two others either contained large sections of that catechism or bore its imprint to some extent. 82

A primer and catechism for children prepared by George Fox and Ellis Hookes and A catechism and confession of faith by Robert Barclay were two works by leading Quakers which sold steadily from the early 1670s to the turn of the century and beyond. 83 The anonymous A brief instruction in the principles of Christian religion, later known as The Baptist catechism, is a work with a complex history but possibly composed by Benjamin Keach and first published in the 1690s. Perhaps as an irenic gesture to the presbyterians this work was based largely on the Westminster Shorter Catechism, though modified where the Baptists parted company with them, as on the question of adult or believer’s baptism. 84

This leaves us with just over forty other catechisms and catechetical works, though this figure would be slightly higher if we counted composite works which contained a catechism. 85 In the early stages of English Protestantism many of these works had a different type of target than the Prayer Book catechism of 1549. Some were intended to be used by adults as well as children, such as Craig’s catechism for ‘common people and children’, or even by ‘simple’ adults alone, that is, ‘country people’ who were seen as having short memories and limited capacity for abstract thinking. 86 Others, such as two Edwardian forms—one a translation of a Lutheran work by Johann Spangenberg and the other a work ‘collected’ and translated by Edmond Allen—and the two versions of Calvin’s catechism first published in England in the 1560s, were all quite long works, aimed either at more advanced catechumens in school or at the less learned clergy still in need of greater knowledge in the basics. 87 However, once the different Nowell versions had

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80 Ibid., 189–93.
81 See Appendix 1 below, s.v. Westminster Assembly; and cf. S. W. Carruthers, Three Centuries of the Westminster Shorter Catechism (Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1957).
82 Respectively J. Wallis, J. Alleine, T. Vincent, and T. Lye; T. Gouge, and J. Worthington: see Appendix 1.
83 See Appendix 1.
84 See Appendix 1 s.v. Brief instruction.
85 For the last of these, see Appendix 1 s.v. Addison, Baxter (1674), R. Hill, and Jeremy Taylor (1653). The chapbook School of learning (ibid.), included a catechism, but was perhaps aimed at those trying to educate themselves or running the most elementary of schools. For another related use of question-and-answer, see Clutterbuck (ibid.).
86 Green, Christian’s ABC, 73–5, 244–5, and chs. 3–4.
87 Ibid., 582–3, 608–9, 722–3.
been published, the need for larger works was reduced for a while, and most of the supplementary forms produced thereafter fall into one of three categories. They were either longer than the Prayer Book form but shorter than the abridged Nowell version, as in the case of the catechisms by ‘godly’ ministers such as Edward Dering and John More, Eusebius Paget and Robert Openshaw, John Ball, William Gouge, and others; or they were more specialized, for example tackling just one of the usual staples, as in Arthur Dent’s catechetical exposition of the Creed in 1589, and Josias White’s form to prepare his adult parishioners for communion in the 1620s; or they were written by clergy trying to catch the attention of catechumens, especially older ones, by breaking away completely from the usual sequence of Creed, Decalogue, and so on, and attempting a totally new structure, as in William Perkins’s 1590 catechism built around six principles in 1590 and Samuel Hieron’s 1606 catechism in which the answers consisted of nothing but scripture texts. As we have seen, some authors used a question-and-answer technique to introduce students to the main incidents and characters in each book of the Bible in turn. Further experiments in content and technique were made in the mid- and late seventeenth century, notably in the works of Herbert Palmer, John Wallis, and Thomas Comber—ministers of contrasting backgrounds and careers.

In the 1640s and 1650s the temporary outlawing of the old Prayer Book catechism and the provision of new ones by presbyterians and sectaries brought major changes to the character of English catechizing, though most of the catechetical works in our sample from the later Stuart period were related either to the Prayer Book or Westminster Shorter forms. Those which were not usually had some special feature which may help to explain how their authors and publishers managed to sell copies in an increasingly competitive market. Thus the form that Edward Bowles composed for his Yorkshire parishioners, for example, was very short and simple; by contrast, Henry Hammond’s Practical catechisme was a long dialogue-catechism which effectively replaced Nowell’s catechism for senior schoolboys and undergraduates; the fact that the catechetical work in our sample by Hugo Grotius was published in Latin and Greek suggests a similar market, though Grotius’s writing, like Hammond’s, also had the advantage in some eyes of not being tainted with the high Calvinism of many of the ‘saints’. Two other works contained question-and-answer versions of the popular treatise, The whole duty

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88 Green, Christian’s ABC, 65–73, 185–6, 246–50; a number of alternative forms may have been intended for use in households or schools rather than churches.

89 See below, Appendix 1 s.v. Dent (1589) and Josias White.

90 Green, Christian’s ABC, 286–8.

91 See above, pp. 151–5, and below, Appendix 1 s.v. Paget; Doctrine; and Way.

92 Green, Christian’s ABC, 260–3.

93 See Appendix 1 s.v. Bowles, Hammond, Grotius; and my Christian’s ABC, index, s.v. Hammond and Grotius.
of man, which we will encounter in Chapter 6, while another carried on from where the Prayer Book catechism left off by using questions and answers to explain and defend the liturgy in the Book of Common Prayer; The Christian’s manual (by Lancelot Addison, an Anglican cleric) combined two catechetical expositions with a treatise on preparing for communion; and A plain and familiar method of instructing (by Thomas Lye, a nonconformist minister and teacher) was not a catechism at all but simple instructions to show householders how to catechize those in their care using the Westminster Shorter.94

In other words, while episcopalian and presbyterian catechizing in the later Stuart period was dominated by the use of their respective elementary forms and a wide variety of expositions and aids to teaching those forms, there was also a market for more specialized supplementary or alternative forms. And this market was also nation-wide, given that catechizing in church and chapel and in schools (and perhaps even in some households) was not something confined to the richer and generally more literate south-east of the country. From a very low level in the early sixteenth century, catechisms had rapidly grown to become a significant slice of the print business, and by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries catechisms were not just being sold but also printed in provincial centres like York, Nottingham, and Norwich, and in Scotland and Ireland too.95

Four other general points may be made here about these catechisms. First, the point made earlier about all official texts, that they offered both aural and visual access to a text, is especially true of catechisms. Secondly, while the purpose of the simpler forms was to ensure little more than the memorizing of certain basic formulae and of material that explained them, the more advanced the form, the more emphasis was put on comprehension of what had been committed to memory, and the application of the spiritual and moral imperatives it enshrined. For, although the prime function of most catechisms was pedagogical, there was also, thirdly, a practical element of encouraging catechumens to hear the Word, pray, try to keep the Law, take part in the sacraments, and where possible read improving works of the types found in our sample. Fourthly, compared to the teaching in other edifying genres, that in the best-selling catechisms of the day was generally notable for its continuity throughout the early modern period, and its avoidance of controversy. There were differences of approach and emphasis, especially in some larger works and a few smaller ones from the 1640s, but in catechetical teaching as a whole the acreage of common ground on doctrine and morality was always much greater than the patches of disputed territory.96

94 R. E., A scriptural catechism, and anon., Art of catechizing, in Green, Christian’s ABC, 640–1, 586–7 and below, Appendix 1, s.v. Addison, and Lye.
95 anon., Questions and answers (1685); C. Ellis, Christianity in short (1682); and anon., The church catechism analysed (1703), in Appendix 1 of Green, Christian’s ABC; and for sources for Scottish and Irish catechisms, ibid., 574.
96 Ibid., pt. 2.
vii. Sermons

The sermon is often described as the most important and characteristic form of communication for Protestants, in that many Protestant thinkers (usually themselves good preachers) ascribed to the sermon a key role, with the help of the Holy Spirit, in bringing the faithful to salvation. As Latimer put it in 1550, ‘the preaching office is the office of salvation, and the only means that God hath appointed to salvation’. Given the hopes invested in sermons, and their early popularity in print, it is not surprising that thousands of sermons were published in the early modern period. One estimate for the period 1558–1603 is 1,000, and for 1603–40 at least 2,000; another for the period 1660–1783 suggests over 24,000. Nor is it surprising that over a hundred of the titles in our sample have been classified as ‘sermons’, either because that is how they are described on the title-page or in the preface, or because of their characteristic structure and style—usually the citing of a particular text and the unpackaging of its meaning and application (the ‘doctrines’ and ‘uses’) of each part of that text. This total would be at least half a dozen higher if we included publications which included sermons alongside treatises, catechisms, and other genres (as in the collected works of Perkins, Greenham, and Hall), or which contained some sermon-type material (as in the case of works in the sample by Edward Sparke, James Janeway, and John Hayward). It would be at least another two dozen higher if we counted those tracts or treatises in the sample which included material that had been first delivered as sermons before being modified in some way for publication, or which had been written as a treatise and then given as sermons, or which were described at the time as ‘treatise’ or ‘discourse’ (or some such label) but were so similar in form and content to the sermons of the day that it would be unwise to separate them too rigidly.

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98 Walsham, Providence, 55–6, 59–63; Bennett, English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603, 148; id., English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640, 108; F. Deconinck-Brossard, ‘Eighteenth-Century Sermons and the Age’, in W. M. Jacob and N. Yates (eds.), Crown and Mitre: Religion and Society in Northern Europe since the Reformation (Woodbridge, 1993), 106; and see Appendix 1 s.v. Perkins ([1597]); Greenham; Hall (1624); and [Janeway] (1668); and cf. E. Sparke, T. Alleine, and Hayward (1690).

99 For ‘treatises’ which originated as sermons, see Appendix 1 s.v. Perkins (1604); R. Bolton (1611 and 1625); Greenwood (1614); S. Smith (Davids repentance); N. Byfield (1617); Whately (1618); S. Ward (1621); J. Rogers; Preston (The new covenant, The saints daily exercise, and The breast-plate of faith and love); Sibbes (1690); T. Hooker (1622 and 1630); T. Goodwin (A childe of light); Lockyer (1640); Baxter (1653); Roberts; Love (1652 and 1653); R. Alleine; Gurnall; Pearson; R. Alleine; Mead (1662); J. Fox (1664?); Bunyan (Good news, and other works); and W. Sherlock (1680); and cf. N. Culverwell (intended as sermons), Baxter (1649) (written when he was ill but ‘afterwards preached in his weekly lecture’), and Drelincourt (a treatise of ‘great use for divines for funeral sermons’).
Scholars have used a mixture of contemporary treatises and comments on preaching and the texts of selected sermons to suggest the existence of various types of sermon structure and style in the sixteenth century, then further developments by the mid-seventeenth century, and then further shifts in the later seventeenth century. But even if there were only two or three major styles or a handful of ‘schools’ of preaching, it is far from clear today that all contemporary preachers (especially those in the provinces) necessarily belonged to one of them, or that an individual necessarily kept to a single form and style of preaching at all times or throughout his career. In the 1670s, for example, one clergyman was said to have carried two sermons into his pulpit: a learned one in case he spied strangers in the church, and a ‘homely and dry’ one if it was just his usual neighbours. This may tell us much about the pride of the minister in question, but also makes the point that preachers were able to adjust to different congregations. Indeed, the more one stands back and takes a broader view of the printed sermons in our sample, the more one is struck by the growing diversity of content, structure, style, and presentation.

In the first two or three generations, the content of a number of the sermons converted into print overlapped to some degree with that of the late medieval period. There are in our sample, for example, condemnations of sins such as covetousness, worldliness, hypocrisy, idleness, ostentation, and drunkenness, Easter week sermons on the suffering of Christ for fallen man, and exhortations to repent. Indeed, some of the sermons printed at the outset of the Reformation actually were or claimed to be sermons given in preceding centuries, such as the Sermon no less fruitful than famous, on giving an account of one’s stewardship, attributed to Richard (more correctly


101 anon., An answer to a letter of enquiry into the grounds and occasions (1671), 71–3. Sermons preached before different types of congregation can be found in the collected sermons of Perkins, Andrews, Sanderson, and Taylor, which can be traced through the relevant entries in Appendix 1 or the next few pages.

102 e.g. the official homilies ‘Against swearing and perjury’, ‘Against whoredom and adultery’, ‘Against strife and contention’, ‘Against gluttony and drunkenness’, ‘Against excess of apparel’, and ‘Against idleness’; H. Smith (Sermon, 1590), Hopkins, Adams, and Harris (1619); all in Appendix 1 below.

103 Homilies ‘Of the passion’ and ‘Of the resurrection’; and works by Foxe, Chamberlaine, and L. Andrews (1604) in Appendix 1.

104 Ibid. s.v. Bradford (1574), Dent (1582), H. Smith (1591), Perkins (1605); and the homily ‘Of repentance and true reconciliation unto God’.
Thomas) Wimbledon, said to have been preached first at Paul’s Cross in the late 1380s, and later ‘found hid in a wall’. This was regularly reprinted from about 1540, perhaps twenty times by 1635, the copyright having been acquired by a ballad publisher. What is also of interest is not only the small format (16mo or octavo) and the black-letter typeface, even in the 1630s, but also the handling of the text of the unjust steward (Luke 14: 1–13). This has a populist appeal—all are called to account, high and low, clergy and laity—and makes a direct connection between good deeds and reward and between bad deeds and punishment—an early example of the semi-Pelagianism in popular print that we will find persisting throughout the early modern period.

But alongside these works on older themes, there soon appeared others with quite different functions or content: series of sermons expounding whole chapters of the Bible; a growing number of funeral sermons and a smaller number of wedding sermons; a small but persistent minority of controversial or polemical sermons on burning political, social, or doctrinal issues of the day; catechetical sermons tackling one of the elements found in most catechisms (the Apostles’ Creed, Ten Commandments, Lord’s Prayer, and doctrine of the sacraments); and from the 1620s, if not earlier, shorter and cheaper sermons which in an increasing number of cases were presented in a deliberately down-market way with black-letter type, an eye-catching title, or a crude woodcut on the cover. But here let us take two preachers—Henry Smith and John Tillotson—who had a high reputation in their day and sold more sermons than anyone else in our sample; and then examine three types of printed sermon—court sermons, funeral sermons, and topical or controversial sermons—to illustrate the ways in which sermons were transformed into print, and suggest why some sold much better than others.

Henry Smith was appointed lecturer at St Clement Danes in London in 1587 on the recommendation of Henry Greenham (with whom he had been studying) and other ‘godly’ clergy, and in the space of just three or four years, before his premature retirement and untimely death in 1591, established a wide reputation both with the grocers, locksmiths, and ‘ordinary tradesmen’ in that parish, and with ‘persons of good quality’ who came to hear him preach. He was briefly in trouble with the authorities, but protested his willingness to conform and was soon restored to his pulpit. In all fifty-six of his sermons were printed, which helped earn him the sobriquet ‘silver-tongued’ as well as the accolade of ‘the first preacher in the nation’ and ‘the very miracle and wonder of the age’. The publishing history of Smith’s sermons

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106 Appendix 1 s.v. Dering (XXVII lectures, 1576), and Caryl.

107 These will be discussed in the following pages of this chapter.

is complex, but it seems likely that at least three individual sermons, two pairs, and three larger collections of his sermons (and a solitary treatise) qualify for our sample. A number of his sermons were not prepared for the press by the author himself; whose health was never good while he was in London: only six of the fifty-six sermons that survive have prefaces by the author himself, and a number of others were first published either without his consent or posthumously. Smith’s brief period in the sun coincided with the development of the practice of encouraging listeners to take notes and prepare a summary of a sermon, and with the rapid spread of the use of shorthand; and it was not uncommon for printers and publishers, ever alert to a lively seller, to produce a text without the author’s knowledge, from notes taken by others. Printers may actually have employed shorthand writers to record Smith’s utterances. Thus A sermon of the benefite of contentation was advertised on the title-page as ‘taken by characterie’, and in the preface it was suggested that though its publication did not have the author’s approval, it was felt ‘good to commit it to the press, preferring the profit and utility of many in publishing it, before the pleasure of the author in concealing it’. Similarly, the sermon by Smith entitled The wedding garment was first ‘printed without his knowledge, patched, as it seemed, out of some borrowed notes’ (he later complained), as were three sermons on Nebuchadnezzar (not in the sample). Annoyed by the way in which his original texts were ‘abused’ in these editions, Smith published approved versions soon afterwards, but the sequence of events demonstrates the demand for sermons by fashionable preachers such as Smith.

Various reasons may be offered for this popularity. First there is the form: most of the sermons by Smith that sold well, either individually or in small combinations, were in the older, simpler style of a straightforward explanation and application of a text verse by verse, rather than the newer, more analytical systems of doctrines and uses or themes and divisions, though he often adopted the new style in his later sermons. Secondly, there is his language: a combination of simple vocabulary and syntax with colourful similes, often grouped together. Smith did not use the racy, colloquial style of a Latimer or the orateness of a Richard Hooker, nor did he load his texts with references to the classics or the Fathers (except in his treatise Gods arrows against atheism and irreligion), believing that ‘to preach simply is not to preach rudely, nor unlearnedly, nor confusedly, but to preach plainly and perspicuously, that the simplest man may understand what is taught, as if he did hear his name’.

Thirdly, there is the subject matter, which as Haller pointed out, ‘plainly

109 Ibid., 59; and STC 22656–7837.
111 Jenkins, Henry Smith, 103–6.
112 Ibid., 50–2, 105–6 (and cf. 107–8 on Zaccheus and Simeon).
shows the influence of medieval tradition’ in the condemnation of sins such as pride, envy, lust, and avarice, and the stress on the world as a place of vanity and sorrow, but balanced by Smith’s exhortations to put on the armour of Christ against such temptations. and the uncomplicatedly open, evangelical appeal of his sermons. His biographer, Professor Jenkins, has suggested that few, if any, contemporary preachers laboured as intensely on these themes as Smith did. Fourthly, there are the echoes of the commercial and political concerns and the social life of London in the late 1580s where he made his mark. The evangelical and topical aspects are evident in a section of The wedding garment, which was based on Romans 13:14 (‘put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ’), which Smith said was both ‘the sum of the Bible’ and ‘the sum of my sermons’: 

What shall I wish you now before my departure? I wish you would give all your hearts to God while I speak, that ye might have a kingdom for them. Send for your hearts where they are wandering, one from the bank, another from the tavern, another from the shop, another from the theatres; call them home, and give them all to God, and see how he will welcome them, as the father embraceth the son.\(^{114}\) This simple message and the avoidance of controversy and deeper theological mysteries probably help to explain the fact that over twenty editions of Smith’s collected sermons were published between 1592 and 1675, and that they were ‘used as a handmaid to prayer bedward in some families’, according to Thomas Fuller writing later in the next century.\(^{115}\)

By that date John Tillotson had come to occupy a status equivalent to Smith’s. ‘He was not only the best preacher of the age’, wrote Burnet in his History of his own times, ‘but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection’; his sermons were ‘so well heard and liked, and so much read, that all the nation proposed him as a pattern, and studied to copy after him’.\(^{116}\) Even critics and conservatives appreciated the quality of Tillotson’s sermons, and such was his proven worth as an author that his wife received the princely sum of £2,500 for the copyright of his sermons, most of which were first published after his death, and which in all numbered over 250.\(^{117}\) Brought up as a puritan, married to a niece of Oliver Cromwell, a friend of dissenters as well as of staunch episcopalians after he reacted against Calvinist teaching and conformed at the Restoration, Tillotson was appointed preacher at Lincoln’s Inn

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\(^{113}\) Haller, Rise of Puritanism, 30–1; Jenkins, Henry Smith, 72–4, 91–6.

\(^{114}\) Ibid., 73.

\(^{115}\) There are occasional anti-Catholic passages in Smith’s sermons, e.g. on the sacraments: H. Smith, The sermons (1594), 39–83; but little high Calvinism. For editions of his sermons see below, Appendix 1; and for Fuller, Jenkins, Henry Smith, 106.

\(^{116}\) Smyth, Art of Preaching, 103, and cf. 157–8, and next note.

\(^{117}\) Ibid., 103; and below, Appendix 1. For other contemporary praise of the sermons and analysis of contemporary editions, see D. D. Brown, ‘The Text of John Tillotson’s Sermons’, The Library, 5th ser., 13 (1958), 18–36.
and lecturer at St Lawrence Jewry, where his sermons ‘were much frequented by all the divines of the town, and a great many persons of quality and distinction’; and when printed they soon began to sell well.\textsuperscript{118} What Tillotson is said to have brought to the art of preaching (though it had been anticipated to some degree by others such as Sanderson, Wilkins, and South) was a style which avoided the orotundity of ‘metaphysical’ preachers like Andrewes and Donne and the endless subdivisions and applications or emotional appeals of presbyterians and sectaries.\textsuperscript{119} Tillotson cultivated simplicity and clarity of style and structure (the same qualities sought by Smith) together with a discreet use of rhetoric and reason.\textsuperscript{120} The printed versions of his sermons were apparently read not only by pious conformists such as Dudley Ryder and Thomas Turner,\textsuperscript{121} but also by many curates and established clergy who could not attend the original delivery of the sermons but could afford to purchase the large volumes as a model and a mine. Indeed, a sermon on 1 John 5: 3 that Parson Woodforde gave no less than eight times over a period of twenty-five years in his rural parishes consisted almost entirely (as Norman Sykes spotted) of a cut-down version of Tillotson’s sermon entitled \textit{The precepts of Christianity not grievous}.\textsuperscript{122}

Tillotson’s simplicity and belief in divine benevolence was sometimes taken for, or watered down into, moralism, but his stress on the rigours of holy living was matched by an insistence on the transforming effect of grace in those who live by faith, as in his best-selling single title—\textit{A persuasive to frequent communion}.\textsuperscript{123} What Smith and Tillotson thus illustrate in their different ways is that the ability of preachers to modify their style to suit the particular needs of their age and situation was appreciated, that plain preaching had a considerable and enduring popularity, and that, when turned into print, sermons could be put to different uses by different readers.

Let us look next at the development of three types of sermon which demonstrate the dynamic of English publishing in different ways. The first of these is sermons delivered before the reigning monarch and the members of his or her household. Court sermons had been given before the Reformation, but probably became more frequent thereafter, though some monarchs, such as Edward VI, James I and Charles I, Mary, and Anne, were probably more sedulous attenders and careful listeners than others, such as

\textsuperscript{120} ‘The earnestness of the Puritans with the rational element of Cambridge Platonists in a form acceptable to the Anglicans of the period’: Mitchell, \textit{English Pulpit Oratory}, 335–7.
\textsuperscript{121} Spurr, \textit{Restoration Church}, 392–3.
\textsuperscript{122} Smyth, \textit{Art of Preaching}, 157–8.
Elizabeth and Charles II. Court sermons were rarely completely private occasions, since family, household officials, and others close to the monarch usually attended, but at least some were made much more public occasions through the use of an outdoor pulpit in ‘the preaching place’ in what used to be a small garden in Westminster palace. Thus the woodcut in the 1571 editions of Latimer’s collected sermons shows him standing in a heavily decorated pulpit preaching not only to the young Edward, who listens from a window on the first floor, but also by hundreds of well-dressed listeners standing outside and a woman sitting on the steps of the pulpit with a large open book on her lap, presumably a bible. But the most common way in which a court sermon could reach a wider audience was through its publication, either expressly at the royal command (though this may have been relatively rare, to judge from surviving copies), or, more commonly, with a number of other sermons preached in other locations, and published either at a later date by the author or after his death by a friend or editor. A significant proportion of the published sermons in our sample by Hugh Latimer, Anthony Maxey, and John Playfere had been preached at court, as were a number of the collected sermons of Joseph Hall, John Preston, Robert Sanderson, Jeremy Taylor, and John Tillotson, and individual sermons by several other authors in the sample. The most striking example of this genre is undoubtedly the XCVI sermons of Lancelot Andrewes published in 1629 on the orders of Charles I. The king had told Laud and Buckeridge to survey Andrewes’s papers for such sermons as could be printed as they stood, because, the preface to the resulting edition stated, these sermons had won ‘general approbation’ at the courts of Elizabeth and James, at which the great majority of them had been preached, and in the hope that the ‘treasure’ of material contained in the sermons would now have a ‘public view’ as many came to read what had been originally given to a much smaller audience. These sermons passed through four editions between 1629 and 1641, and would probably have reached their fifth

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124 This is an impression based partly on what is conventionally said about the religious attitudes of these monarchs towards the worship of the Church of England, and partly on the number of sermons preached to these monarchs that I have come across in print. For an increase under Edward, see J. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials (3 vols., Oxford, 1822), ii. 334. See also below, n. 139.

125 H. Latimer, 27 sermons (1571), opposite p. 24; and DNB s.v. Latimer.

126 Sermons in which the printer claimed that the sermon was printed at royal command include some by John Jewel (in Certaine sermons, 1583); Lancelot Andrewes (e.g. Copies of the sermon preached . . . [6.4.1604], 1604, A sermon preached . . . [26.9.1606], 1606, and A sermon preached . . . [5.8.1610], 1610); William Laud (A sermon preached . . . [24.3.1622], 1622); and John Williams (Great Britains Salomon, 1625); see also below, nn. 130, 134.

127 See the details of time and place given in the collected sermons of these men, as listed in Appendix 1.

128 Ibid., s.v. Fulke; Dering [1569?]; Andrewes [1604]; Pierce [1663]; Cradock; Moore; and Sharp; Chamberlaine’s was preached before the privy council, and Wilkinson [1607] at a society wedding which the king attended.
before 1661 had it not been for the diversion of the presses to other material during the 1640s and 1650s.

Two recent surveys of sermons preached at court or by royal preachers at Paul’s Cross in London, by Dr Peter McCullough and Dr Lori Anne Ferrell, have both argued that such sermons often had a high political content. Preaching before Elizabeth offered ‘godly’ zealots like Fulke and Dering an opportunity of bending the ear of the royal ‘Deborah’ to urge action on what they thought were pressing matters of church and state; sermons commemorating the deliverance of James VI and I from the Gowry and Gunpowder Plots offered opportunities to lambast Catholic plotters and sedition in general, from whatever source it came; even sermons on the great festivals of the church year—Christmas, Easter, and Whit—could take on a controversial note if stress was placed on the value of the sacraments in salvation, the decorum of kneeling to receive the sacrament, and the parallels between reverence to God and to the king. Dr Ferrell even argues for the existence of a ‘Jacobean governmental polemic’ epitomized by preachers like Andrewes which skillfully repackaged ‘an anti-Calvinist, sacramentalist minority ecclesiastical position’ as a mainstream orthodoxy under attack from puritanism and Calvinism.

This thesis has some merits, but does face certain problems too. Under Elizabeth, preachers offering unwelcome advice were likely to be told to shut up, as Edward Dering found in 1570. Equally, if James, as the new Constantine leading a new Christendom (as some preachers dubbed him), was so intent on using the pulpit to press for conformity, why did he permit so many preachers from the majority standpoint to speak at court or at Paul’s Cross when he could easily have silenced them? And if persuasion was what was intended, why was Andrewes so careful to avoid open controversy (as Dr Ferrell concedes), and why was there a gap of years between preaching and publication, as much as ten or twenty years in the case of that half of Andrewes’s court sermons that were not published until 1629? An alternative reading of the great majority of court sermons suggests that preachers focused on the doctrinal and moral messages in their chosen texts, treating the monarch and courtiers as sinners like other men and women, in need of

129 Andrewes, *Works*, i, pp. xiii–xiv, xvi–xvii; STC 2606–9 (but note the mixing of sheets in some copies of the 2nd and 3rd editions); and Wing A3142–42C. The most common festivals represented in Andrewes’s collected sermons were Christmas Day (17), Easter Day (18), and Whit (15), followed by 10 sermons on the Gunpowder Plot, 8 on the Gowry Conspiracy, and 8 on Ash Wednesday: *Works*, i–v, passim.


Christ’s love and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost: Andrewes’s sermons in particular have a strongly Christocentric message. If royal preachers did add a spin to the text and risked straying into controversy, they tried to balance any criticism by stressing their support for what they saw as the status quo in church and state, and heaping praise on its royal defenders.\textsuperscript{133}

Court sermons \textit{were} in some ways atypical, but not because of their high political content. To judge from the length of the manuscript sermons that Andrewes left unpublished at his death, and from others that are said to have been printed exactly as they were delivered, court sermons were not as long as the two-hour marathons expected from some pulpits: Playfere thought ‘the ordinary time’ for a court sermon was an hour.\textsuperscript{134} But what they lacked in length they more than made up for in quality, for what also distinguished these sermons from the common run was the advanced education of the ministers who gave them and the exalted rank of those to whom they were preached. Those who preached regularly at court were nearly all either senior members of the hierarchy—bishops, deans, and archdeacons—or rising young stars like John Donne and John Preston, for whom a royal chaplaincy offered a stepping-stone to the highest posts of all.\textsuperscript{135}

Such men were clearly trying to stimulate the intellect as well as edify the soul of the monarch and his or her courtiers. Anthony Maxey’s sermons are studded with Greek and Latin tags, academic similes, unusual words, and striking antitheses; Thomas Playfere clearly loved paradoxes, and allusions, whether natural, classical, or Christian (nowadays they read rather like a Shakespeare play); and Lancelot Andrewes brought his huge knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin sources to bear in the minute and scholarly dissection of his texts and comparisons of different meanings that so impressed James.\textsuperscript{136} Andrewes could be as simple and as evangelical as ‘Silver-Tongued’ Smith or John Bunyan. Note the regular repetition of ‘with us’ in his explanation in a Christmas sermon of ‘Immanuel’ (God with us), and the triumphant ‘This, this is the great “with us”’. Note also the simple antitheses in a Good Friday sermon: “‘by his stripes we are healed”, by his sweat we [are] refreshed, by his forsaking, we [are] received to grace’; and the all-embracing

\textsuperscript{133} This view is based on my reading of the court sermons in the sample, and matches that of A. E. Herr, \textit{The Elizabethan Sermon: A Survey and a Bibliography} (Philadelphia, 1940), 13; on Andrewes in particular, see the nineteenth-century editor of Andrewes’s sermons (\textit{Works}, i, pp. viii–ix), and Lossky, \textit{Andrewes the Preacher}, passim.

\textsuperscript{134} See above, n. 129; and T. Playfere, ‘The sicke mans couch’, in \textit{Whole sermons} (1633), sig. Gz. Also cf. \textit{The Sermons of Edwin Sandys} (Cambridge, 1841), 144; the average 28 pages of the posthumously published ‘Nine sermons’ of Thomas Playfere before James I with the 84 pages of the sermon he gave before Prince Henry but enlarged for publication (all in \textit{Whole sermons}); and the brevity of J. Tillotson, \textit{Of evil speaking} (1694), preached before William and Mary, and ‘published by their majesties’ special command’.


\textsuperscript{136} See the works cited in Appendix 1.
thrust of his exposition of Ephesians 1: 10 where he describes ‘all in heaven, all in earth’ being ‘gathered together, together again—again into one . . . one body whereof Christ is the head’. But Andrewes clearly expected his listeners to be Latinate: when analysing ‘For unto us a son is born’ he divides the ‘us’ into ‘nobis exclusive’ and ‘nobis inclusive’; and when discussing ‘good tidings of great joy’ he comments ‘Therefore well said the Angel, Evangelizo gaudium magnum. And great it may be intensive, in the parties themselves; yet not great extensive, nor extend itself to many, not be gaudium magnum populo.’

Sales of the published sermons of Maxey, Playfere, and Andrewes may reflect the curiosity of those who could not be at court to know what was preached there, and what was valued by the social and intellectual elite of the day. A closer parallel might be not to the average sermon of the day but to the anthems sung in the Chapel Royal or the historical plays given before the court, in both of which art and intelligence combined with elements of flattery and the didactic to tickle the royal fancy. In this context it is also interesting to note that individual court sermons of Hall, Preston, Sanderson, Tillotson, and others, tended to sell less well than those delivered in other locations or to more broadly based types of congregation.

Funeral sermons also had a long tradition. As Dr d’Avray has recently demonstrated, it was common in the late Middle Ages for de mortuis sermons to be preached in memory of kings and princes. In these the emphasis on the inevitability of death and the nature of the afterlife was balanced by some account of the ruler’s personality and the nature of kingship. But by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, funeral sermons were being delivered and published to commemorate not only leading laymen and clergy, as in John King’s sermon on Archbishop John Piers in 1594, but also people of less exalted, usually middling, rank. In 1602 the funeral sermons for a Mrs Katherine Brettergh given by two Lancashire preachers, William Harrison and William Leigh, on consecutive verses of Isaiah 57 were published in the same volume, together with an account of her ‘life and godly death’. In 1611 Lancelot Langhorne published Mary sitting at Christ’s feet, an account of the ‘Christian life and comfortable death’ of Mrs Mary Swain; and in 1619 Stephen Denison preached a sermon at the funeral of Mrs Elizabeth Juxon on a text chosen by the deceased, and in the following year published it together with an account of the twenty ‘marks’ which she had ‘found to be wrought in her by God’s holy spirit’. Several more funeral sermons can be found in the sample, for individuals as varied as a queen, a bishop, some dissenting stalwarts, a trio of London matrons in the 1650s, an apothecary, a young man who came to a course of lectures for young persons to carp and

137 Andrewes, Works, i. 144–52; ii. 153; i. 272. 138 Ibid., i. 27, 70. 139 D. d’Avray, Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1550 (Oxford, 1994). 140 See Appendix 1 s.v. J. King; Harrison; Langhorne; and Denison.
scoff but was struck by remorse when he fell gravely ill, and a convicted but penitent murderer.\textsuperscript{141}

The printed form of these funeral sermons is of interest on various scores beyond their popularity. First, there is the purpose behind publication. The texts chosen helped to spread the message of the inevitability of death, the crucial need to prepare for it, and the rewards for the faithful: ‘rejoice, O young man in thy youth . . . but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement’ (Eccles. 11: 9); ‘To an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you’ (1 Pet. 1: 4).\textsuperscript{142} There are the uplifting titles chosen for the published version, such as Thomas Brookes’s \textit{A string of pearles, or the best things reserved till last}, and \textit{A beleevers last day is his best day}.\textsuperscript{143} Langhorne’s sermon was said on the title-page to have been published ‘for the encouraging of all Christian gentlewomen, and others to walk in the steps of this religious gentlewoman’; James Janeway published \textit{Death unstung} to urge readers, ‘especially of the younger sort’, to take note of the deceased’s ‘excellent example’; and John Shower published his sermon on the ‘late repentance’ of a young man (whose name was deliberately withheld) as \textit{An exhortation to youth to prepare for judgement}.\textsuperscript{144} Then there is the extra material added to the printed version of the sermon. In Denison’s epistle dedicatory, John Juxon and his five children are addressed in turn and urged to put the death of Mrs Juxon to good use; in other cases a further tribute to the virtues of the deceased was added in the preface, or a short biographical account, a list of ‘marks’ of grace, or a couple of ‘elegies’ (one by a friend and one by the grieving husband) were added at the end; in a further two, there was a report of conversations between a condemned man and the clergymen attending him, and a dialogue between an apothecary and his minister about God’s dealings with him before and after his conversion.\textsuperscript{145} In publications like these we are moving close to ‘godly dying’ handbooks, uplifting biographies and cautionary tales, and the epitaphs and elegies we will examine in Chapters 6 and 7.

\textsuperscript{141} See Appendix 1 s.v. Wake (1695) on Mary II; Lloyd (\textit{Sermon}, 1673) on Bishop Wilkins; T. Alleine, on Joseph Alleine; B. Calamy; Brookes (1653, and \textit{String}, 1657), and E. Calamy; Janeway (1669), Shower, and [Janeway/Franklin] (1668); and cf. Harris (1610), later editions of Jeremy Taylor’s \textit{Eniautos}, and Tillotson (1696). For funeral sermons given in Winchester Cathedral for the wife of a prebendary and a steward in the early Stuart period see \textit{The Diary of John Young S.T.P. Dean of Winchester}, ed. F. R. Goodman (1928), 60, 80.

\textsuperscript{142} The texts chosen by John Shower in 1681 and Thomas Brookes in 1657.

\textsuperscript{143} Further details in Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{144} L. Langhorne, \textit{Mary sitting at Christ’s feet} (1611), title-page; J. Janeway, \textit{Death unstung} (1672), ‘To the reader’; J. Shower, \textit{An exhortation to youth} (1681), title-page and sig. A2’.

\textsuperscript{145} S. Denison, \textit{The monument or tombe-stone} (1631), sigs. A2”, and on the ‘marks’ sig. A3’ and pp. 43–62; cf. the verses and ‘Lif’ following the two funeral sermons in W. Harrison and W. Leigh, \textit{Deaths advantage little regarded} (1605); and the tribute and ‘elegies’ prefixing Thomas Brookes’s \textit{A string of pearles} (1671), 14–25, and 223–5; [James Janeway?]/[Robert Franklin], \textit{A murderer punished and pardoned} (1669), 11–47; and Janeway, \textit{Death unstung}, 62–77 and 79–119 for biography and dialogue.
There are also pointers to how these funeral sermons came to be published and at what kind of reader the printed version was targeted. On some occasions it was stated that relatives of the deceased or members of the congregation who had heard the sermon had pressed for publication: Robert Harris published reluctantly (he said), partly because it was a simple sermon in that in it he had avoided Latin and Greek phrases which some in the congregation would not have understood; and Lancelot Langhorne was persuaded to publish his sermon by some who heard it ‘who also procured it to be licensed’, and the fact that in its published form it was only twenty-nine octavo pages long gives some credence to his statement that it was published exactly as it was preached.\footnote{Harrison and Leigh published their sermons partly to clear Mrs Brettergh of the ‘slanderous imputations’ made against her by her ‘popish neighbours’ in a part of the country (Lancashire) where it was important that such accusations were rebutted; Thomas Brookes, like Stephen Denison, directed his epistles dedicatory to the bereaved relatives; and the funeral sermon by Edmund Calamy in the sample seems to have been produced for a publisher who was a brother of the deceased.} In Calamy’s case and in one of the Brookes examples the funeral sermons seem to have been greatly extended before publication, and in other examples in our sample the text was either well over fifty pages,\footnote{Harrison and Leigh, Deaths advantage, sig. A3; Brookes, String of pearles, epistle dedicatory; E. Calamy, The godly man’s ark (1658) was printed for J. Hancock, brother of the deceased Mrs Moore (see H. R. Plomer, A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641 to 1667 (1907), 80) and Thomas Parkhurst.} or supplemented in one of the ways indicated above, all of which suggests that the reader was envisaged as having some leisure to peruse the printed volume. This, together with the use of roman rather than black-letter type, suggests that educated or leisured readers were envisaged, probably of the same rank as most of the deceased who were being commemorated. The fact that the majority of the funeral sermons in the sample that were published separately passed through only five or six editions\footnote{The main exceptions were Brookes’s String of pearles (10th edn. 1684), Calamy’s Godly ark (18th edn. 1709), and Lloyd’s Sermon on Bishop Wilkins (perhaps ten editions by 1722), the first two of which were greatly extended in the printed form; the story of Thomas Savage the repentant murderer (which included the funeral sermon given for him) is a different case: see below, Ch. 7.vii.} may also indicate a relatively localized or passing interest, no matter how much the author or publisher sought to widen their potential market—a point we shall return to later in connection with other types of sermon.

Wedding sermons also do not seem to have struck as loud a chord with the book-buying public: there are only four in our sample. Two were society weddings, by ministers who were regular preachers at court. The first was

\footnote{R. Harris, Absaloms funerall (1622), sigs. A2–r; Langhorne, Mary sitting, ‘To the reader’.}
preached by Robert Wilkinson at Whitehall in January 1607 at the marriage of a Scottish favourite, Lord James Hay, to an English heiress Honoria Denny, and Dr Ferrell believes this sermon has ‘profound political and religious implications’ for Anglo-Scottish relations at this time. The text certainly does contain a flattering comparison of James and Solomon, and praises James for ‘knitting and combining one kingdom with another’. But as Ferrell concedes, the scheme for a close union of the two kingdoms was dead by then, and the fact that the printed sermon sold six editions between 1607 and 1615 may owe as much or rather more to other features, such as its elegant if conventional handling of what the bride should bring to the marriage by way of virtues, decorum, and submissiveness; its highly unusual central metaphor (taken from Proverbs 31: 14) in which a good woman was compared to a ship, together with a title which might have caught tradesmen’s eyes (The merchant royall); and the woodcut on the title-page of a three-masted galleon.150 Anthony Maxey’s sermon at the wedding of Sir Ralph Sadler to the daughter of Sir Edward Coke was published in his collected sermons, which passed through a few editions in the early Stuart period. The text—Genesis 2: 21–2—again led to a predictable account of woman having been made from and for man, as well as a stress on the sanctity of marriage.151 The identity of the couples who heard Samuel Hieron and William Secker preach is not clear. In his Wedding ring fit for the finger (1658), Secker stressed that marriage was ‘the salve of divinity on the sore of humanity’ (that is, lust); Secker also said more about the wife’s role, though that of the husband was not totally ignored. This together with its brevity, its allusive, epigrammatic style, and its being published at the outset by a publisher with a strong stake in the cheaper end of the print trade, Thomas Parkhurst, may help to explain the ten editions between the late 1650s and the 1730s.152 Another type of sermon—the topical or controversial—proved much more popular, at least in terms of the number of titles published. From an early stage of the break with Rome and throughout the early modern period, the authorities in church and state were quite capable of using the pulpit and print to make their case for the new religion, as in the official homilies, but also had to contend with preachers who saw the printed sermon as a vehicle for promoting change, whether doctrinal, ecclesiastical, political, or social.153

150 R. Wilkinson, The merchant royall (1613), title-page, sig. Fr, and passim; Ferrell, Government by Polemic, 38–40; for Hay’s position at court, see Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, 110.
151 A. Maxey, Certaine sermons (1634), 389–419.
152 W. Secker, A wedding ring fit for the finger (1678), p. 11 and passim; the Hieron sermon is the second in the [1620?] edition of the Workes in the Bodleian (G.8.3[1].Th.). For other wedding sermons published more than once which did not qualify for the sample, see W[illiam] W[hately], A bride-bush (1616), and id., A care-cloth (1624), and T. Grantham, A marriage sermon (1641). I have noted only one baptismal sermon in the sample.
In our sample, for example, is Hugh Latimer’s Convocation sermon of 1537 in which, not long before he resigned his bishopric, he condemned superstition, the doctrine of purgatory, and misuse of images; the sermon by Edward Dering in which he attacked greedy patrons of church livings and inadequate parish clergy, and urged the queen to do more to ensure a decent ministry, in terms which so angered Elizabeth that he was suspended from preaching for a while; then there are William Fulke’s sermon at Hampton Court ‘wherein is proved Babylon to be Rome’, John Tillotson’s and Edward Stillingfleet’s attacks on Catholicism and the ‘Popish Plot’ in 1678, and Richard Bentley’s onslaught on the folly of atheism and deism in the Boyle lecture of 1692. Also of topical interest if not quite so controversial were Henry Smith’s sermon on true and false spirits with references to the visions seen by one Robert Dickon in the 1590s, Stillingfleet’s 1666 sermon on the sinfulness of London having led God to punish that city by the Great Fire, and Samuel Bolde’s condemnation of persecution in a sermon preached in March 1682, when the brief to raise cash for the Huguenot victims of Louis XIV was read in his church. Such controversial or topical sermons are much better known to historians, as are the efforts of rulers to ‘tune’ their pulpits, and so need little comment here. However, a similar point to the one made about funeral sermons may also be made, that many of these sermons passed through a relatively low number of repeat editions, perhaps because they proved to be of only passing interest, or in cases such as Dickon’s visions and the Great Fire of London of primarily local interest.

Possibly localized appeal leads on to another characteristic of the printed sermons in our sample: the fact that such a high proportion of them were delivered either in a city, usually London but sometimes another city or town such as Cambridge, or at court. As we have seen, over a dozen of the authors of sermons in the sample had preached one or more of them before the court; and in addition, two sermons in the sample were preached before the privy council, and a number were preached before parliament, or at one of a number of locations in London, such as the Tower, King’s Bench common jail, St Paul’s, St Clement Dane’s, St Clement’s Eastcheap, St Lawrence Jewry, the Guildhall chapel (before the mayor of London), Gray’s Inn, or Lincoln’s Inn.

154 See Appendix 1 for further details of the works cited; on Latimer’s resignation and Dering’s suspension, see DNB and above n. 131.

155 Appendix 1 s.v. H. Smith (1599); Stillingfleet (1666); Tillotson, Sermon (1678); Bolde. For the very low percentage of political sermons in the period 1660–1753, see Deconinck-Brossard, ‘Eighteenth-Century Sermons’, 110–11.

156 See above, nn. 127–8.

157 Privy council: Chamberlaine; and Maxey; parliament: Stillingfleet (1666); Tillotson (1668).

158 See Dering (1570?); W. King; Latimer, J. Foxe, Dering (XXVII lectures); Adams, and Sanderson all preached at Paul’s Cross; Henry Smith preached regularly at St Clement Dane’s, Pearson at St Clement’s Eastcheap (see the preface of his Exposition of the Creed), Tillotson at St Lawrence Jewry, Sibbes at Gray’s Inn, and Preston at Lincoln’s Inn; the Guildhall sermon was by Stillingfleet (1679).
Outside London some sermons were delivered by bishops or senior clergy in their cathedrals or dioceses, for example at a visitation or assize session, or when they had to preach a funeral sermon for a local dignitary. But if we turn the question round, and ask how many of the sermons in the sample are known for certain to have been delivered outside the court or metropolis, or a major town or noble household, the answer is a growing number but from a very low base. Arthur Dent’s famous Sermon of repentance was preached at Leigh in Essex, and ‘published at the request of sundry godly and well disposed persons’ in that most puritan of counties; and William Perkins delivered his Exhortation to repentance out of Zephaniah at Stourbridge Fair, though he condemned the sinfulness of the towns and cities in particular, and urged his listeners to take the lesson of repentance back to their cities and towns before it was too late. Samuel Hieron’s published sermons were probably delivered mostly in his living of Modbury in Devon, as, a few decades later, were the sermons which William Dyer published for the benefit of ‘private families’ and friends in the same county; and for rather different reasons—political isolation after the civil wars—Jeremy Taylor’s ‘course of sermons for all the Sundays of the year’ were delivered at his patron’s house, called the ‘Golden Grove’, in Herefordshire. But even in the later Stuart period, the court or larger towns and cities were the location in which a large proportion of printed sermons, both inside and outside the sample, had been first delivered.

This pattern is not necessarily a disadvantage in trying to gauge the impact of print, in so far as it tells us what was popular with certain types of reader. But it certainly begs the question whether those sermons given before kings, noblemen, and leading citizens may be taken as typical of what was actually delivered in the average rural church, the less fashionable churches in bigger towns, and the pulpits of smaller towns. In most cases the sermons in our sample were given on a special occasion rather than a regular Sunday, and the version printed was a carefully polished and augmented version of what had been said, by a clergyman of unusually good education and gifts, to a congregation that probably contained a number of well-informed and discerning listeners whom he wished to impress. That clergymen at the time were acutely aware of the differences between metropolitan and provincial congregations is shown by their comments. In the preface to his edition of Samuel Hieron’s sermons, Robert Hill suggested that Hieron had ‘demeaned’

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159 See the collected sermons of Hugh Latimer, Robert Sanderson, John King, and Thomas Playfere, and Ward’s visitation sermon (1615).
160 Dent (1582), Perkins (1605) (the comments can be seen in Works (1606): Faithfull and plaine exposition, 14–16); Thomas Hopkins dedicated Two godlie and profitable sermons (1611) to the mayor and aldermen of Coventry, but inveighed against the sins of England in general and London in particular: title-page and sigs. A2–3.
161 Hieron (1614); Dyer; Jeremy Taylor (Eniautos, 1653). Other examples in the sample of sermons published outside London or major cities include those by Everinden, Harris, and S. Smith (1617), and probably those of Webbe and Thomas.
himself by serving a cure in Devon when he could have had a living in London (where Hill was safely ensconced); and in Richard Baxter’s *Sermon of judgement*, which was later enlarged into a treatise, he contrasted the ‘plain country doctrine’ which his West Midlands parishioners needed with what the ‘more curious stomachs’ of London listeners expected (though he conceded that the latter had received the sermon kindly). If we were to compare the examples of printed sermons in our sample with selections of sermons still in manuscript that are known to have been given in rural parishes by less famous clergy, we might find a very different pattern of content and style, pitched more at the typical audience of the time, and on subjects that were seen to be of greater relevance or importance to them. From a survey of printed and manuscript sermons delivered in colonial New England, for example, Professor Stout concluded that 85 per cent of the printed sermons were ‘occasional’, that is, given on a special occasion, and that ‘the most accurate guide . . . to what people actually heard are the handwritten sermon notes that ministers carried with them into the pulpit’.

The norm for many parishes in the Elizabethan period and for less well-endowed parishes in subsequent reigns, especially where a young or indifferently educated curate was in temporary charge, may well have been the two volumes of homilies written by leading lights of the Edwardian and early Elizabethan churches and published in 1547 and 1563. The first had passed through thirty-six editions by 1640 and the second twenty, and the two combined were reprinted regularly after the Restoration. What this collection of sermons may have lacked in topicality or cutting edge, it made up for in simplicity of structure, clarity of style, brevity, and soundness of doctrine. The structure adopted was the older one, also found in the homilies of the Fathers, which lacked an elaborate scheme of arrangement, merely tackling a particular topic such as salvation, faith, good works, idolatry, sacraments, or one of the major festivals of the church in a logical manner, and using scriptural material above all else. Most were also divided into two, three, or four parts, each of which probably took no more than ten minutes to read, so that a reader could either read the whole at one time on one day, as on Easter Day, or at separate services on the same day, or on consecutive Sundays. As one modern scholar has written, ‘thousands of Englishmen grew up and lived

their lives with the weekly sound of its content droning past their ears and occasionally impressing its teaching upon their minds’, or rather more often in the case of the blotting-paper memory of William Shakespeare. But their teaching and style were probably ‘at least as good as the average fare of preaching in most ages of the Christian church’, and won accolades from moderate dissenters like Baxter and Wesley as well as more conformable clergy.\textsuperscript{165}

A not dissimilar conclusion might be reached about another development in early modern preaching—the rise of the short catechetical sermon or homily during the seventeenth century, and especially the second half of that period. This is not the place to discuss this phenomenon at length, partly because it has been described in outline elsewhere and partly because the authors of such works were not aiming at originality, controversy, or polish, and so were less likely to have wanted—or secured—the publication of these efforts in large numbers.\textsuperscript{166} On the other hand their value in pressing home the basics of the faith should not be overlooked in the wider context.

While individual sermons of the accomplished or fashionable type described above continued to find sales in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they were complemented on the one hand by larger works comprising two or more sermons, and on the other by shorter sermons presented to the public with some of the trappings of a ‘popular’ pamphlet or tract. Collected sermons were not a complete novelty; in addition to the two volumes of official homilies just mentioned, there was the early example of the collected sermons of Hugh Latimer (though the assembly and binding of the two parts of these sermons was often rather chaotic).\textsuperscript{167} But in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was a clear trend towards publishing two, three, or more sermons, usually in a quarto or folio format compared to the octavo in which single sermons were usually printed, and towards printing whole collections of sermons. Sometimes these sermons tackled the same topic, but in other cases there was little connection beyond the fact that the same man had preached them.\textsuperscript{168} This trend continued


\textsuperscript{166} Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 145–52, 158–66. The sample does, however, include sermons on catechetical topics such as six sermons on the Lord’s Prayer, sermons on the Creed later turned into a treatise, and a large number of pre-communion sermons; Lewis Thomas published a short treatise on the Decalogue with his \textit{Seaven sermons}.

\textsuperscript{167} See note in STC s.v. Latimer; other early collections of sermons included those of John Jewel and Henry Ainay, ibid. 14596–9, 245.

\textsuperscript{168} Appendix 1 below: examples of thematic include J. King; S. Smith (–1617); Pinke; Preston (1631); examples of diverse are H. Smith (1592, both titles, and 1599); Maxey; Hieron; Playfere; and Hall; and outside the sample there are the collections of Thomas Adams and Anthony Farindon: STC 104–5 and Wing F429–37.
throughout the second half of the period under study here, as the works in
the sample by lesser lights as well as establishment figures demonstrate.169

Combinations of sermons may have represented better value than the buy-
ing and binding of single copies, or perhaps the dictates of fashion played a
part. The sermons of ‘Silver-tongued’ Smith, for example, were apparently
very popular among the citizens of London to whom he preached and who
included Lord Treasurer Burghley, to whom he dedicated his collected ser-
mons.170 But collections like Smith’s or Andrewes’s must have cost shillings
rather than pence, especially when published in folio or quarto on good-
quality paper, and properly bound, which must have limited sales to those
clergy and laymen able to afford a sample of the most highly prized style of
delivery or correct message. When Sir Thomas Bludder’s library was seized
by parliamentarian forces in 1643, it proved to have the collected works of
Joseph Hall, Lancelot Andrewes, and a copy of the official homilies, as well as
works by Perkins, Preston, Bolton, and various other edifying works.171 A few
decades later when a young curate died in Warwickshire in 1705, an unusu-
ally detailed inventory of his books with the estimated resale value of each shows
that he already possessed a large collection of Tillotson’s sermons and a copy
of the official homilies, as well as a sizeable collection of the works to which
we will come in the next few chapters.172 In the mid-eighteenth century diary
kept by a Sussex shop-keeper, Thomas Turner recorded that he regularly read
Tillotson’s sermons in the evening by himself or to a friend, because they con-
stituted ‘a complete body of divinity’ written in ‘a plain familiar style, but far
from what may be deemed low’.173 Even the collection of sermons by Sibbes
which was published as The bruised reede, and smoaking flax and consisted of only
340 pages of duodecimo, cost 1s. 2d. unbound, and 1s. 6d. or 1s. 8d. bound,
though at least this seems to have put it (or a second-hand copy perhaps)
within the range of a person like Richard Baxter’s father who bought a copy
at the door from a pedlar.174

The other direction in which sermon publishing was moving was towards
shorter sermons, of thirty-six pages or less. A number of the individual best-
selling or steadily selling sermons first published before 1600 were of 48 pages
or more, especially if the author had polished and enlarged the text for pub-
lication. John Bradford’s Sermon of repentance [1553] was over 100 pages long,
Dent’s similarly entitled work covered 60 pages in 1583, while Fulke’s Sermon

169 Respectively N. Lockyer (1643), W. Fenner (1645), C. Love (1652, both titles), and B. Calamy; R.
Sanderson (1656 and 1657), Jeremy Taylor (Eniautos), and J. Tillotson (1671, 1678, and 1696).
170 Jenkins, Henry Smith, 10–11, 16–18, 20–1.
38–46.
174 R. Baxter, Reliquiae Baxterianae (1696), lib. i, pt. i, para. 3 [pp. 3–4].
preached at Hampton Court a few years earlier was 54 pages long. But of the two sermons by Dent first published in 1608, A sermon of Christ’s miracles was only forty-five pages, and his Sermon of Gods providence only forty-three pages; on a copy of the former in the Huntington Library is a note by one George Turnbull indicating that he paid 3d. for it. 

Thereafter a growing proportion of regularly reprinted sermons were thirty-six pages or less. The sermons published by Robert Harris in the 1610s and 1620s dropped from just above thirty to just over twenty quarto pages. In 1625 and 1626, we find Humphrey Everiden publishing separate sermons on two halves of the same verse (Matt. 25: 46); the sermons are only a dozen pages long, printed in black letter, and have matching titles: The reward of the wicked and The recompense of the righteous. Everiden said these were aimed at the ‘simple’ and his labours would be worthwhile if but one drop of honey could be sucked from ‘so silly [simple] a flower’. After the Restoration, a significant proportion of sermons in our sample by conformist clergy were between thirty-two and thirty-six pages of quarto, for example Stillingfleet’s sermon before the Commons in 1666, Lloyd’s funeral sermon for Wilkins in 1672, sermons by Tillotson published in 1678 and 1683, Samuel Bolde’s Sermon against persecution (1682), Beveridge’s Of the happiness of the saints in heaven (1690), and Moore’s Of religious melancholy (1692). Since a number of these later sermons were published in medium-sized typeface with wider margins than a century before, their texts were clearly shorter on average, suggesting that both preachers and publishers had become convinced of the advantages of relative brevity.

Another development was the repackaging of sermons, partly through a move from black-letter to roman typeface and the adoption of a less cramped layout on the page and wider margins, and partly by a move towards decorating title-pages, either of individual full-length sermons or collections of sermons. John Foxe’s Sermon of Christ crucified was one of those texts much enlarged between preaching and publication, but by the 1580s had also acquired a decorated title-page similar to those being used on the title-pages of bibles being printed at that time. By the 1620s both shorter and longer sermons were also acquiring decorated title-pages, either in their first or subsequent editions, and usually to match an allusion in the title. Thus Samuel
Ward’s *A coal from the altar to kindle the holy fire of zeale* (1615) had a depiction of a heart with flames bursting out the top surrounded by a bush which is not being consumed, and Samuel Smith had an angel blowing a trumpet and holding a book, against a background of saints in heaven above and bodies emerging from opening graves beneath in his *Great assize, or day of jubilee* (first surviving edition 1617). Other works in the sample had more general motifs, as in the symbolic figures of humility and faith and four evangelists on the cover of the folio volume of Hieron’s collected works, while a collection of three sermons by Preston had on the cover a depiction of a bible above the figures of Old Father Time, a skeleton, and an hour glass, and the legends ‘Study me in thy prime, Bury death and weary time’ and ‘The glass doth run, and time doth go, Death hath his end, I have not so’—motifs commonly associated with older traditions of *memento mori* and newer forms of cheap print.

Another element in the repackaging of sermons was a catchy title, such as that of the wedding sermon mentioned above—*The merchant royall*, with the supporting woodcut of a galleon. Thomas Adams published sermons of medium length, printed in roman type in quartos (a second-hand copy was bought in 1689 for 4d.), but his forte was what has been termed ‘quaint’ titles, such as the one in our sample (perhaps chosen with a nod towards Webster’s play, written a few years earlier): *The white devil, or the hypocrite uncased*, a sermon in which he condemned hypocrisy and cheating among the London citizens he was addressing. John Gore’s sermons in the 1630s were published in quarto in roman type with unadorned title-pages, but they were unusually short and had titles like *The poore mans hope*; *The way to prosper*; and *The way to be content* which anticipate the cheaper works of Richard Younge and Matthew Killiray and the penny ‘godlies’ from the 1640s to the 1670s and beyond.

The culmination of these trends towards shorter and more attractively packaged sermons, and of other trends in publishing such as the moralistic pamphlet under Elizabeth and the ‘tract’ or ‘tractate’ under James, was the twenty-four page chapbook sermon. As Dr Watt has demonstrated, this last probably emerged in the 1620s, and cost a penny or tuppence, and was widely disseminated by traders and pedlars. This was usually presented to the public in a down-market, eye-catching package, using black-letter font at a time

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181 S. Ward, *A coal from the altar* (1622), title-page; the edition seen of Smith’s *Great assize* was the 1644 in the British Library.


183 Southey described Adams as ‘the prose Shakespeare of puritan theology’ (cited in *DNB* s.v. T. Adams), but as Maltby has pointed out he was also a defender of episcopacy and the Prayer Book; J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), 77n. For a livelier style of language and delivery, see Walsham, *Providentialism*, 315–25, but the sermons cited there did not qualify for the sample used here.

184 For Gore see STC 12075, 12083, and 12080; and for Younge, Killiray, and the ‘godlies’, below, Ch. 8.xviii.

185 Watt, *Cheap Print*, pt. 3; on moralistic pamphlets, and tracts, see below, Ch. 8.
when roman had become the norm for most publications, choosing an intriguing title, and often combining it on the title-page with a woodcut on the same theme, if possible borrowed from the stock of woodcuts used by the printer on broadsheets and popular titles of a non-religious kind. Dr Watt is surely correct to see the members of the book trade behind the initiative for the production of these shorter, cheaper works, either by buying up existing works and condensing them or cramming them into a smaller number of pages as in the case of Henry Smith’s *Trumpet of the soule* in 1626, or by commissioning new works in which elements from different genres were combined to form a new, cheaper one.\[^{186}\] However, in Chapter 8, it will be suggested that, although some preachers may have co-operated with this new venture, it is open to question how many did so actively and how orthodox was the doctrine they taught; further consideration of chapbook sermons will be deferred until then. Here one may simply note that works in this new cheap format were probably soon bringing good returns for the men who played the greatest part in their publication and distribution. There is a certain irony, however, in that although these works were probably aimed at the lowest levels of reader, many historians study them through copies bought and treated carefully by two book-collectors—Frances Wolfreston and Samuel Pepys—who both had sufficient means and education to be able to read more demanding and more orthodox works when they wanted to do so.\[^{187}\]

In 1578 Laurence Chaderton had been worried that the press might actually supplant the pulpit. ‘Let no man think that the reading of this [sermon] can be half so effectual and profitable to him as the hearing was, or might be’, he warned. For a sermon to have its full impact it needed ‘the zeal of the speaker, the attention of the hearer . . . the mighty and inward working of [the] Holy Spirit, and many other things’.\[^{188}\] Up to a point Chaderton’s fears proved groundless: ‘live’ sermons remained the norm in churches and chapels throughout England, and published versions never comprised more than a fraction of printed edification, even in the sixteenth century. If anything, by the early seventeenth century there was a risk that the market for printed sermons was becoming glutted, and thereafter printed sermons actually declined relative to the other forms of communication described in this and the next few chapters: about half of the hundred sermons in our sample had first appeared by the 1630s, but when set against the much larger number of treatises, handbooks, and other edifying titles published from the 1640s to the 1690s, the remaining half represents a relative decline. The printed sermon remained a favourite vehicle in Augustan England for the zealous or ambitious cleric, or for sponsoring a new movement such as

\[^{186}\] Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 314 and ch. 8 passim.  
\[^{187}\] Ibid., 315–17, and below, Ch. 10.v–vi.  
the Charity School or SPCK. But by then it was filling only a medium-sized niche in a much-enlarged west front.\[189\]

In another sense Chaderton was right to fear that print might challenge preaching. Preachers hoped to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, but nevertheless felt it incumbent to study and prepare a sermon carefully rather than improvise completely. We have the testimony of contemporaries like Perkins, Evelyn, and Burnet that it was common for regular preachers in Elizabethan and early Stuart times to prepare a skeleton sermon, with gaps to be filled as the Spirit and the needs of the congregation dictated, or even a full text, which (like the framework) would be delivered ‘memoriter’—from memory. But in the second half of the seventeenth century, while memorization and extemporization survived, often in combination, it apparently became much more common for preachers to read from a fully completed text, which was seen as being more methodical in structure, more capable of offering rational proof, and embodying a more careful choice of words than sermons that relied heavily on extemporization, such as the sectaries’. Now both a skeleton and a complete text, whether delivered from memory or read out, formed a natural basis for publication: why waste the fruits of so much study, when it could do so much good by being read by many others, perhaps several times? The trend towards the reading out of sermon texts must have made the transition into print even easier, and it has even been suggested that some later seventeenth-century preachers like Barrow and South wrote sermons more like essays, to be read rather than preached.\[190\] Whether this last point is true or not, it is hard to imagine zealous and educated preachers not having in mind the possibility of transfer to another medium, rather like the author of a play or a thriller today might have in mind the possibility of its being turned into a screenplay. And how far might such a prospect have inhibited the operation of the Spirit and a preacher’s ability to respond to the reactions of a live audience?

Despite the ubiquity of the sermon, we still know tantalizingly little about it. As already indicated, we know far too little of the shape, character, language, and function of an average sermon in a typical parish, though notes of many such sermons still exist. We also know less than we may think of the doctrine preached. It was suggested in Chapter 3 that, to judge from the printed sermons, leading English preachers may have favoured New Testament texts over Old Testament ones, and ‘historical’ books to ‘dogmatic’ or ‘prophetic’.\[191\] Until further work is done, it is premature to say for certain

\[191\] See above, pp. 107, 116, and Ch. 3.x–xv.
how accurate this picture is, and how far there were shifts in the texts deployed and the themes covered. Was there, for example, a shift away from the Pauline texts favoured by many of the ‘godly’ to the Gospels, or to the specified scripture readings laid down in the lectionary of the Book of Common Prayer? Was there, as has been suggested on the basis of works by a few well-known figures, a shift in Anglican thought to a more optimistic portrait of human nature and a greater stress on ‘duty’, ‘obedience’, and the ‘performance’ of ‘conditions’, compared to a puritan/dissenting stress on zeal, the light of the Gospel, and the difficulties of the holy life, including the need to be like a soldier or a pilgrim in combating evil and enduring persecution? Or was there also a degree of rapprochement, especially at a more elementary level of preaching, as both conformists and nonconformists stressed the need for repentance and faith, and to labour to keep the terms of the covenant of grace by walking in God’s ways?

Certainly, two recent surveys of printed sermons in the second half of our period (by Sommerville and Deconinck-Brossard) have commented on the ‘surprising consensus’ and ‘amazing similarity in the use of the Bible by Anglican and dissenting preachers’, who ‘found their inspiration in the same books, appealed to the same examples, and even the same quotations’. Deconinck-Brossard also shows that in the period 1660–1753, much the largest single category of sermon in both Anglican and dissenting cases (27 per cent and 35 per cent respectively) was the practical or ethical. Meanwhile, the cheapest ‘sermons’ of all—the chapbook ‘godlies’—tended to reflect an older, populist view that equated good deeds with salvation, and pressed repentance mainly when times were bad. A closer examination of these trends might throw a great deal more light on the character of early modern English Protestantism than the polemical or political sermon or the sermons of the good and great whose work, through the medium of print, has caught the eye of historians, but did not necessarily catch that of most literate contemporaries.

viii. Treatises

‘Treatise’ is not as precise a label as sermon, and was used in different ways at different stages of the early modern period. But if we count those titles in the sample which were described as such on the title-page or in the preface, or were referred to as a ‘discourse’, ‘tractate’, or ‘tract’, then we have just over 250 treatises in the sample—easily the largest category at over a third of the whole. Again, any boundaries that are drawn here have to be very flexible. In

— Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment I*, 1, 21, 126, and passim.
— Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, 61–7, 148–9; and Deconinck-Brossard, ‘Eighteenth-Century Sermons’, 110–11 (the next largest category was doctrinal, at 19% and 23% respectively).
terms of their character rather than origin or status, ‘official’ titles like Jewel’s *Apologia* and Hooker’s *Lawes of ecclesiastical politie* are more treatise than anything else, and almost a score of what have been designated in Appendix 1 as ‘composite’ or ‘mixed’ works contain a section of ‘treatise’ or ‘discourse’ alongside a set of ‘meditations’ or instructions or some other type of composition. That having been said, the central core of treatises is readily distinguishable from other genres; and although the idea of a treatise was not new, the production of so many treatises for non-professional, lay readers certainly was.

A ‘treatise’ had two characteristics: it was a literary composition, as opposed to one which was first delivered or designed to be given orally; and it offered a methodical treatment of a definite theme or topic. Thus in his *Treatise of moral philosophie* (1547), William Baldwin used the ‘godly good doctrine’ of classical authors to defend Christian teaching in a work which struck a sufficient chord with other humanistically educated readers to require twenty-five editions in just over a century. Similarly, some of the works by Continental authors who had tackled a specific theme thought to be of interest to English readers were translated into English in the Elizabethan period, for example Jean de L’Espine’s *Excellent treatise of Christian righteousness* and Philippe de Mornay’s *Notable treatise of the church*, which were translated by the puritan divine John Field and published in 1577 and 1579 respectively. Among native English authors, William Perkins was among the first to use the term regularly in works on religious subjects, such as *A treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or in the state of grace* (1588) and his *Two treatises. I. Of ... repentence. II. Of the combat of the flesh* (1593). Perkins (or his publishers or editors) sometimes used other labels for works that were ‘penned’ to be ‘read at . . . leisure’, such as his *Exposition of the lords prayer* and *Exposition of the . . . creed*, his *Direction for the government of the tongue*, and *A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified*. But it was ‘treatise’ that we find in regular use by clerical authors in the early Stuart period, both in works

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194 In addition various works designated ‘catechetical’ and ‘devotional’ have an element of exposition about them: e.g. L. Andrewes (1630); anon., *The art of catechizing*; Bastigius; Bray; Clutterbuck; Ursinus; Brough; Dupp; Featley (1625/6); Luis de Granada; so too do some of the handbooks discussed in Ch. 6 below.

195 Ibid. s.v. Addison; Augustine (1585); Cotton (–1629); Crossman; Fleming; Greenham; Hall (1624); Hayward (Hell’s everlasting flames, and Precious blood of the son); Inett (1688); Nieremberg; Norris (1687); Perkins [1597?]; R[jichard] R[ogers] et al (1609); R. Sherlock (1673); Southwell (1591); E. Sparke; Jeremy Taylor (1655); and Taylor and W. Cave (1675).


197 See Appendix 1 s.v. L’Espine and Mornay, and cf. Taffin (though this was not termed a treatise on the title-page or preface).

198 Ibid. s.v. Perkins (1588); (1593), and cf. *Sale for a sick man: or a treatise*, the description of *Reformed catholike* as a ‘small treatise’ (1610), sig. A3; and the revised title of *The first part as The whole treatise of the cases of conscience*; also Perkins, *Exposition* (1592), *Exposition* (1595), *Direction* (1593), and *Declaration* (1596); the quotation is from "To the reader" in the last of these.
inside the sample such as Richard Rogers’s *Seven treatises . . . leading and guiding to true happiness* (1602), Henry Greenwood’s *Treatise of the great and general day of judgement* (1606), and the three ‘excellent and heavenly treatises’ in *Triumph of a Christian* (1609) by William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, and in works outside it such as John Ball’s *Treatise of faith* (1631). Rogers’s collection of seven treatises was written, it was explained, to combat ‘popish’ treatises which were designed to ensnare ignorant and simple Christians and to provide those who could read with clear directions for daily living, directions which should be read over and over again; similarly Ball’s treatise was written ‘to direct the weak Christian how he may possess the whole word of God as his own, overcome temptations, and live comfortably in all estates’.

To be thorough in their treatment such ‘treatises’ needed to be substantial in size. Rogers’s original collection of treatises was intended ‘for the simpler sort, whom I do chiefly respect and regard through this my whole labour’, but, perhaps because he was deprived of office for long periods Rogers filled over 600 folio pages, costing probably 10 or 12 shillings; even when ‘contracted’ into a ‘little book’ by Stephen Egerton it filled over 600 duodecimo pages. Perkins’s ‘small’ treatise on the difference between Protestantism and Catholicism covered over 300 octavo pages; Sutton’s ‘brief’ treatise on godly living was almost 500 duodecimo pages long (more in some editions); and Jeremiah Dyke’s ‘small’ pre-communion treatise was over 500 or 600 pages long in different editions. There was, however, a growing appreciation that some readers preferred shorter works. The ‘little treatises’ in Nicholas Byfield’s *The marrow of the oracles of God* ranged from 80 to 200 duodecimo pages; and in the 1620s the anonymous *Heavens happiness*, described as a ‘small’ treatise, was only 24 pages long. In the later seventeenth century the cut-down chapbook version of Baxter’s *Now or never*, also described as a ‘small’ treatise, was only 21 octavo pages long, while the ‘little treatise’ Thomas Wilcox prepared as a ‘short word of advice to all saints and sinners’ filled just 32 small duodecimo pages in the 1690s. There was not much difference between works such as these and those chapbook ‘godlies’ in which a specific topic was handled in the form of a short discourse, though the term ‘treatise’ was rarely used to describe the latter, perhaps because their authors or publishers did not wish them to appear too difficult. However, the gap between

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200 Appendix 1 for the first three titles, and STC 21319 for the Ball; cf. also Joseph Hall, *A recollection of such treatises as have bene heretofore severally published* (1615), STC 12706.


202 See previous notes for the editions used in the first three cases, and the 1617 edition of Sutton (1602) and the 1636 and 1645 editions of J. Dyke (1635). On Rogers, see also *History of the Book in Britain IV*, ch 2, pt. 1.

203 In the 1620 edition of Byfield (1619), and the 1632 edition of *Heavens happiness*.

204 In the 1683 edition of the former, and the [1690?] edition of the latter.
‘small’ treatises and what in later centuries would be called tracts had greatly narrowed by the later seventeenth century.

In the reigns of the early Stuarts and the 1650s, the term ‘treatise’ was also often applied to a collection of sermons converted into print. This was reasonable in the case of a series of sermons tackling a whole theme, as in the ‘treatise’ on regeneration by William Whately (the early Stuart vicar of Banbury nicknamed ‘roaring boy’ for his loud delivery), or that of Thomas Hooker on contrition. It was especially so where the sermons had been amended in some way for publication, either by being expanded (as in Robert Bolton’s ‘treatise’ on how to walk with God, and Thomas Goodwin’s *A childe of light walking in darknesse*) or condensed (as in John Rogers’s ‘little poor treatise’ which was ‘the sum of sundry sermons’). It was also justified where the original shape of a sermon—a continuous text, with marginal headings for each new verse or point in a published version—was replaced by a division into chapters or similar division. However, in some cases where the label ‘treatise’ was applied, the texts of sermons were reproduced exactly as they appeared in the author’s notes, especially where they were being published posthumously and editors were reluctant to alter much. Calling such a group of unaltered sermons a ‘treatise’ may have been a ploy adopted by publishers aware of the growing demand for such works in the first half of the seventeenth century, but it also reflects other trends: the hope of prolonging the life of a sermon beyond the time it had taken to deliver orally, its dissemination over a much wider area than was possible by oral means alone, and a trend towards reading sermons from notes rather than memorizing them beforehand or improvising.

‘Discourse’ had a similar history to ‘treatise’. Applied only infrequently to religious works in the sixteenth century, as in Thomas Rogers’s translation of a Continental work, *A general discourse against the damnable sect of usurers* (1578), it was used much more commonly in the seventeenth for works written primarily to be read, as in Christopher Sutton’s ‘religious discourse’ on godly dying in 1600, and Samuel Bolton’s ‘sacramental discourse’ on preparing for communion in 1644. Bunyan also used it for sermons that had been much altered for

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204 W. Whately, *The new birth or a treatise of regeneration* (1622), passim; [Thomas Hooker], *The souls preparation for Christ, or a treatise of contrition* (1632), sig. A4v.
206 e.g. S. Ward, *The life of faith*, and W. Perkins *The whole treatise of the cases of conscience*, a more radical revision obviously took place in Pearson’s *Exposition of the Creed*.
207 J. Preston, *The new covenant . . . A treatise . . . delivered in fourteen sermons* (1629) was edited by Richard Sibbes and John Davenport; Christopher Love’s *Grace* (1652) comprised his last sixteen sermons before his execution, and was published as a ‘small treatise’ by Edmund Calamy, Simeon Ashe, and others (sig. 2r), and his *Heavens glory, hells terror* (1653) consisted of two sets of eight ‘sermons’ published as ‘two treatises’ by the same fellow presbyterians (1658 edition, sigs. A2v–s).
208 For the Rogers translation, see STC 24342; for the others, Appendix 1, s.v. Sutton (1600, title-page); S. Bolton (title-page); and cf. S. Patrick, *Mensa mystica* (1660), title-page.
Indeed, by the 1630s and 1640s the term had become almost as common as ‘treatise’ among the works in our sample, among both conformist episcopalians and nonconformists. For those works which had originated as sermons, the label ‘discourse’ suggested not only the element of speech, but also the idea of a dissertation or extended treatment to be read, as in Robert Bolton’s Discourse about the state of true happiness (delivered first as sermons in Oxford and at St Paul’s), and Nathaniel Culverwell’s Elegant and learned discourse of the light of nature (designed with the ‘other treatises’ in the same volume as ‘scholastic exercises in the college chapel’). Many authors regularly paired ‘discourse’ with ‘treatise’ in describing their publications: both were meant to be read, and were usually divided into chapters to facilitate study.

‘Tractate’ and ‘tract’ were not used as commonly. In their original Latin sense, both conveyed a sense of the handling of a topic, though at what length and in what way was not clear. Thus in the reign of James I, Henry Greenwood’s sermons sold best when printed together in groups of ‘tractates’, which varied from as little as 20 to over 100 pages. The other characteristics which mark out Greenwood’s works from a conventional sermon of that reign were the use of black-letter type and the lively titles of individual ‘tractates’ in their published version, such as Tormenting Tophet or The race celestial, or a speedy course to salvation. Material first given as a sermon or sermons might also end up as a ‘tract’, as with Christ’s communion with his church militant (1640) which Nicholas Lockyer referred to as a tract (of ninety-two octavo sides) which had been ‘first preached and now published’. But the label was also applied to works which by their nature had never been preached, such as the godly living manual by an Oxford academic, Richard Allestree, entitled The ladies calling (which, at 270 pages, he considered to be a ‘small’ tract), and the whole genre of ‘devotional tracts’ mentioned by a royal chaplain, George Stanhope, in the preface to his edition of Thomas à Kempis’s Imitation of Christ. What

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Bunyan, Come, and welcome (1678, title-page), Discourse (1685), Good news (1688, title-page), and The acceptable sacrifice (1691, sig. A2r).

See Appendix i s.v. Wilkins (1646, and 1651); Jeremy Taylor, The worthy communicant (1660, title-page); Horneck (1677, title-page, and 1681, epistle dedicatory); Tillotson (1684); T. Goodwin, Christ set forth (1642), sig. A2r; T. Vincent, God’s terrible voice (1667), sig. A2r; for Patrick and Bunyan see previous notes, and for Watson n. 221 below.

R. Bolton, Discourse about the state of true happiness (1612, title-page and sig. Cr); N. Culverwell, An elegant and learned discourse (1652), title-page and ‘To the reader’.


Editions vary a good deal: see STC: 12327–331.5, and Wing G1867.

N. Lockyer, Christ’s communion (1644), sig. A3r; and cf. the reference to ‘sermons or other tractates’ in L. Andrewes, XCVI sermons (1635), sig. A2r.

R. Allestree, The ladies calling (1673), sig. A4r; Thomas à Kempis, The Christian’s pattern, revised by G. Stanhope (1608), sig. Ar.
later generations would think of as a ‘tract’ certainly existed in abundance by the end of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, in the form of the occasional shorter work such as Thomas Wilcox’s *Choice drop of honey*, the chapbook ‘godlies’ which we will examine in Chapter 8, and the more decorous and officially approved pamphlets which would be distributed in large quantities to the young and the ‘lower’ orders in the Charity Schools and by members of the SPCK, whose founding charter in 1698 included the aim ‘to disperse both at home and abroad bibles and tracts of religion’. Some of the tracts favoured by this Society were still quite large, for example Allestree’s *Whole duty of man*, but within a few years many shorter works were written and published by men like Josiah Woodward. This is an area where a cut-off date of 1700 for the first publication of works to be included in our sample is not helpful, in that many striking examples of this genre were first published in the reign of Queen Anne.

Other labels often had a more specific use. ‘Exposition’ was mainly reserved for extended written treatments of a particular book or text in the Bible, whether the exposition had been given first in the form of sermons or not. Samuel Smith’s ‘plain and familiar exposition’ of Psalm 51 was ‘first preached’, and had been prepared for publication when illness prevented him from doing his duty in church, so that every Christian ‘may set before his eyes the pattern of unfeigned repentance’. ‘Directions’ is often found as the main title or part of the description of a treatise designed to explain what the Lord’s Supper was and how communicants should prepare for worthy reception of it. ‘Manual’ was sometimes used for a handbook that might be consulted regularly, for example on a central topic such as Samuel Ward’s *Life of faith* (1621), but is also found in a pre-communion treatise like Joseph Glanvill’s 100-page *Earnest invitation to the sacrament* (1674). In the preface Glanvill said he had often thought of writing ‘other little manuals, concerning hearing, prayer, meditation, and such like’, ‘chiefly for the needs of mine own charge’ (three populous urban parishes) but ‘with reference also to the more public

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216 See Appendix 1 for Wilcox; below, Ch. 8.xi for the ‘godlies’; and Rupp, *Religion in England 1688–1791*, 299.
218 S. Smith, *Davids repentance* (1640), title-page and sig. A5; and cf. W. Tyndale, *An exposition upon the xxxviii chapters of Matthew* [1533?]; S. Smith, *Davids blessed man*; or, a short exposition upon the first psalm [1614]; J. Dod and R. Cleaver, *A plain and familiar exposition of the ten commandments* [1609]; and J. Caryl, *An exposition with practical observations upon the three first chapters of . . . Job* (1643).
219 See Appendix 1 s.v. Tozer; Gauden (subtitled rules and directions for a worthy receiving . . . of the Lord’s Supper); Roberts (subtitled or, practical directions for worthy receiving of the Lords-Supper); Horneck (1683); but cf. also Perkins, *Direction* (1593).
That ‘manual’ was not very different from the other labels discussed above is suggested by Thomas Watson calling his *Christians charter* (1652) at different points a treatise, a manual, and a discourse. ‘Essay’ on the other hand is more frequently found applied to defences of Protestant orthodoxy or morality against new errors such as deism and atheism, as in the *Philosophical essay* (1652) by Seth Ward, then professor of astronomy at Oxford, and *Essays upon several moral subjects* (1697) by the nonjuring author Jeremy Collier.

The existence of all these different terms, together with others such as ‘account’, ‘view’, ‘relation’, or even ‘commentariolum’, may reflect authors’ desire for greater precision or publishers’ openness to the occasional novelty in religious publishing. But the labels also had much in common in their focus on a specific theme and in being targeted primarily at literate Christians with the inclination and time to read improving works. And the increasingly regular deployment of these labels by authors and publishers in the later seventeenth century reinforces a point made earlier—that whereas ‘sermons’ constituted a significant number of the new titles qualifying for our sample in the period c.1530–1640, ‘treatises’, ‘discourses’, and the like were much more common from 1641 to 1700. Less than two-fifths of the works designated as such in Appendix 1 had appeared by the 1630s, but the remaining three-fifths comprised a significant proportion of the religious works published in the later seventeenth century. But the rise of the ‘treatise’ as a publishing phenomenon is in no small part due to the enormous variety of types of work which it came to encompass; and next we must break down this large category into smaller groups.

Among the first to appear, in the first decades after the break with Rome, were the treatises we explored in Chapter 3: commentaries, expositions, histories of the ancient Near East, and works combining elements of these with paraphrases, annotations, and other forms of help to bible study. But the large size and high cost of many of these works, especially in the first century after the Reformation, limited sales, and less than two dozen titles (all mentioned in Chapter 3) passed through enough editions to qualify for our sample. Another type of treatise that emerged relatively early was that which provided a systematic account of a wide range of Protestant doctrines, though sales of this type were also not as high as might have been thought. Calvin’s *Institution of Christian religion* sold steadily if not spectacularly—nine editions in seventy-three years—in the English translation by

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222 See Appendix 1 s.v. Seth Ward; Bacon; and Collier; and for further comments on ‘essays’, below, Ch. 7.iii.
223 Ibid. s.v. Stillingfleet (1662), and Lucas (1677); Ross; Sandys; and J. Ussher, *Immanuel* (1638), sig. A2v.
224 This calculation is based on the items in Appendix 1 marked as ‘treatise’, ‘discourse’, ‘tract’, etc in column 6.
225 See above, Ch. 3.
Thomas Norton, a lawyer and official in London. With this could be teamed Beza’s *Brief and piththie summe of the Christian faith* (slanted more towards where the Catholics were in error), and Ursinus’s huge volume of lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism, printed in English as *The summe of Christian religion*. In addition to this, works such as the Yorkshire rector, Edmund Bunny’s, modification of the Jesuit Robert Parsons’s *Book of Christian exercise*, and Bishop Bayly’s *Practise of pietie*, included substantial sections of basic doctrine as well as the practical advice on devotion and godly living for which they are better known. English authors were slow to produce their own account of systematic theology, though in some of the works of William Perkins, such as *A golden chaine*, we have an attempt to provide a definitive account of one particular doctrine—salvation.

Many other English authors chose to focus on the range of doctrines stated explicitly or implicitly in the Edwardian formularies, such as the Forty-Two (later Thirty-Nine) Articles, the Homilies, the Book of Common Prayer, the catechism of 1549, enlarged in 1604, and the staples it contained. Thus in addition to the treatises by Jewel and Hooker defending the Englishness of a number of features of the Protestant settlement in England compared to those of churches abroad, our sample contains two expositions of the Thirty-Nine Articles, over a dozen defences and explanations of the Book of Common Prayer and its catechism, and a growing number of expositions of Creed, Decalogue, prayer, and sacraments, in the form of sermons, treatises, and catechetical works, all of which are the tips of much larger icebergs. (In particular, treatises on the Creed, Ten Commandments, Lord’s Prayer, and sacraments were legion in the early modern period, and it is strange that historians have not yet begun to explore these thoroughly.) In 1642 there appeared John Wolleb’s *Compendium theologiae Christianae* which provided a summary of all the major heads of Protestant theology, in Latin but in a handy pocket-sized volume—a sort of crammer for budding specialists and interested lay people. But thereafter, unless one counts editions of Grotius’s *De veritate religionis Christianae*, there was, to judge from our sample, even less systematic theology published, outside the growing number of broadly

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226 See Appendix 1.  
227 These works are discussed below, Ch. 6.i and 6.x.  
228 Perkins’s collected works, including works on the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and many basic doctrines perhaps came closest to an English work of systematic theology, but in an accumulative sense rather than through Calvin’s analytical approach.  
230 There are at least a dozen and in some cases a score of treatises on each of these topics, and any or all of these would make a good subject for a thesis or monograph.
based catechetical expositions, and scholars’ efforts to define the essence of Christianity in order to defend it from its critics.\textsuperscript{231}

In about a dozen of the treatises in our sample two or more themes were tackled together, either because they were related and the author saw an advantage in publishing them as a unit, or because the publisher thought the author’s admirers were likely to be tempted by this format. Examples by a variety of authors, clerical and lay, include a pair of treatises by Perkins, one on the nature of repentance and how to examine one’s conscience, and the other on the struggle between flesh and spirit; Nicholas Byfield’s short treatises on sin, assurance, godliness, and a cure for the fear of death, gathered together in \textit{The marrow of the oracles of God}; Simon Patrick’s \textit{Hearts ease} in which he tackled two sources of unhappiness—spiritual doubts and bereavement; the many different topics covered by the essays in Sir Matthew Hale’s \textit{Contemplations moral and divine}; and John Norris’s volumes of ‘practical discourses’ on divine wisdom, heavenly-mindedness, doing God’s will on earth, and many other topics which found a sizeable niche in the market in the 1690s and early 1700s.\textsuperscript{232} But compared to the numbers of collections of sermons produced, there were few collections of full-length treatises (as opposed to shorter essays or discourses), presumably because greater length meant higher costs.

Looked at from the opposite standpoint, what this means is that the vast majority of the treatises in our sample—about four-fifths—dealt with a single theme. A significant proportion of these—three-fifths of all treatises in the sample—dealt with aspects of the life of faith, the need for and nature of repentance, cases of conscience, how to live a godly life, or prepare for death, which we will examine in Chapter 6. Of the rest, some dealt with a more specialized aspect, such as how to pray for help, or prepare for communion (which we will tackle in Chapter 5), while yet others were controversial or prophetic in character. A score consisted mainly of anti-Catholic polemic, and date mostly from either the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods or two bursts in the later Stuart period (1666–74 and 1679–88), while over thirty handled matters of debate between English Protestants, almost entirely after 1640. A handful of treatises, scattered throughout the period under review, tackled the contentious subject of interpreting the prophetic passages in the scriptures, while a few ‘essays’ written in the later seventeenth century

\textsuperscript{231} A version of Wolleb in English, \textit{The abridgement of Christian divinitie} (W 3254–6) sold only half as many editions as the Latin, again suggesting that the readership of the latter was relatively specialized. For Grotius, see Appendix 1; and for Baxter’s admiration for some but not all of Grotius’s writings, see G. F. Nuttall, ‘Richard Baxter and \textit{The Grotian religion},’ in D. Baker (ed.), \textit{Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c.1500–c.1750} (SCH Subsidia, 2, Oxford, 1979), 245–50.

\textsuperscript{232} See Appendix 1 s.v. Perkins (\textit{Two treatises}), Byfield, Patrick (\textit{Heart’s ease}), Hale, and Norris (\textit{Christian blessedness/Practical discourses}, vols. 1–4). Other works in the sample that tackled more than one theme included those by John Brinsley (the elder), Daniel Dyke (1616), Edward Reynolds (1631), and the collected works of a number of authors like Greenham and Greenwood, discussed below, Ch. 7.viii.
defended Protestant orthodoxy against new heresies such as deism and against atheism. There were many other works in the sample which had a smaller element of polemic, usually anti-Catholic, for example, the official homilies, a few catechisms, and some sermons, godly living handbooks, and uplifting biographies, but sometimes inter-Protestant, as in some treatises on the life of faith. But these have been discussed elsewhere under the relevant heading, leaving us here with the predominantly polemic or prophetic works, which raise larger issues about the use and impact of print.

ix. Polemics and Prophecy

Among the anti-Catholic treatises, various characteristics stand out. One is the relatively low number of repeat editions: three-quarters of the titles considered in this and the next few paragraphs reached only five or six editions in thirty years—the bare minimum for inclusion in the sample. Even in the case of those items which sold more than ten, in the late seventeenth century, this tended to be as a result of heavy sales during one of the bursts of anti-Catholic phobia—a second distinguishing feature. The book of Bertram the priest, an attack on the Catholic teaching of transubstantiation said to have been written by a Benedictine monk several hundred years before, passed through three editions in one English translation in 1548–9 and four more editions in a different one between the 1580s and the 1620s, before being re-discovered and rushed through eight more editions in the years 1686–8, usually with two extra ‘discourses’ against purgatory and the invocation of saints. Another work of foreign origin, this time by a Huguenot and translated into English as The funeral of the mass, sold perhaps eleven editions in a dozen years between 1673 and 1685, while Tillotson’s Discourse against transubstantiation went through at least six editions in four years (1684–7) and continued to sell steadily thereafter, reaching its tenth edition in 1722. Many other anti-Catholic works narrowly missed inclusion in the sample, such as various works by John Bale in the 1540s and John Gee’s The foote out of the snare in 1624. But one could conclude from the low number of editions of titles that did qualify for the sample, and the clustering of repeat editions of the few that sold better than average, that anti-Catholic works sold well at times of perceived crisis, but only erratically in between.

A third characteristic of these works was diversification of genre and
format. Of the works with a large or even just a modest element of anti-
Catholic diatribe produced in the first half of our period, the favoured format
was either straightforward treatise, often quite long or technical and making
few concessions to less knowledgeable readers, or a supposedly accurate
report of a debate in which the Catholic disputant was routed. Of the former,
one may point to Tyndale’s attacks on papal claims and the Catholic teaching
on works in *The obedience of a christen man* (1528) and *The parable of the wicked
mammon* (1528); Perkins’s *A reformed catholike* (1597), on where there was common
ground and where an unbridgeable gulf between Protestant and Catholic
teaching; a detailed reply to a ‘popish discourse’ on the rule of faith and
marks of the true church by John White (then based in a county with many
recusants—Lancashire) in *The way to the true church* (1608); and Sir Humphrey
Lynde’s *Via tuta: the safe way* (1628), another broad survey of common ground
and differences designed to lead ‘all Christians’ to conformity to the estab-
lished church. Chillingworth’s *The religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation*
would have been in this group if its sales had not been divided into two
separate periods by the civil wars and Interregnum. Of the debates, one may
cite inside the sample John Rainolds *The summe of the conference between J.
Rainolds and J. Hart* (1584), and outside it William Laud’s account of his debate
with another Jesuit, John Fisher.

Anti-Catholic treatises continued to be published in the second half of our
period, some rather technical, such as John Cosin’s *Scholastical history of the
canon of holy scripture* (1657) and Peter Du Moulin’s *A vindication of the sincerity of
the Protestant religion in the point of obedience to soveraignes* (1664), and others both
long and hostile, such as the renewed attack on the mass by Daniel Brevint (a
French divine settled in Durham cathedral) in *Missale Romanum* (1672). But
there was evidently a growing concern to write treatises that were shorter or
less demanding, or to supplement larger or more advanced works by others of
a more approachable kind. Thus *Seasonable discourse shewing the necessity of main-
taining the established religion in opposition to popery* (1673) by William Lloyd (then an
archdeacon, and later a bishop) and *Discourse against transubstantiation* (1684) by
another future bishop, John Tillotson, were, at just over 40 pages each, both
much shorter than the comparable works of Perkins or White of a few
decades earlier. And when William Sherlock, like Tillotson based in
London, came to write his *Preservative against popery* in 1688, he could praise not
only the ‘many learned pens . . . employed to such excellent purpose in . . .
confuting the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome’, but also the
divines who had taken care to write short tracts of a similar kind, which by
God’s blessing had had such ‘wonderful success’ that ‘the meanest tradesman

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238 See relevant entries in Appendix 1.
239 Ibid.; for Chillingworth, see STC 5138–9 and Wing C3890–2 and 3885–7a.
240 Appendix 1 for further particulars. 241 Ibid.
can now dispute against popery with sufficient skill and judgement’. Nevertheless, he felt his own ‘unlearned’ parishioners who had ‘neither time to read, nor money to buy, nor abilities to understand more learned controversies’ could do with ‘some plain directions’ to help them handle disputes with Catholics, and when Sherlock’s work was attacked by a Jesuit, a reply was published by one William Giles, said to be ‘a Protestant foot-man, living with Madam H. in Mark-Lane’, who claimed he had read several works on the subject, including Catholic ones.

A similar broadening of the readerships being targeted can be seen at work in other ways. In 1666, the great biblical scholar, Matthew Poole, published a moderately difficult and clearly one-sided attack on the Roman church’s claim to infallibility, *The nullity of the Romish faith*, but the next year he published *A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant*, which contained two much shorter and totally fictitious ‘conferences’ in which ‘the principal points and arguments of both religions are truly proposed and fully examined’ as first the priest and then the Protestant took the initiative. He referred back to his own *Nullity* as well as to many other sources, in Latin and Greek as well as English, but the intention was clearly to write in a form which both less educated Catholics and Protestants would find comprehensible and persuasive. Whereas the first work sold only half a dozen editions, the second sold nearly a dozen over the next two decades.

Similarly, in addition to writing two very large treatises to help conformists understand and perform their duties in church and home, Thomas Comber, a leading cleric in North Yorkshire, published two much shorter works. In the first he tried ‘in a small space’, a ‘little tract’, to offer *Friendly and seasonable advice to the Roman Catholicks of England* (1674), urging them to see ‘how much it is their interest and advantage to embrace the true Catholic religion of the English church’, and offering Protestants historical evidence that would enable them to counter Catholic claims that theirs had been the one true church throughout the ages. In the second, published in 1686, he ‘briefly and plainly discoursed’ on a wide range of the major points of difference between the two churches through an invented dialogue between a popish priest (whose words were printed in black letter) and a Protestant (in roman typeface). Whether this use of dialogue for anti-Catholic polemics was something which authors like Poole and Comber had borrowed from pre-war authors like Gifford, Dent, and Bernard, or from ballads and cheap tracts of a much less polished type, or whether the influence exerted was in the other direction, is not clear. But certainly dialogues

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*Appendix 1; the quotation is from the title-page of the Dialogue.*

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were a favourite tool of anti-Catholic pamphleteers in periods such as the Exclusion Crisis and the years 1685–90.46

A variation on this was James Gordon’s short Request to Roman Catholicks (1687), which consisted of a series of long leading questions, each supported by biblical chapter and verse, to be put to English Catholics. Other variations of technique included a combination of open letter and statement of faith in The faith and practice of a Church of England-man, by William Stanley, a Cambridge don, and the thinly disguised comparison drawn up by an Essex rector, Samuel Johnson, between a great apostate (and persecutor) of ancient times, Julian the Apostate, and a current one, James Duke of York.47 One can also mention the use of verse, not only of a moderately polished kind, but also in the broadside ballad tradition.48 This use of verse was not confined to the later Stuart period, as we can see from Samuel Hieron’s Answere to a popish ryme lately scattered abroad in the West parts—Hieron was a minister in Devonshire—and much relyed upon by some simply-seduced, which was republished in some editions of Hieron’s collected Workes. But it was unusual for such works to pass through as many as five editions, as the poet John Oldham’s Satyrs upon the Jesuits did in the 1680s and 1690s.49

One further characteristic of these anti-Catholic works may be noted: as a group they comprise almost the only one in our sample which contain works directed—at least nominally—at moderate Catholics as well as uncertain Protestants. The treatise by Perkins cited above was designed in part to show Catholics how similar their position was to that of the Protestants on many matters, just as Lynde thought his work would lead ‘all Christians . . . to the true, ancient and catholic faith now professed in the Church of England’; White’s treatise was published ‘to admonish such as decline to papistry, of the weak and uncertain grounds whereupon they have ventured their souls’; Poole’s dialogue was directed ‘to the people of the Romish church’ as well as Protestant readers; and Comber’s ‘friendly advice’ was ostensibly directed at ‘the Roman Catholics of England’, though in practice at Protestant proselytizers too.50 In some of these cases, such as White and Lynde, and others later on, such as Gordon, the hostility shown to Catholic teaching and the contempt for what they saw as the prodigious ignorance of the Catholics they met suggest we must doubt how seriously these authors were addressing their remarks to them.51 But in other cases the address was apparently sincere. Indeed, the use of print for anti-Catholic propaganda is another powerful

46 e.g. Wing D1297, 1298, 1307, 1309A, 1310, 1310A; and also below, Ch. 7.i.
47 See Appendix 1. 48 See below, Chs. 7.ii and 8.ii–ix.
49 Appendix 1; Hieron’s Answere was also published separately in 1604, 1608, and 1613.
50 W. Perkins, A reformed catholike (1619), sig. A3; H. Lynde, Via tuta (1628), title-page; J. White, The way to the true church (1616), title-page; M. Poole, A dialogue between a popish priest and an English protestant (1667), sig. a2r; Comber, Friendly and seasonable advice, title-page, and sig. A8r.
51 e.g. White, Way to the true church, sigs. c2v, on the ‘prodigious ignorance’ of the ‘papists’ to whom he had talked.
indication of the pressure that authors thought that print could exert. On the one side there were those who believed that if only their publications could get through to the literate Catholic laity, past the barriers against reading heretical books erected by their clergy, they might be won over. On the other there were those who, especially at times of crisis, decided that the best way of countering what they saw as a flood of Catholic publications seducing the less well-informed Protestant laity, was to produce an even bigger flood of Protestant publications to persuade the laity to stay loyal and to provide them with material and arguments to floor those tempting them to defect.\textsuperscript{252}

In the first half of our period there was a dearth of treatises aimed against fellow English Protestants which sold well enough to qualify for our sample. Individual works contained passages condemning Brownists and Barrowists, or explaining where Lutherans as well as Catholics were in error, or what was the correct position of the communion table, but few works devoted mainly to polemic sold well. Even \textit{The holy table, name and thing} (1637) by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was not typical: presumably because opposition from Laud was anticipated, a number of different compositors set up different parts of different editions, and these editions may not have been of the usual size.\textsuperscript{253} This dearth of pre-1640 works in the sample is a puzzle to which we will return shortly. In the 1640s, however, the power of the censors and fellow feeling among Protestants were weakened as a result of political and other tensions, and the number of readers prepared to buy short polemical works apparently began to rise.\textsuperscript{254} The works mentioned in the next few paragraphs had three things in common beyond their authors’ primarily or strongly polemical intent: they were generally shorter than other treatises; the number of repeat editions was well below the average; and the degree of experimentation with modes of presentation was limited compared to that in anti-Catholic works and other genres.

The first quartet of works reflected the attack on the established church in the 1640s and 1650s. \textit{Certaine grievances well worthy the serious consideration of parliament}, by the much-travelled Lewis Hughes, was an attack on many aspects of the government and liturgy of the church. Published abroad first as a treatise, it was later turned into a dialogue between a country gentleman and a minister. \textit{A copie of the proceedings of some worthy and learned divines} provided notes of a meeting of seven leading divines in 1641 to discuss the charges laid against the Laudian church and the Book of Common Prayer. John Geree’s \textit{The character of an old English puritane} was an able defence of the puritanism of the Elizabethan and early Stuart period with which Geree strongly sympathized, and was said to be ‘published according to order’ in 1646. And

\begin{footnotes}
\item[252] See previous paragraphs, and Walsham, \textquote{"The Fatall Vesper"}, 41–3, 63–74.
\item[253] See the comments in STC: s.v. 25724–6 on Williams, \textit{Holy table}.
\end{footnotes}
Smectymnus redevivus drew attention to a new work replying to a book (by Bishop Joseph Hall) defending the old church’s liturgy and hierarchy. It is open to debate whether Eikon basilike should be counted as a ‘religious’ work, but the depiction of Charles as a man of conscience, mediating God’s word and will to his people, the skilful use of scriptural phrases and constant references to the laws of God and man, the space given to ecclesiastical issues, and the chapters of meditations and prayers, all reinforce the image in the double-page engraving at the start of many editions, of Charles I kneeling in prayer and about to receive a martyr’s crown.

By the mid-1640s there was growing tension within the ranks of the king’s opponents. Two treatises that then sold well were published by conservative puritans to denounce their more radical brethren. Both were much longer than most of the tracts mentioned above: Daniel Featley’s attack on the Anabaptists in The dippers dipt, and Ephraim Pagitt’s Heresiography in which he condemned Anabaptists, Brownists, Independents, Familists, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, and Jesuits. In later editions Quakers, Shakers, and Ranters were added to the list of heretics. These represent the tip of a fairly substantial iceberg of works which did not reach the five-edition mark, such as Richard Baxter’s The Quakers catechism in 1655–7, though one that did squeeze in was Thomas Wall’s A comment on the times, or a character of the enemies of the church (1657).

In the 1650s isolated Baptist and Independent titles sold well enough to qualify for the sample, as we noted above when surveying ‘official’ works. But of the more radical groups who came out on top in that decade, none used the press to better effect than the Quakers, as was also noted earlier. In 1654 appeared the first edition of George Fox’s A paper sent forth into the world, in which he explained why Quakers rejected the regular ministry and set out

**Appendix 1 for further details.**

**Appendix 1; for Hammond’s other politico-religious works published in the 1640s, see Wing’ H 556, 560, 564, 567, 571, etc.**

**K. Sharpe, ‘The King’s Writ’, in Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, 136–8. The estimate of fifty editions in Appendix 1 excludes editions published in Holland and Ireland; even so, its inclusion distorts the average number of repeat editions of works in this category.**

**For the large plate in some editions of Featley’s Dippers dipt, see Corbett and Norton, Engraving, 168, and pl. 92; the fifth edition of Pagitt’s Heresiography was advertised as having additional material on the groups named.**

**Wing’ B1762–5; and below, Appendix 1; cf. also Gataker’s Vindication, ibid.**

**See above, n. 64; and below, Appendix 1, s.v. Confession and Nye.**
many of their ideas and practices, and in 1657 Edward Burrough published *A declaration to all the world of our faith, and what we believe who are called Quakers*. In succeeding decades there was a procession of works by Fox, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, Robert Barclay, Elizabeth Bathurst, and William Chandler and others, trying to remove commonly held misconceptions about Quakerism and defending the correctness of their views, denying that the Quakers were seditious, urging the authorities to be more tolerant towards them, and urging fellow Quakers to stand firm against persecution.\(^2\) One of the bestselling of these was a work attributed to William Chandler, Alexander Pyott, John Hodges, ‘and some others’ and entitled *A brief apology in behalf of the people in derision call’d Quakers*, which was ‘written for the information of our sober and well inclined neighbours in and about the town of Warminster in the county of Wiltshire’. This sold so steadily from the 1690s that there must be a strong possibility that its readers included non-Quakers curious to know more about them as well as those already committed to their cause.\(^3\)

After the return of the old church in 1660–2, episcopalianists adopted different approaches to the problem of dissent. One was a relatively moderate line. In *A friendly debate* (1668), Simon Patrick, then still a rector in London, devised a dialogue between two neighbours, ‘Conformist’ and ‘Nonconformist’, to persuade presbyterian dissenters to return to the fold. This work contains the interesting plea in the preface to his readers, not to ‘throw away this little book’ as soon as they met something that offended them, but to sit down and ask why it offended them.\(^4\) John Goodman’s *Serious and compassionate inquiry* (1674) surveyed the reasons for the current neglect of Protestantism, and combined a defence of the established church against its critics with an attack on atheists, papists, selfish laity, and others, and a long section giving reasons why moderate Protestants should conform.\(^5\) William King’s *Discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God* (1694) was written for his Irish diocese, Derry, but the concluding remarks which he addressed to conforming clergy and laity and to the dissenting ministers and laity of his diocese, would have been applicable in England too where the work apparently sold well.\(^6\) In 1700 Thomas Bennet, a conformable London preacher, published *An answer to the dissenters plea for separation* (1700)—a long work, though in fact an abridgement ‘into one short and plain discourse’ of a much larger work—the *Collection of cases*—which had been written by many leading conformist clergy in the mid-1680s to try to persuade nonconformists to end their separation. It was because this original had been ‘large and dear’, Bennet explained, that it had been reduced to ‘a less bulk’, less than one sixth of the number of sheets in

\(^2\) See Appendix 1.

\(^3\) W. Chandler, et al., *A brief apology* (1694), title-page; and below, Appendix 1, for sales.

\(^4\) [Simon Patrick], *A friendly debate between a conformist and a non-conformist* (1669), sig. A3’ and passim.

\(^5\) For further details see Appendix 1.

\(^6\) W. King, *A discourse concerning the inventions of men* (Dublin, 1694), 164–88.
the original, and to a ‘smaller price’, so that those with neither the money to buy nor the time to peruse the original might benefit from it ‘upon easier terms’. The marketing strategy succeeded: the abridgement outsold the original.266

A second, more self-critical approach to the problem of recovering dissenters and others to the established church is represented in the sample by The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy (1670), which was written by a bad-tempered Cambridge academic who placed the blame for the current sickly condition of the church squarely on the shoulders of the clergy themselves.267 At the other extreme was a third approach: downright aggression, often combined with urging the authorities to enforce the laws to their utmost. The subtitle of John Nalson’s The counterfeit (1677) was ‘a short but true discovery of the dangerous principles, and secret practices of the dissenting party, especially the presbyterians: shewing that religion is pretended but rebellion is intended. And in order thereto the foundation of monarchy in the state, and episcopacy in the church, are undermined’.268 The official censor and Tory journalist, Sir Roger L’Estrange, wrote The dissenter’s sayings (1681) in reply to a work aimed at him, which goes part way to explaining its very hostile tone. The work consisted of a series of statements by puritans and dissenters carefully chosen to suggest their hostility to all civil and ecclesiastical discipline, justification of Charles I’s execution, and continuing support for ‘tumults’.269 The subject of the London rector John Williams’s Brief discourse concerning the lawfulness of worshipping God by the Common-Prayer was similar to that of William King, but perhaps because he was replying point by point to a ‘brief discourse’ by Increase Mather on the unlawfulness of using the Book of Common Prayer, he tended to allow his hostility to match that of the original.270

No one would seriously doubt that print was seen by English Protestants under Henry VIII and Edward VI as a God-sent means to denounce Catholic abuses and proclaim the Gospel, and then by the ‘godly’ under Elizabeth as a key means of spreading their ideology, provoking conformists to reply in kind. Equally in the early Stuart period, print played a vital part in the intellectual debates on the position of the English church in relation to Catholic and Reformed churches abroad, and in the battle of the dons over the rise of ‘Arminianism’, and again in the 1640s and 1650s as first older opponents and then new ones used the press to disseminate their views. Yet another propaganda war was waged after the Restoration between episcopalian and

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266 [Thomas Bennet], An answer to the dissenters plea (1701), sigs. *2r–v.
267 See Appendix 1 s.v. Eachard (classed there as an open letter, but polemical in content). For the outrage caused by the tone if not the substance of Eachard’s remarks, see Spurr, Restoration Church, 220–1.
268 Nalson was a pamphleteer rather than a churchman: DNB.
269 For L’Estrange’s role in fashioning a Tory anti-papery, see Spurr, Restoration Church, 48, 77–8.
270 J. Williams, A brief discourse concerning the lawfulness (1694), title-page.
dissenters, and another between ‘High’ and ‘Low’ elements in the Church of England after 1689. A combination of fiery anti-Catholic, anti-church, or anti-dissenter pamphlets could clearly have had a potent effect on those who could read or hear their texts, especially if it was in a milieu which encouraged group response or at a time of particular tension, such as the 1620s, 1640s, 1670s–1680s, or the middle years of Queen Anne’s reign. But not only are there relatively few primarily controversial works in our sample, especially pre–1640, but also, as noted above, the anti-Catholic and inter-Protestant treatises in our sample did not sell as many repeat editions as less controversial works.

Why was this so? It could be put down to censorship, though recently historians have on the whole not been greatly impressed by the powers or application of the censors. Moreover, although the authorities were presumably lenient towards defenders of the status quo, the latter’s works did not sell markedly better than those of its critics. Alternatively, it could be that polemical works sold less because they attracted a narrower band of readers, based mainly in London, the universities, and a few other major cities whose richer inhabitants were literate, had access to books, and possessed an emerging political self-awareness. It may be asked how far polemical works reached into the further extremities of the country in the way that bibles, prayer books, catechisms, collections of sermons, and some godly living treatises did. To judge from provincial booksellers’ records, and the library catalogues and probate records that contain details of book titles, they did not. Indeed, if we put side by side the findings of Peter Lake and Chris Marsh on late Elizabethan England, Anthony Milton and Judith Maltby on early Stuart England, and those of Tim Harris and Don Spaeth on Restoration England, it is almost as though we are looking at different countries. Lake and Milton are analysing the ideas of an intellectual elite, and Harris the ideas of Londoners, while Marsh, Maltby, and Spaeth are examining the behaviour of a cross-section of conformists in mainly rural areas. Marsh and Spaeth have also detected a degree of toleration among conformists for their non-conforming neighbours which also does not suggest deep divides on matters of doctrine or practice.

A third possible explanation is that polemical works and non-controversial works were read in different ways: the former were devoured quickly (as their urgent tone demanded) and possibly only once or twice before being shelved or

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272 See above, Ch. 1, nn. 70–71. These sources are described in general terms above, Ch. 1.

lent, while the latter, such as bibles, concordances, devotional works, handbooks, and sermons were digested slowly and consulted many times. This is reflected in the fact that the titles listed in the *Generall note of the prises for binding all sortes of bookees* (with which this chapter began) were overwhelmingly instructive or edifying: only Prynne’s attack on Archbishop Laud in *Canterburies doome*, and perhaps Foxe’s *Booke of martyrs* which the Laudians had tried to sideline, could be counted as overtly polemical; and this was in 1646. A fourth possibility, especially for the period before the 1640s when shorter works became more accessible, at least for a while, is that anti-Catholic or anti-establishment ideas were disseminated not just by being read in private by a limited number of purchasers, but by a *combination* of means: by preachers who had read their Bale, Foxe, or Gee, and conveyed their anti-Catholic message in their sermons; by official prayers commemorating the deliverances of 1588, 1605, and so on being read out by the minister or parish clerk; and by pamphlets critical of the existing establishment perhaps being read out loud to a group of sympathetic or curious listeners.\(^{275}\) In other words printed polemic needed an additional medium to have maximum effect before the 1640s, and was coloured by the ideas of the person operating that other medium. This argument might also chime in with the irony noted by historians that in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a number of the elite were beginning to abandon intolerance at the same time as many of the lower orders came to adopt it more forcibly. Perhaps as preachers became rather less concerned by the threat from popery and radical dissent, so the lower orders may have absorbed their hostility to it through print directly, especially the cheaper forms of print which were then prevalent, as we shall see in Chapter 8, as well as by other mechanisms, such as street theatre and improvised verse.\(^{276}\)

Similar explanations may apply when we turn to another small group of treatises in the sample—works offering proof or infallible signs of the imminence of the second coming, and describing its awesome consequences. Again these probably represent only the tip of an iceberg, and, together with the doctrine of providence, represent another aspect of print that has been much explored by recent historians.\(^{277}\) In our sample is *Of the ende of this world, and*

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\(^{277}\) See below, nn. 280, 284–5, and Walsham, *Providence*. In the section on repentance in Ch. 6.vi we will encounter authors who warned of the judgement to come, and that it could come at any time, but whose texts were not primarily prophetic; and in Ch. 7.vii we will examine cautionary tales which were used to demonstrate divine providence.
seconde commyng of Christ" by Sheltco a Geveren which was translated into English by the ubiquitous Thomas Rogers in 1577. The author moved from sure signs of the nearness of the end (contempt of learning and the ministry, and the success of the Turks and the papacy) to pseudo-scientific calculations to prove that the Last Judgement would be only 1,500 years after the apostles’ times, and the dreadful consequences of this. So, he concluded, 'let us cast from us both our careless security and mistrust of the promises of God', let us renounce the devil, and listen to Christ. The fact that the work was translated by an episcopal chaplain and dedicated to an archbishop, Grindal, suggests that this work was in the mainstream of church life, and the fact that it sold nine editions in the years 1577–89 also suggests it reached a moderately large readership. Compared to other prophetic treatises in our sample, however, its message was not particularly millenarian or apocalyptic, nor did it make specific prophecies about political or ecclesiastical change. By contrast, A prophesie that hath lyen hid, above these 2000 yeares (1597) by T. L. (possibly Thomas Lupton) was a short exposition of Esdras book 4, chapter 11, from which it deduced the rise and fall of Rome, and drew an aggressive, apocalyptic conclusion.

In 1641 appeared three works which all sold well. Reverend M. Brightmans judgement or prophecies (1641) was an abridgement of the much larger exposition of Revelation published forty years before, and contained the prediction that the bishops would fall through the intervention of the Scots, and much more for the next half-century. Joseph Mede’s polemical but scholarly exposition of 1 Tim. 4: 1–2 in a series of sermons was published as a treatise entitled The apostacy of the latter times. And in The personall raigne of Christ upon earth, the Independent John Archer argued that the scriptures, and in particular the seventh chapter of Daniel, revealed that ‘Jesus Christ together with the saints shall visibly possess a monarchical state and kingdom in this world’. The Brightman sold eight editions in four years (much better than the original), Mede perhaps five editions in fifteen years, and Archer six editions in twenty. The more cautious mood of the later seventeenth century is suggested by the treatise published by a layman in 1670, entitled What is truth? This was designed to help readers interpret certain prophetic passages in the Bible, but the author wished not only to refute the most dangerous errors of interpretation in both ancient and modern times, but also to pursue the peace of the church.

Again one is struck by the relative paucity of such works in the sample, and

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278 Sheltco a Geveren, *Of the ende of this world*, tr. Thomas Rogers (1577), epistle dedicatory, p. 47, and passim.
279 STC attributes the work to Thomas Legate, a separatist; the basis for an attribution to Lupton is given in Appendix 1.
281 See Appendix 1.
282 [John Archer], *The personall raigne of Christ upon earth* (1642), title-page.
283 Thomas Harby or Harbie is described as ‘gentleman’ on the title-page.
the unexpectedly low number of repeat editions. Was this due to censorship, or a more limited readership? If one looks at the dearth of millenarian speculation in official teaching and most catechisms and sermons, this last would not be too surprising, but perhaps prophetic ideas were spread by other means or combinations of media than print alone. The bunching of sales of the more aggressively worded works in the disturbed decades of the mid-seventeenth century, when the influence of Brightman together with that of Alsted and Mede was particularly strong among the Independents, is evident, as is the decline of revolutionary prophecies thereafter, perhaps due to a combination of tightened censorship or growing disillusion with millenarian speculation. Perhaps also authors and printers were moving on to new themes and targets.

By the later seventeenth century, a growing threat appeared to be coming from those atheists who doubted the existence of an all-powerful God and those deists who offered a fundamental challenge to Christianity and its scriptural underpinning. There had been some concern at the existence of atheism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the sole representative of this in our sample is the moderately short treatise by ‘Silver-Tongued’ Smith entitled *Gods arrow against atheists*. This attacked the absurdity of atheism and proved Christianity to be the only true religion, though Smith soon slid from attacking atheists to attacking Islam, popery, and Protestant separatists as well. None of three works by future bishops—Seth Ward’s *Philosophical essay* of 1652, Edward Stillingfleet’s *Origines sacrae* of 1662, and John Wilkins’s *Of the principles and duties of natural religion* (published after his death by John Tillotson in 1675)—can be said to be predominantly controversial. In the first Ward set out to prove the power and other attributes of God, the immortality of the human soul, and the authority of the scripture; in the second Stillingfleet focused on the ‘truth and divine authority of the scriptures, and the matter therein contained’; while the third was intended to establish the great principles of religion, and to convince men of their obligation to lead good lives. But all three were written against a background of challenges to those beliefs, and all contained a clear element of polemic, fortified by a stress on the reasonableness of Christianity. Grotius’s treatise proving the existence of God and the truth of Christianity compared to that of other religions had been available in the original Latin for some time, both in editions printed abroad and from the late 1630s in England too. But in 1680

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Simon Patrick produced an English translation which added a seventh book on the falseness of Roman Catholic teaching as well as that of Islam and all other major systems of belief, in a version which proved quite popular.\footnote{See Appendix 1 s.v. Grotius.}

A quartet of publications by other high-placed churchmen, dating from 1696–8 when the controversy with the deists and other doubters among the intellectual elite was nearing a peak, were more evidently controversial. An account of reason and faith (1696) by John Norris, an episcopalian cleric, was a direct reply to John Toland’s Christianity not mysterious; in The true nature of imposture fully displayed (1697) by the eminent orientalist (and archdeacon of Suffolk) Humphrey Prideaux, the deists’ use of Muhammad’s teaching as a stick with which to beat Christianity was roundly attacked through a comparison of Islam with Christianity which was very much to the latter’s advantage; A short and easie method with the Deists, by the nonjuring controversialist Charles Leslie, was a treatise in the guise of an open letter to a friend, which laid down the four rules that would infallibly prove the truth of Christian teaching against its detractors; and The reasonableness and certainty of the Christian religion by Robert Jenkin (another nonjuring cleric, who later conformed to be professor of divinity at Cambridge) was one of ‘many discourses upon this argument’ which attempted to reverse the general decay of religious belief and the contempt in which (it was feared) Christianity was increasingly being held.\footnote{See Appendix 1; R. Jenkin, The reasonableness and certainty of the Christian religion (1698), p. i; on the comparison with Islam, see Champion, Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken, ch. 4.} All of these were steady rather than spectacular sellers, reflecting perhaps the difficulty or strangeness (to most orthodox readers) of many of the arguments used on both sides, as well as the limited numbers of those who were either greatly worried by irreligion or anxious to know how to defeat it. A slow but inexorable reappraisal of Christian teaching was clearly under way, but its main elements had probably not yet penetrated very far into the awareness of the rank and file.

At several points in this section on the ‘treatise’ category it has been noted that shortened or simplified works sold better than the originals, for example the shorter version of Brightman’s prophecies or the Collection of cases. As a final comment on the category of treatises as a whole, we may note that in many cases treatises were also presented to the reading public in a more attractive guise: a better laid out title-page (not one in which a major word might be split in the middle); a better layout on the page; higher quality paper and better type, with more space between the lines and at the margins; with descriptive headers and page numbers rather than signatures; and in a growing number of cases in the seventeenth century with a specially commissioned engraving for the title-page or opposite the title-page, or even a set of illustrations to be interleaved with the text at the binding stage. Not all works
were produced in this way: corners had to be cut to keep costs down and ensure profits, especially at the bottom end of the market. But a reader who handles, say, one of Tyndale’s or Bale’s treatises and then one of those of Simon Patrick, Allestree, Stillingfleet, or Tillotson will readily see the difference. Texts had been modified to suit the needs of Protestant didacts, but this was not done at the expense of their physical appearance, rather the reverse: booksellers had realized that sales depended on the attractiveness of the package as well as what it contained.

... e.g. W. Tyndale, *The obedience of a Christen man* (1528); Bale (as above, n. 237); and almost any edition of the works of Allestree, Stillingfleet, and Tillotson.
Best-Sellers and Steady Sellers II: Prayer, Meditation, and Preparing for Communion

In this chapter and the next we will examine several types of work in the sample which were designed to offer some practical help to those believers who wanted to know more about how to be a Christian: how to pray to God, how to meditate, how to prepare for the Lord’s Supper, how to examine one’s conscience and what to look for, where to find practical advice to solve any problems one was experiencing, how to lead a good life, and how to make a godly end. The quality and quantity of the ‘practical divinity’ on offer was something on which both conformists and ‘godly’ prided themselves, and which again sold well among a growing variety of readers.

i. Protestantism and Prayer

Protestants may have been deeply suspicious of arcane ritual and scornful of thoughtless repetition, but had no qualms about prayer when properly used. Prayer, it was universally agreed among English Protestants, was commanded by God in his word, and Christ had not only set an example of prayer to his disciples, but also provided them with a model form.

1 The adjective ‘practical’ was sometimes used to describe manuals on introspection of a fairly technical type: cf. Keeble, Baxter, 37–8, 73–6, and below, Ch. 6; but it is used here in the wider sense also found at the time of works offering advice and help on a wide range of matters of faith and piety, e.g. J. Taylor, The psalter of David (1644), sig. **1; S. Patrick, Mensa mystica (1684), p. xxvii; and various authors cited in I. Rivers, ‘Dissenting and Methodist Books of Practical Divinity’, in Rivers, Books and their Readers, 127–8, 135, 146–7.

intellect of fallen man understand his will.³ They also regularly urged on the 
regenerate the importance of praying for divine help both before hearing the 
Word (that it might be better understood) and afterwards (that they might live 
by its teaching as part of the process of sanctification). Many conformist 
clergy gave prayer even higher status, and for the unregenerate as well as the 
regenerate. When listing the ‘three main businesses wherein God accounts his 
service, here below, to consist’, the moderate Joseph Hall placed prayer first, 
before reading and hearing the Word and receiving the sacraments; and 
Lancelot Andrewes’s disciple and biographer, Henry Isaacson, went further: among all the evangelical precepts, no duty is more earnestly pressed by 
Christ than prayer; by other divine graces such as the Word and sacrament, 
God speaks to us, but in prayer we speak to him.³ It would probably be a mis-
take to argue that any one group regarded prayer as more important. Thomas 
Tuke, a great admirer of Perkins, believed that ‘God’s house is a house of 
preaching and of praying too’, but was loath to compare the two since they 
were mutually supporting: ‘he who has a good will to speak to God will also 
with a good will hear God speak unto him’.⁶

Similarly, it would be unwise to draw too strong a distinction between 
‘godly’ and conformist views of what form prayers should take, at least in the 
period between the Reformation and the Westminster Assembly in the 1640s. 
From the outset and throughout the early modern period, both clerical and 
lay conformists certainly believed in the merits of using the approved liturgy 
in public worship, while the ‘godly’ distrusted set forms which they feared 
would become stale through over-use and ‘stint’ (limit) the immediate inspira-
tion of the Holy Spirit. But conformists also encouraged prayer in the home, 
on the grounds (as Gilbert Towerson put it) that public prayer meant little to 
those who did not also pray in private; and this domestic prayer could be 
‘mental’ or vocal, and take the form of spontaneous ‘ejaculations’ and

³ C. E. Hambrick-Stowe, The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New 
England (Chapel Hill, 1982), 93; S. Hieron, A helpe unto devotion (1613), in Works (1614), 594; and cf. Tuke, 
Practise of the faithfull, 120.

⁴ Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 53, 178; T. Becon, [The flower of godly prayers] [c.1550], sigs. 
civ–cv; H. Bull (ed.), Christian prayers and holy meditations (1568), 224–40; J. Norden, A pensive mans 
practise (1584), fos. 29’–31”; id., The poore mans rest (1631), 44–7; Hieron, Helpe unto devotion, 595–7; Tuke, 
Practise, 127–48; D. Featley, Ancilla pietatis (1626), 61–81; and M. Sparke, Crums of comfort (1631), sigs. 
G9r, C11v.

⁵ P. E. More and F. L. Cross, Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated 
from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1998), 67; and cf. J. Hall, Jacob’s ladder (1676), sig. A3; 
Andrewes, Institutiones piae, 3–4; and H. C. White, English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600–1640 (Madison, 
1991), 152–3; for similar views, see Sorocold, Supplications, sig. A3’ (citing Augustine); H. Valentine, 
Private devotions (1636), 133–5; Cosin, Collection, sigs. A2r ; and anon., A help to prayer (1686), sig. A2. Bio-
ographical details of authors mentioned in this chapter are taken from DNB unless otherwise stated.


⁷ J. Maltby, Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England (Cambridge, 1998), 17, 119–26, 
170; Spurr, Restoration Church, 332, 337–9, 347, 371, 374–5, and ch. 7 passim. On ‘stinting’, see Nuttall, 
Holy Spirit, 66–7; and Davies, Worship and Theology I, 72.
contemplation or meditation as well as more conventional petitions. Conversely, even if the Elizabethan and early Stuart ‘godly’ put a strong emphasis on frequent and fervent prayer in the home, many leading figures, such as Cartwright, Perkins, and Greenham, also exorted the faithful to take part in those forms of public worship of which the puritans approved, whether they were based on the official Prayer Book, modified where necessary, or an alternative Genevan model. ‘None here . . . doubt . . . but that a set form of prayer may be used’, wrote the ‘godly’ preacher John Preston in the 1620s. He also argued that the use of such forms in church had a scriptural basis, and that the more public the worship, the greater the honour to God.

While aware that ‘set forms of prayer’ were ‘very distasteful unto many’, ‘godly’ ministers like Samuel Hieron and John Cotton also realized that many of their flocks needed to use suitable books ‘as young swimmers use bladders’—until they could manage without them. As a result, such ministers approved the use of supplementary collections of prayers for those weaker brethren with ‘stammering and lisping tongues’ who were not yet able to extemporize. As late as the 1670s Richard Baxter also refused to condemn either set forms or extemore prayer: it was up to the minister to decide which to use in public prayer, and the individual in private according to his or her abilities. But, as we shall see later, events were already overtaking this balanced judgement.

For at least the first century after the Reformation, there was also a remarkable degree of overlap between the form and content of prayers published by English Protestants. This was in part because, as in the case of catechizing, prayers were not deemed to be suitable places for polemical contests. For example, Bayly (Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 45–51); Mayer, Hammond, Ken, and Wake (Green, Christian’s ABC, 482–3); Andrews, Institutions piae, sig. A5’; and pp. 25–6; S. Patrick, The devout Christian (1686), sigs. Aq’; T. Comber, A companion to the temple and closet (1676), sigs. Aq’; W. Howell, The Common-Prayer-Book the best companion (1695), sigs. Aq’–3’; G. Towerson, An explication of the catechism of the church . . . Part III (1685), 14–15, 30–4; and cf. Spurr, Restoration Church, 334, 340–4. On ‘ejaculations’ and meditations, see below, nn. 156, 176–7.


Hieron, Helpe, 581; Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 178; Tuke said it did not matter if one prayed by conceiving or reading, as long as prayer was from the heart and with understanding: Practice of the faithfull, 10–11; for other ‘godly’ authors’ views see below, Ch. 5.xi and 5.xiv.

Baxter, Christian directory, 591–2; and cf. Patrick, Devout Christian, sigs. Aq’; and on later developments, Nuttall, Holy Spirit, 62–73; Wakefield, Puritan Devotion, 68–70, 80–2; Davies, Worship and Theology I, 268–73, and H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England. II From Andrews to Baxter and Fox, 1620–1690 (1975), 189–97; and for some causes and consequences of these developments, see below, pp. 274–7.

Prefaces to devotional works might contain the occasional sharp comment about those who held different views, but only very rarely did the text. In an early prayer by a first-generation reformer, Thomas Becon took a swipe at ‘idle lubbers’, ‘thieves and robbers’, and the false prophets in sheep’s clothing in the ministry; in the 1580s a zealous layman John Norden condemned ‘sects, schisms, and dangerous controversies’, and blessed England’s escape from ‘the yoke and tyranny of Antichrist and Satan’ and the superstitions of popery; and in the 1620s the pugnacious publisher Michael Sparke directed a shaft at the ‘atheists, Arminians, and Papists of this land and elsewhere’, and pointedly insisted that the ‘only . . . archbishop of our souls’ and head of the church was ‘thy son Jesus’. But in the thousands of lines of prayers in the collections in our sample there are really very few explicit barbs of this nature.

Overlap also stemmed from the fact that most Protestants looked to the same sources for their prayers, above all the Bible, and within that the psalms, gospels, and epistles in particular. Psalms were uniquely acceptable to nearly all shades of opinion, though in early modern England they were more commonly used in the metrical form we will examine in Chapter 9. Prayers that had been used in the medieval church or by humanists like Erasmus and Vives were also widely deployed by early English Protestants like Becon and Bradford, especially where the prayers in question had a sound scriptural base. The works of conservative figures such as Andrewes, Laud, Cosin, and others show a greater awareness of the riches of the liturgical devotions of the Early Church and the eastern church, but these were not forced on readers in the form of whole services; nor did the works of these authors sell as well as volumes containing more conventional prayers. There was also a wide measure of agreement on what elements a good prayer should contain: thanking for God’s power, mercy, and providential care of his creation; confession and bewailing of sins; and petition for help for oneself—for mercy and help in adversity, and for the strength to throw off the old Adam and put on the new Christ—and intercession for others.

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15 See below, pp. 255–6, 262–4, and Ch. 9.


17 e.g. Lewis Bayly (Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 183–4, and cf. 180), Daniel Featley (*Ancilla pietatis*, 27–60), and Lancelot Andrews (Institutiones piae, 26 and passim); also cf. H. R. McAdoo, *The
when reading whole collections of prayers of the late Tudor and early Stuart periods is the importance attached by authors of all persuasions to the need for divine grace for the accomplishment of the smallest act of devotion or piety.\textsuperscript{18}

Protestant theory also insisted that prayer should never be to saints or angels or the Virgin Mary, in an unfamiliar tongue like Latin, or repeated mechanically in the hope of pleasing God. Instead all prayer should be to God the Father, through Christ his son, and with the help of the Holy Spirit; those praying should be contrite for their sins, have a heartfelt desire for help, and pray in faith, asking for what God thought best for them.\textsuperscript{19} In fact, Protestant practice differed less from Catholic at various points than its proponents imagined, as we shall see, though just how common the act of praying was in early modern England compared, say, to the late medieval period, and what form those prayers took, are questions that historians have hardly begun to consider, and only in part because of the dearth of evidence.\textsuperscript{20}

From the diaries, autobiographical, biographical, and other materials left by the educated elite, we can see that family and private prayer was not uncommon in the households of the clergy and the landed and commercial elites; and from both manuscript and printed devotions it is clear that many individual members of the laity were inspired to compile their own collections of prayers.\textsuperscript{21} Lower down the social ladder the most that can be said with

\textsuperscript{18} This was usually assisting or preventing grace rather than irresistible or indefectible grace; for examples of works where it is regularly cited, see Book of Common Prayer, passim; J. Colet, Daily devotions (1673), sig. A10; and Hall, Jacob's ladder, sigs. A3–5; J. Wilkins, A discourse concerning the gift of prayer (1651), 81–230; and N. Vincent, The spirit of prayer (1677), 129–60. Some authors added another element: deprecation, e.g. J. Bradford, Godlie meditations upon the Lordes Prayer (1562), sig. Aii; Valentine, Private devotions, second litany; and Allestree, cited in Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 136.

\textsuperscript{19} Green, Christian's ABC, 480–2; Wakefield, Puritan Devotion, 77–9; Nuttall, Holy Spirit, 63–4, and 62–73 passim; Day, Booke of Christian prayers, sig. Eii; Tuke, Practise of the faithful, i–8, 11–21, 49–53; Andrews; Institutions piae, 8–17, 22; Themylthorp, Posie, sigs. A7–8; Preston, Saints daily exercise, 102–46; Baxter, Christian directory, 587–9, 593–6; Towerson, Explication, 27–30.

\textsuperscript{20} In general, J. Delumeau, Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 15th–18th Centuries, tr. E. Nicholson (New York, 1990), ch. 20. Most studies of prayer are now fairly old and written from a literary or denominational perspective: White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion; cad., English Devotional Literature . . . 1600–1640; Stranks, Anglican Devotion; McAdoo, Caroline Moral Theology, ch. 6; and Wakefield, Puritan Devotion, chs. 5–6. Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, provides a most illuminating study of New England devotional life, but both the sources and the patterns of belief, practice, and commitment are so different from those in Old England that direct comparisons are difficult.

\textsuperscript{21} W. Greenham, Works (1590), 45; More and Cross, Anglicanism, pp. Iviii–lxx, 629–30; Stranks; Anglican Devotion, 22n, and 150; Brightman, Manual for the Sick of Lancelot Andrews, xi–xiv, xxvi–viii; Welsby, Andrews, 48–9, 264–7; McAdoo, Caroline Moral Theology, 142–3; K. Sharpe, 'The King's Writ: Royal Authors and Royal Authority in Early Modern England', in Sharpe and Lake, Culture and Politics, 119–20, 124–6; Wakefield, Puritan Devotion, 68 (Robert Bolton praying six times a day); J. T. Cliffe,
confidence is that the majority of the people would have learnt the Lord’s Prayer, and that the more they attended church for regular services or rites of passage, the more they were likely to hear and eventually join in the prayers and responses read out by the minister or parish clerk. From the mid-1540s many people would also have heard the special prayers and services, in English, issued by the authorities either at times of danger caused by war or plague (or in 1580 an earthquake) or at times of rejoicing, such as delivery from plague, a military or naval victory, or the birth of a royal heir; and outside church, children in school and adults attending a public ritual such as an execution would also have heard official prayers. To these sources we can add what has survived in printed copies of all types of prayers—official and unofficial, permanent and occasional—to tease out more about what was expected, what was available, and what devotions were widely circulated in print in the first two centuries of English Protestantism.

ii. Modification of the Primer

Given the abuse directed at many features of pre-Reformation piety, the first initiative taken by leading Protestants was a remarkably conservative one. A staple of late medieval devotion had been the primer—a brief manual containing selected psalms, approved prayers, and some elementary religious instruction, and designed for the laity to use at home as well as in church. Originally in Latin, by the fifteenth century more and more primers had elements translated into the vernacular, and though many copies were plain in appearance to keep the cost down, those belonging to the rich and powerful were lavishly illustrated. Confined to manuscript form before the 1450s, primers also soon become a staple of early printing throughout Europe, with the more expensive copies being printed on vellum with hand-coloured initials and other decorative features. The ubiquity of the primer meant that

Text references:


Footnotes:


18 E. Bishop’s introduction to The prymer or lay folks prayer book, ed. H. Littlehales (Early English Text...
the first instinct of both Protestant reformers and orthodox Catholics trying to respond to Protestant challenges was to adapt it to suit the new situation, and from the 1530s to the 1560s a series of new primers, mostly in English, were written and printed. The 1539 primer that Thomas Cromwell commissioned from Bishop Hilsey had a number of Protestant features in a work built up of essentially Catholic materials, while the one that Cranmer issued in Henry VIII’s name in 1545 was sufficiently different at a number of points from earlier primers to be deemed a Protestant work on balance. It was reprinted no less than sixteen times in under five years, and five more times in an edition in English and Latin.²⁴

In 1551, a revised version of this Henrician primer was published, and in 1553 another Primer or boke of private prayer appeared, though this marked much the greatest break with the past, not only for the omission of traditional materials that had survived into the 1545 primer, but also for the new material added, including many prayers from the new Book of Common Prayer.²⁵ Under Mary, there was a predictable reversion to the Sarum primer and other conservative forms, and Hoskins has identified well over thirty editions of primers published in England and France for sale in the English market between 1553 and 1558, a quarter of them with ‘goodly pictures’.²⁶ At Elizabeth’s accession, there was an equally predictable revival of the Edwardian primers of 1551 and 1553, though these were soon overtaken by other developments: the didactic element in the new catechisms, the vernacular liturgy in the Book of Common Prayer, and an increasing choice of supplementary collections of devotions in print. However, a number of features and prayers characteristic of early and mid-Tudor primers did linger on, as we shall see shortly, and there was one exception to the general demise of primers. This was an abridged version of the 1553 primer, A primer and ... cathechisme, which achieved enormous sales and exposure over the next two centuries, perhaps because it combined in a small, cheap work a teaching tool—the alphabet, and the official short catechism—with the more traditional function of a small collection of prayers approved for the faithful.²⁷ There were also other combinations of approved prayers referred to as ‘godly


²⁴ White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, chs. 6–7; C. C. Butterworth, The English Primers (1529–1545) (Philadelphia, 1953); Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 15–17; and below, Appendix 1, s.v. primer (1545).

²⁵ White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 119–21, 130–3, and see below, Appendix 1, s.v. primer (1551, 1553).

²⁶ Hoskins, Horæ, 70–81 (nos. 203–38).

²⁷ Appendix 1, s.v. primer (1551, 1553, and [c.1570]); Green, Christian’s ABC, 65–9, 176–7, 704–5; above, Ch. 4, n. 56; T. W. Baldwin argued that Shakespeare knew the prayers in The primer and . . . cathechisme. William Shakespeare’s Petty School (Urbana, Ill., 1943), chs. 2–3.
prayers’ or ‘a form of prayer to be used in private houses every morning and evening’, which fell short of a full primer, but from the 1550s were regularly used as fillers in copies of the official prose psalter and ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ metrical psalms.

iii. Other Innovations

A significant proportion of the population would also have been told in very simple terms what the purpose of prayer was and taught a short form of unimpeachably scriptural origins—the Lord’s Prayer. The importance of the Lord’s Prayer in the mind of a wide spectrum of the clerical elite both on the Continent and in England can be deduced from other printed survivals: the scores of treatises or extended expositions on it, and the regular use of it in supplementary devotions or as a basis of meditation. Protestants agreed that this prayer was not to be repeated aimlessly or without faith, and that it was not the sole form to be used. But it was also widely agreed that as a precise model or pithy summary of praise, confession, and petition the Lord’s Prayer was without peer; and it must have been in common currency in early modern England—hammered home by catechists, regularly declaimed in most church services, depicted (with the Decalogue and Creed) on the wall of the parish church, and inscribed on samplers. Even ‘godly’ critics of popular ignorance conceded that people knew the Lord’s Prayer, although some of the laity were accused of not using it properly or positively misusing it as a spell against evil.

Two other novel forms of devotion that most people would have

29 Green, Christian’s ABC, chs. 3, 4, 11.
30 Wakefield, Puritan Devotion, 71–2; and for English works inside the sample, see below, Appendix 1 s.v. Latimer (1562), Bradford (1562), Bull (1568), Perkins (1592), R. Hill, and Patrick (1665). See also Maunsell, Catalogue, 83; and Green, Christian’s ABC, Appendix 1, s.v. Viret (1582), Tomkys, Babington (1588), W. Burton (1594), Bunny (1602), A. Dent (1612), Elton (1625), J. Smith, T. Hooker (1645), E. Hopkins, and Towerson (1680); and for works by a wide range of authors outside the sample, STC 4465 (Calvin), 10769 (Fenner), 4098a (Bunny), 1649 (Baynes), 599–60 (Andrewes), 22877.1 (J. Smyth), 22121 (Scudder), 1942 (Bernard), 12117 (Gouge), 14965 (Henry King), 19777 (Sir James Perrott), 6938.5 (Dod), 1223 (Sir Richard Baker), 7117 (George Downname), Wing C817 (Casaubon), B928 (Barrow), M1585 (Mede), and B 2141 (Beverley); and later Offspring Blackall, Practical discourses on the Lord’s Prayer (1727). For regular use of the Lord’s Prayer in the supplementary collections discussed below, see, for example, Sparke, Crums, and anon., School of learning (1687).
31 Green, Christian’s ABC, 484–5; Andrewes, Institutions piae, 50; Baxter, Christian directory, 586–92; Towerson, Explication, 50–6; many steady-selling catechisms not only expounded the Lord’s Prayer but also contained a selection of supplementary prayers: Green, Christian’s ABC, Appendix 1, s.v. Dering-More, Paget-Openshaw, W. Gouge (1615), W. Hill, Crashaw (1618), Mayer (1621), Sherlock, Worthington (1675), R. E., T. Marshall, and Ken (1685).
33 Green, Christian’s ABC, 131, 245–6.
encountered were a complete psalter in the vernacular, either in prose or sentence, and a complete liturgy in the vernacular—the Book of Common Prayer. Echoes of those prayers in the most frequently used sections of the Book of Common Prayer—morning and evening prayer and communion, marriage, baptism, the churching of women, and burial—can be heard in the vocabulary not just of playwrights and poets but also of the ordinary parishioners who exhibited their attachment to the official liturgy from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. As Peter Burke has remarked, ritual may have been expelled at the door by the Reformation, but came back in through the window, and helped bind Protestant congregations together.34 The story of how this came about is at last beginning to be told, and one part that is particularly pertinent here is the way in which publishers made available the text of the Book of Common Prayer in a growing number of formats and at increasingly cheap prices.

iv. Marketing the Book of Common Prayer

At the outset, publishers made copies of prayers in the official liturgy available in two main forms: a complete Book of Common Prayer (with or without a psalter) to be bound and used separately; and a variety of slimmed-down and so much cheaper versions printed on loose sheets that could be folded and bound with a psalter or into the preface of a bible. A number of the latter appeared from the early 1550s to the early 1580s in officially sponsored or approved works like the prose psalter and the Bishops’ Bible, and at least one of these cut-down versions has achieved some notoriety as a so-called ‘puritan’ version of the Prayer Book bound into some copies of the Geneva Bible from 1578 to 1585. On closer examination, however, this last proves to have been almost certainly a speculative project by a publisher, probably Christopher Barker, who had just paid out a very large sum to secure a monopoly of bible production and was understandably anxious to expand sales of bibles as much as possible. One ploy he tried was an abridgement with certain omissions and alterations printed to fit into quarto Geneva Bibles, which he hoped would please ‘godly’ book-buyers, though some of the alterations in it were unlikely to have pleased hard-line critics, and other features would probably have actively upset them. These alterations were soon reversed, and from the mid-1580s Barker and his son actually sold many more

copies of a perfectly orthodox cut-down version of the Prayer Book not just in black-letter and quarto format (as in 1578–85), but in roman type and in other formats as well, and on loose sheets that could be bound with a much wider variety of bibles (of all translations) and psalters.35

For, as in the case of the bibles examined in Chapter 2 and the metrical psalters to be discussed in Chapter 9, the use of folio and quarto for the first editions of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 soon gave way to octavos and then duodecimos under the later Stuarts.36 (Smaller formats such as sixteenmo and twenty-fourmo were tried from the late 1580s, but in this case met with only limited success.)37 The price too fell from 2s. 2d. unbound or 3s. 4d. bound for a full-size folio in 1549, to 1od. or 1s. in the late sixteenth century, between 5d. and 9d. for an unbound form in quarto or duodecimo a century later, and as little as 3d. for an abbreviated version to be bound into small format bibles; and this despite a major inflationary hike in the first century after the Reformation.38 As with other regularly reprinted titles, we have to confront the problem of continuous reprinting from about the 1620s, but it still seems quite possible that well over 500 editions of the Prayer Book were printed between 1549 and 1729 in English alone (not counting editions in Latin, French, and Welsh). The number of editions per decade rose from eleven in the 1560s to just over twenty in the next three decades, nearer thirty in the 1610s and 1620s, and perhaps well over twice that number in the 1630s, as Cambridge joined London in producing copies, and literacy rates and the diversification of formats both peaked. After a break in production in the late 1640s and 1650s, production resumed in 1660 and soon reached about thirty editions a decade under Charles II and James II, and perhaps nearly forty again in the early eighteenth century.39

The contemporary bindings in which many full-length copies of the Book of Common Prayer are found also indicate that from the late 1570s it was quite common for the well-to-do to buy a copy of the Prayer Book, and a bible or ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, or both, and have them bound together. Publishers accordingly took care (as far as was possible) to have copies available of these different titles in matching paper size, typeface, and number of

36 STC 2 16267–422; Wing B3612–703.
37 e.g. STC 16300, 16301.5, 16302.5, 16305a, and Wing B3665a, 3665a, 3681a.
38 R. B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford, 1948), 122; Maltby, Prayer Book and People, 29 (and cf. 200, 205, 211); Lawler, Book Auctions, 83–4; Bodleian Library, C.P.1729 f.3, title-page.
39 This is based on my calculations from STC 16267–422; Wing B3612–703; and ESTC, though the holdings of an individual library like the British Library and the Bodleian tend to confirm the pattern. For continuous reprinting, see below, Appendix 2.
columns. In the 1670s and again in the early eighteenth century, many quarto and octavo and some duodecimo copies had the additional option of having dozens of engravings inserted between pages, some showing the correct forms of devotion in church and home, others referred to as ‘historical cuts’ illustrating events such as Guy Fawkes’s providential arrest and Charles II’s equally providential return. A loyalist cleric and future bishop, Anthony Sparrow, took the opportunity of his suspension from office during the Interregnum to write and publish his long Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer (1655) explaining and defending its use, and despite its length and price this work sold a dozen editions in the next few decades. Later, in the 1680s and 1690s, another future bishop William Beveridge and a devout layman Thomas Clutterbuck provided much shorter and cheaper defences which also sold well; in 1682 a London layman, Thomas Seymour, published a sixpenny-treatise offering Advice to the readers of the Common-Prayer on how to get the most out of it; and in 1685 Thomas Ken, the pious Bishop of Bath and Wells, published a single sheet costing a penny, showing readers how to pray using the Prayer Book catechism as a basis. Meanwhile, two other clergymen, Thomas Comber and William Howell, one active in Yorkshire, the other a curate and schoolmaster in Oxfordshire, had built their aids to daily devotion round the Prayer Book, though Howell’s shorter work, The Common-Prayer-Book the best companion (1686), easily outsold Comber’s ponderous and expensive Companion to the temple and closet (1672), which must have been of interest mainly to fellow professionals. It was the shorter works like those of Beveridge, Seymour, and Howell that Bishop Turner of Ely recommended in 1686 because of the ‘world of good’ that he had seen result from their distribution among the laity.

Under Queen Anne another clutch of works began to sell well, some of which would have made our sample if the date for first publication had been

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40 See above, pp. 78–9, 88–90, and below, pp. 511–18; and Maltby, Prayer Book and People, 26–7.
41 Walsham, Providence, 265; 1702 4° (ESTC recall no. t081294), 1702 8° (t043930), 1703 8° (t089788), etc; and 1713 8° (t082214), 1716 8° (t082208), 1719 12° (t081389), etc.
43 See Appendix 1; Green, Christian’s ABC, 674–5; and cf. anon., An help to prayer for the catechised youth of the Church of England (1678).
44 See Appendix 1; Spurr, Restoration Church, 341–2. Also see J. Prideaux, Euchologia (1655), and T. Elborow, Exposition of the Book of Common-Prayer (1663, 1672).
extended a few years after 1700: a parish priest, William Nicholls, published his *The book of common-prayer . . . paraphras’d* (1709); an Oxford fellow, Charles Wheatly, produced his *Church of England man’s companion or a rational illustration of the harmony and usefulness of the Book of Common Prayer* (1710)—a standard text until well into the nineteenth century; and a London preacher, Thomas Bisse, published *The beauty of holiness in the Common Prayer* (1716). There also proved to be a ready market for works on specific aspects of Prayer Book ritual, such as the *Companion for the festivals and fasts of the Church of England* (1704) by Robert Nelson, a nonjuring devotional writer, and the *Paraphrase and comment upon the epistles and gospels* (1705–8) by George Stanhope, a royal chaplain and Dean of Canterbury.

If we add this impressive pattern of sales to the huge sales of copies of the Prayer Book proper, we have a strong case for arguing that a firm attachment to ‘prayer book divinity’ was evident among sections of the upper and middling ranks in the seventeenth century. Less prosperous parishioners might have to make do with a borrowed or hand-me-down copy, or rely on listening to the minister or clerk enunciating the text from their own printed copy. But as the work of Maltby and Spaeth on devotion to the Common Prayer suggests, print could have an equally powerful impact on the views of ordinary parishioners as well as the better-educated elites; and as the work of Cressy, Hutton, and others has shown, there was also widespread popular support for the festivities associated with the new Protestant calendar that celebrated royal birthdays and deliverances such as 1588 and 1605, the ceremonial for which was also disseminated through print.

v. Prayer and Print

Printing was used to encourage the practice of prayer in several other ways. In our sample of steady sellers there are a number of heavyweight treatises or sets of sermons by both ‘godly’ and conformists stressing the importance of prayer and offering guidance on how best to set about it, and also many

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45 Respectively 4 editions by 1734, 5 by 1728, 8 by 1728, 14 by 1728, and 4 by 1726 (source: BLC); and cf. Stranks, *Anglican Devotion*, 159–72; and M. Hole, *Practical discourses* (1714–16).
47 J. Brinsley, *The true watch* (1607), pt. 2; D. Fearley, *Ancilla pietatis* (1626); J. Preston, *The saints daily exercise* (1629); T. Goodwin, *The returne of prayers* (1636); J. Wilkins, *Discourse concerning the gift of prayer* (1631); E. Wetenhall, *Enter into thy closet* (first extant edition 1663); and W. Dawes, *The duties of the closet* (1695) (for further details on these works, see Appendix 1). In addition, cf. G. Downname’s *Godly and learned treatise of prayer* (1640) (STC 7117); Maunsell, *Catalogue*, 83; and Brough, *Sacred principles*, sigs. A4*–*.
shorter works encouraging the individual to pray. But the relatively limited sales of such works, compared to those we will examine shortly which provided ready-to-use prayers and meditations, suggests that there was a ceiling to the demand for works that devoted most space to theory or exhortation. The principle of regular, fervent prayer was also encouraged in wide-ranging works of advice, such as Richard Greenham’s *Grave counsels and godlie observations*, and Richard Baxter’s *Christian directory*. And not only was the principle encouraged but also specific set prayers were inserted into a number of titles in other genres that sold well, such as the books of spiritual direction and handbooks on godly living and godly dying which we shall examine in Chapter 6, including the two most popular Protestant editions of Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ*, Lewis Bayly’s *Practise of pietie*, Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy living and Holy dying*, Allestree’s *Whole duty of man*, and similar works by Drelincourt, Lucas, Scott, and Burkitt.

Another group of publications containing devotional material combined two or more approaches, such as prayers with psalms or verses, dialogues, short treatises, or catechetical material. Prayers can also be found scattered through the text of Arthur Dent’s edifying dialogue (*The plaine mans path-way*), Richard Baxter’s treatise on conversion (*A call to the unconverted*), Jeremy Taylor’s *life of Christ* (*The great examplar*), John Flavell’s diverting handbook for seamen (*Navigation spiritualiz’d*), and John Norris’s treatise on the links between *Reason and religion*, as well as in a best-selling schoolbook like Edmund Coote’s *The English schoole-maister*, an open letter like Elizabeth Joceline’s *Mothers legacie, to her unborne childe*, and Richard Kilby’s autobiographical warning-story, *Hallelu-iah*. But much the most striking manifestations of printed prayers are the complete collections compiled by individuals rather than the authorities, to which we now turn.

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48 R. Harris, *Peters enlargement upon the prayers of the church* (1624); one of the sermons in W. Fenner, *Divine message to the elect soule* (1645); B. Duppa, *Holy rules and helps to devotion* (1673) [half theory, half practice, later used by Dr. Johnson]; N. Vincent, *The spirit of prayer* (1674); and J. Bunyan, *Discourse upon the pharisee and the publicane* (1685) (further details on these works in Appendix 1); and for examples of similar works outside the sample, see (in chronological order) STC: 15033-3, 20025, 19312, and 24259, and Wing: G431, H2323, W3508, H1762, M1524, H2825, D283, K663a, and S5115.


50 Below, Appendix 1 (Lucas 1677); to these could be added others, e.g. J. Downname, *A guide to godliness* (1622).


52 See Appendix 1. Many of these are discussed in Ch. 7 below. Hambrick-Stowe (*Practice of Piety*, 78, 175) makes a case for regarding even a technical treatise like Perkins’s *Cases of conscience* and an allegory like Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s progress* as devotional manuals; but I have tried to place such works in the categories which I assume contemporary readers placed them (see below, Chs. 6.ix and 7.vi).
vi. Devotional Aids in the Sample

There are thirty-five works in our sample which consist mainly of supplementary prayers produced by private individuals, ranging from Thomas Becon’s *Flower of godly prayer* (c.1550) to Susanna Hopton’s *Devotions* first published in 1700. These were not necessarily seen as rivals to the Book of Common Prayer: a significant proportion were composed by conformist clergy wanting prayers for occasions or needs that the official liturgy did not obviously cover, while many other collections have either elements from or strong echoes of the official liturgy, as in the case of Thomas Becon’s *Pomander of prayer*, John Norden’s *Pensive mans practice*, and many others. But despite their ubiquity and intrinsic value as sources these collections are among the most neglected documents of the early modern period.

What strikes one instantly are the very high levels of repeat editions in a number of cases, often of works about whose authors’ religious views and position relatively little else is known: fifty editions of Nicholas Themylthorp’s *Posie of godly prayers* (between 1609 and 1721), well over forty of Thomas Sorocold’s *Supplications of saints* (1612–1723) and Michael Sparke’s *Crumbs of comfort* (c.1622–1726), and just over forty of John Norden’s *A pensive mans practice* (1584–1640). In addition over twenty editions were sold of Samuel Hieron’s *A helpe unto devotion* (c.1612–50), Thomas Twyne’s *Garlande of godly flowers* (1574), Henry Valentine’s *Private devotions* (c.1631–1706), a work ascribed (with only limited justification) to John Colet—*Daily devotions* (1641–1722), and another work of uncertain origin attributed to Abednigo Seller, *The devout companion* (c.1699–1721). In another eleven cases, collections of prayers sold from twelve to nineteen editions, and thus exceeded the average for the sample as a whole (about eleven editions); the average for devotional works in the sample is quite high at just under fourteen.

But while attention will be focused here on works in the sample, and especially the more popular ones, it must be made clear that there are a large number of other collections and treatises on prayer which either sold two, three, or four editions without (as far as can be seen) qualifying for the sample, or sold five or more but in a period of over thirty years. As early as 1595 Maunsell listed over eighty titles in the section

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51 Conformists include clergy like Cosin, Laud, Taylor, Brough, Patrick, Hall, Howell, and Jenks, but arguably other authors such as Cancellar, Themylthorp, and Morton. For examples of works containing elements or echoes of the Book of Common Prayer, see T. Becon, *The pomander of prayers* ([c.1567]), sigs. 54–62; Cancellar, *Alphabet*, sigs. Di‘–vi‘i; Norden, *Pensive mans practise*, fos. 2r, 3r, 6r–7r, 9r, 12r, etc; Sorocold, *Supplications*, 2, 6, 9, 18, 112–13, 151, 176–7, 181, etc; Cosin, *Collection*, 40–1, 43–83, 129–30, 149–50, 204–17, 221–88; Brough, *Sacred principles*, 25–7; Morton, *Countess of Morton’s daily exercises*, sigs. A6r, A7r, A8r–9r, B6r–11r, C6r, etc; and Hall, *Jacob’s ladder*, 4, 16, 18, 22, 31, 40, 44–5, etc.

52 See below, Appendix 1.

53 *Ibid.*, s.v. *Treasure*. *Godlie gardeine*; Habermann; Norden (*Poore mans rest*; Cosin; Taylor (1644); Morton; Patrick (1671); J. Hall (1672); Howell; anon., *Whole duty of prayer*.

on ‘prayers’ in his catalogue of books for sale—a figure which not only reflects the popularity of the genre, but also made it much easier later for less scrupulous editors and publishers to offer ‘new’ works culled from less well known older collections.

vii. Authors and their Targets

Another striking feature of the devotional aids in our sample is the wide range of authors or editors of these works. Predictably the largest proportion were clergy, for whom prayer was a divine ordinance, but also an excellent means of imparting information and encouraging devotion among their readers, and thus guarding them from schism or popery. But an unusually high number of those who felt inclined to produce devotional handbooks were laymen and laywomen, mostly from two groups: members of the better-born or better-educated ranks; and publishers and printers.

To judge from the acrostics on the name of Robert Dudley, the use of the bear and ragged staff from the earl’s coat of arms, and the dedication to Leicester in his Alphabet of prayers (1564), James Cancellar must have been a client or suitor of Elizabeth’s favourite. And to judge from the relative brevity of many of the prayers he had ‘collected’, his penchant (as in primers) for ‘psalms’ as his basic unit (made up in this case of selected scriptural verses), and the directness of the connection he drew between petitioning God and achieving results, Cancellar was quite probably a layman. John Norden was not only an extremely busy (and socially ambitious) topographer, but also the very well-read author of many devotional works such as The pensive mans practise, and The poore mans rest, the spiritual benefit of which he was able to assure his readers from personal experience of using them. Sir John Hayward had a successful legal career before he was knighted, and although better known

 manual of private devotions (1648), STC 599–601 (and Wing A3129aA–130, and A3152–9); and a translation of a very popular French title—Pierre Jurieu’s Plain method of Christian devotion (1692), J1209.

57 Maunsell, Catalogue, 84–7. Some other works are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

58 If after 1640 there was a slight decline in the number of devotional manuals inside or outside the sample, this may well have been due to the rise of works in related genres, such as meditation and preparation for the Lord’s Supper (discussed below), and to the ubiquity of other works containing prayers such as catechisms and the ‘mixed’ works already mentioned (see above, nn. 27–8, 30–1, 51), as well as the developments discussed below, Ch.5.xiv.

59 See Appendix 1, s.v. Becon, Bradford, Bull, Cosin, Dering, Donne, Featley, Hieron, Thomas Rogers (under ‘St. Augustine’), Sorocold, Tuke, and Valentine (pre-1640), and Brough, Dorrington, Duppa, Howell, Jenks, Laud, Patrick, Seller, Taylor, and Vincent (after 1640); and, from abroad, Gerhard, Habermann, and Luis de Granada; plus the authors of the treatises on prayer listed above (n. 47), and on meditation (below, nn. 176–8).

60 Cancellar, Alphabet, passim; for a comparable work, see W. Hunnis, Seven sobes of a sorrowfull soule for sinne (1582).

today for his historical works (one of which landed him in jail for appearing to defend Essex), he also wrote devotional ones, including meditations on sin, death, and God’s mercy in Christ. Part one of *The sanctuarie of a troubled soule* was published from his cell in 1600, and enhanced by five illustrations including the terrors of hell and a skeleton hovering over a knight. Nicholas Themylthorp was a ‘gentleman server’ to Anne of Denmark, to whom he dedicated his *Posie of godly prayers* in 1609.

The incipient elitism of these works—and not a few of those drawn up by other laymen and clergymen—is borne out in other ways. Despite claims on the title-pages of Norden’s works that the prayers were for ‘all persons’ and the ‘poor man’, there are clear indications that Norden and his publisher imagined a moderately prosperous reader. There are the dedications to local gentry, the acrostic verses on their names, the untranslated citations in Latin, the displays of learning and somewhat inflated choice of words, the references to the dangers of ‘soft pillows’ and the need for active charity, the prayer for help in ordering worldly riches, and in the texts the relatively early use of roman and italic typefaces and a generous layout on the page. In 1617 Thomas Sorocold pointed out that Prince Charles’s copy of *Supplications of saints*, which had been dedicated to and appreciated by the young prince, had been claimed by his sister, Elizabeth; while in his *Ancilla pietatis* Daniel Featley offered the duchess of Buckingham a ‘handmaid to private devotion’—a servant to help her pray—though this too was a work later appreciated by Charles. In the 1620s again, a decade when (as Featley wryly acknowledged) ‘almost everyone’ was preparing devotional works, for reasons we will turn to shortly, Ralph Winterton prefaced his translation of Gerhard’s meditations and prayers with no less than four dedications to no less than twelve well-born or well-placed people. To these he added supporting verses by various hands and, from the second edition, an engraved frontpiece (by William Marshall) that reflected the elite’s growing taste for symbolism.

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62 Sir John Hayward, *The sanctuarie of a troubled soule* (1601); and DNB.


64 J[ohn] G[ee], *Steps of ascension unto God* (1625), sigs. A⁵–⁴ (to two ‘virtuous gentlewomen’); Morton, *Countess of Morton’s daily exercise*, sigs. A⁵–⁶ (framed for one countess, published by another, her daughter); [Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland], *Meditations and prayers* (1682); Becon dedicated his *Flower* to the mother of Jane Seymour, while Thomas Rogers dedicated his translation of Habermann to Walsingham, and that of ‘Augustine’s meditations (A precious book, 1581) to another Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Wilson.


66 Sorocold, *Supplications*, sigs. A⁵–⁴ (also the ‘prayers beginning with the letters of the name Elizabeth’: A⁵–B⁴); Featley, *Ancilla*, sig. A⁵, and DNB.

Professional publishers and printers regularly cast their net wider than these ambitious or zealous amateurs, since the trade’s concern was not just to continue to attract sales from traditional markets among the clergy and landed and urban elites, but also to tempt as many more of the middling and lower middling ranks who could afford a manual. Indicative of the extent to which collections of prayers had multiplied and were viewed as steady money-spinners is a document in the Stationers’ Company records dated 20 October 1578. William Seres had a royal licence dated 6 March 1553 for printing ‘all manner of books of private prayers’, and in 1578 he laid claim to twenty-three books of private prayer (reduced to nineteen when four were declared not to be prayer books) that had been published by seventeen other members of the Company. He was successful in ensuring that the other publishers paid him a shilling for each new edition of their titles and that the titles would pass to him on their deaths. 68 What is instructive is not just that Seres thought it worthwhile to insist on his rights, but the number of publishers who had bothered to acquire a title that was arguably not in their province, and also the range of works on his list, from half a dozen steady sellers to other titles of which not a single copy now survives. 69 A number of these and a few other titles passed subsequently into the English Stock of the Company, and were used thereafter to help support the poorer members of the company. 70

The full impact of print—and publishers—on the nature of devotional works is best seen by looking at some specific examples in our sample. The original text of *The treasure of gladnesse*, ‘written in vellum’ and ‘made above two hundred years past at the least’, was said to be in Printers’ Hall, and certainly much of its content had been taken from scripturally based prayers popular in the late Middle Ages. But the anonymous editor, presumably set on by the publisher John Charlewood who published most of its dozen editions between 1563 and 1601, had selected and modified these traditional materials sufficiently to get them past the censors, and the short, simple, often heavily scriptural prayers, presented in black letter in a cheap, sixteenmo format like a small primer, soon found their way into many buyers’ hands. 71 The devotional works of the Marian martyr John Bradford were also soon made public by members of the trade. Though they relied heavily on the prayers of Juan Luis Vives, the Spanish humanist who had been tutor to Princess Mary, Bradford’s *Godly meditation* and *Private prayers and meditations* were published by William Copland in 1559, 72 and his *Godly meditations upon the Lordes Prayer*, the

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69 Ibid., titles nos. 3, 4, 7, 19, and 20.
70 Ibid., 202, and cf. 200, item 22.
71 anon., Thys booke is called the treasure of gladnesse (1575), title-page; White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 139–40.
72 Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 21–6.
Beleefe, and Ten Commandments was published first by Rowland Hall in 1562, in a different version by Seres in 1567, and then again by John and Edward Allde from 1578 to 1633. For one edition, Edward Allde wrote both the dedication to a peer, praising the benefits to spiritual and bodily health to be derived from using the work, and the preface to the reader, again lauding its ability to stir up dull hearts to fervent prayer, but also claiming that the text’s survival during the Marian reaction was providential. The work was still being published in the 1630s, revealingly in a black-letter duodecimo.\(^{73}\)

Two works produced by the printer Henry Middleton in the late 1560s strike a similar note. It has been suggested that it was Middleton that set on Henry Bull to produce a more representative body of prayers than anything then on the market. The result—Christian prayers and holy meditations (1568)—was published in a sixteenmo format complete with calendar and almanac, as in official liturgies. Bull relied heavily on other works: the Henrician and Edwardian primers, the Book of Common Prayer, and especially Bradford (and through him Vives). Bull also tended to write shorter, less technical prayers and meditations, perhaps to ensure his collection was more accessible and comprehensive than those of Bradford and Becon.\(^{74}\) A year later Middleton also published A godlie gardeine, which was said to have been ‘perused and allowed’ but has a distinctly conservative flavour. The format is a tiny sixteenmo; the edges of the pages are decorated throughout; it has the law terms and degrees of marriage; its calendar includes many saints not listed since the 1530s; and the anonymous author, perhaps Middleton himself, not only included prayers like the ‘Conditor coeli’ and ‘Ave Rex’ (in English), but also modifications of other medieval and even Marian prayers; it also has an acrostic on ‘A godly garden’ which emphasizes good works rather than faith.\(^{75}\)

The prayer books produced by John and Richard Day in 1569 and 1578 are not in our sample, but take the story a stage further in being what one scholar has called ‘the only examples of “prayer-books de luxe” to appear in Elizabethan England’. The woodcut illustration of Queen Elizabeth at her devotions in both editions, and the provision of prayers for Elizabeth herself to say (in the 1569 version), helped secure it for a while the nickname ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Prayer-Book’.\(^{76}\) In the 1569 version, every page was heavily decorated in a manner found in many earlier printed French primers, with selected scenes from Christ’s life and Old Testament prefigurations of the same, gesticulating prophets and suitable texts, and the medieval dance of death in  

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\(^{73}\) Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 26–7; White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 128–9, 183–5, 242–3; and J. Bradford, Holy meditations (1633), sigs. A2–3. Some technical material on predestination was added to later editions that was not part of Bradford’s original text.

\(^{74}\) DNB; White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 180, 182–5; Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 27–32.

\(^{75}\) White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 185–7; anon., Godlie gardeine (1581), passim.

which skeletons led off representatives of every social rank from kings to paupers, all flanked by architectural, floral, and grotesque ornaments. The result, suggested Helen White, ‘must have looked to any informed reader like a resurrection of the old Primer’, though the cost of all this eye-catching artwork, much of it probably original, suggests a primarily commercial motive was at work. In the 1578 version, perhaps prompted by the appearance that year of an enlarged edition of Bull’s collection, Richard Day made many alterations to the 1569 text. Various additions were made to the ‘dance of death’, including some print trade in-jokes, such as (of printers) ‘Leave setting thine page, Spent is thine age’, and ‘We printers wrote with Wisdom’s pen, She lives for ay, we die as men’. Day also added two sequences each of the Signs of Judgement, the Works of Mercy, and the Five Senses, and a long procession of ‘Virtues trampling on the appropriate Vices. In addition the Continental prayers of the 1569 work were replaced by prayers from Bull’s collection and meditations from Bradford’s, together with some borrowings from Calvin, Knox, and Foxe (and prayers for Elizabeth, now in the third person). But to balance that, the restoration of the Seven Penitential psalms and much other material from the primer tradition, including an only slightly modified Fifteen Oes, gives the final product an even more conservative air than the 1569 version.

The decorative work in the Days’ works may have had both a positive and negative effect. Certainly, if we compare the relative plainness of the official Edwardian and Elizabethan primers, and most early editions of supplementary collections like Becon’s Flower and the anonymous Treasure, with a number of the devotional works and spiritual guides published by Day and others from the late 1560s, we find a significant proportion of the latter, both inside and outside our sample, have decorated borders round the page or decorated capitals, or a heavily decorated title-page, or a frontpiece or later

77 Ibid., 294–98; and White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 183–89.
78 White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 189–96, 221–9; Chew, ‘Iconography’, 298–302; the print trade jokes are on fo. 109. There were three later editions of the Day prayer book: STC 6439–2.
79 The following notes are not the result of a systematic survey, but reflect a pattern that could form the basis for a fascinating study: meanwhile, see R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, Title-page Borders used in England and Scotland 1485–1640 (1932); Hind, Engraving in England I–II; and Corbett and Norton, Engraving. Simple decorated borders can be found in works like Becon’s Pomander, [c.1567], ‘Augustine’, Godly meditations [c.1570], and Glass of vaine-glorie (1605); and Hayward, Sanctuarie (1601). But more elaborate borders can be found in both an earlier edition (1561) and later editions ([1570] and 1578) of Becon’s Pomander, the latter being simplified version of the borders in ‘Augustine’, Certain select prayers (1574); did Becon object to the naked goddesses in the 1561 edition, but after his death was unable to stop the decoration of his text again? See also the 1569 and 1578 works by Day mentioned in the previous paragraph of the text.
80 e.g. ‘Augustine’, Glass of vaine-glorie (1535); Augustine, Of the citie of God (1610); and id., Confessions (1631); Sir John Hayward, The first and second part of the sanctuarie of a troubled soule (1616); Featley, Ancilla (1626 and 1639); Cosin, Collection (1627); Sparke, Crums (1628 and 1631, but not identical); Andrewes, Institutiones piae (1639); H. Drexelius, Considerations of Drexelius upon eternity (1636); J. Donne, Devotions upon emergent occasions (1638); Sparrow, Rationale (1661 and 1672), and cf. examples in Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, pp. 37, 41, 56–7, 204, 235, 252, and emblems (listed on p. xiv).
illustrations embodying scriptural and symbolic figures such as memento mori, or men and women kneeling in closets or church, or hearts enflamed. Indeed, it is perhaps a relic of the primer's hold that devotional works were much more likely to have a woodcut or engraving attached to them than any of the other genres discussed in this monograph (with the possible exception of works like Quarles's Emblemes and some works designed for children in the later Stuart period). There is a certain irony here, and presumably a selling point too, in that the primers in the hands of ordinary laymen before and immediately after the Reformation had been generally plain, but under Mary and again from the late 1560s readers of middling rank were quite likely to have a devotional manual with at least some illustrative stimuli. There is, of course, the additional irony that the closing decades of the sixteenth century was a period when in other areas of life Protestant iconoclasm was turning to iconophobia, but perhaps the Days' efforts had helped stimulate that too. 

Among the early decorated works were a number of editions of works attributed to St Augustine which again show trade initiatives. John Day had already tacked on Godly meditations made in the forme of prayers to an early edition of Becon's Pomander before he published it under Augustine's name as a separate title in c.1570. Then in 1574 he produced Certain select prayers gathered out of S. Augustines meditations ... Also his manuell, which contained translations of two sets of prayers erroneously ascribed to Augustine. Day printed these on pages liberally sprinkled with depictions of Faith, Hope, and Charity, Old Testament characters like Adam and Eve, and Abel and Seth, and memento mori with time-honoured tags such as 'As you are, so were we' and 'Live to die, die to live'. A clergyman interested in Catholic and Lutheran devotional works, Thomas Rogers, was impressed by the spiritual quality of the devotions

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81 Luis de Granada, Of prayer and meditation (1599); Hayward, Sanctuarie (1601); 'Augustine', Glass (1585); Augustine, Of the cite of God (1610); Sparke, Crums (1628, 1631, 1701, and 1726); Drexelius, Considerations (1673); Gerhard, Meditations (1638); Valentine, Private devotions (1635, 1640, 1679, and 1706) and for a copy of this work with an embroidered cover reflecting the Valentine frontispiece of a publican praying, see Bodleian Vet.A2 g. 28; Taylor, Pastor (1644); Sparrow, Rationale (1661 and 1672); both editions also have portraits of Andrews, Hooker, and Overall before the text; E. Wetenhall, Enter into thy closet (1668); 'Colet', Daily devotions (1673); J. T. [= Thomas Tuke], The practice of the faithful (1675); T. Comber, Companion to the temple (1676); Hall, Jacob's ladder (according to the 1676 title-page 'illustrated with sculptures', but not all copies have them; cf. the 1716 edn.); A. Horneck, Fire of the altar (1683); J. Gauden, Whole duty of a communicant (1685); Patrick, Devout Christian (1686); J. Glenwill, An earnest invitation to the sacrament (1688); anon., New-years-gift (1693, 1704, and 1709); G. B., A weeks preparation (1693); Howell, Common-prayer-book (1695); A Horneck, Crucified Jesus (1705); anon., The devout companion (1721); anon., Whole duty of receiving (1717).

82 White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 68; Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, 209–12.

83 P. Collinson, From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation (Reading, 1986), 22–6; for just three examples of 'godly' authors whose works were published with ornate title-pages or frontispieces, see S. Hieron, Works [1620?]; G. Downame, A guide to godlynesse (1622); and R. Baxter, The saints everlasting rest (1658 and 1662 editions, with slight differences).

84 'Augustine', Certaine select prayers, sigs. Aii–iii, and passim.
in this 1574 edition, but was concerned by the errors left in the first translations, and perhaps by the illustrations too. So in 1581 he produced corrected, expurgated texts of the two pseudo-Augustinian works, and had them ‘adorned’ not with images, of which there was a notable absence, but with ‘necessary sentences of scripture’. Notwithstanding this implicit rebuff, in 1585 a rival of the Day family, John Windet, secured the publication of another work attributed to Augustine, The glass of vaine-glorie. Translated by a William Prid, Ll. D., this consisted of a mixture of images of corpses, shrouds, skulls, and crossbones, moralistic verses on the inevitability of death for all and the dreadful fate awaiting the wicked, an almanac, a calendar, astrological advice, and finally prayers (with expositions), meditations, and confessions, and some more bad verse, the whole retailing for 4d. bound. By 1611 it had sold seven editions.

One of the clearest statements of commercial instinct is found in the preface of Michael Sparke’s Crumms of comfort. Sparke was a printer who had had a number of spats over copyright and other matters with the senior members of the trade, but who spotted the demand for a prayer book in a very small format. He printed Crumms in twenty-fourmo, and frankly admitted that the prayers in it were drawn from various works that were either rare or out of print, though he claimed to have had them checked by some ‘godly ministers’ of his acquaintance. The result is an odd mixture. The contents certainly provided all a devout reader needed for just about every possible occasion, but the prayers were perhaps appropriate rather than inspiring, and demanded attention rather than heart-searching. The author’s distaste for Laudianism is occasionally evident, but the tone is more Augustinian than high Calvinist, stressing sin and the need for help, rather than focusing on introspection for the marks of election or a grief-pierced heart; and at times it veers towards a man-centred approach, as in the opening prayer: ‘Let me use this and other helps of devotion to seek for and stir up the grace of thy Holy Spirit’. What probably helped to sell so many copies at the outset was not only this practical, do-it-yourself approach, but other features with which a printer of his type would have been very familiar: the eye-catching title-pages, with figures praying in ‘The valley of tears’, skeletons, a sarcophagus, and Father Time; and (by 1631) allusions to the fires of Smithfield, and the deliverances of 1588 (Armada), 1605 (Gunpowder Plot), and 1628 (plague). Then there were the little fold-out inserts and the combination of prayers and history lessons expanding on these events; and finally the ballad-type verses at the end on man’s mortality and resurrection, though these last do not seem to be

85 ‘Augustine’, A precious booke of heavenly meditations (1629), title-page, and sig. A6; White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 27–30. For Rogers’s translations of works by the Lutheran Habermann and the Catholic Thomas à Kempis, see below, Appendix 1.

86 ‘Augustine’, The glass of vaine-glorie (1605), passim; the Huntington copy was owned by a William Arlington, and then a Sarah Arlington in 1793.
Christian at all. Sparke’s initiative produced a unique but successful manual, which would not only be brought up to date in a part II with attacks on new bêtes-noirs such as the Quakers, but also imitated elsewhere, not least in the idea of inserting into the text pictures of notable ‘deliverances’ in English history, which was done by publishers both for privately sponsored works throughout the rest of the seventeenth century, and, as noted above, for some later Stuart copies of the Book of Common Prayer.

Even in the 1640s and 1650s, and especially after the Restoration, when puritan attitudes to set prayers were changing rapidly, the commercial possibilities of selling printed prayers were as clear as they had been to Seres and Day in the 1570s. Many of the reprints of established favourites and the new collections published from the 1640s to the 1690s were genuine, but the origins of others are unclear or suspect. In *Daily devotions* (1641), the opening ‘fruitful direction, and order of a good Christian life’ was certainly by Dean Colet, and to later editions was added a portrait of Colet and a brief biography by Thomas Fuller calling him ‘a Luther before Luther’ and founder of the famous St Paul’s School (a clear bid for Londoners’ interest). But despite what the layout of the title-page implied, the prayers were not by Colet at all, but probably the work of the Henry Myriel who edited the volume. The work entitled *A new-years-gift composed of prayers and meditations* (first surviving edition 1681) was an example of another common publishing ploy: a new book as a New Year gift to a friend or relation. But the absence of a specific dedication and author’s name, the changes in the text after a change in ownership of the copyright, the adverts for cognate works sold by the different publishers, and the crude frontispiece in later editions—all suggest a commercial enterprise. Similarly, the comments in the preface about mastering ‘that sure skill of working in thy soul the virtues thou desirest’ and then ‘soar[ing] to heaven’ on the ‘wings of devotion . . . away from the troubles and cares of this life’ do not fill us with confidence in the unknown editor’s grasp of Protestant theology. The *whole duty of prayer* (1692) was one of half a dozen

89 See the illustrations added to 1675 edition of Tuke’s *Practise*, 1676 and 1716 editions of Hall, *Jacob’s ladder*, and above, n. 41.
91 anon., *The new-years-gift* (1704), sigs. A3r, and passim. Other examples of the genre include the broadsheet at the Huntington reproduced in Watt, *Cheap Print*, 48–9 (STC 23628.5), and Wing N814A, T1220 (J. Tillotson, *A seasonable new-years-gift*, 1687), and cf. Gee, *Steps of ascension*, sig. A4r; Wing P906, and S541; and J[oseph] H[enshaw], *A new-years-gift. Meditations* (1704), which was a later edition of his *Miscellanea* with a new title.
works attributed to the author of *The whole duty of man*, quite safely since authorship of the latter had never been publicly admitted by Richard Allestree, who in any case was dead by then. The scenario of publication—the work had been composed for an ‘honourable lady’ many years before and was only now being published—had also been used more than once before. The same may be true of *The devout companion*, which has been attributed by Arber and Wing to Abednego Seller, but which in the 1715 edition had an epistle to ‘Lady J. C.’ signed E. S. (possibly Edward Synge, but also quite possibly an invention).

The publication of collections of prayers by Andrewes and Laud from their surviving papers may have owed much to their supporters’ concern to give them a public airing, but some editions probably owed as much to publishers’ awareness of the value of publishing works by loyalist authors and a selfish desire for what one rival editor bluntly termed ‘filthy lucre’. The prayers in *The school of learning* ‘necessary for families as well as . . . children’ (first extant edition 1668) look like a pastiche for the chapbook end of the market, as do prayers in other chapbook works of this type and period. By contrast the equally anonymous *Help to prayer for the catechized youth of the Church of England* (1678), which was also produced in a cheap, black-letter format, and advertised as being ‘very useful for parents and masters to teach their children and servants how to pray’, seems much more genuine. The editor cites some serious works on the subject, relies heavily on elements in the Book of Common Prayer, and shows signs of having thought seriously about how best to ensure that the principles of the church catechism would ‘take deeper root, stick faster, and take effect’ in the young. In their different ways, these last two works, together with others like the abridged version of morning and evening prayer from the official liturgy in *The plain man’s gift of prayer* (1703) by Theophilus Dorrington, a Kentish rector, and the anonymous *Plebeian Prayer-Book* (1726) which looks a much more speculative piece, reflect the continuing move by publishers towards providing edifying works at cheaper prices, 3d.,

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92 As well as *Whole duty of prayer* and *Whole duty of receiving worthily* (cited below in Appendix 1 s.v. Whole), see the four other ‘Whole duty’s cited by Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, 338. On composition for a lady (genuine and otherwise), cf. anon., *Whole duty of receiving worthily*, the frontispiece of *New-years-gift*, and works in Appendix 1 s.v. Featley and Morton.

93 The mistake arose when Arber conflated two discrete works, one definitely by Seller—*The devout communicant assisted* (published by R. Chiswell)—and one anonymous—*The devout communicant exemplified* (published by T. Dring and then W. Freeman)—and then extended this to include *The devout companion* (published by H. Rhodes) though there is no evidence (known to me) in contemporary catalogues or works to substantiate this link. See Appendix 1 s.v. *Devout companion*.

94 For the different works by Andrewes and Laud, see STC: and *Wing*, and W. Laud, *Daily office of a Christian* (1687), *The school of learning* (1668), title-page and passim; and cf. anon., *New school of education* ([c.1680]); [J. Williams], *The school of godliness* ([1680?]); R. R., *A school of divine meditations* ([1683]); and anon., *The school of holiness* (1686).

95 anon., *An help to prayer for the catechised youth of the Church of England* (1686), title-page, signs A2r–3r, and passim.
2d., or 1/2d., or even less if bought in job lots by the charitably minded to be given away.\textsuperscript{97} Whether providing works with many traditional features in the 1560s and 1570s, or thereafter seeking new collections with sales potential—from whatever source—and packaging them attractively and cheaply, the printers and publishers of early modern England had clearly done a great deal to enhance the circulation of printed prayers.

ix. Continuity and Change in the Character of Devotional Aids

How far did the text and character of these printed devotions change in the two centuries after the Reformation? One of the most obvious changes was the dropping of many elements of late medieval devotion: the Pater noster and Credo in Latin, the Ave Maria, and traditional primer items such as the hours of the Virgin Mary, the seven penitential and fifteen gradual psalms, the Dirige or office for the dead, the commendations, and the psalms and prayers of the passion.\textsuperscript{98} Beyond that, the changes vary from the marginal, such as the translation into English of the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Ten Commandments, to the extensive. The number of saints’ days and holy days in the official calendar of the church was drastically reduced in the 1545 primer, from an average of twenty-five to seven or eight per month, and with slight alterations it remained low thereafter.\textsuperscript{99} The Elizabethan calendar was an odd mixture: on the one hand, it contained some English notables with little or no international standing, but on the other hand it retained the Purification and Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{100} The pre-Reformation litany was deemed to contain too many references to the Virgin and other holy figures, but a form of litany, partly based on Luther’s Latin version, was incorporated in the Book of Common Prayer, and either that or another version can also be found in a number of privately sponsored prayer books.\textsuperscript{101}

As Helen White has demonstrated, there was also a good deal of overlap between pre- and post-Reformation collections in the use of prayers such as ‘O bone Iesu’ and ‘Conditor coeli’, though in the Protestant versions the prayer was always in the vernacular and sometimes modified in other ways too.\textsuperscript{102} Many Edwardian and early Elizabethan Protestants, like their Continental counterparts, regularly used the works of Augustine and Bernard and

\textsuperscript{97} See below, nn. 232, 244 for examples of the cheapest works and titles sold in job lots.
\textsuperscript{100} On 2 February and 25 March; see also F. Procter and W. H. Frere, \textit{A New History of the Book of Common Prayer} (1925), 334–41.
of more recent authors such as Thomas à Kempis, Erasmus, and Vives as the basis of prayers in their private or published collections. Nor did this borrowing fade after the mid-sixteenth century, since both Counter-Reformation and Protestant leaders were prepared to use whatever means came to hand to heighten personal religious experience. As a result, both ‘godly’ and conformist writers scanned the meditative works of Catholic writers old and new, while Andrews, Cosin, and Duppa explored the liturgies and devotions of the Early Church and Patristic period for inspiration.

x. Prayers for Specific Occasions and Specific Groups

When we turn to occasional prayers, we also find a good deal of continuity between pre- and post-Reformation devotions, at least for a time. Occasional prayers were those devised to be said not on a regular basis, such as the Lord’s Prayer, but either at certain times of day, such as on rising or going to bed and at mealtimes, or more specific occasions such as when entering a church or before hearing a sermon or taking the sacrament on a Sunday, when oppressed by a sense of sin or appealing for grace to resist temptation, when embarking on an everyday action such as practising one’s trade or going on a journey, or approaching a less frequent event, such as attending a woman giving birth, or visiting the sick or dying. But despite the demonstrable elements of continuity between old and new here, there were also a number of shifts in balance and content which, taken together, had changed the character of Protestant devotions considerably by the late seventeenth century.

One early shift was probably a consequence of the dropping of so many elements of the traditional primer: occasional prayers achieved much greater prominence than before. Indeed, they comprised the great majority of the text of Becon’s *Flower of godly prayer* and much of his *Pomander of prayer* and much of Henry Bull’s selection of *Christian prayers*, which (as noted earlier) was possibly commissioned to provide prayers for almost every conceivable occasion. Over the next century another dozen popular collections would have significant numbers of such occasional prayers.

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103 See above, nn. 16, 50, 56, and 74.

104 For Bunyan, see below, Ch. 6; for Bayly and Baxter, see L. L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), 168–9; Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 86–7; and Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 54–5. In addition to translating the Lutheran Gerhard’s *Meditations*, the conformist Ralph Winterton also translated the Jesuit, J. Drexel’s, *Considerations . . . upon eternitie* (1632); and Jeremy Taylor abridged J. E. Nieremberg’s *Contemplations* (1684); and cf. below, n. 135.

105 See above, n. 16. In all these cases Protestant authors expunged any elements of Mariolatry or direct appeal to the saints, and gave preference to prayers based squarely on the scriptures.

106 For continuity with pre-Reformation practice, see White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 59–60, 63, 69, 114–16, 120–1, 126, 131, 173, 183, 194. A number of these occasions had been anticipated by petitions in the official litany, for which see above, n. 101.

A second change in the balance was the result of the considerable if temporary increase in the number of prayers designed for members of quite specific social or governmental groups, to some extent anticipated in the Prayer Book litany. To take Becon’s Flower again, these included prayers to be said by the king, councillors, judges, magistrates, bishops, parish clergy, gentlemen, landlords, merchants, lawyers, soldiers, sailors, travellers, poor people, servants, women as well as men, young as well as old, and unmarried as well as married.\textsuperscript{108} A similar range of prayers can be found in the 1610s and 1620s in popular works by Hieron, Sorocold, and Gee,\textsuperscript{109} while the title-pages or prefaces of other Elizabethan and Jacobean works could confidently proclaim that they were intended for ‘every Christian man’ or ‘all persons of any estate or calling’ (even if, in practice, their authors often overshot the less well-educated elements).\textsuperscript{110} However, this tendency to devise prayers for a magistrate, husbandman, or servant also meant that prayers for individual needs easily outnumbered those for collective use by a whole household or family unit. Periodically an author would offer a collection that tilted the balance towards the collective unit, for example the ‘godly’ Edward Dering in the 1570s; a London rector, Thomas Sorocold, in the 1610s; and two episcopal clergy, Simon Patrick and John Hall, in the 1670s; but in most collections family prayers remained, perhaps surprisingly, the exception rather than the rule.\textsuperscript{111} Perhaps the expectation was that conformable households would use the Lord’s Prayer or parts of the Book of Common Prayer for family worship, while in ‘godly’ households the paterfamilias or resident chaplain would prefer to pray with the Spirit, extemporaneously.\textsuperscript{112} Socially specific prayers can still be found in a variety of later seventeenth-century collections, not least in works dedicated solely to the needs of a specific group such as women, the young, the sick, the husbandman, or the ‘plain man’; but on the whole they came to occupy less space.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{108} Becon, Flower, sigs. xv–xlvii, and l–lv; and cf. Becon, Pomander, sigs. 5–14.

\textsuperscript{109} Hieron, Help, 629–33, 639–54; Sorocold, Supplications, 245–308; Gee, Steps of ascension, 326–46, 360–5, 368–71, 402–11.

\textsuperscript{110} Title-pages of Cancellar, Alphabet; anon., Godlie gardine; Habermann, Enimie, The mythorph, Posie; and Tuke, Practise; and epistles dedicatory of Sorocold, Supplications, sigs. A3, A5. For over-shooting see below, pp. 271–4.

\textsuperscript{111} E. Dering, Godlye private praiers (1576), title-page and passim; Sorocold, Supplications, pt. 2; Patrick, Devout Christian, 1–151; and Hall, Jacob’s ladder, pt. 2.


\textsuperscript{113} Brough, Sacred principles, 54–99, 105–8, 117–20; Patrick, Devout Christian, 438–75; anon., Whole duty of prayer (1692), 73–81, 125–34; B. Jenkins, Prayers and offices of devotion (1667), 348–495; anon., Devout companion, 142–9, 176–8, 184–5; and above, n. 107. For prayers for specific groups, see also below, Appendix i, s.v. A. Morton; Northumberland; Cotton (1629); and Flavell (1669); and cf. Dorrington’s Plain man’s gift; and anon., Plebeian Prayer-Book.
created was filled in various ways. As already noted, prayers by the individual for help in everyday situations, such as completing a journey or voyage safely, avoiding the plague, or bearing illness or hardship patiently, tended to occupy more space, not only in works by clergy such as Hieron, Sorocold, Brough, Patrick, and Howell, but also in some of the works put out by the educated laity, such as Norden, Gee, and the countess of Morton’s daughter, and some possibly commercial ventures, such as The new-years-gift, The whole duty of prayer, and the Devout companion. Another type of prayer that tended to increase in number was for forgiveness for sins past and help against temptations to come. These can be found in the first Protestant collections, such as Becon’s and Cancellar’s, but became more common in late Elizabethan and Stuart works by ‘godly’ clergy such as Hieron and zealous laity such as Norden and Sparke, and in later collections by churchmen like Taylor, Brough, Patrick, and Jenks.

xi. High Calvinism and Prayer

At this point we may pause to ask if the high Calvinism evident in some treatises and handbooks published from the 1580s to the 1650s, is reflected in the devotions printed at the same time. The answer seems to be that up to a point it was, but much less than might be expected. There is certainly not much sign of it in the prayers of Becon and Dering, printed from the 1550s to the 1570s, which reflect the dilemma of all Calvinist clergy anxious to urge greater effort on the regenerate without letting them think that such effort could alter what had been decreed. Becon in particular came close to stating the power of the human will: we suffer worthily if we incur dangers by being slack in prayer ‘which we may easily avoid if we will ourselves’; when you are burdened, be assured God will be reconciled ‘if thou thyself be willing with faithful prayers to call for the same’; to this end Becon offered his ‘sweet pomander of prayers’ for the reader’s relief, to apply ‘as time and necessity shall move thee in that behalf’. Occasionally queries were raised whether it was worth praying if God has already decreed what will pass (the correct answer was ‘yes’),

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116 Becon, Pomander [c.1570], sigs. A2v–r.
but if one seeks the characteristic concepts of double predestination—unconditional, supralapsarian decrees and the key stages of Perkins's *ordo salutis*—one finds they appear only spasmodically in works dating from the 1570s to the 1620s, and even then are not deployed in a framework that could be said to be distinctively high Calvinist.119 Moreover, the fact that a number of these terms can also be found in non-Calvinist devotions reinforces the point made earlier about shared sources, and agreement on the need for grace to pray aright, to identify and confess sin, and, though totally unworthy, to seek forgiveness and help.120

If one also seeks the well-attested tendency in high Calvinism towards introspection for assurance of election and the associated risk of depression if no assurance was gained, again one can find pointers in this direction, such as the ‘prayer for a man perplexed with the horror of sin who doubts God’s favour and when Satan tempts, tends to despair’ in Samuel Hieron’s *Helpe unto devotion*, and Thomas Tuke’s ‘Rules to know true faith by the fruits thereof’ and ‘Signs of salvation’.121 But even here, with the possible exception of the central section of Norden’s *Poore mans rest* and parts of Thomas Goodwin’s treatise on *The returne of prayers*, such elements did not constitute more than a small addition to the whole: Hieron had more prayers for different social types and everyday situations than for spiritual crises, while Tuke’s ‘Rules’ and ‘Signs’ occupied only seven pages at the end of 250 pages of prayers mostly of the types discussed in previous paragraphs.122 Moreover, many collections contained a prayer for those ‘afflicted in conscience’ which was not linked specifically to despair of assurance of election,123 and the need for introspection was emphasized not only in the volumes of meditations to which we will turn shortly, but also in a wide range of works by conformist authors like Andrewes, Laud, Howell, and Dorrington, and especially in the prayers to be said before receiving the Lord’s Supper to which we will turn at the end of this


120 Norden, *Poore mans rest*, 133–206 (e.g. at 137–9, 144, 200, 203); Goodwin, *Returne of prayers*, chs. 5–10; and above, nn. 109, 119.

chapter. Perhaps the imperatives of the clergy’s pastoral mission kept doctrinal differences within bounds.

This is not to say that more detailed analysis will not uncover deeper fissures beneath the surface, and some possible indicators of differing doctrinal inputs may be suggested. Did ‘Calvinist’ prayers focus on the evidence of salvation for the elect, while non-Calvinists focused on the service of God by trying, with the aid of grace, to walk in his ways? Did the ‘godly’ devote a higher proportion of individual prayers to confession, and conformists give more space to thanksgiving and petition as well, while the more commercially inspired works like the *The whole duty of prayer* had a noticeably high proportion of petition? Was there a pronounced penitential streak and an affective quality in English Calvinist devotions as in French Calvinists’ works? Did the high Calvinist minister (though not necessarily his lay follower) stress divine reluctance to answer those who were praying for the wrong things or whose failure to change their ways indicated their unregenerate status, while the ‘Anglican’, and some ‘godly’ laymen such as Norden, tended to be more optimistic about the results of the devotions of sinful man, when aided by grace?123

xii. Prayers for Specific Days of the Week and Year

A change that can be asserted with much greater confidence was the greater space given in seventeenth-century collections to prayers designed to be said either on a specific day of the week or at a designated time of day. As always, there were sound earlier precedents for this, not least the prayers of Vives and the popular translation of a Lutheran work, Johann Habermann’s *Enimie of securitie*, which in Thomas Rogers’s translation sold fifteen editions between 1579 and 1620; other early collections had at least some prayers to be said on rising or retiring to bed.124 But it is striking how many devotional works from the 1610s, and especially in the second half of the century, devoted a significant part of their text either to a sequence of different prayers for each morning and evening from Sunday to Saturday (including prayers for occasions characteristic of Sunday, such as hearing a sermon or taking the sacrament), or to prayers designed for different times of each day, such as noon or early

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122 Works as cited in previous notes, and also see below, Ch. 5-xvii-xix. For episcopalians’ concern with introspection, heartfelt piety, and repentance, see Spurr, *Restoration Church*, 331, 342–3, 373–4.

123 I have not found a clear divide on any of these fronts, but a more detailed examination and comparison than were possible here might find greater differences of emphasis. For French parallels, see the remarks on Huguenot authors in T. C. Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570–1613* (Cambridge, 1969). On lay optimism, see, for example, the epistle dedicatory of Norden’s *Pensive mans practise*, the couplets preceding the prayers therein, and some of the prayers themselves.

124 White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 161–8, and below, Appendix 1, for further details of Habermann’s work; also Becon, *Flower*, sigs. i–iii; Bull, *Christian prayers*, 99–148; E. Dering, *Godlye private prayers* [1585?], sigs. Civ–vi; Dvii–Evii; and much of Cancellor’s *Alphabet* is divided into ‘morning prayer’ and ‘evening prayer’.
evening or other times between rising and retiring.\textsuperscript{125} Indeed, in some cases a Sunday to Saturday sequence actually comprised the largest single category of prayers in the text, and this was true of works by authors seen as ‘godly’, such as Richard Bernard and John Gee, as well as by loyalist churchmen such as Taylor, Brough, and Patrick. It was also not uncommon for different themes to be tackled on different days of the week, as in Brough’s \textit{Sacred principles} which he published (in 1650) for those who prayed ‘not by fits, but courses’.\textsuperscript{126}

This development could have had two roots. One was a reaction against what was seen as a flood of Catholic devotional works reaching England. John Gee was a noted detector and opponent of Catholic publications in the 1620s, and when in 1625 he published his \textit{Steps of ascension} for each day of the week, he insisted that it was not a ‘popish manual, coronary, or rosary’, with prayers to saints and angels and the Blessed Virgin, but consisted of petitions to God alone.\textsuperscript{127} During the bad bout of plague that hit London in the mid–1620s, Daniel Featley turned from controversial to devotional writing, noting in his preface that Catholic manuals might exceed English Protestant ones in quantity, but not in quality, for theirs were ‘bleary eyed’ with superstition.\textsuperscript{128} The exact reason for the composition of Cosin’s \textit{Collection of devotions} (1627) devotions is unclear, but one account states that Charles, concerned by conversions to Catholicism at court, approached Cosin through a third party to remedy the dearth of Protestant primers then available; it is possible Cosin already had a compilation for his own use, but modified it to suit others.\textsuperscript{129} Once prayers at different times of the day became common, for whatever reason, we soon find them in works of derivative or possibly commercial origin, such as ‘Colet’s \textit{Devotions}, and the anonymous \textit{School of learning, The new-years-gift, The whole duty of prayer}, and \textit{The devout companion}.\textsuperscript{130} It is also striking that later editions of the collection commended by Thomas Tuke not only had tales of


\textsuperscript{128} Featley, \textit{Ancilla}, sigs. A4–, A6.

\textsuperscript{129} Stranks, \textit{Anglican Devotion}, 67; for other works published at this period, see below, Appendix 1 s.v. Donne and Gerhard.

providential escapes and suitable illustrations added, but also turned several prayers originally designated simply ‘a morning prayer’ or ‘another morning prayer’ into a sequence of prayers for specified days of the week.\footnote{131}

On the other hand, another possible reason for this swing to regular, daily devotions, ‘by courses’, was a preference on the part of customers for older routines of prayer, and therefore a reversion by producers (whether conformist clergy or acute publishers) to providing manuals to assist the zealous performance of daily prayer. From the 1620s, we also find a steadily increasing number of prayers linked to the main festivals and fasts of the church, such as Christmas, Easter, and other holy days. Up to a point this trend can be linked, predictably, to Laudians and later the High-Churchmen and non-jurors, though not all defenders of holy days came from those sections of the church. Daniel Featley was a Calvinist, a protégé of Rainolds and Abbot and a critic of Laud and Montagu, but in his \textit{Ancilla pietatis} (1626) Featley devoted much space to defending the principle of celebrating holy days as well as offering extra prayers for the purpose.\footnote{132} Similarly, Simon Patrick, normally associated with the rise of Latitudinarianism, and Edward Wetenhall, a moderate, irenic figure, both devoted sections of their manuals to prayers for the church’s fasts and festivals, and commercially minded producers again followed suit in providing prayers for holy days.\footnote{133}

A later variant (both for regular use and on the church’s festivals) was the result of appealing to an ancient past before the Roman supremacy of the Middle Ages, and between the 1660s and the 1730s no less than five attempts were made to produce a safely sanitized version of a work by a Catholic, John Austin’s \textit{Devotions in the ancient way of offices}. It must be noted, however, that only two of these achieved any popularity—Theophilus Dorrington’s \textit{Reform’d devotions} (1686) and Susanna Hopton’s \textit{Devotions} (1700)—and in both these cases it was made clear in the preface that the value of the original as a stimulus to devotion was sufficient to justify modifying it, and that it could safely be used by members of the established church.\footnote{134} These works were not without influence on the next wave of major innovators, the Methodists,\footnote{135} but should be

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\begin{itemize}
\item See Cosin’s short comments in his section of ‘collects’, in his \textit{Collection}, 221–88, and Laud’s prayers for Lent and ember days and regular use of Prayer Book seasonal collects in his \textit{Daily office}, 36–7, 78–153; and cf. the works by E. Sparke (Appendix 1), T. Dorrington and S. Hopton (later this paragraph), and R. Nelson (above, n. 45); Featley, \textit{Ancilla}, 399–594.
\item The adaptations of J. Austin’s \textit{Devotions}, by T. Dorrington (1686), G. Wheeler (1698), S. Hopton (1700), N. Spinckes (1717) and T. Deacon (1734) are mentioned by Hoskins, \textit{Horae}, pp. xxi, and 325.
\item Cf. Hickes’s prefatory recommendation of Hopton’s \textit{Devotions in the ancient way of offices} to members of ‘the new Religious Societies’; and on the Wesleys’ High-Church background and John’s acquaintance with Catholic works directly or indirectly, J. Orcibal, ‘The Theological Originality of John Wesley’ in R. Davies and G. Rupp (eds.), \textit{History of the Methodist Church of Great Britain I} (1965), 84–104.
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seen as a tributary rather than part of the mainstream of Protestant devotion in Tudor–Stuart England.

xiii. Changes in Size and Target Group

Another pair of changes in the collections of prayers in our sample was in the length of published collections, and the size of the individual prayers they contained. Initially collections got larger, and then they either stayed at that inflated size (for readers with the education, wealth, and time to handle them) or reverted to a smaller size (for those less well endowed with money, leisure, or education). If we compare the average manuscript primer of the fifteenth century or printed primer of the early sixteenth century with the works of Becon, Bull, and Norden, and *A godlie garden*, we find that the latter are much longer works—between 200 and 500 pages.136 Thereafter, some authors and publishers maintained this scale of work, in terms either of length, such as the 400–600 pages in Hieron’s *Helpe unto devotion*, Norden’s *Poore mans rest*, Gee’s *Steps of ascension*, Patrick’s *Devout Christian*, and Jenks’s *Prayers and offices of devotion*, or of quality of production, as in the 1687 edition of Laud’s devotions which compared to other editions was printed on good quality paper, with a handsome ‘letter’ (typeface), at what the editor thought a moderate price—though the result would have been beyond many purses.137 Patrick devoted fifty pages to a ‘large form of praise, thanksgiving, and prayer, when anyone would spend a day or part of it in devotion’; and as late as the 1690s, Sir William Dawes frankly admitted that his *Duties of the closet* (which retailed at 1s. 6d.) was ‘not for the ordinary people’, but for those with time and privacy. We must assume that these desiderata applied even more to purchasers of works like Comber’s *Companion to the temple and closet*, which retailed at 5s. bound, and the extensive collections of prayers of Patrick and Jenks which cost 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. respectively.138

However, other authors or publishers soon showed an awareness of the limits that size imposed on sales, and switched either to a shorter overall length, of 200 pages or less, as in *The treasure of gladnesse* (1563), or to as small a format as was practical, usually duodecimo or twenty-fourmo, to make ‘a small manual’ that could be ‘carried in the hand’, or bound with a copy of the psalter or official Prayer Book which had also been published in a small format.139 A combination of relative brevity and smaller format probably helps to explain

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136 For primers, see above n. 23; for Protestant manuals, Becon, *Flower* [c.1550]; id., *Pomander* [c.1570]; Bull, *Christian prayers* (1568) and [1578?]; and Norden, *Pensive mans practise* (1578).
137 Editions as follows: Hieron 1618; Norden 1620; Gee 1625; Patrick 1686; and Jenks 1697. Laud, *Office*, sig. A5.
138 Patrick, *Devout Christian*, 483–534; Dawes, *Duties*, sig. A4; prices in Appendix 1 below. Another quite large work by an enthusiast is [N. Spinckes], *The true Church of England man’s companion in the closet* (1722).
139 Hall, *Jacob’s ladder*, sig. A2; anon., *New-years-gift*, sig. A3; and above, p. 240 n. 40.
the enormous popularity of the works in our sample by Themylthorp, Sorocold, Sparke, Hall, and Howell, and *The whole duty of prayer*, and *The devout companion*, most of which are known to have retailed at a shilling or sixpence, or even less in the case of a chapbook format like *An help to prayer for the catechized youth of the Church of England*. The trend to production of edifying and devotional works at a few pence for distribution among the lower orders was developing fast by the 1680s and 1690s, and provided a much greater choice at the lower end of the market to those buying a copy for themselves or prepared to buy in bulk to give copies away to others. It seems likely that Sarah Crockett was given the copy of Howell’s *Common-prayer-book the best companion* now in the Bodleian, since the main elements of the verse she wrote on the flyleaf were often used by children, and her capitalization and spelling are still uncertain: ‘Sarah Crockett His My Name and England his My nation[;] London his My Dwelling place And Christ his My Salvation’. The length of individual prayers published in the second half of the sixteenth century was also in many cases greater than that of their medieval equivalents, though there would then be another parting of the ways between those authors who opted for increased size, and those who made a conscious effort to produce shorter ones. That prayers appear to have grown longer after the Reformation is not surprising. Many late medieval prayers for the laity had relied on devout repetition of a phrase, as in the litany, or memorization of a short form, such as the *Ave* or *Paternoster*, or tackled a central idea or theme but soon proceeded from exposition of the situation to petition for remedy. By contrast, many early Protestant authors apparently wished to use the opportunity at the start of a prayer to press home the immense power and goodness of God, the crucial roles of Christ and the Holy Spirit, and the inability of man to do anything to merit God’s pleasure, before proceeding to say that notwithstanding man’s sinfulness and powerlessness he should ask God, as He had made clear in his Word is permitted and requisite, for forgiveness of sins past and grace to avoid more sins in the future. Indeed, White has suggested that the typical Protestant prayer of the late sixteenth century was a short essay, containing an elaborate development of a theme, and attempted to steer both the mind and the heart of the reader into appropriate channels; and Stranks rather unkindly refers to Becon’s first attempts at writing Protestant prayers as degenerating into ‘harangues and lengthy statements of the obvious’. In the case of some Elizabethan authors, there may even

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140 For further details and some prices, see below, Appendix 1. Valentine’s *Private devotions* and anon., *New-years-gift* were also printed in 24mo or 12mo but were much longer than the works cited in the text.

141 See above, nn. 95–7, and below, nn. 244–5.


have been a blurring between prayer and meditation—a point to which we shall return shortly.\footnote{144}

A careful test of the theory that Protestant prayers were longer is too big a task to undertake here, and will require care in avoiding crude number-crunching, and comparing like with like: there is not much point in comparing a simple prayer designed for the laity, such as ‘Now I lay me down to sleep’ in Pynson’s \textit{Horae} (1514), with a prayer written by Lancelot Andrewes for his own personal use, and reflecting the enormous riches of his learning and complexity of his mind and language.\footnote{145} But the idea of a contrast between the basic units of sixteenth-century Catholic and Protestant prayer is worth pursuing.

If some authors continued to give into the temptation to write long and quite demanding prayers, others soon showed an awareness of the value of shorter forms. The prayers in Becon’s \textit{Pomander of prayer} are often shorter than similar ones in his earlier collection, \textit{The flower of godly prayer}; Dering wrote longer family prayers for morning and evening, covering five, six, or even on one occasion eight pages (‘as time and leisure shall serve’), but interspersed these with shorter prayers of two to three pages at mealtimes; and in the otherwise fairly lavish layout of his \textit{Pensive mans practice} John Norden saw the need to precede his longer prayers by a rhyming couplet (often with a rather mechanistic or moralistic message), and then to provide both a short introduction in the margin to those prayers, and a brief summary (in the form of a matching short prayer) at the end.\footnote{146} John Cosin included ‘Now I lay me down to sleep’ in a larger work possibly designed for or modified to suit a friend, while Simon Patrick took care to provide younger or slower readers with shorter prayers, though unfortunately from their point of view these were embedded in what we have seen was a large and expensive volume.\footnote{147} Brough included a large number of prayers which were either relatively short or divided into short sections, so that with ‘many rests’ ‘thy spirit may hold out fresher’; and the person who compiled \textit{The countess of Morton’s daily exercise} devised simple, unaffected prayers, and also had the wit to break up the longer prayers into a series of much shorter, numbered sections, clearly laid out on the page, which could be tackled with mental or physical breaks in between.\footnote{148} William Howell aimed his prayer book at those of ‘meanest capacity’ by using the ‘plainest

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\footnote{144}{White, \textit{Tudor Books of Private Devotion}, 179–80; and see below, pp. 284–6.}

\footnote{145}{For Pynson’s \textit{Horae}, see STC: 15017; and for Andrewes, above, n. 16.}

\footnote{146}{The editions compared were \textit{Pomander} [c.1567] and \textit{Flower} [c.1550]; Dering, \textit{Godlye private prayers}, sig. Eii, and \textit{passim}; Norden, \textit{Pensive mans practise}, fos. 1–5, and \textit{passim}. Norden still could not resist the temptation to add two further parts to the original \textit{Pensive mans practice}, and in his \textit{Poore mans rest} to include a series of quite long meditations.}


\footnote{148}{Brough, \textit{Sacred principles}, 28, and \textit{passim}; Morton, \textit{Countess of Morton’s daily exercise}, sigs. D2–7, F4–8, etc. For meditations broken into short numbered sequences, see below, nn. 213–17.}
method’ he could, but even so seems to have found some readers having difficulty with it, and so provided a cut-down version that was printed on separate sheets but could be tacked onto the original. Fearing that the prayers in the ‘multitude’ of supplementary collections might be ‘too high for many of you’, Benjamin Jenks compiled a large collection for his own parishioners in the West Midlands, but at least he had the gumption (like the anonymous author of *An help to prayer for the catechised youth of the Church of England*) to advise them to pick and choose among its contents, and to alter them as they wished.

Jenks’s work may also be taken as an example of a much wider phenomenon which again was being addressed if not completely resolved during the late seventeenth century—the mismatch between the type of education most authors of devotional works had received and the type of language used by many who read their works. From Becon and Dering in the mid- to late sixteenth century and Hieron in the early seventeenth to Dawes in the late seventeenth century, many examples could be given of authors whose didactic impulse was expressed in language coloured by the classics and the Bible and their own social background, and who struggled to put their message across in an accessible form as they wished. Take, for example, the opening of Hieron’s prayer for a poor man: ‘Truth it is, O Lord, that to my mutinous and repining nature, want is of all things most distasteful, and poverty is a burden even intolerable.’

Even publishers looking for a new niche in the market often selected prayers in high-flown language that one would have thought did not suit their intended target, as in the case of some of the prayers in *The school of learning*. Jenks hoped to have fitted his prayers to his parishioners’ ‘capacities, necessities, and several conditions’, but then included various multisyllabic words in a prayer for ‘such as are poor and low in the world’ when shorter, simpler words would have sufficed: ‘O Lord, the great disposer of all our estates and concernments! Thy providence appoints every one their several stations.’ On the other hand Jenks’s spiritual egalitarianism is evident later in the same prayer: ‘O deny me not the riches of thy grace, and the saving-good of thy chosen, which is better than thousands of gold and silver.’ The simplicity of vocabulary and syntax in this second extract suggests that Jenks was at least heading in the right direction. For, just as the language and syntax used in catechisms steadily became more suited to their targets after many decades of trial and error, so there was a move towards simplicity in prayers, as more pragmatic authors or editors did not delay too long in

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149 Howell, *Common-Prayer-Book*, sig. A2; and ‘Prayers in the closet’ at the end.
151 Hieron, *Helpe unto devotion*, 639; and for an example of Dering’s style, see White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 169.
152 e.g. anon., *The school of learning*, sigs. A2v–5r.
expounding God's qualities or man's worthlessness before cutting to the chase of the request for help.\textsuperscript{155}

One further change is worth noting: before the late seventeenth century, there had been the occasional collection, usually by a layman, that combined prayers with 'hymns', psalms, verses, short 'ejaculations' (a 'darting unto the theme of grace', as one divine called them), or meditations. But in the later Stuart period this became quite a common feature of the best-selling devotional works by clergy as well as laity.\textsuperscript{156} The characteristic elements and the tendency to write longer prayers in the first devotional works by English Protestants had thus in many cases been replaced or reversed by the early eighteenth, even if in other respects, such as the use of illustrated frontispieces, the trend to smaller formats, the return to a regular cycle of prayers for weekdays and holy days, and the mixture of prayers and other forms of devotion, there had also been a circling back towards medieval practice.

xiv. The Decline of ‘Godly’ Devotional Aids and its Consequences

In our sample there is a notable falling away from the 1640s in the number of repeat editions of prayers by ‘godly’ authors or sympathizers like Dering, Hieron, and Norden (at least, his \textit{Poore mans rest}), and a sudden end to the publication of new collections of prayers by puritans. This cannot be put down to Laudian persecution or Restoration intolerance, since ‘godly’ and non-conformist authors published large quantities of other types of works throughout the period from the 1630s to the 1680s; and it can only partly be attributed to the growing interest in meditation to which we shall turn shortly, since sales of these works were limited in terms of both targets and numbers.\textsuperscript{157} It was due above all to a change in attitudes, sparked in part perhaps by a strong reaction against Laudian (and later, Sheldonian) insistence on the use of the Book of Common Prayer in full, but driven also, and much more positively, by the increasingly widely held conviction that extempore prayer was infinitely superior to fixed forms, and that the day of such forms as an aid for those with ‘stammering and lisping tongues’ had passed. Even among the most conservative group, the presbyterians, whose first instinct was to revise rather than

\textsuperscript{155} Cf. a number of the prayers in Morton, \textit{The Countess of Morton's daily exercise}; T. Ken, \textit{Manual of prayers} (1675); and Dorrington, \textit{The plain man's gift of prayer}.


\textsuperscript{157} Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture}, passim; one of the few post-1640 treatises on prayer in the sample by a dissenter is a treatise: N. Vincent, \textit{The spirit of prayer} (1674); and cf. the mixture of approaches in J. Flavell, \textit{Husbandry spiritualized} (1669).
replace the Prayer Book altogether, the substitute which they finally produced, the Directory, was notable for the fact that it offered general directions and topics for prayer rather than set forms completely written out.\textsuperscript{158} As a result young ministers had to resort to a work like John Wilkins’s \textit{Discourse concerning the gift of prayer} (1651) which was designed to show them how the skill of improvising was ‘attainable by industry’, and offered ‘useful and proper directions’ on ‘matter, method, [and] expression’. Unfortunately not all ministers mastered the knack, and one old dissenter was heard to say that he had rather ‘weak ministers’ used the Prayer Book for baptisms and celebrations of the Lord’s Supper than make such a mess of trying to pray with the Spirit.\textsuperscript{159}

As for the more radical elements of the 1640s and 1650s, they rejected all forms of set liturgy, and even cast doubt on the use of the Lord’s Prayer as a model. Accounts of how up to twenty ‘men and women and sometimes children spake a few words in prayer’ at a Seeker meeting in Bristol in the 1650s, and how ministers in New England prayed for hours on end, drawing on their own experience, eloquence, and preparation to make the language of scripture more personal and immediate to their flocks, show what different forms extempore prayer could take.\textsuperscript{160} How far many of the less educated or skilled laity in either Old or New England could pray in this way is less clear: Wilkins noted three main hindrances—lack of matter, order, and words; and the non-conformist divine Nathaniel Vincent’s ‘Directions how to attain unto the gift of prayer’ (published at the end of his \textit{Spirit of prayer} in 1674) was clearly aimed at those troubled by an inability to pray fluently and with ‘readiness of expression’. Vincent was clearly of the view that those who prayed should have some understanding, knowledge, and a degree of order and method rather than rely solely on the inspiration of the Spirit, but he refrained from moving from advice to providing specific examples, which would have been to fall into the old trap of offering set prayers.\textsuperscript{161} Conformist critics of extempore prayer were quick to point out that for the congregation to delegate to the minister the task of praying on their behalf was simply to exchange one form of limitation—the set forms in the liturgy—for another: the particular concerns and phrases of their pastor.\textsuperscript{162} Worse, those who prayed without proper guidance or method could be gulled by the Devil into thinking they had heard God’s voice, and William Brough, the ejected Dean of Gloucester, published his methodical


\textsuperscript{159} Wilkins, \textit{Discourse} title-page, sig. A3, and passim; and Nuttall, \textit{Holy Spirit}, 71.

\textsuperscript{160} Nuttall, \textit{Holy Spirit}, 68, and W. C. Braithwaite, \textit{The Beginnings of Quakerism} (1912), 165 (I am grateful to Geoffrey Nuttall for help with this episode); and cf. Hambrick-Stowe, \textit{Practice of Piety}, 104–5; Davies, \textit{Worship and Theology II}, 449–50.


course of prayers in 1650 as an antidote to what he saw as error and schism which had carried many ‘out of the high and old road to heaven’.\textsuperscript{163}

As noted above, in the 1670s Baxter suggested that those who lacked the skill to improvise could continue to read prayers at home, and it has been suggested that a work like \textit{The Countess of Morton’s daily exercise} was acceptable to nonconformists as well as conformists, even though it had clear echoes of the Prayer Book at various points.\textsuperscript{164} It is also interesting to note the response of some conformists to the shift to extempore prayer in the 1640s and 1650s. In \textit{Enter into thy closet} (first extant edition 1663), a moderate episcopalian, Edward Wetenhall, weighed the advantages and disadvantages of both preconceived and spontaneous prayer, and restated the old position that what mattered was ‘honest hearts and suitable affections’ rather than whether one was using one’s own words or another’s. But he went on to express his own personal preference for set forms, even at home, and to offer an ‘accommodation’ with those who preferred spontaneity. This took the form of two prayers which were clearly divided into sections of invocation, adoration, confession, petition, and thanksgiving, but also had marginal directions such as (under confession) ‘Here confess any of the miscarriages of the day’, and (under petition) ‘Here put in anything for which thou findest occasion’.\textsuperscript{165} There were other attempts to meet the supporters of free prayer part way, as in Brough’s ‘alphabetically disposed’ index of the sins mentioned in his text so that readers could quickly find mention of the sin against which they wished to pray, and Howell’s fifteen-page ‘table of sins’ built round the Decalogue and ‘very needful to be perused . . . by all those who would fully know, rightly confess, and sincerely repent the same’ in their prayers.\textsuperscript{166} Despite these and other attempts, divisions tended to harden, with some in the church regarding extempore prayer with as much suspicion as unlicensed preaching, which was illegal under the Clarendon Code.\textsuperscript{167}

Whatever the reasons for the decline in publication and sales of puritan-approved prayers, the consequences from the point of view of the print trade were twofold. One was that publishers wishing to provide copies for those members of the ‘godly’ who still wished to buy prayers had to rely on older works, such as Norden’s \textit{Poore mans rest} with its many prayers for ‘distressed men, however their trials continue or increase’, and the collections associated with Tuke and Sparke, modified where necessary, sometimes in a downmarket direction.\textsuperscript{168} The other was that in the later seventeenth and early

\textsuperscript{163} Preston, \textit{Saints daily exercise}, 81; and cf. T. Dorrington, \textit{The plain man’s gift of prayer} (1703), 1–2; Davies, \textit{Worship and Theology II}, 194–7; and Spurr, \textit{Restoration Church}, 338–9.


\textsuperscript{165} E. Wetenhall, \textit{Enter into thy closet} (1668), 79–86; 96–115.


\textsuperscript{168} See above, nn. 54, 61, 87, 119.
eighteenth centuries there was an even greater focus than before on the sales both of copies of the Book of Common Prayer and its satellite works, and of a range of works, both large and small, consisting of set prayers, many designed to be said on a specific day of the week as a supplement to the prayers in the official liturgy. Thus, even while turning their backs on large segments of Catholic ideology and material, Protestants had in this respect (as in others) reverted to the days of the primers.

What also strikes one forcibly looking at printed prayers from the 1540s to the 1730s as a whole is the extent to which the characteristics of what might be called Prayer Book devotion—the doctrines implicit in the prayers and collects in Cranmer’s original Book of Common Prayer, and the balance there between exposition, thanksgiving, confession, and petition—can be found in a high proportion of the texts of the majority of the collections of prayers in our sample. In terms not only of the number of copies of the Prayer Book that were printed in the two centuries after 1549, but also of the central thrust of many of the collections of supplementary prayers that sold well enough in the same period to qualify for our sample, the Book of Common Prayer became the benchmark for early modern Protestant devotion. No other vision of prayer came near to having the same degree of penetration in the country at large, and among Protestants of all levels. The flexibility and acquisitive instincts of the members of the print trade, in combination with authors who were also prepared to shape, or be shaped by, shifts in public taste and purchasing power, had been crucial to that development.

xv. Meditation in the Catholic and Protestant Traditions

As early as the fourth century Augustine, who as a young man had been impressed by the Neoplatonic blend of Platonic ideas with Eastern mysticism, had given great encouragement to meditation as a form of spiritual progress—a gradual ascent towards knowledge of the One. Centuries later the art of meditation was reinvigorated by Bernard of Clairvaux and Bonaventura, and then by the mystics of late medieval Germany and the Low Countries who through Bonaventura’s work maintained a direct link with Augustine. But the conditions required for successful meditation meant that it was primarily practised by a cloistered elite, and it was not until the foundation of the Windesheim community, the emergence of a devotion moderna, and the dissemination of works like Thomas à Kempis’s Imitation of Christ that a simplified version for those living outside the walls of a cloister was prescribed.

169 See above, nn. 34, 46. For Maltby’s view that committed supporters of the Prayer Book were as hostile to Laudianism as to puritanism, see Prayer Book and People, 16, 23–4, 99, 121–4, 126–8, 131, 162–5, 168, 235.

170 H. Chadwick, Augustine (Oxford, 1986), 2–3, 8–9, 16–24; Cave, Devotional Poetry, 1–3, whose survey of the background literature is followed here.
provided. In the sixteenth century, both Catholic and Protestant clergy would encourage devotional practice among the laity, not least through many printed editions of the *Imitation of Christ*.171 But the traffic was not all one way. Suspicion of an over-simple affective piety or the risk of uncontrolled quasi-mystical effusions descending into heterodoxy led a scholar like Erasmus and a zealot like Loyola to try to instil more intellectual rigour and discipline into inward prayer. The result was to render meditation more technical again, so that despite the hopes of authors like Luis de Granada and François de Sales that they would reach as wide a lay audience as possible, their works inevitably tended to be read mainly by those with the funds, the literacy, and the opportunity to study them.172

In Protestant England a strong meditative tradition never developed. There were, as we shall see shortly, those who published meditations of their own or others’ composing, or who wrote about the art of meditation;173 and in the ‘centuries of meditation’ written (but not published) by Thomas Traherne in the late seventeenth century, we have, it has been said, a work by ‘a mystic of the highest order’.174 But books consisting purely of meditations were relatively rare;175 there are only thirteen titles in our sample which may be labelled ‘meditations’ with a degree of confidence, and these have a below average number of editions (just under ten) for works within the sample. Moreover, of the thirteen, seven either were composed before the Reformation—two versions of meditations attributed to Augustine—or came from originals published abroad: two from Spain—by a Dominican (Luis de Granada) and a Jesuit (Nieremberg); and three from Germany—two versions of the Lutheran Gerhard’s meditations, one in English and one in Latin, and one by the Jesuit Drexelius.176 The total would certainly be higher if we included titles in the sample which are said to contain a few ‘meditations’ alongside prayers or other devotional forms or advice on godly living,177 or if we widened the net to include works like W. P.’s translation of *St. Bernard, his meditations* which was printed four times in the early seventeenth century, and the ‘godly’ London

[171] Cave, *Devotional Poetry*, 3; and below, Ch. 6.i.
[175] White, *English Devotional Literature . . . 1600–1640*, 160; but for printed works with ‘meditations’ in the title other than those discussed here, see STC: 83a, 377, 1919–21, 5651, 6018–19, 16846, 13171–2, 15134, 17231, 17773–5, 21942, 21684, 22490, 23857; and Wing F944, J1209, and M46.
[176] See Appendix 1 under ‘Augustine’; Luis; Nieremberg; Gerhard; and Drexelius; the other titles can be found there under Bradford (1562), Hayward (1600), Donne, Sherman, Shower (1689), and Hayward (1696).
[177] e.g. Appendix 1, s.v. Bull, Sorocold, Norden, Valentine, Brough, anon., *New-years-gift*; and Bayly, *Practise of pietie*, and Taylor, *Holy living*; see also the pre-communion handbooks discussed in the final section of this chapter.
minister William Crashaw’s *Manual for true Catholicks*, ‘gathered out of certain ancient manuscripts written over three hundred years ago’, and incorporating work by Bernard again.\(^{178}\)

The problem of what to include is exacerbated by the looseness with which the term ‘meditation’ was used in the early modern period. It was sometimes used to distinguish silent or inward prayer from outward or spoken prayer;\(^{179}\) or to describe an exercise that took place prior to prayer. Thus Thomas Rogers, who translated a number of devotional works, maintained the distinction found in Bernard between meditation, to teach us what we lacked, and prayer, as a means of obtaining it.\(^{180}\) But we also find the term used as a synonym for prayer, as in Samuel Hieron’s ‘meditation or prayer... for a poor man’, or for confession, as in John Norden’s ‘devout meditation or confession of our sins’.\(^{181}\) Meditation was also compared to or might take the form of a soliloquy—a vocalization, as by a character in a play; or it could be a series of contemplative statements of praise and petition, presented as the verses of a new ‘psalm’.\(^{182}\) The label was also increasingly used in the early seventeenth century to describe a sequence of improving thoughts, whether these took the form of sentences, paragraphs, or even short essays.\(^{183}\)

Among the *cognoscenti* who wrote about the theory of meditation, there was general agreement that it was an exercise that involved both head (aided by grace) and heart. ‘It begins in the understanding, endeth in the affection; it begins in the brain, descends to the heart’, wrote a relatively young Joseph Hall in his influential *Arte of divine meditation* (1606); meditation is ‘a serious intention of the mind, whereby we come to search out the truth and settle it effectually upon the heart’, wrote Thomas Hooker a few years later, though reflecting closely the definition used by Richard Greenham in the 1590s.\(^{184}\)

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\(^{178}\) STC: 1919–21; 6018–19 (and 1909), and cf. Crashaw’s edition of a supposititious work attributed to Bernard, *Querela, sive dialogus*. Like many of those in the sample, these additional candidates comprise larger works aimed at a fairly well-educated, leisured readership.

\(^{179}\) Martz, *Poetry of Meditation*, 13; Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 88; and cf. the implication on the title-page of Dering’s *Godlie private praiers* that the prayers should be meditated on before they were spoken out loud in the family; and Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 161–2.

\(^{180}\) ‘Augustine’, S. Augustines manuel (1581), sig. A3; and cf. J. Hayward, *The first and second part of the sanctuarie of a troubled soule* (1616), sigs. R3–; and Featley’s stress on ‘premeditation’: *Ancilla*, i; and Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 161–2. For a mildly dissenting note, advising his flock not to spend too long on meditation prior to prayer, see Preston, *Saints daily exercise*, 34–5.

\(^{181}\) Hieron, *Helpes* 639–9, and cf. the sub-title and preface of Rogers’s edition of Habermann’s *Eminie of securitie* (1579) which refer to ‘meditations’ and the text which calls them ‘prayers’; Norden, *Pensive mans practise*, fos. 65–74.

\(^{182}\) White, *English Devotional Literature... 1600–1640*, 154; Martz, *Poetry of Meditation*, 174; Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 87; Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 163; and cf. the soliloquy-meditations in Quarles’s *Bommerge and Barnhabas* (1644), and Baxter, *Saints everlasting rest* (1651), pt. iv, pp. 216–19. For the use of ‘meditation’ by Dorrington and ‘psalm’ by Hopton to describe very similar material in their respective works, see his *Reform’d devotions* (1618), 6–10, 27–30, 37–42, etc., and her *Devotions in the ancient way* (1700), 6–8, 58–60, 82–7, etc.

\(^{183}\) For discussion of these, see below, pp. 286–8, 408–10.

There was also a general consensus on the need for solitude, quiet, and a reverent position, to which Greenham added fasting,\textsuperscript{185} and an acceptance that there were different types and levels of meditation.\textsuperscript{186} Practice and perseverance were also required, and there was often an acknowledged or unspoken assumption that the ‘great proficients’ (as Downname called them) would be able to climb higher or more regularly up what Hall called the ‘ladder of heaven’.\textsuperscript{187}

On the other hand there were some differences of opinion on the most suitable subjects for meditation, and perhaps for a time on the focus and function of the art as well. There was arguably a tendency for conformists to begin with a structured list that included God’s power and justice, the life and sacrifice of Christ, man’s sinfulness, the horrors of hell, and the joys of heaven, while the ‘godly’ began with a reading from the Bible and paired this with introspection into the heart and soul of the meditator. Thus Joseph Hall in his \textit{Arte of meditation}, Jeremy Taylor in his \textit{Great exemplar} (on Christ’s life) and his edition of Nieremberg’s \textit{Contemplations}, and Simon Patrick in his \textit{Advice to a friend} leant towards the kind of subjects that authors like Origen, Augustine, Bernard, Bonaventura, and Gerson had explored so thoroughly.\textsuperscript{188} By contrast, Greenham’s first rule for his readers was to ‘meditate on the Word’—to hear, read, and confer on it with reverence and diligence—so that the substance of the meditation would emerge from the passage read, before it was duly considered and applied to the soul; and Baxter urged his readers to use scriptural images of crisis and deliverance, such as the Hebrews’ journey through the wilderness to the promised land, to assess their own situation.\textsuperscript{189}

That having been said, there were inevitably large areas of overlap in subject material, and as Wakefield pointed out in response to Martz’s suggestion that puritan meditation was less on the historic Christ found in its Anglican counterpart than the eternal one, there are examples of ‘godly’ authors reviving works by Bernard, focusing on Christ’s death and passion, his sacred heart, and the true believer’s mystical union with Christ, and even encouraging the presenting of images to the conscience in a way normally associated with Catholic authors.\textsuperscript{190} The suggestion found in George Webbe’s contribution to in \textit{Workes} (1599), 37, and Baxter’s similar view: \textit{Saints everlasting rest}, pt. iv, ch.ix; Martz, \textit{Poetry of Meditation}, 170; Knott, \textit{Sword of the Spirit}, 68, 77. For Hall’s influence on the ‘godly’, see ibid., 69.


\textsuperscript{187} As previous note; and Greenham, ‘Grave counsels’, 59; Baxter, \textit{Saints everlasting rest}, pt. iv, 156–8; and cf. S. Patrick, \textit{Advice to a friend} (1674), 136–8.

\textsuperscript{188} Martz, \textit{Poetry of Meditation}, 113; McDadoo, \textit{Caroline Theology}, 165; and below, Appendix 1, s.v. Nieremberg and Patrick.


\textsuperscript{190} Wakefield, \textit{Puritan Devotion}, 94–108; and cf. Baxter’s knowledge of Catholic works and his urging
a ‘godly’ compendium—A garden of spirituall flowers—that the faithful should in the evening review the events of the day, thank God for his blessings, and repent the sins committed, and in the morning thank God for providing another day and physical and spiritual refreshment, would find echoes in works by more conformable authors like Taylor, Allestree, and Dawes.\footnote{Cited in Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 162–3; and W. Dawes, Duties of the closet (1695), 117–19.} And even what has been called ‘spiritualizing the creatures’—a spontaneous meditation on some everyday aspect of life, such as the flame of the fire shooting up or the beams of the sun shining down—was not confined to the ‘godly’.\footnote{Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 163–4, and cf. White, English Devotional Literature . . . 1660–1640, 155, 179–80; Baxter, Saints everlasting rest, pt. iv, 223–7; and Patrick, Advice, 128–33 for keeping a record of ‘extraordinary thoughts and effusions of the soul’.}

The other area of potential divergence was also a matter of degree, and a temporary one at that. Both conformist and nonconformist urged the need to apply to the heart what was being considered in meditation, but in the hands of high Calvinists this introspection could become the basis of a search not just for repentance for sin, but also for assurance of salvation and perseverance through discerning the unmistakable marks of election.\footnote{Knott, Sword of the Spirit, 75–8; Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 165–6, 168–9.} This did not last, and as we will see in Chapter 6, Richard Baxter was not alone in reacting against an over-reliance on finding the signs of election within oneself and deplored the despair that could result if they were not found. What is striking is that Baxter’s alternative strategy, in the last 300 pages of The saints everlasting rest (1649), was to devise an original and dramatic programme of meditation which required the use of both intellect and heart, and which turned less inward than outward, towards the scriptural promises of eternal life for the faithful and the glory of the saints in heaven. Though the image would be imperfect, the faithful should look in the Gospel as a ‘looking glass’ to discern the state of their souls.\footnote{Baxter called the last third of The saints everlasting rest ‘a directory for the getting and keeping of the heart in heaven by the diligent practice of that excellent . . . duty of heavenly meditation . . . Being the main thing intended by the author in the writing of this book; and to which the rest is subservient’: pt. iv, title-page, and cf. 186, 252–3, and passim; and cf. Martz, Poetry of Devotion, 157–63; and Knott, Sword of the Spirit, 77 and ch. 3 passim.}
1690s; and a period of experimentation and diversification lasting from the early seventeenth century to the 1680s at least. The Marian martyr, John Bradford, wrote both meditations and prayers, though there was not a great deal of difference between them in practice: both were usually long, and addressed to God, even the meditations on formulæ such as the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Ten Commandments. But his meditations did contain a higher proportion of exposition—the kingdom of heaven, he explained, is ‘in two sorts to be considered, universally and particularly’—and usually began not with an exclamatory ‘O’, but a statement such as ‘By these words I am taught’; he also sometimes used a rhetorical question, such as ‘What is this life but a smoke, a vapour, a shadow… a bubble?’ In his moving meditation on the passion of Christ, perhaps reflecting a patristic original, Bradford’s focus was also less on empathy with Christ’s sufferings than the physical data attested in the scripture and the doctrines to be drawn thence.95

Other early attempts at meditations for Protestants included the meditations on God’s providence and power in Bull’s encyclopaedic Christian prayers and holy meditations (1568), and the contrasting editions of the meditations attributed (erroneously) to Augustine: the more commercial venture of 1574 given heavily decorated borders by the publisher, and the more careful version of Thomas Rogers in 1581 ‘adorned’ with scripture texts alone.96

An alternative strategy was to translate suitable works from the Continent. Luis de Granada’s Libro de la oracion, y meditacion (1566) appears to have been printed at least twice by English recusants in France before an expurgated version was published in England, in 1592, by someone with the surname Banister who, Helen White surmised from the text, was ‘a sound Church of England man’. Certainly his version is notable not only for the excisions and rephrasings from the earlier version by Richard Hopkins (against which Banister warned), but also for the fact that it lacked the engravings found in some Catholic editions. Banister also reversed the original (and usual) order of the fourteen meditations: the seven for the morning were now on sin, the uncertainty of this life and of the hour of our death, Judgement Day, the pains of hell, and joys of paradise, and the seven for the evening on incidents in the life of Christ. Interestingly, Banister took the trouble to include Luis’s original prologue in which it was explained that it had been written because of the difficulty that ‘zealous and religious persons’ in Spain had had in finding suitable matter to occupy their thoughts when trying to meditate. It is also noticeable that, compared to the works by Bradford and ‘Augustine’, Luis’s meditations were addressed to the reader in the second person, and combined instructions (for example, to run over briefly the Ten Commandments to help

96 Bull, Christian prayers, 198–216; and see above, nn. 84–6.
search for sins), exhortations (to consider this or think about that), and leading questions (on how time has been spent, how much gratitude shown for God’s benefits, and so on). Although there was a dearth of scripture references in some sections, much of the material on the life of Christ was based on a close paraphrase of the relevant texts of the New Testament. Eight editions had been sold by 1633.  

By then three new works were available in print, all from Germany. Johann Gerhard was a leading Lutheran theologian whose works were translated into French, English, and Italian. One of them, *A Christian mans weekes worke*, which combined meditations and prayers, may have been published only four times, between 1611 and 1632, but Ralph Winterton’s translation of *Gerards meditations* was published at least twelve times in London between 1627 and 1695; and from 1631 Winterton’s version of *Gerards prayers* was also incorporated. Editions in the original Latin were also published at Oxford in 1633 and Cambridge in 1634, and later in London too until six editions had been produced by 1672. The Bodleian has the copy of Edward Pocock, the Oxford orientalist, with what appear to be his annotations at the back, giving us a clue to what kind of reader opted for the Latin version.  

Gerhard’s fifty-one meditations were shorter than Luis de Granada’s and others to be mentioned shortly, but were also more varied in content, being more Christocentric than some Protestant works but as concerned about sin, hellfire, morality, and salvation as many Catholic ones. It was also varied in approach: while often starting a meditation in expository mode, Gerhard soon moved to using the first person, singular or plural, for confession or exhortation, while at other times addressing God or Christ direct. His text leans heavily on the scriptures and on the Fathers, but especially on Augustine, Bernard, Anselm, and Tauler; and while his second-generation Lutheranism is evident in his warning to readers against trying to plumb the depths of the doctrine of predestination, his piety and fervour are also evident in the language of ‘panting’ after righteousness and urging Christ to ‘let thy blood wash us from our sins’. Winterton was a fellow of King’s College, Cambridge, whose fondness for multiple dedications to important people and commendatory verses we have already noted. His combined edition of the ‘meditations’ and the ‘prayers’ retailed at 1s. 6d. bound, which places it in the middling band of

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197 Luis de Granada, *Of prayer and meditation* (1599), sig. A3; and passim (and for the usual sequence Cave, *Devotional Poetry*, 39–41, 48–55); White, *English Devotional Literature . . . 1600–1640*, 105–6. Another import, discussed under pre-communion works below (see n. 229), was Christopher Sutton’s *Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament* (1601), based on a work by an Italian Jesuit, Luca Pinelli: A. Hunt, ‘The Lord’s Supper in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present*, 161 (1998), 73.  


199 See Appendix 1; Bodleian 8° Th. N. 138.  

works. The verses at the start and rhyming couplets prefacing each meditation are also reminiscent of Norden’s best-selling *Pensive mans practice*, and the gist of the prefatory verse by T. Gore offers a distinctly mechanical view of salvation: ‘Thou that desir’st on earth a blessed end, | and seek’st the way to th’heavens to ascend, | Resort to GERARD: he’ll direct the way | whereby thou mayst ascend and live for ay. | Thou need’st no guide, ’tis easy to be gone. | All lets removed are by WINTERTON. | The way’s made plain which was before obscure, | That thou thereby may’st heavenly blisse procure. | Endeavour then this way to walk aright, | and it will lead thee to eternal light’.

To the 1631 edition of the *Meditations* an intriguing illustration was added by a leading engraver of the day, William Marshall, and in 1636 the second edition of another work translated by Winterton, *The considerations of Drexelius upon eternitie*, was rendered even more striking by a highly symbolic title-page and a set of nine ‘sculptures’ facing the nine ‘considerations’ in the text. Although it might best be described as a basis for meditation rather than meditations as such, it did combine elements of instruction and exhortation to ‘consider’, ‘think’, and ‘imagine’ with a strong devotional thrust: to think about eternity now, before it is too late—a concern of the time we will encounter again in Chapter 6. Over twenty editions of Drexelius were published by the 1720s, and its popularity may have depended on the illustrations and the simplicity and urgency of its central message. Another work combining instruction and meditation was Jeremy Taylor’s abridgement of Nieremberg’s *Contemplations on the state of man in this life*. Whereas Luis de Granada had pursued two sequences, one in the morning and one in the evening, Taylor’s version of Nieremberg dwells in part one on the transitoriness and miseries of life on earth before contrasting this in part two with the greatness of eternity. The length of the text, together with the use of red letter on the title-page and a portrait of Taylor opposite, again suggest a moderately leisured and prosperous reader was being targeted. Perhaps still unfinished at Taylor’s death in 1667, and not published until 1684, this was probably prepared during Taylor’s enforced retirement from office in the 1640s and 1650s, and so marks a late stage in the phase of seeking inspiration from abroad.

If importing foreign works was less common thereafter, there was an overlapping period of consolidation from the 1610s to the 1690s, when simpler advice on how to meditate or somewhat modified ‘meditations’ for daily or occasional use were added increasingly often to various works of native origin. These included godly living handbooks such as Lewis Bayly’s *Practise of
and Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy living* (1650), the open letter of *Advice to a friend* by Simon Patrick, and many of the collections of prayers described earlier in this chapter. Thus Sorocold’s *Supplications of the saints* had a meditation on Christ’s life, death, and passion; Norden’s *Poore mans rest* had meditations on the transitoriness of this life and the joys of the next; and Valentine’s *Private devotions* contained meditations on death;204 while several other wide-ranging works by a variety of authors included meditations on a wide range of topics to be considered on a weekly or monthly basis.205 The amount of space dedicated to such meditations was small compared to that for set forms of prayer, and the meditations themselves were often akin to extended prayers.

Just how well established had become a form which was part way between a simple prayer and a full-scale meditation may be illustrated by three works from the turn of the century. In *The duties of the closet* (1695), a handbook on prayer by a baronet who took holy orders, Sir William Dawes, there was a short section of advice on meditation, which was defined not in terms of technique or length, but simply ‘thinking seriously upon something which may tend to your spiritual good and edification’. Dawes also included twelve short meditations written out as models: three each on death, judgement, heaven, and hell.206 *The precious blood of the son* by a London rector, John Hayward (first extant edition 1696), was partly an instructional treatise describing Christ’s agonizing last days on earth, but rather more a set of meditations and expositions on their significance: ‘O glorious Calvary’, ‘O what a painful purchase has our saviour made. What a sharp price has he paid for our redemption!’ But whereas Dawes conceded that his work was designed for those who were ‘in some measure masters of their own time’, and had sold only seven editions by 1732, Hayward’s was much shorter and more direct, and had sold thirty-four editions between 1696 and 1731.207 Robert Nelson was a nonjuror active both as a writer of devotional works and in charitable and educational work, and his *Practice of true devotion* (1698) was a deliberately small work ‘that it might be easily purchased by the poorer sort, for whose use this undertaking was chiefly engaged’. Moreover, the advice on meditation that it contained was again much simpler than that in Joseph Hall’s *Art of meditation* a century earlier, and shorter too than the exhortation and advice offered by Baxter in the 1650s and Patrick in the 1670s.208 It was probably in works like

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205 Ibid. for further details of Bernard’s *Weekes worke*; Gee’s *Steps of ascension*; Brough’s *Sacred principles*; The Countess of Morton’s daily exercise; Inett’s *Guide to the devout companion*; *The new-years-gift*; *The devout companion exemplified*; and *The whole duty of prayer*.


207 J. Hayward, *Precious blood of the son* (1696), sig. A2, and pp. 11, 56.

208 McAdoo, *Caroline Moral Theology*, 158–60, 166; for the works by Hall, Baxter, and Patrick see previous paragraphs.
those described in this paragraph rather than the more specialized tomes discussed in previous ones that a form of meditation entered the devotional mainstream by being presented to an increasingly wide audience during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The fourth development suggested above was diversification during the seventeenth century: the genesis of works which had an element of meditation in them, but fall into none of the categories considered so far. One such variant was the highly personalized form of meditation whose author felt that his experience might be of value to others. Thus the first part of Sir John Hayward’s *Sanctuarie of a troubled soule* was written while he was in the Tower, and is more self-centred and repetitious, and less scriptural in language and less sophisticated in doctrine, than the works considered so far. It is the work of someone with pious instincts and some ‘godly’ language but a layman’s conviction that hard effort should bring some results. Sales may also have been helped by an eye-catching title-page in which a portrait of Hayward stares out from beneath a bleeding, contrite heart, supported by Faith, Love, and Hope, and above two vignettes indicating pictorially the need to ‘Fly from evil’ and ‘Do good’. Other editions had illustrations in the text showing among other things the terrors of hell and the sinner fleeing to Christ. John Donne’s *Devotions upon emergent occasions* (1624) was equally personal and self-centred, but a work of altogether richer language and subtler ideas. In an original combination of meditations on the human condition, debates with God (in the form of ‘expostulations’), and prayers for help, Donne charted the ‘several steps in [his] sickness’ and recovery. William Marshall’s title-page for the 1634 edition was also highly unusual in showing Donne in his winding sheet (as he at one stage had imagined himself to be) surmounted by a death’s head. The spiritual experiences and personal reminiscences that give such intensity to parts of Traherne’s ‘centuries of meditations’ and early in the next century William Law’s *Serious call to a devout and holy life* may be cited as later examples of this same inwardness finding outward expression.

Another variant tried by a variety of authors was the publication of a whole series of improving and uplifting thoughts, serious reflections, or headings on which to meditate. Some of these contain the word ‘meditation’ in the title, as in Joseph Hall’s *Meditations and vowes divine and morall* (1605), Joseph Henshaw’s *Horae succisivae, or spare-houres of meditations* (first extant edition 1631),

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209 Above, pp. 281–2.

210 The decorated title-page can be found in the combined edition of parts i and ii of his *Sanctuarie of a troubled soule* (1616); the illustrations can be found in the 1601 edition of part i. Part ii was an attempt by Hayward to combine prayer and meditation: *Sanctuarie* (1616), sigs. R3v.

211 Corbett and Norton, *Engraving*, 152, and plate 76(a); J. Donne, *Devotions upon emergent occasions* (1638), passim.

the same author’s *Meditations miscellaneous, holy and humane* (1637), Arthur Warwick’s *Spare-minutes or resolved meditations and premeditated resolutions* (first extant edition 1634), and Thomas Fuller’s *Good thoughts in bad times, consisting of personall meditations* (1645). But Hall’s three ‘centuries’ of meditations and vows are not so much disciplined or sustained contemplations as what he calls them in a dedication, ‘aphorisms’—practical and improving thoughts to be read by those wishing to think about and lead a better life; and much the same can be said of Henshaw’s and Warwick’s mixture of thoughts, precepts, and verses in their respective volumes. The first three works cited above in particular bear the strong imprint of the classical, humanist education that Hall and Henshaw had received, with its emphasis not only on Christian morality, but also on good rhetoricians never being short of a suitable apophthegm or aphorism and so recording notable passages or thoughts in a commonplace book for regular conning later. This probably helps explain their popularity among the educated elite in early Stuart England. Fuller’s prayer-like ‘thoughts’ were rather different, combining erudition and piety with homely examples, and this, together with the timing of his work (for the ‘bad times’ of the early 1640s) and the smaller, cheaper format, may help to explain the more sustained popularity of his work.

All of these works combined edification with an element of entertainment, and so will be mentioned again in Chapter 7.

Also worth mentioning here are two works published by dissenters—Thomas Sherman’s *Divine breathings* (first extant edition 1671) and John Shower’s *Serious reflections on time, and eternity* (1689)—which are both classifiable as ‘meditative’ works. Were these written in part as a response to the popularity (and perhaps perceived shortcomings too) of those earlier sets of uplifting thoughts, and also perhaps in response to a demand from a nonconformist laity who, because of their leaders’ distaste for set forms, were discouraged from reading full-length meditations and even shorter models in print? Sherman’s was sub-titled ‘a pious soul thirsting after Christ in a hundred pathetical meditations’, and although Shower preferred the term ‘reflections’, the thrust of his thirty sections was not very different from that of Gerhard or Nieremberg. The main difference from the latter in both cases was the brevity of each section—a page and a half for the ‘pious ejaculations’ in *Divine breathings*, and eight pages for the ‘devout reflections’ in Shower’s work. Sherman’s fairly cheap work combined scriptural and classical allusions, and even the occasional political metaphor, and offered bases for meditations on a wide range of topics, from the deceitfulness of wealth, the misery of sin, and the

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213 Further details in Appendix 1, except for the second Henshaw title: STC 13171–2.
214 The editions I saw were in Hall’s *Works* (1625); Henshaw, *Horae successivae* (1632), and id., *Meditations miscellaneous* (1637), passim; Warwick, *Spare-minutes* (1637).
215 T. Fuller, *Good thoughts in bad times* (1646), passim.
happiness of a Christian to the privileges of the elect.\textsuperscript{216} The presbyterian Shower’s work was longer and tougher, and the focus was on the uncertainty of temporal things, and the need to redeem time by imagining that we are going to die this year and examining our heart accordingly. But he used the first person to draw the reader in, and hoped the usefulness of the material and its ‘small bulk’ (which he thought made it suitable as a New Year’s gift) would help to reverse what he saw as the visible decay of piety. It had not been written for publication, he said, but if its appearance in print alerted a backslider or quickened a believer, then it would have been worthwhile.\textsuperscript{217}

Another change (alluded to earlier) was the emergence of the habit of ‘spiritualizing the creatures’—drawing doctrinal lessons from a spontaneous meditation on some everyday natural phenomenon. There is not much sign of this in the sample, but it is reflected in the title and the text of *Husbandry spiritualized: or the heavenly use of earthly things* (1669) by John Flavell, a presbyterian minister in Devon, who designed this work to make husbandmen observe, reflect, and meditate on what they saw around them, and apply the spiritual lessons that could be drawn. Though well-intentioned and often deploying verse to make his point, the volume was relatively expensive—3s. bound—which may have narrowed its sales to richer farmers.\textsuperscript{218} One other form of change during the seventeenth century that could also be mentioned here is a narrowing of the focus of meditation to a particular event—the Lord’s Supper—and especially to Christ’s sufferings and sacrifice, the recipient’s own unworthiness, and the benefits to be derived from worthy reception. This brings us to the third and last group of works to be discussed in this chapter, and yet another case of the readiness of authors and publishers to fill gaps in the market.

xvii. Preparation for the Lord’s Supper

A high estimate of the Lord’s Supper is normally associated with High Churchmen, but both moderate conformists and ‘godly’ prized this sacrament too. The duty and value of communicating and details of who should communicate and how were stated clearly in the presbyterian formularies of the Westminster Assembly and in the Savoy Declaration of the Independents in 1658 as well as the Elizabethan settlement; and the ‘widespread sacramental piety’ which E. B. Holifield found developing round the Lord’s Supper in the seventeenth century was found among puritans on both sides of the Atlantic.\textsuperscript{219} There is conflicting evidence as to how far this enthusiasm for holy

\textsuperscript{216} T[homas] S[herman], *Divine breathings* (1678), passim.

\textsuperscript{217} J. Shower, *Serious reflections on time* (1689), sigs. A7", and passim.

\textsuperscript{218} See below, p. 440, and Appendix 1. Note also the companion volume by Flavell: *Navigation spiritualiz’d*.

comminion was shared by the laity at large. In some urban quarters participation rates were quite high, and there was support for monthly celebrations; and in some rural parishes there were complaints if communion was not celebrated as often as the laity wanted. But in other parishes participation rates were low, and clergy complained of lay resistance to improvements in preparation or performance.\footnote{What does emerge clearly from the publications of the period is that many clerical authors were dissatisfied: too many of their flocks either participated without (what their mentors thought were) adequate knowledge of what the sacrament meant, proper self-examination prior to celebration, and due reverence during it, or avoided the sacrament for reasons that were either spurious and self-serving, or based on a misconception of the consequences of taking part. There was a widespread and broadly-based view that well-intentioned but ill-informed or cautious participants had to be enlightened and stirred up,\footnote{Much the best recent account is Hunt, ‘Lord’s Supper’, \textit{Prayer, Meditation and Communion}, 289–39.} while unworthy or negligent ones should be told how to mend their ways.\footnote{}}

\footnote{E.g. Sutton, Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper (1630), sig. A4$^{r}$, and pp. 72–3; William B[radshaw], \textit{A direction for the weaker sort of Christians} (1609), passim; W. Pembble, \textit{An introduction to the worthy receiving the Lords Supper} (1629), sigs. A2–3; J. Dyke, \textit{A worthy communicant} (1636), chs. 16–17; S. Bolton, \textit{The guard of the tree of life} (1645), sig. A3$^{r}$; S. Patrick, \textit{A book for beginners} (1680), 134; T. Doolittle, \textit{A treatise concerning the Lords Supper} (1675), 9, 33–41, 116–18, 188–238; J. Flavell, \textit{Sacramental meditations} (1700), 145–59; J. Glanville, \textit{An earnest invitation to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper} (1688), 66–79; A. Horneck, \textit{The fire of the altar} (1683), sigs. A3$^{r}$–v; J. Kettlewell, \textit{An help and exhortation to worthy communicating} (1683), pt. 1, ch. 4, and pt. 3, chs. 1–2; [Edward Synge], \textit{An answer to all the excuses and pretences} (1700), 1–25; and [Sir William Dawes], \textit{The great duty of communicating explained and enforced} (1700), 21–3, 28–37; and cf. Spurr, \textit{Restoration Church}, 347–8.}


Various mechanisms were open to the clergy to achieve this: catechisms, and a parallel insistence that confirmation as a pre-communion rite had to be confined to those who fully understood their faith; homilies and sermons; and public or private advice on godly living—all of which could be turned into print. As has been argued elsewhere, catechizing was widely used as a means of preparing both adolescents and ignorant adults for admission to the Lord’s Supper, and in some cases ministers tried to insist that would-be participants demonstrated to them either mastery of a catechetical form or a strong desire and reasonable readiness to take part. The 1580s, 1610s, and especially the 1620s all witnessed the publication of significant numbers of new catechisms that were devoted entirely or to a significant degree to instilling knowledge of what was involved into communicants. An even higher number appeared in the 1640s, after an attempt by parliament to lay down the minimum knowledge required for admission, and a growing debate about the admission of the apparently ungodly, which led in many cases not just to a reduction in the numbers communicating but to an abandonment of the sacrament altogether for several years in the 1650s. After the Restoration, both conformist and nonconformist catechists resumed their efforts to prepare communicants and make good what was widely seen as a damaging interlude in sacramental history, though by then other methods were being more widely used.

Of these preaching was one. In the second volume of official homilies there was a single homily ‘Of common prayer and sacraments’, a double one for Good Friday ‘Of the passion’, and another double ‘Of the worthy receiving of the sacrament’; and in 1580 Bishop Cooper of Lincoln composed his own homily on the ‘right use of the Lord’s Supper’ and ordered that it be read ‘before every celebration . . . in all such churches and parishes as have not’ a licensed preacher. In a number of respects these anticipated the later precommunion handbooks on the nature and function of the sacrament and the need for preparation. In Chapter 4 we encountered the court sermons


224 Green, Christian’s ABC, 34–8, 79–83, and Appendix 1, s.v. Wither; Gawdry; Sparke; Le Maçon; Hopkinson; Maner and forme; Some (1582); Fenton; R. Jones; B. Andrews; T. Wilcox; H. Graie (1580s); Webbe; Gawton; R. Horne; Motives to godly knowledge; W. Gouge (1615); Littleton; C. Richardson; Robertson; Denison (1610s); and Hieron (1620s); Frewen; Preston; ‘Mr Mayden’; Inman; Attersoll (1623); Fist; Gataker; Joseph Hall; Jenison; Maine grounds; N. Hunt; Grashaw (1629); Geree (1620s); and cf. Josias White (published 1632, but in existence in 1623).

225 Glanvill, Earnest invitation, 114; Doolittle, Treatise concerning the Lord’s Supper, sig. A37 ‘[long absence of some believers]’; Green, Christian’s ABC, 83–91; Nuttall, Holy Spirit, 94–5; Spurr, Restoration Church, 286–7, 350–1, 361.

delivered at one of the great festivals of the church year and in many cases a celebration of holy communion as well; but to these we can add many individual sermons or sequences on the Lord’s Supper preached to wealthy congregations in London and mixed parishes in the countryside before being turned into print. These include works by ‘godly’ authors such as John Dod and Robert Cleaver (*Ten sermons, tending chiefly to the fitting of men for the worthy receiving of the Lords supper*—eight editions between 1609 and 1660, and often printed with ‘A brief dialogue concerning preparation’ abstracted from it), John Preston (*Preparation to the Lords supper*—five editions 1631–8), and John Randall (whose catechetical *Three and twentie sermons* (1630) were delivered the week before monthly celebrations of holy communion in his London parish). Later in the century the moderate episcopalian John Tillotson preached his *Persuasive to frequent communion* which, priced at 6d. bound, would pass through twenty-four editions between 1683 and 1771.227 Most handbooks on godly living, such as those of Bishop Bayly, Jeremy Taylor, Richard Allestree, and Richard Baxter (which we will consider in Chapter 6) also contained a section on preparation for holy communion, while other authors published composite works combining elements of treatise, catechism, and devotional aid that in part had a similar function.228

But the genre with which we are most concerned here is the separate manual designed primarily to help the faithful prepare for holy communion, of which there are over two dozen examples in our sample of best-sellers and steady sellers. The earliest of these dates from 1601 when a minister, Christopher Sutton, published his *Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lords supper*, to plug what he saw as a major gap in the literature; there was then a sprinkling of new titles in the late 1620s and early 1630s which all sold very well, and a couple from the central decades of the century.229 But the peak for works in this category was undoubtedly the last four decades of the seventeenth century, when a score of examples can be found in our sample, selling an above average number of repeat editions—over thirteen.230 Indeed,

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227 Listed in Appendix 1 below, except for Randall, for which see Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 706–7. For collections of sermons in our sample that included one or more sermons on the Lord’s Supper, see below, Appendix 1, s.v. Bradford (1574); Fenner (1645); Burroughs (1648). Pre-communion handbooks in the sample which began life as sermons included those by Roberts, Hornck, and Dawes.

228 For the first three see below, Ch. 6; for Baxter, K. Stevenson, *Covenant of Grace Renewed: A Vision of the Eucharist in the Seventeenth Century* (1994), 129–33; and cf. Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 93. For composite works with material on holy communion, see below, Appendix 1, s.v. Inett (1688); Addison (1691); and Hayward (–1696).

229 C. Sutton, *Godly meditations* (1601), sig. A4; and see below, Appendix 1, s.v. Bradshaw (1600); Pemble (1628); Tozer (1628); and J. Dyke (1635); and for the 1640s and 1650s see S. Bolton (1644) and F. Roberts (1651). Dod and Cleaver’s *Ten sermons* could be classified as sermons or pre-communion handbook.

230 See Appendix 1, s.v. J. Taylor (1660); S. Patrick (1660; 1671; and 1680); Rawlet (1667); Doolittle (1667); Lake (1673); Glanvill (1674); G. B. (1678); Northumberland (1682); Kettlewell (1683); Gauden (1683); *Second part* (1686); Horneck (1683 and 1686); Dorrington (1693); *Whole duty of receiving worthily
more than one contemporary author commented that there were then more practical treatises on the Lord’s Supper than on any other subject, and, more recently, the editor of the Term Catalogues noted the apparently ‘endless editions’ of works on the Lord’s Supper for sale in print. A quick analysis of the titles advertised there (not all of which survive and most of which did not sell well enough to qualify for our sample) suggests on average two to three new titles on this subject and two to three repeat editions of existing titles every year from the 1670s to the early 1700s. Moreover, these were targeted at everyone from ‘ladies’ to ‘servants’, and sold at all prices from several shillings to a penny or tuppence. Together the two dozen titles in our sample and these also-rans represent a sizeable but largely uncharted ocean of material on what authors, publishers, and readers thought important at that time, which could usefully be collated with the evidence of support for more frequent celebrations of holy communion in the same period.

xviii. Targets and Function of Pre-communion Handbooks in the Sample

A closer look at the works classified in Appendix 1 as pre-communion handbooks or closely related works throws up some interesting patterns. Apart from Sutton (who was prepared to use a Jesuit original suitably pruned of unacceptable material), all of the authors of these works in the period 1600–60 could be described as puritans—the semi-separatist William Bradshaw and ‘godly’ Arthur Hildersham, William Pemble, Henry Tozer (later nominated to the Westminster Assembly), Jeremiah Dyke, Samuel Bolton, and Francis Roberts—which confirms the interest of the ‘godly’ in this sacrament from a relatively early stage. Even after 1660 presbyterian concerns about proper readiness for the Lord’s Supper are evident in the best-selling Westminster formularies, and in works by Thomas Doolittle, based in London, and John Flavell, in Plymouth. What the presbyterians lacked in numbers of new titles was made up by repeat sales in the case of Thomas

[1696?]; Synge (1697); and Dawes (1700). The anonymous Devout communicant exemplified (often confused with a discrete work by Abednego Seller) could be counted as devotional manual or pre-communion handbook; and Horneck (168?) as composite or the same; T. Comber, Companion to the altar sold six editions between 1675 and 1721: the date of the fifth edition is not known, but may have been early enough to qualify for the sample; John Flavell’s Sacramental meditations sold five editions in just over thirty years, between 1679 and 1713, and will be included in the following discussion to help balance the picture.

anon., Devout communicant exemplified (1678), sig. A2; A. Horneck, The crucified Jesus (1705), sig. A5; anon., The second part of the weeks preparation (1733), sig. A2; and TC, iii, p. viii.

I analysed five-year periods in TC as follows: 1670–4, 1680–4, 1690–4, and 1700–4; anon., The ladies preparation to the monthly sacrament (1691); anon., A new sacramental catechism . . . for poor servants (1701), price 2d. or 12s. a [shield]; (one of Tillotson’s discourses was A discourse to his servants before the sacrament: TC, iii, p. 410; anon., Private devotions at the administration of the Holy Communion (1704), price 1d.; T[hos.] B[evel], A discourse, being the substance of several sermons on the Lord’s Supper (1696) cost 6s.

See above, n. 220, especially the works by Spaeth, Spurr, and Mather.

DNB for these authors; and above, n. 197.
Doolittle’s *Treatise concerning the Lords supper* (1667), which had reached its twenty-seventh edition by 1726. Most authors after 1660, however, were committed to the re-established episcopal church, and some reached senior posts such as Jeremy Taylor, Simon Patrick, Edward Lake, Edward Synge, and William Dawes, and John Gauden too, though there are some suspicious features about his posthumously published *Whole duty of a communicant* which suggest the lead was taken by a publisher.

There are also some grounds for suspicion about the authenticity of two other works—G. B.’s *Weeks preparation towards the worthy receiving of the Lords Supper* (which was so successful that it spawned a successor, *Second part of a week’s preparation*), and *The whole duty of receiving worthily* (which was attributed to ‘the author of *The whole duty of man*’, who was long since dead). The preface to the last, also written by a ‘G. B.’, relied on the old chestnut that the original text had been kept privately by a lady of quality for many years before being brought into the public arena for the good of all, which is not easy to square with the fact that its content overlapped in part with that of the *Weeks preparation*. There is also little hard evidence of how much the text of *Meditations and prayers to be used before, at, and after the receiving of the sacrament* was by Elizabeth Percy, duchess of Northumberland, whose name appeared on the title-page, though her rank and gender may have helped sales. Its publication also ties in with the fact that *A weeks preparation* and its successor were published with a frontispiece of a well-dressed woman kneeling before a desk in a book-lined room, as an alternative to the more usual depiction of a communion table or

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235 Above, nn. 219, 230; and below, Appendix 1
236 *DNB*; other episcopalian authors included Rawlet, Glanvill, Kettlewell, Horneck, and Dorrington (see above, n. 226, and below Appendix 1 for their works); Comber became a dean.
237 Gauden died in 1662, but the work was not published until the early 1680s, and then the second edition had ‘additions out of the reverend prelate’s original copies’: *Whole duty of a communicant* (1685), title-page; why were these not in the first edition? Gauden had been chaplain to Lord Rich, but in his epistle dedicatory to Lady Rich (sig. A1r) would he have called it a ‘small tract’ if the work had been meant to stay in manuscript? The title was possibly designed to cash in on Allestree’s best-seller; the frontispiece looks like a simplified version of that in Jeremy Taylor’s *Worthy communicant*; and some phrases, e.g. on p. 143, are almost identical to those in the equivalent passage in Edward Lake’s *Officium eucharisticum*, which first appeared in 1673. The day-by-day sequence was also becoming popular by then in devotional manuals: see above, pp. 267–9.
238 The author or editor of *A weeks preparation* was theologically not unsophisticated, but included a number of Catholic features, such as spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the seven deadly sins and so on (1693 edition, 21–2, 26–8), and seems to have leant towards the view that man could choose to be better and that God should then keep his part of the bargain (ibid., Sig. A5r, and cf. pp. 10, 61 in the [1692] edn.). Also parts of pp. 4–5 of the 1687 edition are almost identical to pp. 65–6 of Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland’s *Meditations and prayers* (1687), so one or the other is derivative. The author or editor of the anonymous *Second part of the weeks preparation* was trading on the popularity of devotional works like G. B.’s and the Percy volume by offering prayers for the week ‘after the celebration of the Holy Communion’—a novel liturgical concept. For the ‘lady of quality’ having kept the text of *The whole duty of receiving worthily* safely for many years, see sig. A3r of the 1717 edition in CUL; for Catholic features shared with *Weeks preparation* see ibid., pp. 15–19; and for a similar venture—*The whole duty of prayer*—see above, pp. 260–1, 267.
communicants kneeling at the rail.\(^{239}\) Whether genuine or not, the sometimes dramatic success of this last handful of works—*A weeks preparation* alone is said to have sold forty editions in just over forty years from 1678 to 1725—demonstrates the marketability of such works by that stage, just as we saw earlier in this chapter was the case with devotional manuals too.

At whom were these genuine and perhaps not-so-genuine works targeted? Many early examples were dedicated to aristocrats or gentry: Sutton’s to Lady Verney and Lady Rodney; Tozer’s to his pupil, the son of Viscount Falkland (who was told that the ‘honourable and mighty’ should remember ‘how far they should honour God by a religious life’); Dyke’s to the earl of Winchelsea and his wife; Taylor’s to Princess Mary (wife of William II, Prince of Orange); Patrick’s *Mensa mystica* to Sir Walter St John and his wife, in whose house the work had been written, and so on; and a couple of later ones were dedicated to episcopal superiors.\(^{240}\) But some of these had a second preface or address to ‘the reader’ or the ‘well-disposed’ or ‘parishioners’, and an increasing proportion of those with only one preface were directed at ‘the people of my charge’ or ‘the godly and well-affected’ of a particular parish by their ‘most faithful and most loving pastor’, or to a generalized ‘reader’.\(^{241}\) There is only a limited amount to be learnt from frontispieces of individuals praying in their closets or well-dressed groups taking communion, since these may have been the publisher’s idea, and reflect the aspiration rather than the social reality of readers.\(^{242}\) Equally works aimed at literate adults might end up in the hands of the young or less literate, as some owners’ inscriptions bear witness.\(^{243}\)

We can only deduce a certain amount from length and price as well. Most of the works under discussion here were well over 100 pages long, and some several hundred pages long. Where it is known, the average price was 1s. bound, as in the case of the works by Doolittle, Lake, Flavell, Gauden, and

\(^{239}\) See previous note; the absence of a preface puffing the duchess’s sanctity is also intriguing. Was this prompted by the success of *The Countess of Morton’s daily exercise* (see above, p. 243 n. 18)? For other frontispieces, see Taylor and Gauden in n. 237, and *Weeks preparation* in n. 238; anon., *Devout communicant exemplified* (1670); the works by Horneck cited in n. 230 above; and *Whole duty of receiving worthily* (1717).

\(^{240}\) Sutton, *Godly meditations* (1630), epistle dedicatory; Tozer, *Directions*, sig. A4; Dyke, *Worthy communicant*, sigs. A2v–3v; J. Taylor, *The worthy communicant* (1660), epistle dedicatory; S. Patrick, *Mensa mystica: or a discourse concerning the sacrament* (1684), epistle dedicatory; similar dedications can be found in Pemble, *Introduction*; anon., *Devout communicant*; J. Gauden, *The whole duty of a communicant* (1685); and Kettlewell, *Help*; the episcopal dedications were by Glanvill (*Earnest invitation*), and Comber (*Companion to the altar*). A number of these works contained Latin and Greek texts that were not translated into English.


\(^{242}\) Cf Clemence Tylden’s copy of the *Weeks preparation* (1693) at Yale; and Elizabeth Wilding’s of Horneck’s *Fire of the altar* (1683) in the Bodleian.
At the top end was Kettlewell’s *Help and exhortation to worthy communicating* (1683) which cost 3s. bound for just under 500 duodecimo pages, while at the bottom Bradshaw and Hildersham’s *Preparation* cost only 9d. bound in 1634, and in the 1690s Dorrington’s work cost 4d. stitched, and those by Synge and Dawes, advertised as being suitable for the charitable to give away to the poor, were threepence or even less. The cheapness of this last pair of works is in line with the general diversification of genre and target by the late seventeenth century that is a theme of this study. At this point we may also note that of the three works on the Lord’s Supper prepared by Simon Patrick during his busy tenure of a central London parish from the 1660s to the 1680s, the first was the longest, the second was in part a shortened version of the first, while the third (and most successful of all) was targeted specifically at children, servants, and all young persons, and gave detailed instructions on what to do about servants who could not read. But the typical target by the end of the seventeenth century seems to have been readers with moderate views and middling wealth, not looking for lavishly produced folios, but for workmanlike ‘manuals’ or ‘guides’ which they could themselves read conveniently in private or in the family, and where appropriate take to church or chapel, or give or lend to a family member or acquaintance thought to be in need of help. By looking closely at how authors intended these works to be used we can perhaps squeeze some more information out of the surviving copies of works in this genre.

As a group they covered five main areas, though individual authors opted for different combinations of the five. One was description of the origins, purpose, and nature of the Lord’s Supper: a fairly straightforward didactic impulse to reinforce what should have been learnt in a catechism, homily, or sermon. A second was urging the necessity and duty of communicating, and pressing its many potential benefits: in short, to exhort the cautious and arouse the lukewarm. The third was the dark side of the second: warnings to the negligent to put off their feeble excuses, and to the indolent not to risk damnation by lack of or unworthy reception. The fourth was detailed advice on preparation: above all, self-examination in advance for the required knowledge and spiritual condition, but also often some advice on what to do at the PRAYER, MEDITATION AND COMMUNION

244 Details of prices are in Appendix 1 below; Synge, *Answer*, title-page; Dawes, *Great duty*, title-page, and cf. pp. 22–3, 36–7. My impression is that many of the works advertised in the Term Catalogues which are not in the sample (see above, n. 232) were on the cheaper side, e.g. anon., *Directions to communicants* (1701), price 3d. or 2s. 6d. a dozen; anon., *The Church of England’s communicant directed and assisted* (1702), price 6d. bound.

245 Based on the ten editions of *Mensa mystica*, the fourteen of *The Christian sacrifice*, and the eighteen of *A book for beginners*; for the impact of Patrick’s works, see Spurr, *Restoration Church*, p. 348 n. 88. Also deemed useful for the young were Horneck, *Fire*, sig. A5; and T. Dorrington, *A familiar guide to the right and profitable receiving* (1700), title-page (godparents, and ‘societies of religious young men in the city’).

246 Lending a used copy to a neighbour was suggested by Synge, *Answer*, sig. A1; the copies mentioned above, n. 243, were almost certainly gifts by an adult.
sacrament and immediately afterwards. The fifth, often overlapping with the fourth, was the provision of prayers, meditations, soliloquies, and other devotions to help the would-be communicant prepare for holy communion, participate in it, and reflect on it afterwards.

About a third of the authors of pre-communion works in our sample touched on four or five of these areas, and where they used a label tended to describe their own composition as a ‘discourse’, as in Bolton’s ‘sacramental discourse’, or a ‘treatise’, as in the subtitles of Dyke’s Worthy communicant and Patrick’s Christian sacrifice, and the full title of Doolittle’s Treatise concerning the Lord’s supper. Treatise was also used by some authors focusing on exhortation and warning, such as Rawlet and Kettlewell, while ‘manual’ or ‘directions’ was more likely to be used by those offering detailed advice on preparation or a large number of devotions, as in the case of Roberts, Taylor, Lake, Horneck, and the author of the The devout communicant. The addition from the 1670s of the adjective ‘little’ or ‘small’ to qualify ‘manual’, ‘book’, or ‘tract’ reflects authors’ or publishers’ awareness of appealing to a wider readership with less time or money, just as Patrick’s inclusion of directions for helping illiterate servants, Lake’s inclusion of ‘shorter prayers for servants or any others who may be engaged in necessary affairs’, and the continuing use of dialogue in the late seventeenth century suggest a concern to reach those with little formal education as well as less time.

The function of a particular work obviously depended on where the author’s or editor’s emphasis lay. Where it covered the complete gamut of information, encouragement, warning, advice, and devotions, it was likely to be a sizeable work, and if readers were going to derive full benefit from it they were going to have to study it for a period of time before a celebration of holy communion was announced, and to reuse the later parts of it again and again before each future celebration. However, where the focus was on warning or

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247 See the title-pages of Bolton, Guard (and of Patrick’s Mensa mystica); and the other works cited here.
248 See the title-pages of [J. Rawlet], A treatise of sacramental-covenanting (1710); and the works by Kettlewell, Roberts, Taylor, Lake, and ‘Gauden’ already cited; and Horneck, Fire of the altar; and anon., Devout communicant exemplified.
249 See Lake, Officium eucharisticum, sigs. A2’; Glanvill, Earnest invitation, sig. A3’; ‘Gauden’, Whole duty, epistle dedicatory; Dorrington, Familiar guide, sig. A3; Dawes, Great duty, sig. A2’; and ‘Gauden’ cited above. For parishioners’ complaints in the 1680s that many books were too dear, see Ellis, Communicant’s guide, sig. A3.
250 Patrick, Book for beginners, 132–7; Lake, Officium eucharisticum, 97–103; dialogues comprised parts of the text in Sutton, Godly meditations; Doolittle, Treatise concerning the Lord’s Supper; Flavell, Sacramental meditations; and Horneck, Fire of the altar. For concern to set levels of preparation realistically but not discouragingly high, see Patrick, Book for beginners, 134; Kettlewell, Help, ch. 4; and Spurr, Restoration Church, 352–3.
251 Cf. the following wide-ranging works: Sutton, Sacramental meditations; Dyke, Worthy communicant; Patrick, Mensa mystica (and to some degree Christian sacrifice); Doolittle, Treatise concerning the Lord’s Supper; Glanvill, Earnest invitation; Horneck, Crucified Jesus; Dorrington, Familiar guide; and Dawes, Great duty.
exhortation, this was more likely to be read only once or twice rather than repeatedly. It is noticeable that works which included long sections on warning or encouragement tended to pass through only a limited number of editions, such as the six for Pemble’s *Introduction to the worthy receiving the sacrament* and the eight for Rawlet’s *Treatise of sacramental-covenanting with Christ*. By contrast, those that combined the same message with much more additional material of an instructive or devotional kind tended to sell much better, such as the seventeen editions of Dyke’s *Worthy communicant*, the thirteen of Glanvill’s *Earnest invitation*, and the ten each of Kettlewell’s *Help and exhortation to worthy communicating* and Dawes’s *Great duty of communicating explain’d and enforc’d.*

Equally, works which consisted mostly of long sections of advice on what to look for in self-examination, what to do during celebration, or what words to use in prayer or meditation were also much more likely to be used again and again, which may have helped them to sell better, as in the case of Lake’s *Officium eucharisticum* (eighteen editions), Patrick’s *Booke for beginners: or, a helpe to young communicants* (nineteen editions), and G. B.’s *Weeks preparation towards the worthy receiving of the Lords Supper* (at least forty editions by 1725).

Similar conclusions are reached if we compare the half dozen or so works in the sample that were published before 1660 with the score first printed thereafter. What we find is a good deal of continuity in the priority given to encouraging the cautious and lukewarm to communicate regularly, and the attention given to advice on self-examination and preparation. But beyond that there were three shifts. One is a relative decline from the 1670s in the amount of space given to describing the origins, ends, and nature of the sacrament (perhaps considered less necessary by then). The second is that whereas only a half of the earlier works contained devotional material, virtually all of the later ones did. And the third is that whereas warning to the negligent and careless was unusual earlier on (with a couple of exceptions), it was given more space in more works later on. The conclusion one might draw from this is that authors, publishers, and readers perceived a constant need for encouragement and advice, and a growing need on the one hand for

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252 Further details in Appendix 1.
253 Ibid.
254 Cf. the works cited above by Sutton, Bradshaw, Dod and Cleaver, Tozer, Dyke, Bolton, Patrick (all three titles), Doolittle, Rawlet, Flavell, Glanvill, Horneck (both), and Dawes.
255 Most pre-1660 works had some descriptive material; later works with some description include those by Taylor, Patrick (all three), Doolittle, and Glanvill in the 1660s and 1670s, but only Kettlewell at any length thereafter.
256 Cf. the works cited above by Sutton, Tozer, and Dyke, with those by Taylor, Patrick (all three), Doolittle, Lake, Glanvill (the appendix), G.B. (Second part), Northumberland, ‘Gauden’, Horneck (both titles), Dorrington, Synge, and Dawes, and the authors of *Devout communicant exemplified*, and *Whole duty of receiving worthily*.
257 Tozer and Pemble devoted several pages to negligence (*Directions*, 41–54, and *Introduction*, 21–31), and Dyke devoted a chapter to it (*Worthy communicant*, ch. 3); but compare this with the space in Patrick, *Mensa mystica*, chs. 19–20; Rawlet, *Treatise*, chs. 13–15; Glanvill, *Earnest invitation*, chs. 4–6; Kettlewell, *Help*, pt. 3; and Synge, *Answer*, passim.
warnings to be given to non-communicants or those receiving unworthily, and on the other for sincere communicants to be given help in meditating on the Lord’s Supper and phrasing their petitions to God. These trends fit in neatly with the concern expressed by conformist and nonconformist leaders that the disruptions of the 1640s and 1650s had led to a decline in communicating, and with what was said earlier in this chapter about the growing demand for prayers and meditations suited to a broad readership and for use on specific occasions.\(^{29}\)

**xix. The Message of the Handbooks**

What message did these works, taken as a group, convey? Compared to Protestantism on the Continent, in England there were wide areas of doctrinal agreement on the sacraments in general, and the Lord’s Supper in particular, among the theologically informed.\(^{59}\) Christ had instituted two sacraments, which consisted of an outward sign—water, or bread and wine—betokening an invisible or inward truth—forgiveness of sin, and the promise of salvation to those in fellowship with Christ.\(^{26}\) Sacraments were not only signs but also seals, giving the faithful assurance, as by a legal document, of salvation to come.\(^{61}\) Not to use these sacraments, administered by a regular, ordained clergy to those in the church, was to dishonour Christ and refuse his gracious benefits. There was thus a duty for the faithful to take part in holy communion as often as the opportunity arose: because God had invited us to do so, in memory of Christ’s death and passion for fallen man, and as a means of testifying to others the faith we profess.\(^{62}\) ‘Know, O vain man, that this is God’s ordinance’, wrote the ‘godly’ Henry Tozer in 1628; due reception of the Holy Communion was ‘the greatest part of serving God’.\(^{265}\) But there was an equally strong incentive to receive in that, as the puritan stalwart Arthur Hildersham put it, in the Lord’s Supper the benefits of Christ’s passion are

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\(^{59}\) This case has been argued in Green, *Christian’s ABC*, ch. 12, and especially pp. 509–19, 541–6; but a similar emphasis can be found in the works by Holilfeid, Mayor, and Hunt cited in nn. 197 and 219 above.


offered to us more than by any other means. ‘The sacrament, and Christ in the sacrament, doth mighty works’, wrote Jeremiah Dyke, one of a whole family of nonconformists; ‘There is a mighty efficacy in the sacrament.’

These benefits took the form not simply of assurances for the future, but of benefits being conveyed in the present: remission of sin to the penitent; union with Christ; the nourishing of the soul; the strengthening of faith; and comfort for the conscience. Most common of all was the idea of ‘graces’ being nourished and strengthened: worthy reception, wrote contemporaries as different as Henry Tozer, Samuel Bolton, and Jeremy Taylor, did not lead to the creation of grace where there was none before, but to the exercise and increase of graces already possessed.

The graces in question were usually defined as faith, repentance, and charity, though others included thankfulness for Christ's sacrifice or a desire to receive the sacrament, obedience, and perseverance.

These benefits were not the result of any physical change in the elements—transubstantiation was unanimously condemned—nor any special powers of the celebrant: Christ was partaken spiritually through the faith of the receiver and with the help of the Holy Spirit. Nor was it a matter of Word versus Sacrament, or Altar over Pulpit, but of Word and Sacrament as partners. Sacraments, Cartwright had written, are ‘a more lively, effectual and sensible instrument’ than the Word alone for offering and conveying Christ and his benefits to the faithful; faith was ‘begotten and increased by hearing the Word and receiving the sacrament’, said Tozer; the use of one ordinance such as the Lord's Supper would not exclude or lead to the disparagement of another.

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\[\text{Footnotes:}\]

\[\text{Tozer, \textit{Directions}, 21, 25, 137–8; Dyke, \textit{Worthy communicant}, 106; Roberts, \textit{Communicant instructed}, 21–2, 202; Taylor, \textit{Worthy communicant}, 81; Patrick, \textit{Mensa mystica}, ch. 5; Synge, \textit{Answer}, 27–8.}\n
\[\text{Sutton, \textit{Godly meditations} (1630), 29–30; Tozer, \textit{Directions}, 138; Flavell, \textit{Sacramental meditations}, 156; and cf. below, n. 275.}\n
such as preaching, wrote Jeremy Taylor a few decades later.\textsuperscript{273} Whether this dynamic and elevated view of holy communion was derived from the route charted by Luther, Cranmer, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-Nine Articles, or that laid down in Calvin’s writings on the Lord’s Supper,\textsuperscript{274} is less important than the consensus that had clearly emerged among mainstream Protestants that the bread and wine not only signified something, but did something to the faithful receiver.

There remained differences of emphasis. Calvinists believed that those already elect should participate in the Lord’s Supper because Christ commanded them to, and because it was effectual in strengthening faith, nourishing the soul, and confirming graces. But they were reluctant to let the importance of such benefits detract from the centrality of the original decree which had determined who would receive them. Non-Calvinists, believing that the faithful were not proceeding inexorably to salvation, naturally gave a high priority to the means ordained by Christ to help them to salvation: the faithful would be foolish as well as undutiful to ignore it; but it was stressed that the Lord’s Supper was not \textit{the} means but \textit{a} means by which grace was conveyed.\textsuperscript{275} There were also differences over admission and modes of reception, and the wider issues of ritual and utensils, all of which could inflame passions mightily.\textsuperscript{276}

But as a counterpoint to these, there was some rapprochement during the seventeenth century which must have facilitated conformity among episcopalian Calvinists both before 1640 and after 1660. First, as many Calvinists entered an introspective phase and sought assurance of election not just through the usual ‘marks’ but also through the sacrament, they moved closer to non-Calvinists stressing the need for individuals to search inside themselves for breaches of the Ten Commandments and for evidence of graces such as faith and love, which they were urged to seek to strengthen through regular participation in the sacrament.\textsuperscript{277} The language used on the ‘godly’ side to


\textsuperscript{275} Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 514–17.

\textsuperscript{276} The authors of the works being considered here tended to avoid controversial matters, with the odd exception, e.g. Hildersham’s restrictions on admission (Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 554); for the puritan bugbears articulated in other media see Collinson, \textit{Elizabethan Puritan Movement}, pt. 7, chs. 2–3; and M. Watts, \textit{The Dissenters. I From the Reformation to the French Revolution} (Oxford, 1985), 154–6.

describe the depths of despair and the joys of assurance of the truly elect tended to be more colourful than on the conformist side, though the latter too could be forceful when describing the need for heartfelt repentance, the sufferings of Christ, and the joys of heaven. Secondly, as the ‘godly’ mainstream reacted against the challenges posed by the Baptists and the Quakers to the accepted view of the sacraments in the 1640s and 1650s, they consolidated their view of the importance of the Lord’s Supper as food for the soul, and again moved closer to the mainstream episcopalians’ position. Thirdly, there was doctrinal rapprochement as both Calvinists and non-Calvinist episcopalians in growing numbers during the seventeenth century described holy communion as a seal of the covenant of grace, to be renewed regularly by those who had entered that covenant through baptism.

In the second half of our period, mainstream dissenters evidently continued to give sermons a higher priority than conformists did, while the latter came to stress the importance of reverent deportment at the Lord’s Supper, and provided the faithful with fully framed devotions for use at each stage of the sacrament, to an extent that dissenters probably found unwelcome. But in terms of a number of central themes there was a large measure of consensus: the enormous value of the sacrament, and the necessity of participating; how often one should participate, and how long preparation should take; etc.

communicant, chs. 2, 6, and passim; Patrick, Mensa mystica, ch. 10, and section 2 generally; Lake, Officium eucharisticum, 113–24; Rawlet, Treatise, chs. 3, 9–10, 16; Glanvill, Earnest invitation, 100–109; Horneck, Fire of the altar, sig. A3’, and passim; and Synge, Answer, 38–41.

Compare Flavell, Sacramental meditations 110–11 (and passim) with Patrick, Mensa mystica, 253–6, 259; anon., Devout communicant exemplified, 9, 108–9; Northumberland, Meditations and prayers, 11–13, 59, 69, 78–80, 83, 90, 98; and Horneck, Fire of the altar, passim; and see the wise remarks of Spurr in Restoration Church, 290–311, 373–4.


In the works under discussion here, the Lord’s Supper is treated as a seal of the covenant of grace or an extension of entry into the covenant in baptism by Bradshaw (‘Brief forme’, 139); Hildersham (‘Doctrine’, 21), Tozer (Directions, 13–17, 74–5), Dyke (Worthy communicant, 104–5, 539, 549–3), Penble (Introduction, 88), Bolton (Guard, 70), Roberts (Communicant instructed, sigs. A8–a, and pp. 6–13, 82–4, 93), Doolittle (Treatise concerning the Lords Supper, 27); and Flavell (Sacramental meditations, 152–3); and by Taylor (Worthy communicant, 38), Patrick (Mensa mystica, pp. xii–xiv, 43, 49, 51, 70, 277; and Christian sacrifice, 94–5); anon., Devout communicant exemplified (113–14, 122–3); Rawlet (Treatise, 70–2, 265); Glanvill (Earnest invitation, 12–14), ‘Gauden’ (Whole duty, 4), Northumberland, Meditations and prayers, 64; Horneck (Fire of the altar, 22–5); and Crucified Jesus, 189–213; Kettlewell (Help, 15–19), Dorrington (Familiar guide, 18–19, 22–4), and Dawes (Great duty, 18). Cf. also Holfield, The Covenant Sealed, passim; Hambrick-Stowe, Practice of Piety, 129–31; Stevenson, Covenant of Grace Renewed, passim; Green, Christian’s ABC, 411–12, 417–19, 511–12, 516–17, 542–3; and Spurr, Restoration Church, ch. 6 and pp. 348–9.


See above, n. 262; some authors recommended a whole week’s preparation: e.g. G. B.; ‘Gauden’; and the author of Whole duty of receiving worthily; others a specific day such as the Friday before or the Sunday, e.g. Lake, Officium eucharisticum; Northumberland, Meditations and prayers; yet others said that ‘an holy life is the best preparation’: Patrick, Mensa mystica, 149; on this see also Spurr, Restoration Church, 348–9.
the need for self-examination and what to search for—understanding of what the sacrament meant, a sense of one’s own sinfulness and unworthiness, and the presence of the necessary graces such as repentance, faith, and charity which were to be strengthened through the sacrament; a growing stress on prayer and meditation as a significant element in preparation, and the need for concentration during the sacrament and a period of prayer and contemplation afterwards on the benefits there received. During the sacrament the faithful were regularly urged to visualize Christ’s sufferings in detail as well as the literally transforming benefits for them of his passion and death. The poetic inspiration provided by the Lord’s Supper was not confined to conformists like George Herbert: in New England, Edward Taylor used the writing and reading of highly charged verse to prepare for the sacrament.

The results of all these efforts by authors and publishers, and parallel efforts by ministers, preachers, catechists, and churchwardens, were in some cases reasonable and occasionally quite impressive, especially in urban areas like Chester, London, and Bath. In the preface to his Earnest invitation to the sacrament, first published in 1674, Joseph Glanvill told his diocesan that the previous Easter he had given communion to above 800 of the 1,100 persons of communicable age in the three parishes of Bath. This work had been written for them, and only the difficulty of getting enough transcripts, especially for the poorer sort, had driven him to using the press, since when God had blessed the Invitation ‘in divers other places with success, much beyond my expectations’. And in London, the sermons given at the monthly ‘religious exercises’ led by Anthony Horneck, when turned into a discourse entitled The crucified Jesus, also yielded good fruit in the ‘abundance of persons’ who now communicated conscientiously. Horneck and other leading London clergy also had a hand in inspiring the religious societies of the 1680s and 1690s whose agenda included regular reception of the communion. As work by historians such as Spurr, Warne, McClatchey, Mather, and others has shown, there were also more frequent celebrations in many other parishes by the later...

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287 See secondaries cited above, n. 220.
288 Glanvill, Earnest invitation, sigs. A2–5; and p. 113.
289 Horneck, Crucified Jesus, sigs. A3–5; Spurr, Restoration Church, 361, 370–1.
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and not just in the towns but a range of churches in dioceses like Lichfield, Norwich, Exeter, and Oxford. How many of those who attended these extra services had undergone the thorough preparation recommended, and how many others remained unwilling to partake and why, remain unclear: this needs a whole book, not a fraction of one chapter. But as with attachment to the Prayer Book and other signs of piety, such indicators as we have tend to indicate a rising rather than a falling curve.

xx. Conclusion

Piety may be central to the ideal of Christian practice, but its testimony is too intimate and elusive for historians to feel confident they have got to close grips with it. As a step in that direction this chapter has tried to demonstrate what authors and publishers in early modern England thought Protestants wanted to own in the form of printed prayers, meditations, and pre-communion manuals, and what publications sold best, whether as a result of subtle adjustments by authors to the needs of an increasingly broad range of reader, and clever sales techniques by publishers, or genuine devotion among a large and varied readership. The peak of such sales in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ties in with what is known of the rise of religious societies and the High Church movement, but also brings us back to the question of how far the Evangelical Revival sprang from a rising curve of interest and commitment rather than a reaction against what has tended to be seen as a trough in the fortunes of the established church and mainstream dissent.

This chapter may also have suggested the wisdom of approaching Protestant devotion in early modern England without too many preconceptions. While preparing a study of piety in seventeenth-century New England, Charles Hambrick-Stowe concluded that previous historians had exaggerated the differences between Catholic and Protestant or puritan practices; and from examining the personal papers of many New Englanders preparing for the Lord’s Supper he also concluded that ‘believers of all religious parties practiced sacramental meditation in a similar manner’. When starting work on Catholic devotion in Victorian England, Mary Heimann expected to find that devotional practices had exacerbated the differences between English and Irish Catholics, old Catholics and converts, and ultramontanes and liberals. Instead she found devotion ‘effectively provided a common language to articulate that specifically religious dimension of life which was shared by Catholics as Catholics’, and a piety that, while it had much in common with Continental practice, remained distinctively English. Other scholars

working on evangelical, High-Church, and Catholic revivalism in the late modern period, have also noted the many overlaps in techniques and fervency of expression of ideas between different groups. Could the same be said of early modern Protestant piety in England? Again perhaps historians should be looking for parallels as well as divergences between those urging greater commitment to prayer, meditation, and the sacraments. And perhaps they should also adopt a more open-ended approach to the study of those who responded to that call, not just among the better born and the middling sort of people through whose hands many of the printed works discussed in this chapter must have passed, but among those humbler rural dissenters studied by Professor Spufford who had been taught the importance of prayer and sacraments in their catechisms, and who joyfully joined in singing the pre-communion hymns which they had also learnt through the medium of print, before partaking of the sacrament itself.

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**Notes:**


Best-Sellers and Steady Sellers III: The Inner Life of Faith, Godly Living, and Godly Dying

Faith was more than a matter of praying to God and participating in the sacraments, and authors and publishers produced a large number of publications to help the faithful understand and implement their belief. Though the distinction was in practice often blurred at the time, some authors chose to focus more on the inner, spiritual side of that faith—soul-searching, self-humiliation, and repentance—while others either described the life of faith in terms of actions and thoughts which embraced both introspection and outward actions in roughly equal proportions, or devoted more space to the importance of the daily round of outward acts of piety at home and in the community. In this chapter we will look at these different types of treatise in turn.

Works on the inner ‘life of faith’ comprised a large but diverse group of titles. Indeed, there were arguably greater differences of opinion between authors in this category than in the great majority of categories in our sample, so that this section will have much more to say about the differences between Calvinists and non-Calvinists, and between Anglicans and dissenters, which historians have made familiar. On the other hand if we keep in mind the questions of which works sold best in print, and at what kind of readers they were targeted, we will find many nuances which previous examinations of these texts have overlooked.

i. Elizabethan Works on the Life of Faith

We may begin by looking at two broad surveys of the life of faith that had appeared by the 1580s: both were Catholic in origin, but were modified less than might have been imagined for publication, and both rapidly established a niche in the market. Thomas Rogers’s translation of Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ* sold seventeen editions between 1580 and 1640, and Edmund Bunny’s modification of the first part of Robert Parsons’s *First booke of the Christian exercise* sold at least thirty editions between 1584 and 1630.¹

¹ See STC², and Appendix 1 below, s.v. Thomas, and Parsons.
The English fascination with Thomas à Kempis’s work is remarkable. Many editions had been published in Latin in the late fifteenth century; then between 1504 and 1696 no less than thirteen translations into English and three paraphrases were produced, of which five translations and two paraphrases were by Protestants. The most popular Catholic translation was by Richard Whitford, who testified in his preface to the fact that the more the work was read, the more profitable it was in confirming the faithful in good ways. The first Protestant translation was in 1567 by Edward Hake, a lawyer and later an MP, who based his translation on the Latin text of à Kempis’s first three books by the Swiss humanist teacher, Sebastien Châteillon. But much more popular was the 1580 translation by Thomas Rogers, a rector in Suffolk and chaplain to Bancroft, who compared Châteillon’s text with the original. Like Hake, Rogers omitted à Kempis’s book 4 (on the mass), but from 1592 he substituted à Kempis’s Soliloquium animae for the missing portion. Rogers’s text was challenged by rival versions from the ‘godly’ John Preston and the Laudian William Page, but after 1657 much the most popular version was by the irenic John Worthington, then head of a Cambridge college and friend of the Cambridge Platonists: his passed through perhaps fifteen editions between 1657 and 1722.

Of the Protestant paraphrases one was in verse, the work of Luke Milbourne in 1696, and the other by another royal chaplain, George Stanhope, who tried to replace earlier versions, which he felt had ‘in some places grown obsolete’, by something in ‘a style more modern, and a little better suited to subjects of this nature’. Stanhope abridged and amplified where he thought fit, toned down some of the more ‘rapturous passages’ by using vocabulary more suited to ‘the common condition of human life’, and supplemented the text with illustrations of the life of Christ and a number of meditations and prayers of his own devising ‘for sick persons’. The resulting paraphrase was regularly republished in the next few decades, not only in London but in other cities as well, and it was this edition which had such an impact upon the young Wesley.

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3 STC: 23954.7–60/239461–8; [Thomas à Kempis], *The followinge of Christ*, tr. R. Whitford (1556), sig. Aiiv; other editions of Whitford’s translation were often published abroad under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts: Crane, ‘English Translations’, 79–80.

4 Crane, ‘English Translations’, 80–1; and Appendix 1 below.


6 Ibid., 87, 92–3, and Appendix 1 below. The nonjuror George Hickes and evangelical John Wesley also produced versions in the early eighteenth century.

7 ESTC; Appendix 1 below; and Crane, ‘English Translations’, p. 98 n. 32; Thomas à Kempis, *The Christian’s pattern*, revised by George Stanhope (1698), title-page, sigs. At++, and Z3`; A. C. Outler (ed.),
The influence of à Kempis was felt not simply in the numbers of copies of the different versions produced, but also in the fact that other authors, including churchmen as diverse as Lewis Bayly, Jeremy Taylor, and John Wesley, either cited the *Imitation* or used it in some other way in their own writings.8

The explanation for this popularity among many Protestants may in part be that Thomas à Kempis was no ordinary Catholic. His criticisms of scholastic learning and of relics and pilgrimages, his stress on studying the Bible or hearing it read and the regular citation of scriptures in his own work, and his comments about the small number of professing Christians that love Christ unfeignedly, and the need for grace in doing good works, may have found a ready audience among Protestants, just as his accessible style of writing may have contributed to the wide appeal of this work. More distinctively medieval at first sight were à Kempis’s central preoccupations with the transience of worldly pleasures, the need to mortify carnal and inordinate affections, the importance of an inner life of abasement, patience, humility, and purity of mind, imitating the actions of Christ by rejecting the vanities of this world, and practising self-discipline and self-denial. But a number of these almost certainly struck a chord with more rigorous Protestants too, whether ‘godly’ or ‘High Church’.9

Certainly if we compare the two versions that initially sold best, those of Whitford and Rogers, we find fewer differences than might be imagined. Rogers omitted all mention of monks, hermits, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints, though in his second prefatory epistle he admitted to having left out only four sentences which might have upset the godly as ‘savouring of superstition’. He also scored fewer anti-Catholic points than the ‘godly’ Hake, though his own position is clear enough from the way in which he changed references to the pope to the ‘proud pope’, and substituted ‘godly’ for ‘religious’ (with its connotations of the religious life led by monks and friars), and ‘zealous’ for ‘devout’. Rogers was prepared to praise à Kempis for his regular use of the Bible and improved on Whitford by adding precise references to the scriptures cited in the original text, up to a dozen per page.10 The alterations in the version which effectively replaced Rogers’s in the second half of the seventeenth century were mostly minor ones,
though Worthington’s description of the Lord’s Supper as the ‘eucharistical sacrifice’ may have raised a few eyebrows in the 1650s.\(^{11}\)

It has been suggested that puritans and Calvinists stressed Christ’s atoning work, whereas Anglicans stressed the value of imitating every aspect of Christ’s example; but both Rogers and Worthington were far from being High-Churchmen, and yet were anxious to urge on their readers the imitation of Christ’s actions.\(^{12}\) Indeed, a number of those normally considered typical of the ‘godly’ or Calvinists, such as William Perkins, Henry Greenwood, John Preston, Edward Reynolds, and James Ussher, focused not merely on Christ’s sufferings but also his virtues, and urged their readers to frame their lives accordingly, both inwardly and outwardly.\(^{13}\)

Edmund Bunny was another admirer of Calvin—in 1576 he published an abridgement of the \textit{Institutes} in Latin—but he nevertheless found much to admire in a treatise by the Jesuit, Robert Parsons. In the epistle dedicatory of his modified version of Parsons’s \textit{First booke of the Christian exercise}, addressed to his patron Archbishop Grindal, Bunny explained that he had ‘purged’ the original text, and in the preface to the reader he gave some examples of this purging. ‘Penance’ had been replaced by ‘repentance’ (a key point in criticisms of the standard Vulgate translation of the Bible), and ‘merit’ by ‘good works’ or ‘the service of God’ (which avoided the implication that the doer of good deeds earned rewards for doing them).\(^{14}\) However, a recent line-by-line comparison of the original Catholic and the Protestant versions, by Brad Gregory, has concluded that Bunny kept closely to his intention of changing the original work as little as possible, so that on fewer than twenty occasions in a work of over 400 pages did Bunny delete eight or more lines (most of the significant alterations were smaller ones in order to avoid any hint of merit or salvation through works), and only infrequently did he challenge or alter the scriptural citations given by Parsons.\(^{15}\)

In his preface Bunny gave two reasons for commending a Jesuit’s work: it stemmed from ‘our greatest adversaries’, and so reading it might help to remove the sources of contention in the church; and well-disposed minds would benefit as much as good Catholics from the great vigour and detail with which Parsons (in the opening section) urged on his readers the truth of Chris-

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\(^{11}\) Crane, ‘English Translations’, 89, 92–3.

\(^{12}\) For an explicit statement of this, see Thomas à Kempis, \textit{Of the imitation of Christ}, tr. T. Rogers (1596), sigs. a3r–7v.

\(^{13}\) These will be discussed later in this chapter. For the view (based on a different sample) that puritans did not urge the imitation of Christ as much as Anglicans, see J. Sears McGee, ‘Conversion and the Imitation of Christ in Anglican and Puritan Writing’, \textit{Journal of British Studies}, 15 (1976), 21–39; but cf. n. 69 below.

\(^{14}\) E. Bunny, \textit{A booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to resolution . . . by R.P. (1585)}, sig. A6r.

tianity and the necessity of contemplating their sinful state, leaving the vanities of this world, and serving God, and then (in the next section) described the impediments to a resolution to lead a better life and the means of overcoming them. What we have, in fact, is another clear example of what was common to both Counter-Reformation Christianity and Protestantism: the desire that believers should be not merely nominal but real Christians, whose souls experienced God and whose beliefs dictated their every thought and action.16

Who actually read Bunny’s work is less clear: its size together with the use of roman type from the very start suggests that it was not aimed at absolute beginners, or those with limited reading skills. But we have explicit testimonies to its potential impact. The London-based dramatist and moralizing pamphleteer, Robert Greene, attributed his own death-bed conversion from his feckless, drunken ways to a reading of Bunny’s ‘book of Resolution’.17 And it was ‘an old torn’ copy of the same which had come into the possession of a ‘poor day-labourer’ who lent it to Richard Baxter’s father that helped to convert the fifteen-year-old Baxter. Aware from hearing sermons and reading other books that he should love and honour God, Baxter later said that his heart had not been touched until he read Bunny, and it pleased God to awaken my soul, and show me the folly of sinning, and the misery of the wicked, and the unexpressible weight of things eternal and the necessity of resolving on a holy life, more than I was ever acquainted with before. The same things which I knew before came now in another manner, with light, and sense and seriousness to my heart.

And as a youth Edmund Calamy was also ‘awakened’ by reading Bunny’s work.18

From the 1580s other emphases were beginning to emerge in some English authors’ account of the life of faith, but before we turn to these let us consider two works dating from the early 1600s in the older tradition: Christopher Sutton’s *Disce vivere: learne to live* (1602), and Thomas Tymme’s *A silver watch-bell* (1605). Sutton’s sermons were admired by James I who secured him promotion in the church, but he is known today mainly for the three works he published between 1600 and 1602: a treatise on godly dying which will be mentioned later, a pre-communion treatise already mentioned in Chapter 5, and *Learne to live*.19 These works were all relatively demanding: long, peppered

19 See Appendix 1 for further details, and above, Ch. 5.xvii, and below, Ch. 6.xii; and *DNB*. 
with citations from the scriptures and the Fathers, with many Greek and Latin quotations left in the original language. On the other hand they all proved popular: all were published in duodecimo (where the à Kempis and Parsons-Bunny editions, and works like Dod and Cleaver’s treatise on the Decalogue, were in octavo or quarto); some editions were published in black letter; and the central message of *Disce vivere* was simple and direct: all Christians should meditate on every aspect of the life of Christ (described in detail by Sutton) and keep it constantly before their eyes as an example of how they should live. This could be held up as an example of a semi-Pelagian tendency in Anglicanism—to urge the imitation of Christ as a means to salvation—or the charge that Anglicans held salvation to be straightforward or a matter of will rather than of grace, if it were not for Sutton’s condemnation of those who have the name of Christian but think little of what Christ had done for them and his reference to those who suffered for Christ passing from ‘the state of grace to the state of glory’. In his exhortations to his readers to be like Christ in humility and self-denial, holding popularity in low esteem, working hard, helping the weak, and taking up the cross of suffering as Christ had done for them, Sutton was clearly writing in the same tradition as Rogers and Bunny, and beyond them à Kempis and Parsons.

The same may be said of Thomas Tymme, whose work was designed ‘to inform men generally on the way of religion and goodness’ through chapters on the shortness of human life, judgement day, the torments of hell, the need for repentance without delay, how to obtain remission of sin, and the glory and felicity that God’s children would enjoy in heaven. Written in simple language, at first printed in black-letter type, and shorter than most of the ‘life of faith’ manuals of the period, it proved popular enough to require reprinting more than twenty times between 1605 and the late 1650s. Tymme was not only a parish priest but also a translator of a variety of works including historical and scientific ones as well as works by Augustine and Calvin. In some ways, *A silver watch-bell* looks to be a ‘godly’ or Calvinist work. Its twelve chapters were supposed to represent twelve strokes on a bell to warn the ‘profligate worldling’ and ‘careless liver’ of the dangers of ‘security’ or over-confidence among those professing the faith, and the urgency of the need to repent if they were to avoid hellfire and enjoy the felicities of heaven. There was a stress in chapter 5 on the small number who will be saved, while the majority have a good time, and a grateful acknowledgement of the ending of ‘popish tyranny’ in England many years before. But there are a number of features which fit in less well with this description. More than once Tymme addressed those ‘that have a desire to be saved’; he drew a clear connection between

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20 C. Sutton, *Disce vivere: learne to live* (1617), title-page and passim. The [1604?] and 1611 editions were in black letter, the 1608, 1617, and 1634 in roman.
21 Sutton, *Disce vivere*, title-page, 325–6, and passim; Sutton’s work was taken up by Newman and the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century: *DNB*. 
leading a Christian life and obtaining salvation, and wrote that imitating Christ is the true perfection of a Christian man; he also wrote of the benefits of the sacraments in unusually strong and positive terms. It may have been his desire to help ‘weak Christians’ that led him to use such language, but again it seems nearer the position of Parsons and à Kempis or (as we shall see later) Bayly than that of Beza and Perkins.

ii. Calvinist Works on the Life of Faith

In the last two decades of the sixteenth century, we find a number of treatises being published on the inner life of faith which have a clear Calvinist character, and often high Calvinist at that, reflecting the ideas of those like Beza, Ursinus, and Perkins who took the consequences of Calvin’s double predestinarian doctrine further than the master of Geneva himself had done. It has often been suggested in recent years that Calvinist authors dominated the religious publications of the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, and we are here approaching a corner of the market of which this might reasonably be said. However, these works do need to be viewed in context: if put alongside the other treatises and the devotional works described in this chapter and the last, or the other works in our sample to be examined later, they represent a series of branches on one particular tree, and that tree was just one in a whole thicket of publications. Moreover, on the whole these predestinarian works did not sell as well as other treatises in the sample in terms of repeat editions, and they are more characteristic of the period from the 1590s to the 1650s than the start or end of our period of study.

Information on the teaching of Calvin and Beza, and on the federal theology which represented another area in which second-generation Calvinists moved further than Calvin, was available in some treatises and catechetical works that sold moderately well. But in practice, as noted in Chapter 4, there are relatively few works in our sample which contained a complete or extensive treatment of either the twin decrees or the ordo salutis. There is, of

22 DNB; and STC: 24415–20; T. Tymme, A silver watch-bell (1619), title-page, sig. A6r and passim.
23 For this trend, see the works cited in Green, Christian’s ABC, chs. 7–8, esp. pp. 353–5, 387–90, and 403–11.
25 See above, pp. 222–3; and below, Appendix 1, s.v. T. Rogers (1607), and W. Perkins (Exposition, 1595). For sales of English editions of the Heidelberg Catechism and Ursinus’s exposition of it, for the
course, William Perkins’s *A golden chaine* which (in the English translation by Robert Hill from the Latin original) was not a very long work in itself and was enhanced by the famous table in which the reader could trace his fate through the various stages of election or reprobation. But it was not a cheap work because it was published mainly in folio editions which were usually sold and bound with other treatises; and even when it was turned into a much shorter dialogue by Hill, it passed through only two editions, in 1612 and 1621. Aspects of the same subject were tackled by other authors: Jean de L’Espine’s treatise on justification and sanctification and how to obtain righteousness was translated from French into English by a leading puritan, John Field, in the late 1570s; a Scottish divine with English connections, William Cowper, devoted a good deal of his exposition of chapter 8 of the Epistle to the Romans, in *Heaven opened* (1609), to explaining the path the elect would follow; and in 1618 Timothy Rogers, a minister in Essex, tackled conversion, justification, adoption, sanctification, and repentance at the start of a work which is not a treatise as such, but a pretended dialogue between a minister and a convert.

Apart from this dialogue (which sold better than the other works cited so far), the shortest and plainest account was provided by a General Baptist, Henry Haggar, in 1652: *The order of causes, of Gods fore-knowledge, election and predestination and of mans salvation or damnation* was written, he said, so that ‘even the meanest capacity amongst rational men may understand it’ and be led out of the labyrinth of the predestinarian debate in which many had become lost. By the time that Elisha Coles published his long treatise on predestination and the *ordo salutis* in *A practical discourse of God’s sovereignty* in 1673, he was on the defensive: he found ‘a general agreement against our doctrine of election’ which in succeeding editions he defended with increasing heat against its critics.

However, although Calvinist teaching on salvation was not presented point by point in many of the works in our sample, it undeniably gave a very distinctive colouring to a significant number of treatises in it whose authors tackled the life of faith either in broad terms or from a particular angle. The consequences for the life of faith of the high Calvinist stress on the total depravity of man, election being irrespective of human merit, Christ having

Westminster Catechisms, and Alexander Grosse’s *Fiery pillar*, see Green, *Christian’s ABC*, chs. 7–8, and Appendix 1.

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26 The original work, *Armilla aurea*, was published three times; the translation into English appeared in octavo or quarto in the early 1590s, but usually in folio thereafter, as part of his collected works: STC 19655–63 and 19646–51; for the dialogue version, see STC 19664–64–5.

27 See Appendix 1 s.v. L’Espine; Cowper (1609); and T. Rogers (1618).


29 [Elisha Coles] (the elder), *A practical discourse of God’s sovereignty* (1678), sig. A7; and note the additions to the preface from the first edition.
made a limited atonement (in effect), and the existence of different kinds of faith of which only one was saving, were considerable for those who were exposed to such teaching and grasped it thoroughly. It led to an insistence on the heart being not merely bruised but broken and reduced to what Perkins once called 'a holy desperation'. It was the depth of this desperation and the evolution of new means of curing it—by providing detailed accounts of how to distinguish between different types of faith and between true believers and 'drowsy professors', lists of the 'marks' of those whose names were written in the Book of Life, and details of the techniques of introspective analysis which would help the elect to tell if they were on the right road to heaven—which help to distinguish 'godly' writing from other English Protestants' work. Providing assurance of election was a particular hallmark of high Calvinism in England: from the 1590s to the 1630s, William Perkins, Richard Rogers, Richard Greenham, Robert Bolton, Ezekiel Culverwell, and Daniel and Jeremiah Dyke published a shoal of works particularly concerned with the problem of 'how to tell' if one was displaying the marks of the elect, if one's heart was truly broken or deceiving one, if one was walking like a godly man, and so on.

The difference of emphasis from official teaching here can be seen if we look at the teaching of the formularies written in the Edwardian and early Elizabethan periods, such as the Book of Common Prayer, short catechism, and homilies. There the elect were equated simply with those who believed, as God knew they would, so that membership of the elect was not crucial to the account of the life of faith contained therein. Those same formularies, together with Catholic works like à Kempis’s and Parson’s, Lutheran works such as Werdmueller’s *A spiritual and most precious pearl*, most of the devotional works mentioned in Chapter 5 above, handbooks such as George Herbert’s *Priest to the temple*, and the works of conformist divines from Andrewes and Donne through Sanderson and Hammond to Taylor, South, and Sharp, all demanded that the faithful look inside themselves in order to ‘acknowledge and confess’ their ‘manifold sins and wickedness’, and ensure that they had a ‘lively faith’ and a ‘pure heart’, were ‘truly and earnestly’ repentant for their sins and ‘unfeignedly’ believed in the holy Gospel. But they did not lay it down as a norm that the experience of sorrow for sin would be traumatic, or...
that those who were truly repentant could be distinguished readily from those who were not by certain infallible signs; and for assurance of salvation they urged the faithful to look to Christ rather than into their own hearts.\textsuperscript{32}

However, when we turn to Jean de L’Espine’s \textit{Excellent treatise of Christian righteousness} (translated from the French by Field in 1577), we find an early example of the characteristic Calvinist queries (can the elect lose their faith? how can we know if Christ dwells in us or not?) and the equally typical answers (not entirely, and by the remedies listed below by the author). And when we look at the treatise by Jean Taffin, \textit{Of the markes of the children of God} (1590), which Anne Prowse translated from the French and dedicated to the countess of Warwick in 1590, we find the typically high Calvinist description of the outward and inner marks of the children of God, and an account of how all members of the church of Christ should apply these marks to themselves to gain assurance of adoption and salvation.\textsuperscript{33} William Perkins also addressed these ideas on various occasions, for example, in \textit{A treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or in the estate of grace} (1588). Here he explained that those who were merely ‘temporary professors’, ‘carnal gospellers’, ‘drowsy Protestants’ indistinguishable from ‘papists’, could have some knowledge and feeling of guilt, and even assent to God’s will, but that true Christians could go far beyond reprobates in the practice of the Christian religion in this life. He also explained how the elect could apply the Word of God to their consciences and prove their election, for example by using an exercise in logic known as a practical syllogism, and offered comfort for those who had been called but whose consciences were troubling them.\textsuperscript{34} In another work, \textit{A case of conscience, the greatest that ever was: how a man may know whether he be the childe of God or no}, Perkins used a dialogue format to explain that ‘they who are touched by the Spirit . . . are much troubled with fear, that they are not God’s children . . . and are not quiet till they find some resolution’ about their ‘estate’, which he duly offered to help them discover. But in this case the work did not sell well enough to qualify for our sample in its own right.\textsuperscript{35}

The first part of \textit{The true watch, and rule of life} (1606), which is in the sample and was written by John Brinsley, a minister and teacher in Leicestershire, was also ‘a direction for the examination of our spiritual estate’, published (he said) because many were in doubt if they were in God’s favour or not, and, even worse, ‘many of our simple seduced brethren’ were resisting the godly preachers’ call to examine and try their ways, because they found it divisive.

\textsuperscript{32} The phrases are from the Book of Common Prayer: see F. E. Brightman, \textit{The English Rite} (2 vols., 1921), i. 131, 133, 156, 157, ii. 679–83; the works named are all listed in Appendix 1. On the experience of conversion and looking to Christ, see also Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 313, 320–2, 372, 389, 391–4.

\textsuperscript{33} J. de L’Espine, \textit{An excellent treatise of Christian righteousness} (1578), 98–105; J. Taffin, \textit{Of the markes of the children of God} (1590), passim.

\textsuperscript{34} W. Perkins, \textit{A treatise tending unto a declaration} (1595), sigs. A3–4v; pp. 15, 166, and passim.

\textsuperscript{35} W. Perkins, \textit{A case of conscience} (1592), sigs. A2–3; and passim.
and unsettling. Brinsley’s text plunges straight into the necessity of constant self-examination and advice on ‘how to try our estate’ to the best advantage, using prayer, meditation, and the ‘glass of the Law’ (the Decalogue) and ‘the glass of the Gospel’ (the Apostles’ Creed). The sermons which were the basis of Robert Bolton’s *Discourse about the state of true happinesse* (1611) had been given in Oxford and at Paul’s Cross in London, and at first he praised the ‘most judicious and intelligent auditory’ at those sermons. But then he warned that those who were ‘of deepest understanding are naturally aptest, and strongestest tempted, to mistake and undervalue the mystery of godliness, and to deceive their own souls’. Had their hearts been ‘broken and bruised’, ‘pierced and purged’, and had they been filled with ‘fearful terrors’? He then informed them how to tell if they had true, saving faith, and described the signs of ‘the formal hypocrite’ who only obeyed God’s will outwardly; and he attacked the ‘false prophets’ among the clergy who were too lenient on men’s consciences. In a later publication, *Some generall directions for a comfortable walking with God* (1625), based on lectures given at Kettering in Northants, Bolton described how he had been converted by the preaching of the Word which he felt ‘first as an hammer to my heart’, which ‘broke it into pieces’, and then ‘a terrible cutting piercing power’ which ‘struck a shaking and trembling into the very centre of my soul’. His *Directions* were built around Gen. 6: 8–9 (Noah finding grace with God and as a just man walking with God) and were intended to show how one could tell a godly man and walk like him.

Similar contempt for ‘rich worldlings’, ‘civil justiciaries’, ‘loose libertines’, or ‘temporary believers’ who deceived themselves into thinking they were real Christians, and for those unregenerates who said they ‘believe in Christ as well as the best’ and hoped to be saved ‘for their good lives and good meanings’, can be found in *The mystery of selfe-deceiving* (1614) by Daniel Dyke, one of a clan of dissenting clergy, and in *The new birth, or a treatise of regeneration* (1618) by William Whately, the ‘roaring boy of Banbury’, together with detailed advice to those who had been awakened on how to prove they were among the elect, uncomfortable though that process might be. About the same time John Hart used a dialogue between a minister and a scholar to explain how one could tell if one was elect, and in what he called a ‘tractate’ the ‘godly’ Henry Greenwood told his readers that ‘the only course the Lord our God

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* R. Bolton, *Some generall directions for a comfortable walking with God* (1625), 308–9, and *passim*.
* For further details of Hart’s *Burning bush not consumed*, see Appendix 1.
doth take in the effectual calling and converting of such whose name are written in the Book of Life, is this: he humbleth before he exalteth.\(^4\)

By the 1620s accounts of the life of faith were amassing mountains of detail on the types and degrees of faith, the signs of faith, and how to live by faith. Most of the works described in previous paragraphs were quite long, at least 100 pages and often 200 or more: even Greenwood’s ‘tractate’ was usually sold as part of a collection of his works. But in works by ‘godly’ clergy, such as Richard Rogers’s *Seven treatises* (1602), Ezekiel Culverwell’s *A treatise of faith* (1623), John Rogers’s *The doctrine of faith* (1626), and (outside the sample) John Ball’s *A treatise of faith* (1631), we find broadly based accounts of the life of faith of which the smallest was over 440 pages of octavo and the largest over 600 pages of folio.\(^4^2\)

Richard Rogers’s work had appeared in the same year as Christopher Sutton’s *Disce vivere*, and at first sight has many parallels with earlier, broadly based treatises of that kind. It showed ‘true Christians’, those who ‘heartily desire’ such happiness, how they might ‘learn to lead a godly and comfortable life every day, notwithstanding their tribulations’; it stressed the need for knowledge of redemption, and for cleansing the heart and keeping it pure; and two of the seven treatises drift into the godly living genre by urging the faithful to use the means provided such as preaching and sacraments, and suggesting religious exercises for each stage of the day from dawn to dusk. But there are also differences from earlier works. This work, we are told, was designed to combat ‘popish’ claims that ‘we have nothing for the daily direction of a Christian’, by providing a clearly Protestant alternative to the works of Thomas à Kempis and Parsons, which were criticized by name for teaching the Law but not the Gospel.\(^4^3\) Secondly, it was written for those ‘who have tasted how good the Lord is’, rather than to convert the unconverted.\(^4^4\) Thirdly, the author raised difficulties of a type which few previous authors had mentioned: what if the minister does not teach at all, or but seldom or obscurely, or does not catechize?\(^4^5\) Fourthly, there was an insistence on the penitent Christian being completely broken-hearted by his sense of misery for his sins and on true Christians breaking all fellowship with those who were not, and there is advice on how to tell true believers from non-believers and coping with affliction.\(^4^6\) The influence of Rogers’s work has been traced in the lives of generations of puritan laymen, but six editions in twenty-eight years suggests that Rogers’s *Seven treatises* was a steady seller rather than a runaway

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\(^4^1\) H. Greenwood, *The jaylers jayle-delivery* (1624), 1.

\(^4^2\) See Appendix 1, for all except J. Ball, *A treatise of faith* (1631); despite their length the works by Culverwell and Ball were said on their title-pages to be for the ‘weak’ or the ‘weakest’ Christians.

\(^4^3\) R. Rogers, *Seven treatises* (1605), title-page, sigs. A6\(^v\)”, and passim.

\(^4^4\) Ibid., sigs. A5\(^r\), B2\(^r\), B3\(^r\); those who were in any doubt about their election were recommended suitable works to read to gain assurance.

\(^4^5\) Ibid., pp. 28–31.

\(^4^6\) See the first, fourth, and sixth treatises.
best-seller. Perhaps some readers were deterred by its size—over 600 pages of folio—or put off by his suggestion that they should read first his summaries of the seven treatises (at the start), then the marginal notes in the chapters of the text, and only when those were understood the text itself. Even when a fellow puritan minister, Stephen Egerton, abridged the work down to 600 pages of a narrow column duodecimo, for his own use and then ‘for the benefit of such as either want leisure to read or means to provide larger volumes’, it sold only another five editions between 1618 and 1635.\(^{47}\)

Equally, in his *Treatise of faith* (first surviving edition 1623), intended to provide ‘the weakest sorts of Christians’ with ‘heads’ of doctrines drawn from the scriptures to apply to themselves, Ezekiel Culverwell was close to Richard Rogers’s and other high Calvinist works in the concern to show how one can tell true faith from the ‘bastard fruit’ of non-saving faith, how to apply God’s promises at each stage of the *ordo salutis*, and how to cope with afflictions. The original was a very long work, and Culverwell was thoughtful enough to provide a short summary entitled ‘The way to a blessed estate in this life’ which was sometimes published separately, and even a summary of that in questions and answers.\(^{48}\) With John Rogers’s long treatise on *The doctrine of faith* (1626), the sum of some weekday lectures on the nature of faith, we return to the degrees and signs of faith and how to overcome hindrances to a life of faith, who wrought it in us and how;\(^{49}\) and in the long preface to the equally long *Christians daily walke in holy securitie and peace* (1627) by the future presbyterian, Henry Scudder, its editor, John Davenport, listed a number of the works already described here, but said he was publishing anyway on the principle that one cannot teach too often what has not been sufficiently learned, and that one work could confirm the truth of another. Scudder’s emphasis on prayer, meditation, fasting, and reading as part of daily life was characteristic of many works of Catholic origin and the later godly living manual; but the stress on regular self-examination for signs of faith and penitence, the patient bearing of afflictions which might include ridicule and social ostracism by the ungodly, and the removing of fears of not being among the elect—were more typical of the Calvinist view of the life of faith.\(^{50}\) Of *Precepts for Christian practice* (first surviving edition 1645) by Edward Reyner, a protégé of the ‘godly’ Warwick family and partial conformist, it may be said that it started off as a much shorter guide than earlier works, but in subsequent editions it grew to a far larger work, listing ten duties which a ‘new creature’, a true believer, should constantly follow. Some of these duties were temporal, but most were spiritual, and adopted the characteristic ‘active’ vocabulary of the Calvinists: ‘labour after’ union with Christ,

\(^{47}\) Below, Appendix 1; *History of the Book in Britain IV*, ch. 2, pt. 1; for the abridgement, *The practice of Christianitie*, see Appendix 1 s.v. Rogers.

\(^{48}\) *STC* 6113.5–18, 6118.2–118.8, and Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 630–1.

\(^{49}\) J. Rogers, *The doctrine of faith* (1640), ‘To the reader’, and passim.

\(^{50}\) H. Scudder, *The Christians daily walke in holy securitie and peace* (1628), sigs. A11+*, and passim.
‘get’ your heart strongly fixed on God, ‘reject’ the world, ‘make’ your election and calling sure, ‘perform’, ‘fortify’, ‘sanctify’, and so on.\(^51\)

At this point we also find in our sample some works of above average length by ‘godly’ clergy that tackled a narrower theme: the temptations and afflictions which the elect could expect to face. Thomas Hooker’s *The souls preparation for Christ* (1632) was a long treatise on contrition as part of the process of conversion; Richard Capel’s *Tentations* (1633) described the nature and danger of temptations and then proceeded to provide large numbers of rules on how to resist them; while Thomas Goodwin’s *A child of light* (which was based on sermons given about 1628 and given an imprimatur, though by the time of actual publication in 1636 Goodwin was a nonconformist) was sub-titled ‘a treatise shewing the causes by which, the cases whereon, the ends for which God leaves his children to distress of conscience, together with directions how to walk, so as to come forth of such a condition’. Goodwin was sufficiently aware that ‘weaker readers’ might find the ‘more speculative, and doctrinal’ portions ‘craggy’ and ‘tedious’, and urged them to move onto the main body of the text in which the soul (the child of light) has to face many terrors at the hands of Satan during its pilgrimage through the dark world.\(^52\)

New records for length were set by William Gurnall, a Suffolk minister and protégé of Sir Symonds D’Ewes, in the three volumes of his *The Christian in compleat armour*, which he began to publish in 1655. In 1614 William Gouge had taken over 500 pages to expound Ephesians 6:10–20, but Gurnall took over 2,000 pages to tease every last military simile and metaphor out of the same passage in his account of ‘the saints’ war against the devil’.\(^53\) The work cost 16 shillings bound, and like Gouge’s armoured car, Gurnall’s tank only just made it to the starting line of our sample.

While all of these works sold moderately well, and some better than that, none reached the peak of sales of the works published by Thomas Rogers and Edmund Bunny described above, or that of Bayly’s best-selling godly living manual which will be discussed later in this chapter. Moreover, these Calvinist works were often long and also relatively conservative in layout and appearance, and if one were to attempt a profile of a typical reader, it would be someone with an unusual degree of time and motivation as well as a fairly deep pocket.

### iii. Shifts in Teaching on Spirituality in the Seventeenth Century

‘Godly’ and dissenting authors like Greenham and Perkins were famous in their own circles for their ‘practical’ divinity and their skills in tending

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\(^{52}\) For further details of the first two see Appendix 1; T. Goodwin, *A child of light* (1636), title-page, ‘To the reader’, and *passim*.

\(^{53}\) W. Gurnall, *The Christian in compleat armour* (1655), title-page, and *passim*; for William Gouge’s *Panoplia* see Appendix 1.
wounded consciences. Even Perkins, who is usually cited for his hard-line double predestinarianism, had a softer, more considerate side when he was offering a measure of comfort to the regenerate. But by the 1620s and 1630s, if not earlier, so great had become the stress in many high Calvinist works on self-examination for signs of election, spiritual turmoil as a sign of grace, and on other related themes not so well represented in the sample (such as the need to prepare for conversion), that there was a serious risk of creating despair among those who were genuinely sorry for their sins, and anxious to believe, but who had not yet experienced the kind of soul-searing experience that Bolton, Goodwin, and others had done. Those who had read Bolton’s account of his own conversion but not experienced something similar might well fear that they were among those worldlings gulled by Satan into thinking that they had saving faith when in truth they had only ‘temporary’ or ‘historic’ faith. If such spiritual tension was acute enough, or allied to social, economic or other pressures, whether in the family or wider community, there was a real possibility of religious despair and even suicide, as contemporaries and some recent studies have indicated.

The pastoral response among moderate ‘godly’ preachers like John Preston and Richard Sibbes seems to have been to spend less time awakening sinners to the enormity of their crimes and providing endless lists of ‘marks’ of election, and to devote more space to reassuring ‘weak’ Christians that they would not be pushed beyond the limits of what was humanly possible, and that whatever their problems there were means of overcoming them, above all the help of Christ and the Holy Spirit. While clergy continued to fix a hard, uncompromising stare on those unregenerates who showed no inclination to turn from their evil ways, they spent more time assuring the regenerate that the smallest spark or even just the desire for faith might be a sign of election, and reminding those in affliction of the great happiness that awaited the elect in heaven.

The high tide of the Calvinist stress on humiliation and self-analysis for assurance began to turn in other ways. Two other trends in the early seventeenth century which will need to be examined shortly are the greater weight attached to thinking about Christ as part of the life of faith, and the simpler message about repentance, especially at the lower levels of publishing. The reaction against high Calvinism was taken a stage further by Richard Baxter...
in the 1650s. Baxter regularly praised earlier ‘practical’ authors such as Perkins and Bolton, and especially Preston and Sibbes; but by the mid-century concern about spiritual desperation had been joined by a second fear: that an uncompromising predestinarianism and a reliance on the testimonies of the Spirit in the individual soul could lead to antinomianism and sectarianism, which Baxter had witnessed at first hand in the parliamentarian army. As a result, he felt the need to soften predestinarian teaching, put greater stress on the role of reason in assessing the Gospel promises, and treat individuals as rational creatures who had (with divine help) some kind of choice to make, though for his pains he was dubbed an ‘Arminian’ by those he left behind.57 As we will see later in this chapter, the 1650s also saw the first appearance of some new godly living manuals with a different perspective to earlier ones by ‘godly’ authors like Becon, Dod, and Cleaver, but which would prove extremely popular in the later seventeenth century. Let us take a closer look at some of these points in turn.

iv. The Need for Reassurance

This can be found as early as the 1590s, in the later part of Jean Taffin’s *Markes*, where the children of God were told they could be assured of their salvation even if the marks of their election were ‘but small and weak’,58 and some of Perkins’s works, such as the first book in *The whole treatise of the cases of conscience* and the much shorter *Graine of mustard seede* (1597), where he explained that ‘the least measure of grace that is or can be effectual to salvation’ in the elect was as small as a mustard seed, and that from the instant one of the elect was called he was a child of God and had the promise of eternal life, even though at that stage he was still more carnal than spiritual.59 Indeed, at times he suggested that the ‘constant and earnest desire’ to be reconciled to God was equivalent to that reconciliation, a feeling of grief at the lack of grace was equivalent to the grace itself, and that though a Christian be largely ignorant of religion, as long as he or she takes care to increase in knowledge and practice what he knows, he is accepted by God as a true believer—a combination of sentiments that would probably have been quite acceptable to Arminius,


59 For examples of ‘What if?’ questions, and reassuring replies, see W. Perkins, *The whole treatise of the cases of conscience* (1608), sigs. qqq and pp. 56–7 (and below, pp. 341–6); id., *A graine of mustard seede* (1621), title-page, and passim; and cf. id., *A treatise tending unto a declaration*, 136–46, and *Golden chaine*, passim.
Perkins’s arch enemy at the level of advanced theological debate. At much the same date the moderate puritan Richard Greenham also wrote a series of moderately short ‘grave counsels’ and ‘godly treatises’ to comfort all who were afflicted in conscience, though these were available most readily only in the collected works of that author.

Market forces are evident in the preface to the third edition of the ‘godly’ Robert Linaker’s *Comfortable treatise for such as are afflicted in conscience* (which also first appeared in the 1590s), where he observed that, although Greenham and Perkins had tackled the subject, his own ‘little volume’ (240 duodecimo pages) had been requested by various ‘poor souls’ who had already received some comfort from it, and that he had been pressed a number of times by his publisher to issue a revised edition. Another author to have been importuned, in this case by ‘many hearers’ and others, to publish his medium-sized ‘essay concerning the assurance of God’s love, and man’s salvation’ was another puritan divine, Nicholas Byfield, in 1617.

But perhaps the most widely read source of reassurance was written by the widely admired moderate puritan, Richard Sibbes. His famous sermons on *The bruised reede, and smoaking flax* were published in 1630 ‘at the desire, and for the good of weaker Christians’, who were assured that although bruising was necessary before and after conversion, Christ would not bend the bruised reed beyond its breaking point. ‘Christ is set out here as a mild saviour to weak ones’, who may ‘come boldly to the throne of grace’. ‘Go to Christ, though trembling’, urged Sibbes, and like the poor woman ‘if we can but touch the hem of his garment, we shall be healed’. Similarly in his equally popular *The soules conflict with it selfe* (on David’s ‘wrestling with God’), Sibbes urged the faithful who were troubled by Satan to seek spiritual peace actively by looking to God for assurance of salvation: ‘God is the centre and resting-place of the soul’.

Two innovative titles from the same period are the anonymous *Heavens happiness* and a work variously entitled *A collection of certaine promises* and *The saints legacie* by A. F. (perhaps Anthony Fawkner or Farindon). Both of these sold an unusually high number of copies for this type of work (ten and thirteen editions respectively), and both had a distinctly more uplifting message than those stressing affliction or war with the devil. The first was only twenty-four pages long, published in black-letter type, and provided ‘a brief epitome of

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60 Perkins, *Graine of musterd seede*, 17–47.
62 R. Linaker, *A comfortable treatise for such as are afflicted in conscience* (1620), sig. A2v.
the blessed and happy estate of Gods saints in heaven’, the contemplation of which it was hoped would act as a provocation to seek that kingdom. The second was longer, but was described as a ‘little volume’ and a ‘pocket-book’, and consisted of a series of scripture texts encapsulating God’s promises to the elect, arranged under a series of headings for quick reference in different situations. Another innovative short work, consisting of just thirty-six duodecimo pages in black letter, was John Andrewes’s *The converted mans new birth* (1629), which was written in a ‘short and compendious method, briefly to be read, that it may be effectually practised’. It has some Calvinist hallmarks such as the references to ‘the spiritual battle between the regenerate man and Satan’ and the ‘mark’ by which to tell who was the child of God; but the work is also notable for the dearth of remarks about the reprobate and its generally positive tone. Andrewes is ‘describing the direct way to go to heaven’, and those who seek to have their souls saved, and labour to know their sin and see if they are the Lord’s, can be certain of their salvation. Taken together, these works—and others that did not qualify for the sample—confirm that a market for reassurance had come into being, while the shorter length and to some extent less austere message of some titles by the 1620s indicates that at least some authors, pushed on by publishers, were prepared to temper the wind to the shorn lamb to supply that market.

v. *Thinking of Christ as Saviour and Exemplar*

Having surveyed a large quantity of the literature produced by Tudor puritans, M. M. Knappen concluded that the Gospels did not appear to have attracted the puritans particularly compared to the rest of the New Testament and the whole of the Old, and that after the age of Hooper there was a ‘surprising lack of Christological thought’ and ‘the person of Christ figures very little in their literature’. The high Calvinists of later Elizabethan England risked being pulled further away from a Christocentric towards a theocentric position as a result of their increased emphasis on the divine decrees as deciding the fate of mankind (in the supralapsarian case before there was even need for a redeemer), and their decision to urge the faithful to look inside themselves for signs of assurance as well as, and in some cases even more than, to the objective promises of Christ in the Gospels.

Such a tendency was usually kept in check. In the first place, high Calvinists who expounded the Creed, either at some length or more briefly in a...
catechism, were not likely to forget the key role of Christ as both redeemer and mediator for his chosen people.\(^70\) Secondly, the move towards placing the life of faith in the context of the covenant of grace, which in some authors’ hands led to an even harder predestinarian line grafting the covenant of grace onto the decree of election, had an element of Christocentricity in that Christ was generally acknowledged as the mediator of that covenant between God and man. One explanation of this shift to federal theology among second-generation Calvinists is that the covenant of grace provided an ‘instrument for assurance’ to those worried whether they were elect; and in this context it is instructive that moderate Calvinists like Preston and Sibbes tended to pass over reprobation when discussing the covenants. If the ‘weak saints’ encountered new fears, for example, that they were not in the covenant of grace or could not fulfil some part of their covenant duty; they were told by Preston to ‘go to Christ’ for help, and ‘urge him with this, it is a part of his covenant, that he hath confirmed by oath, and must do it’.\(^71\) As we have seen in the discussion on pre-communion handbooks, the Lord’s Supper was also widely portrayed as an opportunity for the faithful to renew their covenant with God.

What is also revealing about the works that sold well enough to qualify for our sample is that a number of them put particular emphasis on the faithful not just thinking about what their saviour had done for them, but also trying to apply his many perfections to their own lives. In a short treatise entitled A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified (1596), Perkins focused on Christ’s sufferings, encouraged readers to meditate on the Passion, and at each stage urged them to frame their lives according to his, both inwardly and outwardly.\(^72\) In the second of the two treatises by Daniel Dyke that his brother published in 1616, there was a detailed account of the temptations that Christ had endured, and a list of the uses to which his defeat of Satan could be put.\(^73\) In a baptism sermon delivered in 1615 (on ‘the most blessed baptism . . . ever . . . solemnized’), Henry Greenwood urged his listeners and readers to open the doors of their hearts to Christ when he knocked at them; and in The blessedest birth that ever was (a Christmas day sermon preached in the Fleet prison in 1627) he described the greatness of the joy that the angel’s tidings had brought to all people that a saviour was born to them that day.\(^74\) Christ’s atoning work is here being presented as a source of inspiration to all hearers and readers, even if the author made a mental reservation that it was effective for the elect alone.

\(^{70}\) W. Perkins, An exposition of the symbole or creed of the apostles (1595); [J. Brinsley], The true watch (1615), 114–48; and Green, Christian’s ABC, chs. 7, 9; J. Preston, The new covenant (1630), 317–18.

\(^{71}\) Cited in Green, Christian’s ABC, 408, and cf. ibid., 405–9.

\(^{72}\) W. Perkins, A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified (1596), passim.

\(^{73}\) D. Dyke, Two treatises (1631), 203–358.

\(^{74}\) H. Greenwood, A joyfull tractate of the most blessed baptisme that ever was solemniz’d (1624), 42, and passim; id., The blessedest birth that ever was (in 1628 edition of Workes), passim.
Other ‘godly’ preachers went further. Among the themes in John Preston’s *The breast-plate of faith and love* (1630) were reasons why we should love Christ, and an account of the ‘ground and exercise of faith and love as they are set upon Christ their object, and as they are expressed in good works’. Another preacher at the Inns of Court at that time, Edward Reynolds, preached several sermons on the life of Christ, later published as the last of his *Three treatises* in 1631; and a few years later Archbishop James Ussher published his *Immanuel* which in sixty pages unfolded the mystery of how God became a child and a mediator between God and man, and how we can partake of a mystical union with a Christ who is priest, prophet, and king. There are also the interesting remarks in the preface of *The bruised reede, and smoaking flax* (by another Inn preacher), deploring the lack of space given in the current literature to the gracious nature and office of Christ, ‘the right conception of which is the spring of all service to and comfort from Christ’. Such an oversight was hardly true of the sermons by Lancelot Andrews published by order of Charles I in 1629: these included seventeen on the nativity, and twenty-one given on Good Friday and Easter day, in which Andrews urged listeners to look to Christ for a proper sense of the blessings of salvation that he had brought to mankind.

At the other edge of the ministry, Thomas Hooker, Nicholas Lockyer, and Thomas Goodwin also published works on the need to come to Christ. Hooker’s *The poor doubting Christian drawn to Christ* sold well both in the original full-length version of 1635 and the abridged form drawn up by a publisher in the 1660s; Lockyer’s ‘little tract’ on *Christs communion with his church militant* (1640) dealt with not just Christ’s coming to comfort his church, but also the importance of the individual devoting himself to Christ and achieving communion with him; while Goodwin’s *Christ set forth in his death, resurrection, ascension* (1642), encouraged readers to see Christ as the object of justifying faith, and to draw encouragement from his resurrection and intercession at God’s right hand on their behalf. Goodwin’s preface made it very clear that too many had become so ‘carried away’ with searching for ‘the rudiments of Christ in their own hearts’ that Christ himself ‘is scarce in all their thoughts’—a situation he tried hard to remedy in this work.

It was also not long before another Protestant version of Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitatio Christi* was brought out in English by the moderate John Worthington, who chose as his title *The Christians pattern*; and at much the same

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75 J. Preston, *The breast-plate of faith and love* (1634), title-page.
78 See above, pp. 200–2.
time two of the works attributed to John Hart and entitled *Christ's first sermon* and *Christ's last sermon* began their striking run of repeat editions. By then had also appeared Jeremy Taylor’s life of Christ, *The great exemplar* (1653), which combined a description of Christ’s life with ‘considerations’ and ‘prayers’ to help the faithful imitate it. The works cited in this paragraph and previous ones would suggest that any dichotomy between a puritan focus on Christ’s atoning work and an Anglican one on his moral example is far from clear-cut. They also demonstrate that from the early Stuart period, works by authors of all persuasions focusing on the gospel promises of salvation in Christ and on the need to be like Christ and in Christ were likely to achieve steady sales. Once again they sold better than the heavy artillery of high Calvinist treatises on the inner life of faith.

vi. The Call to Repentance

The way in which repentance was urged also to some extent changed in the first half of the seventeenth century, to judge from the works in our sample, though to see the differences in the way in which conversion and repentance were presented, it is necessary to take a step or two back. The call to repent was not a puritan preserve. There is hardly a section in the most frequently used parts of the Prayer Book services which does not urge confession of sins, or contain petitioner’s pleas for forgiveness or requests for help in avoiding further sin. These are also regular themes in the collects and the official short catechism of 1549, and the official ‘Homily on repentance’ also began: ‘There is nothing that the Holy Ghost doth so much labour in all the scriptures to beat into men’s heads, as repentance, amendment of life, and speedy returning unto the Lord God of hosts.’ (The role of the Holy Spirit should be noted, since non-Calvinists as much as Calvinists believed that turning was not possible without the help of the Holy Ghost.) The urgency of the need to repent was also stated clearly in Richard Wimbledon’s *Sermon no less fruteful than famous* [1540?], and in John Bradford’s long *Sermon of repentance* (1553), a good deal of which was devoted to warning readers of the difference between Protestant repentance and Catholic penance, contrition, confession, and satisfaction as well as describing ways in which men could be persuaded to sorrow for their sins. The urgency of the need to repent is also prominent in the Lenten sermons of Lancelot Andrewes and the treatises of men like Jeremy

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80 For these see above, Ch. 6.i, and below, Ch. 8.xiii.
81 Taylor’s work was composed in the early 1640s, but not published until 1653 (for further details see Appendix 1); and cf. McGee, ‘Conversion and the Imitation of Christ’, 27–31.
82 The most convenient place to examine the different texts of the Book of Common Prayer is still Brightman, *English Rite, Certaine sermons or homilies appointed to be read in churches* (1640), 256.
Taylor, who was a great opponent of deathbed repentance.\textsuperscript{84} Like Augustine before them, Luther and other non-Calvinist reformers felt that turning to God was of crucial importance, but did not separate the process of turning to God from the sense of penitence for sin that properly accompanied that move. Nor did they devote much space to the precise moment or actual process of turning, since they tended to see repentance not as a once-and-for-all turning, but as either the first time a sinner turned to God, or more commonly as a renewed turning to God after renewed sin; and in both these cases what was important was the life of faith and new obedience that followed rather than the experience of turning.\textsuperscript{85}

However, if one looks at some works by English Calvinists published from the 1580s to the 1610s, one finds not only a tendency to separate the moment at which the elect were effectually called from the process of repentance, but also a greater emphasis on the feelings experienced and the changes associated with these events. Effectual calling was the first stage of the \textit{ordo salutis}, and was for the elect alone; and when the grace that would enable them to turn to God was delivered, it was irresistible and indefectible—there was no turning back. Repentance, on the other hand, was part of sanctification, a later stage of the \textit{ordo}, and discussions of it tended to become longer with detailed accounts of the obstacles in the way of proper repentance, and the need for introspection to detect the deep remorse and other marks that distinguished true from half-hearted repentance. Calling and repentance were not necessarily treated separately, and when strict Calvinist preachers warned their congregations of Judgement Day and urged them to turn to God and repent, they were not necessarily expecting a road-to-Damascus, bolt-from-the-blue conversion, but looking to achieve different things with different groups. The reprobate would be shown why they merited punishment; the as yet unregenerate would have their hearts bruised and humbled in preparation for effectual calling; and those already in receipt of grace would be reminded of the risks of backsliding and the need to carry on the process of sanctification by putting off the old and putting on the new.\textsuperscript{86}

Thus in the extremely popular \textit{A sermon of repentance}, by the ‘godly’ Essex minister, Arthur Dent, which sold nearly forty editions between 1582 and 1642, one finds the same thrust as in the official homily on the need for repentance, but with some new emphases: the majority of people had only ‘the bare title and naked name of repentance’; true repentance was so difficult and mysterious that few could come to grips with it; and there were many different qualities and effects of repentance, and hindrances to it.\textsuperscript{87} In another very

\textsuperscript{84} See above, pp. 200–1, and below, pp. 364–5.
\textsuperscript{87} A. Dent, \textit{A sermon of repentance} (1583), sig. A8 and passim.
popular work, by the ‘godly’ Samuel Smith, it was stressed that those whose names were not written in the Book of Life would be thrown into eternal flames at *The great assize* on Judgement Day, which was imminent. But Smith also took the opportunity to give an extensive treatment of his views on predestination and try to provide assurance for the elect.\(^{88}\) And in *A three-fold resolution, verie necessarie to salvation* (1603), John Denison, a preacher and teacher in Reading, devoted 430 pages to describing the vanity of all earthly things, and the horrors of hell to which they could lead, before turning to 140 pages on the felicity of heaven that awaited those prepared to work true repentance in themselves.\(^{89}\)

There were shorter works containing calls to repentance, such as ‘Silvertongued’ Smith’s *The trumpet of the soule, sounding to judgement* (1591), William Perkins’s *Exhortation to repentance* (1605), and Henry Greenwood’s *A treatise of the great and generall day of judgement* (1606), in all of which there was less space for stress on the technicalities of effectual calling, the obstacles to repentance, or the techniques of introspection by which the elect could be assured their name was in the Book of Life. But even here, the call to repent was set in a context of introspection or spiritual angst. Henry Smith spent much of his sermon warning of the seductive quality of sin and the price to be paid on Judgement Day before urging his hearers to choose ‘to seek the Lord whilst he may be found’ rather than ‘be found of him when you would not be sought’. The pain and tribulation associated with true repentance were also made clear: the repentant choose to take their hell here and now on earth.\(^{90}\) In his *Exhortation to repentance*, preached at Stourbridge Fair, Perkins made it clear that ‘no man can have true and sound repentance, but he who hath first of all searched and examined himself’ diligently and seen his own wretchedness, which was ‘the beginning of all grace’.\(^{91}\) Greenwood also combined an exhortation to the sinner to prepare for Judgement Day by ‘so leading his life that it may go well with him at that day’, with a clear statement that all men should know that ‘repentance is not theirs at command: but it is the great mercy of God’.\(^{92}\)

What we find happening from the 1620s and 1630s is a growing number of works in which the call to repentance was marked less by stress on the divine decree, introspection, and ‘holy desperation’, and more by emphasis on the simple dichotomy between the fate of the good and that of the evil on Judgement Day, or the good news that Christ was waiting for those sinners who

\(^{88}\) S. Smith, *The great assize, or day of jubilee* (1644), *passim*; this work consisted of a set of four sermons which together made a moderately substantial volume.


\(^{90}\) H. Smith, *The trumpet of the soule* (1591), sig. B4\(^{\prime}\) and *passim*.

\(^{91}\) W. Perkins, *A faithfull and plaine exposition upon the two first verses of the second chapter of Zephaniah* (1606), 2–3.

\(^{92}\) H. Greenwood, *A treatise of the great and generall day of judgement* (1606), 57, 75.
took the simple decision to turn to him. We find this to some degree among what might be called ‘genuine’ or professional writers who were harking back to the pre-Calvinist emphases, but also to a much greater degree among authors with less claim to knowledge or doctrinal orthodoxy, some of whose works were published in very short, twenty-four or forty-eight page chapbooks or pamphlets, often in black letter and with a woodcut on the cover.

One of these was the author of Deaths knell. Or, the sick mans passing-bell of which the first surviving edition (said to be the ninth) was published in 1628, and the sixteenth in 1637, and which was said to be by ‘W. Perkins’, though it will be suggested in Chapter 8 that this was not the Cambridge Perkins. Another work that may have sold even more editions in an even shorter space of time was A golden trumpet sounding an alarum to judgement (first surviving edition 1641, twenty-ninth ‘impression’ 1648), which was attributed to John Andrews, though again there is some doubt as to how much of it is his work. Similarly packaged and equally simplistic works continued to appear over the next few decades. The door of salvation opened was first published c.1650, and bears on the title-page the initials T. P., probably standing for Thomas Passinger, the publisher of a wide range of cheap pamphlets. Its theme was that Christ continues to knock at sinners’ hearts, and they must open their hearts to Christ or pay the consequences. Two other ventures in which Passinger was involved were an abridgement of Baxter’s Call to the unconverted which was not authorized by the author but may have sold fifty-seven editions between 1662 and c.1680; and an abridgement of Baxter’s Now or never, of which Passinger was the sole publisher for many of the twenty-eight editions said to have been published from the early 1660s to the mid-1680s. These same decades also witnessed the sale of dozens of editions of the black-letter pamphlet-sermons attributed to ‘John Hart’ or ‘Andrew Jones’, such as Christs first sermon (‘or the absolute necessity, gospel-duty, and Christian practice of repentance, opened and applied’), which sold perhaps twenty-six editions between 1656 and c.1680; Christs last sermon (twenty-third edition c.1700) which was on the fate of the godly and the ungodly in the world to come, and asked direct, personal questions of the kind that Bunyan would ask (‘What think you of these things, sinners? will ye come to Christ and be saved, or no?’); and Dooms-day: or, the great day of the Lord drawing nigh (allegedly thirty editions from the late 1650s to

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93 On a decline in the call for or confidence in introspection, see Green, Christian’s ABC, 392–4, and cf. 394–7; for an earlier example of a work that urged sinners to awake and repent in straightforward terms and sold seven editions between 1589 and 1637, see L. Wright, A summons for sleepers (listed in Appendix 1 below).

94 See below, Ch. 8.xiii. 95 Ibid.

96 T[henomas] P[assinger], The door of salvation opened (1681), passim.

97 Baxter’s original Call can be found in Wing at B1196–1204B, and the abridged at P109B–10bA; the original Now or never; The holy, serious diligent believer justified at B1320–26; and the abridgement, Now or never: work out your salvation, at R8–9B and B1324A.
the early 1680s), which contained an even shorter statement that the end was nigh, so that men should live each day as if it was their last.98 Not all of these works pared the earlier Calvinist teaching on repentance right down to the bone or beyond. In their earlier and perhaps more authentic works, it will be argued later, Andrewes and Hart insisted that conversion was a work of God, that God was the author of repentance, that repentance was a transforming experience, and that faith was needed as well as repentance; it was only in the later works attributed to them that less was said about faith and more about men’s ‘care’ or ‘desire’ to be saved.99 Similarly, Thomas Goodwin’s brief Encouragements to faith (1650) included references to God’s decree and covenant with Christ, as well as drawing from his text (John 6: 37–8) the message that Christ was ready to receive and pardon sinners, and we should come to Christ.100 But in short works by non-Calvinists such as Quakers like George Fox and William Dewsbury, and in many of the shortest and most popular works by less well-informed authors, it was the stress on the simplicity of the act of turning to Christ and (in the case of the less scholarly works) the almost automatic nature of the forgiveness that would follow that was to the fore. In such works the ‘holy desperation’ had been reduced to a minimum, and, to judge from ‘godly’ clergy’s complaints, the people continued to see repentance as ‘a very light and easy thing, which they can have when they list’.101 Largers works on the subject of repentance continued to appear. The author of the preface to Wilfull impenitency (1648) by William Fenner, yet another ‘godly’ minister in Essex, clearly felt that Fenner was able to ‘condescend to parley with poor Christians at their tables, in their shops, to follow them at the plough (as Reverend Mr Greenham was wont to do)’, but at over 100 pages this was a work of middling length compared to the ‘Perkins’, ‘Andrewes’, ‘Hart’/‘Jones’ and Passinger works, and was also published in roman typeface. The subject-matter was also tricky in that Fenner was clearly very hostile to the idea of man having untrammelled free will, but wanted to argue that every man could do more good and shun more evil than he did, so that the condemnation of those who wilfully disobeyed God was all the greater.102

In 1667 the nonconformist minister Thomas Vincent published two substantial but topical works addressed especially to the citizens of London who were wondering why they had had to face plague, fire, and war in previous...
years. *Gods terrible voice in the city of London* contains a long description of the plague and fire (including edifying details of how the godly died peacably), but then switches to a catalogue of the many heinous sins for which God had punished the city, and urges citizens to wake, search their ways, turn from evil ways, and make it their only business to serve God. In *Christs certain and sudden appearance to judgement*, Vincent sounded another trumpet in their ears: there was a much worse judgement at hand, the last judgement, and so all, but especially the wicked, should believe, consider and prepare. In 1668 Thomas Gouge, another minister ejected in 1662, published *A word to sinners* to awaken them to the ‘dreadful condition they are in, so long as they live in their natural and unregenerate state’, and ‘a word to saints... to persuade them to several singular duties’. Again the choice facing the sinner was put in apparently open-ended terms: Christ’s sacrifice was all-sufficient in that he died for the sins of the whole world, and he was ready to embrace those ‘who will come unto him, and receive him upon the terms of the Gospel’. The ‘duties to be practised in order to your regeneration’ were then spelt out in detail, and objections likely to be raised by carnal unregenerates dismissed. And in 1672 was published the first edition of one of the best-selling works on conversion—Joseph Alleine’s *Alarme to unconverted sinners* (1672)—another middling-length work of which more will be said shortly.

Three other works on repentance in the sample may be mentioned to round off this part of the story. All were by conformist clergy: Richard Kidder later became bishop of Bath and Wells, John Hayward was a rector in London, and John Inett though of Huguenot background conformed to the established church. All wrote to ensure that the faithful had a clear idea of what true repentance was and the thorough reformation that it entailed, but while none shirked from describing the fate of the unregenerate, none linked their fate to the divine decrees. All three’s works were innovative: they were longer than the ‘Andrewes’–‘Hart’–‘Jones’ type but shorter than the specialist tomes of the early Stuart period; two incorporated engravings, two were linked to devotional aids, and one targeted the young in particular. Kidder’s medium-length ‘discourse’ was the one aimed at reasonably well-educated young persons ‘before they are debauched by evil company and evil habits’; they were warned of the ‘necessity of seeking the Lord betimes’ and the ‘danger and unreasonableness of trusting to a late, or death-bed repentance’. *The young man’s duty* had an appropriate engraving opposite the title-page, was plainly if soberly phrased, and sold steadily from the 1670s to the mid-eighteenth century. Inett’s *Guide to repentance* (1692) was also a sober piece, stating not only the need for effective repentance, but also the wisdom of spending

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105 [T. Gouge], *A word to sinners* (1672), title-page, and 93–47.
106 R. Kidder, *The young man’s duty* (1758), title-page and passim.
time each week in retreat for self-examination and prayer; in fact this Guide was often published with his own collection of prayers entitled A guide to the devout Christian.\textsuperscript{107}

Hayward’s was altogether a much livelier piece of work, not only in the title—\textit{Hell’s everlasting flames avoided: Heaven’s eternal felicities enjoyed}—and the crude depictions of heaven and hell opposite the title-page, but also in the language and mode of presentation—a soliloquy which contained much exposition, alliteration, and repetition (‘Alas! how I am deformed, how I am defiled’). Tacked on to the end were ten pages on how to prepare for the Lord’s Supper, and thirty pages of prayers for various needs and occasions, so it is perhaps not surprising that the work became a best-seller, perhaps thirty-five editions being printed between the early 1690s and the early 1730s.\textsuperscript{108}

What we have here then are works by conformists as anxious to stress the need for sincere penitence as anyone in the previous century and a half, and who were doing so with as much immediacy as the authors of the black-letter chapbooks and pamphlets of the late seventeenth century, but not from the same simplistic doctrinal standpoint. Moreover, those works sold steadily and in one case very well.

Why calls to repentance should have sold so well from the 1620s to the 1680s, and especially at the level at which shorter, cheaper works were targeted, is a larger question than we can consider here, but some suggestions may be made. After a period of relative peace England was caught up in the severe tensions brought about by the Thirty Years War in Germany, rebellions in Scotland and Ireland, the civil wars of the 1640s, and later the wars with the Dutch. Many of these tensions coincided with, or were caused by, the fears of ‘popery’ at home and abroad that were stirred up from the 1620s to the 1640s, the disquiet aroused in the 1640s and 1650s by the rise of the sects, and then the later concerns at the apparent resurgence of English Catholicism in alliance (it was thought) with the aggressive Louis XIV. The full psychological and social ramifications of the events of the middle decades of the century were probably not all felt at once, while the upheavals associated with the Exclusion Crisis and the events of 1688–90 may have conspired to keep uncertainties and doubts at a pitch. Add to these the wave of early Stuart providentialist treatises, sermons, and ballads foretelling divine wrath ‘unless ye repent’ that Dr Walsham has recently identified, and the economic, social, and health problems facing the lower middling and lower orders, especially in the plague-ridden towns, and one can see why many more readers may have turned to the sort of works being discussed here. On a more positive note, there is the continuing rise in the number of readers or book-buyers, and perhaps the greater comprehensibility (compared to the earlier, detailed accounts

\textsuperscript{107} J. Inett, \textit{A guide to repentance} (1720), 1–4 and passim; and see above, pp. 268 n. 125, 291 n. 228.

\textsuperscript{108} J. Hayward, \textit{Hell’s everlasting flames avoided} (1719), 7, 23, 20, 70–80, 80–110, and passim.
of effectual calling, constant introspection, and utter wretchedness) of the
message that Christ was ready to welcome, without qualification, all those
who turned to him. The way in which this message was presented by anxious
clergy, opportunistic balladeers, and the print trade was also being tailored to
suit wider tastes, and sales were correspondingly impressive.109

vii. The Life of Faith in the Later Stuart Period

In the ‘life of faith’ treatises in our sample which were published from the
1640s to the 1690s there are a few examples of the older high Calvinist
emphases, in part as variations on an existing theme, but in part also as a
response to what some saw as a simple ‘moralism’ being preached by authors
like Taylor, Allestree, or even Baxter. However, in publishing terms only a
small minority of these late Calvinist works proved popular.

Thomas Shephard had emigrated from Cambridge to New England, but
in the early 1640s published two works in England: The sincere convert, and The
sound beleever. In the first, he stressed that Christ was not intended for all, that
very few are saved, and they with much difficulty, and that there were many
false gates to heaven; he also provided ‘Instructions how to get a broken
heart’.110 Almost half of the second work was devoted to ‘conviction’ of sin,
pricking of conscience, and humiliation, before he moved onto the life of faith
which was described in a typically high Calvinist fashion.111

Thomas Brookes, a puritan preacher in London, devoted three of his trea-
tises to the subjects of affliction and assurance. Precious remedies against Satans
devices (1652) listed over thirty devilish stratagems designed to draw souls to sin
and doubt and away from their duties, but followed each one with several
remedies.112 In Heaven on earth (1654), subtitled ‘a serious discourse touching a
well-grounded assurance’, and addressed to ‘all saints that . . . walk according
to the laws of the new creature’, he argued against the ‘papists’ and ‘Armini-
ans’ that persons in this life may obtain a well-grounded assurance of their
predestination to salvation, and gave details of how and when to pursue this
‘sweet’ assurance.113 The mute Christian under the smarting rod contains the memo-
rable remark: ‘Dear hearts, The choicest saints are born to troubles as the
sparks fly upwards’, but they were still urged to be silent under their afflic-
tions.114 However, none of these proved as popular as the same author’s quirky
and more upbeat Apples of gold, which will be mentioned below under godly

109 For sales of cheaper works on repentance, see below, Ch. 8; and cf. Walsham, Providence, pp.
150–6, ch. 6, and passim. The problem remains of how much was understood and acted on: ibid., 63,
323; but answering that requires another book.
110 T. Shephard, The sincere convert (1648), 229–61, and passim; for earlier editions, see below,
Appendix 1.
111 T. Shephard, The sound beleever (1645), 6–155, compared to 155–347.
112 T. Brookes, Precious remedies against Satans devices (1671), passim.
114 T. Brookes, The mute Christian under the smarting rod (1698), sig. A3, and passim.
living treatises. The general tone of *The Christians charter* (1652) by Thomas Watson, a royalist presbyterian minister in London, was also more positive, listing as it did the many privileges of the ‘saints’ whose names were written in the ‘book of life’. In its successor, *Autarkeia, or the art of contentment* (1653), Watson provided over a dozen motives to be content with their lot, though much of this was expressed in the characteristically active vocabulary of the high Calvinists, such as ‘advance faith’, ‘labour for assurance’, ‘get a humble spirit’, and so on.¹¹⁵

Three similar works that sold much better, though they were among the few of this type in the sample to do so, were Matthew Mead’s *The almost Christian discovered*, which sold perhaps fifteen editions between 1662 and 1708, John Flavell’s *A saint indeed*, perhaps thirteen editions between 1668 and 1729, and Thomas Wilcox’s *A choice drop of honey from the rock Christ*, first published c.1690 and in its fortieth edition by 1732. Mead’s work was ‘the substance of seven sermons’ preached in London, and ‘now at the importunity of friends made public’. The author said that the preaching of the gospel had persuaded many of the congregation to make a profession of faith, but too many were still only formal professors. Accordingly, he listed twenty steps that a man might take towards heaven—acquire knowledge, hate sin, be zealous in external duties, pray often, and so on—but if there was no change of heart, or the actions did not flow from spiritual conviction (through grace), then a man would still be no more than ‘almost a Christian’. The result was quite a long work, but it combined scripture examples and scholarly quotations with deliberate repetitions of the type also used by Bunyan, and the occasional folksy simile: at one point he compared ‘almost Christians’ to the ‘rats and mice of religion, that would live under the roof of it, while they might have shelter in it, but when it suffers, forsake it’. This combination may have appealed to a wide range of readers, among both conformists as well as dissenters.¹¹⁶ Flavell’s main target was somewhat different: the professed members of his Devonshire flock whose ‘power of godliness’ had ‘much decayed’, perhaps because of the persecution they had faced since 1662, though he also attacked the hypocrisy of those posing as saints. Flavell offered the saints detailed advice on ‘heart work’ to help them cope with adversity, and told them that God would reward those with upright hearts—a message that clearly found appreciative readers well into the next century.¹¹⁷ Wilcox’s work was much the shortest—a mere thirty-two pages of small duodecimo—as well as the most popular of the three. Wilcox was a Particular Baptist, and was aiming at ‘professors’ to whom he

¹¹⁵ T. Watson, ‘The Christians charter’, reprinted in *Three treatises* (1660), epistle dedicatory and passim; id., ‘Autarkeia, or the art of divine contentment’, in ibid., 282–4, and passim. Gurnall’s *Christian in compleat armour* has already been discussed above.

¹¹⁶ M. Mead, *En oligo Christianos. The almost Christian discovered* (1663), title-page, sigs. A4°, pp. 26–139, 43 (and cf. 238), and passim.

¹¹⁷ J. Flavell, *A saint indeed* (1673), title-page, epistle dedicatory, and passim.
offered advice on justification and sanctification as well as introspective soul-searching. On the other hand, his work was easily the most extrovert and Christocentric of the three: readers were to look more at justification than sanctification, to compare everything they did with Christ, and, if they needed help, to think about how Christ was using his interest with the Father on their behalf.  

Other late-seventeenth century authors demonstrated a continuing concern to inform readers of the good news in the gospel, the need to repent sincerely, and to obey God’s will fully, but avoided a predestinarian framework. In some cases this repudiation was overt, as in the Independent John Saltmarsh’s Free grace (1645), which argued that grace was available to all, 118 the ex-Calvinist Thomas Pierce’s Correct copy of some notes (1655), and two works by Quakers, James Nayler and William Shewen, and one by the episcopalian Richard Allestree. Nayler’s Love to the lost (1656), ‘set forth chiefly for the directing the simple into the living way of truth’, condemned futile speculation on election, and those who said God condemned some before they were born, or saved others who died in sin: the elect were ‘they that are after the Spirit’, and the reprobate ‘they that are after the flesh’. 119 In The true Christian’s faith and experience (1675), Shewen provided a Quaker view of salvation and faith which systematically contrasted the correct views of ‘the true Christian’ with the erroneous ones of ‘the titular Christian’, and in the process repudiated a good deal of Calvinist doctrine too. 120 Allestree’s treatise on The causes of the decay of Christian piety was written some time before its publication in 1667 (at a time of public humiliation due to plague, fire, and military defeat). But while much of the text was a condemnation of the many sins and mischiefs that arose from only partial obedience to God’s will, there was a condemnation for ‘our bold folly in meddling with God’s decrees’ and of prying into some points of knowledge which God had thought fit to hide from us. 121 In other cases the repudiation was more a matter of omission, as in James Janeway’s ‘dis-course’ entitled Heaven upon earth (1668), which was intended to help people get to know God as their best friend in the worst of times; The best match (1673) by another dissenting minister, Edward Pearse, who was anxious for his readers to be brought into closer union with Christ here on earth; and Richard Allestree’s Art of contentment (1675), which was designed to develop men’s skill in finding contentment. Allestree stressed God’s absolute sovereignty and his many providences, both general and particular, pointed to the advantages of afflictions and the need to mortify our pride, and offered

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118 [Thomas Wilcox], A choice drop of honey from the rock Christ [1690?], passim.
119 J. Saltmarsh, Free grace (1700), 87–165, and passim.
120 T. Pierce, A correct copy of some notes (1655), passim; J. Nayler, Love to the lost (1656), title-page, and passim.
32–4.
121 W. Shewen, The true Christian’s faith and experience (1675), title-page and passim.
advice on coping with misfortunes, but in all this there was not a word of Calvinist soteriology.  

viii. Baxter, Alleine, Bunyan, and the Life of Faith

Three other authors in our sample whose work in different ways reflects a growing detachment from the way in which ideas on the life of the spirit had been communicated hitherto were Richard Baxter, Joseph Alleine, and John Bunyan. All deserve closer scrutiny here because of their readiness to use print, and to experiment in the way that they put their message across.

Baxter has won a reputation as the leading puritan man of letters, a man who saw himself as ‘a pen in God’s hand’, and published 140 works in just over forty years. But it was the range and quality of what he wrote rather than the number of best-sellers that distinguish his output. Less than a quarter of those 140 works passed into a second edition, and of those only a dozen reached three or four editions, and only six qualify for our sample. Who was he writing for, and who bought his works? In two editions of his Compassionate counsel to all young men, those of 1681 and 1691, Baxter listed his own publications and classified them according to both type—doctrinal, practical, or controversial—and potential readership. The latter was distinguished in 1681 by the spiritual condition of readers—‘the unconverted’, ‘the faithful’, or ‘all sorts’—and in 1691 by educational level—‘the ignorant’, or ‘students’. If we compare the six titles by Baxter in our sample with his own classification scheme, we find that all six were what he termed ‘practical’, and that two were ‘for all sorts’, while four were ‘for the unconverted’. Of those aimed at ‘all sorts’, one—The saints everlasting rest (1649)—Baxter thought was especially useful for students, and the other—The poor man’s family book (1674), a mixture of dialogues, catechisms, and prayers—was deemed useful for the ignorant. Of those aimed at the unregenerate, two were thought to be of particular value for the ignorant: A call to the unconverted (1658) and Directions and persuasions to a sound conversion (1658). The other two—A sermon of judgement (1655), and Now or never (1662)—apart from being for the unconverted, had no other indication of potential readership. In short, with the exception of The saints everlasting rest, the works of Baxter’s that sold best were among those he thought were best suited to the unregenerate and the ignorant. Conversely, none of Baxter’s ‘doctrinal’ or ‘controversial’ works, or those aimed solely at readers already converted, sold well enough to make the sample. This last point would not have upset Baxter, who regularly made clear his preference for practical over


124 Neil Keeble does full justice to Baxter’s work as a ‘pen in God’s hand’ in his Baxter and his Literary Culture of Nonconformity. The figures are derived from the Baxter bibliography in the former, and Wing.

polemical works, and told his fellow ‘reformed pastors’ that ‘the matters of necessity are few’, and did not include controversial matters.\footnote{126}

His first success, \textit{The saints everlasting rest}, had an unusual genesis. Begun as ‘my own funeral sermon’ when he was convinced that he was going to die young, he lived to add three more sections targeted at godly and ungodly separately and then together. The result was a work of over 800 quarto pages, prefaced in some editions by an engraved frontispiece showing the spiritual odyssey of a child, a knight, and a labourer, and with the occasional added chapter (as in 1651) with sharp comments on recent events in church and state.\footnote{127} The breadth of the final work, together with the personal details and opinions, and the fervour of some passages on the brevity and uncertainty of man’s life on earth and the joys that awaited the faithful in heaven, may help to explain its popularity in the 1650s, especially among disillusioned presbyterians: eight of the dozen or so editions had appeared by 1658. But given the date of its appearance the work is also notable for its author’s determination to avoid controversies, and the dearth of high Calvinist preoccupations. There is certainly mention of the elect—a determined number predestined to everlasting rest—but Baxter equated these with ‘persevering believers’ and added a rider that these were ‘not so few as some drooping spirits deem’. Equally, Baxter did not talk of the reprobate, only of the ‘unregenerate’, the ‘ungodly’, and ‘sinners’, and those who had ‘forgotten’ Christ or ‘lost’ their ‘opportunities’ and ‘hopes’ of salvation.\footnote{128}

Baxter was also extrovert as much as introvert, and was not afraid to recruit man’s rationality in the life of faith. When the marks of a prospective saint and the need to answer searching questions are raised, the marks described are outward-looking as much as inward—taking God for your chief good, and heartily accepting Christ as your only saviour and lord—and the questions are as often factual—‘Dost thou accept of Christ as thy only saviour . . .?’—as affective—‘Have both thy sin and misery been a burden to thy soul . . . and . . . couldst thou heartily groan under the insupportable burden of both?’\footnote{129} There is also an implied role for human will-power and action, guided by the proper use of reason. God, the reader is told, would rather men accept Christ than rebel; hell is preached to persuade men to avoid it; but if they refuse to turn to Christ they deserve their dreadful fate: ‘Nothing but thy own unwillingness can keep thee from Christ’. ‘The works of a Christian here are very many and very great’, and it was entirely reasonable that in

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{126} Keeble, \textit{Baxter}, p. 29, and below, Appendix 1.  
\textsuperscript{127} Keeble, \textit{Baxter}, 13–14, 95–100; R. Baxter, \textit{The saints everlasting rest} (1658), sigs. A4\textsuperscript{v}, C3–4\textsuperscript{r}; I have seen the frontispiece in the 1658 and 1662 editions.  
\textsuperscript{128} Baxter, \textit{Saints everlasting rest} (1658), 3, 125–6; 20, 298–301, 510–11.  
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 151, and cf. 439–42. For Baxter’s shift to a mixture of introspection and looking often on God and Christ, see G. Wakefield, \textit{Puritan Devotion} (1957), 75, citing Baxter’s \textit{Autobiography} (Everyman edition, 1931), 113.}
seeking the saints’ rest our diligence ‘should be somewhat answerable to the
greatness of the end’ at which we aim. The reader was also informed that ‘the
greater are your layings out, the greater will be your coming in’, and how easy
was the yoke and how light the burden in avoiding hellfire: ‘O gracious offer!
O easy terms! O cursed wretch, that would not be persuaded to accept them!’
And where earlier authors had taught techniques of introspective analysis,
Baxter (as we saw in Chapter 5) spent several chapters urging on his readers
the benefits of meditation not only on the heavenly bliss of union with God
but also on ‘sensible objects’ on the earth below—joyful experiences that
might help them become ‘acquainted with God’ and thus secure ‘vigorous,
real comfort’.

A call to the unconverted and Directions and persuasions to a sound conversion, both
published in 1658, represented the first two stages of a larger project for a
practical ‘directory for the several ranks of professed Christians’ which Bax-
ter had been encouraged to write by the aged James Ussher, archbishop of
Armagh. Baxter’s original design was for a four-part work: the first (which
became the Call) was ‘a wakening persuasive’ to ‘impenitent, unconverted sin-
ners; the second (the Directions) was for ‘those that have some purposes to
turn, and are about the work’; the third was to help younger and weaker
Christians persevere (this did not appear until 1669 and 1670 in works that did
not get past the first edition); and the fourth (which was never written) was to
help lapsed backsliders recover.

The Call was dedicated to ‘all unsanctified persons that should read this
book’, especially among his Kidderminster parishioners. Having given them
God’s message, Baxter said he would ‘leave it to these standing lines to con-
vert you or condemn you’—a striking testimony to his high estimate of the
potential of the printed word to change readers’ lives. At least part of Baxter’s
text would have been familiar to those who had read the works described ear-
erlier in this chapter: God’s unchangeable law is that the wicked must die, and
if men do not respond to his call, it is their fault, not God’s. But in other
respects, it was different. In the preface he pointed out that theological rivals
such as Augustine and Pelagius and Calvin and Arminius could all agree that
man had a measure of free will, though that will was badly corrupted by sin
from the time of Adam; and he regularly spoke of men turning to God or
responding to God’s call as if they had some choice in the matter. He also
implied that predestinarian teaching could harden men in their sins, and that
if they were afflicted, they became discontented, while if they prospered, they
forgot God. The Call became one of Baxter’s two most popular works, con-
verting ‘whole households’, and selling perhaps 30,000 copies by 1664, and

130 Baxter, Saints everlasting rest, 51; 390—1, 314—16, 438; 378—9 (and cf. 386); 320—2; 753; 809; and cf.
above, p. 281. For sales of two eighteenth-century versions that reduced Saints everlasting rest to a quarter
of its original size, see Rivers, ‘Dissenting and Methodist Books’, 141–2.
131 Keeble, Baxter, 73–6.
twenty-eight editions in less than forty years. It also, as noted above, allegedly sold over fifty editions from the 1660s to the 1680s in a greatly abridged version by T. P., probably Thomas Passinger the publisher. In this Baxter’s 240 pages of roman text were reduced to twenty pages in black-letter type, and the few predestinarian comments were omitted, so that the message was boiled down to its absolute minimum: repent before it is too late.

By comparison, part 2 of the planned ‘directory’—Directions and perswasions—was a typical ‘godly’ condemnation of ‘dead professions’, ‘half-conversions’, and ‘half-reformation’, and a list of directions on how to make a sound conversion, but perhaps predictably sold far fewer editions than part one.

Another of Baxter’s publications also had a chequered career. The original version of Now or never: the holy, serious, diligent believer justified, encouraged, excited and directed was a large, sober work that sold only moderately well. However, shorn of its central section (which had dealt with various objections to the serious practice of holiness), given a snappy new ‘Do-it-yourself’ title (Now or never: work out your salvation), and reduced to a ‘small treatise’ of twenty pages of black-letter text in which the reader was urged to lay hold on Christ now, today, it sold nearly thirty editions in just over twenty years (probably without Baxter’s approval since he did not list it among his works). The popularity of the abbreviated versions of the Call and Now or never confirms the point made earlier, that the works by Baxter which sold best tended to be ones in which his practical bent and evangelical thrust were put to best use, whether this was by his own efforts unaided or other people’s.

Joseph Alleine was another extremely energetic pastor, whose great evangelistic zeal led him to plan a trip to China to act as a missionary there. In England, like his contemporary Baxter, he introduced a system of visiting and instructing families in the late 1650s, and his exposition of the Westminster Shorter Catechism is one of the catechetical titles in our sample. Also like Baxter in his Call, Alleine in An alarme to unconverted sinners (also known as A sure guide to heaven) addressed those not yet converted: ‘To all the ignorant, carnal, and ungodly, who are lovers of pleasure more than God, and seek this world more than the life everlasting, and live after the flesh and not after the spirit, these calls and counsels are directed in hope of their conversion to God, and of their salvation’. After stressing how far conversion was the work of God


B. R. [= R. B.], Now or never: work out your salvation (1683), title-page, sig. A2v, and passim; and see above n. 97, and Keeble, Baxter, 8.

R. Baxter, Directions and perswasions to a sound conversion (1658), sig. A2v, pp. 2–3, and passim and see below, Appendix 1, for repeat editions.

See above, nn. 97, 125.

On another popular work by Baxter demonstrating energy and flair, The poor man’s family book, see below, Appendix 1.

Calamy Revised, 6; J. Alleine, A most familiar explanation; and Green, Christian’s ABC, 222, 226, 262, 582–3.

J. Alleine, An alarme to unconverted sinners (1675), sig. A2v.
rather than man, Alleine then devoted much of the text to attacking the complacency of the unregenerate, and when he discussed the actual process of conversion he offered a list of active verbs to describe what must be done, and a list of ‘motives’ such as ‘God doth most graciously invite thee’, ‘The doors of heaven are thrown open to thee’, and ‘The terms of mercy are brought as low as possible to you’. Alleine sought to distance himself from the ‘Arminian’ position that man’s will, aided by grace, must acquiesce in his calling, but he seems to have had difficulty with some aspects of high Calvinist doctrine. As Professor Sommerville has commented, ‘a conditional tone in his own explanation of the calling is unmistakable.’

As in Baxter’s case, it was perhaps the evangelistic concern to awaken sinners rather than the strict letter of Calvinist law that came to the fore, or at least led to the greater sales of this work rather than others. In 1702, a fellow dissenter, Edmund Calamy, suggested that ‘twenty thousand [copies were] sold under the title of the “Call”,’ or “Alarm;”, and fifty thousand . . . under the title of the “Sure guide to heaven”, thirty thousand of which were sold at one impression’, though the last of these figures is rather hard to swallow.

John Bunyan was another who was clearly strongly influenced by Calvinist teaching. But if we draw a line between those works which sold particularly well, say eight to ten editions or more, and the rest, once again we find that it was for the most part the works in which he was least rigid in pushing the small number of the elect and the necessity of a broken heart which sold most copies. In some cases these more popular works were also ones in which there was either an element of innovation in the method of presentation or a personal dimension which did not lend themselves to overt or extended treatment of high Calvinist teaching: the dramatic exposition of the story of Dives and Lazarus in *A few sighs from hell* (1658), the ‘country rhymes for children’ in *A book for boys and girls* (1686), and above all the allegory in the two parts of *The pilgrim’s progress from this world to that which is to come* (1678 and 1684). This innovativeness does not mean that Bunyan was not influenced by or did not intend to teach Calvinist ideas. In other especially popular works such as his ‘discourses’ entitled *Come, and welcome, to Jesus Christ* and *Good news for the vilest of men*, the treatment, while distinctively Bunyanesque in its structure and language, was not uncondusive to teaching the older ideas, but he did not grasp the opportunity fully.

*Come, and welcome* was an exposition of a text—‘All that the Father giveth me shall come to me’ (John 6: 37)—that was capable of sustaining a high

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140 Ibid., pp. 19–24, 136–84, 190, 192, 197, 211–12, and passim; Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, 42.
141 Cited by Iain Murray in the introduction to his 1959 edition (Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh), p. 11.
142 These are discussed below, Ch. 7.ii and 7.vi; to them could be added the powerful autobiographical record in Bunyan’s *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*. 
Calvinist view of a limited atonement, and for much of the time Bunyan treats it in that way. ‘All’ means all the ‘saved’, those that in other places are called the elect; ‘shall come’ means that Christ will put forth sufficient grace to perform this effectually, and they will ‘come’ weeping and ‘pricked in their hearts’; and so on. But, as Professor Greaves has noted, there is such an evangelical warmth and simplicity about the way that Bunyan does this, masking ‘the colder doctrine of predestination’ by a ‘warm and open invitation to Jesus’, that virtually any interested reader could find encouragement to regard himself as one of the elect who were coming to Christ.

At one point Bunyan says: ‘Sinner, art thou thirsty? art thou weary? art thou weary? art thou willing? Come then . . . for all the good that is in Christ is offered to the Coming-Sinner.’ At another, he describes ‘blood-red sinners, crimson sinners, sinners of a double dye, dipped, and dipped again before they come to Jesus Christ’, and uses the medium of print to draw in the reader by asking:

Art thou that readest these lines, such an one? Speak out man, art thou such an one? and art thou now coming to Jesus . . . that thou mightest be made white in his blood . . .? Fear not; for as much as this thy coming betokeneth that thou art of the number of them that the Father hath given to Christ.

Good news for the vilest of men (also known from its source text, Luke 24: 47, as The Jerusalem-sinner saved) was the natural successor to Come, and welcome in its forceful evangelical appeal and encouragement to sinners: ‘Jesus Christ would have mercy in the first place offered to the biggest sinners’. The comments that Bunyan drew from his own experience, and the homely anecdotes and similes he used in it, may also help to explain the wide sales of this work. By comparison, two of Bunyan’s works in which he focused in general terms on the dreadful consequences of being a ‘fruitless professor’ and the ‘excellency’, ‘nature, signs, and proper effects’ of a broken heart—The barren fig-tree (1673) and The acceptable sacrifice (1689)—only just qualify for our sample.

Works which had an element of the author’s personal experience in them clearly sold better than those in which the author restricted himself mostly to the theory. While there was undoubtedly a hard core of readers who wished to buy weighty works of the ‘humbled heart’ or ‘rocky road’ variety, like Samuel Smith’s Great assize or Matthew Mead’s The almost Christian, book purchasers in general were more likely to go for works tackling unwelcome subjects, such as the sinfulness of man and the horrors awaiting the unrepentant, if their authors had stressed the blissful future awaiting true believers, or

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144 Ibid., pp. lii–liii.
145 Ibid., 373, 295.
147 J. Bunyan, The barren fig-tree (1673), title-page; id., The acceptable sacrifice (1689), title-page. For earlier preachers’ use of the fig-tree motif, see Walsham, Providence, 296.
added an element of personal experience or biographical detail, as in the case of Baxter’s *Saints everlasting rest*, and Bunyan’s *Grace abounding* and *Good news*, and in many of the edifying biographical sketches, allegories, and cautionary tales to which we will come in Chapter 7, and indeed some of the funeral sermons mentioned in Chapter 4 above.\(^{148}\) If spirituality was to be marketed successfully, it had to be presented in a guise that was as attractive as was compatible with the author’s intentions.

ix. Cases of Conscience

The next category of practical treatise comprises a small group of titles that in theory fall into the net of the inner life of faith, but in practice often concerned matters of outward behaviour. At the time these were called ‘cases of conscience’, but in later centuries would be termed casuistry, a branch of moral theology. Moral theologians deal with the application of dogmatic theology to ethics and sin, and casuists try to establish general rules to help in cases where the conscience has to resolve a conflict of principles or laws, for example between the injunction in the Ten Commandments not to kill and the other injunctions in Old and New Testaments to obey a duly appointed civil authority which might involve taking up arms.\(^{149}\)

In the early modern period, casuists in many European countries were actively engaged in trying to tease out the exact nature of citizens’ rights and duties, and what to do in business when there might be competing demands between charity and honesty on the one side and self-preservation and individual or collective prosperity on the other.\(^{150}\) Most casuists worked on the assumption that each individual had a conscience, one part of which had the power to understand and hold general principles of morality, while the other had the capacity to apply these principles to see if specific actions were right or wrong.\(^{151}\) In early modern England, however, a fair proportion of those problems described by authors as ‘cases of conscience’ often seem to have been nearer the mainstream of dogmatic theology, with knowledgeable pastors simply trying to explain to the weaker members of their flocks how to be a good Christian or to resolve some spiritual doubt, rather than attempting to reconcile conflicting principles. Much of what some authors tackled in works on ‘cases of conscience’ was also raised by others in a catechism or godly

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\(^{148}\) See above, pp. 336–7, 340, and below, p. 417; note also in Chapter 3 above the recommendation that newcomers to the Bible read the historical books which contain memorable characters and incidents rather than the books with more weighty or abstract matters.

\(^{149}\) K. E. Kirk, *Some Principles of Moral Theology and their Application* (1934), chs. 1, 8.


living treatise when they were explaining the meaning of the Ten Commandments or the Apostles’ Creed at some length. Once again the boundaries between categories of publication are far from rigid.

Protestants of all persuasions soon identified the need for a moral theology of their own to match that of the Catholic church, which not only had a huge accumulation of principles and precedents (partly as a result of its increased emphasis on a system of confession and penance in the later Middle Ages), but also was reinforcing it in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, through the Jesuits in particular. English authors as diverse as the editor of William Perkins’s ‘cases of conscience’, the scholarly exile William Ames, and the scholarly episcopalian Jeremy Taylor bemoaned the harm that arose from the absence of a suitable alternative, though it was explained that most Protestant leaders had been too busy fighting to purge the church and defend the true faith to compile such a book. And an even wider range of authors stressed how important some understanding of this ‘most useful’, ‘positive and practical’ branch of divinity was to all the faithful, but especially to ministers helping members of their flocks unable to sort out a problem of conscience for themselves. Recent accounts are in general agreement that the new Protestant casuistry owed a great debt to that of the Middle Ages, especially on the definition of conscience and the role of natural as well as divine law, but that by the seventeenth century a new hybrid, a ‘mixed strain’, had emerged. This was a result, on the one hand, of Protestant authors’ rejection of a great deal of medieval case-law, the system of confession and penance, and the distinction between mortal and venial sins, and, on the other, the Protestant advocacy of a reliance on the scriptures and the use of God-given reason to interpret it, and the role of individuals in searching their conscience and trying to resolve problems as far as they could. It is also agreed that while there were differences of emphasis within the English Protestant camp on some features of casuistical theology, there was a large element of common ground too, through authors’ shared concern to provide pastoral guidance and moral interpretation.

Contemporary clergy handled cases of conscience in various contexts. William Perkins tackled them in his ‘holy-day lectures’ at Cambridge, and

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154 See the works by McAdoo, Wood, and Kelly cited in previous notes, passim; Kelly is more sceptical about the Protestant achievement (except perhaps in the case of Sanderson—see pp. 42–3), but equally clear on its debt to Catholic casuistry.
Robert Sanderson in visitation sermons before the local parish clergy in Lincolnshire and other auditories elsewhere, including courtiers and students attending divinity lectures in Oxford; on Thursday nights in Kidderminster neighbours called on Richard Baxter in his home to discuss ‘what doubts any of them had about the sermon, or any other case of conscience’; and at Oxford, also in the 1650s, John Owen held ‘a regular office for the satisfaction of doubtful consciences’ (apparently described by younger students as the ‘scruple-shop’). Unfortunately the details of this oral counselling have been lost to us. The application of the bench-mark of five editions in thirty years also means that a number of published works on the subject fall outside our remit. These include some important but less substantial works, such as William Ames’s De conscientia, eius jure et casibus, and also two much larger works: Jeremy Taylor’s herculean attempt to provide the definitive Protestant treatise on the principles of moral theology and casuistry—the 1,100-page Ductor dubitantum (1660); and Richard Baxter’s even larger work, A Christian directory (1673), written after he had left Kidderminster, and in which he tried to provide ‘a sum of practical theology and cases of conscience’, a ‘universal directory’ to help less experienced ministers, heads of households, and private Christians resolve any problems or doubts they met. The difficulty of the works by Ames and Taylor and the size of the work by Baxter may have contributed to their limited sales.

Of the seven works in our sample that may be described as ‘cases of conscience’, some were very precisely focused. In The resolving of conscience upon this question (1642), a royalist divine Henry Ferne tackled the question of whether subjects may take up arms against their lawful ruler, and came down heavily against the idea; the work sold well for a brief period. Robert Sanderson’s De juramenti promissorii obligatione consisted of seven lectures on Numbers 30: 3 which he gave as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1646. His comments on the theory of the nature and obligation of oaths were backed up by careful handling of a series of specific cases, including how far one was bound to obey a new authority while one still owed obedience to another. Despite being published in the original Latin only, it sold consistently until the early eighteenth century, presumably among students of

156 Perkins, Cases of conscience, title-page (Cambridge); Kelly, Conscience, 30–41, 46–53 (Sanderson); Wood, Casuistical Divinity, pp. ix (Baxter) and 35 (Owen).
157 This was published in response to Perkins’s Cases of conscience, first in Amsterdam in 1630, and then in England, as Conscience with the power and cases thereof, in London in 1643. Comparable works by conformists include John Sharp’s Two discourses (1685), and some of his sermons, and Thomas Barlow’s Several miscellaneous and weighty cases of conscience (1692). See Wood, Casuistical Divinity, 143–4, 150; McAdoo, Caroline Moral Theology, 76, 91–4; and Kelly, Conscience, 86–8, 106–16.
158 Both McAdoo and Wood devote a great deal of space to Taylor; on Baxter’s work, see Keeble, Baxter, 78–80.
159 Wing F800–4; with this could be coupled Henry Hammond’s Of resisting the lawful magistrate upon colour of religion (1644), though this handled the matter more in the manner of a polemical tract than a case of conscience.
theology and law. Another to tackle oaths was a leading London preacher, William Sherlock, who in *The case of the allegiance due to soveraign powers* (1691) posed the question ‘Is allegiance due to a prince settled on the throne?’ and explained why he himself had after much delay taken the oath of allegiance to William and Mary while still under oath to James II. Like the work by Ferne, this was also a *pièce d’occasion*, and passed through six editions in less than a year.

This leaves four works of broader but contrasting character. William Perkins’s *The whole treatise of the cases of conscience*, variously described by its editor as a ‘treatise’ and a ‘discourse’, was the product of lectures Perkins gave in Cambridge. The published version begins as a work of theory on the nature and working of the conscience, but then shifts to a series of questions of the introspective type that we have encountered regularly: what must a man do if he finds himself hard of heart, how can he apply Christ and his benefits to himself, how can be assured of salvation, and how can he obtain comfort for distress of conscience? The original first ‘book’ ended here, but later two more books were annexed. Book 2 consisted mostly of questions such as ‘Whether there be a God’, ‘Whether the scriptures be the true word of God’, and ‘How God is to be worshipped and served’, many of which were simply occasions to reinforce basic knowledge on a number of little contested areas rather than attempts to resolve thorny problems. Only occasionally was there a question of a moderately contentious kind, such as ‘What adoration is due to images?’ (none), ‘How far doth an oath bind?’, and ‘Whether we may not lawfully use recreations on the Sabbath day?’ Book 3 consisted of detailed treatment of five virtues—prudence, clemency, temperance, liberality, and justice—though again much of the material was simply didactic—how do we practice prudence, or forgiveness, or temperance in food and apparel, how do we give alms to please God?—rather than resolving doubts, though some questions had less self-evident answers, such as ‘How much relief must every man give?’ Compared to Ames, Sanderson, and Taylor on the theoretical side, and Hall and Baxter on the practical side, Perkins’s treatise seems to be neither one thing nor the other: perhaps he was not well served by an editor who glued together three rather different sets of lectures. Nevertheless, as the first venture in this field in English it sold quite well until alternatives were available.

Those alternatives were of various kinds. Much the most practical was Joseph Hall’s *Resolutions and decisions of divers practical cases of conscience* which as the subtitile says tackled queries ‘in continual use among men’. At the time when this was first published Hall had been deprived of his bishopric, but the imprimatur from the parliamentarian censor, John Downame, praised the

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60 This was published in English in 1655 and 1722. Other batches of specific cases of conscience by Sanderson were published in 1660, 1666, 1668, 1674, and 1678 (see Wing S 630, 603, 643 A, 598, and 618).

61 See Appendix 1.

work as a ‘profitable, necessary and . . . useful’ work, which ‘piously, learnedly
and judiciously discussed and resolved’ a number of problems, and was not
only the latest but the best book on the subject. Hall’s cases were divided into
four ‘decades’. One tackled ethical problems associated with commercial life:
how much interest could be charged on a loan? how high a price set for
goods? should prospective purchasers be told of faulty goods? The next
looked at matters affecting life and liberty: when was taking a life legal? were
duels permissible? is abortion allowed to save a mother’s life? The third examined matters of piety and religion: was converse with evil spirits allowed? did
men’s laws bind the conscience? were tithes lawful? can a layman interpret the
scriptures? And the fourth looked at matrimonial issues: could children marry
without their parents’ consent? on what grounds was divorce permissible?
could one marry one’s cousin? Like other moral theologians, whether con-
formist or not, Hall pulled few punches both in his choice of questions and
his answers, and the text was long, each case being given on average ten pages.
But the work proved sufficiently popular for him to be pressed to make up ‘a
complete body of case divinity, practical, speculative, and mixed’, of which
there was a great need. He declined on the grounds of old age, but urged
someone younger to take up the task.  

With Sanderson’s De obligatione conscientiae (1660) we return to the theoretical
side of casuistry—how the conscience is defined, and in what ways it operates.
The course of lectures from which it derived was not finished, because in 1647
he was ejected from the chair of divinity at Oxford before he had completed
them; but like his other set of Latin lectures, this work sold well for several
decades, presumably with the same type of reader. Finally, with Joseph
Alleine’s Divers practical cases of conscience satisfactorily resolved (1672), we swing
back to ‘cases’ of an introspective type—how much unwillingness to perform
duties is consonant with the receipt of grace?—though many are more out-
ward-looking or pietistic than before: what must a Christian do more than
non-Christians? how can he please God? is any man able in this life to reach
the example set by Christ? The work achieved moderately wide circulation,
though less as an independent entity than as a supplement to Alleine’s much
more popular Alarne, with which it was published a number of times.

Hall’s hope that a younger man would write a definitive study of case divin-
ity for general use was not realized. Sanderson had the ability and the reputa-
tion to write such a work, but perhaps his ejection discouraged him and then
after 1660 episcopal duties prevented him; Jeremy Taylor opted to write more
about the theory than specific everyday cases; while Baxter—who arguably
came closest—did the reverse, by listing cases he had encountered rather than

\[163\] J. Hall, Resolutions and decisions (1659), title-page, sigs. Tg−9, and passim. On the rigour shown by
conformists, see McAdoo, Caroline Moral Theology, 82–3, 131–7, and Wood, Casuistical Divinity, pp. xix,
137–9.

\[164\] See Appendix 1.

\[165\] Ibid. for further details of publication history.
laying down the rules to apply to ones that he had not; and by the eighteenth century moral theology and casuistry were changing their nature.\textsuperscript{166} Moreover, the limited sales for works of this kind may reflect the fact that few laymen wanted a large or technical volume on the theory of casuistry, or a survey of a large number of cases that were not the particular one that was bothering them at the time.\textsuperscript{167} It may also suggest that the market was largely confined to professionals with limited funds—ordinands and ministers. Despite some claims to the contrary,\textsuperscript{168} casuistry was not an everyday concern of the book-buying public.

x. *Godly Living Handbooks in the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Periods*

Treatises on the theme of godly living for the Protestant laity sold well throughout the two centuries after the Reformation, and compared to other types of treatise in many cases sold a higher than average number of copies. Indeed, the market for such works was already growing rapidly in the pre-Reformation period.

In Richard Whitford’s *Werke for householders* (1530), for example, we have a work which included an exposition of basic religious formulae; forms of self-examination for sin; prayers, and meditations on Christ’s life for use every day; and an insistence that parents and householders should be responsible for teaching their children and servants how to live well and for leading regular domestic worship. Prepared by a London-based monk who clearly felt that he knew the religious lives of the citizens well, the *Werke* was in sufficient demand to require ten editions in eight years.\textsuperscript{169} As recent commentators have noted, however, there are various ways in which Whitford’s work, and others written in the vernacular for a primarily lay audience, anticipated those of the Protestants. Whitford’s observation that ‘it should . . . be a good pastime and much meritorious for you that can read to gather your neighbours about you on the holy day, especially the young sort, and read to them this poor lesson’ could, with minor alterations (such as the deletion of the reference to merit) be matched by Protestant emphasis on reading edifying works, especially on the sabbath.\textsuperscript{170}

Among the first Protestant works to appear was *The governance of vertue* [1540?] which was dedicated to Jane Seymour by Thomas Becon, a minister

\textsuperscript{166} For Sanderson’s career and reputation as a casuist, see *DNB*; McAdoo, *Caroline Moral Theology*, 71–2; and Kelly, *Conscience*, 30–4, 38–9; and on later changes to moral theology and casuistry, see McAdoo, *Caroline Moral Theology*, 66, 97, 130, and Leites, *Conscience and Casuistry*, passim.

\textsuperscript{167} The exception to this statement was Perkins’s *Cases of conscience*, but as indicated above this had many of the features of a catechism or a doctrinal treatise or a handbook on introspection which, together with its being first in the field, perhaps gave it an edge.


\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., 87; Brigden, *London*, 74; and cf. below, n. 227.
in Kent and London; this was reprinted six times by the late 1570s. Designed to teach ‘all faithful Christians, how they ought daily to lead their life, and fruitfully to spend their time unto the glory of God and the health of their own souls’, and drawing on humanist as well as medieval ideas, this work offered advice on what to do when rising, eating, and so on throughout the day until the point when the Christian undressed and went to bed.\footnote{171} Thereafter a great deal more advice was offered, together with suitable scripture texts and examples, on avoiding worldly sins such as swearing, keeping evil company, gluttony, adultery, and malice, and guarding against temptations of a spiritual kind, such as idolatry, believing in the merit of our own works, and being dissuaded from reading the Bible. Becon’s overt hostility to a number of Catholic practices mark this work out from its Catholic predecessors, just as his warning of the dangers of denying the Gospel and persecuting the ‘godly’, and his concern for ‘carnal security’ among the regenerate and despair at a late conversion mark it out to some extent from many later Protestant ones.\footnote{172}

In many respects Becon’s was very much a product of when it was written and revised, and the decline in its popularity after the 1570s probably reflects both this and the appearance of alternatives by the turn of the century.

Among the latter, an obvious example is Robert Cleaver’s \textit{A godly form of householde government} (1598) which provided meticulously detailed advice on the ‘ordering of private families, according to the direction of God’s word’. This covered both piety—going to church as a household unit, reading the scriptures, ensuring that children could rehearse the Creed and Decalogue, and praying to God—and secular matters—taking care in one’s calling, avoiding lewd pastimes, advice on what kind of husband or wife to choose, and the mutual duties of married couples, parents and children, and servants and masters. With this may be paired Dod and Cleaver’s \textit{Plain and familiar exposition of the ten commandements} (1603), which was published when they were suspended from preaching in their Oxfordshire livings, and which covered much of the same ground in the case of commandments such as the second and fourth and the second table generally.\footnote{173} Unusually long and published in roman type from the start, these works probably had most appeal for those with the money to buy and the time and inclination to study them. Some of the detail on domestic practice, such as edifying conversation with other members of the faithful, is distinctively ‘godly’, but the overall structure and a fair proportion of the detail is much the same as in Lancelot Andrewes’s exposition of

\textit{The governance of vertue} (1566), title-page, sigs. A4–8\textsuperscript{r}, and pp. 1–5\textsuperscript{v}; and \textit{Christian’s ABC}, ch. 10.
the Decalogue and later on Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy living* and Richard Allestree’s *The whole duty of man*: there were differences but within a continuum. A somewhat different work is Perkins’s *Whole treatise of the cases of conscience*, which (as we have seen) was a composite work, partly dealing with questions of faith and obedience, and partly tackling matters such as reading the scriptures, how to worship God, hearing sermons, taking the sacraments, fasting, sabbath observance, temperance in dress, food, apparel and recreation, liberality, and so on. A much livelier work, in the form of a dialogue but with many rules, prayers, and meditations for different times of the day was Richard Bernard’s *A weekes worke. And a worke for every weeke* (1614), published just after he had moved from his Nottinghamshire living to one in Somerset.

But by then a much more formidable rival had appeared: Lewis Bayly’s *The practise of pietie, directing a Christian how to walke that he may please God* (1612). This is often held up as a typical, even archetypal, ‘puritan’ work in the tradition of the works of Becon, Cleaver, and Dod already mentioned. To describe Bayly as ‘a moderate puritan prelate’ is perhaps fair: he was prepared to denounce what he saw as ‘popery’ in high places under James I, allegedly ordained ministers who refused to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles, held strict views on keeping the sabbath holy, and to judge from his best-selling treatise preferred to cite the Bible rather than the Fathers. He was also a firm believer in the different fates of those predestined to salvation and those foreordained to hell-fire, and expected the end of the world imminently; and his concern that people should not put off the moment of repentance for a single moment helped to persuade the young John Bunyan to reform his ‘vicious life’.

On the other hand Bayly was not a typical puritan and his handbook does not sit altogether comfortably in any one camp. Bayly was a sufficiently good courtier to gain and keep the royal favour, and managed (as one observer has put it) ‘to survive accusations which would have ruined most other people’, including immorality, simony, and other forms of dishonesty. He also devoted much space in *The practise of pietie* to urging conformity to the established church, defended the practice of private confession to a priest and the ringing of church bells on Sunday, condemned those who would not kneel or take off their hats in church, and devoted one of his longest sections to preparing

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74 See Appendix 1 for Andrewes’s *Patterne of catechistical doctrine* and the other works cited. As far as I am aware no detailed comparison of these works has been published, not even by Sears McGee in his *Godly Man in Stuart England* (New Haven and London, 1976); but cf. M. Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge, 1987), chs. 4–6.

75 See above, n. 152.

76 See Appendix 1 for further details.


78 Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 369; Stranks, *Anglican Devotion*, 38, 42–5, 49–50, 60; DNB. Later in the century, when Bayly’s reputation was under attack, the work was said to have been written largely by a godly puritan minister, from whose widow Bayly secured it on promise of a payment he never made: Stranks, *Anglican Devotion*, 40.
readers for participating in the Lord’s Supper, in the course of which he used impassioned language of a kind not often found elsewhere in the book. While he believed in predestination, he also devoted two pages to biblical instances proving that God never denied his mercy to any man who was truly repentant. All of this may help to explain why in the 1640s, after nearly forty editions had appeared in England alone in twenty-eight years, there was apparently an attempt by those then in power to suppress the work.\textsuperscript{179} This was not successful, and new editions of the work continued to be published almost every other year until well into the eighteenth century. It was also translated into Welsh and many other languages, such as German, French, Hungarian, Romanian, and Italian, and is thought to have been not without influence in the rise of pietism in Holland and Germany: nearly seventy editions of a German edition of Bayly’s work had been published by 1750.\textsuperscript{180}

Why did a work described by one modern reader as ‘long and shapeless’ and neither inspiring nor affecting, prove so popular?\textsuperscript{181} One possible reason is that it came to be recommended to a wide range of readers: from princes and gentry to young children who had only just learnt to read.\textsuperscript{182} A second is that some editions were printed in very cheap editions with the text crammed on to a twenty-fourmo or thirty-twomo page, instead of the usual duodecimo, to keep prices down.\textsuperscript{183} A third is that for once its very length may have helped it sell. At an early stage Bayly enlarged the work due to ‘the importunities of many devoutly disposed’ anxious for more material on certain points, and the result was a work which regularly filled 800 pages of text. But that text included a wide range of material presented in such different ways that the result was half a dozen works rolled up into one: a book of instruction; a manual of devotions and meditations; a pre-communion treatise; a work on preparing to make a good death; a short polemical section on the main errors of the ‘papists’; and an uplifting ‘colloquy’ or ‘soliloquy’ between the soul and her saviour. Perhaps it was not meant to be read from cover to cover, but dipped into at need.

At the outset there was basic instruction about the properties and works of God and the Trinity, and explanations of how certain scripture passages had been misinterpreted. There were large numbers of meditations containing much exegetical material on specific themes, and prayers and meditations of differing lengths for different occasions during the day. Like other authors, Bayly also listed possible hindrances to the practice of piety and indicated

\textsuperscript{179} Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 36–49, 45, 52–6; L. Bayly, The practise of piete (1629), passim; and below, Appendix 1 for further details.

\textsuperscript{180} Ward, Protestant Evangelical Awakening, 12, 48; Continental pietism in turn exerted influence of England through the Wesleys and their friends: ibid., ch. 8.

\textsuperscript{181} Sommerville, Popular Religion, 35.

\textsuperscript{182} For appeal to and use by the gentry, see below, nn. 185–6; early editions were dedicated to the young Prince Charles.

\textsuperscript{183} A point made to me by Dr Kenneth Fincham. These editions were probably mainly produced abroad in Holland: see STC: 1612, 1614–5, 1616–5, 1619–5, 1620, and Wing B1477, 1480.
how they could be overcome. He also offered detailed advice on bible reading to ensure that the whole was read through once a year, and on family prayers. There was a ‘religious discourse’ to be read on Sundays, and much other advice on how the sabbath should be spent (as in the expositions of the fourth commandment cited above). There was instruction on how to behave at different points of the service in church, on fasts and feasts, and how to make a long, thorough preparation for worthy reception of communion.

There was then a very long section on sickness and death, comprising over a quarter of the book. The advice here was a mixture of the practical and the spiritual: detailed advice on how to draw up a will and where to keep it, and telling visitors not to stand and stare or make unhelpful comments. On the other hand, much the greatest stress was on the spiritual preparation of the invalid, aided by the prayers and exhortations of relations and visitors. This involved self-examination for sin and repentance; when necessary, private confession to a godly pastor who had ‘a power, and authority (upon repentance) to absolve thee from thy sins’; and the taking of communion on the deathbed. There were two final sections: a list of the chief errors of the Church of Rome, as in the polemical treatises we noted in Chapter 4; and a ‘divine colloquy’ or ‘soliloquy’ in which the soul, ‘ravished in contemplation of the Passion of our Lord’, constantly compares man’s sinfulness with Christ’s perfection, in language which could be compared to that of the metaphysical poets of the day.\footnote{184}

To judge from the first editions, the work had initially been targeted at adults, and relatively prosperous ones at that. The woodcut on the title-page of many early editions contained some typical and some less usual religious motifs of the day, but was topped by the depiction of a ‘pious man’ in a fur-trimmed cloak kneeling between on the left side a desk or table (marked ‘Read’) with a book and candle on it, and on the right a symbolic altar (marked ‘Pray’). The amount of time Bayly expected his readers to spend on their knees or reading the Bible (three chapters a day); his condemnation of the evil example set by some great persons being a handicap to others’ practice of piety; his exhortation to readers to give alms freely and without grudging to the poor; the description of religion as ‘the best building and surest entailing of house and land to a man and his posterity’; and the often erudite or academic tone of some of the didactic passages and the use of roman rather than black-letter type—all suggest an expected audience of gentry or perhaps the richer citizens of All Saints, Evesham, to whom Bayly gave the sermons which may have formed the basis of parts of the treatise.\footnote{185}

Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes note that Bayly’s work appears regularly on the book lists of the gentry, and cite different examples of its use: a father

\footnote{184}{L. Bayly, \textit{The practice of pietie} (1629), sig. A\textsuperscript{9} and passim; Stranks, \textit{Anglican Devotion}, 41–60.}

\footnote{185}{The frontispiece of the 1619 edition is reproduced on p. 362 of Heal and Holmes, \textit{Gentry}.}
recommending his son to read and meditate on it; a husband reading part of it to his wife during her dying moments; a husband bequeathing a copy to an errant wife in hope that she might reform. But in fact, different sections may have appealed to different kinds of readers, and not just the gentry or middling sort or older Christians. Perhaps Canon Stranks has the key: ‘The vast numbers who read The practise of piety did so because it represented the kind of life they thought a good man should lead. They might not themselves attempt to carry it out in all its particulars, but it coloured their view of what character ought to be.’

xi. Godly Living Handbooks in the Later Seventeenth Century

Two handbooks that would prove extremely popular in later Stuart England were both first published in the 1650s: Jeremy Taylor’s The rule and exercises of holy living (1650), which had passed through about twenty-one editions by the 1730s, and Richard Allestree’s The whole duty of man (1658), of which over eighty editions may have been published in its first seventy years.

Holy living had been written in an isolated if aristocratic environment—the seat of the earl of Carbery in Wales to which Taylor had drifted from civil war Oxford after the king’s defeat—and with the support of the earl’s second wife, who in addition to coping with a shiftless husband and ten children was a daily attender at the services held by Taylor, and an avid student of religious and secular works. Not surprisingly, then, Holy living began with an appeal to the gentry whose inactivity Taylor (like Edward Hyde and other loyalists) felt had helped bring about the disasters of the late 1640s, and with a denunciation of the decline of religion into something which was ‘painted upon banners’ (in the parliamentarian army) ‘and thrust out of churches’. In the text he provided supporters of the old church who had lost the services of its clergy with a medium-sized handbook (400 pages of duodecimo) describing ‘the means and instruments of obtaining every virtue’ and ‘resisting all temptations’, and offering prayers ‘containing the whole duty of a Christian’. After a statement of basic doctrines on God and man, there follow four sections: on the proper use of our time, the duty of the soul towards itself, duties towards others, and (the longest of all) duties to God.

A great deal of Taylor’s handbook has parallels with earlier works: the suitable devotions for morning, noon, and evening, and other occasions (found in

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186 Heal and Holmes, Gentry, 361, 363-4, 367-9, 371.
187 Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 62.
188 See Appendix 1 for details; from the 1680s Holy living was regularly published in tandem with its partner, The rule and exercises of holy dying, and copies bound together (ibid.). For a recent assessment of these works, see J. Taylor, ‘Holy Living’ and ‘Holy Dying’, ed. P. G. Stannard (2 vols., Oxford, 1989), i, pp. xv–xxiv; ii, pp. xiii–xxviii.
189 [J. Taylor], The rule and exercises of holy living (1651), title-page, and sig. q3. The text as opposed to the title-page and preface does not attack those in power, and the sections on bearing affliction and Taylor’s own losses are not as bitter as might be expected.
both godly living treatises and manuals of devotions); the stress on temperance, humility, being content with one’s lot, forgiving others, and making amends to one’s neighbour for any wrong done, and on performing the duties owed to those above, below, and level with one in society (found in many catechetical expositions of the Decalogue and treatises on Christian conduct); and the exhortations to read the Bible, hear sermons, read good books, fast, pray, take the Lord’s Supper, give alms, help provide education, and so on (found in a wide range of works on godly living). The great length of many (though not all) of the prayers and the complex ideas handled therein, the assumption that his reader had time to pray and read and money to give to the poor, the detailed section on business ethics, together with the usually high standards of production of the printed version, also suggest that this work, like Bayly’s, was targeted at the upper and middling ranks of society.

What marks Taylor’s work out from previous ones is partly what he does not say. Compared to the high Calvinist preoccupation with signs of election and expectation of agonized wrestlings with conscience, or with the spiritual raptures or mysticism of some contemporary Catholic authors, Taylor’s version of the Christian life is one of constant prayer and edification, in which even everyday employment or public duties are devoted to the service of God. Taylor is also determined to see the positive side of the divine providence: what God has done for us, and how we should take delight in serving him. Where Bayly had included double predestinarian teaching before softening its harder edges in his subsequent sections of practical advice, Taylor simply omitted it, though whether this makes him a semi-Pelagian or merely one of those anxious to stem what they saw as a tide of antinomianism is another matter. On the other hand, compared to ‘godly’ authors, at least after the 1620s, he also had predictably more to say about obeying the king and respecting the clergy—sentiments which probably did no harm to further sales of the work once the monarchy had been restored in 1660.

It has been suggested that Taylor also said more about the sins of the flesh while nonconformists said more about sins of the mind. This is a little surprising given the strictures of the ‘godly’ and later dissenters against drunkenness and sexual incontinence. There is also the counter-view that moral casuistry was Taylor’s special forte and his advice was widely sought on such matters, and

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that what a later age might mistake for coarseness or prurience would probably have been seen by contemporaries as frankness or plain speaking. Certainly the relative weight he gave to these sins should not obscure the simplicity of his message in general and the beauty of some of the sections, for example on the love of God. Moreover, few works of a comparable nature came close to Taylor’s in terms of regular sales in the second half of our period, which may reinforce the point made by one historian that ‘simple moral guidance sells much better than original thought on matters of doctrine’.

The same may be said of *The whole duty of man* which it is now generally accepted was written by an Oxford academic, Richard Allestree, and which was so frequently reprinted that according to one calculation enough copies had been published by the end of Anne’s reign for every tenth household to have owned a copy. The need to stop pirate editions in England and later Ireland, and the drawing up of at least two greatly shortened versions of it and one in questions and answers, are other indications of the interest in and demand for this work. Copies have been found in the libraries of churchmen, students, aristocrats, gentry, merchants, and an eighteenth-century Virginia planter; it figured in the famous quarrel between Queen Anne, and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough; it was the last reading of a condemned murderer as he was drawn to Tyburn; and the mature Samuel Johnson could remember being ‘confined’ at home by his mother to read it on Sundays. Originally entitled ‘The practice of Christian graces’, *The whole duty of man* was designed as a ‘short and plain direction to the very meanest readers’ to show them how ‘to behave themselves so in this world that they may be happy for ever in the next’. It was divided into seventeen chapters (on duties to God, to ourselves, and our neighbours) to facilitate the reading of a chapter a week so that the whole book could be read through three times a year, and supported by 100 pages of prayers which on the whole are shorter and simpler than those in the handbooks already discussed. Allestree’s book was widely recommended by bishops and parish clergy after the Restoration, and also by dissenters such as Richard Baxter and Thomas Gouge; and it was admired by churchmen as diverse as the poet Thomas Traherne, a puritan turned conformist John Rawlet, the nonjuror John Kettlewell, the founder of the Methodists John Wesley, and the Evangelical Charles Simeon. One recent

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\[194\] See above, Ch. 6.ix; and Stranks, *Anglican Devotion*, 76.

\[195\] See above, Ch. 4, n. 12; Stranks’s comment on Bayly (above, n. 187); and Sommerville, *Popular Religion*, 99, for the comment that later Stuart authors associated with what he sees as ‘moralism’ were ‘among the favourite authors of the time’.


\[198\] [R. Allestree], *The whole duty of man* (1668), title-page, sig. A3, and passim; Stranks, *Anglican
assessment suggests that ‘its clear delineation of Christian virtues and systematic devotional apparatus are undoubtedly one explanation for the success and longevity of this manual’, and also argues that its ‘commonsensical, non-controversial, brand of theology’ was typical of that of the late seventeenth-century church. Another (by an author inclined to be critical of ‘Anglican’ works) concedes that ‘as a compendium of advice on moral conduct and social relations, the book would scarcely have been objectionable to any group except the more egalitarian Quakers’, and that its treatment of most topics was ‘systematic and sensible’.

What some in later generations would see as a deficiency in its teaching on justification by faith and on grace has to be viewed in context. Allestree wanted to reinforce rather than replicate the teaching in the church’s official formularies, which were clear on these scores. He was also extremely anxious to turn back the tidal waves of sin which many by the 1650s felt were threatening to engulf them, and to redress the balance between faith and piety which extreme Calvinists were thought (rightly or wrongly) to have tilted away from piety. Moreover, like many other later Stuart episcopalians Allestree was anxious to remind his readers that they had been admitted into the covenant of grace at baptism, and had to try to keep their side of the covenant and to renew it at regular intervals through communion. Also in practice, like other so-called ‘moralists’ of the period, Allestree constantly mentioned the need for the help of divine grace if a Christian was to perform his duties. Allestree was probably also keying into the still vigorous humanist tradition of moral philosophy and the ‘courtesy books’ and literature on conduct and civility.

A llestree’s best-seller represents a clear attempt to reach a wider audience than many previous works. The frequent references to the ‘meanest reader’, those of ‘meanest intellect’, and ‘the simplest man living’, the generally simpler, non-technical language and practical directions, and the provision of shorter devotions, especially for the artificer at work and the husbandman at the plough, all suggest that the author had taken on board the need for a work that would be more accessible than those of Bayly or Taylor. The work is also given a ‘modern’ feel by the greater role attached to the use of reason in


Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 125, 147–8; and my Christian’s ABC, 419–20, 472–5. See also Spurr, Restoration Church, chs. 6–7.

Sommerville, Popular Religion, 38.

See above, p. 301; and Allestree, Whole duty of man, sigs. A7–11v, and pp. 53–4, 85, 158.

For moral philosophy, see below, Ch. 7.iii; and on courtesy books and civility, K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (1965), 82–5; L. B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, 1935), ch. 5 and pt. ii generally; D. Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1962), 331–4; and Stannard, ‘Holy Living’, i, pp. xliii, xlvii–li.

[R. Allestree], The whole duty of man (1671), title-page, sigs. A2v, A3v, and passim.
religious matters. If a man applies ‘the same rules of common reason, whereby he proceeds in his worldly business’, he will be able to understand what his Christian duty is, and the attractiveness of that duty is suggested by describing the unattractiveness of its opposite, for example the damaging effects of excessive drinking and keeping good fellowship.\footnote{R. Allestree, *The whole duty of man* (1671), sigs. A3–12, and pp. 47–8, 62–72, 109–19, 375–474.}

At the same time it is still a conservative document. The move towards greater accessibility for slow readers was far from complete; the stress on regular periods of prayer, self-examination, and study, not just on Sundays but weekdays as well, still reflected expectations of what the average reader could provide in the way of time, space, privacy; and even the candle-power to read, that were perhaps unrealistic; the appeal to reason and self-interest was only a more explicit form of the appeal implicit in older sermons and treatises which listed series of ‘motives’ for believing every point of doctrine or practising every Christian duty; and a great deal of the advice on spiritual and worldly behaviour could be found in the pages of Becon or Bayly, albeit here expressed more briefly. To judge from its sales, the references to its use, and the examples of its being given to confirmation candidates, *The whole duty of man* may well have established a socially more diverse readership than that of comparable earlier works, especially as a gift to the young or deserving poor, but it by no means represented the end of the road in the attempt to get the message across to the ‘meanest reader’.\footnote{Ibid., *passim*; for further points on the road towards accessibility, see Gouge’s *Christian directions* and Rawlet’s *Christian monitor*—discussed below.}

The position reached by this work can be readily appreciated if we compare it with a handful of other works which all sold at least a dozen editions (in some cases several more) in the period from the 1650s or the Restoration to the 1720s. Two of these tend to reinforce the impression that there was still a market for older style works, albeit not exactly the same as before, while the others show movement towards a different approach.

The first two were works by Allestree again: *The gentlemans calling*, which may have sold over two dozen editions between 1660 and 1717, and *The ladies calling*, perhaps sixteen editions between 1673 and 1727. Both were clearly aimed at a minority audience, perhaps including those of middling rank who wished to emulate the gentry as well as the landed elite themselves, and both have intriguing illustrations opposite the title-pages. In the first, ‘reputation’ is represented by a prince surrounded by courtiers, ‘nobility’ by a coroneted figure holding a coat of arms, and ‘justice’ by a blindfold female figure holding a set of scales, while ‘religion’ is depicted as a female figure holding aloft a bible and treading down death, represented by a skeleton; and the sort of books a gentleman might read are indicated by a bookshelf with sections for ‘Divinity’, ‘Morality’, and ‘History’. In the companion volume, a seated lady
is shown reaching up for a crown of glory while her jewellery lies scattered at her feet. The message of the first was that those blessed with such advantages as education, wealth, opportunity, and authority should use those gifts wisely and in a Christian fashion, not only for their own sakes but also for those less favourably placed than themselves. The second tried to defend the reputation of women from the criticisms often levelled against them, urged on them the general importance of the woman’s role, for example in the family, and the particular virtues of modesty, meekness, compassion, affability, and piety; it also offered more specific advice for ‘virgins’, ‘wives’, and ‘widows’. These works probably reflect the recent concern at declining standards of behaviour among the social elite, but at the same time hark back to an earlier age of concern for reputation, ‘noblesse oblige’, and paternalistic chauvinism. Their sales (as of similar works by other authors and works on civility) probably reflects the acceptability of these ideas to some book buyers, even if it was only among those who bought copies to give to others to read.

The other works are very different. *Apples of gold for young men and women* by the London preacher, Thomas Brookes, sold perhaps more than twenty editions between 1657 and 1717, and though it also offered ‘a crown of glory for old men and women’ was one of that growing body of works designed especially for the young. The author hoped the treatise would be pleasurable to read and also a means of winning souls to Christ; and the ‘doctrines’ he provided as headings (for example, that it was commendable for the young to be good, though they were prone to certain sins) were supported both by reasons and a flood of lively stories and allusions, culled from the Bible, the classics, mythology, and nature, and often presented in an anecdotal fashion. A later nonconformist would refer to Brookes’s ‘many homely phrases and sometimes too familiar resemblances, which to nice critics might appear ridiculous’, but conceded that any means of winning souls deserved a chance. A similar work by another Bartholomew victim, Thomas Gouge—*The young man’s guide, through the wilderness of this world*—had a similar intent: to urge children, apprentices, and young persons to remember their creator in the days of their youth, but although much shorter than Brookes’s work was not nearly as lively, and sold only six editions in over sixty years.

Gouge’s *Christian directions, shewing how to walk with God all the day long* sold much better, perhaps thirteen editions between 1661 and 1734; and what was significant here was perhaps less the content (which was very much in the tradition of Becon, Bayly, and Allestree) than the presentation (much shorter chapters) and the fact that publication of this work was matched by realism.
on the ground. Gouge ensured that every family in his London parish was given a copy, and exulted in the fact that not only could those in more prosperous families read, but also that all poor children in the parish were ‘taught to read and write gratis’ by such schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who teach them their catechism’ whose salaries were paid by contributions raised from the better-off in the parish. Where Allestree and indeed many more before him had assumed literacy or encouraged those who could read to teach others to do the same, Gouge actually got down to organizing the teaching of literacy and the providing of good books to be read in the home—a move made by other later Stuart clergymen, and an anticipation of the Charity School and Sunday School movements of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{211}

The last title in this group is the moderate John Rawlet’s \textit{The Christian monitor} which ran a moderately close second to \textit{The whole duty of man} for the number of editions published from the mid-1680s to the late 1720s. It also seems to have been published in much larger print runs than normal, of 5,000 copies each, if we can believe the claim in the twentieth edition (in 1696) that 95,000 copies had already been sold.\textsuperscript{212} The reasons for this are not hard to see. The work was, as the title-page proclaimed—justifiably for once—‘written in a plain and easy style’. It was also much the shortest of the godly living treatises considered so far—only fifty pages of octavo—having been designed from the outset that it ‘may more easily be read and remembered by such as have neither time to read large books, nor money to buy them’, whom Rawlet said he often met in his large urban parish in Newcastle.\textsuperscript{213} It would, he hoped, be ‘scattered abroad upon pedlars’ stalls and thence come into the hands of the common people . . . rather than be solemnly laid up and buried in the libraries of the learned’. Normally sold at 3d., it was also sold in job lots of 100 copies for a pound, or just over 2d. each, to ‘those that are charitably disposed’ to give them away, a number of whom had apparently encouraged Rawlet to go ahead and publish his work.\textsuperscript{214}

It was also written by a man with some sympathy for the poor: he had himself been so short of funds that he could not complete his degree course at university. He was anxious to tell his readers that ‘God is no respecter of persons. Christ died for poor men as well as rich’, and that those who were heirs to nothing on earth may be heirs of the heavenly kingdom if they be rich in faith and love (though he added a warning later that the poor should not think that they would be saved ‘merely because you are poor’). He urged householders to attend church regularly with as many of their family ‘as can


\textsuperscript{212} J. Rawlet, \textit{The Christian monitor} (1696), sig. F3v.

\textsuperscript{213} Ibid., title-page, and p. 3.

\textsuperscript{214} Ibid., p. 4; and as n. 212.
possibly be spared’ from their other duties, and told them not to avoid coming to church because they did not have proper clothes or could not afford to put anything into the collection. Rawlet’s plans for the rich to help pay for the education of poor children and to provide all poor households with cheap copies of the Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, and The whole duty of man, at less than 5s. a house, also represent a stage towards the raising of standards of literacy as well as providing books as a means of promoting knowledge of God and religion, and preventing the spread of ‘brainsick opinions and false principles’.

For Rawlet also occupied a middle position between conformity and dissent in that he was a protégé of Baxter’s but became a conformist. So it was the services of the church ‘as by law established’ that people were urged to attend, not the assemblies of the ‘papists’ or ‘sectaries’; it was the church’s communion that he encouraged them to attend to renew their baptismal vow; and it was the Prayer Book catechism that he cited to support his argument, and the Prayer Book communion service he recommended people to read if they had no other good books to hand, such as a bible or copy of The whole duty of man. (Like Allestree, he also learnt to the view that God had given man reason ‘chiefly to fit him for religion’, and like Allestree and Jeremy Taylor argued that the truly faithful could be content even in the greatest adversity.) But Rawlet preached the message that God had sent his son into the world ‘to seek and save us sinners’ and that the office of the Holy Ghost was ‘to sanctify us, and all the elect people of God’, and put it across with an evangelistic fervour for securing genuine repentance which, rightly or wrongly, is associated particularly with ‘godly’ and dissenting authors. ‘Will you not be moved by all that Christ has done and suffered for you?’, he asked; ‘Will you tread under foot his most precious blood, and even crucify him afresh?’ And the prayer for grace he annexes to the end of the treatise begins ‘O God, I am a vile sinner’.

There is a further handful of titles in our sample that could be classified as godly living treatises, but which did not sell nearly as well as those just described. The presbyterian Richard Alleine’s Vindiciae pietatis (1660) was in part a ‘vindication of godliness’, and in part ‘directions for the attaining and maintaining of a godly life’, directed at both godly and ungodly. Its vocabulary and style are relatively simple, but the work is quite long and the structure reflects the work’s origins as sermons rather than a specialist treatise. Practical Christianity; or, an account of the holiness which the Gospel enjoins (1677) by Richard Lucas, a Welsh schoolmaster soon to be promoted to livings in

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215 J. Rawlet, _The Christian monitor_ (1696), pp. 24, 45, 36, 38; and DNB.
216 Rawlet, _Christian monitor_, 51, and see above, p. 92.
London, was designed as a treatise in ‘an easy method and familiar style’, and in 300 pages he combined a detailed description of Christian duty with ‘motives’ to leading a holy life, and suitable prayers at the end of each section. But he sometimes lapsed into quite long, demanding sentences and could be patronizing towards the ‘multitudes of people of a lower rank and capacity’.  

The happy ascetick (1681) by Anthony Horneck (the German-born and educated preacher at the Savoy who also wrote two pre-communion works in the sample) was a substantial ‘discourse’, and though colourfully written was also probably again aimed at moderately well-educated readers. It was intended to call men away from the shadow to the substance of religion, and listed fifteen ‘ordinary exercises of godliness’—such as regular prayer, studying humility, and doing all things to God’s glory—and four extraordinary ones—solemn vows, fasting, vigils, and ‘self-revenge’.  

The measures of Christian obedience (1681) by a conservative divine, John Kettlewell, was also designed as a practical treatise to promote piety and a peaceful conscience in ‘the plain and unlearned reader’ who knew no learned languages, by showing ‘what obedience is indispensably necessary to a regenerate state’. However, from its great length (over twice that of Lucas and half as long again as Horneck), the use of ‘learned languages’ in the marginal notes, its polished style, and occasionally abstruse vocabulary, it would appear that the ‘truly pious soul’ for whom Kettlewell had first written this book was again a moderately well-educated person with some leisure.  

Similarly, The Christian life (1686) by a London rector, John Scott, might be advertised as being ‘fitted to the several states of Christians’, but the author could not stop his pen running away with him, and ended up writing five large volumes on the subject, in which he often did not bother to translate the Latin and Greek terms or verse that he cited. His aim of proving that ‘the practice of every virtue is an essential part of the Christian life, and a necessary means to the blessed end of it’, his provision of long prayers for those who could retire to their ‘closet’ in the morning, his obvious dedication to the Church of England, and his somewhat orotund style meant that at least the opening three volumes proved moderately popular in some circles in the closing decades of the seventeenth century.  

The reason why these titles, and others stressing the advantages of pursuing a godly life and the reasonableness of Christianity, did not sell as well as those of Taylor, Allestree, and Rawlet are fairly self-evident: either their readerships were more limited, or there were technically better or more suitable and often cheaper works on offer.

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221 A. Horneck, The happy ascetick (1699), passim.
223 J. Scott, The Christian life (1686), title-page, sig. A6r, pp. 396, 399–436, and passim; for the later parts, see Appendix 1 below.
224 For some other works on the reasonableness of Christianity, see above, pp. 236–7.
Our final group of 'practical' works consists of a smaller set of works, on godly dying, which in many ways mirror or reinforce what has been said already in this chapter. The literary tradition of the *ars moriendi* or 'art of dying well' seems to have been a late medieval creation. In the fifteenth century we find Gerson advising priests and those caring for the poor and sick how to help others to die 'well and surely'; a longer *Tractatus*, which circulated quite widely in manuscript and was translated into English as the *[Boke of the] Craffe of dyinge*, and a shorter work consisting of woodcuts and text showing the less educated laity how to resist the temptations which might otherwise lead them to hell.  

While some aspects of the *Crafte* were not acceptable to most early Protestants, such as confession to a priest, reception of the eucharist, and extreme unction, others were: the condemnation of the idea of earning salvation, and the stress on a belief in Christ's redemptive powers; the dangers (first stated by the Fathers) of delaying repentance until one was on one's deathbed; and the provision of prayers for the sick person and others present to say. Thus, as Nancy Lee Beaty has pointed out, Thomas Becon's *Sycke mans salve* (which sold twenty-five editions between c.1560 and 1632) had a number of parallels with earlier works in the *ars moriendi* tradition: a stress on the brevity of man's life on earth; death being a departure of the pilgrim from this vale of misery, and a schoolmaster to the living; God's saving grace in Christ being assured to those with true faith; and the provision of a large number of prayers. However, Becon's work was far longer, and he used the extra space not only to engage in rabidly anti-Catholic diatribes, but also to introduce material from the Bible and the classical-humanist tradition, and to develop a Calvinist emphasis on the divine plan of salvation, including the need to obtain assurance of election. As a recent observer has noted, the work creates a 'daunting impression of the knowledge and faith expected of the dying Protestant'.  

What also strikes a modern reader about Becon's work is the form he chose and his intended target. It is not a long moralizing essay or technical treatise, but a long dialogue between a number of characters with appropriate Latin names such as 'Theophilus' and 'Epaphroditus' who range over a wide range of matters of both a practical kind (making a will, taking leave of family and friends, and preparing for a funeral) and a spiritual (coping with affliction, temptation, and doubts, making a confession of faith). However, although the
sick man is the centre of the story that unfolds, a great deal of the material, and indeed the whole idea of an edifying dialogue to be read in private, is aimed at encouraging Becon’s readers to lead better lives so that they might make a blessed end. Becon also portrays ‘Epaphroditus’ as a rich man, capable of leaving £400 to the poor, £100 each to Oxford and Cambridge, £6 8s. 4d. to each of his servants, and money for a funeral sermon and funeral gowns for thirty poor men and women and thirty poor children. He had also apparently been brought up a Protestant, in that he is told that his baptism is a ‘sure token of the favour of God towards you’ and that he is predestinated to salvation, and that his coming to the Lord’s Supper with a desire for communion is also a token that he is elect. The length of the work and of many individual speeches, the fairly demanding character of many of the prayers, and the use of Latin names for the characters all suggest that (as in many of his other works) Becon conceived a reader who was both well educated and anxious to tackle such a work. Its quasi-dramatic form and the lack of a specific alternative until the last few years of Elizabeth’s reign probably help to explain its appeal.

The nearest to an alternative before the last few years of the sixteenth century were the section on the ‘day of death’ in part 1 and the chapter against ‘delay of resolution’ in part 2 of the godly living treatise written by Parsons and revised by Bunny. The first of these sections contains a lively account of the torments of the deathbed as an inducement to meditate on one’s sins and resolve to leave the vanities of this world, which Bunny revised without changing its central thrust—perhaps a little surprisingly since he was presumably of the opinion that Catholic teaching on attrition was erroneous. The second was subject to greater excisions and modifications (to Parsons’s great disgust), perhaps because as a Calvinist Bunny did not want to overstate the evils of deathbed repentance: in general it could not be condemned strongly enough, but since God moved in mysterious ways a deathbed conversion for one of the elect was not totally impossible. Nevertheless, Bunny’s choice of Parsons’s work and the limited changes he made to it in his own version may represent a recognition of the need for a greater emphasis on the affective elements in Christian devotion than had existed in some earlier Calvinist works.

At the very end of the sixteenth century, three works appeared which were more obvious contributions to a holy dying tradition and which would to a large extent supplant Becon: William Perkins’s A salve for a sicke man (1595), Gabriel Powel’s The resolved Christian (1600), and Christopher Sutton’s Disce mori: learne to dye (1600). For his treatise Perkins chose the same title as Becon, but his work is both much shorter and more conservative in being built round a

230 Bunny, Booke of Christian exercise (1585), 100–20; and cf. Beaty, Craft of Dying, ch. 4.
231 Beaty, Craft of Dying, 184; Bunny, Booke of Christian exercise, 425–58.
232 Beaty, Craft of Dying, 185–6.
specific text. Perkins tried to describe ‘the nature, differences, and kinds of death, as also the right manner of dying well’ and offered advice and meditations for those who were seriously ill. But much of his concern was to urge the necessity of preparing daily for death on those who ran the risk of dying suddenly, such as sailors, soldiers, and women in childbirth, and on others who were neither old nor sick. At one point he deplored what he called the lately developed habit, ‘very common in this age’ even among those who had been in the bosom of the church for many years, that when people ‘lie sick and are drawing toward death they must be catechized in the doctrine of faith and repentance’, which just showed how little notice they had taken of those teachings previously. We know from his other writings, such as his catechism, that Perkins was worried about what he saw as the popular preference for deathbed repentance, and must assume that the treatise was designed to combat that, though the publishing of the text in roman type and later editions in quarto and folio may have limited the range of readers somewhat. In this context, it is instructive that the surviving deathbed accounts which reflect both the sequence and the details in Perkins’s Salve mostly come from prosperous and even aristocratic households, and that in many cases a ‘godly’ minister was present.

Powell’s work is less easy to categorize, perhaps partly because he was still very young when he wrote it. The focus of part one is on the certainty of death and the uncertainty of when it will come, and why men fear death and what remedies were available for such fears. Some space is given to encouraging patience and offering advice to those who were sick, but the work was also intended ‘to recall the worldling, to comfort the faint-hearted, [and] to strengthen the faithful’: those who were not mortified by their sins were ‘no fit inhabitants for the heavenly Jerusalem’. However, the second half of the book was designed specifically for those sentenced to death, with different sections for those who were ‘unpenitent and obstinate’, ‘penitent’ and ‘broken-hearted’, fearful of death, or wrongly condemned to death. The concern for condemned criminals ties in with what we know about the concern of Protestant clergy to try to reclaim their souls, and also with the genre of popular works that combined a lurid account of malefactors’ foul deeds with a description of their conversion and edifying ends. Either factor may have contributed to this work selling several editions in the reign of James I.

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233 W. Perkins, A salve for a sicke man (1595), title-page; the text used—Eccles. 7: 1—was also used for funeral sermons (see Ch. 4.vii above).

234 Perkins, Salve, p. 57, and passim; and id., Foundation of Christian religion (1590), sigs. A2r–3v; Houbrooke, ‘Puritan Death-bed’, 125–42. In theory the ‘godly’ objected to the dying confessing to a priest, but as Houbrooke’s account shows ‘godly’ clergy were regularly present to encourage full confession of sins.

235 G. Powel, The resolved Christian (1600), title-page, and p. 69, and 1–150 passim.

236 Powel, Resolved Christian, 151–302. Powell regularly told the ‘godly’ of the persecution they might face, but the message that God was ready to receive repentant sinners, and the active verbs used to describe what to do to obtain remission of sins, are not explicitly predestinarian.

237 See below, Ch. 7.vii.
Sutton’s *Disce mori* was the partner of the *Disce vivere* discussed above, and passed through ten editions, five in an enlarged form; copies of the two were often bound together, in sequence or back to back. As a publication it is distinguished from the other works just discussed in that most editions were in duodecimo format and some editions were in black letter. It also had a series of woodcuts: on the temptation of Adam and Eve, the Last Judgement, a scene in which an old man warns a knight that ‘As thou art, I once was; as I am, so shalt thou be’, and one in which the knight in turn is conquered by a skeleton representing death. At the start and the end of this ‘religious discourse’ Sutton focused on the need for ‘every Christian’ including those who were still in good health to consider their latter end by considering how transitory were the things of this world, repenting while there was still time, and living a Christian life before Christ’s second coming. As one of the Oxford friends who persuaded Sutton to publish this piece wrote in a preface, ‘to teach to die well is the forciblest persuasive to live well’. At the core of the work, however, lay a series of chapters which combined learning, eloquence, and practicality. There were sections on what should be done when a person fell sick, including the making of ‘a will and bequeathing money to good ends such as ‘the maintenance of churches, colleges, schools, hospitals, and such like godly uses’; how those unwilling to die may be induced not to fear death; how to handle impatient sufferers, and those troubled in mind, or in the last throes; there were suitable readings, prayers, and a form of confession for those who were seriously ill, and consolation for mourners; and there were considerations to be borne in mind by travellers and others at risk of sudden death and by the suicidal. The tone was positive: there was more talk of heaven than hell, and of God than Satan; suitable texts were cited to prove that Christ came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance, and that those who died in the faith would be saved; and at one point the burial service in the Book of Common Prayer was paraphrased when a petitioner assumes that ‘it hath pleased thee to take this thy servant . . . unto thy heavenly kingdom.’

We have here a much more practical and positive approach than that of Becon or Perkins, and one that anticipates the later success of Jeremy Taylor. Before that, there appeared some works which did not sell well enough to qualify for our sample, such as George Strode’s *The anatomie of mortalitie* (1618), and *The doctrine of dying well*, perhaps by George Shawe (second edition 1628 and another c.1635), as well as a couple which are inside the sample. The first of these has already been mentioned—the sixteen chapters of ‘directions for sick and dying people’ in Bayly’s encyclopaedic *Practise of pietie*. As has been seen, Bayly adopted a combination of the practical and the spiritual that was

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238 These comments are based on the 1618 edition of [C. Sutton], *Disce mori* in the British Library.
240 Ibid., p. 304 and passim.
241 STC 223364–5, and 6934–34.5; on the latter, see Watt, *Cheap Print*, 290, 312.
similar to Sutton’s, but perhaps gave greater space than Sutton and certainly than Perkins to the role of the clergy, through confession and celebration of Communion of the Sick, as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. Bayly’s concern that the invalid’s heart be truly broken for his or her sins and that even the smallest sins be confessed has a hard edge that is not there in Sutton, and Satan figures much more than in the earlier work. But once a proper sense of sin is achieved Bayly is prepared to reassure the sick person that God never denied his mercy to those who were truly penitent and that ‘no sin should ever move a child of God to despair’.

The second is a very different work: Henry Montague’s Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis (1631), which was enlarged and partly rewritten in 1633 and published as Manchester al mondo, and passed through perhaps fifteen editions by the late 1680s. The author was a nobleman, the first earl of Manchester, and though he wrote from a firmly Christian perspective, he made regular comparisons with classical thought on the nature of death, why it should be welcomed, and how to prepare for it, and in some passages quoted Plato, Seneca, Epicurus and other ‘heathens’ almost as often as the Bible and the Fathers. The text was in English, but the classical parallels and high proportion of Latin citations, especially in the closing sections offering last thoughts for the dying, indicate the educational level of the intended reader.

xiii. Godly Dying Handbooks in the Later Stuart Period

With Jeremy Taylor’s The rule and exercises of holy dying, we reach a work that sold almost as many editions between the 1650s and the 1720s as Becon’s had done from the 1560s to the 1630s. It was written to calm the fears of dying of his aristocratic patroness, but like Holy living, was probably also intended for an episcopalian laity deprived of the church’s normal services and for ousted clergy as well. It is also noteworthy that neither the Greek epigraph on the title-page nor the Latin phrases in the large engraving which followed were translated into English. The engraving depicted an old man, a middle-aged man and woman, and a child confronted by symbols of mortality, and in the supporting texts they were exhorted to watch and pray because they did not know the hour of their death—like Sutton, a borrowing from pre-Reformation images and ideas.

Taylor described his work in the epistle dedicatory as ‘the first entire body of directions for sick and dying people that I remember to have been published in the Church of England’, suggesting he had not encountered or chose

\[\text{\textsuperscript{444}}\text{Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 59, and cf. 42–6, 50–61.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{445}}\text{See Appendix 1 for further details; the editions I consulted were the 1631 and the 1638.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{446}}\text{The edition used of J. Taylor, The rules and exercises of holy dying was the 1651 in the Bodleian. For discussion, see Stranks, Anglican Devotion, 86–93; Beaty, Craft of Dying, ch. 5 (where the work is seen as the climax of the medieval tradition); and Stannard, ‘Holy Living’, ii. pp. xiii–xxi.}\]
to ignore the works by Perkins, Powel, and Sutton, and the section in Bayly, though these had been published some decades earlier. Instead, he said, he drew his inspiration from the Bible, the Early Church, and his own pastoral experience, though he cited the classical moralists more than some earlier English authors. Nevertheless, like many of them he argued that the great art of dying well is ‘to be learnt by men in health’, that repentance can never come too soon, and that deathbed repentance was invalid because the individual needed to grow in grace. Accordingly the first four of his five chapters were directed in turn to the healthy, the sick, the gravely ill, and the dying. What marks out Taylor’s work are on the one hand the stress he puts on treating the Christian as both an individual with his own role to play and a member of a corporate body, the church, and on the other the emphasis he places on the role of the clergy, especially in the fifth chapter where he offers fellow clergy a short office for visitation of the sick as well as practical advice on confession, prayer, administration of the sacrament, and spiritual guidance. It is perhaps not surprising that the work left a marked impression on clergymen such as John Wesley and John Keble in succeeding generations, and also found a large market in the later Stuart period, probably both among the clergy and better-educated laity.

Half a dozen other titles in the sample are worth mentioning, because in their different ways they complemented Taylor’s work in terms of customer choice. *Time and the end of time* [1664?] by a Gloucestershire dissenting minister, John Fox, consisted of a pair of ‘discourses’ on how to spend one’s time best and on contemplating one’s latter end. Perhaps delivered originally as sermons, this work was also translated into Welsh, and proved sufficiently popular to sell over a dozen editions by 1720. Secondly, there is Edward Pearse’s *The great concern* (1671), subtitled ‘a serious warning to a timely and thorough preparation for death: with helps and directions in order thereunto’. The identity of the author is not clear: he might have been a clergyman ejected from a London post or a moderate conformist minister in Northamptonshire; but the opening has echoes of Taylor: ‘To walk with God here on earth while we live, and to be ready to live with God for ever in heaven when we come to die, is a great work we have to do.’ Pearse did not shirk from stating the terribleness of death and the way in which the Devil was most fierce at the hour of death, and regularly exhorted ‘all, good and bad, saints and sinners’ to consider their plight and make ready for that moment. But in general he adopted a very positive tone: God has spared us this long so we can prepare our souls for the hour of death, and there are many things we can do before then. The work was a good deal shorter than Taylor’s, was published

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245 Taylor, *Holy dying* (1651), sigs. a iv-ix (and see above, n. 203).
247 J. Fox, *Time and the end of time* (1683), title-page; and see Appendix 1 below.
in duodecimo at about a shilling, and as we shall see shortly came to be ‘recommended as proper to be given at funerals’.\textsuperscript{248}

Two even shorter and certainly cheaper works had already appeared in the late 1650s and (probably) the 1660s. One was *The dying mans last sermon*, variously attributed to ‘John Hart’ and ‘Andrew Jones’, of which the first surviving edition, the third, is dated 1659. Despite being a rather obvious scissors-and-paste job, it sold perhaps twelve editions in twenty-five years.\textsuperscript{249} The other was *Death triumphant*, attributed to Andrew Jones, of which the first surviving edition is the fifth of 1674. This is even more in the ‘penny godly’ genre: from the opening crude woodcut of a skeleton saying ‘I kill the soul’ and pointing a dart (symbolizing death) at an old man, a vain woman with cosmetic patches on her face, a young man, and a boy, through the mixture of scripture texts and a secular treatment (in verse and prose) of ‘Death’ as ‘the most renowned, mighty, puissant and irresistible champion, and conqueror’, who in his ‘notable fights’ had bested Alexander, Julius Caesar, and many lesser mortals, to the message that ‘death to a godly good man is a gracious friend’ to be welcomed by the faithful, and ‘Certain rules and directions how to live a godly life . . . so we may die a happy death, and not fear him when he comes’, and a concluding woodcut. Whether this was the work of a clergyman or a literary hack employed by a publisher is not clear, but the work sold perhaps eight editions in the 1670s and early 1680s.\textsuperscript{250}

At this point we may also anticipate a pair of works by a London rector, John Hayward, to be discussed in Chapter 7, because he adopted a variety of techniques to make his point. In *The horrors and terrors of the hour of death*, which sold twenty-one editions between 1690 and c.1730 there is a mixture of short sermons, advice on godly dying, and a number of dreadful warning stories about those who failed to act in time; and in the first part of *Hell’s everlasting flames avoided*, which sold thirty-five editions from the mid-1690s to the mid-1730s, Hayward combined exposition and soliloquy as the sinner lamented his wicked life, though this second work was more in the mould of urging repentance on the hard-hearted than preparing the sick and elderly for death.\textsuperscript{251}

*The Christians defence against the fears of death* by a Huguenot minister, Charles Drelincourt, was translated into English and published in 1675, having already (it was claimed) been printed fifteen times in French, as well as in Dutch and other languages. The work was said to possess ‘seasonable directions how to prepare ourselves to die well’, but in practice concentrated most on providing remedies and consolations, and prayers and meditations, to help cope with the fear of death among the living. It was a very long work, costing 6s. bound, and

\textsuperscript{248} E. Pearse, *The great concern* (1692), title-page, pp. 1, 58–9, 38–9; for the different attributions see British Library Catalogue and *Calamy Revised*, 384.

\textsuperscript{249} A. Jones, *The dying mans last sermon* ([1681–4]), passim; and cf. Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{250} A. Jones, *Death triumphant* (1681), opposite title-page; and passim.

\textsuperscript{251} See below, p. 442, and Appendix 1.
may have owed some of its success to being advertised as being ‘of very great use to divines for funeral sermons’, and suitable ‘to be given away by well-disposed persons at funerals’, as well as excellent for ‘every Christian reader’. It certainly continued to sell steadily throughout the eighteenth century, reaching a twenty-eighth edition in 1811.

William Sherlock’s A practical discourse concerning death also proved popular: it was reprinted every other year from 1689 to 1739, and beyond. Delivered originally as sermons to lawyers at the Temple, much of its material is familiar: different notions of death, the certainty of death but the uncertainty of the hour of our death, and how to ‘improve’ on these, together with remedies against the fear of death. What distinguished it from other works was its very straightforward message—‘If death arrests us while we are in a state of sin . . . we must die for ever; but if our souls are alive to God, by a principle of grace and holiness, before our bodies die, they must live for ever’—and the appeal to self-interest which we have noted creeping into the work of Allestree and other authors of godly living works in the later seventeenth century, as when Sherlock argued that since the pleasures of religion lasted longer than those of the flesh they were more gratifying, and so would persuade men to turn from the pleasures of this world to those of the next.

The 1692 edition of Pearse’s Great concern had an extra section in the preface, in which two publishers who were alive to the profits to be made from selling religious works offered ‘A proposition for the more profitable improvement of burials by giving of books’. The gist of this was that instead of wasting money on biscuits and wine or giving people memorial rings or gloves, those who were arranging funerals should give books that would make people think about their latter end. ‘We may say of a book given at funerals, what the divine Herbert says of a verse, viz. “A book may find him, who a sermon flies | And turn a gift into a sacrifice”’. What is valuable for us here is that the publishers then listed four groups of titles graded according to the wealth of those organizing the funeral: ‘for the poorer sort, books of 6d. price’, then ‘books at 1s.’, ‘books of 1s. 6d. and 2s.’, and, finally, ‘for the richer sort, books of 4, 5 and 6s. price’. The first group included only two titles, neither of which is in our sample (the ‘Hart’/‘Jones’ works were published by a rival set of publishers, and in any case may have been deemed not respectable enough); the second incorporated six titles, including Pearse’s own work and a couple of other works in the sample which have been discussed above under a related heading (calls to repentance); the third had eight titles, again including two in the sample; while the fourth had only three, but two of these were Taylor’s Holy living and Holy dying (as a single unit), and Drelincourt’s Christians defence against

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252 C. Drelincourt, The Christians defence against the fears of death (1675), title-page, sig. A1, and passim.
253 W. Sherlock, A practical discourse concerning death (1690), passim.
254 Ibid., 248, 74, 6–7, 10–35. There was also an occasional swipe at Calvinist doctrine: ibid., 185–6, 273–4.
the fear of death which we noted above had already been recommended as a gift to mourners at funerals.\textsuperscript{255}

The ‘proposition’ is interesting on various counts. It represents a contemporary identification of a genre of works on preparing for death, even if that genre was defined there more broadly than it has been here. It reinforces the impression that the idea of giving books was becoming more common, though in this case the gifts would be to those of equal or even superior social standing rather than simply to the poor. The proposal was also one with which most ‘pious persons’ were said (by the authors) to have agreed. What is also very revealing is on the one hand the grading of works horizontally according to the purchasing power of prospective givers, and on the other the mixture of authors normally treated as vertically divided into different camps: works by dissenters like Baxter, Bates, and Flavel rub shoulders with titles by leading conformists such as Patrick and Taylor since in bookselling terms they were all one.\textsuperscript{256} The fact that almost half of the works recommended in 1692 appear in our sample of steady and best-sellers also suggests that that sample is moderately reliable in giving us a picture of what was thought worth reading at the time and what was selling well.

xiv. Conclusion

Four further thoughts may be offered about the various works on the life of faith, cases of conscience, godly living, and godly dying discussed in this chapter.

First, they tended to be either quite large or at least of medium length, that is to say anything from about sixty pages of octavo or duodecimo to several hundred or even a thousand pages of quarto or even folio. Up to a point there was a shift from large works at the outset to middling works later on, but this did not go nearly as far as in other genres in our sample; even the abridging of popular titles which can be traced in many other genres took place unusually late in the works considered in this chapter.\textsuperscript{257} Moreover, with some exceptions (some editions of Bayly and Allestreee, Rawlet’s \textit{Christian monitor}, Pearse’s \textit{Great concern}, some of Bunyan’s titles, and some of the cheaper works on reassurance and repentance), these works were in general moderately well produced in terms of paper and type quality, and so were in the medium to expensive range in price. And because they were relatively expensive to buy and bind, and took time to read and some skill and knowledge to understand, the readership for these works was probably drawn mainly from the landed

\textsuperscript{255} Pearse, \textit{Great concern}, sigs. A3\textsuperscript{v}–4\textsuperscript{v}. In the second group was Baxter’s \textit{Now or never}, and \textit{The great assize}—presumably the work by Samuel Smith; and group three included S. Patrick, \textit{Hearts ease}, and ‘Drexelius on Eternity’. For Michael Sparke’s similar suggestion about giving books at funerals, see above, Ch. 1 n. 115.

\textsuperscript{256} Pearse, \textit{Great concern}, sigs. A3\textsuperscript{v}–4\textsuperscript{v}.

\textsuperscript{257} See above, n. 130, and below, nn. 261–2.
elite and the middling sort who wished to know more about what constituted true faith and how they should live their lives on earth. In short, compared to the cheap bibles and aids to bible study, some of the cheap devotional works discussed in previous chapters, and some of the entertaining and ‘popular’ works and the metrical psalters to be discussed in Chapters 7–9 below, relatively few of the best-sellers and steady sellers surveyed in this chapter were aimed at those with limited reading skills and limited funds, or made use of images.258

Secondly, while the works discussed in this chapter contained a higher proportion of ‘Calvinist’ or strongly double-predestinarian works than any of the genres in our sample, it would not be true to say that such works were the most popular. Even in the period from 1590 to 1660 when high Calvinism was at its peak in England, this was probably not true, as repeat editions of the works of authors like Thomas Rogers, Edmund Bunny, Christopher Sutton, Thomas Tymme, and Lewis Bayly suggest. Moreover, at quite an early stage, as we have seen, a reaction set in against the extremes of introspection and ‘holy desperation’, and various supplements or alternatives were made available from the 1620s to the 1650s and beyond, even before the anti-Calvinism of the sects in the 1640s and the 1650s and of the episcopalian in the 1650s and 1660s took its full toll. In general, works which were in that consensual middle ground that some historians have identified in the early Stuart period, or were open-ended in their appeal—directed at the great mass of the unregenerate, or at both converted and unconverted—tended to sell much better than works directed at those already called; and works which devoted more space to the love of Christ and his desire for the reader’s conversion sold much better than those with a high Calvinist framework or offering a detailed agenda for introspection. The predominant themes in the godly living and dying handbooks were also not markedly different from those found in works described in other chapters: the need for a true and lively faith, given through God’s grace, finding expression in a life framed, both inwardly and outwardly, by humility and repentance, self-denial and self-discipline in following the example of Christ, and being refreshed and strengthened by the correct use of the ordinances indicated in the Bible.

There was, of course, a risk—my third point—that in their attempts to balance the damning effect of the Law and the ‘everlasting flames of hell’ with the good news of the Gospel and the ‘eternal felicities of heaven’, and in their efforts to strike a balance between the need for faith and the need for piety, authors of all persuasions might come close to implying that ‘holy living’

258 Few works cited in this chapter had either frontispieces or illustrations: cf. Sutton’s Disce mori, Taylor’s Holy living and Holy dying, Baxter’s Saints everlasting rest, and Hayward’s Hell’s everlasting flames. Memento mori, for example, were found more often in ballads and pamphlets, such as Death triumphant: see above, n. 250, and below, pp. 466–7, and in New England, C. E. Hambrick-Stowe, The Practice of Piety (Chapel Hill, 1982), 219–23, 234–5.
would help lead the devout to ‘the saints’ everlasting rest’. As a result, it was possible for those laymen with little interest in or understanding of theological niceties to ignore these authors’ regular warnings about the limited number predestined to salvation and the need for faith and, through grace, sincere repentance throughout their lives, and to think—mistakenly—that they could achieve salvation in part, perhaps even in large part, through their own efforts. In this way, older ideas of a semi-Pelagian nature or which equated good works with a righteousness that God was bound to acknowledge could and did persist, even in the minds of the moderately well-educated and well-disposed, underneath and alongside the new Protestant emphasis on justification and salvation through faith in Christ’s merits alone.

In the light of the works discussed in this chapter one could also suggest, finally, that the moral rigour that can be found among High-Churchmen and nonjurors on the one hand and the teaching of the Evangelical Revival on the other marks less of a break with the past than might have been thought; and that the success of these later groups stemmed not from a sharp reaction against the emptiness or narrowness of existing teaching, but from the springboard provided by the efforts of a large number of zealous pastors and authors in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. On the one side we have John Kettlewell recommending Allestree’s *Whole duty of man* and William Law writing *Christian perfection* and *A serious call*—two works that would undoubtedly have been in our sample of steady sellers if the cut-off date was later than 1700. On the other we have John Wesley in his early twenties being strongly influenced by reading Jeremy Taylor’s *Rules and exercises of holy living and dying*, Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ* in the Stanhope edition, and the two works by Law just cited. That Wesley was anxious for others to be able to share his experience of the vivifying effect of print on paper is shown by his campaign to provide abridged, affordable editions of such works that would make the Gospel message ‘intelligible to plain men’. Thus his third publication in a publishing career that spanned over 370 titles was an edition in 1735 of à Kempis called *The Christian pattern*—a work he thought ‘ought to be in every house’.

Over the next decade Wesley read much more widely, and in the years 1749–55 he selected and published fifty little duodecimo volumes under the umbrella title of *A Christian Library*, which provided abridgements or abstracts of larger works written by a wide variety of authors: both medieval and contemporary, and both Catholic and various shades of Protestant. In his

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259 These phrases are culled from the titles or texts of various works cited earlier in this chapter.

260 This point will be developed below, in Ch. 10.


selection of the ‘choicest pieces of practical divinity’ for this series, Wesley included not only works by well-known churchmen such as Jeremy Taylor and Richard Allestree, which we have encountered in this chapter, but also a significant proportion of ‘godly’ titles, shorn where necessary of any objectionable predestinarian teaching. These abridgements included several of the works in our sample: Robert Bolton’s *Discourse about the state of true happiness* and *Some general directions for a comfortable walking with God*, John Preston’s *New covenant* and *Breast-plate of faith and love*, Thomas Goodwin’s *Child of light walking in darkness*, Richard Baxter’s *Saints everlasting rest* (a version of Baxter’s *Call to the unconverted* was published separately by Wesley), Richard Alleine’s *Vindiciæ pietatis*, and Joseph Alleine’s *Alarme to the unconverted*.

Comparison of the works recommended by Wesley with those recommended by Baxter in the 1670s in his *Christian directory* shows a good deal of overlap, and a number of Wesley’s favoured titles were also commended by a Caroline bishop, John Wilkins, and a leading dissenter of his own day, Philip Doddridge.

In this way, Wesley, the great-grandson and grandson of strong puritans and the son of a devout High-Churchman, was himself an heir of the doctrines of both the ‘godly’ and the conformist traditions of early modern English Protestantism, as well as of the pietist and revivalist movements on the Continent and in America which had helped make a work like Bayly’s *Practise of pietie* an international best-seller. Wesley not only shared the desire of earlier English authors to make the Christian message intelligible to ‘plain men’, but also in his publications of other people’s writing showed how much he had learnt from them (and their publishers) about how to make available to an ever-widening readership the best of what their traditions taught on Christian faith and practice.

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264 Ibid., 255–62. Some works included in *The Christian Library* have been mentioned in earlier chapters of this monograph, such as the Westminster Shorter catechism (Ch. 4.vi) and Hall’s *Meditations* (Ch. 5.xvi), or will be mentioned in a later, e.g. Herbert Palmer’s *Memorials*, John Flavell’s *New compass*, and Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s progress* (below, Ch. 7); Monk, *Wesley’s Puritan Heritage*, 42, 258–62.
The categories that have been examined so far account for about four-fifths of the titles in our sample. For the last fifth we move on to our last two broad categories: works combining edification and some form of entertainment or diversion; and works in which a mixture of genres were adopted to get the message across. In the first of these, accounting for just under a hundred titles in the sample, authors used words on the page in a variety of different ways to try and catch the attention of a reader in a way that a long passage of connected prose in a sermon, treatise, or prayer might not. Examples of dialogues, poems, epigrams, and stories can be found before the Reformation, but relatively few were in print, and even fewer in the vernacular. But slowly in the sixteenth century and then much faster in the seventeenth, these genres became increasingly popular with both authors and public, so that by the later seventeenth century they were among the most characteristic and most popular of religious publications.

In many cases, together with catechisms and the modified forms of sermons and treatises we have already noted, these new genres can be regarded as replacements for the mechanisms lost when the new Protestant leadership outlawed passion plays and other dramatic and instructive ritual of the pre-Reformation period, and destroyed many (though not all) of the visual aids represented by medieval carving, painting, and glass. A significant proportion of the works written in these genres was targeted at a broader and often less well-educated readership than many of the works considered in previous chapters, so that once again we encounter the phenomenon of the median point of religious instruction being pitched lower in 1700 than in 1600. But in a number of cases lay authors of works in the genres being considered here offered a form of Protestantism that deviated somewhat from the orthodox by placing a greater stress on morality and reason. Let us take a closer look at

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1 Some examples will be given below; but see also my Christian's ABC, 16–19.
2 In general, M. Aston, England’s Iconoclasts. I Laws Against Images (Oxford, 1988), and Duffy, Stripping of the Altars; but on what survived and what was introduced after the 1530s, see my Religious Instruction in Early Modern England (forthcoming).
these genres, in the chronological order in which they first appear in strength in our sample.

i. Dialogues

Dialogues are as old as the hills. They were used by the ancient Hindus and Greeks and throughout the Middle Ages, and in the Renaissance they were still being used regularly for a variety of purposes, such as teaching languages to schoolboys, merchants, and soldiers, or caricaturing certain social types. They were also used regularly as morally uplifting educational tools by Christian humanists like Erasmus and Châteillon. Our sample includes both Châteillon’s *Dialogorum sacrorum libri quatuor*, based on texts from the Bible, and Mathurin Cordier’s improving *Colloquiorum scholastico-rum libri quatuor*; both were used in grammar schools throughout the early modern period to provide easy reading passages in Latin. Some dialogues in the sample also helped disseminate useful information in a less formal manner, such as how to prepare for the Lord’s Supper, but most fall into rather different categories.

A few of our dialogues took the form of disputations or conversations between neighbours or fellow students or travellers. As we will see shortly, these were conventionally presented in the context of a simple plot which included a surprise meeting, a discussion, usually resolved, sometimes not, and then a parting of the ways. Other dialogues took the form of a confrontation between symbolic characters, such as ‘Frailty’ and ‘Faith’, or ‘the Soul’ or ‘the Conscience’ and Christ or the Devil, much in the tradition of the old morality plays. The voices in a dialogue purported to be those of ordinary men and women with whom they could readily identify, and time and again in the title-pages or prefaces of these works it is stated that a dialogue was particularly well suited to helping the simple and ignorant grasp ideas. Of course, there was usually a voice of authority here too, such as readers would have encountered in the printed text of a sermon, treatise, or set prayer; in a dialogue this voice was thinly disguised as a caring minister or a well informed or zealous layman, or in the more dramatic confrontations Christ. But in the more skillfully written dialogues this voice spoke in an

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5 Examples of each of these will be found in the following paragraphs.

6 Some examples are cited below; in addition, see A. Dent, *The plaine-mans pathway to heaven. The second part* (1612), title-page.

7 See the works cited below by Gifford, Stubbes, Dent, Timothy Rogers, Fisher, Baxter, Babington, Cowper, and Keach.
everyday way, using colloquial language rather than the more measured or elevated style reserved for the pulpit or a printed 'discourse'.

Dialogues were also very close to catechisms. Indeed, some of the longer catechisms in the sample, such as Alexander Nowell’s original form in the 1560s and Henry Hammond’s in the 1640s, retained some of the characteristics of a dialogue. But what distinguished a good dialogue from an average short or middling catechism was the existence of a plot or confrontation, the deployment of three or more characters, the use of more colloquial language, and the fact that the dialogue was meant to be read and reread, for pleasure and edification, rather than memorized. Dialogues also regularly shaded into polemical treatises or tracts in which the author made little or no attempt at a plot or characterization, and used more abrasive language than in primarily educational works. These more polemical works might take the form of a singleton being put right by a much better-informed neighbour, as in George Jenney’s Catholike conference, between a protestant and a papist (1626), or an outright clash between two individuals representing different standpoints, as in A pleasant dialogue between a soul of Barwicke, and an English chaplain (published abroad in 1581), or a satirical account of a pretended encounter between members of different groups or persuasions, as in A dialogue between a Brownist and a schismatick (1643), A dialogue between a papist and a quaker (1680), or A dialogue between the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Hereford (1688). But the more overtly polemical dialogue did not sell as well as the more didactic, and none of those just cited qualify for our sample.

Typical of the neighbourly debate in the works in our sample are two works by George Gifford and Arthur Dent, and outside it a work by Philip Stubbes. In A brief discourse of certaine points of the religion which is among the common sort of Christians (1581), the ‘godly’ Gifford launched an assault on the simple beliefs and practical piety of ‘country divinity’ and of the poorly educated parish clergy who encouraged it. To modern eyes Zelotes, the spokesmen for predestinarian teaching, critical self-examination for sin, and scrupulous morality, may appear over-clever and abusive, while Atheos, the simple countryman with his firm commitment to a limited agenda of learning and action and suspicion of troublesome innovation, appears calm and not unreasonable, and one wonders how far the dialogue had an appeal outside the ranks of those already predisposed to godliness. Stubbes, a professional writer rather than one of the ‘godly’, published The anatomie of abuses two years later, but to be different gave his speakers Latin rather than Greek names: Spudeus was ‘a country man, rude and unlearned’ being put right by Philiponus, a learned ‘civilian’ (a lawyer) who was also wont to quote Latin at

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9 See my Christian’s ABC, 17–20, 54–7, 60–4. Ibid., 57, 63, 86–7, and see below, nn. 27–8.

10 On Gifford’s background and ideas, see DNB and Collinson, Religion of Protestants, 103–5, 108, and 200–2. Note that the speeches of Zelotes are in the more scholarly roman type, and those of Atheos in the old-fashioned black-letter.
Spudeus, though this was usually translated. Stubbes used his dialogue to attack wantonness in apparel, whoredom, gluttony and drunkenness, covetousness, profaning the sabbath, stage-plays and interludes, ‘lords of misrule’, May Day dances, church ales and wakes, dancing, secular music, cards, dice, and reading ungodly books rather than the Bible. It was longer than Gifford’s work, and sold moderately well for a couple of years but then faded from view, perhaps because Spudeus was such a straw man that there was no real contest between the speakers, or because again the author was preaching to the converted.  

Arthur Dent’s *The plaine mans pathway to heaven* was even longer: in the 1670s it cost 1s. 6d. bound. But at least in the first and more popular part the ‘godly’ Dent showed how to produce a more lively debate, with four contrasting characters rather than just two. Again the classical content of authors’ education is evident in the pseudo-classical names—Theologus (a divine), Philagathus (an honest man), Asunetus (an ignorant man and a scoffer), and Antilegon (an atheist and caviller)—and there are regular citations from the classics and Fathers as well as the Bible. The function of the dialogue was to denounce the shortcomings of the faith of those who believe that if they do their best to keep the Commandments and say their prayers they will be saved, and the flimsiness of the excuses of those who indulge in such vices as wearing fine clothes or drinking for ‘good fellowship’. On this occasion, however, the author was trying hard to catch the attention of those who were not already committed to the new faith, and to help ‘the ignorant and vulgar sort’ discover whether they were saved or damned by listing the signs of regeneration in the elect and damnation in the reprobate. Dent also offered a theatrical coup at the end when Theologus persuades Asunetus, terrified by the horrors of Judgement Day, to join Philagathus as a believer, while Antilegon remains adamant.

A few later examples of a rather more technical or demanding nature—all by clergy—may also be cited here. In John Hart’s *The burning bush not consumed* (1616), a minister and a scholar discuss how to tell if one is elect, and in Timothy Rogers’s *The righteous mans evidences for heaven* (1627), the ‘Minister’ leads a very deferential, well-spoken, and well-read ‘Convert’ to assurance of election through exploring the range of signs of salvation and the resolution of any doubts that cropped up. In Edward Fisher’s *The marrow of modern divinity* (1645), ‘Evangelista’ (a minister), ‘Nomista’ (a legalist), ‘Antinomista’ (an

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12 H. Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses* (1583), sig. B2, and passim; Stubbes’s work passed through four editions, of two of which there were variants: STC 2 23376–9; on his background, cf. C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 57.

13 A. Dent, *The plaine mans pathway to heaven* (1601), title-page and passim. For the background of Dent and other authors discussed in this chapter, see *DNB* unless otherwise stated.

14 See Appendix 1 for further details. Rogers published another dialogue, *Good newes from heaven*, but this sold only four editions (STC 2 21241.7–43.5).
Antinomian), and ‘Neophytus’ (a young Christian) battle it out over the covenants of works and grace, but Evangelista is given all the best lines, and Neophytus is suitably impressed. In *A weekes worke, And a worke for every weeke* (1614), Richard Bernard provided rules, prayers, and meditations for each day within the framework of a dialogue between John and Gaius (changed in a later edition to John and ‘the elect lady’); and in the nine-day conference that Richard Baxter created in his *The poor man’s family book* (a mixture of dialogues, catechisms, and prayers), ‘Paul’, a teacher clearly based on Baxter himself, takes ‘Saul’ from the stage of being a typical sinner to that of being a Christian believer anxious to learn more about how to lead a better life.

Arthur Dent used question-and-answer forms on a number of other occasions, as in a trio of works more akin to catechisms: *A plain exposition of the articles* (1589) (an early venture explaining the Creed); part 2 of *The plaine mans pathway*; and *A pastime for parents* (1606), ‘to be used with their children for recreation, to pass away the time’. But another of his works, *The opening of heaven gates* (1610), brings us to the type of dialogue in which abstract qualities were personified and discussed matters of importance. In this case Reason debated with Religion the nature of predestination and free will, with Religion putting Catholics and free-willers in their place when Reason faltered. Earlier examples of this include the ‘comfortable dialogues’ between Christ and a sinner, in *Seven sobs of a sorrowfull soule* (1583) by William Hunnis, a musician and poet, and Gervase Babington’s *Brief conference, betwixt mans frailtie and faith* (also 1583). Babington, a rising cleric under the wing of the Pembrokes, chose ‘this plain order of dialogue, to help, if it please God, the conceit and feeling of the simplest’: in the text, Frailty bemoans his worldly and spiritual woes, and Faith provides comfort from God’s Word. In *A most comfortable and Christian dialogue* (1610) by the Scottish episcopalian, William Cowper, the Soul is cast down by his hardness of heart in failing to respond to Christ’s kindness, Christ assures him that He will not ‘break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax’, and the Soul triumphs over Satan, though the words put into the mouths of Soul and Christ by the author regularly come closer to meditation and prayer than debate. A Latin and English version of the *Dialogue betwixt the soule and the body* attributed to Saint Bernard and prepared by William Crashaw, a scholarly London preacher, did not sell well enough to

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For Fisher’s other works and career, see *DNB*.


The first and third are listed in Appendix 1; the second passed through only two editions: STC: 66375–38.

It was admitted that this work did handle ‘very difficult points’, but it was hoped those of ‘meanest capacity’ would understand: A. Dent, *The opening of heaven gates* (1624), sigs. A3v, and passim.


qualify for our sample, but a shortened broadside version of the same, also in verse but with some suitably macabre woodcuts, is included, since it was reprinted perhaps nine times between 1640 and 1700, and again in 1730. In both versions the author has a dream in which a departed soul and a dead carcase argue over which of them is to blame for their predicament, the Devil exults, and as the fiends cart the soul off to hell, the author awakes and knows what he must do to avoid a similar fate.

A similar theme was taken up and handled in a similar way but with much greater commercial success by a Baptist, Benjamin Keach, in the 1670s, when he first published his War with the devil. In the text—another verse-dialogue supported by illustrations—Youth is warned by Conscience to stop his evil ways, Youth resists, but after the intervention of Truth, the Devil, Youth’s old companions, Vicinus (a neighbour), Jesus, and others, he is won round. Keach tried to repeat the performance in Sion in distress (1681) in which Sion, her friend, and children talk with Christ and Jehovah about the threats from Babylon, Beelzebub, and others, and discuss how far their own sins are to blame; but this did not have as great or lasting an appeal. Another dialogue in the sample from the same period, and also lambasting the sins of the age, was less typical in being aimed at ‘the better ranks of men’: John Goodman’s A winter evenings conference between neighbours, of which the first two parts appeared in 1684. Goodman was wily enough to use humour at the start of each part to bait his hook, but the text soon became much more serious as Sebastian (a ‘learned and pious gentleman’) and Eulates (a prudent holy man) show the lightweight Philander and the sceptical Biophilus how to spend their time and what to believe. The work had reached its eleventh edition by 1720. Another title which in this case sold fourteen editions between 1683 and 1724 was Anthony Horneck’s The fire of the altar, ‘intended chiefly’ for his parishioners in the Strand and Savoy areas. This contained an instructive dialogue between a Christian and his own conscience, and suitable prayers, to ‘raise the soul into heavenly flames’ before receiving the sacrament.

There are several other examples of dialogues in the sample, but these are found either in other kinds of entertaining works such as allegories, or in

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21 Crashaw’s version passed through four editions between 1613 and 1632: STC 1908.5–9.7; for the broadside version, see below, Ch. 8.ix, and Appendix 1 s.v. Bernard.

22 See Appendix 1 for further details.

23 Ibid. The publisher of the 1684 and 1691 editions was George Larkin, who published some of Bunyan’s works, and later, under various titles, issued a work under Bunyan’s name (but probably by Larkin himself) which consisted of a dialogue between several characters including a damned soul, Hobbes, and the Devil: E. Mott Harrison, A Bibliography of the Works of John Bunyan (Supplements to the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 6, 1932), p. xxv, and ‘J. Bunyan’, The visions of heaven (Bodleian Vet A3.£.2815).

24 J. Goodman, A winter evenings conference between neighbours (1684), sigs. A2–3r, and passim.

25 A. Horneck, The fire of the altar (1683); title-page, and 1–25.
‘mixed’ works to which we will come at the end of this chapter, or they were more akin to tracts in being polemical, between Protestant and Catholic or conformist and dissenter. On the whole controversial dialogues did not sell as well as those discussed above: there were literally hundreds of polemical ‘Dialogues’, ‘Debates’, and similar titles published throughout the early modern period, and especially from the 1640s, but very few made it past the first or second edition. However, the persistence of authors of religious works in bending dialogue forms to their needs, and the steady and sometimes striking sales of a number of their works, confirms the existence of a secure niche in the publishing trade for such works.

There was also a shift from doctrinal debates to pastoral warnings against sin and exhortations to virtue. If our sample was continued into the early eighteenth century, a work that would certainly be in it is Daniel Defoe’s *Family instructor*. Written by a layman, this consists of a series of moralistic dialogues built around a story-line that involves different members of a family, and highlights the gap between religious profession and practice at the time. Despite its size, it sold eleven editions in just under twenty years after its first appearance in 1715, and had reached a nineteenth edition by 1809. The contrast between the dialogues of Dent and Defoe is most instructive: one pushes clericalist orthodoxy, the other a layman’s perception of religious duty, but both had their markets.

**ii. Verse**

The use of verse to express praise or thanksgiving to the almighty also had a long history, going as far back as the Old Testament. By the late Middle Ages, there was a strong tradition not only of singing psalms, hymns, and carols in verse form, but also of lyric verse in the vernacular on topics such as sin and death, the passion of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin. To a modern reader, ‘lyric’ may suggest a short, melodic, perhaps romantic piece, but medieval religious lyrics were often long, and all were ‘devotionally and didactically serious’, with a meditative character and an affective function. Few were set to music, but verse was used in part to aid memorization. Indeed, many forms...

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86 e.g. in Keach’s allegory entitled *Progress of sin* and the use of dialogue in some of Perkins’s titles such as *A treatise tending unto a declaration* (in *Works*, 3 vols. 1608–9, i. 381–96, 404–14), and *A fruitful dialogue concerning the end of the world* (ibid., iii. 465–77).

87 See below, Appendix 1, for Poole’s *Dialogue*, Comber’s *Plausible arguments*, and Patrick’s *Friendly debate*.

88 See STC: and Wing s.v. ‘dialogue’, ‘dialogues’, ‘disputes’, and ‘disputations’. Other ‘dialogues’ which may or may not have been published can be found in E. Arber (ed.), *Transcripts of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A. D.* (5 vols., 1875–94).

89 While the general pattern was of more advanced works being simplified for the less educated, dialogues are one of the exceptions in being initially aimed at the latter, and then in cases like Goodman and Horneck adopted for the better educated.

90 See ESTC for details.
of standard prayers, such as the Pater Noster, and other formulae, such as the Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Fifteen Oes, and a work like The layfolks catechism, were also turned into verse, again to assist the memorizing of catechetical material.\textsuperscript{31} Despite the attack on most forms of religious art between the 1540s and the 1580s, there was some continuity in the carols, ballads, epitaphs, and other forms of popular verse that were written and published at that stage.\textsuperscript{32} But the most common form of new verse, not only then but throughout the early modern period, was also the safest to pursue: translations into English of sections of the scriptures, to which we will return shortly.

What we also find are a growing variety of other forms of verse put to religious ends. Among the best-known are the works of Southwell, Donne, and Herbert, which probably owed something to the older tradition of lyric verse as well as to new ideas. Much of this was aimed at a relatively sophisticated readership, though we will find a broad range of readers, including those drawn from different sectors of Protestantism.\textsuperscript{33} In the seventeenth century verse was often also used as a weapon of propaganda and information as well as pleasure, as in the verses of Samuel Hieron, John Taylor (the Water-Poet), and Benjamin Keach, some of whose verses are in the sample,\textsuperscript{34} while in the later seventeenth century there was clearly a campaign to provide improving verses for children, which also met with some commercial success, to judge from sales and the appearance of a number of short verses on samplers embroidered in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{35} By the end of our period we are also encountering a growing number of the hymns and carols which are still a potent weapon in the church’s armoury today. So it is certainly worth our while to take a closer look at the uses of verse in our sample.\textsuperscript{36}

Protestant leaders at the Reformation took exception to two kinds of verse in particular. One was the devotional poetry of the old church, on the score that much of it was not in the vernacular, or was suspect in content: a focus on confession, a tendency to equate good works with winning divine favour, and by the fifteenth century an excess of Mariolatry.\textsuperscript{37} The other kind was


\textsuperscript{32} Woolf, Religious Lyric in Middle Ages, 357–61, 367–71; Gray, Themes and Images, 222–4; Watt, Cheap Print, 14–15, 85–6, 110–12, 120–2.

\textsuperscript{33} These are discussed below, pp. 389–93.

\textsuperscript{34} And are discussed below; but see Appendix 1 s.v. Hieron (1614), John Taylor (1616), and Keach (1681).

\textsuperscript{35} As general introductions, see J. H. P. Pafford’s introduction to his edition of Isaac Watts, Divine Songs (1971), and P. Demers, Heaven upon Earth: The Form of Moral and Religious Children’s Literature to 1850 (Knoxville, 1993), ch. 6.

\textsuperscript{36} I hope to discuss two other public uses of verse which did not involve print—the oral use of verse, and verses on church memorials and on gravestones—in my Religious Instruction in Early Modern England.

\textsuperscript{37} Woolf, Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, pp. 8, 14, and chs. 4, 7, 8.
secular verse: both the pagan poetry of classical times and the amorous, bawdy, diverting, or irreverent verses of popular literature. However, on the principle that the Devil should not have all the best tunes, and the Bible encouraged ‘psalms and hymns and spiritual songs’, it was decided that the best response was to produce a satisfactory alternative. Miles Coverdale emulated Luther’s plans for ‘German psalms . . . so that the Word of God may remain among the people in the form of song’, and in the preface to his own *Goostly psalms and spiritual songs* in the mid-1530s expressed the hope that its contents ‘may thrust under the board | All other ballads of filthiness’. He also urged carters, ploughmen, and women sitting at work to sing and whistle nothing but ‘psalms, hymns, and . . . godly songs’, and the youth of England, to ‘change their foul and corrupt ballads into sweet songs and spiritual hymns of God’s honour’. As we will see in Chapter 9, a very large number of authors tried their hands at producing verse forms of the psalms which combined accuracy of translation with clarity of expression, though the version that sold more copies than any other was the metrical version by Sternhold and Hopkins, which was perhaps reprinted nearly 800 times between the 1560s and the 1720s. Though not the best translation, this seems to have sunk roots into popular culture, and according to a contemporary writing in the 1670s, was ‘for many years . . . skilfully and devoutly performed, with delight and comfort by many honest and religious people’. Attempts to replace it by others met with stiff resistance from some parishioners, though by the end of the seventeenth century those in charge of one of the new congregational choirs or in possession of a newly installed organ were ready for a change.

A number of other works in our sample, often by lay authors, contained psalms or other passages of the Bible turned into verse and intended to be sung. The ‘sobs’ in part 1 of William Hunnis’s *Seven sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne* (written in the reign of Edward VI but not published until 1583) consisted of seven penitential psalms in metre with the music provided; and school textbooks such as Edmund Coote’s best-selling *English schoole-maister*, and *The school of grace*, attributed to John Hart, also contained metrical psalms, either in original versions or purloined from elsewhere. In *The hymnes and songs of the church* (1623), George Wither turned various scripture passages into English, and had Orlando Gibbons set them to music, while George Sandys turned Job, a number of psalms, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, and other poetic texts into verse in his *A paraphrase upon the divine poems* (1648) which had music by Henry Lawes.

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41 See below, Appendix 1, s.v. Psalms.
42 Ibid., and below, Ch. 9.iii–iv; and for Playford’s comment, Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama*, 48.
44 See Appendix 1 s.v. Wither and Sandys.
There would seem to have been a modest market for these new versions, perhaps among those better endowed households whose members took to performing madrigals and other fashionable music. We are also now very close to religious verse which consisted of a much looser paraphrase of the scriptures or consisted of epic verse inspired by biblical stories such as the Creation, the Fall or the Flood, but which were not intended to be sung in church, home, or school.\textsuperscript{45}

Before we turn to these, we may note other uses of verse in the sixteenth century. After Psalm 150 in most editions of Sternhold and Hopkins, there were printed a number of ‘hymns’, usually in the same metre and to be sung to the same tunes as the psalms; and in Tate and Brady’s \textit{Supplement to the new version} (1700) there were old and new versions of these ‘hymns’. The original hymns included some of Lutheran provenance, and were mostly based on Old Testament texts too, including the Ten Commandments, but also included some New Testament ones, such as the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Benedictus, and the Lord’s Prayer, and even some non-scriptural material such as the Te Deum, Benedictice, and Creed.\textsuperscript{46} On the whole these ‘hymns’ differed from modern hymns in the extent to which their authors had tried to keep close to the very words of the scripture. But they were certainly ‘spiritual songs’ of the type the Reformers wished to see become popular, and may fairly be considered the precursors of today’s hymns.\textsuperscript{47} If the hymns of Isaac Watts, John Byrom, Charles Wesley, Christopher Smart, and William Cowper mostly fall just outside our period, those by George Herbert (‘Let all the world in ev’ry corner sing’, ‘King of glory, king of peace’, ‘Teach me, my God and king’), Richard Baxter (‘Ye holy angels bright’), John Bunyan (‘Who would true valour see?’), Thomas Ken (‘Glory to thee, my God, this night’), and Tate and Brady (‘As pants the hart for cooling streams’) all fall within. And if, as Donald Davie has suggested recently, ‘The great hymns of the Christian Church are, or have become, folk-poetry’, then the beginning of the English branch of this tradition lies within our purview; and if we widen the angle to include verse forms of psalms as well as hymns, his comments are even more true.\textsuperscript{48}

The carol may have also lost its distinctive medieval form with the

\textsuperscript{45} There are excellent surveys of sixteenth-century verse based closely on the Bible in Campbell, \textit{Divine Poetry and Drama}, chs. 5–8, and R. Zim, \textit{English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer} 1535–1601 (Cambridge, 1987), passim (and see below, Ch. 9, vii). However, only the works by Salluste du Bartas, Milton, and Dryden sold well enough to be in Appendix 1. Also listed there is John Mason’s \textit{Spiritual songs} (1683), which included a version of the ‘Song of songs’ in verse.

\textsuperscript{46} N. Temperley, \textit{The Music of the English Parish Church} (2 vols., Cambridge, 1979), i. 31–2, 55–6.

\textsuperscript{47} The phrase appears in the title of John Mason’s \textit{Spiritual songs: or, songs of praise} (see Appendix 1) which are ‘hymns’ in all but name.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{The New Oxford Book of Christian Verse}, ed. Donald Davie (Oxford, 1988), p. xxiv; Davie cites hymns or carols by nearly all those named in the text. Others can be found in \textit{Hymns Ancient and Modern} and \textit{The English Hymnal}. 
recurring burden, and became increasingly limited to Christmas songs, but it did survive as a genre of popular poetry. While not qualifying for our sample in their own right, small collections of carols were published regularly throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, either as part of a larger work such as John Rhodes’s *The country mans comfort. Or religious recreations* (published in 1588 and 1637), or as discrete titles issued regularly from the 1560s to the 1630s and in the later Stuart period by chapbook publishers like Thackeray and Passinger. Elements of the old carol tradition such as the burden can also be found in some of the ‘godly’ ballads of the period.\textsuperscript{49} *The gude and godlie ballatis*, first published at Edinburgh in 1567 and four more times in the next fifty years, contained Scottish paraphrases of the psalms, but also verses on Christmas (including the first translation into English of ‘*In dulci jubilo*’) which were taken from a Lutheran work, which itself reflected the strong tradition of singing carols in the vernacular in pre-Reformation Germany.\textsuperscript{50} Balladeers wrote verses based on the nativity story to be sold at Christmas; more accomplished poets like Donne, Herbert, and Herrick also attempted to capture its significance in verse; a layman, Sir Matthew Hale, regularly wrote a poem each Christmas for his family in the 1650s and 1660s; and the hymns with which Tate and Brady supplemented their revised version of the psalms included ‘While shepherds watched their flocks by night’.\textsuperscript{51} Many of the other broadside ballads of Elizabethan and Stuart England contained material that was catalogued by one collector under ‘devotion and morality’.\textsuperscript{52} The ‘godly’ ballads of the middle and late Tudor period (it has been suggested recently) were written ‘in a style remote from the educated poetry of the day’, and compared to the best of the medieval lyrics, many of them were flat or lightweight. But in their plainness and preference for metric forms, they are recognizable descendants from those medieval religious lyrics which had constituted ‘a rather humble and workaday type of literature, with a practical and devotional bent’.\textsuperscript{53} There was also continuity in themes such as miraculous stories from the Bible, improving tales, and edifying deathbed scenes, and in much of the doctrinal underpinning: God is ready to intervene providentially in earthly matters to punish sin and reward virtue, and we must follow his Commandments, be good to our neighbours, and be prepared to make ‘a good end’ and ready for Judgement Day.\textsuperscript{54} Since ballads

\textsuperscript{49} Gray, *Themes and Images*, 222; Woolf, *Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, 360–1; Watt, *Cheap Print*, 14, 64–5, 113, 116, 120–1.  \textsuperscript{50} Watt, *Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, 357–8.  \textsuperscript{51} Woolf, *Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, 4–15, 368–70 (the quotation is at p. 368); and Gray, *Themes and Images*, 12–16, 221, 224.  \textsuperscript{52} When the collection of ballads of John Selden and Samuel Pepys was bound, categories such as ‘history’, ‘tragedy’, ‘love’, ‘drinking and fellowship’, and ‘humour’ were used: see *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge. II Ballads*, comp. H. Weinstein (Cambridge, 1992–4).  \textsuperscript{53} Woolf, *Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, 4–15, 368–70 (the quotation is at p. 368); and Gray, *Themes and Images*, 12–16, 221, 224.  \textsuperscript{54} See previous note; Walsham, *Providence*, and below, Ch. 8.
like these were the kind of work for which ‘poor men . . . were prepared to part with money’, they deserve special consideration, and this will be offered in Chapter 8.

Other kinds of post-Reformation verse were also nearer to medieval models than the new type of approved religious poetry. One was the series of couplets which accompanied the woodcuts on the Dance of Death in the prayer books issued by John and Richard Day in the 1570s, which, as we saw in Chapter 5 looked more like a medieval primer than a reformed prayer book. Whether of French or English origin, the couplets are full of ironic vitality and levelling glee, as Death says ‘Of monarch and emperor | I am the conqueror’, ‘Duke though thou be, | Dance after me’, ‘Barons of nobility, | Swear to me fealty’, ‘Earl or viscount, | Give thy account’, and ‘Bishops grave and old | Are of my fold’. The attorney is told ‘Plead as thou lust, | With me thou must’; the mayor ‘Mayor, I thee call | To my guild hall’; and the operator of the printing press, ‘Pressmen go play; | Printing must stay [stop]’. A second sort of couplet can be found at the foot of each page, above or below a skeleton and a coffin, and this time the dead person speaks. Thus monarchs say: ‘We that were of highest degree | Lie dead here now, as ye do see’, while a countess and a viscountess says: ‘Beauty, honour, and riches avail no wit, | For Death when he cometh, spoileth it’. These couplets are clearly very much in the older tradition, but suitably modified to include new figures such as the printers themselves, they continued to point up the shortness of life and the inevitability of death for all Christians.

Two other genres with roots in the past but still very much alive in the late Tudor and early Stuart periods were the epitaph and the elegy. Both of these bridged the gap between elite and popular culture, and both often contained some material of a religious or devotional nature. Epitaphs were technically a composition to be inscribed on a tomb, and as the impressive tombs and other funerary monuments of the well-born and rich in many parish churches demonstrate to this day, this was done almost as a matter of course, in Latin or English, verse or prose. But in the early modern period, epitaphs in verse were also regularly published as broadsides, as two examples from Elizabethan times will show. Frances Benison was a well-to-do London merchant, and member of the Haberdashers Company, and when he died, in 1570, An epitaph of Maister Fraunces Benison was published in broadside form, complete with a woodcut of a skeleton in a graveyard bearing a coffin and a dart, and the legend ‘I Death this coffin bear, | For you that living are: | The dead are past my fear, | Therefore ye living prepare’. The author (probably John Awdely) made a pun on the deceased’s surname—‘Oh Frances Benison

(I say) God's Benison [blessing] no doubt’—but spent the rest of the time praising his virtues, skills, and good deeds, and assuring readers that his ‘soul no doubt remains in joy, with Abraham and the rest’. An epitaph upon the death of Richard Price esquier (1586) was altogether superior: larger type, better-quality woodcut with a Latin inscription, and better verse, perhaps by a friend (R.D.). But in other respects it was similar: in the puns on the surname of the deceased, the praise of his virtues, the confidence that Price was with God, and urging God to ‘be our defence that here behind are left’.

In the Middle Ages elegies had been written on the transience of the world and (in some cases) offering Christian consolation; and as a poem of mourning, usually in a reflective mood, they survived into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a popular form that was printed on broadsheets. But in the hands of master craftsmen like Spenser, Donne, and especially Milton, elegies also evolved into something much more polished. Thus in Lycidas (1638), Milton mourned the premature death of a fellow student, Edward King, contemplated the uncertainty of life, but ended on a triumphant note of faith in resurrection and redemption. All the works described in this paragraph and the previous one were by their nature too short-term or limited in their appeal to qualify for our sample, but the form survived at a low level throughout the early modern period, as can be seen in the best-selling poem published just after the end of our period: Thomas Gray’s Elegy written in a country church-yard (1751), in which he mused on the lives of the humble villagers who lay buried there and on his own death.

Returning to the late sixteenth century and to works that did qualify for our sample, we may look next at the popular works of William Hunnis and Nicholas Breton. Hunnis’s Seven sobs of a sorrowfull soule (mentioned already for its dialogues and verse forms of penitential psalms) passed through fifteen editions between 1583 and 1636. Parts two and three of this work contained a wide variety of verse, some of it on familiar ground such as the Lord’s Prayer and the Athanasian Creed, other less predictable such as the seven meditations by a poor widow. Some of this verse was set to music, but in other cases no music was indicated. ‘A handful of honey suckle’ (with which part two begins) consisted of twenty-five prayers to Christ, all in four-line verses, such as ‘O Jesu meek, O Jesu sweet, | O Jesu saviour mine; | Most gracious Jesu, to my call | Thy gracious ears incline’. The ‘comfortable dialogues’ between Christ and a sinner in part three begin with Christ saying ‘Arise from sin, thou wicked man, | Before the trump doth sound; | Lest thou among the guilty sort | A damnèd soul be found’, to which the sinner replies: ‘What fearful

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57 STC 2991.  
58 STC 26178. For other examples, cf. Wing s.v. ‘epitaph’.  
59 Cf. Wing s.v. ‘elegy’.  
60 Lycidas was published in 1638 and again with some later editions of Paradise Regained, but does not constitute a separate steady seller.  
61 For regular editions thereafter, either by itself or with Gray’s other poetry, see ESTC.
thund’ring voice is this | That soundeth in mine ear, | Which bids me rise, and brings my soul | And all his powers in fear’. To a professor of English literature in the 1960s it seemed that such verse did not merit the repeated editions it achieved, but the work would seem to have met some need, perhaps not least because of its very positive and simple message (perhaps too simple by the strictest contemporary standards): ‘The day shall come (saith Christ), | And that shall many see, | Who calls upon my name | Shall surely saved be’.62

A case could also be made for including in the sample The paradise of daynty devises, a collection of works by minor poets of the 1560s and 1570s (including some by Hunnis). This was compiled by Richard Edwards, master of the children of the Chapel Royal, though not published until after his death in 1576. It consisted largely of poems on ethical and religious subjects, with some love poetry of a profane kind mixed in. The fact that it passed through eight editions in the period 1576 to 1606 reveals, it has been suggested, ‘an audience eager for religious poetry’ of a more traditional kind.63

Much the same could be said of two other works that are in our sample: Nicholas Breton’s A solemne passion of the soules love (1598) and The soules harmony (1602). Breton was an educated man who may have imbibed a taste for writing from his stepfather, George Gascoigne, author of both secular and devotional verse and plays. Breton’s fifty books, in prose and verse, included some religious and improving works, but also many romantic, pastoral, political, satirical, and humorous works with titles like The Wil of Wit, Wits Wil, or Wils Wit.64 Both A solemne passion and The soules harmony are late works, and Breton may have been influenced to some extent by the verse of a Jesuit poet, Robert Southwell, published in 1595, to which we will come shortly. However, his conventional subject-matter and imagery and his preference for familiar forms of metre suggest he looked back more to the English vernacular tradition. A solemne passion consisted of verses in praise of God, his creation, and what he had done for man, and sold perhaps five editions between 1598 and c.1625. The soules harmony included a series of acrostics on God, Jesus, and Christ, and a number of verses on themes such as grace, virtue, glory, and heaven. Published mostly in black letter, and generously laid out on a page with decorated headers and footers, it passed through eleven editions between 1602 and 1676. Neither work is noteworthy to a modern eye for the quality of the verse, or the depth (or by some purists’ standards the soundness) of the doctrine; but they sold much better than what to modern tastes may be much better verse;

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63 L. L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century (New Haven, 1954), 180–2. The paradise was excluded because the majority of the verses were not ‘religious’ in the sense defined in the Preface above.
64 See DNB s.v. Gascoigne and Breton; Wright, Middle-Class Culture, 15, 30–1, 75 (n. 92), 108, 149–50, 417, 480, 491, and for one of Breton’s cheaper works, Watt, Cheap Print, 301.
and given the price of such works compared to that of ballads and the style of language we may imagine a readership from the middling ranks and even the gentry. As an example of Breton’s simple confidence in divine mercy, we may cite a verse from *A solemne passion*:

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Tell of his goodness how he did create thee,
And in his justice how he doth correct thee,
And in his love how he will never hate thee,
And that his mercy never will reject thee.
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And as an example from Breton’s more popular work, we may cite a verse in which a sinner bewails his inability to be good, despite his best efforts:

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And yet I fall into that depth of sin,
That makes me fear the judgement of thy wrath,
Until thy grace doth all my help begin,
To know what comfort Faith in Mercy hath.
O blessed light, that shows in Mercy’s eye,
While faith doth live, that love can never die.
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Perhaps as with the works of Hunnis, the relative simplicity of the sentiments and reassurance of the message, together with Breton’s fondness for word-play and odd combinations of images, referring one minute to angels and the next to nightingales, help to explain the popularity of his works.

Edifying verse of a more serious kind was inserted into devotional or improving works in the early seventeenth century. *A garden of spiritual flowers*, by Richard Rogers and other members of the ‘godly’, sold over twenty editions between 1609 and 1687, and contained a number of verses on how to live well and die well and other edifying topics, while Michael Sparke’s *Crumms of com-fort*, which (he claimed in 1652) had sold 60,000 copies since the 1620s, also included verses on the mortality of man. Moreover, each year in a public ceremony in a London church, the children of Christ’s Hospital sang a ‘psalm’ of thanksgiving dedicated to their royal founders and benefactors; and to judge from the printed versions of this psalm, which survive from the opening years of the reign of James I to the 1690s, each year’s psalm was a new and specially commissioned work. The broadsheet gave not only the three verses of text, but also the music, and indicated the refrain in which the adults present were to join, after one or two of the children had sung it through for them. The psalm for 1610 began as follows:

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65 N. Breton, *A solemne passion* (1598), *passim* [a copy was owned by Frances Willrston: see below, Ch. 10. vi, and sig. A2r of BL. C. 39 a. 26; and id., *The soules harmony* (1602), sigs. A4r, B6r–Gr.]


The goodness of the Lord is seen in all that he hath made,
His mercy 'tis in all extremes that sends his creatures aid.
No worm so small, no wight so poor, but he preserveth still;
The sick he heals, the weak sustains, and hungry soul doth fill.
We orphans poor like mercy found when means and friends were scant,
Our gracious God a prince did move to slake and ease our want.
Regard, O Lord, from heaven above, accept the hearty praise,
Which children render for the love, thou show'st to them always.

Succeeding verses thanked the citizens for their charity, and urged God to
‘increase . . . the store’ of those who ‘help to feed the poor’, and pour his
heavenly grace on the royal family and all those in authority under him. This
was clearly a very public exercise in social control and reinforcement, but the
moral of divine intervention and assistance was made with equal clarity.

A Londoner who might have heard the children singing in St Mary
Spitalfields on Easter Monday in 1610 (and might even have written the
psalm) was John Taylor, the waterman who styled himself ‘the King’s Water-
Poet’, and published perhaps 150 titles and half a million copies of his
pamphlets, poems, and essays in the first half of the seventeenth century. As
Professor Capp has recently suggested, Taylor came to occupy a position that
straddled the worlds of the elite and the people, but while most of his works
were on secular matters, he did publish some religious ones, reflecting his
strong if idiosyncratic support for the established church, and two of his sets
of verses sold well enough to be in our sample. Taylor was not the first or the
last to try to summarize the Bible in verse, but his effort sold perhaps twelve
editions between the 1610s and the 1720s, and was transcribed into his copy-
book by no less a scholar and author than Joseph Hall; while Taylor’s Booke of
martyrs (in which he borrowed heavily from Foxe’s Actes and monuments) sold
seven editions between 1616 and 1639. In the latter, Taylor was clearly aiming
at something much higher than a ballad, but perhaps the result anticipated Herrick rather than Herbert: ‘I sing their deaths (who dying made
death yield) | By scripture’s sword and faith’s unbattered shield’. A little later
he complains: ‘But this small volume cannot well contain | One quarter of the
saints in England slain. | In Henry’s reign and Mary’s (cruel Queen), | Eight
thousand people there hath slaughtered been’. But he ends on an upbeat note
by praising the virtues and learning of the current monarch, and praying to
God ‘That he and his may Britain’s scepter sway | Till time, the world, and all

68 anon., A psalme of thanksgiving, to be sung by the children of Christs Hospitall (1610). The boadsheets also
included reports on how many orphans had been cared for in the Hospital or apprenticed that year,
and a report on Bridewell Hospital as well. Musically talented children were hired out to perform
locally.
70 Ibid., 70; and see below, Appendix 1, for details of Taylor’s Verbum sempiternum . . . Salvator mundi,
and The booke of martyrs; see also above, Ch. 3.xiii for other examples of verse summaries of the
Bible.
things pass away’. Taylor intended to provide entertainment and instruction for a variety of readers, both inside and outside London, and was perhaps more in the line of the Days, Hunnis, and Breton than Donne or Milton. But his sincerity and commitment to the established church and his popularity as an author are not in doubt. A few other examples of verse being used less to inspire or to assist meditation than to inform or exhort may be given from our sample before we turn to the lyric poets. John Andrewes’s *A subpoena from the imperiell court of heaven* (1617) was a set of allegorical verses comparing the Christian’s efforts to secure salvation to a protracted legal battle; Samuel Hieron’s *Answere to a popish ryme* (1604) was a reply to a set of ‘popish’ verses that he said had been circulated among his parishioners, and to which he replied in kind; while *Old Mr Dod’s sayings* (1667) consisted of the edifying thoughts of John Dod turned into verse by one T. S., and one may add that these sayings sold more copies in the verse form than the original prose (even though the latter was published with the memorable title *Dods droppings*).

Since the time when Louis L. Martz and Barbara Kiefer Lewalski debated whether the work of lyric poets such as Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne, and Marvell owed more to Continental, Counter-Reformation, and Catholic stimuli or to the intense study of the language of the Bible associated with Protestantism, the argument has moved on to tensions within Protestantism. Alan Sinfield depicts authors like Sidney, Spenser, Donne, Herbert, and Milton as deeply committed both to Protestantism and to poetry as a means of moral instruction and spiritual uplifting, but being forced to justify the writing of any verse which was not tied closely to the scriptures, and to reach an accommodation between Protestantism and humanist modes of thought, and between the divergent pressures within Protestantism. David Norbrook has detected both a more radical, prophetic voice which emphasized inner spiritual authority and challenged authorized forms, was first heard in the 1540s, but survived into the verse of Spenser and Sidney and later Wither and Milton, and a more conservative, courtly voice, heard at the start of Elizabeth’s reign and again at the start of James’s, with Ben Jonson. Since then, other scholars have analysed the tensions in poems written by authors trying to reconcile Christian love and the love found in Petrarchan sonnets.

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71 [John Taylor], *The booke of martyrs* (1635), sigs. A3r, B1r–2r, and B4r.
72 Capp discusses Taylor’s aspirations and audience in chs. 3 and 4 of *The World of John Taylor*, and his religious views in chs. 6 and 8.
73 See Appendix 1 under Andrewes and Dod; Hieron’s verses were reprinted in his *Works* (ibid.); for Keach’s verse-dialogues, see above, Ch. 7.i.
and described various other ways in which verse was used to resolve personal
or political dilemmas.\textsuperscript{76}

Faced by the task of assessing which religious verse sold best in late
Elizabethan and Stuart England and why, it may not be necessary to recon-
cile the very different conclusions reached. The authors whose works fall into
our sample include Robert Southwell, George Herbert, Francis Quarles, John
Milton, and from a somewhat later generation John Dryden; they also include
what for some will be the less familiar names of Salluste du Bartas and
Christopher Harvey.\textsuperscript{77} They do not include Spenser’s \textit{Faerie queene}, which was
clearly intended to be an allegory of the Christian life, because it did not sell
many copies, though its circulation in manuscript partly compensates for
that.\textsuperscript{78} Nor do they include Donne’s ‘divine poems’ since they comprised only
a minority of the poems published in the collected works, though a few words
will be said about them below.\textsuperscript{79}

Rosemary Woolf has suggested that there are parallels between the English
religious lyrics of the late Middle Ages and those of the seventeenth century:
they shared some subject-matter, such as the passion of Christ and man’s
mortality; they often built on liturgical forms such as litanies and hymns or
focused on major liturgical occasions; and they reflected the meditative
theories of the day. But medieval authors were for the most part anonymous
and self-effacing, trying to make available to others relatively simple,
unadorned meditations in the language of the common people (at least, until
the fifteenth century); whereas seventeenth-century authors regularly used the
first person, portrayed themselves in a way which suggests that consciously or
unconsciously they realized they would be watched by others, were argu-
mentative, and adopted metaphors, similes, and unconventional imaginative
flourishes and even pursued a sensuous quality in their writing in order to
elevate the style and increase the impact of their message.\textsuperscript{80}

The first example of this type of verse in our sample is \textit{Saint Peters com-
plaint}—a collection of 132 stanzas by Robert Southwell, a Jesuit, in which he
offered a long narrative of the last stages of the life of Christ as seen through
the eyes of the repentant Peter. From the outset we are in a different world of

\textsuperscript{76} For the works by Fox and Low, see above, Ch. 1, nn. 170–1; but see also D. K. Shuger, \textit{Habits of
Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture} (Berkeley, 1990), and E. B.
and for an excellent introduction to Milton, see M. Stocker, \textit{Paradise Lost} (Basingstoke, 1988).

\textsuperscript{77} See Appendix 1 under the relevant names.

\textsuperscript{78} I am also not completely convinced that most of the Elizabethans who read it would have iden-
tified all the details of the allegory or its apocalyptic qualities, as opposed to its classical, medieval,

\textsuperscript{79} STC: 7045–7; Wing D3868–71.

\textsuperscript{80} Woolf, \textit{Religious Lyric in Middle Ages}, 4–15; and Martz, \textit{Poetry of Meditation}, ch. 1.
language and emotion from Hunnis or Breton, as Peter vents his remorse for his betrayal of Christ:

Launch forth, my soul,  
Into a main [sea] of tears,  
Full fraught with grief,  
The traffic of thy mind:  
Torn sails will serve  
Thoughts rent with guilty fears:  
Give care the stern,  
Use sighs in lieu of wind:  
Remorse, thy pilot:  
Thy misdeed thy card [compass]:  
Torment thy haven,  
Shipwreck thy best reward.  

Martz sees Southwell as a pioneer ‘experimenting with an unstable compound of old and new’, and strongly influenced by the discipline and forms of meditation associated with the Jesuits from the age of Loyola’s *Spiritual exercises*. His poems, like his earlier prose meditation, *Marie Magdalens funeral teares* (which is also in our sample), certainly had some influence through being regularly published from the 1590s, not only by secret recusant presses in England and Catholic presses abroad, but also by well-established London publishers who entered their titles in the Stationers’ Register. In all perhaps eleven new editions of the *Complaint* were published in London between 1595 and 1636, so that we must assume that copies were widely available to the young Donne and Herbert. Several members of Donne’s family were active Catholics, and he was brought up as one too; and there is no gainsaying the personal element of spiritual quest in his prose and poetic writings. But it has also been suggested that in his mature works such as the ‘Holy Sonnets’ and ‘Good Friday 1613’, Donne ‘came to rely increasingly upon the genres important in Protestant devotion and in biblical poetics generally’, and that his focus on personal salvation was part of the wider, Protestant paradigm of salvation seen in Pauline terms and applied to the self. Whether it was the ‘Catholic’ associations in his earlier works, such as ‘The crosse’ and ‘La Corona’ sonnets, or the blurring of the line between divine and secular love in many of his other poems, his religious verse, when offered separately, did not attract the same public response as Herbert’s, and it would be Herbert rather than

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85 Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 253 and ch. 8 passim.
Donne who, writes Lewalski, ‘was praised and imitated by contemporaries as the creator of a new movement and a new model for religious poetry’.

Herbert’s inspiration has been traced to many sources beyond the classical ones which all educated boys encountered at school: the Bible and especially the psalms in existing verse forms in English,\(^8\) medieval sources including the writings of the Fathers such as Augustine,\(^8\) the Book of Common Prayer,\(^9\) the new catechetical tradition of the English church,\(^9\) the latest Protestant doctrines and the new meditative theories of the day,\(^9\) the recent fashion for ‘emblems’,\(^9\) and much else. Certainly the end product of all these is a set of poems that is both very different from those of the Elizabethan period and highly individual, but what is pertinent here are the content and appeal of *The temple*. This contains nearly all Herbert’s surviving English poems, covering major themes that one would associate with a devout believer—the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ, and man’s disobedience and inability to follow God’s ways—but also his own acute sense of inadequacy as a Christian. On a more positive note they reflect his fondness for many of the things associated with his background and position, such as music and church fittings, and for the natural phenomena which had surrounded him for most of his life, such as flowers, trees, herbs, and stars. When he realized he was dying of consumption he sent his poems to his friend, Nicholas Ferrar, with instructions to publish them if he thought they might ‘turn to the advantage of any dejected soul’. Ferrar did so, and at least thirteen editions were published in the next eighty years, perhaps more.

*The temple* is built round the idea of the thoughts and sensations experienced by someone entering a church, noting its features and fittings and pondering their significance, and gradually moving towards the altar (though the exact significance of the sequence of the poems, perhaps as a description of the progress of the soul—the temple in the heart of man—is still a matter of debate). One might have expected that this architectural framework, together with the many echoes of the scriptures and the official liturgy, and the

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\(^{86}\) Ibid., and p. 283.

\(^{87}\) Ibid., ch. 9 and passim; C. Bloch, *Spelling the Word: George Herbert and the Bible* (Los Angeles and London, 1983); C. Freer, *Music for a King: George Herbert’s Style and the Metrical Psalms* (Baltimore, 1972); see also Martz, *Poetry of Meditation*, 273–82.


\(^{90}\) S. Fish, *The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing* (Berkeley, 1978).


\(^{93}\) Summers, *Herbert*, chs. 2–3; some of the ‘extra’ editions of Herbert might possibly have been reissues with new editions of Harvey’s *Synagogue* see Appendix 1 s.v. Harvey.
exhortations to greater devotion to the ritual and outward ornaments of the established church, would have meant that its main appeal was to those devout or conventionally pious supporters of the established church who attended church, owned bibles and prayer books, and bought the devotional works and godly living manuals described elsewhere in this work. In the preface to his *Silex scintillans*, the Royalist Henry Vaughan, who underwent some profound spiritual experience in the late 1640s, admitted his great debt to Herbert ‘whose holy life and verse gained many pious converts (of whom I am the least)’. But many puritans and dissenters like Richard Baxter, Philip and Matthew Henry, John Reynolds, and Edward Taylor, and later John Wesley, also seem to have been attracted by the simple piety and approachable qualities of the verse, and the fact that many poems represented (as Herbert told Ferrar) ‘a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master’. Referring to Herbert’s work in general (including *A priest to the temple*, a handbook for clergy), Baxter wrote in 1681: ‘Herbert speaks to God like one that really believeth a God, and whose business in the world is most with God. Heart-work and heaven-work make up his books.’ He also wrote that he felt ‘much better in Herbert’s *Temple*, or in a heavenly treatise of faith and love’ than reading works of controversy. Herbert’s adoption of many of the features of what Lewalski has termed ‘Protestant poetics’ and his apparently moderate or middling stance on the doctrinal and liturgical matters then in dispute would also have helped his verse become popular with both supporters and critics of the church, and in the 1640s and 1650s Herbert’s poetry was both adapted for royalist propaganda and cited in defence of Antinomianism by a former parliamentarian army chaplain, Henry Pinnell. Herbert’s adage that ‘A verse may find him who a sermon flies, | And turn delight into a sacrifice’ was also sometimes cited as justification by authors or editors for the publication of (often much inferior) popular verse in the later Stuart period.

One devotee of Herbert may be dealt with briefly, for his work is also in our sample. Christopher Harvey (or Harvie) modelled his book of lyrics, *The synagogue*, on Herbert’s, as the subtitle indicates: ‘the shadow of the Temple . . . In imitation of Mr George Herbert’. Harvey’s verses were published first in 1640, and though today generally reckoned to be much inferior, they were

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94 Shuger, *Habits of Thought*, ch. 3; F. E. Hutchinson, *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation* (1947), 101; for the admiration of other conformists such as Christopher Harvey and Robert Herrick, see Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 283.


from the late 1650s often published with *The temple*, so that by 1709 at least nine editions of Harvey’s work had appeared. Despite the Old Testament-style title, it is even more English and ‘Anglican’ in its contents than Herbert’s, with verses on the church-gate, stile-gate, reading pew, Book of Common Prayer, and the church officers, grades of clergy, and church festivals which are all listed in turn.\(^98\) That such a work found an audience, even if it was published in harness with Herbert’s much greater achievement, may support the argument that a significant proportion of Herbert’s readers were conformists and that the market for conventional, orthodox verse was still strong in the second half of the seventeenth century.\(^99\)

The next two examples to be considered here—a scriptural paraphrase and an emblem book—both represent a modification of existing, sixteenth-century approaches. Francis Quarles made his reputation and helped feed his large family, by publishing a series of verse paraphrases of the ‘histories’ of Jonah, Esther, Job, and Sampson, the Song of Solomon and the book of Jeremiah, together with some elegies these were gathered together in his *Divine poems* (1630).\(^100\) The innovation lay, first, in providing each of the ‘histories’ with four-line ‘arguments’ (or summaries) before each new stage of the story, rather like the prose ‘arguments’ that could be found in many contemporary editions of the Bible; secondly, in offering some ‘meditations’ after each work, also in verse; and, thirdly, in one case providing a ‘use’ and ‘applications’, just like a contemporary sermon. The breadth of Quarles’s intentions is indicated in the preface to the second history, where he observes that in this work ‘Theology sits as Queen attended by her handmaid Philosophy’ to make the understanding reader a good divine and a precise moralist. The ‘divinity’ of the piece consisted of the depiction of God’s mercy in delivering his church and his justice in confounding her enemies, and the morality of the practical part of philosophy: ethics, politics, and economics. Quarles’s intention was serious: he was a committed member of the church, and claimed to have consulted the best expositors to throw light on the stories he retold; the result was a combination of relatively straightforward instruction with elements of meditation and diversion.\(^101\) Despite a price of about 3s. bound, the *Divine poems* sold steadily from the 1630s to the 1710s, though not nearly as well as Quarles’s other major venture in verse—his *Emblemes*.

The first emblem book appeared in Italy in 1531, but the idea soon spread to France and Holland, and by the middle of Elizabeth’s reign to England, with writers and publishers often borrowing one another’s pictures and changing the verses to suit their particular needs. Each ‘emblem’ in these books consisted of a motto, a symbolic picture, and an explanatory set of

\(^{98}\) For further details, see Appendix 1 s.v. Harvey.


\(^{100}\) See DNB, and STC 2 and Wing 2 s.v. Quarles.

\(^{101}\) F. Quarles, *Divine poems* (1633), 85–6, 88 and passim. For Quarles’s *Divine fancies*, see below, n. 161.
verses (or ‘epigram’, reminding us of the classical inspiration of early examples of the genre). Emblem books were not necessarily religious: the Dutch used them to portray secular love, while a French Huguenot made polemical points; other themes tackled included nature and history. But there was a growing tendency for them to be used to make a moral statement, and in the hands of the Jesuits abroad and in Quarles’s case in England the emblems became sacred devices to be put to a devotional end, as guideposts to the spiritual life.102

Quarles had to surmount a number of hurdles. First there was the phobia in some quarters about ‘images’ and a wider concern about the use of pictures for devotional ends.103 If poets like Sidney and Spenser, and later Milton in a new era of heightened suspicion of anything unscriptural, had to defend the use of the word in poetry, and also had to come to terms with the zealots’ hostility to the mental images so requisite for their art, how much greater would have been the opposition if they had actually included pictures in their verse, and representations of God and Christ at that?104 Secondly, Quarles decided, at a time of increased hostility towards Catholicism at home and abroad, to take all but ten of his sixty-five plates from two Jesuit emblem books published in Antwerp: Pia desideria (1624), and Typus mundi (1628). Some of the details of these were changed by the two English engravers who copied the Jesuit plates—William Marshall and William Simpson—but for the most part they were exact copies, including the representation of both God and Man as childlike Cherubs.105 The reason for this (a third problem) was that the Jesuit plates had themselves been adapted from the Cupid figures in Dutch secular love emblems.106 A fourth risk was the fact that Quarles chose not only to jettison all the Jesuit texts, but also to throw overboard the framework of the Pia desideria, which had given a sense of direction to forty-five of the engravings he had had copied, and to modify the thrust of the Typus mundi, and commission new plates to ensure a ‘thoroughgoing Protestant reworking’.107 By the time that he had chosen suitable Latin tags or scripture texts to be incised as the mottoes on the plates, and written the explanatory verses to be printed on the opposite page, a great deal of effort and not a little money had gone into setting up the first edition of his Emblemes, which was reflected in the price of about 5s. a copy.

104 On this, see Sinfield, Literature in Protestant England, ch. 3; Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, chs. 1–2; and Gilman, Iconoclasm and Poetry, ch. 3.
105 Gilman, Iconoclasm and Poetry, p. 95; and on the engravers, see Corbett and Norton, Engraving, 102–3 and 264–5. 106 Gilman, Iconoclasm and Poetry, 94 and 211 n. 19.
107 Gilman, Iconoclasm and Poetry, pp. 90–1, 95–6; Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, 192.
And yet the gamble came off. The work proved an instant success, and perhaps eighteen editions were published between the mid-1630s and the mid-1720s. Moreover, instead of arousing a storm of protest of the kind that met the insertion of illustrative plates into an edition of a Bible at much the same time, Quarles’s book proved acceptable to both conformists and nonconformists. Among the latter Richard Baxter listed Quarles among the poets whose works he admired, and John Bunyan has been shown to have known and used the emblematic works of both Quarles and George Wither (whose Collection of emblemes ancient and modern also came out in 1635). Why was this so? Perhaps, as Ernest Gilman has argued, the hurdles that Quarles had to overcome provided a stimulus to writing a rather better set of verses than is usually admitted, with the use of different metres, the tailoring of the language to suit the complexity or simplicity of each image, and the adaptation to a new purpose of familiar devices such as the dialogue (between Eve and the Serpent, Christ and the Soul, Flesh and Spirit, and so on). Perhaps the element of mystery in many of the visual riddles, involving globes, scales, mazes, and other objects not normally associated with religious ideas, and the pleasure of seeing how the poet then unravelled and expounded the puzzle, played a part in its success among the moderately well-educated readers who could afford to buy the book. Certainly in his preface Quarles wished the reader ‘as much pleasure in the reading, as I had in the writing’.

Perhaps Quarles also headed off potential iconophobes by asserting in his preface that ‘an emblem is but a silent parable’, and that since Christ in the scriptures is called a sower, a fisher, and a physician, why should this not be ‘presented so as well to the eye as to the ear’? Before the knowledge of letters God was known by hieroglyphics, and indeed, what are the heavens, the earth, nay every creature, but hieroglyphics and emblems of his glory? Perhaps the majority of educated Protestants in early modern England were not nearly as hostile to images, mental or physical, or as bereft of religious iconography, as has sometimes been suggested. In The compleat gentleman (1622), Henry Peacham urged his readers to spice their graver discourse with witty and inventive conceits such as an epigram, emblem, anagram, or anecdote; and the ‘godly’ schoolteacher Charles Hoole in the late 1650s recommended the study of emblems in the higher forms in school as an aid to rhetoric. Emblems were also used in masques and plays, in designs for ceilings and panels in

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108 See below, Appendix 1; Quarles was tempted to repeat the exercise with his Hieroglyphikes of the life of man (1638), but this did not prove as popular.
109 Keeble, Baxter, 106; Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan VI, ed. G. Midgley, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii. Quarles was accused of popery in 1644, but by then he was writing pamphlets in defence of the royalist position.
111 F. Quarles, Emblemes (1638), sig. A3; Ibid.
private houses, tapestries, embroidery, and gloves, and even on gravestones.\textsuperscript{113}

In short, English iconophobia may have been very selective, according to the type of image used, the place in which it was put, the function it was supposed to perform, or even the social strata to which it could safely be exposed.

Before we turn to Milton and Dryden, we need to take a step back to an earlier work in our sample: the *Divine weeks and works* of Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas. Earlier a distinction was drawn between close scriptural paraphrase and poems inspired by biblical themes or stories, and it is to the latter we now turn. In 1574 du Bartas published in Bordeaux the biblical story of Judith, in French but in the form of a classical epic, a work he had prepared at the command of a Huguenot princess. Ten years later it was translated into English at the express order of the young James VI of Scotland, and James himself translated du Bartas’s defence of divine poetry, in which it was argued that the first poetry ever written—in the Bible—was divine, and that poetry remained a heavenly gift to be reclaimed from the profane uses to which it had been put. Poets wishing eternal fame should write on eternal subjects in a way that would give profit as well as pleasure, and in a style worthy of its subject-matter.\textsuperscript{114} In other words, we have a call to write a biblical epic in the style of a Homer or a Virgil; and du Bartas himself moved on to write both an epic on the creation of the world, which was published in 1578 as *La sépmaine, ou création du monde*, and later works, including a ‘second week’ (on the ‘childhood of the world’ including Eden, the Flood, and the fall of Babylon), and on the sacrifice of Isaac, and the shipwreck of Jonah. The first ‘week’ was apparently translated into English by Sidney, though no copy has been located, and in 1605 the poet Joshua Sylvester gathered together the translations he had been working on for some years as *Bartas his divine weekes and workes*. Despite a preface in which Sylvester prayed to God that ‘through mine artless pen | This holy lamp may light my country-men’, the 1605 edition was an enormous volume in high-flown language, and in subsequent editions, new items were added. Not only Sidney, but Spenser, Drayton, Milton, and Baxter were also familiar with du Bartas’s work, either in the original or in translation. Indeed, as a result of the several editions through which the translations into English passed in early Stuart England, it seems possible that his work had more impact in England than in France.\textsuperscript{115}

The inspiration for John Milton’s combination of Christian and classical motifs in his *Paradise lost* probably came from many sources: extensive study

\textsuperscript{113} Freeman, *Emblem Books*, 88–101 (and cf. the satirical comments on 204-5). See also above, pp. 236–8, and below, pp. 441–2, on the growing number of printed works with woodcuts or engravings; and on the iconography tolerated in churches, churchyards, schools, and homes, see my *Religious Instruction in Early Modern England*.

\textsuperscript{114} Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama*, 74–83.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., chs. 10–11; Keeble, *Baxter*, 106; Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas, *Bartas his divine weekes and works*, tr. J. Sylvester ([1605]), 272. I have followed STC in listing this author under ‘S’ in Appendix 1, rather than Wing’ which places him under ‘Du’.
of the epic poetry of the ancients, and of more recent verse, prose, and
drama in English and in Italian, as well as, inevitably, the Bible and
Christian teaching through the ages. He formed the intention of writing a
great epic at an early stage, but composition was interrupted while he used
his pen for parliament and the infant English republic, and *Paradise lost* was
not begun until the late 1650s. The final work comprised ten books, re-
organized in later editions into twelve, and began with the famous section
in which Milton invoked the ‘heav’nly muse’ to help him state his theme—
the Fall of Man through disobedience—and his aim of justifying the ways
of God to men. Like du Bartas, his treatment of Genesis and a number
of other sections of the Bible text is at the same time scrupulous and
highly inventive, and the vocabulary and choice of metre reflect the fact
that he regarded his argument as ‘not less but more heroic’ than the

Although the first edition in 1667 sold slowly (perhaps because of the asso-
ciation of Milton’s name with the events of the 1640s and 1650s), the quality
of the work was soon recognized, and new editions followed regularly every
few years thereafter, the later editions including not only an ‘argument’ to
help the reader see the direction taken in each book, but also a defence of his
use of blank verse.\footnote{Poems of Milton, 423–6.} Support came from across the board, for it was of interest to all readers who saw themselves as the children of God, living out the experience of the Fall, and Milton’s middling or ‘Arminian’ position on grace meant that there was no opposition to it on theological grounds.\footnote{For Milton’s ‘Arminianism’, see M. Kelley, *This Great Argument* (Princeton, 1944), and D. Danielson, *Milton’s Good God: A Study in Literary Theodicy* (Cambridge, 1982), ch. 3; for somewhat different views, cf. C. A. Patrides, *Milton and the Christian Tradition* (Oxford, 1966), and C. Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (1977).} It was licensed for publication by Archbishop Sheldon’s chaplain, and the conserva-
tive Dryden called it ‘one of the greatest, most noble and sublime poems
which either this age or nation has produced’—a sentiment with which the
radical Marvell agreed, though in his case he probably recognized and
applauded the covert political references to the position of the dissenters in
post-Restoration England.\footnote{D. Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (7 vols., 1859–94), vi. 777; Stocker, *Paradise Lost*, 61–7.} The support may not have been as broad ver-
tically as, say, for Herbert’s verse. While Baxter commended the work of
Herbert, Wither, Sandys, Quarles, and Sylvester (the translator of du Bartas),
he did not mention Milton’s poetic writings, even though one might have
expected him to admire Milton’s massive confidence in his own election.\footnote{Keeble, *Baxter*, 166–7, and 201 n. 18.} Nor does one find references to Milton in the cheaper publications of the late
seventeenth century in the way that one occasionally does to Herbert, or in
schoolbooks, presumably because its length made it more difficult to master.\textsuperscript{121} Given the novelty of Milton’s use of blank verse for an epic poem, it is also perhaps significant that \textit{The state of innocence, and fall of man}—Dryden’s much abbreviated adaptation of \textit{Paradise lost} into ‘an opera in heroic verse’—sold perhaps ten editions between 1677 and 1703.\textsuperscript{122}

There remain a trio of examples of religious verse in our sample dating from the late seventeenth century, which represent the flowering of a new genre: religious verse for children and young people. The first of these—Keach’s \textit{War with the devil} (1673), which showed the young how to fight against the devil—has been mentioned above under dialogues; the second is John Bunyan’s \textit{A book for boys and girls} (1686), and the third \textit{Youths divine pastime} by Nathaniel Crouch (first surviving edition 1691), which are very different works, but representative of wider trends. Like Keach, Bunyan was aware that some of the ‘godly’ still disapproved of all non-scriptural poetry as profane, but he wrote verse throughout his life and especially to relieve the monotony of his spells in jail. He defended his verses on the grounds that ‘Man’s heart is apt in metre to delight, | Also in that to bear away the more: | This is the cause I here in verses write, | Therefore affect this book, and read it o’er’. Poetry was for profit and delight, he believed, and just as a doctor sweetens a pill, so truth will be absorbed more readily ‘when men by faith it in their hearts do sing’.\textsuperscript{123} He was far from being the only dissenter to write verse at this time.\textsuperscript{124} But Graham Midgley is surely correct in seeing the wellspring of Bunyan’s verse not in the lyrics of Herbert (which he may have read) or the emblem books of Quarles (which he probably knew), but in two other sources. First, there was the ‘much humbler poetry’ associated with the diverting ballads he read as a boy and the ‘godly’ or moralistic ballads which (as we will see in Chapter 8) were still being published throughout the seventeenth century; and, secondly, there were the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins which Bunyan had sung as a youth.\textsuperscript{125} There is an echo of the chapbook genre in the sub-title of Bunyan’s \textit{Book for boys and girls}—‘Country rhymes for children’—since short works with similarly rustic allusions in the title were often printed at that time, for example the verses in \textit{The country garland} which was published in a chapbook format with a woodcut showing villagers dancing to tabor and pipe.\textsuperscript{126}

\textit{A book for boys and girls} underwent various changes of title after Bunyan’s death. The second edition was subtitled ‘Temporal things spiritualized’, while

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{121} For examples of citing of Herbert or use of his verse in works for the young and less educated, see \textit{Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan. VI}, pp. xx, xxviii; and below, n. 137.
\item \textsuperscript{122} See Appendix 1 s.v. Dryden; and J. Dryden, \textit{The state of innocence, and fall of man} (1690), title-page.
\item \textsuperscript{123} \textit{Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan VI}, pp. xv–xx.
\item \textsuperscript{125} \textit{Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan VI}, pp. xxix–xxxvi.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid., pp. xxxvi–xlvi, 185; Spufford, \textit{Small Books}, p. 175, and cf. 59, 63, 67.
\end{itemize}
the third, planned as early as 1707, was entitled *Divine emblems: or temporal things spiritualized*, and was ‘adorned with cuts suitable to every subject’. The reference to emblems and the addition of woodcuts has led at least one modern scholar to see Bunyan’s work as a late, indeed perhaps the last, example of the emblem tradition. There is some justification for this, even in the pictureless first editions, in that Bunyan himself regularly used the term ‘emblem’ in the ‘Comparisons’ at the end of his verses. (A slightly different example of pictureless emblems is the poem by Herbert entitled ‘Easter wings’ where the text was laid out on the page in such a way as to create the impression of a lark’s wings.) Bunyan’s choice of everyday objects or sights such as an egg, a sunrise, a fish, a swallow, a bee, and so on was in line with the parables in the Bible about lost sheep and coins, sowing corn, and the lilies of the field. But rather than unravel a mysterious symbol, as in Quarles’s *Emblemes*, Bunyan had the much more basic intention of drawing a simple lesson by means of a parable or fable from an object that would be familiar to every child. It was the childishness of his readers to which he drew attention in his preface when he complained that ‘Our ministers, long time by word and pen, | Dealt with them, counting them not boys but men: | Thunder-bolts they shot at them, and their toys: | But hit them not, ’cause they were girls and boys’. If many of his verses were simple and gentle, others—on sin, disobedience, and death—could (to modern eyes) seem deliberately frightening and even cruel. A sentiment such as ‘Death’s a cold comforter to girls and boys, | Who wedded are unto their childish toys’, or ‘Death has a dart, a sting, which poison is, | As all will find, who do of glory miss’, was more in the tradition of James Janeway’s *A token for children* (c.1671) and Henry Jessey’s *A looking glass for children* (1672), which contains the famous couplet said by a little girl before her mirror: ‘ ’Tis pity, such a pretty maid | As I should go to hell’. The tone throughout Bunyan’s collection is admonitory, and the standard of behaviour set is high, but a very straightforward and positive equation is drawn between acting properly and going to heaven. Thus in his prefatory verse Bunyan states that he hopes to ‘save’ children through using familiar objects to entice them ‘To mount their thoughts from what are childish toys | To heaven, for that’s prepar’d for girls and boys’; and the conclusion of the verse ‘Upon death’ cited above is that Jesus Christ, indeed, did death destroy, | For those who worthy are, him to enjoy . . . So here’s nor sting, nor law, nor

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128 *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan VI*, pp. xxviii, lviii–lix, 202–8, 225–7, etc.  
129 *The Guardian*, 3.4.93.  
130 Bunyan may also have seen the moral *exempla* and supporting woodcuts in Thomas Jenner’s *Soules solace; or thirtie and one spirituall emblemes*, or one of the popular illustrated versions of Aesop’s fables: *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan VI*, pp. xxxviii–xliii.  
132 Ibid., pp. xliii–xlvi, 253. For a severe but ultimately more optimistic warning about hell see the verses at the end of Jeremy Taylor’s *Golden Grove* (1655), 146.
death to kill’. This somewhat less severe approach (which was taken further with the removal from the second and subsequent editions of poems like ‘The awakened child’s lamentation’, and ‘Upon fire’, as well as some of the physically more repellent themes) sold more copies than those of Janeway and Jessey, though it was only when woodcuts were added that sales of Bunyan’s work took off. The real breakthrough in children’s verse occurred when Isaac Watts published his Divine songs attempted in easy language for the use of children in 1715. In its use of simple and familiar images and positive message, this was much nearer to the gentler side of Bunyan’s work than that of Janeway or Jessey.

In 1684, Nathaniel Crouch, a prolific plagiarist and self-publicist, published his Delights for the ingenious in above fifty select and choice emblems divine and moral, ancient and modern. The author has been fairly described as a ‘literary hack’, and his verse as ‘banal’, with a moral teaching that is ‘thin’ and ‘derivative’ (and eked out by some fairly dubious material such as the lottery purloined from Wither’s 1635 collection of emblems). Crouch would not delay us here were it not for the fact that he also published a work in the sample that points both backwards and forwards at the same time. Youths divine pastime for children contains ‘forty remarkable scripture histories turned into English verse’—an echo of the first form of approved Protestant verse. But these were published with forty pictures which anticipate the illustrated children’s books and simplified Bibles of the eighteenth century. The author’s alleged aim was to provide something ‘very delightful for young persons, and to prevent vain and vicious diversions’, and in a later edition Herbert was summoned to provide a degree of respectability: ‘He often with a verse is pleas’d | Who from a sermon flies; | And so may chance to turn delight | Into a sacrifice’.

The epistle to the original work contains the simple equation of virtue with heavenly reward which is one of the motifs of the work, and there is also a paraphrase of a familiar biblical text (Ecclesiastes 12:1) in the last line of the verse—‘Oh, therefore, in your youthful days, | Your great creator mind’.

But the shallow character of most of the verse, the choice of stories with one eye on their suitability for an illustration, for example, Daniel in the lions’ den, Jonah and the whale, the stoning of Stephen, and Paul’s shipwreck, and the omission of any stories about Christ suggest that what he really wanted to do was cash in on what was seen as an increasingly lucrative market. And up to a point he succeeded: his work was competitively priced at 8d. a copy, and
twelve editions were published from the 1690s to the 1710s. Crouch or a successor was also moved to produce another forty scripture stories (including some about Christ this time), all with pictorial potential and accompanying verses. His entrepreneurial instinct is confirmed by the fact that by the latter date, illustrated devotional books for children (such as the later editions of Bunyan’s verses), and even modified bibles with pictures on one side of an opening and verses or brief prose summaries on the other (such as Samuel Wesley’s and Laurence Howell’s ‘histories’ of the Bible), were being published in increasing quantities. Publishing had come a long way since the days of William Tyndale, but what had also changed dramatically was the market for religious books.

Throughout the early modern period, then, verse was very popular, both across the doctrinal spectrum, and among different layers of readership. Indeed, it is fairly clear that less polished verse, such as that of Sternhold and Hopkins, Hunnis, Breton, Taylor, Keach, Bunyan, and even Crouch, tended to sell better than the technically more accomplished poetry of Herbert and Milton. It could also be argued that poetry which focused on events, objects, or puzzles in an affirming manner, such as the work of du Bartas, Harvey, and Quarles, had more impact than verses describing the horrors of hell or the trauma of repentance and conversion. The works in the sample are, of course, but a fraction of a much larger number of published works which contained verse, and there is also a substantial body of contemporary religious or devotional verse which was never printed, ranging from Sidney’s translation of du Bartas’s first ‘Week’ (now lost) and Traherne’s ‘Centuries’ (mercifully found) to countless examples of epitaphs or commemorative verses on monuments or tombstones in churches and churchyards. The trickle-down effect of the wide dissemination of vernacular verse probably encouraged a local figure or member of the bereaved family to try his hand at religious verse in an essentially personal way that was not intended to be viewed outside the parish in which it was composed, and tended to stress piety and virtue rather than doctrine. This is a subject to which historians and those interested in the readership of texts could usefully address more time.

The Reformation may eventually have silenced the mystery play and other forms of traditional drama, but in the first instance there was actually an increase in scripturally based drama—for use in schools and universities (both in Latin and the vernacular), and also for a wider public. The latter included four plays by John Bale, an ex-monk whose plays caught Thomas Cromwell’s eye in the 1530s. These were _The thre[e] lawes_ (of nature, Moses, and Christ), _The chefe promyses of God, Johan Baptystes preachynge_, and _The temptacyon of our_
Lorde. The genre also included a play based on the story of Jonah, *A looking glasse for London and England*, by two London-based playwrights, Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene, which was performed four times in London in 1590, and George Peele’s *The love of King David and fair Bethsabe*, which in 1599 was said to have been ‘divers times’ played on the stage. The *Looking glasse* may have been a ‘crudely plotted Protestant morality play’, with prophets and the divine hand literally being lowered onto the set, but has been included in the sample because in its printed form it sold five editions between 1594 and 1617, suggesting that a large number of Londoners may have read it as well as seen it performed. Moreover, its authors used almost every single verse of the text of the *Book of Jonas* in the Bishops’ Bible translation, before issuing the warning in their conclusion: ‘O turn, O turn, with weeping to the Lord, | Repent O London, lest for thine offence, | Thy shepherd fail’. It also contained loyal praise of ‘the prayers and virtues of thy Queen’ who with God’s help was fighting ‘Against the storms of Romish Antichrist’. Peele used some passages from du Bartas, and there was also a ballad on the subject.

Not all puritans refused to entertain the idea of going to the theatre, and while Prynne may have disapproved of many aspects of the theatre, such as women acting, he praised the reading of plays, especially those with godly intentions. Moreover, many of the ‘secular’ plays of the day, including some of the well-known ones of Shakespeare and Jonson, and less familiar ones, such as those of Davenant, confronted rival views of right and wrong, or contained a moral comment on the corrupting effect of power or the corroding effect of lust. Dramatic dialogues were also present in a number of the poems described here, from godly ballads and Hunnis’s verses to those of Quarles and Keach. Some critics have also commented on the dramatic quality of many parts and themes of *Paradise lost*, and Dryden, better known in his day as a dramatist than a poet, called his alternative version an ‘opera’. Indeed, with Purcell’s many anthems and other sacred works, which he based on scripture texts, the Book of Common Prayer, and the writings of Cowley,

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143 Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama*, 253. For the ballad, see below, Ch. 8.iv, and for a later one on Jonah, ibid.


Quarles, and others, and with Handel’s several oratorios on scriptural themes or using scripture texts, the religious music of our period ends in a blaze of trumpets. In short, religious drama on the stage or in the street may have become uncommon by the late sixteenth century, but elements of drama survived in much of the religious verse that was spoken and sung in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and that drama, like much of the more popular published verse of the day, often focused on story-telling and pious morality rather than the finer points of official doctrine.

iii. Commonplaces, Sentences, Epigrams, Improving Thoughts, Meditations, and Essays

There was an even stronger emphasis on piety in our next group of genres combining edification and entertainment. The opinion of the influential teacher and author, Henry Peacham, that the complete gentleman should always have a ready epigram, aphorism, or anecdote to bring out in conversation brings us to a genre that had its roots in the past but was modified in early Protestant England, and at a lower level was grafted onto the vernacular tradition of the proverb and the ‘godly’ ABC ballad. Both Catholic and Protestant humanists encouraged their students to keep a commonplace book in which to record any notable passages or amusing sayings they had read or heard, so that by regular conning they could memorize them and trot them out to drive home their argument when making a speech or writing a letter. Rhetoric and morality were often closely connected in this enterprise, and the better-organized commonplace book had appropriate headings under which to record sententious sayings or proverbs, such as charity, justice, family, love, or conscience. The more advanced the student the wider the range of sources, though easily the most important were the Latin and Greek classics, either in the originals or for less advanced or well-placed students in the form of selected excerpts, such as Erasmus’s *Adages* and *Apophthegmata*. A number of Protestant teachers took advantage of print to provide large quantities of suitable sentences and improving thoughts in a ready-made package, and a number of their works became steady sellers. Content tended to become increasingly didactic and contemplative in character, but at the outset and for some time thereafter there was no clear distinction between pagan, classical sources and Christian ones, or between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ apophthegms.

Schoolboys began learning suitable sentences from an early age. In the ‘catechyzon’ written by Dean Colet about 1510 to be learnt by boys entering his St Paul’s School, the Creed and other doctrinal statements were followed by precepts such as ‘Fear God . . . subdue thy sensual appetites . . . Flee foul...
language’; and after they had mastered this they moved on to a collection of precepts in verse prepared for Colet by his friend, Erasmus: the *Institutum Christianae hominis*. And in the Latin *Sententiae pueriles* collected by Leonhard Culman, and converted into a parallel Latin/English edition (by a leading teacher, Charles Hoole), the ‘sentences (or sayings) of wise men’ were ‘collected for them that first enter to the Latin tongue’. The collection began with two-word sentences, then three, then four, and so on, with the Latin originals being listed alphabetically: ‘Be helpful to thy friends; *Amicis opitulare*. . . Honour good men; *Bonos honora*. . . Respect thy kinsfolks; *Cognatos cole*. . . Use diligence; *Diligentiam adhibe*. . . Keep thy credit; *Existationem retine*. . . Drunkenness makes men mad, *Ebrietas dementat*, and so on. In Hoole’s editions, about a fifth of the text was devoted to ‘Holy sentences to be taught scholars upon holy days’, e.g. ‘We can do nothing without God. *Absque Deo nihil possumus*. Some of these were doctrinal or comforting, but the majority, like the first sentences learnt, were improving or moralizing. Adults were also exposed to the same snappy sentences in English. Opposite the title-page of his *Godly private prayers for householders to meditate upon, and to say in their families*, Edward Dering provided a one-page summary of wisdom that, as Wright put it, combine ‘the teachings of Machiavelli and the Man of Galilee’: ‘Keep counsel. Use not many words. Tell the truth. . . Take heed of drink. Remember thy end. . . Try before thou trust. Repose no confidence in a reconciled adversary. . . Reveal not thy secrets to thy wife, nor to thy children, for women and children say all they know. . . Be not too rash, hasty, bold, nor wise in thine own conceit’.

For older students and adults, there were works like William Baldwin’s *Treatise of moral philosophie*, first published in 1547 but enlarged several times, and selling twenty-five editions in just over 100 years. In this Baldwin (a layman who spent much of his time editing successive editions of *A mirror for magistrates*) had collected together ‘the sayings of the wise’, what he described as the ‘godly good doctrine’ of the Greeks and Romans; he then translated these sayings into English and grouped them under headings like human conduct, God, the seven cardinal virtues and the seven capital vices, conscience, repentance, women, riches, and so on, as a support to what was taught in ‘the true Word of God’. This was a strange exercise whose continuing popularity in Elizabethan and early Stuart times can only be explained by schoolteachers’ continuing reverence for the classics and desire for their students always to have a suitable classical tag at hand on any subject. In 1589 the controversialist Leonard Wright published *A display of dutie* which, according to the subtitle, was ‘decked with sage sayings, pithy sentences, and proper similes’ in a

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150 Cited in Wright, *Middle-Class Culture*, 245–6; but for the *Godly private prayers*, see below, Appendix 1.
151 W. Baldwin, *A treatise of morall philosophie* (1580), title-page, fo. 65r, and passim.
work that ‘was pleasant to read, delightful to hear, and profitable to practise’. As the author made clear in the preface, he was anxious to inculcate ‘both Christian duty, and civil courtesy’, and some of the rules were evidently as much secular as sacred, for example the rules for good health prescribed by ‘Dr Diet’, ‘Dr Quiet’, and ‘Dr Merriman’, and a witty passage on the number three (the three properties needed in an innkeeper are to be as patient as Job, as provident as Philemon, and as merry as Hector). But much of the text, which included verses as well as ‘sayings’ and ‘sentences’, was meant to further Christian behaviour by providing ‘profitable rules for the instruction of youth, and sound reasons for the reformation of age’, though the equation between good behaviour and ultimate felicity was not one that all clergy would have endorsed.\(^\text{152}\)

Wright’s work probably owed something to the playwright John Heywood, who in addition to writing moralistic interludes also published collections of proverbs and epigrams. The popularity of works like Heywood’s and Wright’s probably encouraged publishers to produce shorter and cheaper works of a similar nature, aimed at a less well-educated or less prosperous readership. Predictably Nicholas Breton got in on the act again, and by the early seventeenth century collections of his aphorisms, such as *Figure of four*, were being produced in chapbook form for less-educated adults. A related work was his *Crossing of proverbs*, where Breton took a popular proverb (P) and ‘crossed’ it with a contradictory statement (C), as in ‘P. There is nothing so sure as death.\(^{C}\) Yes, life to the faithful’. The same work also contained a question-and-answer section testing the reader’s knowledge of the Bible.\(^{153}\) Dr Watt has noted the haphazard and even bizarre juxtaposition of sacred and profane in this work, though the profane clearly predominated in what was obviously intended to be a work of entertainment. She also suggests that the root of Breton’s work lies in ‘simple folk wisdom’, though it could also be seen as a cross-over between the approach of the humanistic schoolbook and that of traditional or proverbial wit.\(^{154}\) Another cheaply produced work to contain a series of aphorisms was *Keepe within compass* (1619), probably by the publisher John Trundle, and in its tenth impression by c.1630. This was ostensibly ‘the worthy legacy of a wise father to his beloved son, teaching him to live richly in this world and eternal[ly] happy in the world to come’, but was advertised as being ‘meet for all sorts of people whatsoever’. The advice came in four sections, on religion, conversation, apparel, and diet, though the author’s understanding of Protestant doctrine seems to have been limited, to judge from a number of his man-centred and works-dominated aphorisms, such as ‘religion is a justice of men towards God’, ‘true religion brings a man up to


\(^{153}\) N\[icholas\] B\[reton\], gent., *Crossing of proverbs* (1616), pt. 2, sig. A3; the copy on STC microfilm reel 915 is either a mixture of two editions or a very carelessly printed piece.

\(^{154}\) Watt, *Cheap Print*, 288–9, 301–2.
heaven’, and religion ‘will make thee know well and do well, and they are the only two things belonging to virtue’. 155

Larger works like those of Baldwin and Wright continued to be produced—in two parallel streams that regularly intersected. On the one hand, there were works of moral philosophy inspired by the classics or Italian courtly literature but which incorporated some Christian teaching, and, on the other, more purely Christian works, inspired by the Bible and previous moral teaching of the church, but not averse to using classical sources. Examples of the former include Thomas Crewe’s translation of an Italian work as The nosegay of morall philosophie (1580), in which the epigrams switched between how to be a good courtier or a good householder and how to be a good Christian, and perhaps Sir John Harrington’s Epigrams both pleasant and serious (1615), which were mainly ‘pleasant’ and somewhat inclined to poke fun at the ‘godly’. 156 It would also certainly include a number of late Elizabethan and Jacobean editions of the works and studies of the ethical teachings of the Stoics, which had influenced authors like Petrarch, Lipsius, and Montaigne abroad, as well as English writers like George Chapman and John Dryden. 157

Examples of the primarily Christian stream would certainly include Meditations and vowes, divine and morall (1605), an early work of a rising clerical author, Joseph Hall, which consisted of three ‘centuries’ of improving and uplifting thoughts ‘serving for direction in Christian and civil practice’. The content was again mixed, and doctrinally simple. Nothing but man respects greatness (runs an early thought): God, death, and judgement do not, nor do nature and disease. As there is a foolish wisdom, so there is a wise ignorance, which includes not prying into God’s ark for his secrets. He that lives well cannot choose but die well; and so on. 158 Similarly, Joseph Henshaw’s Horae succisivae (subtitled ‘spare-hours of meditations’) was another relatively youthful work by a court chaplain, and contained ‘a rhapsody of resolves and observations, some for contemplation, others for caution, the first divine, the others moral’. Most of these were on topics like God, Christ, sin, and death—night, he wrote, is an emblem of death: in both we rest from our labours—but some were on secular matters such as honour. 159 Another work published in the early 1630s, Arthur Warwick’s Spare-minutes or resolved meditations, still had some secular material but the religious teaching had a slightly different focus: more on the nature of sins such as covetousness and worldliness, and afflictions on earth compared to the joys of heaven. There was even a hint of egalitarianism

155 John T[rundle?], Keepe within compass [c.1630], title-page, and sigs. A4v, A5v; and cf. Walsham, Providentialism, 39, 45–7.
156 The nosegay of morall philosophie trans. T[homas] C[rewe] (1580), passim; Sir John Harrington, Epigrams both pleasant and serious (1615), sigs. M1r–v; and cf. id., The most elegant and witty epigrams . . . digested (1618).
157 See STC2 and Wing s.v. Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Seneca; and cf. Guillaume Du Vair, The moral philosophie of the Stoicks (1598), et al. 158 J. Hall, Works (1625), 1–68.
159 J. Henshaw, Horae succisivae (1632), sig. A3v, and passim.
in Warwick: God understands the language of the heart where man knows only that of the tongue, so the poor man’s desires may be heard by God when the rich man’s go unheeded.  

Ever alert to an opportunity, the needy Francis Quarles got in on the act too. His *Divine fancies* (1632) consisted of epigrams, meditations, and observations on a number of edifying topics, all in verse, as in this epigram on Iscariot: ‘We rail at Judas, him that did betray | The lord of life, yet do it day by day’. In *Enchyridion* (published in 1639–40, and borrowing its title from a Stoic work attributed to Epictetus), Quarles accumulated four ‘centuries’ of political, religious, and moral instructions. Like the works by Henshaw and Warwick, both of these sold well over the next few decades, perhaps among adults with some pretensions to learning and virtue, and in grammar schools. Quarles’s *Divine fancies*, for example, was recommended as an aid to the composition of English verse in the upper forms of some grammar schools. The occasional barbed remark suggests these works, like Harrington’s, were not meant for the ‘godly’, for example Hall’s warning against prying into God’s secrets (a charge made against some double predestinarians), and Quarles’s suggestion that puritans should be ignored, since God would know what they were really up to and deal with them accordingly.

The better-educated members of the ‘godly’, who as Professor Todd has pointed out were just as much heirs of Erasmus as the non-‘godly’, were prepared to offer their own versions. Edward Dering, as we have already seen, had a go in the 1570s, and the two parts of *A garden of spiruittall flowers*, first published in 1609 and 1612, contained a lot of pithy advice in the form of brief ‘directions’ (by Perkins), ‘rules’ (by Greenham), and rows of precepts and steps (as well as much else, as we shall see later). In 1647 Ralph Venning produced over two hundred *Orthodoxe paradoxes*, which were in much the same mould as those of Hall and Henshaw but in which the author did not shrink from tackling a subject such as election; he noted, for example, the paradox of a man who ‘believes that God never made any man on purpose to reprobate him, and yet he believes that God ever proposed to reprobate some men’. The inclusion of Greek phrases and scripture references in the margin suggests that this work was not solely for beginners. *Old Mr. Dod’s sayings*, originally in prose but also in verse, contained gems like ‘Though we have things below very rare, | Yet brown bread with the Gospel is good fare’. The versified form was said to be published ‘for the better help of memory, and the delightfulness of children’s reading and learning them’. But as late as 1769 it was

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160 A. Warwick, *Spare-minutes or resolved meditations* (1637), 390–1, and passim.

161 F. Quarles, *Divine fancies* (1632), p. 4; id., *Enchyridion* (1646), passim.

162 See Appendix 1 for repeat editions; and F. Watson, *The English Grammar School to 1660* (1908), p. 481.


164 Todd, *Christian Humanism*, passim; and for the collection edited by Richard Rogers, below, Appendix 1.

165 R. Venning, *Orthodoxe paradoxes* (1677), p. 9 (no. 61) and cf. 63, 66.
reported that an elderly woman said she would have gone distracted after the loss of her husband, if she had not had Mr Dod’s sayings in the house. In a case like this, perhaps pasted up on a wall if printed on a broadsheet, the sayings may have acquired almost the status of proverbs through regular perusal.\(^6\)

When in 1693 the Quaker leader William Penn published *Some fruits of solitude*, he called it, like Quarles, an ‘enchiridion’, and like Venning he said he was publishing not for vanity, but in the hope that it might help others, both adults and children, rich and poor. His 460 ‘reflections and maxims’ covered a wide range of human activities and problems: friendship, obeying one’s parents, the character of a good prince, and so on. Though evidently a Quaker, its author leant heavily on the classics and English proverbs as well as the Bible to get his message across. He also expected some of his readers to have some Latin: ‘Love is the hardest lesson in Christianity, but for that reason, it should be most our care to learn it.’ *Difficilia quae pulchra.*\(^6\) Finally, there are the improving thoughts in *The pious souls daily exercise* by someone known to us only as G.L. Some of the 300 sentences in this little pamphlet are instructive, some monitory, and some consoling, but sentiments such as ‘Better be preserved in the brine of affliction than rot in the honey of prosperity’ tend to reinforce the impression given by the advert on the cover, for the works of Owen and Bunyan, that this work too was aimed first and foremost at dissenters.\(^6\)

Similar to the epigrammatic or aphoristic approach was the use of a paragraph or short essay to make a point. As Sir Francis Bacon said of an ‘essay’, ‘the word is late, but the thing is ancient’, the classical prototypes being the moral works of Seneca and Plutarch, and the word itself probably being borrowed from Montaigne’s *Essais* of 1580. In the hands of Bacon and others, a new type of essay emerged which, as one scholar has put it, ‘tended . . . to be secular in tone, but long bore traces of the religious homily and devotional meditation’.\(^5\) The great majority of the essays of the Stuart period are outside the scope of these chapters, but a few of the titles in our sample arguably fall into this category. Richard Greenham’s ‘Grave counsels and godlie observations’ (reprinted in his *Works* in 1599) consisted of numbered paragraphs grouped together to form an essay or mini-sermon on alphabetically arranged topics such as ‘affections’, ‘afflictions’, ‘anger’, ‘angels’, and ‘atheism’, each being designed to ‘direct men in the ways of true godliness’, and especially to comfort afflicted consciences’.\(^7\) Bacon’s own *Essayes, religious meditations, places*

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\(^6\) [John Dod], *Old Mr. Dod’s sayings* (1678), p. 16 (no. 43); Watt, *Cheap Print*, pt. 2; W. Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1957), 59.

\(^5\) [W. Penn], *Some fruits of solitude* (1693), sigs. A3r, A7–8r, p. 132 (no. 459), and passim.

\(^7\) [G.L.], *The pious souls daily exercise* (1700), p. 9 (no. 94), and sig. B6r.


of persuasion and dissuasion have been included in the sample because, in addition to a number of religious and moralistic essays in the main series, the first seven editions also contained a separate series of what were called ‘sacred’ or ‘religious meditations’ in Latin or English—short essays on scripture texts which were little different in form from the essays in the parent work. The content of Bacon’s essay-meditations was less conventional than that of the works of Baldwin or Hall. There were essays on the works of God and man, charity, and moderation of cares, but there were also some on the miracles of Christ, the innocency of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent, impostors, heresies, and the church and the scriptures.\footnote{F. Bacon, Essays. Religious meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion (1597), pt. ii; and for examples of religious or moral dimensions in the main series, see Bacon, Essays, ed. Kiernan, nos. 1–3, 13, 16–17.}

In 1623, another layman, Owen Feltham, called his work Resolves, divine, morall, politicall, but again this consisted of a series of short essays, in his case two ‘centuries’ of them, on topics such as ‘Of sudden prosperity’ and ‘Of arrogance’. Like Baldwin, the author’s intention was to encourage Christian morality, but the inspiration was on balance more classical than scriptural; and the praise for the Church of England, support for uniformity in religion, and attacks on those ‘church-rebels’, the puritans, indicate where he stood on such matters.\footnote{O. Feltham, Resolves, divine, morall, politicall (1628), pt. 2, pp. 9–12, and cf. 46–51.} The work sold at least twelve editions, perhaps more, in the remainder of the seventeenth century, and taken together with the works by Baldwin, Hall, Henshaw, and Quarles mentioned above, comprised a solid wedge of material that arguably owed more to Erasmus than Luther or Calvin. Nevertheless, its existence and probable use by grammar school teachers and tutors of the gentry in particular (Feltham was himself a gentleman but possibly served as secretary to a noble family)\footnote{DNB.} should make historians think hard about the nature of the religious education of the propertied elite in this period. It might also give pause for thought to those who talk about the rise of ‘moralism’ in the later seventeenth century.

Another lay author who may have been influenced by such works when younger was Sir Matthew Hale, who rose to be Chief Justice of the King’s Bench. In 1676 he published two volumes of Contemplations moral and divine, a large part of which consisted of contemplative essays written on Sunday afternoons, after the sermon and before supper-time, to help fix his thoughts on divine subjects, such as wisdom and the fear of God, knowledge of Christ crucified, and the victory of faith over the world.\footnote{M. Hale, Contemplations moral and divine (1679), passim.} Despite its size, Hales’s work sold very well—fifteen editions in just over forty years. And twenty years after it first appeared one of its essays—on the ‘great audit’ of conscience made by the good steward—was lifted from Hale’s work by John Pennyman, and under
the title *Some necessary and important considerations* was published as a tract to be ‘freely given away’: this too soon reached its tenth edition.\footnote{See Appendix 1 s.v. Hale.}

One further example from our sample may be cited: Jeremy Collier’s *Essays upon several moral subjects* (1697). Collier was a nonjuring clergymen who is better known today either for his attack on the bawdiness and profanity of the stage plays of the day or for his *Ecclesiastical history of Great Britain*. But he also wrote this set of essays ‘to make men more useful and acceptable to society’ and persuade the powerful to be more modest and good-humoured with their neighbours (and with their chaplains who were not to be treated as servants). The topics covered were as diverse as pride and covetousness, clothes, duelling, and music, old age and the value of life, pleasure (acceptable if we do not overvalue it), and books as entertainment! The essays were studded with classical allusions, and in many a dialogue was inserted to catch and keep the attention of the well-bred reader.\footnote{DNB; and [J. Collier], *Essays upon several subjects* (1697), sig. Bt’, and passim.}

By this stage one could say that the improving essay—as a piece of connected prose on a specific topic, which challenged the reader to think about that topic, and was longer than a poem or an epigram but shorter than a treatise—had become firmly established as a feature of both publishing and personal piety. The more orthodox of these had much to say about God and Christ, and faith and repentance, as well as sin and virtue; in the less orthodox but more popular works, much more was said of sin and virtue than of other topics.

iv. ‘Characters’ and Open Letters

Two other genres had something in common with the essay. The first was the ‘character’. This was a short, pithy essay, based on a classical model (that of Theophrastus, whose work was translated into English by Isaac Casaubon in 1592), and in it the author offered an entertaining pen-portrait of an imaginary but readily identifiable contemporary type, such as a Shopkeeper, a Carrier, a Poor Man, an Idle Gallant, and a Young Raw Preacher.\footnote{See J. W. Smeed, *The Theophrastan ‘Character’: The History of a Literary Genre* (Oxford, 1985), ch. 1; the characters cited are taken from John Earle’s *Micro-cosmographie* [see below].}

In the late Middle Ages and sixteenth century there had been a lively homiletic tradition of vernacular works containing personifications of virtues and vices such as Pride and Sloth, as well as new satirical attacks on those representing different brands of human folly; and human characteristics and foibles probably figured large in the notes kept in the commonplace books of students of rhetoric who might be called on to extemporize a speech on some real or imaginary individual.\footnote{Smeed, *Theophrastan ‘Character’,* 9–10, 12–19; Clark, *Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 81–5, 145–7, 274–7, and passim.}
But it was with Joseph Hall’s adaptation of Theophrastus’s approach, in his *Characters of virtues and vices* (1608), that the popularity of ‘character’ books is generally held to have begun (this was reprinted in his collected *Works* which is in our sample). Hall described Theophrastus as ‘that ancient master of morality’, and made it clear that the nine virtues and fifteen vices he tackled himself, such as Truly-Noble Man, Faithful Man, Vain-Glorious Man, and so on, were object lessons in how to improve oneself. The combination of wit, style, sympathy, and criticism in these and other sets of ‘characters’—by Sir Thomas Overbury (and friends) and John Earle, and a score of others in the seventeenth century alone—helped make this a very popular genre on the shared border between moral instruction and entertainment.  

The other example of the genre included in the sample is Earle’s *Micro-cosmographie*, which sold a dozen editions between 1628 and 1676. Compared to the *New and choice characters* attributed to Overbury (the other most popular set of characters in the period), Earle placed less emphasis on being witty and satirical and showed more compassion and moral concern. The inclusion of this work in the sample is debatable, since once again it is a young man’s work, a piece of fun written for his friends at Oxford, in which only a minority of the characters are religious—the Young Raw Preacher, a Grave Divine, a Formal Man, a Church-papist, a Profane Man, a She Precise Hypocrite, a Sceptic, and so on. However, in many of the other ‘characters’ Earle shows either an edifying concern, for the passing of innocence in childhood, and the dire fate of the lascivious man, or a measure of anger, at the needless rudeness of the Insolent Man, or the presumption of the Pot-poet who ‘sitting in a bawdy-house . . . writes God’s judgements’ on recent disasters or strange news.  

The fact that a number of ‘characters’ were written by future deans and bishops like Hall, Donne, and Earle, and the occasional sharpness of the attacks on those who were deemed over-scrupulous in religion, like the ‘She Precise Hypocrite’, also tend to confirm that these works were written for that sizeable market of readers and play-goers who were not greatly enamoured of the ways of the ‘godly’.

The other new genre was what today would probably be called an open letter. This was part way between a short essay and a full-sized treatise, but was characterized by being addressed to a relation, ‘friend’, or acquaintance, or to a group of people known personally to the writer. Whether the addressee was genuinely known to the author or a figment of the author’s imagination, the publication of an open letter was a device to draw third parties into the

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supposedly close personal bond between author and acquaintance. Those addressed might be the author’s children, especially in those cases where the writer thought he or she was close to death, as in Dorothy Leigh’s very popular *The mothers blessing* (1616), Elizabeth Joceline’s *Mothers legacie, to her unborne childe* (1624), and *The dying mans last sermon: or, the fathers last blessing*, variously attributed to John Hart and Andrew Jones (first surviving edition 1659). The first of these was a long work by a gentlewoman, who divided her ‘godly counsel’ to her three sons into chapters on themes such as choosing a good wife, teaching their children, and the importance of private prayer. The second was a much shorter work by a gentlewoman educated by a bishop, who fearing she would die in childbirth left her unborn child detailed advice, supported by scripture texts and much exhortation, on how to behave piously and properly. The third was a chapbook probably written to cash in on the success of ballads containing deathbed scenes (which we shall look at in Chapter 8), as well as works like Leigh’s and Joceline’s (there was also a chapbook entitled *The mothers blessing*, published in 1685, partly in verse and with crude woodcuts). The Hart–Jones work was part tract, part open letter ‘bequeathed as a legacy to his children’ by a father who urged on them the inevitability of death for all, this being accompanied by ‘comfortable meditations and preparations for the day of death’. In another case the addressee was the author’s father. In *The dutifull advice of a loving sonne to his aged father* (1632)—a work of Catholic origin by Robert Southwell, but like his verse published openly—the author urged his aged father not to presume too much on God’s mercy, but to ‘weigh yourself in a Christian balance’, and atone for his sins by heartfelt contrition.

Other examples were addressed to individuals or groups outside the family, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century. *The Christian sword and buckler* (1623) by a Gloucestershire minister, John Sprint, was very much a product of its time: in the guise of a reply to an earlier letter, it offered advice and comfort to ‘a man seven years grievously afflicted in conscience, and fearfully troubled in mind’. By contrast Jeremy Taylor’s letter to ‘a lady’ (published in 1659) was on the subject of how far close friendship was compatible with Christian principles; the scientist and philosopher Robert Boyle wrote to ‘a friend’ on the difference between love of man and love of God (the letter was written in 1648 but not published until 1659); and in 1660 a young cleric, Clement Ellis, also addressed ‘a friend, both as he is, and as he should be’, when he pointed the difference between the ‘true gentleman’ and ‘the gallant’

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* D. Leigh, *The mothers blessing* (1627), passim.
* E. Joceline, *The mothers legacie* (1625), passim; and *DNB*.
* J. Hart, *The dying man’s last sermon* ([1681–84]), title-page, and passim.
* R. Southwell, *The dutifull advice of a loving sonne to his aged father* (1632), 2, and passim; following STC’s lead, I have listed this in Appendix 1 s.v. ‘Advice’.
* J. Sprint, *The Christian sword and buckler* (1629?).
and the ‘degenerate gentleman’, and complained how few gentlemen in England were sincere Christians.

Three later examples in the sample by episcopalian clergymen focused on mainstream concerns: Simon Patrick’s advice on how to meditate and lead a spiritual life was ‘intended only for a private person’s use’, and condensed for publication (in 1673); William Wake offered advice on preparing for death in ‘a letter sent to a young gentlewoman in France, in a dangerous distemper of which she died’ (eight editions were printed between 1687 and 1723); and an anonymous minister delivered a ‘pastoral letter’ to his parishioners urging them to repent and turn to Christ (which was printed nine times between 1699 and 1726). Long before then, however, the genre had also been adopted by others: by Baptist and Quaker authors as a means of stating the case to their supporters and to a wider constituency who came across their ‘letters’; by controversialists looking for a suitable vehicle for social comment, as in Eachard’s attack on the shortcomings of the clergy in the early 1670s; and by those looking to drum up support for a new scheme, as in S W’s A friendly letter to all young men (first surviving edition 1699), which contained a letter to young men urging them to repent their sins and set up societies to set an example of godli

ness to others, a second letter urging masters of families to help, and suitable rules for such societies. Here was another genre whose development was greatly facilitated by the use of print, and proved a flexible means of getting across a clear message about the ideals of Christian behaviour.

v. Biographies and Autobiographies

Biographies and autobiographies of real people were still relatively uncommon in early modern times, certainly if by those labels we expect a completely frank, warts-and-all approach. But Protestants did not waste much time in taking over and modifying the medieval tradition of hagiography. Among the first books printed in England had been William Caxton’s own translation into English of the Legenda aurea—a widely known collection of lives of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and saints recognized by the Western church. Indeed, in unconscious anticipation of later developments, Caxton inserted a series of lives of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and

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187 Taylor’s work had different titles in different editions: see Appendix 1; R. Boyle, Some motives and incentives to the love of God (1663), title-page, and sigs. B2r and B8v; C. Ellis, The gentile sinner (1668), passim.
188 S. Patrick, Advice to a friend (1677), sigs. A2r–3v; W. Wake, Preparation for death (4th edn., 1688), title-page; anon., A pastoral letter from a minister to his parishioners (1769), passim.
189 anon., A confession of faith, of the several congregations . . . in London . . . unjustly called Anabaptists (1651); T. Delaune, A plea for the nonconformists (1684); J. Crisp, An epistle to friends (1666); J. Eachard, The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy (1670); [Sir William Popple] and William Penn, A letter to Mr. Penn, with his answer (1688); S.W., A friendly letter to all young men (1699), passim.
190 D. A. Stauffer, English Biography before 1700 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).
several other biblical figures which were based directly on his translation of the relevant Vulgate texts.\textsuperscript{191} Even before the Reformation, there had been criticism of some aspects of the cult of some saints, but from the 1530s the attack on the veneration of saints and the many practices that accompanied it rapidly gained speed, so that the last printing of Caxton’s \textit{Golden legend} proved to be that of 1527.\textsuperscript{192}

Only thirty-six years separated this event from the first edition of the Protestant equivalent—John Foxe’s \textit{Actes and monuments}, which Foxe guessed his enemies would mock as the new ‘golden legend’ but which was a very different piece of writing. Both works recount the sufferings of martyrs, and both acclaim their victories and the miracles that accompanied their sufferings. But the confidence in the invincibility of the medieval saints over the long since defeated forces of paganism was replaced in some editions of Foxe’s work by a sense of anger and concern that the cause for which his heroes had died was still far from won, and that his readers must not relax until victory was complete. We are only just beginning to understand the diverse nature of Foxe’s sources and the different uses he put them to, the complexity of the changes in the text and tone of different editions between 1563 and 1583 (and later), and the enormity of the publishing task undertaken in John Day’s cramped workshop, let alone the impact of the resulting work on the wider community.\textsuperscript{193} The size of the tome produced by Foxe, nearly 1,800 pages in the 1563 edition and more in later editions, together with the cost of the high-quality paper used in some editions and the cost of the many illustrations and a suitably stout binding, meant that the \textit{Actes and monuments} did not sell enough editions to qualify for our sample, even though the initial print runs were below a thousand. Copies of these early editions occur only rarely in contemporary inventories and catalogues, suggesting the work was owned outright by relatively few, though many more may have consulted copies in cathedral and college libraries or heard it read in pious households.\textsuperscript{194}

It seems most likely, as with other outsize printed works published in the early modern period, that the key to understanding its reception is the many and diverse uses to which it was put by middlemen among the clergy and laity. In some cases these uses were rather different from Foxe’s original priority, for example using the text as the basis for prophecy, or to defend sectional interests within Protestantism (though such works did not usually make it into our sample).\textsuperscript{195} However, in the case of at least two works that are in our sample the aim was simply to popularize it among those who could not afford the original. \textit{The mirror of martyrs} by Clement Cotton (the London draper who

\textsuperscript{191} White, \textit{Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs, 31–7.}
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., p. 67 and ch. 3 \textit{passim.}
\textsuperscript{194} Loades, \textit{Foxe}, 4, 46–51.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., pp. 5–7, 178 n. 3, and ch. 6 \textit{passim.}
compiled the popular concordance discussed in Chapter 3 above) sold at least five editions between 1612 and 1639 and a sixth in 1685, the year of the Catholic James II’s accession; and the Water-Poet John Taylor’s verse summary of it in a little ‘thumb-book’ dedicated to the earls of Pembroke and Montgomery in 1615, and published in pamphlet form as The booke of martyrs, sold seven editions between 1616 and 1639. In his preface Cotton stated that those ‘who either want leisure to read, or ability to buy that rich and plentiful store-house of story, doctrine, and comfort, the Acts and monuments of John Fox’, would find here ‘a mirror fetched thence, which will give you ‘sound comfort, and profitable delight’; those who peered regularly into this mirror would see victorious faith, lively hope, peace, and joy. Cotton’s work lacked the lively woodcuts of the original, and after the first edition was published in roman type; also, since he crammed in as much of the narrative, eyewitness accounts, and trial scenes of the original as he could, it was nearly 600 pages long. But the regular repeat editions of this and the Taylor version in the 1620s and 1630s, at a time of renewed fear of Catholicism, suggests that these authors and publishers had successfully identified a demand for a more accessible version of the original. And as late as the mid-eighteenth century a few editions of the Book of martyrs in thirty, sixty, or eighty instalments were printed and sold.196

Another variation on an existing theme was the uplifting biography of an individual believer or group of believers. Here the ‘godly’ tended to lead the way with their strongly sympathetic and instructive accounts of Protestant ‘saints’ who had pulled through particular difficulties, especially crises of faith or conscience. In these cases we are close to the funeral sermon and to the treatises on coping with crises of conscience and on the arts of godly living at which we have already looked in previous chapters.197 The main differences in the works mentioned here are the adoption of a biographical framework, the specificity of the individual’s crisis or dying thoughts, and the immediacy of the reports of the relative or witness telling the story. One of the earliest and most consistently popular accounts was Philip Stubbes’s A chrestal glasse for Christian women—an account of the ‘godly life and Christian death’ of his wife Katherine—which sold over thirty editions between the 1590s and the 1690s. It told a tragic story of a young wife dying at the age of twenty in childbirth, and reflected the intimacy of the bond between author and subject. It provided a model to women of what a ‘godly’ life should be like, and it gave both women and men an account of how to make a good death. In fact, much of

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196 C. Cotton, The mirror of martyrs (1631), sigs. A3r–v, A9r; Capp, World of John Taylor, 17, 63; and below, Appendix 1, s.v. Cotton and Taylor; L. Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837 (New Haven and London, 1992), 27. The ballad tradition perhaps helped keep the notion of Protestant martyrs alive at a popular level; see below, Ch. 8.ii and 8.v. Images of martyrs burning continued to be produced, e.g. between sigs. A9 and A10 of M. Sparke, Thankfull remembrances of Gods wonderfull deliverances of this land: Corbett and Norton, Engraving, 215. 197 See above, Chs. 4.vii and 6.
the second half of the work consists of her visions, prayers, and meditations during the final sickness and a confession of faith which was a model of Protestant rectitude, with a Calvinist hue. At the very end there is a struggle with Satan, who is vanquished, a vision of angels guarding her, and finally a welcome to death. The enduring appeal of this work was probably due to various factors. Although called a ‘discourse’, it was very short—only twenty quarto pages, perhaps reflecting Stubbes’s position as a professional author and contacts with the ephemeral end of the book trade. From 1601 the copyright of this work was transferred to a publisher specializing in ballads, and it is said to have been one of the ‘small books’ of an edifying or cautionary kind sold from a wooden box outside playhouse doors.

The next few examples in our sample are comparable but different in tone. In The burthen of a loaden conscience (1608), Richard Kilby described his own spiritual odyssey: raised as a Protestant, possessed by the Devil as a child, later seduced into Catholicism and becoming a seminary priest, before returning to the true faith and the welcoming arms of the puritans. Kilby’s account was interspersed with bouts of stormy self-accusation, prayers, and advice and exhortation to others not to make the same mistakes he had done. In the exceeding riches of grace (1647), which sold about nine editions in twenty years, the Baptist pastor Henry Jessey provided an account of the early life, afflictions in body and spirit, trances, and spiritual despair of the sixteen-year-old Sarah Wight, together with the testimony she gave of what the Lord had done for her soul, and the conferences on spiritual matters she had with various people, to which Jessey was an ‘eye and ear-witness of a good part’. Jessey supplied references to the texts cited, added comparisons, urged readers to consider what great grace God could give to the unworthy, and exhorted them to learn from Sarah’s testimony neither to presume too much nor to despair. In The wise virgin, or, a wonderfull narration of the hand of God (1653), James Fisher provided a long and detailed description of what happened to the seven-year-old Martha Hatfield. We are told how she was struck dumb, deaf, and blind, then made a miraculous recovery, and ‘was heard . . . to utter many glorious truths concerning Christ’. The text strains credulity today: not many modern seven-year-olds are heard making remarks like ‘The afflictions of the body are nothing, but the soul is a rare jewel. When both body and soul are afflicted,
then there is cause of sorrow;’ But Fisher and his readers probably had much more in common with a medieval audience’s readiness to accept and welcome miracles than the modern historian’s rules governing the use of evidence and usually very different predisposition. Even so, *The wise virgin* sold far fewer copies than all of the other works being discussed in this section, and like most other examples of this genre proved to be of short-lived interest.

Two further titles may be cited, from the post-Restoration period—an autobiography, and a collection of stories of ‘holy children’. John Bunyan published an honest and often harrowing description of his life in *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners* (1666). As befitted an account which focused on his conversion, ‘dreadful temptations’, despair of divine mercy, and final delivery from ‘all the guilt and terror that lay upon him’, this is one of Bunyan’s darker works, with much less use of colloquial language and diversionary tactics than in his other works. It sold steadily rather than spectacularly, perhaps especially among the remaining high Calvinists for whom such harrowing experiences were a mark of true faith. *A little book for little children* by Thomas White, perhaps published as early as 1660 but in its twelfth edition by 1702, was a combination of advice on what children should read and how they should behave, improving verses, and other material, but the core of the book was half a dozen stories of ‘holy children’, retold ‘to stir you up to follow their holy example’, and some stories of the dreadful fate of wicked children. The first of the uplifting stories dated from antiquity, but the later ones were contemporary, including cases known to White himself; White added that he could have set down many more. He assured his readers that God would love them as much as he loved the young ‘saints’ he described if they acted like them, and also told them how to avoid the dreadful fate of the wicked children: love God and obey his commands, and God will bless you.

By the 1650s, the puritan biographer, Samuel Clarke, had begun to publish his collections of material on ‘eminent divines’ and ‘eminent persons’, some published as part of a larger work significantly entitled *A generall martyrologie*, though the tone of most of the ‘lives’ was closer to that of Katherine Stubbes than that of Kilby and Bunyan in that it is the good example and long-suffering under provocation exhibited by subjects that interested Clarke more than their wrestling with doubts and demons. Clarke’s collections set a model for later prosopographical works such as those of Calamy and Palmer, and

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203 For a comparable case in a ballad, see below, Ch. 8.ix.

204 J. Bunyan, *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners* (1666), title-page. For the relative popularity of Bunyan’s better-selling works, see below, Appendix 1.

they sold moderately well in the 1660s and 1670s, though not quite well enough to qualify for our sample. Two comparable works on individuals which did qualify are *The life and death of Mr. Joseph Alleine* (1671)—a biography by various hands co-ordinated by his wife Theodosia, and James Janeway’s biography of his elder brother, John, in *Invisibles, realities, demonstrated* (1673). The biography of Alleine is notable for the generous tributes from his fellow dissenting ministers, including Richard Baxter, and the details of his ministry, and in later editions it was supplemented by his ‘Christian letters’, and the sermon given at his funeral, so that the reader had a wide variety of edifying material. James Janeway’s book, by contrast, was a relatively straightforward account of his older brother’s childhood, conversion, great piety, goodness to others, efforts at healing rifts, and offering good advice, and also his sickness, temptation, and premature death. It was published in the hope that the narrative would rectify the mistakes of those impious individuals who thought that reality and substance were all that mattered. The work was prefaced by testimonies from others, including Baxter (again), who wrote a preface saying it was a great pity ‘some poor ignorant dull congregation had not been instructed and awakened by his doctrine’.

Although the ‘godly’ took the initiative, conformists were not far behind. From an early stage there had been biographical sketches of individual reformers, as in Henry Bennet’s 1561 *A famous and godly history, containing the lives of three reformers* (a translation into English of Melanchthon’s lives of Luther, Oecolampadius, and Zwingli), and in the seventeenth century there were a growing number of biographies of individual bishops or leaders, such as Morton, Andrews, Laud, and Ussher, and collections of biographical material on other leading churchmen and pious layman. The most scholarly of these were by authors who took some pains with their sources, such as Thomas Fuller (in his *History of the Worthies of England*, published posthumously in 1662), Izaak Walton (who between the 1640s and the 1670s published biographies of Hooker, Donne, Herbert, Sanderson, and Sir Henry Wotton), John Fell (who published lives of Fuller and Henry Hammond in the early 1660s), and John Strype (who between 1694 and 1718 published biographies of Cranmer, Sir John Cheke, and Archbishops Grindal, Parker, and Whitgift). Of these, Walton’s *Life . . . of Sanderson and collected Lives reached
the four-edition mark, but the others did not get past the second. It is interesting to note the weight Walton gives to his subjects’ learning and piety compared to their spiritual wrestlings and triumphs.

Sufficiently popular to be in the sample are a trio of related works. The first is *Religio medici* by Sir Thomas Browne, a physician and bibliophile, which was perhaps less of an autobiography than an essay in self-analysis and a confession of faith. In this work, which was drawn up for his own use and first published without his consent, Browne took stock of his attitudes as a Christian and a doctor towards a wide range of issues—from God, the church, faith, and reason, to providence and ‘Fortune’, miracles, oracles, spirits, and witches. The whole was divided into two parts, in the first of which he focused on human relations with God, and in the second on human relations with each other in a Christian setting. Like the epigrammatists and essayists cited earlier, he drew on classical sources as well as the Bible, and while concerned not to be dogmatic, he was anxious to use his God-given reason. He also portrayed himself as a member of the established church, and admitted that he did not think (as some high Calvinists argued) that we can be certain of knowing whether we are elect or reprobate, or what the marks or tokens of true faith are. The work sold quite well from the early 1640s to the mid-1680s, at about 2s. 6d. bound, perhaps especially among educated laymen who appreciated Browne’s wit and style, his insistence on not taking everything the clergy said on trust, and frank statement of his own position.

The second is an anonymous work entitled *The plain mans way of worship and practice* (1670), which purports to be an account by a 56-year-old husbandman of his religious experiences and ideals. The author recounts how he had learned to read and write when young, and used to read the Bible and the psalter to his illiterate father, how his faith had wavered during the 1640s and 1650s, but how he had then come to reject the puritans and ‘precisians’, and by reading his Bible and making notes of the relevant texts had worked out for himself what to think. He had also benefited from the help given by a pious minister, in whose parish there had been ‘no great talk of godliness’, but more love and peace than in nearby, richer livings during the troubles. He also commented on Allestree’s *Whole duty of man* that it was admired by the learned but understood even by the meanest, and at the end listed his own collections of scripture texts on topics such as prayer, worship, and good behaviour. However, there are some features of this work—its length (over 100 pages), the sly dig at the ‘godly’ taking the richest livings in the 1640s and 1650s, the comment about Allestree’s work, and the selections of texts at the end—which may indicate that this was a work by a clergyman pretending to be a humble

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\[212\] T. Browne, *Religio medici* (1642), passim; for subsequent editions, see G. Keynes, *Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne* (Cambridge, 1924).

\[213\] anon., *The plain mans way of worship* (1670), 1–3, 10, 27, and passim.
layman. But whether it was or not, the sale of five editions in seven years reflects a measure of interest in the work in the 1670s, either among the middling and lower middling sort, or among richer conformists prepared to give copies to those they thought likely to benefit from reading it.

The third and last is the cautionary biography of one of the best-known roués and free thinkers of what was widely claimed to be an especially immoral and increasingly atheistical age: Some passages of the life and death of . . . [the] Earl of Rochester (1680) by the rising Scottish cleric, Gilbert Burnet. The earl had given Burnet permission to publish if it was thought its contents might be of use to others. Perhaps in deference to Rochester’s rank and close-ness to the king, Burnet paid less attention to the earl’s faults, though these are mentioned, than the discussions he and Rochester had on morality and religion. At the end the earl is reported as saying that he was completely convinced of the truth of Christianity, and at this point, Burnet turned from acting the part of ‘a historian’ to ‘say somewhat as a divine’, and urged his readers not to leave their own repentance until it was too late.\(^{214}\)

This account, like the others described over the last few paragraphs, suggests that the medieval tradition of using stories of individuals drawn from real life (or what could pass for that) was still flourishing, and providing a mixture of diversion and instruction, albeit modified in a couple of ways. The first modification was a result of the arrival of print, which helped make such stories available to a much wider variety of people than a medieval saint’s life kept in a monastery or spread by an itinerant friar, and available in a more permanent form that could be gone over several times by the laity. The second was the result of the arrival of Protestantism, which led some (though by no means all) authors to highlight different features of faith and piety. However, it is again noteworthy that where works described the lives of named individuals, they tended to have a moderately higher average of repeat editions than works inside or outside the sample which focused on collective biography, or those treatises on the life of faith which made their points in a generalized, impersonal way. As we noted at the end of Chapter 6, readers may have preferred the vicarious experience of finding out how someone else had behaved in a particular situation, perhaps similar to their own, to being reminded once again of the theory of how they should be behaving.

vi. Allegories

The same reason may go part of the way to explaining the great popularity of the allegory in the late seventeenth century in works both inside and outside the sample. Some allegorical works had achieved a measure of success

\(^{214}\) G. Burnet, Some passages of the life and death of . . . [the] Earl of Rochester (1680), preface, p. 164 and passim.
before Bunyan. The anonymous *An heavenly acte* (1547) provided an account of Christian teaching on morality in the guise of the passage of a statute through parliament. God begins the preamble with ‘Whereas . . . we created man’, uses other stock legal terms such as ‘notwithstanding’, ‘Wherefore upon consideration’, ‘be it enacted’, and ‘provided always’, and describes John the Evangelist as ‘our secretary’, Paul as ‘Lord Chancellor’, and King David as ‘one of our chief ambassadors’. But the bulk of the text is taken up with the Ten Commandments and the penalties for non-obedience. Published four times in the reign of Edward VI, this little black-letter tract was revived in 1569 and 1604.215 Another anonymous work, *The history of the seven masters of Rome*, which had been published before the Reformation, was issued in a revised version in 1576 as a moral story for the ignorant, in the belief that ‘pleasing allurements of tales and fables’ would help their souls become ‘quicker sighted’. In the story the emperor (signifying the world) has one son (man) and tries to bring him up well, but the son loses his mother (‘reason or divine grace’) and falls into the hand of his bewitching wicked stepmother (sin). A star from heaven warns the son to avoid sin, and he is also given advice by the seven wise masters of the title, who represent the seven liberal sciences; as a result he defeats sin and wins a rich crown of glory and happiness. Readers were told that if they made right use of this moral, it would provide a rich banquet to their souls. The elements of fairy story, the parallels with popular romantic works like Richard Johnson’s *The seven champions of Christendom* (and later Thomas Howard’s *History of the seven wise mistresses of Rome*), and its publication in black-letter type, with ‘many pretty pictures’ in later editions, all perhaps help to explain the enduring popularity of this work, which had reached its twenty-fifth edition by 1700. In 1673, when Francis Kirkman was describing the purchases of a fictitious son of a London merchant, the *Seven wise masters* was the second book mentioned. In Ireland too, he said in the preface to another work, the *Seven wise masters* was used as a first reading book for children, and many were said to have learnt to read well as a result, ‘so great is the pleasure that young and old take in the reading thereof’.216

In both these cases, the emphasis was on Christian morality rather than faith or conversion. But when we turn to two works by John Andrewes and Richard Bernard in the sample, the focus changes: there is still a stress on seeking heavenly joys, but in the context of repentance for sins committed. In 1617 Andrewes published *A subpoena from the imperiall court of heaven*, a set of allegorical verses comparing the securing of salvation to a protracted legal case

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215 anon., *An heavenly acte* (1547) [STC: 96], sigs. A1–Br and passim.

216 anon., *The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* (1684), title-page, sig. A2, and passim (the inclusion of this work in the adverts at the end of the 1684 and 1687 editions of Arthur Dent’s *Plain man’s pathway* and John Ball’s *Catechism* suggests that in the publisher’s eyes there was little or no difference between these works); Wright, *Middle-Class Culture*, 86; P. Salzman, *English Prose Fiction 1558–1700: A Critical History* (Oxford, 1983), 268; and cf. Watt, *Cheap Print*, 212–14.
in which Justice lays a complaint before God against the many crimes committed by Man, God sends a subpoena to man, Death is at hand to execute the subpoena, Man begs for time on the grounds that ‘Tis not a sinner’s death thou dost desire, | ’Tis his conversion thou hast ever sought’, Mercy enters a plea and God grants it, and the work closes with Mercy offering Man a series of meditations for daily use. Richard Bernard’s was easily the most popular allegory before Bunyan’s, selling perhaps nineteen editions between 1626 and 1689. With The Isle of Man, we are back in court, as the author describes ‘the legal proceedings in Man-shire against sin’, and the ‘arraignment and judicial trial, according to the laws of England’ before Judge Conscience, sitting in the county town of Soul. On trial are ‘the chief malefactors disturbing both church and commonwealth’: Old Man (the old Adam in man), his wife Mistress Heart, his servant Wilful Will, Covetousness, and others. The work has little by way of plot and development of character, and the length of the text, choice of typeface, and Latin tags in the epistle suggest the author was thinking of a moderately well-educated reader. But the digs at ‘Mr. Out-side’ (who comes to church but is only outwardly religious), ‘Sir Worldly-wise’, ‘Sir Luke-warm’, the fashionable ‘Sir Plausible-civil’, and ‘Master Machiavelli’ are pointed, and the praise for the regenerate ‘Master Newman the Gaoler’ who keeps sin under control reminds readers whose side they should be on.

The idea of the pilgrimage had deep roots in the middle ages, long before it was used as a literary device by Chaucer in The Canterbury Tales. But in addition to surviving in the romantic and picaresque fiction of the early modern period, the motif of the pilgrim or traveller was turned to different uses in a post-Reformation society which disapproved strongly of visiting shrines and relics or the idea of earning merit by going on pilgrimage. Richard Johnson’s The pilgrimage of man (1598) was a simple and theologically naive allegory of man’s ‘wandering in the vale of woe’; the Essex vicar Samuel Purchas’s Purchas his pilgrimage (1613) contained ‘relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages’; the ‘godly’ divine Thomas Taylor’s The pilgrims profession (1622) was a funeral sermon; while the moderate episcopalian Simon Patrick’s The parable of the pilgrim was actually a cross between an open letter to a friend and an allegory of spiritual life which Patrick put in the form of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem because, he said, pilgrimages had been out of fashion for a while. There is little plot in Patrick’s work: Theophilus expresses a desire to go to Jerusalem and finds a guide (‘Director’) who has ‘Sion and

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217 J. Andrewes, A subpoena from the imperiall court of heaven (1620), sig. A7, and passim.
218 R. Bernard, The Isle of Man (1630), 14–19, 50–1, 59–60, 82, and 94.
219 Salzman, English Prose Fiction, chs. 13, 16.
220 These are all listed in STC. For the pilgrimage motif in New England, see C. E. Hambrick-Stowe, The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Discipline in Seventeenth-Century New England (Chapel Hill, 1982), chs. 3, 7.
Jerusalem more in his heart than in his mouth’ (a thrust at some sectaries); on
the journey he has two companions, Humility and Charity, and though he is
warned of the many enemies he will face, he does not actually meet any. In
much of the book, Patrick’s didactic impulse overpowers the narrative, as
Director heaps advice on the pilgrim about the need for resolution, prayer,
sermons, good books, and taking the sacrament; but the work passed through
several editions in the reign of Charles II.221

Bunyan’s masterpiece on the pilgrim’s life is one of the few titles in our
sample which is still in print, and clearly deserves its centrality in all accounts
of the literature of this period. In recent times, however, its genesis and its
inner meaning have provoked enough books and articles to strip a rain forest.
Among the possible influences on Bunyan that have been suggested, beyond
the Bible and psalms (of which there is no doubt), are a number of the
authors already mentioned in this chapter (such as Spenser, Jonson, Dent,
Bernard, Quarles, and Patrick), popular chivalric romances like Johnson’s
Seven champions of Christendom (which Bunyan perhaps read in the ballad or
chapbook versions), and sermons and treatises comparing the Christian life to
that of a soldier (for example by John Downname, William Gouge, and
William Gurnall).222 Elements or echoes of folk-tale, mystery play, medieval
allegory (such as Langland’s dream), Protestant sermon, dialogue, and medita-
tion have also been detected.223 But perhaps what made Bunyan’s work a
success was that, knowingly or unwittingly, he blended many or all of these
elements together, told his own story in language that showed a sharp ear for
the idiom and cadence of popular speech, exhibited such skill in inventing
scenes and characters that he involved his readers in the trials and joys of his
central characters, and found the right balance between narrative action and
allegorical reflection to keep the momentum going to the end.224

Again there is relative agreement about the surface meaning of that story:
Christian’s flight from the City of Destruction and many adventures and
counters en route to the Celestial City (in part 1), and his wife and children’s
joint pilgrimage along the same route with similar escapades until they reach

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221 S. Patrick, The parable of the pilgrim (1670), 13, and passim; and below, Appendix 1; Salzman,

222 These comments are based on the comments by C. H. Firth, C. S. Lewis, and M. Hussey in R.
Newman, and N. Shrimpton in V. Newey (ed.), ‘The Pilgrim’s Progress’: Critical and Historical Views
(Liverpool, 1980); and by J. R. Knott, jun., and V. Cunningham in N. H. Keeble (ed.), John Bunyan:
Conventicle and Parnassus (Oxford, 1988); J. Downname, The Christian warfare (1604); and for Gouge and
Gurnall’s works, see above, Ch. 6.ii.

223 See the contributions by A. Kettle in Sharrock, Bunyan’s ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’, 139–43; by N.

224 For some comments on its wide appeal, see Ian Green, ‘Bunyan in Context: the Changing Face
of Protestantism in Seventeenth-Century England’, in M. van Os and G. J. Schutte (eds.), Bunyan in
England and Abroad (Amsterdam, 1990), 18–20; and see below, n. 229.
their destination (in part 2), are clearly allegories of the spiritual life of ordinary men and women. Beyond that, some argue that on this occasion Bunyan suppressed his double predestinarian beliefs on the grounds that he wished to portray the experience of man rather than the mind of God, whereas others feel that his predestinarian beliefs are there in that Bunyan’s theological convictions played the greatest part in the shaping of the work. In assessing the impact of this work, it is not necessary to reconcile these differences, since if both sides are right it would help to explain why Bunyan’s book has at the time and ever since been read and enjoyed by both those who understood and shared his theological views and those who could do neither. Thirteen editions of part 1 in ten years and at least another ten in the next forty years, and at least fourteen editions of part 2 in just under fifty years represent a level of sales that was much higher than the number of Baptist households or of all dissenting families put together.

The rapid appearance of supposititious works, such as T[homas] S[herman]’s counterfeit Second part of the pilgrim’s progress (1682) and the fraudulent Pilgrim’s progress . . . The third part (which appeared first in 1693 and sold steadily through to the nineteenth century), and the production of ballad versions from the mid-1680s tend to confirm that among those who read the genuine article, and expected the reading public to want more of the same, were a number of non-‘godly’ entrepreneurs. Similarly the existence of a chapbook version of Bunyan’s work puts it in the same category as works like Allestree’s Whole duty of man or Baxter’s Now or never which suffered a similar fate. Fashionable opinion in the Augustan age suggested that The pilgrim’s progress was fit only for ‘the rabble’, or ‘maids and apprentices’, but Dr Johnson (who was doctrinally near the opposite end of the spectrum from Bunyan) thought it had ‘great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story’, and that this was why it had ‘the general and continued approbation of mankind’ and had sold so many copies.

Bunyan published other allegories—The life and death of Mr. Badman, and The holy war—but these did not sell nearly as well. The man who took up the

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426 See below, Appendix 1; and Harrison, Bibliography, 38–40, 48–50; and ESTC. There were thought to about 40,000 Particular Baptists and 20,000 General Baptists by the early eighteenth century, representing perhaps 12,000–15,000 households, though not all would be literate or able to afford books; other dissenters numbered about 280,000, or about 60,000–70,000 households, and the same caveats apply; see M. Watts, The English Dissenters. I From the Reformation to the French Revolution (Oxford, 1985), 268–70 and Green, ‘Bunyan in Context’, 19–20.
428 See below, Ch. 8, n. 129; Edmund Stacy, The Whole Duty of Man epitomiz’d for the benefit of the poor (1700) [BL. 4377.a.24]; [R. Allestree], The Whole Duty of Man consider’d . . . faithfully extracted (1717) (Bodl. Gough Eccles. Top. 38[3]); and for Baxter, below, p. 477.
baton with most success was Benjamin Keach, the nonconformist minister whom we have already met as author of verse dialogues and will shortly meet again as author of a reading primer. In 1683 Keach published *The travels of true godliness* and in 1684 *The progress of sin, or the travels of ungodliness*, and in both the debt to Bunyan is obvious in the framework of an eventful journey, the choice of names like ‘True Godliness’, ‘Thoughtful’, and ‘Consideration’, the use of verse and dialogue to break up the narrative, and the inclusion of a suitable frontispiece (and in the case of *The progress of sin* three other plates and a portrait as well). The main difference in the case of *The progress of sin* is that the main character, ‘Tyrant Sin’, represents ungodliness, who is sent by the prince of darkness, ‘Apollyon’, to travel in all four quarters of the world, to countries such as Non-age, Youth-shire, Sensuality, and Babylon, there to do battle with enemies such as the Bible, Theology, the Holy Spirit, Grace, and Morality. The *Travels of true godliness* contains a thinly veiled reference to the treatment of dissenters in the period of reaction after the failure of the Exclusion movement, but Keach’s main aim in the two works was, he said, not to give offence but to ‘beat down sin’, and to this end he hoped that the use of ‘an apt and pleasant allegory’ would have an effect on all sorts of readers—rich and poor, saints and sinners. It is also interesting to read in the preface to the second of this pair of works that Keach had heard that both had ‘found a kind acceptance generally amongst all sorts of Protestants, whether conformists or nonconformists’—a comment that might be applied to the allegorical works of the late Tudor and Stuart period in general, to judge from the unusually high number of repeat editions printed of the examples of this genre in our sample. Perhaps in the work of Bunyan and Keach we have a bridge between a continuing concern for guidance in spiritual matters and the rapid growth of interest in new types of fiction.

This rapid growth in the popularity of fiction has been well surveyed in recent years. A number of the different types of courtly fiction, romantic works, and picaresque fiction did engage with moral questions, but as a group are beyond our primarily ‘religious’ terms of reference. A possible exception are the novels dating from the age of Aphra Behn and Daniel Defoe in the closing decades of the Stuart era or that of Richardson and Fielding in the mid-eighteenth century. Professor McKeon has argued that between 1600 and 1740 there was ‘a cultural crisis in attitudes towards how the external social order is related to the internal, moral state of its members’, and that this

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230 These comments are based on the 1684 edition of *Travels of true godliness* on Wing Films, and the 1707 edition of *Progress of sin* in the Bodleian (1483.f.52).
231 B. Keach, *The progress of sin* (1707), passim.
helped to provoke a variety of responses in representation and narrative convention which would eventually settle into the novel of the mid-eighteenth century. More recently, Paul Hunter has argued that the first novels were disguised as works of edification or morality to give them respectability until the genre became fully acceptable. From the wider perspective adopted in this chapter, it is certainly worth bearing in mind how strong and persistent was the stress placed on morality in a number of proto-novels or early novels, such as *Joseph Andrews*, and how frequent was the reliance on providential or miraculous intervention in the plots or the language attributed to some characters, as in Mrs Heartfree's conclusion (in *Jonathan Wild*) that 'Providence will sooner or later procure the felicity of the virtuous and innocent', which in the novel it duly does. Here was a new literary genre in which authors were still grappling with much older problems of the tension between virtue and vice, and the relationship between virtue and reward.

vii. Cautionary Tales

It is a relatively small step from those biographies and allegories which pointed up the godly behaviour and strong faith of individuals, whether real or imaginary, to those which were more in the nature of cautionary tales about the evil consequences of committing sin, and which form the last group of titles in this sector of entertaining methods of edifying. At least three types of work need to be considered as background to these moralistic or cautionary tales. One is the medieval tradition of the *exempla*—edifying tales of divine judgements on sinners and mercies shown to the faithful, which preachers had used to enliven their sermons. Many of the stories told about blasphemers, perjurers, sabbath-breakers, and other sinners in the seventeenth century were derived from these *exempla*, either directly or from the same sources used by medieval didacts. A second is the medieval tradition of using the Seven Deadly Sins as the basis for confession, and especially the personalizing of these sins as a means of showing what harm they did (which was mentioned above as a predecessor of the ‘character’ books). And the third is the

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240 See the index of Clark, *Elizabethan Pamphleteers* s.v. ‘Seven Deadly Sins’. 
growing body of ballads, moralistic pamphlets, and chapbooks about drunkards, swearers, adulterers, murderers, apostates, and divine intervention in the affairs of man, which were produced in the second half of the sixteenth and the opening decades of the seventeenth centuries, and which built both on the exempla and deadly sin traditions. These cheap moralistic works would only rarely qualify for our sample of steady sellers, but together with the exempla and Deadly Sin tradition and the new element created by the ‘godly’ clergy’s interest in providential happenings as a form of divine guidance, provided both a stimulus and a challenge to the authors of many larger works that did qualify for our sample.241

It is with stories about specific murders, demonic possessions, and other strange happenings that we come to the heart of the category of cautionary tales. As early as the 1550s murder had become a theme of popular literature. The several attempts on the life of the wealthy Thomas Arden by his wife and her lover, his eventual bludgeoning and stabbing to death, and the trial and execution of the guilty parties had all the ingredients needed for a good read—murder, sex, public execution, and final penitence. That such material was of interest to all levels of society is indicated by the fact that the Arden murder, which occurred in 1559, was reported not only in Holinshed’s Chronicles and by the antiquarian John Stow, but also became the subject of a 48-stanza ballad and two plays, one (now lost) which was played before the queen in 1579, and another (Arden of Faversham) which was printed and sold three editions between 1592 and 1633.242 In the more sensational murder accounts in ballads and cheap pamphlets, the periodic remarks on the horridness and unnaturalness of the crime, the belated penitence shown by the guilty, and the pious resignation with which they met their death were about the only signs of moral comment on their authors’ part. As Peter Lake has suggested recently, most murder pamphlets can be placed on a spectrum, with at one end the relatively unvarnished account of the foul deed with little mention of repentance or attempt at moralizing; in the middle a combination of titillating details of the murder with a more explicit moralizing message and discussion of repentance; and finally works in which edification dominated over sensationalism, though there was still some exploitation of the notoriety of the criminals involved.243 To some extent, this spectrum evolved in stages, with the tilting of the balance away from titillation being started in some of the printed accounts of the early seventeenth century, such as the works of Henry Goodcole and Thomas Cooper, and a further tilt towards

241 V. E. Neuburg, Popular Literature: A History and Guide (Harmondsworth, 1977), 20–37, 60–77; Clark, Elizabethan Pamphleteers, ch. 4 and passim; Walsham, Providence; and below, Ch. 8.vii.


the edifying in *some* pamphlets written by godly clergy in the second half of the seventeenth century (to which we will come shortly).

Goodcole was a minister in London who was also ‘visitor for the jail of Newgate’, while Cooper was chaplain to the Fleet prison, so both had regular contacts with convicted felons, and between 1618 and 1637 they published a number of pamphlets that reflected their inside knowledge of the last days of various sinners. Goodcole’s included *A true declaration of the happy conversion of F. Robinson* (who had tried to forge the Great Seal), *The wonderfull discoverie of E. Sawyer* (a witch), *The adultresses funeral* (a woman found guilty of adultery and conspiring to murder her husband), *Heavens speedie hue and cry sent after lust and murther* (a pair convicted of extortion and murder), and *Natures cruell step-dames* (two stepmothers who murdered their children). These were published in a cheap, 24-page, quarto format with specially commissioned eye-catching woodcuts on the cover. Goodcole’s avowed intention was to put straight the false record given by balladeers and pamphleteers, to warn good Christians how to avoid the like sins, and to describe the good end made by those of the condemned who showed remorse and the bad end of those who died unrepentant, though in all this he was not avverse to describing their crimes in often lurid detail, which perhaps put him nearer the middle than the mainly edifying end of the spectrum. This was a heady mixture, and as Professor Lake has argued it can be suggested that authors like Goodcole were trying not simply to exploit a popular style of publication by grafting onto it doctrines with which many readers might not have been familiar, but also to ‘gloss, exploit, [and] codify certain pre-existing and free-floating notions about the world, God, sin and the devil’, and to enlist these too for true religion. But unfortunately from Goodcole’s point of view, this did not prove a popular mixture: hardly any of his works got past the first edition. A few others did, and it is to these we now turn.

The first was unusually large. John Reynolds’s *The triumph of Gods revenge, against the crying and execrable sinne of (willfull and premeditated) murther* was enlarged from the five stories in the original single ‘book’ of 1621 to a final total of thirty in the six ‘books’ of 1635, covering 650 folio pages, and costing 10s. bound in the 1670s. Reynolds was a merchant in Exeter with literary tastes

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44 STC: 12013, 12014, 12009, 12010, 12012; and cf. T. Cooper, *The cry and revenge of blood* (1620), STC
5698.


46 Counting editions is not easy owing to the separate publication of the first three books, and then the appearance of folio and octavo as well as more quarto editions; the 1679 is described as the sixth, but there were also at least five editions either of book one alone or of a combination of books; see Appendix 1 for STC and Wing numbers.
who published translations from the French and Dutch and some verse, as well as the work for which he is chiefly remembered. Perhaps inspired by Beard’s *Theatre of Gods judgments* (to which we shall come shortly), he had a highly moral purpose: ‘Christian reader, we cannot sufficiently bewail the iniquity of these last and worst days of the world, in which the crying and scarlet sin of murder makes so ample, and so bloody a progression’. ‘My intent, desire, and prayer’, he continues, ‘is, that if thou art strong in Christ, the perusing and reading of these histories may confirm thy faith, and thy defiance of all sins in general, and of murder in particular’, or if you are weak in faith it may encourage you to arm yourself against the world’s allurements. A recent critic found the succession of murders in Reynolds’s work, ‘each more violent and grotesque than the last’, hard to take, but also thought the author a convincing narrator, who concentrated on the psychological effect of murder on the killers rather than the gore of the killing. ‘The powerful stories resulting from this concentration approach the tragic force of Jacobean drama’, he feels, and indeed the main plot of *The Changeling* by Middleton and Rowley (first acted in 1622) was taken from the third history in Reynolds’s second book, which had been published earlier that year. One might add that if some readers came to this work for a voyeuristic trip into sensationalism, they did so at a much higher price than Goodcole’s, and it seems clear from the 1635 edition that Reynolds was not aiming at a popular market. On the specially engraved title-page, there were panels showing various forms of execution, a challenge and a duel, though these were dominated by the figure of Justice with a sword and scales, the ray of light from the tetragrammaton inscribed ‘Fiat iustitia’, and two angels with swords inscribed ‘Vae homicide’ and ‘Inquisitio sanguinis’, together with shields bearing the royal arms.

At eighty octavo pages, a much shorter work was *The penitent murderer*, ‘an exact narrative of the life and death of Nathaniel Butler’ collected by Randolph Yearwood, chaplain to the Mayor of London, and published in 1657 with the mayor’s confirmation of the accuracy of the narrative printed opposite the title-page. This comes into Lake’s third category of a predominantly edifying account. Butler had been a lewd, godless young man, who ‘kept company’, stole, fornicated, and eventually committed murder. But the majority of Yearwood’s text was occupied with the many conferences Butler had in prison with visiting clergy and dignitaries, his conversion, confession, and very long and penitent speech on the scaffold, a summary of Yearwood’s funeral sermon for him, and an admonition to adults and children to avoid a like fate. Yearwood hoped his account would make the bad penitent, and the good rejoice, and urged readers not to read it ‘as a bare story or piece of news’

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and then forget all about it, "but read and consider, read and pray that this great and extraordinary passage of divine providence may profit thy soul."

A comparable case that attracted even more sales when written up was that of the sixteen-year-old Thomas Savage who murdered a fellow servant in 1668. It is not clear which of the ministers who attended Savage and then recounted his story wrote A murderer punished and pardoned; perhaps it was James Janeway, who preached his funeral sermon. As with Yearwood’s work, the bulk of the seventy-two pages of text consists not of his wanton life or his crime but of the various ‘discourses’ Savage had with the different ministers who visited him, his last days, prayers, last words, and execution, the funeral sermon, and exhortation to readers to lead a better life. However, whereas Savage showed signs of penitence, which was held up as an example of God’s wonderful mercy and grace, his accomplice, the ‘wicked strumpet’ Hannah Blay, did not, and her execution was treated as an example of divine retribution on cruel monsters.

The Butler and Savage cases are of value in that they show the intensive attention and coaching given to the condemned men by the ministers who visited them, and (as Lake has indicated) the mutual benefit derived from these conferences: as a result of the collective endeavour of the ‘godly’, the convicted were given a ‘glow of spiritual potency’, and the ministers obtained a confirmation of their own view of true religion. On a wider front, too, the readers of these accounts were told that if God could forgive sinners like Butler and Savage, then he could forgive anybody. The success of Janeway’s work led to its being repackaged: some time after the thirteenth edition (in 1671), the text seems to have been modified and rewritten, and a number of woodcuts were added at relevant parts of the text, so that the twenty-first edition of 1720 cost a shilling. But there were also cheap and inferior copies of the original text: at least two chapbook versions were made in the late 1680s which clearly derived information from the original pamphlet but were much shorter: these gave more space to Savage’s wicked life, and introduced from a totally new source (most likely the chapbook author’s imagination) a ‘mournful ditty’ and a ‘doleful lamentation’ that were attributed to Savage. The result was at the opposite end of the spectrum of sincerity from Janeway’s.

An interesting light on the state of play reached in these cautionary

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The work is sometimes attributed to Richard Alleine, or to Robert Franklin whose name precedes that of Thomas Vincent, Thomas Doolittle, James Janeway, and other ministers on the title-page: in Appendix 1 I have placed it under Janeway.

[J. Janeway?], A murderer punished and pardoned (1669), sig. A1v, and passim.

Lake, ‘Popular Form, Puritan Content?’, 321–7; anon., A warning to youth in the life and death of Thomas Savage (1720), sigs. A2r–, pp. 64–8, and passim.

As previous note, and title-page of the Warning for the price.

anon., The wicked life and penitent death of Thomas Savage [1680?] (Wing W2078); and anon., The murderer turned true penitent [1688?] (Wing M3096); and see below, Ch. 8.xiv.
murder stories is thrown by an anonymous work published in 1680 and entitled *The vain prodigal life and tragical penitent death of Thomas Hellier*. The author devotes about equal space to Hellier’s wicked life as to ‘reflections’ on how his parents were too indulgent towards him when young and other reasons for his getting into trouble. But then he quotes Hellier’s very long admonition to the spectators at the gallows to repent for their sins before it is too late, which, if accurately reported, suggests Hellier had missed a vocation as a preacher. The author clearly knew of ‘the many deplorable, and excellently well illustrated examples of God’s revenge against murder . . . related by worthy Mr. Reynolds’, and of the case of Nathaniel Butler, but felt that old stories had lost their power to shake people out of their spiritual lethargy. What is also striking is the Latin sentence and the English verse on the title-page: ‘Exemplum sicut speculum, exempla docent. Examples on record have ever stood | T’instruct the after-ages, bad or good. | For each example is a looking-glass | In which men may behold (each man) his face’. Here we have an author who is aware of the deep roots of the genre he is using, but who has jettisoned much if not quite all of the sensationalism in the earlier ballads and pamphlets on the subject, and has opted for a reasoned if not very sophisticated account of Christian teaching on sin and salvation. More work is needed to show how typical this work was compared to those of Yearwood and Janeway by the 1680s.

In cautionary tales about apostasy, the Devil and evil spirits loomed much larger, especially in those stories which came from abroad. The legend of a man who sold his soul to the Devil in return for his help for the next few years had been circulating before that man was identified with a wandering conjurer who lived in Germany in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. *The historie of the damnable life, and deserved death of doctor John Faustus* was a translation (by one ‘P. R., gent.’) of the *Faustbuch* printed in Frankfurt in 1587, and was published in England on at least a dozen more occasions over the next hundred years, often in black letter. It became the basis not only of Marlowe’s play (though there the central character was changed from a mere magician to someone much more dangerous), but also of a ballad entitled *Judgement of God shewed upon one John Faustus* (to be sung to the tune of ‘Fortune my foe’!). While Marlowe’s message remains open to different constructions, the moral of the *Historie* and the ballad was the simpler one that Faust’s ‘devilish exercises’ led to ‘a miserable and lamentable end’, which should be ‘an example

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256 anon., *The vain prodigal life and tragical penitent death of Thomas Hellier* (1680), title-page, pp. 1–2, and passim.

257 Many other examples can be found in Wing s.v. ‘Full and particular relation’, ‘Full and true account’, ‘Perfect relation’, ‘Sad and dreadful account’ ‘Tryal and condemnation’, and ‘Wicked life and just death’, and similar titles.
and warning’ to all good Christians, though it is probably fair to say that both also contained a strong element of titillation.258

A more distinctively Protestant—or anti-Catholic—message was contained in the account of the dreadful fate of Francis Spira or Spiera. Spira was an Italian lawyer who became a Protestant, then publicly recanted, was struck by an overpowering sense of guilt, and died some time later still in deep despair, despite all efforts to release him from the thrall of the Devil, who was blamed for having convinced him he was beyond redemption. Nathaniel Bacon’s *A relation of the fearefull estate of F[Francis] Spira* was not the first account in English, but it was by far the most popular: it was circulating in manuscript by the mid–1630s, and sold twenty editions between 1638 and 1718. In the later Stuart period, new prefaces were added by a Baptist printer family, the Harrises, and a strip cartoon showing the stages of Spira’s decline was added, and in mid-eighteenth century editions the story of Spira was supplemented by the examples of the ‘miserable lives and woeful deaths’ of two Englishmen who had died in 1684 and 1704.259 Bacon stated that Spira’s story was an ‘extraordinary example of divine justice’ which ‘God never intended for a nine days’ wonder’; the point of his publishing, he said, was to warn people against falling into Spira’s sin and to teach ‘fear and reverence’.260 However, the manner in which Bacon wove his account together from a variety of accounts, the adoption of colloquial language to describe Spira’s mental torments, the use of a great deal of reported speech, and the avoidance of technicalities (and shaky grasp of some points of doctrine) all helped to ensure a wide readership of the type that a horror story might have today. The contemporary readership, however, seems to have included a number who took its message very personally: Bunyan feared he had fallen into the same trap as Spira through a purely internal betrayal of Christ, and Baxter complained that ‘the reading of Spira’s case causeth or increaseth melancholy for many’. In this case print could clearly operate at two levels: as a source of horrific entertainment, and as a dreadful warning against apostasy and the horrors of religious despair.261

In 1693 was published *The second Spira*, which proved even more popular, apparently selling thirty editions in twenty-five years. The work was said to be by ‘J. S. a minister of the Church of England’, but is today usually attributed to Richard Sault, to whom J. S. (perhaps John Sault) gave his notes to arrange

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258 See below, Appendix 1 s.v. Faust; for the ballad below, Ch. 8.vii; and on Marlowe’s play, cf. Dollimore, Radical Tragedy, ch. 7, and Stachniewski, The Persecutory Imagination, ch. 7.

259 See Appendix 1 s.v. N. Bacon; Walsham, Providence, 86–7; and M. MacDonald, ‘“The Fearful Estate of Francis Spira”: Narrative, Identity, and Emotion in Early Modern England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992), 40–2. For an edition with the strip cartoon, see that of 1688 (published in London), and for one with the extra lives see that of 1761 (published in Glasgow).

260 Ibid., passim; Stachniewski, Persecutory Imagination, 37–8, 50, 229–30; and MacDonald, ‘“Fearful Estate”’, 44–51, 54–60.
for the press. This time it was not apostasy from Protestantism which was the root of the problem, for the work describes ‘the fearful example of an atheist, who had apostatized from the Christian religion and died in despair at Westminster’ in 1692 (the identity of the atheist is unclear, and his existence has been doubted). As in the case of the earl of Rochester, there is an account of the victim’s sickness, and discussions with friends and ministers, but where Burnet could report a happy ending, Sault had to record the ‘dreadful expressions and blasphemies’ with which the atheist left the world. The work was published, said Sault, ‘for an example to others’ and was ‘recommended to all young persons to settle them in their religion’. In a preface J. S. agreed with this, hoping that it would startle some inclined to atheism and reclaim others. The fact that the publisher of Sault’s work had just finished an account of the trials of several witches suggests that he was doing good business in selling cautionary tales in relatively cheap formats.  

A slightly earlier work in our sample is The devill of Mascon by François Perrault or Perreaud, a Huguenot minister in Burgundy whose house was invaded by an ‘unclean spirit’ which threw objects around, whistled, taunted him, jested, and uttered blasphemy, and was then joined by a second spirit to add to the mayhem. This is the odd-man-out in that Perrault was an orthodox minister, not an apostate, and some difficulty was experienced in explaining why he was subjected to such attacks: in the end the primary cause was said to be God’s punishing him for his sins. What is rather more interesting is the exchange of letters, printed in the preface, between Robert Boyle, the scientist, and Peter du Moulin, a leading churchman who translated the work from the French. Boyle says he is in general sceptical about spirits and witches, but in this case believes the testimony of those who saw what happened; du Moulin replies that he hopes the tale will convince atheists and half-believers, of whom there are too many around, of the existence of spirits. Here, then, is another warning story aimed at convincing sceptics, and presumably at reassuring the faithful too. With conjurers and plate-throwing devils we are not far from the world of witchcraft, though this does not seem to have been the subject of individual titles which sold well over a number of years or passed through a number of editions. Was witchcraft of greater interest to those living in rural areas than metropolitans who had other bugbears and scapegoats, such as trade crises, epidemics, fire, and crime?  

Another regular subject for the balladeers, hack pamphleteers, and chapbook authors—and in many ways the most sensational of all—were reports of ‘Strange and wonderful news’. These ranged from freak weather conditions, sudden fires, collapsing buildings, unforeseen accidents, and miraculous
escapes from physical or moral danger, to apparitions, the birth of deformed children and animals, and the existence of a ‘monstrous serpent (or dragon)’ in Sussex in 1614. Explanations for such phenomena ranged from the popular view that such events were the product of chance and mischance in the form of the operations of Dame Nature, or the stars, or the fickle goddess Fortuna, to the refined high Calvinist analysis of the value of special divine providences in helping the elect in their quest for assurance of salvation (which included the teaching that God could try the saints by punishing them as well as the wicked). In the large space in between these extremes was the notion that the Christian God sometimes chose to intervene especially to help the virtuous or punish the wicked, as could his arch rival, the Devil. In the case of divine or diabolical intervention, some form of moral lesson, however brief, was usually added, though the authors of most anthologies of providential stories or sensationalist ballads and pamphlets were widely acknowledged at the time to be hacks with little or no concern for religious education. ‘Let but a chapel fall, or a street be fired’, wrote the playwright Massinger, and ‘ten groat rhymers’ would rush out a ballad on the subject; and Earle (as we have seen) complained about the ‘Pot-Poet’ who ‘sitting in a bawdy-house. . . writes God’s judgements’ on those executed at Tyburn or news of ‘a strange monster out of Germany’. A recent assessment, by Dr Walsham, is equally sharp: authors of providential works were in general a ‘motley crew’, ‘versatile hacks’ who favoured the ‘ghoulish and prurient’, and often included much that was theologically dubious in their work. The average person who read or heard of these events may have suffered a frisson of excitement or relief at not being involved, but there is no way of knowing how seriously he or she took the accompanying caution to shun sin in order to avoid being struck by a similar misfortune or plague. However, as with the murder stories, some contemporary authors and preachers who believed that such ‘prodigies’ were portents of judgements to come did take the possibility of drawing moral conclusions from such material very seriously. There are records of ‘godly’ families reading anthologies of providential events, and ‘godly’ diarists recording prodigies derived from both orthodox and ephemeral literature. A number of the better-known examples of this type of work fall just outside the sample. Thomas Beard’s *Theatre of Gods judgements* offered a fairly crude equation of misfortune and sin which was was half way between the popular concern for marvels and the ‘godly’ interest in special providences. The work sold four editions in just over fifty years, between 1597 and 1648, but spawned many imitations. The conformist George Carleton’s *A thankefull remembrance of*

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God’s mercy was printed four times between 1624 and 1630 but then no more; the ‘godly’ minister Henry Burton’s *A divine tragedie* passed through three editions between 1636 and 1641, but one of those was published in Amsterdam; and Samuel Clarke’s *Englands remembrancer* was a cheap, derivative work aimed at poorer readers, published five times between 1657 and 1679, but one of those editions was as a subsidiary part of another work. While Beard and Burton focused on the judgemental side of divine intervention by describing the severe and unusual punishments meted out to those who broke God’s commandments, in Burton’s case the fourth Commandment in particular, Carleton and Clark wrote about the great mercy of God in intervening dramatically to deliver Protestant England from various popish plots, and in particular the Armada of 1588 and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.

Two works which did qualify for the sample, however, are very much in the same tradition as these works, in that they combined the negative and positive aspects of divine action. But it is perhaps significant that both seem to have been aimed at a broader audience than some of the larger works just mentioned, and both drew clear connections between virtue and divine reward and between sin and divine punishment, unlike the earlier ‘godly’ authors who had been concerned to point that out saints could be punished too. In *A mirrour or looking-glasse both for saints, and sinners*, first published in 1646 but much enlarged in the second edition of 1654 and again in 1657, Samuel Clarke claimed to provide ‘some thousands of examples’ of ‘God’s wonderful mercies’ to saints and of his ‘severe judgements’ against sinners. This book, he tells us, was an epitome of many books, the fruit of his spare hours of reading history, and now published for the benefit of those who could not afford the money or time to read many volumes. Most of the stories came from the classics, the Bible, and historians or chroniclers such as Eusebius, Bede, Foxe, and Camden, but some were based on much more recent accounts, including his own *Generall martyrologie*. He had found the resulting collection ‘very useful, profitable and pleasing’, and hoped his readers would too, whether they were looking for evidence of divine judgements on adulterers, apostates, sabbath-breakers, murderers, rebellious children, and other sinners, or evidence of the ‘desirableness of virtues, and graces’. Mixed in with these relatively predictable cases were instances of persecutors being punished, accounts of the ‘wicked lives and woeful deaths of many popes and popelinges’, stories of ‘strange providences’ such as terrible famines, examples of God’s ‘wondrous works in nature’ and of man’s achievements in art and industry, and even some instances of ‘mirth, facetious speeches, [and] pithy sentences’. The result was thus a mixture of the very serious and the deliberately entertaining,

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*STC* 1659–61.5, and *Wing* B1565–658; *STC* 4640–3; *STC* 4440.7–40.8, and *Wing* B6161; C45101–102a, and cf. H20944.

*As last note: editions used were the 1597 edition of Beard, the 1641 of Burton, the 1630 of Carleton, and the 1657 of Clarke; Walsham, Providence, ch. 2, and pp. 279–80.*
with the latter perhaps more in evidence than in earlier ‘godly’ works. Clarke seems to have wanted to sugar the pill in order to ensure that his readers would read through to the end, and this may have helped secure the extra sales compared to those works which emphasized only the serious side of divine providences.

With Nathaniel Crouch’s *Wonderful prodigies of judgement and mercy* (1682), we have an even more popular work—in all senses of the word. His ‘three hundred memorable histories’ were said to have been ‘impartially collected from ancient and modern authors of undoubted authority and credit’ (including Clarke). But Crouch had boiled down these several ‘large volumes’ into a much smaller work, less than half the length of Clarke’s, helped by the use of a duodecimo format and small type. As partial compensation, however, some of the stories were ‘embellished with divers curious pictures’. Crouch paid lip-service to the idea that the besetting sins of the age, such as atheism and impiety, necessitated the publication of such a work, and that ‘examples commonly prevail upon men more than precepts’, so that the reading of his work might deflect sinners from their evil ways and confirm those who have already repented. But about four-fifths of the text dealt with the sticky ends met by a succession of bad lots, from scoffers, swearers, and perjurors to witches, tyrants, and murderers, while only a fifth was devoted to the uplifting tales of divine mercy promised on the title-page and in the preface. The end product sold perhaps six editions in twenty-five years, which was better than Beard or Burton but not nearly as many as some of Crouch’s other works, such as the biblical stories in verse we examined earlier in this chapter.

There can be no doubt that providentialist thinking loomed large in some quarters, especially among those who linked divine ‘providences’ to the decree of predestination and like Oliver Cromwell and Nehemiah Wallington thought ‘particular’ providences were events by which God made his wishes known to his elect. Alex Walsham in particular has recently made a powerful case for providentialism being not a marginal set of ideas of interest primarily to the ‘godly’, but a fluid and diffuse bundle of assumptions drawing on pre- and post-Reformation ideas and acting as a cultural cement between godly and ungodly, plebeian and elite, and helping create and forge a collective Protestant consciousness. What is more, this was done through cross-fertilization between different forms and layers of culture, in a way that was deeply coloured by the fact that these ideas were regularly disseminated through print. Given this, the limited number of providentialist works among the

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270 For Brookes’s populist approach, see above, Ch. 6.xi.  
best-sellers and steady sellers of the period is puzzling: serious works on this subject passed through relatively few repeat editions; in some cases cross-over works which combined elements of Protestant doctrine with titillating stories did slightly better; but the works which sold best were for the most part the most sensational and theologically the most conservative.

The limited sales of the more serious providentialist works could have various explanations. Perhaps the temptation to link unusual events with divine intervention was cyclical, being especially strong at times of food shortages or increased political uncertainty, as in the 1620s, 1640s and 1650s, and 1680s, but becoming weaker and reducing during times of prosperity. Perhaps it was more of an urban than a rural phenomenon, and in particular a metropolitan one, fed by the generally higher rates of literacy and greater availability there of news of recent ‘prodigies’. Perhaps in quieter times or in the countryside alternative methods of explaining departures from the normal pattern of phenomena proved equally persuasive, whether it was the older beliefs in chance or fate or the conjuncture of the stars, or the newer scepticism about miracles and the search for scientific explanations. Or maybe the realization that ‘providences’ were open to differing interpretations, not only between Protestant and Catholic but between different brands of Protestant, and that they could decline into becoming the winner’s justification over the loser, eventually told against those who accorded them special significance, just as the failure of millenarians to come up with the correct day for the dawn of the new age undermined their cause.

The fact that providentialist works were not prominent in our sample does not, of course, mean that such ideas could not be mediated by other means—oral, visual, and literary. But it does suggest that the historian’s focus (as with Foxe’s Book of martyrs) has to move from the original large, printed works, such as Beard’s and Reynolds’s, to mediators who in some cases were evidently high Calvinists, but in most cases seem to have drawn more on the old medieval tradition of exempla and a continuing equation of virtue with divine protection and vice with divine punishment, than on distinctly post-Reformation doctrines. Moreover, if the providential stories in a half-way version such as Beard could be interpreted in one way by the zealous and informed, but understood by many others ‘in complete ignorance, even pelagian negation’ of high Calvinist soteriology, then we may have to ask whether providentialism was a ‘cement’ between ‘godly’ doctrine and popular culture,

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273 See the works cited in previous paragraphs; and Walsham, Providence, 107, 126, 128–33, 220, 274–4.
274 Ibid., 57, 231, 308–10; and see above, Ch. 1, and Clark, Elizabethan Pamphleteers, ch. 2.
or a shared frontier which looked and functioned very differently according to where one was standing.276

viii. Composite works

This leaves us with just over three dozen titles in the sample that cannot be consigned conveniently to any of the categories described so far because to a greater or lesser degree they cut right across them. A few consist of the collected works of a clerical author who himself had dipped into a variety of genres rather than just confined himself to writing sermons or treatises. William Perkins’s Works perhaps consisted mainly of treatises, on a wide range of topics and diverse in length and character, but Perkins also published sermons, and a catechism, and used dialogue form to make his point on more than one occasion; the only major genre he did not tackle was a collection of prayers.277 Richard Greenham’s Works comprised ‘Grave counsels, and godly observations’ on a variety of topics, seven sermons on various texts and themes, meditations and observations on two chapters of Proverbs, eight treatises ‘of divers arguments’ (for example, offering comfort to afflicted consciences, or showing the marks of the elect), ‘necessary rules for the profitable reading of holy scripture’, a catechism, and open letters ‘for the instruction and comforting of some friends afflicted’.278 Joseph Hall’s Works reflected an even wider variety of approaches: eight ‘books’ of ‘contemplations on the principal passages of the holy story’, paraphrases of different parts of the Old Testament, several sermons, polemical tracts against Catholics and separatists, 300 ‘meditations and vows’ (offering improving and uplifting thoughts), a short tract on the art of meditation, ‘epistles’, and a catechism. Even this did not reflect the full range of his religious writing, since other treatises and collections of prayers and ‘sacred’ poems were published after his death.279

The large size of these composite volumes made them expensive: a three-volume set of Perkins’s works cost 33s. unbound in the early 1630s, while the 1634 edition of Hall’s cost 20s. unbound and 28s. bound.280 This tended to limit the range of purchasers: Perkins’s works perhaps passed through seven editions, Greenham’s five, and Hall’s eight (precise totals are not possible due to variations of content between editions and the mixing of sheets from different editions).281

276 Walsham, Providence, 95, and cf. 124–33, 230–2.
277 STC lists Perkins’s publications and the contents of some editions of the Works; for a very short work attributed to Perkins, see R[j]richard R[j]ogers, A garden of spirituall flowers (1687), 13–18.
278 These headings are taken from the 1599 edition of Greenham’s Works; the 1612 edition had a different arrangement and partly different contents.
279 Cf. STC and Wing; and below, Appendix 1 for some works published after the last edition of his collected works (in 1648).
281 See below, Appendix 1, for further details.
A second batch of titles in the composite category could perhaps be assigned to one of the broad categories used in previous chapters, such as treatise or devotional work, were it not for the fact that a substantial part of the text clearly belonged to another genre. *The glass of vaine-glorie*, attributed to Augustine, was basically a set of prayers, but with the addition of expositions of those prayers, some verses, an almanac, a calendar, and astrological advice it became something rather different.\(^{282}\) Clement Cotton’s *None but Christ* consisted mainly of a treatise on sins and conversion, but also contained a prayer to Christ with Christ’s reply, and from the fifth edition *The sicke mans ABC*; and Richard Kilby’s *Hallelu-iah* started (like his more popular earlier work) as a cautionary tale story based on his own experiences, but then diverged into ‘rules’, prayers, and his own metrical version of some psalms.\(^{283}\) The essence of Jeremy Taylor’s *The great exemplar* (1653) was a history of the life of Christ, but to this were added ‘considerations’ and prayers, and from the 1670s William Cave’s lives of the saints; while Richard Sherlock’s *The practical Christian* was at heart a very long treatise on how to examine oneself for sin, but the greater part consisted of prayers, meditations, psalms, and hymns.\(^{284}\)

A third clutch of titles were thoroughly ‘mixed’ in that the authors—lay and clerical—had set out to combine a variety of approaches to attract the attention of readers. In his *Davids sling against great Goliah* (1581), Edward Hutchins mixed prayers for various occasions and short treatises on different topics with a dialogue; and in the same year in his *Diamond of devotion*, Abraham Fleming combined verses, hymns, psalms, and hives of ‘bees’ (‘Be merciful’, ‘Be obedient’, etc).\(^{285}\) Also popular were the two parts of *A garden of spiritual flowers*—short pieces by Richard Rogers, William Perkins, Richard Greenham, and other ‘godly’ clergy, comprising directions, rules, exercises, a form of trial, verses, and other texts of which some offered a measure of edifying entertainment. Part 1 proved very popular—twenty-one editions between 1609 and 1687—but part 2 did not sell well after the 1620s.\(^{286}\) In 1644 the ‘godly’ minister Herbert Palmer published his *Memorials of godlinesse*, which was a mixture of memoranda-style ‘meditations’, instructive paradoxes, and advice and exhortation on godly living during the week, which proved popular until the early eighteenth century.\(^{287}\) In 1606 a London rector, Robert Hill, published a volume which combined dialogues on prayer and godly living and dying with a catechism; in 1612 another cleric, Richard Bernard, combined a godly living handbook with dialogues, rules, and prayers and meditations; and forty years later Jeremy Taylor’s *Golden grove* consisted of ‘credenda’

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\(^{282}\) See above, p. 259. For a mixture of ‘discourse’ and meditations, see R. Southwell, *Marie Magdalens funeral teares* (1597).

\(^{283}\) For further details, see Appendix 1.

\(^{284}\) Ibid.

\(^{285}\) E. Hutchins, *Davids sling against great Goliah* (1589); passim; A. Fleming, *The diamond of devotion* (1602), 215, and passim; cf. also L. Wright, *A display of dutie* (1589) for a mixture of moralistic advice, pleas-anturies, and verses.

\(^{286}\) See Appendix 1 s.v. Rogers for further details.

\(^{287}\) Ibid. for further details.
(catechetical material on what to believe), ‘agenda’ (how to spend each day), and ‘postulanda’ (prayers, hymns, and meditations), in a work which sold over two dozen editions in the next seventy years.\footnote{288} There was also a quartet of titles in which one of the main purposes was to teach reading and writing and other useful knowledge, but which combined this with a catechism or catechisms, improving thoughts, scripture knowledge, psalms, and prayers: Edmund Coote’s best-selling *English schoolmaster*, Benjamin Keach’s *Instructions for children*, George Fox and Ellis Hookes’s *Primmer and catechism*, and Nathaniel Stong’s *England’s perfect school-master*.\footnote{289}

About half of the composite titles in our sample date from the last four decades of the seventeenth century, and can be divided roughly into three groups. First, there were the deliberately diverse, mostly aimed at the young or poor, such as *The young mans calling* by a clerical poet, Samuel Crossman, which was a mixture of a treatise on godly living, uplifting tales, and religious verse. Then there was *The school of grace; or, a book of good nurture*, attributed to John Hart, which offered advice on godly living, prayers, psalms, a catechism, and a scripture quiz; Richard Baxter’s *Poor mans family book*, which was a combination of dialogues, catechisms, and prayers; and William Burkitt’s *Poor mans help*, which provided instruction on godly living, a catechism, and prayers.\footnote{290}

Secondly, there were those which focused on godly living or dying but provided supplementary material. John Flavell’s *Navigation spiritualiz’d* offered advice on godly living to the seamen whom he knew from his ministry in Dartmouth. This advice took the form of thirty-two compass points, supplemented by verses, comments, a short catechism, and prayers. The same author’s parallel volume, *Husbandry spiritualized*, was aimed at another group of working men: while comparing farming with the Christian life, Flavell also provided ‘observations’, ‘applications’, ‘reflections’, and poems, as well as occasional meditations on natural phenomena such as birds, beasts, trees, flowers, and rivers.\footnote{291} Sir Matthew Hale’s *Contemplations moral and divine* (1676) included not only contemplative essays written after Sunday afternoon sermons to fix his own and his children’s thoughts on ‘divine’ subjects, but also meditations, poems (including those he wrote on each succeeding Christmas Day), and paraphrases of the Lord’s Prayer. In his *Collection of miscellanies* John Norris used a combination of verses and essays, discourses, and letters on ‘divine and moral subjects’, though he was perhaps aiming at a socially more elevated type of reader. John Hayward’s *The horrors and terrors of the hour of death* \footnote{291}
combined a series of mini-sermons, advice on how to make a good end, and a number of dreadful-warning stories, while his *Hell’s everlasting flames avoided* was a mixture of treatise, soliloquy, prayer, and praise.\textsuperscript{292}

The third and last group of later Stuart ‘mixed’ works were mainly devotional titles by conformist clergy, but with another dimension added. Edward Sparke’s *Scintillula altaris* was first published in 1652, but sold much better after 1660, which is not surprising since it was a mixture of ‘disquisitions’ (mini-sermons), verse, prayers, and pictures to aid devotions on the established church’s feast and fast days. Thomas Ken wrote *A manual of prayers* for the scholars at Winchester College, but this contained directions, instructions on self-examination, ‘ejaculations’, and meditations as well as more conventional prayers; John Inett’s *Guide to the devout Christian* was part prayers and meditations for every day of the week, and part treatise on the necessity of frequent reception of the sacrament; and another publication by John Hayward, *The precious blood of the son*, was half way between a treatise and a set of meditations on Christ’s death and sacrifice for mankind.\textsuperscript{293}

It is also worth pointing out that half of these later Stuart composite works also included engravings or woodcuts to help drive home the message. In only three cases—Taylor’s *Great exemplar*, Sparke’s *Scintillula altaris*, and Crossman’s *Young mans calling*—was a substantial number of illustrations supplied, to be interleaved with the text at the binding stage. And because of their number and quality these pictures were a mixed blessing: on the one hand, they complemented and reinforced the text, but on the other they would have pushed up the cost of the finished product and so reduced its potential readership. Sparke’s work cost 7s. bound in 1672, and the Crossman 3s. 6d. in 1678, and Taylor’s, being in folio, was probably even dearer.\textsuperscript{294} In most of the composite works under consideration here, however, the image consisted of a specially commissioned single or two-part illustration which would not have increased the cost greatly but might well have facilitated comprehension of the author’s text, or alerted a potential bookbuyer browsing in a bookshop or market to the essential point of the text he was handling. Thus in Crossman’s *The young mans calling*, a young man is shown caught between two figures representing ‘Pride’ (on the right) and ‘Truth’ (on the left), while on the vertical axis there is a ladder labelled ‘Curiosity’ which would lead him down to the flames of hell, and another ladder labelled ‘Faith, Hope, and Charity’ which leads up to heaven.\textsuperscript{295} Flavell’s *Husbandry spiritualized* had an example of that fashionable

\textsuperscript{292} Ibid.; J[ohn] M[orton], *A brief rule of life* (1662) combined advice on godly living with prayers.

\textsuperscript{293} Appendix 1. See also Richard Sherlock’s *Practical Christian*, mentioned above, p. 439.

\textsuperscript{294} The copies I examined were the 1653 edition of Taylor’s *Great exemplar* at Queen’s University Belfast (yqBT300/t), and the 1675 and 1684 editions of *Antiquitates Christianae* at the British Library (4807.h.1) and Bodleian (Vet.A3.c.129); the 1678 edition of Sparke’s *Scintilla altaris* in the Bodleian (Vet A3.c.170); and the 1678 edition of Crossman’s *Young mans calling* in the Bodleian (8° Z. 111.Th); the price of the Sparke is in T.C. i.121, and of the Crossman at the end of the copy mentioned, p. [428].

\textsuperscript{295} Ibid., opposite title-page; and cf. the engraving in Baxter’s *Saints everlasting rest* above, Ch. 6, n. 127.
item, an emblem, depicting a heart suspended by a chain from a pair of wings, and hovering over two agricultural labourers at work and a variety of farm animals—the whole being explained by the accompanying verse.\textsuperscript{96} Hayward’s \textit{Horrors and terrors} had a double plate, the top half of which shows death coming to both a rich man (with coins, a strong-box, and sacks of goods), and a poor (seated at a bare table with his family), and the bottom half shows Christ in glory presiding while some sheep guided by a shepherd are guided to heaven, and goats are driven to hell by the Devil. In case the point was missed, two verses were added:

\begin{quote}
Death comes; for as you see both rich and poor,
To old and young, he doth not miss a door
To which he’s sent, to fetch them hence away:
Their glass being run, they must no longer stay
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Behold the judgement seat where all must stand,
To hear just sentence on either hand.
Then, come ye blessed in my bosom lie;
And go ye cursed, to hell’s cruelty.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

It is hard to imagine the works of Perkins or Greenham being decorated in such a way.

It should also be mentioned that those ‘mixed’ works first published after 1650 or 1660 tended to be republished a good deal more often than those published before then—on average thirteen repeat editions for the later period compared to eight for the earlier, which may reflect a growing pool of readers for religious publications in general.\textsuperscript{98} But the impression that all of the ‘mixed’ titles mentioned in the last few paragraphs tend to reinforce is that a growing number of authors became aware of the advantages of using different genres to make their point, and publishers became increasingly aware that such diverse works were marketable, while those who bought books, either for their own use or to give to others to read, were increasingly prepared to choose items which combined a number of approaches or forms of help—information, advice, perhaps a catechism, forms of prayer, hymns, and psalms for worship, or approved forms of entertainment such as verse and uplifting tales, perhaps with a supporting picture too.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[96] Flavell, \textit{Husbandry spiritualized} (1674): BL 4402.n.28.
\item[97] Hayward, \textit{Horrors and terrors} (1707), opposite title-page; for other illustrations, see opposite the title-page of the same author’s \textit{Hells everlasting flames avoided} (1719), and \textit{The precious blood of the son} (1731); and R. Sherlock, \textit{Mercurius Christianus: the practical Christian} (1673), and id., \textit{The second part of the practical Christian} (1675).
\item[98] See the works cited in previous paragraphs and notes, and the relevant entries in Appendix 1; the \textit{ABC} and \textit{Primer} have been left out of this calculation as atypical.
\end{footnotes}
ix. Conclusion

Looking back over the main categories of work in our sample, in this chapter and the three previous ones, we can see how far the deployment of print had changed since the days when it had been used to supply little more than multiple copies of bibles, prayer books, and a limited selection of sermons and treatises. The typical book or pamphlet in the hands of the literate laity had also changed considerably too, not only in format and typeface, but also in content, length, level of difficulty, and possible impact too. Published output and readerships had expanded and diversified hand in hand.

The works discussed in this particular chapter suggest two less straightforward conclusions. First, there is the growing tension between clerical and lay perspectives. Sober ministers and preachers (supported by a minority of zealous laity) were prepared to countenance entertaining forms as a means of pressing the same orthodox message that they presented in their sermons and treatises: Greenham’s use of ‘godly observations’, ‘arguments’, and open letters to comfort afflicted consciences; Richard Rogers and his collaborators’ use of rules, exercises, a form of trial, and verses to help the faithful test their election and chart their spiritual progress; uplifting thoughts from Hall and Henshaw; Donne and Herbert’s ‘heart-work’ in their devotional verse; Jeremy Taylor’s illustrated life of Christ; Henry Goodcole’s murder pamphlets; Bunyan’s edifying allegories; or a combination of genres in Baxter’s *Poor man’s family book* and Burkitt’s *Poor man’s help*. In all of these the emphasis is on salvation by faith, true repentance, and piety, and good deeds are relegated to being the fruits of faith. Where clergy deviated from this, it was usually because they were still young (as in Hall’s and Earle’s ‘character’ sketches), or were aiming at a specific group such as the young or the curious or the luke-warm for which the full-strength message was considered less appropriate than a stress on faith and piety alone (as in a number of works by Quarles and Samuel Clarke, and Collier’s jeremiads on declining standards of morality).

Alternatively, deviation occurred where zealous ministers were prepared to ‘gloss over’ the complexities of Calvinist teaching and ‘accommodate’, ‘exploit’, ‘engage with’, and ‘rechannel’ aspects of popular belief in their teaching, though such clergy usually remained cautious about going too far in that direction.³⁹⁹

By contrast, what we find among lay authors of edifying-cum-entertaining works are versions of Protestantism which at the more educated end tended towards a view of Christianity that stressed the value of reason and morality, and at the more commercial end a semi-Pelagian, almost totally moralistic, variety. We have had occasion at various points to note the strong influence of classical thought on the Protestantism of lay authors like Baldwin, Wright,

Bacon, Feltham, and Warwick, who were writing either for schoolboys and other students or for well-educated adults like themselves, and whose works regularly sold much better than those of the clergy. Such authors did not derogate from the importance of faith and repentance, as can be seen in the writing of Sir Thomas Browne and Sir Matthew Hale, but they approached Protestantism from a more critical standpoint that stressed the value of the church as an institution (though not necessarily everything the clergy did or said) and Christian morality as a force for social stability. If we move down a rung or two to the verses of Hunnis, Breton, John Taylor, and Christopher Harvey, we have works that are apparently sincere but even more selective (unwittingly) in the aspects of official Protestantism that they pressed. And if we then turn to the publications of Trundle and Crouch we are looking at men who made a living out of jestbooks, popular romances, stories of strange monsters, and ballads, and whose religious publications have only a thin veneer of official Protestantism to cover an opportunistic use of divine providence and a crude equation of virtuous conduct and salvation.

This leads onto the second observation: interaction between the edifying and the titillating undoubtedly worked in two directions, but probably more in one direction—the authors of ephemeral works borrowing from and bowdlerizing orthodox works—than the other—orthodox authors borrowing from the less orthodox. Genres like biography, dialogue, and devotional verse, which in the hands of authors like Foxe, Dent, Herbert, and Samuel Clarke could inform and edify, tended to contain a diluted message when taken over and simplified for a wider audience by authors like William Hunnis, John Reynolds, Thomas Beard, and Daniel Defoe. But even that message was relatively orthodox when compared to what a commercially minded publisher could do to a serious story like that of the trial of Thomas Savage in 1668, or how much he could mangle the Bible into a sequence of lurid stories in doggerel verse supported by crude pictures. There was certainly movement in the other direction too: as Peter Lake and Alex Walsham have shown, some zealous clergy tried to adapt ideas and genres normally devoted to titillation to ones capable of providing more edification than sensationalism. Sadly from these authors’ point of view, few of their efforts got past one, two, or three editions, and those that did could often be read in different ways, such as Beard’s providential stories and Bunyan’s allegories. For it was works of pure sensationalism and works offering a mixture of titillation and moralizing that continued to sell well throughout the period, and the conclusion we must draw is that publishers knew the public’s tastes much better than the clergy did, and that print was regularly and increasingly used to disseminate forms of Protestantism of which the clergy did not fully approve. This will become even clearer when we focus on the cheapest forms of all forms of publication: the ballad and the chapbook.
The Publishers and the People

How far were the cheapest publications of the early modern period—ballads and chapbooks—inspired by a desire to promote Protestantism, and how far by a desire to make money? These two aims were not necessarily incompatible, but in recent years two suggestions have regularly been made. One is that a number of forms of cheap print were inspired by members of the educated elite, and in particular the ‘godly’, who in their anxiety to spread the Word decided to appropriate some aspects of popular culture and convert them to their own, more edifying ends. The other is that even in works not written by the ‘godly’ there was sufficient new teaching to render them distinctively Protestant. In this chapter the evidence for these arguments is reviewed in the context of the broader range of religious publications surveyed in the last few chapters, and the question is posed as to how many genuinely ‘godly’ items of cheap print were in sufficient demand to require regular repeat editions. The picture that emerges gives much greater weight to the role of the publisher, and suggests that the great majority of the cheap works which sold best were neither the product of ‘godly’ authors’ pens nor would have been acceptable to them.

i. ‘Godly’ Publications?

In her marvellously enterprising study of the cheap print of the period 1550–1640, Dr Tessa Watt drew attention to three types of publication with religious content: the ‘godly ballad’, printed on a broadside and designed to be read or sung; the ‘godly table’, similarly printed on a single sheet and intended to be pinned up on a wall for regular reference; and the ‘penny godly’, a short pamphlet of chapbook size. The first ‘godly ballads’, she argues, were the work of ministers and laymen who both knew and cared about the Protestant beliefs which they wished to spread; the text and images in a number of the ‘godly tables’ may well have echoed what people saw on the walls of their parish church and graveyard; while the authors of the first ‘penny godlies’ included preachers or ministers like John Andrewes and George Shawe. Together, she suggests, these works helped to modify traditional Catholic piety and create a popular religious culture which was

1 See above, Ch. 1.ii.
distinctively post-Reformation, if not as thoroughly Protestant as some of the zealots of the day would have liked.2

Historians have usually taken the chapbooks designated ‘small godly books’ by publishers operating in the later Stuart period to be the work of ‘godly’ clergy too. Margaret Spufford has referred to the ‘painful ministers’ and the ‘named divines’ who wrote a number of the chapbooks in Samuel Pepys’s collection (which he called ‘Penny-Godlinesses’ when he came to have them bound), and suggested they were the culmination of a ‘long puritan campaign’.3 In his companion analysis of the forty-six titles in Pepys’s collection, Eamon Duffy went a stage further. Not only were a number of the works in the collection ‘recognizably puritan in character’, and the urgency of the call to repent ‘the voice of what Baxter liked to call “our old English affectionate divinity”, the central puritan tradition’, but also the authors of these works were drawn ‘overwhelmingly’ from the ranks of the ejected nonconformist ministers who had turned to writing them in part as a substitute for the normal pastoral duties denied to them after the Act of Uniformity of 1662. In a most stimulating paper arguing that the ‘godly’ were engaged in a ‘mission to evangelize and instruct the poor’, Dr Duffy used the Pepys ‘godlies’ to give breadth to a thesis that otherwise relied quite heavily on the efforts of a handful of ministers like Gilpin, Dent, Baxter, and Gouge.4 Meanwhile Peter Lake has drawn our attention to the murder pamphlets of the period from the 1580s to the 1660s. As he says, in general these were not ‘an explicitly Protestant, still less a puritan, genre’, but a few committed authors, usually clergymen, tried not only to inject a Protestant message into a popular medium, but also to manipulate and exploit certain older popular views still in existence.5 Other instances of ‘godly’ interest in, rather than a flat rejection of, popular culture have also been provided in recent years, though not all these attempts involved using the cheapest forms of print.6

A case could be made, however, for including in the category of ‘cheap

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1 Watt, Cheap Print, p. 127 and passim.
3 Spufford, Small Books, 198; and cf. ch. 8 passim.
print’ the moralistic pamphlets surveyed by Sandra Clark: works consisting of six or seven signatures of quarto (forty-eight to fifty-six pages), printed in black-letter type on poor quality paper, often adorned with a lively woodcut on the title-page, and selling for just a few pence. Published in growing quantities from the 1580s, and tackling subjects such as drunkenness, gaming, swearing, pride, lechery, vanity, ambition, murder, and a wide variety of other social and personal sins, these pamphlets were unlike ballads in being composed not just by hacks, such as Anthony Nixon, Richard Johnson, Thomas Deloney and Martin Parker, but also in many cases by authors of some calibre who wanted to earn a quick shilling or two, such as Barnaby Rich, Robert Greene, and the four Thomases—Dekker, Lodge, Middleton, and Nashe. On the other hand, compared to the later, smaller chapbooks of which they are in many ways the predecessor, these moralistic pamphlets were targeted at not just the lowest level of reader but those with sufficient sophistication to recognize classical allusions, rhetorical figures of speech, and even quotations in Latin and French. Moreover, against those who stress the sincerity of many producers and purchasers of cheap printed works, there are others like Sir Keith Thomas who clearly feel that the ‘primary function’ of the warnings about strong drink and reports of marvellous prodigies in the cheap print of the time, especially in the ballads, was ‘not edification but entertainment’, and that any moralizing was to titillate rather than to reform: the cheap print of the seventeenth century was the precursor of today’s tabloids. Sandra Clark’s study of Elizabethan pamphlets left her too with the impression that their authors, nearly all laymen and often professional writers, and their publishers put entertainment before edification: not wishing to alienate potential readers, the moral judgements in their works were ‘of a trite and limiting kind’. Owing to their flimsiness, relatively few of these cheap works have survived compared to the more substantial treatises and handbooks examined in previous chapters, and so only a limited number qualify for our five-editions-in-thirty-years sample. Let us therefore ease the rules adopted in constructing that sample, and re-examine two of the more commonly produced types of cheaper work just mentioned—the ‘godly ballad’ from the mid-sixteenth century, and then the ‘godly chapbook’ from the 1620s—though in

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8 Ibid., 17, 26–30, 33–5, 88–9, 101, 141, 158–60, 198–202, 211, 223, 279 and *passim*.
9 Ibid., 18–23; and for readers of ballads and chapbooks, see Watt, *Cheap Print* and Spufford, *Small Books*.
the course of doing so something will be said of some of the other forms of cheap print too.

ii. ‘Godly Ballads’

The rapid rise, relatively sudden fall, and partial recovery of the ‘godly ballad’ has been clearly charted by Tessa Watt.12 In the mid-sixteenth century, some Protestant authors were not averse to using many of the means to hand to get their message across to a predominantly Catholic population. But by the later sixteenth century the ‘godly ballad’ was in decline. This was partly due to the zealots’ association of secular ballads—which included a high proportion of bawdy, ungodly, or sensational material—with performers, locations, and occasions of which they did not approve, such as unlicensed entertainments, alehouses, and uncontrolled, heathenish merry-making. It was also partly due to the development of approved alternatives such as the singing of metrical psalms. The ‘godly ballad’ fell away further in the early seventeenth century. Using a common-sense definition of ‘religious’ to assess the content of works where the title is known but the text has not survived, Dr Watt concluded that the proportion of ballads that may have been ‘godly’ fell from 35 per cent in 1560–88, to 19 per cent in 1588–1625, and only 9 per cent in 1625–40. Thus in the collection of ballads begun by John Selden in the early seventeenth century and continued by Samuel Pepys in the later, only 6.5 per cent of the ballads were categorized as ‘Devotion and morality’.13

Dr Watt has also demonstrated how control of a growing proportion of the extant ballads came into the hands of a dwindling number of publishers and booksellers, and how by the 1630s these ‘ballad partners’ ‘had a near monopoly on the publication and distribution of the most popular ballad titles’; as much as a third of their stock, she says, was religious. In the early seventeenth century, the ballad was also made more attractive by being repackaged: it was given a standardized format of a two-part folio sheet with woodcuts added along the top, and supplied with the name of a suitable tune. Thus, although the ‘godly ballad’ had been ‘abandoned as a vehicle for Protestant reform’ by the 1580s, it did not disappear altogether but survived as ‘a publishing staple, and a constant, slowly shifting bottom layer in the popular culture’. Indeed, in so far as print runs were probably larger and distribution better organized under the ‘ballad partners’, copies of these ballads could actually have reached more people in the seventeenth century than the sixteenth.14

12 The rise and fall was initially described in P. Collinson, From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation, Stenton Lecture 1985 (Reading, 1986), 17–21; but now see Watt, Cheap Print, chs. 2–3.
13 Ibid., 44–9. For another survey of ballads which detected an increasingly secular style and content, see Würzbach, Rise of English Street Ballad, passim.
14 Watt, Cheap Print, 54, 81, and 75–82.
There is, however, a tension in Watt’s view. On the one hand, the ballads on which she focuses are regularly referred to as ‘Protestant’, ‘religious’, or ‘godly’ throughout the period under review. The polemical ballads on ‘religious’ topics were ‘vehicles for a nationalistic Protestantism’; the godly precept ballads stress the ‘qualities we have come to associate with the “Protestant work ethic” ’; and the godly dying ballads are ‘thoroughly Protestant’. Early Protestant teaching might have had to be ‘simplified to black and white’ owing to ‘the exigencies of song’, but the absence of references to saints, the stress on lessons drawn from Old Testament stories, and the centrality of repentance and salvation through faith all indicate a balladry which could be described as ‘distinctively “post-Reformation”, if not thoroughly “Protestant” ’, and represented ‘the successful fusion of new and traditional elements in popular piety’. Where the ballads ‘used conflicting languages of religious discourse’ they were ‘possibly addressing a variety of audiences, possibly conflicting “audiences” within the individual ballad buyer’. But the fact that these were the kind of works for which poor men were prepared to part with money suggests that these ballads reflect the religious tastes of many of the people of Elizabethan and early Stuart England who ‘conformed . . . to the “commonplace prayer-book religion” ’ of the day. In short, these ballads were meant to be taken seriously at the time, and we should take them seriously too.

On the other hand, Watt also makes it abundantly clear that most Elizabethan and early Stuart publishers and booksellers regarded ‘godly ballads’ simply as a marketable commodity. To judge from their other publications, most of the publishers who handled ballads seem to have felt ‘no sense of contradiction about printing bawdy ballads together with calls to repentance’, and to have been less interested in their readers’ souls than their purses. Titles which did not sell well were ruthlessly jettisoned, no matter how worthy their content might be. There was also a rapid decline in the educational and social status of authors of ‘godly ballads’, from the clergy and members of respectable professions of the 1550s and 1560s to the ballad ‘hacks’ of the later Elizabethan and Stuart periods—men like Martin Parker, who was an alehouse keeper in the reign of Charles I. At various points, Dr Watt also stresses the conservatism of the doctrinal content of the ‘godly ballads’ or the ‘strong elements of continuity with pre-Reformation piety’. From her sample of ‘godly ballads’, she concludes that Catholics and Protestants shared the same fear of death and judgement, knew how to distinguish good from bad behaviour (even if they did not always act accordingly), and preferred their bible stories to have elements of the miraculous or heroic, or even the romantic. She also comes close to saying that the teaching of the ballads would probably have been unacceptable to many of the better-informed minds or more

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15 Ibid., 83, 86, 88, 103, 106, 126–7, and chs. 2–3 passim.
16 Ibid., 50–1.
17 Ibid., 52–4.
zealous clergy of the day, including the members of that very group, the ‘godly’, whose sobriquet was increasingly used by publishers to describe ballads at the very time—the late 1570s and the 1580s—when the real ‘godly’ were abandoning ballads as a vehicle for Protestantization. Thus in the ballads on death and salvation in the partners’ stock of the early Stuart period ‘there is little sense of a predestined elect’, and authors of these and other ballads sometimes tended towards the same ‘erroneous’ opinions that were attacked by Perkins and Baxter, such as Pelagianism, or a belief in universal redemption. Instead of the Calvinist or even the Prayer Book stress on man’s inability to please God by his own unaided efforts, his need of divine help in order to turn to God, and the absolutely crucial roles of repentance and faith, what we find in many of the ballads is a passing on, ‘almost unchanged’, of ‘a centuries-old vision of the Last Judgement based on the individual’s sins or merits in this life’, so that ‘in more than half the stock ballads dealing with death . . . God is less interested in repentance and faith than in the preparation for salvation with good works’.

In the anti-Catholic ballads about incidents during the Reformation, so many specific details were whittled away that the martyrs become ‘generic victims of popery’, since ‘buyers of broadside ballads were not expected to be interested in the historical specificity of the martyrdoms, or in the martyrs’ rational arguments about Protestant doctrine’; some of the stories about martyrs read more like ‘an adventure story’. In most of the ballads providing long lists of godly precepts, ‘there is nothing specifically Protestant’, while in the ballad on Susanna and the elders, ‘one has to suspect that the real appeal of the ballad lay in the image of naked Susanna washing herself in the orchard’. Bible stories, which initially had been intended to replace Catholic stories of saints’ lives and miracles, soon degenerated into tales based more or less closely on the scriptures but constructed from the same stock of clichés found in secular ballads, and involving elements of drama, magic, or even eroticism. By the seventeenth century, the ballad stock might recount details of Christ’s life, stressing its miraculous aspects—the virgin birth, his healing of the sick, and his resurrection—but it ‘contains nothing of Christ’s teachings’.

In other words, most later ballads were written by hacks with perhaps only a limited grasp of, or interest in, Protestant teaching, who consistently keyed into pre-Reformation traditions of material and language; and the ‘conflicting languages of religious discourse’ may reflect these authors’ own confusion or carelessness rather than being a means of addressing a variety of audiences. Moreover, these later ballads were issued by publishers with an apparently low estimate of their potential customers’ intelligence. If so, then this is less simplification than exploitation and commercialization, and the

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19 Ibid., 90–6, 103, 115–22.
assessment of their content as ‘distinctively “post-Reformation” ’ may be optimistic. Was this a ‘successful fusion of new and traditional elements in popular piety’, or the grafting onto an old stock of a few new cuttings, the great majority of which did not take properly?

iii. An Alternative Sample of Ballads

Dr Watt analysed in some detail the content of eight ‘godly’ ballads in a group of forty-six of which the copyrights can be demonstrated to have been protected for at least twenty-five years, and in most cases for several decades or even a century or more. However, it cannot be demonstrated that all of these ballads were actually printed repeatedly during the period that their copyright was guarded. An alternative sample can be made of ballads which appear to have been printed fairly often, to judge from surviving copies, and which date from the period 1641–1700 as well as the period up to 1640 surveyed by Dr Watt. If the bench-mark of five editions in thirty years is used, this throws up seven titles covering ostensibly ‘religious’ topics, but given the flimsy nature of the originals this is too demanding a yardstick. So the seven will be topped up here in two ways: first, by waiving the thirty-year restriction for titles published five times or more, and adding ballads on ‘religious’ topics which can be shown to have been published three or four times in the early modern period, which produces another twenty-six ballads (or thirty-three in all); and secondly, by looking at ballads which do not survive in more than one or two editions but also have some claim to being regarded as ‘religious’, in that words such as ‘God’ or ‘godly’, ‘providence’, ‘Christ’ or ‘Christian’, ‘Satan’, ‘sin’, ‘conscience’, ‘repent’, or ‘death’ appear in their title or first verse. If we look at three collections—the fine collection of early ballads in the Huntington Library in California, those sections of the collection begun by John Selden in the early seventeenth century and completed by Samuel Pepys in the later seventeenth century which were referred to as ‘Devotion and Morality’, and the later seventeenth-century Euing Collection in Glasgow University Library—we come up with sixty-five works. The findings from the larger

20 Ibid., ch. 3.
21 These are The story of David and Berseba, The Dutchesse of Suffolks calamity (by Thomas Deloney), Anne Askew, The deadmans song, St. Bernard’s vision, Catholick ballad (by Walter Pope), and A wonderful example of Gods justice. For bibliographical details of these works see below, Appendix 1.
22 These additional titles will be discussed in the next paragraph, where bibliographical details will also be found. There is inevitably much overlap in the core sample with Dr Watt’s examples of long-lived copyrights.
23 These are listed below in nn. 31–6, and described in more detail in subsequent paragraphs. In the case of the Selden-Pepys collection, a number of moralistic ballads without overt ‘religious’ content have been omitted, namely, Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge. II Ballads, comp. by H. Weinstein (Cambridge, 1992–4), hereafter Pepys Ballads, i. 34, 46–7; ii. 7, 11, 19, 26, 32, 39, 56, 59–60, 66–7, 72–3, 75–7, 83, 86–94; on the other hand, items of a possibly ‘religious’ nature
sample of sixty-five are largely the same as for the smaller, with some minor but interesting differences in emphasis, chronology, and overall balance.

The first thing we note about both samples is how few date from the heyday of the ‘godly ballad’ in the mid-sixteenth century. The first two to appear in the core sample of thirty-three regularly reprinted items are *The ballad of constant Susanna*, which was entered in 1562–3, and *David and Berseba* (or *Bersheba*) perhaps licensed about 1570, while *A bellman for England* was composed before 1580, but not entered until 1586. The next group date from the late 1580s: *The sage sayinges, and wise sentences of Salomon*, *A rare example of a vertuous maid in Paris*, *Resurrection of Christ*, *Doctor Faustus*, and *An hundred godly lessons.* After a sprinkling in the next twenty years (*Duchesse of Suffolks calamity*, *Christ's teares over Jerusalem*, and *A most notable example of an ungracious sonne*), there is another clutch of eight titles first entered or published in the 1620s and 1630s (*Anne Askew*, *The deadmans song*, *The clerk of Bodnam*, *Dozen of pointes*, *The dying tears of a penitent sinner*, *The angel Gabriel*, *A pleasant ballad of Tobias*, and *St Bernard’s vision*), and another eight in the 1650s or thereabouts (*A looking-glasse for a Christian family*, *Thomas Hill’s The doleful dance, and song of death*, *The lamenting ladies last farewell*, *A wonderful prophesie declared by Christine James*, *Save a thief from the gallows*, *The Norfolk gentleman*, *A most excellent ballad of an old man and his wife*, and *The lamentable fall of Queen Elenor*). This leaves five that appeared first in the 1670s (*The Catholick ballad*, *A friends advice by I.V.*, *A lesson for all true Christians by J.C.*, *A wonderful example of God’s justice*, and *The godly maid of Leicester*) and one in the mid–1680s (*Sinners redemption*). Thus the great majority of our control sample of thirty-three are products not of the period when committed authors were prepared to put their names to their compositions, but of a later phase dominated by commercially minded authors who for the most part preferred to remain anonymous.

A similar conclusion is reached when we look at the larger sample of

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1. STC 23435a.5–36; Appendix 1 s.v. David; STC 18485, and cf. Watt, *Cheap Print*, 337 (no. 39), and see below, n. 38.
2. STC 22900–1; Watt, *Cheap Print*, 334 (no. 12), and Wing R279A–79C; STC 14555.3 and Wing M2891–92A; Watt, *Cheap Print*, 335 (no. 17), and Wing J1177A–80; Wing H276–26A and Watt, *Cheap Print*, 335 (no. 18).
3. STC 6557.8 and Wing D938A–96A; STC 14543 and Wing C969A–B; STC 3011.10–10.5 and Wing M 2999A–11.
4. See Appendix 1 s.v. Askew; and Deadmans; STC 3194.5 and Wing V276–7; Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 336 (no. 94), and Wing G937A–C; Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 337 (no. 44), and Wing D2957A–58; Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 336 (no. 45), and Wing A31628–63; STC 24.94, and Wing P255A–56; and Appendix 1 s.v. Bernard.
5. Wing L3911A–12A; H2013A–14; L294–96A; J144–148; S772A–E; N1236A–7A; M2878A–79; and L271A–B and s.v. W935A–33C.
6. See Appendix 1 s.v. Pope; and Wonderful; Wing V314A–16; C538B–50; and S886–66B.
7. For some exceptions, see Deloney and Pope (in Appendix 1 below), and I. V. (below, p. 461).
sixty-five. Only six date from the period c.1550–70, and of these five give the author’s name.

35 By contrast we know the name of only one author of the next fourteen items: two from the late 1570s, an isolated entry from 1607, and eleven from the 1620s; and that one author—Martin Parker—is a scribbler rather than a zealot.36 Compared to the control sample, there are relatively few examples in the larger group from the 1630s to the 1650s (seven),37 and the 1660s to 1670s (nine),38 but the total rises to a late peak of twenty-two for works almost certainly published in the 1680s and 1690s. Moreover, all of these from the 1630s to the 1690s are anonymous.39 There is a rump of seven items with no date or of uncertain date.40

39 T. Knell, An ABC to the Christen congregation [1550?] (STC 15029); anon., Even in the twinkleing of an eye (entered 1561–2, extant copy [1578–80] Wing E3325); R. Burdet, The refug[ue] of a sinner [1565] (STC 4104); W. Birch, AwarningtoEngland [1565] (3980); T. Preston, A lamentation from Rome (1579) (20289); and J. Phillips, As cold ycle [the popish] (1570?) (1986).40

35 [H. Nichols], All the letters of the A.B.C. (1575) (STC 18508); anon., When Jesus Christ was twelve years old (entered 1578) (26227); anon., Calebbe Shillocke, his prophesie (1607) (24644); anon., The hisotrie of the prophet Jonas (c.1620) (1476); anon., The lamenting lady (c.1620) (15120); anon., A prophesie of the judgement day (c.1620) (20440); M. Parker, A scourge for the Pope (1624) (19268); and Parker’s career, see above, n. 17; anon., A comfortable new ballad [1625?] (1328); anon., Deaths dance (c.1625) (6444); anon., A most famous and excellent ditty of Sampson (c.1625) (21688); anon., A New-yeeres-gift forthe Pope [sic] (c.1625) (20112); anon., A right godly and Christian A.B.C. (c.1625) (22); anon., The wofull lamentation of Edward Smith (c.1625) (22654); and anon., An excellent song [Aim not too high] (late 1620s) (22918).41

36 anon., Good admonition [c.1630] (STC 1595); anon., The judgement of Salomon (c.1630) (2380); anon., The complaint of a sinner (c.1635) (5608); anon., The worlds wonder [1641–61] (Wing W35993), re-issued later as The Kentish miracle [1684] (K327); anon., An excellent new ballad of the birth and passion (1658) (E3804); anon., A good warning for all maidens (1658–64) (G10828); and anon., A looking-glass for all true Christians (1658–64) (I30164).42

37 anon., A new ballad . . . the excellent parable of the prodigal child (1663–74) (Wing W5598); anon., A most excellent ballad of Joseph (1663–74) (29880); anon., Hubert’s ghost (1663–74) (H23448); anon., The sorrowful lamentation of a penitent sinner (1663–74) (8474); anon., A warning for all worldlings (1663–74) (W918); anon., A godly ballad of the just man Job (1655–58) (G393); anon., The contented pilgrim (1672–85) (C5953); anon., The dying mans good counsel (1674–9) (D2955); and anon., The pensive prisoners apology (1674–9) (P4136).43

38 anon., A looking-glass for all true Protestants [c.1680] (Pepy’s Ballads ii. 68); anon., A caveat for young-men (1680–2) (C1614); anon., Death triumphant (1681–4) (D501); anon., The punishment of the world (1683–700) (P41212A); anon., The traveler’s repentance (1683–700) (T20538); anon., Truth in mourning (1683–700) (T31548); anon., Strange and true news from Westminster (1684–6) (S83); anon., An antidote of rare physick (1685) (A5497); anon., Death’s uncontrollable summons (1685) (D503); anon., The dying Christians friendly advice (1685–8) (D2950); anon., A prospective-glass for Christians (1685–92) (P3812); anon., The religious mans exhortation (1685–8) (R908); anon., A solntyale song (1685–8) (S4464); anon., A true sense of sorrow (1685–8) (T9098); anon., The young-mans repentance (1685–8) (Y124); anon., The worldlings farewell advice [c.1686] (Peys Ballads, ii. 65); anon., The English-mans advice [c.1689?] (Peys Ballads, ii. 14); anon., The bountifull knight of Sommersetshire [c.1690] (B3922); anon., The Protestants prayer [c.1690] (P3852A); anon., The true Protestants contemplation (c.1690) (T2865); and The happy damsel (1693) (H665).44

40 anon., The Bedfordshire prophesie (Pepy’s Ballads, ii. 69); anon., The Essex miracle (ibid., ii. 79); anon., A godly song for all penitent sinners (ibid., ii. 90); anon., The good Christians admonition (ibid., ii. 35); anon., A looking-glass for all impetent sinners (ibid., ii. 71); anon., The Maidstone miracle (ibid., ii. 78); and anon., The wicked mans warning peice (ibid., ii. 23).
iv. Bible Stories in Ballads

The second feature of both samples is the dearth of solidly Protestant teaching in virtually all of these works. If we take our control sample of thirty-three and look at those ballads based on scripture stories, which were among the first in it to appear, we find that ‘Susanna’ was presented as a model of someone who was well brought up by parents who were ‘godly folk’ and that she ‘feared God’, but, as Dr Watt has suggested its real appeal may have been the titillation represented by the ‘object of fantasy’ of the fair Susanna being ogled and propositioned by the lecherous elders. Similarly, in *The story of David and Bersheba*, the reader is not even told what the penalty is for the adultery and murder therein described, and in *A pleasant ballad of Tobias* there is a strong emphasis on the magical rather than the divine aspects of his tale. In *The sage sayings, and wise sentences of Salomon* (‘a most excellent new dittie’, to be sung to the tune of ‘Wigmore’s Galliard’), the author used an authentic Old Testament source to teach each ‘estate’ his ‘duty’ and offer them ‘singular counsel’ for their comfort and consolation. But the result is moralistic and conservative, contains nothing distinctively Protestant in doctrine, and at both the start and the end assures the reader that by observing all these precepts ‘So shalt thou live in perfect peace, And God will bless thee with increase’.

*The Angell Gabriell, his salutation to the blessed Virgin Mary*, entered in 1639, is based very loosely on Luke 1: 27–35, with the order of the verses changed, and a little bit of Matthew 1: 18–20 thrown in for good measure. Its anonymous author also included echoes of the Ave Maria—‘Hail blessed Mary full of grace’, and referred to Mary as ‘mother, wife, and virgin pure’, though he did stop short of suggesting she should be the object of adoration or intercession. The description of Christ’s birth, life, and death in *Sinners redemption* was perhaps produced for the Christmas market as an alternative to a carol: ‘The five and twentieth of December | Good cause have we to remember, | In Bethelem [sic] upon this morn | There was our blest Messias born’. The references to Christ’s birth being by ‘heaven’s decree, | Man’s sweet salvation for to be’ and to his dying ‘To have poor sinners justified’ and ransom them from ‘cruel Death’ does exhibit a degree more familiarity with official teaching than most of the authors being considered here, but the rest of the ballad is a narrative in predictable phrases, and the ending is limp and indistinguishable from a Catholic approach: ‘Thus have you seen and heard aright | The love of Christ the lord of might, | And how he shed his precious blood | Only to do us sinners good’.

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* Pepys Ballads, i. 33; Watt, *Cheap Print*, 119.
* Ibid., 561; this was sometimes published with *Solomons sacrifice*, e.g. *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 64.
* *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 30; *Euing Collection*, 194.
* Euing Collection, 552; *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 29.
of Jerusalem, but it was probably the application of Christ’s warning to England, the reference to the recent Armada and plagues, and the warnings of future punishments that caught the attention of many readers.\(^{42}\)

The one ballad that stands out from these scripturally based verses in the core sample is one of the earliest: *A most godly and comfortable ballad of the glorious resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ*, which was entered in early March 1588 (for the Easter market?), but survives only in three editions from the second half of the seventeenth century. The author may have been a minister in that he refers to ‘our preaching’, and catches the reader’s attention at the outset by asking ‘What faithless froward sinful man, | so far from grace is fled, | That doth not in his heart believe, | the rising of the dead’, and expects to be among those who will rise again. The rest contains a detailed and sometimes touching account of events in Gesthemane, and at the end the author states that the risen Christ is in heaven preparing ‘a place for those | whom he shall raise likewise, | To live with him in heavenly bliss | above the lofty skies’. There is no application or exhortation at this point, nor any attempt to encapsulate Christ’s teachings, but on the other hand at least there is no simple equation of virtue and salvation.\(^{43}\)

Turning to scripture stories in our larger sample of sixty-five, we find eight ballads which consisted of fairly straightforward paraphrases of passages of the scriptures or elaborations of Bible stories, including *The historie of the prophet Jonas* \(^{[c.1620]}\), *A most excellent and famous ditty of Sampson* \(^{[c.1625]}\), *The judgement of Salomon* \(^{[c.1630]}\), *A godly ballad of the just man Job* \(^{[1655–8]}\), *A most excellent ballad of Joseph the carpenter, and the sacred virgin Mary* \(^{[1663–74]}\), and *The excellent parable of the prodigal child* \(^{[1663–74]}\). Like those in the smaller sample already considered, these were evidently Christian without being manifestly Protestant.\(^{44}\) The ballad on Sampson focuses on his marital problems, his slaying a lion, propounding a riddle, being seduced by Delilah, and then being ‘brained’, while the wider message to the readers of the ballad on the prodigal son was that if they showed true repentance God would pity their case and (then) receive them into grace.\(^{45}\) Similarly, the author of *When Jesus Christ was twelve years old* (entered in 1578) focused on Christ’s miracles rather than his ‘heavenly doctrine’, which receives only a passing mention.\(^{46}\) *An excellent new ballad of the birth and passion of our Saviour Christ*, published about 1658, stands a little out from the pack. The theme is the life of Christ, who is described as a king, a prophet, and priest, and as both God and man—two regular features of contemporary explanations of the Creed in catechisms and treatises; the

\(^{42}\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii, 6. Other ballads and chapbooks comparing the fate of Jerusalem with that of England or specifically London were not uncommon; see e.g. Watt, *Cheap Print*, 97–9.

\(^{43}\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 20–1; *Euing Collection*, 361–2.

\(^{44}\) *Pepys Ballads*, i. 28–9, 32, 30–1; ii. 62, 27, 84–5.  

\(^{45}\) Ibid., i. 32; ii. 84–5.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., i. 58.
author also eschews the usual metrical form, turns his account into a medita-
tion, and harks back to an older tradition in adding a refrain to each verse:

See him in the Garden praying, whil'st his sad disciples slept;
See him in the Garden sweating, drops of blood and how he wept:
As man he was He wept alas and trembling feared to lose his breath:
Yet to heaven's will he yielded still; then think upon his precious death.

Even with this higher level of sophistication, however, there is little or noth-
ing in this ballad that might not have been found in a verse by a contempo-
rary Catholic poet such as Southwell or Crashaw.47

The dearth of clearly Protestant teaching in the scripture stories in both
samples is symptomatic of another striking trait: the looseness of the way in
which the text of the Bible was handled in these scripturally based ballads.
Zealous clergy and laity had such a high regard for the sacred text that they
were most unlikely to have bent it or added to it to a significant degree. As we
shall see in Chapter 9, the metrical psalms in ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were
designed to wean people away from ‘lascivious, wanton, and unclean ballads’
to ‘such godly and virtuous songs as David teacheth them’, and while many
would come to criticize the quality of the verse and the accuracy of the trans-
lution of specific words or phrases, there were relatively few complaints about
their authors having taken great liberties with the original text.48 By compari-
son, let us look at the way in which the author of David and Bersheba (in our
core sample) handled the first five verses of 2 Samuel, chapter 11, in the
Geneva translation.

2 Samuel 11
v. 1 . . . But David remained at Jerusalem

v. 2 And when it was evening tide, David arose
out of his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king’s palace,

and from the roof he saw a woman washing
herself; and the woman was very beautiful to
look upon.

47 Pepys Ballads, ii. 28; Euing Collection, 119–20; for Southwell, see above, Ch. 7.iii.
48 See below, Ch. 9.i,vi, and vii.
all naked for to wash her there;
Her body like a lily flower
was covered with her golden hair.
The king was wounded with her love,
and what she was he did require;
He could not his affections move;
he had her in such great desire.

v. 3 And David sent and inquired what woman it was. And one said, Is not this Bethsheba, the daughter of Eliam, wife to Uriah the Hittite? She is Uriah’s wife, quoth they, a captain of your princely train, That in your wars is now away, and she alone doth all remain.

v. 4 Then David sent messengers, and took her away;
and she came in unto him and he lay with her (now she was purified from her uncleanness); and she returned unto her house.

And Bersheba, the lady fair,
the servants they do soon prepare
to do the message of the king;
And Bersheba, the lady fair,
unto the court did quickly bring.
The king rejoicéd at her sight,
and won her love and laid her by.

They spent the night in fond delight,
until the sun was risen high.
The king his leave most fondly took,
till that three months were gone and past,
And then again he did return
with wondrous speed and haste.

A great deal has been added or altered in the ballad. In the original David walks on the rooftop in the cool of the evening, whereas in the ballad David takes the air ‘all in the pleasant month of May’. While Bathsheba seems to have been performing some ritual purification discreetly in the original, in the ballad she stands ‘in a pleasant bower’, ‘all naked’, her lily-like body ‘covered with golden hair’, her beauty ‘brighter than the morning sun’. Two stanzas of

49 I have used Euing Collection, 113 for the ballad; I compared the Great, Bishops’ and Geneva texts of 2 Samuel 11–12 to try to find the original of the ballad, without coming to a firm conclusion: Geneva has Uriah where Great and Bishops’ have Urias, and Geneva’s ‘Bethsheba’ is perhaps nearer the ‘Bersheba’ of the ballad than the ‘Bethsabe’ of the Great and Bishops’, but the last two use ‘sheep’ in ch. 12 v. 3, where Geneva used ‘ewe lamb’.

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the ballad are then devoted to the king’s emotions which are totally without foundation in the original: he is ‘incontinent’, ‘wounded’, his heart is ‘slain’ by ‘great grief’ at seeing this ‘princess of beauty’, whose heart he wins. The adulterous couple do not simply sleep together but ‘spend the night in fond delight’ until well past dawn, and then it is David who contacts Bathsheba after a three-month period not specified in the original, whereas in the Old Testament text it is Bathsheba who sends to David. In the remaining ten stanzas of the ballad, there are again occasional words or phrases lifted from the Bible, such as Uriah’s mention of the Ark and the prophet Nathan’s ‘Thou art the man’, but the great majority of the ballad is a very loose paraphrase or elaboration of the original, and actually stops short of detailing the penalties the adulterous king had to endure: ‘God did greatly plague his sin, | as in the Bible you may read’. Instead, a moralistic warning against the ‘scourge’ of sins like adultery and murder is entered, and the last couplet hopes ‘that we may warned be, | such crying sins to shun and fly’. Like the story of Susannah, what we have here is a few verses of the Bible turned into a prurient story, with many of the hallmarks of a secular ballad, including phrases like ‘all in the pleasant month of May’, ‘her body like a lily flower’, and ‘they spent the night in fond delight’, and a weak moralistic conclusion which says nothing of Christ or the Holy Ghost or grace, but implies that readers have it in their own power to flee sin. This ballad is not only not the work of a ‘godly’ author; it is also written by someone who holds the verba ipsissima of the Bible in low regard.

v. Anti-Catholicism in Ballads

Of the ballads in our core sample of thirty-three, a few describe Protestant martyrs or heroines, but all fall into the category of reducing their subjects to ‘generic victims of popery’, to use Watt’s phrase. The extent of the commitment of the unnamed ‘virtuous maid of Paris’ who is burnt for refusing to become a Catholic is to reject the mass as a ‘filthy idol’, request her copy of the Bible ‘wherein I most delight’, urge her parents to embrace ‘God’s true religion’, and hope ‘through Christ her saviour, | To have immortal fame’. The most rare and excellent history of the Dutchess of Sufolks calamity was supposed to recount the troubles of another staunch Protestant in the reign of Queen Mary, but after an initial reference to the Marian persecution under Bishop Bonner the story is shorn of virtually all of its Protestant content and motivation; while the ballad on a real and well-informed martyr, Anne Askew, is a travesty of the original story which, as Watt rightly says, reduces the central figure to a cardboard cut-out. The satirical anti-Catholic ballad entitled The

50 Watt, Cheap Print, 94; Pepys Ballads, ii. 25; Euing Collection, 477.
51 Euing Collection, 369–70; Watt, Cheap Print, 90–4; Pepys Ballads, ii. 24, and Euing Collection, 4.
Catholick ballad (also in the core sample) was brought out during a new burst of anti-Catholic feeling in the mid-1670s, and its purpose was rammed home by the instruction that it should be sung ‘to the tune of 88’ (i.e. 1588). It contains a travesty of Catholic teaching rather than anything specific on the nature or rationale of Protestant teaching.52

Similarly, the only ballads in the larger sample that one can call ‘Protestant’ with a degree of confidence either are very early works, dating from the reign of Edward VI and the opening years of Elizabeth’s reign, or fall into the special category of anti-Catholic polemics. Examples of the former in which attempts were made to put across Protestant teaching at full strength include An ABC to the christen congregacion Or a patheway to the heavenly habitacion [1550?] by Thomas Knell (though this can hardly be called a ballad since the individual lines, though in rhyme, are of very uneven length, and no tune is indicated). Every letter of the alphabet is accompanied by scripture references in the margin; under the letter F, Knell is firm that ‘Faith that worketh, and is lively’ and ‘Fastened on God. . . Fashioneth a man to be heavenly’; while under the letter O he warns ‘Observe Christ’s doctrine in scripture plainly declared’ and ‘Omit the pope with all his ceremonial observation’ or you will deserve the pains prepared for devils.53

The refuge of a sinner wherein are briefly declared the chiefest pointes of true salvation, by Robert Burdet, esquire, published on 14 April 1565, combined vigorous attacks on the inadequacy of the mass, pilgrimages, ringing of bells, and priestly pardons with clear statements of the insufficiency of his own works and his need for grace. ‘The merits of my works, were they never so just, | I here forsake, and them resign, to such as in them trust’; ‘Shall I then plead my works? Thou knowest them bett [sic] than I, | Forget them Lord, I claim them not, for mercy do I cry’; and ‘In sin I walked, in sin I sucked, in sin I did begin. | And have I not thy grace, to sin again I shall’.54

William Birch’s A warning to England, let London begin To repent their iniquitie and flie from their sin [1565] was less obviously anti-Catholic but bemoaned the fact the sermons of the ‘earnest preachers’ sent by the Lord were ignored: ‘It is but pearls before swine, for we are worse and worse.’ Birch was clearly aware of the risk that anyone who condemned drunkenness, swearing, or blasphemy in the 1560s was likely to be labelled a ‘precisian’ or an ‘unspotted brother’ who was ‘too holy for our company’. But he nevertheless urged Londoners to ‘Bring forth the fruits of the Gospel, I mean a godly life’, and prayed to God that the Queen and her council would ‘maintain his glorious Gospel both night and day’.55

After the 1560s these three works do not seem to surface again and, with the exception of overtly polemical works, the only ballads which sold well thereafter were those which had no distinctively ‘godly’ or Protestant features about

52 Ewing Collection, 33–4. 53 Huntington Library, Ri18310; and cf. STC 2 15029.
54 Huntington Library, Ri18276; STC 2 4104. 55 Huntington Library, Ri18269; STC 2 3080.
them. Even the anti-Catholic polemics were not a constant feature of the ballad scene, but nearly all seem to date from periods of heightened fear of Catholicism, and are much better at attacking ‘popish’ errors than stating Protestant truths. This was the case with Thomas Preston’s *A lamentation from Rome* (1570), John Phillips’s *A cold pye for the papistes* [1570?], Martin Parker’s *A scourge for the Pope* [1624], and the anonymous *A New-yeeres-gift forthe Pope* [sic] [c.1625]. It was also true of ballads dating from the 1680s: *A looking-glass for all true Protestants* [c.1680?], *Englands deliverance* [c.1688], *The English-mans advice* [c.1689?], *The Protestants prayer* [c.1690], and *The true Protestants contemplation* [c.1690]. In short, in both samples there is a dearth of solidly and consistently Protestant teaching after the 1560s.

vi. The Condemnation of Sin in Ballads

Next, we may consider those works in our two samples whose authors were all concerned to condemn the sinfulness of the time, though in rather different ways. In the core sample, the earliest example is *A new ballad intituled, A bellman for England* which was apparently written before 1580, entered in 1586, but survives only in one edition of c.1620 before it was given a new title, *England’s new bellman*, and published at least four times between the 1650s and the 1690s. The surviving copies have a woodcut of a watchman on his nightly rounds, complete with lantern and handbell, and the bellman issues the stirring call: ‘Awake, awake, Oh England, | Sweet England now awake, | And to thy prayers speedily , | do thou thyself betake’. In the following verses are described the imminence of the Day of Judgement, the convulsions of the earth, the ‘glorious holy angels’ sounding their trumpets, the dead arising, and the division of those who ‘have done justly’ (who will ‘wear the crown of life’) from the wicked (who will be sent to endless pain in hell), and the urgency of the need to pray God to spare the merited punishment, each verse ending with the refrain: ‘Repent therefore O England, the day it draweth near.’ It has been suggested that this is representative not simply of those ballads in which the English as a nation were lambasted for their sins and urged to repent, but of those which combined this with the belief (common among many Protestants when the struggle against Rome was at its fiercest) that the end of the world was imminent. It must be said, however, that the author of the ballad under consideration here did not stick closely to the text of either Daniel or Revelation, and his treatment of the end of the world was so gen-

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56 Huntington Library, R[8330], 18329; *Pepys Ballads*, i. 60–1, 62; ii. 68, 65, 14, 70, 82. It is not being suggested that anti-Catholicism at popular level declined: the reverse was clearly the case; but it was arguably spread more by other mechanisms than by ‘godly ballads’: C. Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Manchester, 1993); ch. 2; E. R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (1968), 13–22; and D. G. Paz, *Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, 1992), passim.

57 See above, n. 19, *Pepys Ballads*, i. 54, and ii. 61.
eral that the same text could be reissued in the mid-seventeenth century with a new title suggesting that the imminence of the divine judgement was ‘prognosticated by the great eclipse of the sun, March 29th 1652, the strange effects to continue, 1654, 1655, 1656, to the amazement of the whole world’.58

The author of A looking-glass for a Christian family, which passed through three editions from about the 1640s to the early 1680s, also adopted the cry ‘O England, England, whither wilt thou hie? | Thy sins to God for vengeance they do cry’, and condemned the lack of filial respect, pride, greed, swearing, gluttony, and hard-heartedness of the current generation, before assuring anyone that was charitably inclined that ‘he that relieves the widow and fatherless | At the year’s end will never have the less: | What thou dost give unto the blind or lame, | The Lord he will restore to thee again.’59 A letter for a Christian family. Directed to all true Christians to read also contains a catalogue of the sins of the nation—quarrelsomeness, cursing, pride, lack of charity, hypocrisy, covetousness, and so on—and urges readers to pay attention to the preachers’ warnings to repent, and to send ‘prayers and tears’ to God while there is still time to do so. This work is said to be by I. V., who is equated by Wing with John Vicars, described in DNB as a presbyterian schoolmaster, a ‘poetaster’, and an anti-Catholic polemicist. The references to the ‘many messengers the Lord hath sent’, to people hearing ‘sermons on sermons’ daily, and to incidents in the Bible may indicate a ‘godly’ background. But the only surviving copies date from the mid-1670s and the 1680s, by which time Vicars was long since dead, and the inclusion of a last verse urging God to ‘grant our king and queen a prosperous reign’ must either date the original creation to the reign of James I or Charles I, or indicate an addition by the later Stuart publisher. The possibility that the latter was the case is increased by the short verse inserted at the top of the broadsheet in which the reader was urged to ‘Call to the Lord above for grace, | Then he will surely thee defend, | And thou shalt make a happy end’—a simple cause-and-effect formula that a well-informed presbyterian would have denounced as ‘Arminian’.60

Ballads condemning the sins of the age and calling for immediate repentance comprised nearly a dozen of the larger sample of titles—a much larger proportion than in the control sample. With the occasional exception such as Even in the twinkling of an eye (an early work entered in 1561–2), in which the description of Judgement Day was presented in the form of a dream or vision as the author ‘lay musing all alone’ (Bunyan scholars please note), these calls to repent usually took the form of alarums aimed at the public at large. They also mostly date from the period c.1650–c.1690, as in A looking-glasse for all true Christians [1658-64], A warning for all worldlings to learn to dye [1663–74], The contented pilgrim [1672–85], A prospective-glass for Christians to behold the reigning sins of

58 As last note, and Watt, Cheap Print, 97.  59 Pepys Ballads, ii. 34.
60 Ibid., ii. 33; Wing V314A–16; and DNB s.v. Vicars.
this age [1685–92], *A solitary song* [1685–8], *A looking-glass for all impenitent sinners* [n.d.], and *The wicked mans warning-peice* [n.d.], though a few were targeted at particular groups, such as young men (*A caveat for young-men* [1680–2]), those already repentant (*A godly song for all penitent sinners* [n.d.]), or those near death (*The worldlings farewell* [1686–8]).\(^\text{61}\) Most of the authors of these works drew a link not between faith and salvation but between pleasing God (by obedience to his wishes) and being saved, or they suggested that it was up to man to call for grace or to turn to God by repentance. In *The contented pilgrim*, the text reads: ‘Let’s keep the Lord’s commandments | then our souls they will be blest’; and in *A looking-glass for all true Christians*, it was suggested that all that was needed was for man to turn to God and pray for forgiveness, ‘And then no doubt but he will have respect, | To pardon us our great and heinous fact.’\(^\text{62}\) Only the author of a *Warning for all wordlings* showed a slightly firmer grasp of the doctrine of grace when he warned his readers not to deny God’s grace by deferring repentance, for at a later stage God might withhold his grace.\(^\text{63}\) The apparent dearth of reprints of these works may have been due to their authors’ decision not to tie the call to repentance to the crying sins of a particular person or city.

We may also notice that there was little or no attempt to link the possible proximity of Judgement Day to a prophecy of the imminent end of the world. The nearest we get to this in the control sample is a work based not on the scriptures but on *Calebbe Shillocke, his prophesie* [1607]; the other two ‘prophetic’ works in that sample—*A prophesie of the judgement day* [1620?] (a series of prophecies for the 1620s said to have been ‘found in Saint Denis church in France, and wrapped in lead in the form of an heart’), and *The Bedfordshire prophesie* (which recorded the ‘vision’ of a Norwich man in 1690)—contained predictions of only a very general or a political kind.\(^\text{64}\)

vii. Divine Intervention in Ballads

This leaves us with three other groups in our two samples: on divine intervention, godly aphorisms, and deathbed scenes. There is a slight difference between the samples here in that in the core sample the ballads describe the judgement of God on malefactors of different kinds in graphic detail where this involved physical pain, whereas in the larger sample, though there is some material of this kind, the content is on balance more akin to the ‘strange and wonderful news’ tradition encountered in Chapter 7. The ballads in the

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\(^{61}\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 27, 47; *Euing Collection*, 627; *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 45, 58, 49, 71, 23, 36, 59, 15.

\(^{62}\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 45; *Euing Collection*, 627; and cf. *Soluntary song*, verse 8, and *Wicked mans warning-peice*, last verse.

\(^{63}\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 45; there are some signs of greater knowledge in *A godly song for all penitent sinners* too.

\(^{64}\) *Pepys Ballads*, i. 39, 36–7; ii. 69.
smaller sample were about infamous characters from other countries or other
times, like the German, Dr John Faustus, who was damned for ‘conjuring’,
and Queen Eleanor, the Spanish wife of Edward I, who was said to have been
punished by God for her pride and other, more serious sins. Others were
native-born villains: George Sanders, of Hertfordshire, who killed his uncle
and then accused his father of the deed, but just before the father’s execution
was persuaded by ‘a world of torments’ put into his heart by God to confess
the crime; and Jasper Cunningham, a Scottish gentleman who denied the
existence of God and was hideously tormented as a result. Yet others were
anonymous stereotypes: the ungracious son who denied help to the father
who had regularly lavished money on him, and found that to punish him God
had turned the meat in his pie ‘into loathsome toads’; the hard-hearted son
who refused to help his parents and upon whom divine vengeance took the
form of his own murder followed by that of two of his sons; and the wicked
uncle who, for murdering the nephew and niece entrusted to his care, experi-
enced ‘the heavy wrath of God’ in various unpleasant ways.

In nearly all these cases, there is not much sense of the pseudo-Manichaean
contest between the forces of good and evil that Professor Lake has found in
some murder pamphlets of the period: the ‘religious’ content of the ballads
was usually limited to a reference to the providential nature of divine inter-
vention (as in medieval exempla) and a warning to readers to avoid the like
offences, lest they too should feel the sharp edge of God’s anger. Indeed, apart
from some details of the heinous beliefs of Faustus and Cunningham, the only
text that showed an awareness of Christian teaching beyond the most basic
was the ‘repentance’ that George Sanders was supposed to have written in
prison. This consisted of twelve verses and the author worked hard to intro-
duce a different character from the Bible in each new line: ‘Mongst lions fell
in DANIEL’s den am I, | In lowest prison cast with JEREMY, | Fed with
ELIAS by the ravens fell, | And plac’d with JUDAS in the maw of hell’. The
quality of the theology was no better than that of the verse.

The ballads in our larger sample which were closer to the ‘Strange and
wonderful news’ category of work date mainly from the period after 1640.
These retailed examples of miraculous divine intervention, though in some
the ‘wonder’ was attributed at least in part to the prayers or the virtue of the
beneficiary. The worlds wonder. Or, a strange and miraculous work of Gods providence
[1641–61] was about a poor widow and her seven children in the Weald of
Kent who, as a result of her prayers to God, were sustained for over seven
weeks by a burnt loaf and a little water. This was reissued later as The Kentish

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65 Euing Collection, 226–7 (and for the chapbook version see below, Appendix i); and 292–3.
66 Ibid., 528–9 (Save a thief from the gallows); 666–7 (A wonderful example of God’s justice).
67 Ibid., 363–4 (Most notable example of an ungracious son); 354–5 (Most excellent ballad of an old man and
his wife); and 413–14 (Norfolk gentlemen his last will and testament).
69 Ibid., 670–1.
miracle \([c.1684]\) and matched by similarly supernatural happenings in *The Essex miracle* \([\text{n.d.}]\) (a poor man saved from ruin by his prayers to God and a providentially large crop of fruit on his trees) and *The Maidstone miracle* \([\text{n.d.}]\) (a bumper crop for a charitable farmer).\(^70\) These can also be linked with *A true sense of sorrow* \([1685–8]\) in which a poor Yorkshire-man begged for bread for his children by asking for help ‘for Christ his sake’. This seems to have been the sum total of his faith, but he was helped by a mysterious man in black, and the moral drawn from the story was that ‘The Lord will always stand his friend | If that you in him trust’.\(^71\) The miraculous curing of the lame woman in London in 1693, told in *The happy damsel*, was also attributed to ‘the hand of divine providence’ and to her making ‘moan’ to God that if she had lived in the days of wonders recounted in the Bible, she would have never have ceased praising him (what the ‘godly’ would almost certainly have dismissed as ‘the faith of miracles’ as opposed to a true, lively faith). Readers of this account were also told that ‘it is through unbelief, | that miracles so long have ceas’d’, and that ‘were we faithfully inclin’d, | strange wonders daily would appear’ and ease our load.\(^72\)

In other cases, however, providential intervention was the result not of rewarding virtue, but of punishing vice, as we saw in the core sample of ballads. In *A good warning for all maidens, by the example of Gods judgment shew’d upon one Jermaens wife* \([1658–64]\), a woman who broke her word to marry one man and married another, thus precipitating the suicide of the first, was carried away one night and never seen again; while *Strange and true news from Westmoreland* \([1684–6]\) recounted Gabriel Harding’s brutal murder of his wife, the appearance of Satan and an angel dressed in green, and Harding’s own sudden death at the hands of Satan.\(^73\) To these might be added *The lamenting lady of c.1620*, a strange tale (probably taken from Coryatt’s crudities, published in 1611) of a lady of Leiden who for being unkind to a poor woman was punished ‘by the hand of God’ by being sent 365 children at one birth; and *The punish’d atheist* \([1683–1700]\) — a cautionary tale like that of Jasper Cunningham, in this case about a ‘north country gentleman’ who tried to seduce his sister, denied the existence of Judgement Day and hellfire (invented to ‘keep poor silly souls in awe’), and was immediately burnt to a crisp by an angry God.\(^74\) Again there is not much sign in these last few ballads of a pseudo-Manichaean contest between God and Satan, but the larger group of ballads does contain a couple of moderately well-informed statements of contrition by convicted criminals which may reflect some coaching from visiting clergy: *The wofull lamentation of Edward Smith* \((1624)\), ‘a poor penitent prisoner in the jail of Bedford’; and *The pensive prisoners apology* \([1674–9]\).\(^75\)

\(^{70}\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 54, 79, 78. \(^{71}\) Ibid., ii. 543. \(^{72}\) Ibid., ii. 81. \(^{73}\) Ibid., ii. 59; ii. 80. \(^{74}\) Ibid., i. 59; ii. 80.
viii. *Moral instruction in ballads*

The corollary of avoiding evil was trying to do good, which brings us to the ballads in both samples consisting of lists of improving aphorisms. In the core sample of more regularly reprinted works, we find the *Hundred godly lessons* bequeathed by a dying mother to her children; the *Godly new ballad, intituled, A dozen of points*; and J.C.’s *A lesson for all true Christians*—an example of the ABC genre in which each successive verse began with the next letter of the alphabet.\(^76\) Their simple moralism and equation of doing good with gaining rewards both here and hereafter amply confirm Dr Watt’s verdict that there was little that was specifically Protestant about many of these works, and Dr Ingram’s suggestion that what many people thought of as ‘religion’ consisted of right living and good-neighbourliness.\(^77\) The author of the first of these did urge children to ‘hear sermons’ and ‘In God’s commandments exercise | thyself’ both day and night’, but somewhat spoils the effect by saying that ‘God will. . . deliver’ those that help the sick, prisoners, and orphans, and by making the rather odd comment that ‘Better is little fearing God | than bags of gold got ill’.\(^78\)

The proportion of pieces of moralistic advice in the ballads in the larger group is slightly higher than in the core sample, especially if we include some morally uplifting tales which did not figure much in the first sample. In our second sample, we not only have the charitable farmer and his miraculous crop already mentioned, but also *The bountiful knight of Sommersetshire [c.1690]* who gave so much to the poor and needy that his wife complained, but—as the refrain pointed out—‘A blessing from heaven replenished his store’.\(^79\)

There are three sets of aphorisms of the ABC variety: *All the letters of the A.B.C.* (a Familist work translated from ‘Low-German’ into English, and published in 1575 complete with appropriate scriptural references alongside each new letter); *A right godly and Christian A.B.C. [1625]* (which contains ‘godly’ phrases but not genuinely ‘godly’ sentiments); and a work known from its opening line as ‘Aim not too high’ and first published in the late 1620s. But only in the last of these are there indications that the author was moderately well informed on both the Bible and Protestant teaching.\(^80\) *Good admonition [c.1630], The dying mans good counsel to his children and friends [1674–9]*, *The religious mans exhortation to all persons of what degree soever [1685–8]*, and *The good Christians admonition to all young-men* (n.d.) were perhaps more typical in their recommendations of

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\(^76\) Ibid., ii. 16–17, 30, 48.  
\(^77\) Watt, *Cheap Print*, 103; Ingram, ‘Reformation to Toleration’, 109.  
\(^78\) *Euing Collection*, 222–3. *A dozen of points* has a loose paraphrase of the Decalogue, but the Seven Deadly Sins persisted in works of cheap print until the mid-seventeenth century: Watt, *Cheap Print*, 230 n. 45.  
\(^79\) *Pepys Ballads*, ii. 57.  
\(^80\) *Euing Collection*, i; STC 22 (Huntington Library, R 399036); anon., *An excellent song, wherein you shall find, Great consolation for a troubled mind: Pepys Ballads*, ii. 63. A similar ABC, *Finch his alphabet*, was published c.1635, but was not in the three collections being used for the larger sample.
sobriety, obedience to one’s elders, and charity, and their lukewarm advice to ‘mind religion more than pride,/for it will stand you in more stead’. Though ubiquitous as a genre, these relatively bland moralistic works do not seem to have sold well individually, or were perhaps so heavily used in school and home that they were worn to pieces.

ix. Ballads on Death and Preparation for Death

The remaining group of ballads to be considered either focused on the immi-
nence of death and the consequent need to repent at once before it is too late, or described the deathbed experiences of specified individuals. Dr Watt regards the earliest examples of these ballads as ‘thoroughly Protestant’, with committed Protestant laity replacing saints, monks, and abbesses as the source of edifying deathbed scenes and improving last words to the living; and she sees The earnest petition of the clerk of Bodnam (which is the first of this genre in our core sample) as ‘the incarnation of a seventeenth-century godliness, the exemplary Protestant on his death-bed’. But I am not sure what is thoroughly Protestant about the confessing of sins, the prayers for grace, the expressions of faith, and hope for reception in heaven which is said to be the characteristic message of these ballads, especially where it is the attitude of the sick person (as opposed to the divine decree or the intervention of the Holy Spirit) that is presented as being crucial in determining his or her fate. Moreover, the view could also be taken that in the Clerk of Bodnam the references to ‘passing bells’, the use of the dirge ‘Now the bell doth cease to toll | Sweet Jesu Christ receive my soul’, the brevity of the statements of faith and conventionality of the grief for past sins, the notion that the Bible teaches that the penitent sinner may ‘at any time’ refrain from carnal sin (‘if power and grace in me remain’), and the idea of ‘winning’ heaven by repentance, would have been anathema to many of the ‘godly’ of the period.

There are similarly large doses of free will and apparently unaided human initiative, and a readiness to see deferring repentance until the deathbed as an acceptable trait, in the statements made by the dying man in The dying tears of a penitent sinner (also in the control group of ballads): ‘Thy promise is, good Lord, that when | a sinner doth intend | Quite to forsake his wicked life/wherein he did offend: | | Thou wilt forgive, and pardon grant, | for his offences all; | And thou, O Lord, wilt hear my voice, | when on thee I do call’.

Thomas Hill’s The doleful dance, and song of death; intituled Dance after my pipe reproduces the medieval verse called ‘Can you dance the shaking of the sheets?’ in which Death is personified and shown visiting all from beggars to

81 Pepys Ballads, i. 50–1; ii. 44; Euing Collection, 556; Pepys Ballads, ii. 35; the quotation is from The religious mans exhortation.
82 Watt, Cheap Print, 105–6, 110. 83 Pepys Ballads, ii. 16–17 (and ii. 41); Euing Collection, 618–19. 84 Euing Collection, 88.
kings; and the details of the vision of heaven and hell experienced by the Londoner who was so ill that for five hours he was taken for dead are entirely conventional, even traditional. The fair young man who showed him an unimaginably rich city where ‘every creature...like crowned kings did go’, and then a ‘coal-black den’ where the proud, the avaricious, lechers, swearers, and liars were being tortured, are more reminiscent of a medieval doompainting than a scripturally inspired utterance.\(^{85}\) The ‘prophecy’ made by Christian James, a twenty-year-old maid of Padstow in Cornwall shortly before her death in the mid-1650s (a time when the statements of young female prophetesses were of great interest),\(^{86}\) also consisted largely of being told by two angels to warn her neighbours to avoid envy, extortion, idolatry, pride, swearing, and to consider their latter end, for on Judgement Day ‘he that hath done well, shall pass | forthwith to everlasting rest’, while evil-doers would burn in hell.\(^{87}\) The lamenting ladies last farewell to the world tells the story of a nobly born lady, perhaps of royalist background to judge from certain hints in the text, who was in exile in 1650 and near death: she prays to the ‘blessed Trinity’, begs ‘Sweet Christ my soul receive’, and urges those round her ‘Go toll my passing bell, | whilst angels ring my knell’.\(^{88}\) The whole reads like an attempt to use pre-Reformation conventions to revive the old ‘martyr’ tradition for a story about a new type of victim.

There is, however, a final pair of ballads in the core sample which represent something more substantial in this tradition. In the case of St. Bernard’s vision, there is a good reason for this, in that the text was a cut-down version of a much larger work, the supposititious ‘Visio Sancti Bernardi’, which had been translated and turned into English metre by William Crashaw in 1613. The result was a much more dramatic and yet subtle treatment of the themes of sin, death, and damnation and the tension between body and soul. Even so, the work cannot be said to be distinctively Protestant, and, as Dr Watt says, its survival through to the mid-eighteenth century ‘is a powerful argument for the continuity of the medieval religious outlook well into the early modern period’. Even so, the ballad tradition breaks through in the crude woodcuts of a dying man and a soul being tormented by demons, and in the final verse, where the ‘writer’ urges God to ‘Preserve the king, the queen, and progeny. | The clergy, counsel, and nobility: | Preserve our soul and bodies I thee pray, | Amen, with me let all good Christians say’.\(^{89}\)

The other work is The godly maid of Leicester, sub-titled ‘a true relation of Elizabeth Stretton, who lying upon her death-bed, was wonderfully delivered

\(^{85}\) Pepys Ballads, ii. 62 (and cf. D. Gray, \textit{Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric} (1972), p. 224 n.9); and Euing Collection, 102–3 [\textit{The deadmans song}].

\(^{86}\) For the case of Martha Hatfield, see above, Ch. 7, n. 202.

\(^{87}\) A wonderful prophesie: Pepys Ballads, ii. 55; Euing Collection, 668–9.

\(^{88}\) Ibid., 290–1; Pepys Ballads, ii. 38.

\(^{89}\) Watt, \textit{Cheap Print}, 111; Pepys Ballads, ii. 4–5; Euing Collection, 521–2.
from the temptations of Satan, worthy the noting of all that would live and
die in the fear of God'. This was published at least three times between the
mid-1670s and the late 1680s. Elizabeth was ‘of tender age’ and honest
parentage; she was ‘of conversation godly given’ and ‘God’s holy word was all
her aim’; and shortly before her death she woke from a trance and explained
what had happened. She had been tempted by Satan, and had admitted that
owing to the bad example of sinners she had been caused ‘to walk beside the
path of grace’ and break God’s sacred laws. But her faith in Christ’s redemp-
tive powers proved too strong, and Satan suddenly vanished. Immediately
Christ appeared to her, and said that he had watched the encounter with
Satan, and given her ‘faith and means of grace, | and that sufficient was for
thee | To overcome the devil’s power’; he also tells her to go and tell her friends
‘How I have pardoned thy sin, and all the sins of my elect’. She does so, and
exclaims how she has ‘fought a happy fight, and overcome, by God’s good
grace’, and rejoices that she will soon be wearing an immortal crown with the
saints. She urges those present—‘all you | that count yourselves as God’s
elect’—not to ‘contemn ‘God’s ordinance . . . the means of their salvation’,
and ‘Though other people go astray, | go forwards as you have begun’.90 The
regular references to the importance of grace and the vocabulary of ‘elect’,
saints’, and ‘ordinance’ suggest a ‘godly’ author, or at least a ‘godly’ target,
for this work, but this is about the only one of the thirty-three ballads in our
sample of which this can be said with any confidence.

If we turn to the equivalents in the larger sample, we find some that con-
sisted of a personification of death of a type familiar long before the Refor-
mination in morality plays, verses, and visual depictions of the dance of death.
The author of Deaths dance [c.1625] depicted Death visiting members of dif-
ferent professions in and around central London, but did not mention either
God or Christ; in Death triumphant [1681–4] too, more is said of Mercury,
Cupid, Hercules, Alexander, and ‘the valiant Guy’ than scriptural figures or
Christian gods; while Death’s uncontrollable summons. . . Being a dialogue between
death and a young-man [1685] is a ballad of the ‘hey-ho’ variety.91 Of the
deathbed scenes in the larger sample, some were generic, others personalized.
The young-mans repentance [1685–8] depicted the ‘sorrowful sinner’s lamenta-
tion’ of a young man who had lived a life of pleasure and deferred thoughts
of repentance, while The dying Christians friendly advice [also 1685–8] also
warned sinners not to delay, but assured them that if they called sincerely on
Christ’s name, ‘There is no doubt but he your friend will be, | And help you
out of your misery’.92 The traveler’s repentance [1683–1700], on the other hand,
contained the ‘death-bed tears, last dying-sayings, and serious exhortations’ of
Robert Godfrey, the letters of whose name were used as an acrostic for the

90 Euing Collection, 198–9; Pepys Ballads, ii. 40.
91 Ibid., i. 56–7; ii. 3; Euing Collection, 99.
92 Pepys Ballads, ii. 37, 43.
start of each new verse; though he had left repentance until the end, the author concluded ‘I wish none die no worse than he’. At least in *Hubert’s ghost* [1663–74], a dialogue between Hubert and Death, Hubert was ready for death, but the use of the confessional ‘Peccavi’ [I have sinned] and references to the ‘true Virgin’s son’ and the five wounds of Christ may again indicate a pre-Reformation source.

The only ballads in the larger sample which show a degree more originality or insight into the teaching of the contemporary church on sin and repentance are a few in which a personal sense of sin was described. *The complaint of a sinner* [c.1635] was an edifying parody of a secular love song, ‘The bonny broom’, which alternated some very emotive verses on the sinner’s sense of misery at his disobedience to Christ with a refrain that echoed that of the popular lyric: ‘The bonny broom, the well favour’d broom, | the broom blows fair on hill: | Him have I lost that loved me best, | my love against his will.’ Similarly, *The sorrowful lamentation of a penitent sinner* [1663–74] reads like the work of someone who knew both the Bible and the better type of contemporary verse, while the author of *A comfortable new ballad of a dreame of a sinner, being very sore troubled with the assaults of Satan* [licensed in 1624] had at least heard of names being entered in ‘the book of life’. But this was fairly exceptional, and the conclusion reached earlier when discussing scripture stories is in general reinforced by the other categories of ballad discussed thereafter, that in both samples there is a dearth of solidly or consistently Protestant teaching after the 1560s.

An exception should perhaps be made for some of the verses incorporated into some of Dr Watt’s ‘godly tables’ in so far as they can be counted as ballads. However, these tables ranged from the intellectually demanding, such as Charles Gybbon’s *A premonition for every disposition* (1588) and M. H.’s *The heartie confession of a Christian* (1593), and the more expensive, such as William Rogers’s engraving of *A godly meditation night and day* [c.1600], to works which aimed at novelty or entertainment through providing a play on familiar words or an unusual combination of items or woodblock illustrations. Between these extremes were a number of prayers for special occasions or deliverance from

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93 Ibid., ii. 95.
94 Ibid., ii. 42. There is another oddity when Death refers to Hubert refusing ‘his mistress’s sweet grace’.
95 Ibid., i. 41, and cf. 40.
96 Ibid., ii. 13; i. 39. Other works in the larger sample dealt with conscience, though *Antidote of rare physick* [1685] handled it more seriously than *Truth in mourning* [1683–1700]; ibid. ii. 46, 52.
97 STC 11819.5 [illustrated on p. 243 of Watt, *Cheap Print*]; STC 5152 (and Huntington Library 18278); and STC 17773.5.
danger and psalms of thanksgiving for blessings received, and a number of reminders of what the owners of such tables should already have learnt or saw regularly in church, such as the Apostles’ Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Ten Commandments. In so far as these formulae had been learnt in English and in the form officially approved, these tables do represent a clearly Protestant initiative, but many are not in verse, and so do not concern us here except to demonstrate what could be conveyed in cheaper printed works.

x. Ballads as a Rival to Mainstream Protestant teaching

If one takes the thirty-three ballads that were definitely reprinted a couple of times or more, or the sixty-five in our second group that were not, and compares them as a group with either the genuinely religious ballads of the 1550s and 1560s, or the more sophisticated of the ‘godly tables’ and engravings just mentioned, or the great variety of works discussed in the previous four chapters of this book, what one is forcibly struck by is the incompleteness of the teaching and the repetitiveness of the language and ideas they contain. Compared to the shortest of church services, the simplest of catechisms, or the most basic of sermons, so much is omitted in the later ballads—about the qualities of God, the mission of Christ, the role of the Holy Spirit in calling the faithful, or the proper use of Word, prayer, and sacraments. Compared to the stress in most works in the sample of best sellers and steady sellers on man being totally unworthy of divine favour and totally incapable of keeping God’s commandments without divine help, and on the need for a lively faith and sincere repentance, and in Calvinist works the emphasis on the role of irresistible grace and the stages of the pathway to salvation and the need for constant introspection, the most that one finds in the ballads is either a simple statement of ‘ask, and it shall be given unto you’, with a largely conventional statement of faith or grief for sin and in a few cases some awareness of the need for grace to achieve spiritual progress, or a tendency to equate good deeds with pleasing God and gaining rewards here or hereafter. It is not enough to say that this was simplification due to the constraints imposed by verse, or that there was a blending of old and new: most of the ballads on ‘religious’ topics which sold well had plenty of space in which to develop ideas, compared, say, to a short catechism or a verse by Herbert, but their authors chose instead to repeat the same old, tried and trusted clichés over and over again, since this was what buyers were thought to want, and perhaps for want of alternatives did indeed buy. Where many of the shorter works in the sample discussed in Chapters 4–7 above, or indeed in Dr Watt’s collection

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99 STC: 7508; 7594-5; 12576; 19070.5; 20190-1; 20192-5; 5208–9.3.
101 These patterns of exposition have been traced in my Christian’s ABC, part 2.
of ‘godly tables’, were masterpieces of compression, most ‘godly ballads’ were narrowly conceived and flabbily executed.

If we return to the definition of ‘religious’ used in the Preface—works in which the author’s or editor’s purpose seems to have been to express a personal statement of faith, or to seek to impart doctrinal or ecclesiastical information, or to exhort or try to help others to adopt certain standards of Christian behaviour—then many, perhaps most, of the ballads examined here have a very dubious claim to be counted as ‘religious’, let alone ‘godly’ or ‘Protestant’.

Authors and publishers were seeking to exploit people’s fears—about death, or Catholic plots—or their social aspirations—how to be seen to lead a better life—or pandering to their baser instincts with stories of lust, murder, or dreadful ends. The elements of Protestantism in these ballads, such as a focus on the teaching of the Bible, salvation through faith, or the example set by Protestant martyrs, were so small that what one is looking at here is something much more akin to a secular ballad—on seduction, drunkenness, war, or ‘strange news’ from Germany or Lincolnshire—with a change of focus and a few, safe, undemanding clichés that even sincere supporters of ‘prayer-book religion’ (whose standards are generally assumed to have been much lower than those of the ‘godly’) would have found inadequate. In the case of both secular and ‘religious’ ballads, the authors, the format, the type, the system of distribution, the moralism of learning from other people’s mistakes or misfortune and doing as you would be done by, and even the woodcuts used, were often the same. Dr Watt is surely right to tell us that what elements of Protestantism these ballads do reflect (in a somewhat refracted way), such as the general avoidance of reliance on the saints and periodic hostility to Rome, should be given due consideration when we come to gauge the religious views of the people who bought them. But we should perhaps also guard against accepting too readily the view that these ballads represent a conscious or a ‘successful’ fusing of old and new elements of piety, any more than the random use of woodblocks to fill up spaces can be said to represent a conscious attempt to enhance their appearance or meaning.

If anything, through their authors’ willingness to perpetuate many of the motifs of the old church, their encouragement of a ‘faith of miracles’ and a religion of good-neighbourliness, and their unwillingness to come to grips with the more difficult or less welcome teachings of the new church, these ballads constituted a serious rival rather than a support to many of the central thrusts of the new religion, and the very antithesis of the experimental predestinarianism of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, which is probably why both

\[\text{For an earlier comment that popular print ‘stressed moral as much as spiritual regeneration, and generally ignored the theological distinction between saving grace and the good works that would accompany it’ see B. Capp, ‘Popular Literature’, in B. Reay (ed.), Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England (1985), 220–1; and see also C. Marsh (ed.), Songs of the Seventeenth Century (Belfast, 1994), 84–7.}\]

\[\text{See above, nn. 14–20, and on woodblocks, Watt, Cheap Print, 244.}\]
conformist and nonconformist clergy had so little to do with them after the
1560s.104

xi. ‘Godly Chapbooks’

The typical chapbook was twenty-four pages long, or forty-eight in a ‘double
book’ which required two sheets of paper rather than just the one; it was usu-
ally (though not always) set in the old-fashioned ‘English’ or black-letter type-
face; and the text was often preceded by an arresting title or an eye-catching
woodcut on the cover. These chapbooks were easily portable, and, compared
to the somewhat larger quarto pamphlets of late Elizabethan times which cost
a few pence, sold at 1d. or later 2d., or 3d. for the double books.105 If we accept
the alleged numbers of repeat editions of a number of chapbook titles, which
are much higher than those of comparable pamphlet titles, they sold hun-
dreds of thousands of copies during their heyday—from the 1650s to the
1680s.106 Where the larger pamphlets were topical and aimed at a readership
with some formal education, chapbooks were often timeless in their content,
reproducing favourite jokes and riddles, well-known histories, and stories of
romantic love in a cheap and readily available form that could be sold far and
wide across the country to a readership that might have only a fairly basic
standard of literacy.107 But increasingly chapbooks began to include the sort
of material found in ballads and larger pamphlets, such as cautionary tales,
accounts of recent atrocities, and overtly religious or devotional material, the
last of which were designated ‘small godly books’ by one leading chapbook
publisher of the later Stuart period.108

Until recently, approach to the study of these ‘small godlies’ was made
through a close analysis of one particular collection—the forty-six works
which Samuel Pepys purchased, mainly in the early 1680s, and bound
together in a volume of ‘Penny-Godlinesses’.109 This is undoubtedly an
extremely valuable collection in that it contains a number of titles of which
no or very few other copies survive, and also because, as Professor Margaret
Spufford has ingeniouously demonstrated, it was probably representative of the

104 On the limitations of the official Elizabethan and early Stuart licensing procedures for ballads,
see Watt, Cheap Print, 43–4. A minority of later Stuart ballads, mostly dating from the 1670s and 1680s,
bear what is said to be an imprimatur (e.g. Pepys Ballads, ii. 35, 37, 43, 45–6, 53, 56–9, 69–70, 79, 82–3,
etc.); if genuine, these may represent an official acknowledgement of the status quo, or a reflection
that the church was by then on the defensive: Ingram, ‘Reformation to Toleration’, 114–23. On the
insertion of loyalist sentiments into cheap catechisms and educational aids, and verses, see above, p.
105 Watt, Cheap Print, 264–9, 272–3; and for the pamphlets, see above, nn. 7–9.
106 For some examples of works by ‘Hart’ and ‘Jones’, see below, Ch. 8.xiii.
107 Watt, Cheap Print, ch. 7.
108 Spufford, Small Books, 262. For examples of the changing character, see below.
range of output of the major chapbook publishers of the later Stuart period.¹⁰¹ More recently, however, Tessa Watt has explored the early stages of the evolution of the ‘penny godly’ in the 1620s and 1630s, and listed twenty titles published before 1640 that may qualify for that description. Nearly all of these were by clergymen, with the works of John Andrewes looming large with ten of the titles, followed by George Shawe with three, and one each for Henry Smith, Humphrey Everiden, John Sprint, and William Perkins.¹¹¹ As we noted at the start of this chapter, both Professor Spufford and Dr Duffy also regard the ‘small godly books’ of the later seventeenth century as being either the work of the ‘godly’ clergy themselves or a strong reflection of the puritan tradition; and the later Stuart equivalents of John Andrewes were John Hart and Andrew Jones, who between them produced well over a score of ‘godly chapbooks’ which apparently sold hundreds of editions between the 1650s and the 1680s.¹¹²

However, if we compare the works of these authors with other religious works printed at the same time, we find that both the techniques used in chapbook works and their doctrinal content emerge in a rather different light. A closer look at a number of the works associated with ‘godly’ authors also gives rise to serious doubts on their provenance. Furthermore, if (as in the case of the ‘godly ballads’) one asks how many of the chapbooks with more serious or sophisticated treatment of doctrine and piety are known to have passed through a number of repeat editions, one again comes up with a much less rosy picture of their impact. In what follows we will return to the ‘godly chapbooks’ in the Pepys collection, since as indicated it is a significant and probably moderately representative collection; but most of the points made here also apply to other chapbooks outside that collection, including a number from the early seventeenth century.

xii. The authors of ‘godly chapbooks’

Given that the ballad partners could squeeze an enormous amount of words and images onto one side of a sheet of paper, there was not a great deal more space available to the authors of the standard chapbook, which was also published on a single sheet, albeit folded and cut into a number of separate pages. In effect, there was only the equivalent space of the reverse side of that sheet—the one normally left blank on a ballad— with which chapbook authors or editors could play when tailoring their text to the space available, so that one of the most striking features of the ‘godly chapbooks’ is their

¹⁰¹ Spufford, Small Books, ch. 6. No one has yet tried alternative methods of sampling, e.g. all the ‘small godly books’ of a particular publisher that can be traced, or on a particular theme.

¹¹¹ Watt, Cheap Print, 306–15, 361–2. To Humphrey Everiden’s Reward of the wicked on p. 361 could be added the partner piece: The recompense of the righteous (1626).

¹¹² See above, Ch. 8.i, and below, Ch. 8.xiii.
compactness. The constraints imposed by publishers anxious to keep costs as low as possible was not in itself a barrier to communication: in the early modern period the trend was usually to simpler and more concise works. But in the case of the chapbook this trend was taken to extremes and the space afforded the text was smaller than for almost all other religious publications. As shown elsewhere, a significant proportion of catechisms were between twenty-five and sixty pages in their published form. A typical sermon was supposed (in some quarters) to take at least an hour to deliver orally, and although some were printed as they were delivered and covered only twenty-four or thirty-six pages of quarto size, most were expanded and regularly took up forty, sixty, or more pages (in a production of moderately good quality usually). Equally there are examples of treatises and tracts below thirty-six or forty-eight pages in length, but the great majority were much longer, frequently over 100 pages long.

The consequences for the author of a chapbook were considerable. Where a typical preacher had time and space to state and divide his chosen text, list the different doctrines it contained, and the reasons and uses of each point of doctrine, and where the author of a typical treatise could explain what he was doing and why, develop his thesis, provide detailed citations, and finish with a conclusion and perhaps an index, the author of a tract had to keep his comments and the textual apparatus to a minimum. Some authors may have attempted to rise to the challenge posed by the 24-page limit, especially among the Quakers from the 1650s and in works of a more controversial kind. But few if any of the authors whom we can prove to have composed for the chapbook format were ‘godly’ ministers of the kind listed by Watt and Duffy. Indeed, if one looks at the whole published output of authors like Henry Smith, William Perkins, Thomas Brooks, Richard Baxter, Joseph Alleine, James Janeway, and Thomas and Nathaniel Vincent, one soon concludes that these men preferred the extra space that their publishers allowed them—to reproduce their sermons in full or in many cases to enlarge them into substantial treatises. These were the types of work by which they had made their reputations, and they do not seem to have shown much inclination to disappoint their faithful readership or to seek new readers by experimenting in producing much smaller ones. This was true even of those authors who ran into trouble with the authorities, as Smith did briefly in the 1580s, and

113 See above Chs. 3–6, and my Christian’s ABC, ch. 5 and pt. 2.
114 Ibid., Appendix 1 (forms marked ‘short’ or ‘very short’), and [R. Baxter], The agreement of divers ministers (1656), and id., Universal concord (1660).
115 Green, Christian’s ABC, 72–3, 577 (on ‘mid’ forms), and 580–751.
118 See STC’ and Wing’ under the relevant names.
Dod and Cleaver and several others in the following decades, and as did a number of ministers who were ejected from their livings in 1662.\textsuperscript{119}

Whether we look outside the Pepys collection or within it, it is hard to think of a single minister, whether conformist or nonconformist, whom we can prove to have had a cure of souls or a regular preaching post, and who specialized in producing miniaturized texts. We know the names of a few authors who appear regularly to have written small, tract-like works, half-way between a sermon and a treatise or part way between a treatise and a devotional work, but we know very little of their background. There is the mysterious John Andrewes, who was a schoolteacher and perhaps a preacher before he began writing and selling his own religious pamphlets in the 1610s;\textsuperscript{120} there is George Shawe, who also cannot be traced to a particular living; and there are the even more mysterious John Hart and Andrew Jones, both of whom may originally have composed some serious works but whose names were often attached to works of much more dubious value.\textsuperscript{121}

Then we have William Knowles, author of two works in the Pepys ‘godlies’ and several outside it, who signs himself B. of P. on one occasion and B. in P. on another (perhaps meant to indicate a degree—bachelor of philosophy perhaps, or is it a joke—bachelor of print?).\textsuperscript{122} Roger Hough was the author of another two in the Pepys collection (and more outside) who rather vainly used his name as the basis for acrostics at the start of those works;\textsuperscript{123} and Matthew Killiray published nearly a dozen short works in the 1660s and 1670s, but cannot be traced to a living either in England or in Ireland.\textsuperscript{124} And what are we to make of Thomas Robins, described in an advert for some of Thomas Passinger’s publications as B. D.—a genuine degree this time (bachelor of divinity) but not one associated with Robins in the registers of the universities of the period? In the 1660s Robins divided his time between writing on the one hand works like The sinners warning-piece and Mans chief guide to salvation, and on the other The loyall subjects joy, The arraigning and indicting of Sir John Barleycorn, Jack the plough-lads lamentation, News from Darby-shire, and three tales about Robin Hood.\textsuperscript{125} Were these men who, like John Taylor the Water-Poet, were trying to make a living or supplement a small income by the use of their pens, and were encouraged to do so by publishers like Thomas Passinger and


\textsuperscript{120} Watt, Cheap Print, 307–9; and see below, Ch. 8.xiii.

\textsuperscript{121} Watt, Cheap Print, 311–13.

\textsuperscript{122} Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Penny Godlinesses (hereafter cited as PG), nos. 17 (The Great Assizes, title-page) and 29 (A serious call to obstinate sinners, sig. A1'); for other works, see Wing K731–5.

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., H2913–15, and PG nos. 2 (Saints blessed for ever, sig. A1'), and 39 (Gods hatred against sin, sig. A1').

\textsuperscript{124} See below, Ch. 8.xviii. The possible Irish connection is suggested partly by his surname and partly by the survival of a cache of his works in the Linenhall Library, Belfast, II/1163–72.

\textsuperscript{125} PG no. 8 (T. P., The door of salvation opened, sig. B4'); and Wing R1660–1, 1651–5, 1650d, 1648–48a, 1650a, and 1657.
Elizabeth Clark who themselves were not above trimming existing works down to chapbook size (and in Passinger’s case led him on one occasion to claim the degree ‘B. of D. L.’)? Or were some of them perhaps the successors of those professionals ever ready to turn a penny, like Barnaby Rich, Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Nashe, and the occasional hack like Martin Parker, who had produced a number of the moralistic pamphlets of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods?

One way round the problem of limited space for the author of genuine religious works was to cut an originally larger text down to size. Thus in the Pepys collection, Nathaniel Vincent’s *The day of grace* and Thomas Wadsworth’s *Christ in the clouds* are both described on the title-page as ‘the substance of a sermon preached’ by the author in question, though there is no indication that the authors themselves (both nonconformist clergy) drew up the précis, and since Wadsworth is described as ‘lately deceased’ the prospect of his having done so is not good. The poor doubting Christian drawn unto Christ and *Now or never* are both much more ruthless compressions of much longer treatises written by established ‘godly’ authors—Thomas Hooker and Richard Baxter. In the first case the reduction was done by a chapbook publisher, Elizabeth Clark, who urged readers to ‘buy this book’, and in the second by an unknown hand but apparently without the author’s permission. The chapbook version of *The pilgrims progress to the other world* by Bunyan—another regular victim of plagiarism or piracy of his works—is also by general agreement a travesty rather than a faithful miniature of the original. It is not surprising in these and similar instances to which we will come shortly that the abridger is either unknown or proves to have been a publisher.

This brings us to a related feature of chapbooks which might be attributable to pressure on space: the absence of a dedicatory epistle or a preface to the reader of the sort that can be found in most other genres of religious publication. These introductory comments can be of great value in gauging the background of authors where they are less well known to us, and the writers’ aims in a particular work, even when they are well known. The almost complete absence of prefaces from the Pepys ‘godlies’, and most chapbooks outside the collection, is annoying from the historian’s point of view. The fact that William Knowles managed to slip in a short preface into his two works in that collection, and that in his two works Roger Hough persuaded the publisher to find space for the acrostics on his name, suggests that space could be found if

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126 B. Capp, *The World of John Taylor The Water-Poet 1578–1653* (Oxford, 1994), ch. 3; Passinger’s and Clark’s editing activities will be raised in the following paragraphs; for Passinger’s degree, see PG no. 8 sig. B4v.
128 PG nos. 12, 96.
129 PG nos. 30, sig. B4v; 42 (for Baxter’s response, see below); and 41 (and cf. Duffy, ‘Godly and the Multitude’, 47).
the author pressed, as does the fact that publishers found space in many of the Pepys ‘godlies’ (on the reverse of the title-page or at the end) to advertise their own current titles. Even the ubiquitous and highly successful ‘Hart’ and ‘Jones’ were not allowed, or did not insist on, any space for personal comments in a preface or epistle dedicatory.

In fact, with the exception of the regularly self-publicizing John Andrewes who seems to have been determined to make up for his lack of a permanent post by making his reputation (and an income) through print, the more one looks for evidence of authorial control of or input into the finished chapbook, the harder it is to find. In the Pepys collection there are cases where we know that the alleged author was alive, as in the case of publications attributed to ‘R. Baxter’ or the ‘reverend divine Mr. R. B.’. But not only is there no sign of a preface, there is also little indication that Baxter had anything to do with the publications in question. In his autobiography Baxter blamed ‘poor men’ driven by desire for ‘lucre’ for the tens of thousands of copies made by ‘stolen impressions’ of his treatise entitled *A call to the unconverted*, which within a matter of years of its appearance had been plagiarized by T. P., probably Thomas Passinger, as *Gods call to unconverted sinners*; and if the edition totals can be trusted, this sold far more copies in the cut-down version than in the original. A similar thing happened to Baxter’s *Now or never*; within a year of its appearance, it had been condensed and published anonymously, and it was a copy of this anonymous summary that Pepys acquired. The prayers in *The poor mans help to devotion* by ‘Mr. Baxter’, also bought by Pepys, do not come from Richard Baxter’s *The poor man’s family book*, in which the average prayer is about ten pages long and his own shortened versions of these prayers about five pages long, compared to the half a page or page in the chapbook attributed to him. Nor is there sufficient overlap in content or language for us to be confident that the chapbook prayers were based on Baxter’s; certainly Baxter did not acknowledge the work as his in the ‘Compleat catalogue’ of his works in 1691, which is surprising if he saw the production of such works as part of his ‘mission’ as an underemployed ejected minister. The verses in *A school of divine meditations* by ‘R. B. reverend divine’ (another Pepys purchase) do not come from Baxter’s *Poetical fragments*, and again the chapbook was not acknowledged by him.
Indeed, of the ‘small godly books’ published in the later seventeenth century a disturbing proportion were either anonymous, like the great majority of the ballads considered earlier in this chapter, or only the author’s initials survive, or they were written by authors who had recently died and were powerless to influence the way in which texts attributed to them were presented to the public. This was the case with the chapbook titles by Henry Smith and ‘William Perkins’ published in the early seventeenth century, and included in the Pepys collection alongside the works of a John Shrenock, ‘B. D.’ (again not in the university records) who was said to have laid ‘seven days on his death-bed, during which space of time he wrought this sermon’ to be preached at his funeral and published thereafter. Also in the Pepys collection was a work by a John Williams, ‘minister of the gospel, lately deceased’. His rather dubious little schoolbook entitled *The school of godliness* began, rather incongruously, with an account of the seven-day trance in which he lay before his death, and in which a ‘fair young man’ showed him a fair city where everybody was a crowned king (as in the ballad we examined earlier).

Four of the better-known ‘godly’ ministers to whom chapbooks in the Pepys collection are attributed had also died recently: Thomas Wadsworth, whose sermon we have already noted was cut down for publication as a chapbook; Ralph Venning (misspelt ‘Vennings’) whose *The Christian’s temptation and tryals* was ‘preached . . . before his death’; Thomas Vincent, one of whose ‘last sermons’ was published as ‘a suitable warning to all stubborn sinners’; and Thomas Brooks. The brevity of the mini-sermon attributed to Brooks in *The dying ministers last sermon* may have been due to the fact that it was given in what proved to be his last illness; but the fact that the superfluous space in the chapbook was filled up with an account not just of his last words, sayings, and prayers, but also of the trance in which, he said, ‘a young man clothed all in white led me by the hand, and shewed me many glorious things’, starts to ring alarm bells. Moreover, the fact that the will attributed to Brooks proves to have been borrowed from a work by Henry Stubbs again does not fill one with confidence about the accuracy of the reporting of the unnamed recorder of all these events. (The way in which ministers like ‘Shrenock’, ‘Williams’, Wadsworth, Venning, Vincent, and Brooks were sucked into the ambit of the ‘dying words’ tradition to which we will come shortly is also more than a mite suspicious. There was a place for improving deathbed speeches or wrestlings with Satan among those who had tried to lead a good life; but both conformist

Baxter, but deemed doubtful by A. G. Matthews, see ‘R. Baxter’, *Preparation for sufferings* (1683), in Dr Williams’s Library 10.56.25 (11).

\(^{135}\) e.g. PG nos. 7, 9, 13–15, 18, 21–4, 31, 37, 43–6. \(^{136}\) e.g. PG nos. 10, 24, 32, 38.

\(^{137}\) PG no. 4 (*The young mans guide*, title-page).

\(^{138}\) PG no. 16 (*The school of godliness*, sig. A2), and above, p. 467.

\(^{139}\) PG nos. 96 (title-page), 40 (title-page), 35 (*One of Mr Vincents last sermons*, title-page).

\(^{140}\) PG no. 11, passim; and cf. Duffy, ‘Godly and the Multitude’, 55 n. 93.
and nonconformist leaders were very hostile to the idea of deferring repentance until the deathbed, and would have been very sceptical of the value of dying last words unless there was good evidence for these having been divinely inspired or uttered in the presence of reliable witnesses.\textsuperscript{141} Lack of authorial control may also help to explain why in some of these cases the title given on the title-page does not correspond exactly with the content of the text,\textsuperscript{142} and why in others the woodcuts used in the chapbooks to catch a purchaser’s or reader’s eye were either not proper portraits of the author\textsuperscript{143} or were not really suited to the tenor of the contents, as when a portrait of the philosopher Peter Ramus was used for a sermon on the repentance of the apostle Peter.\textsuperscript{144}

xiii. ‘Perkins’, ‘Andrewes’, and ‘Hart’

Here we may turn to a work that Dr Watt has described as one of the earliest examples of a ‘godly chapbook’: \textit{Deaths knell}, attributed on the title-page to ‘W. Perkins’ and normally attributed to William of that ilk. The work is only nineteen pages long, printed in black-letter type, and has on the cover a typical broadsheet-type woodcut of a sick man in bed cowering away from a skeleton who has the dart of death in one hand pointing at the invalid, and a rope in the other with which he is tolling a passing bell handily placed just outside the window. The first surviving edition, that of 1628 published by John Trundle, is said to be the ninth, and the work may have reached the sixteenth by 1637 in the hands of John Wright; this suggests a first edition c.1620.\textsuperscript{145} But is this really the work of William Perkins, the Cambridge theologian? \textit{Deaths knell} does not appear in the collected \textit{Works} of Perkins published by John Legate in 1616–18, and Legate had printed and published not only most of Perkins’s works in the 1590s, but then spent the next decades acquiring the copyright of any of Perkins’s works he had not secured during his lifetime, such as his catechism and \textit{A graine of musterd seede}. By contrast neither Trundle (a number of whose works had ‘Read and tremble’ on the cover) nor Wright published any work by ‘Perkins’ except this one: Trundle’s specialities were ballads, newsbooks, plays, and ephemeral literature, including the popular little moralistic tract, \textit{Kepe within compass}, which he probably wrote himself, while Wright was a large holder in the ballad stock and had titles like \textit{The history of Gargantua} and \textit{A book of riddles}.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{141} On godly dying, see above, Ch. 6.xii–xiii.
\textsuperscript{142} e.g. PG nos. 12 [N. Vincent, \textit{The day of grace}], and 24 [anon., \textit{The danger of despair}]. In the case of the Vincent, note also the occasional loss of meaning and the disruption of the numbering of points that the condensing appears to have produced.
\textsuperscript{143} For the confusion over portraits of John Hart or the use of a generic ‘godly preacher’ image, see below, n. 166.
\textsuperscript{144} BL 4474.b.106.
\textsuperscript{145} Watt, \textit{Cheap Print}, 313, 362; STC 19684–84.7.
If the work is by Perkins, it is one of the very few of his many titles that does not have a scripture text on the title-page or as the starting point of the text; it also lacks a preface, either by Perkins or a credible editor such as William Crashaw or Robert Hill. In structure it also lacks the methodical quality of even his shortest treatises or the sermons delivered to non-academic listeners, such as the one given at Stourbridge Fair. The lack of biblical references and the dearth of technical terms in *Deaths knell*; its author’s fondness for alliteration, as in ‘let thy solace be the sighs of a sorrowful soul, and those the more bitter, the better’; the nautical similes; the idea of man sewing the seed of repentant sorrow in God’s ground, and watering it with his tears; the occasional crudity of the equation between ‘good living’ and salvation; and even the note of social justice in the occupant of the humble cottage being commended while the occupant of the gilded palace was despised—none of these strike one as being characteristic of Perkins’s style or message. Even if Perkins was the author of this work or of a text since lost but cut down to chapbook size by someone else, would he have approved of the ‘popish’ *memento mori* of skeleton and passing bell on the cover—a woodcut that also appeared on the cover of a ballad entitled *Death’s dance* [c.1625] and on the ballad containing the somewhat ambiguous last words of the ‘clerk of Bodnam’? Or was Perkins an early victim of what would happen later to Hooker, Baxter, and Bunyan: either outright plagiarism or the unlicensed use of a well-known author’s name to sell copies of works he had never written?

With this question in mind, let us look more closely at two other key authors in the development of ‘penny godlies’: John Andrewes and John Hart. We can, I think, be fairly confident that there was a *bona fide* author called John Andrewes, and if we accept his own account he had tried to obtain livings in Ireland and then had a post of some kind in Wiltshire, though possibly not a full living, so that he may have been seeking additional means of support for the family he mentions. His earliest publications—*Christ his crosse* (1614), *A subpoena from the imperiall court of heaven* (1617), *A celestial looking-glasse* (1621), *Andrewes resolution* (1621), and *Andrewes humble petition* (1623, though apparently in existence in 1617)—show someone with a moderately good education, a close working knowledge of the Bible, and a firm grasp of Protestant theology, but also with a flexible attitude towards communicating it. We find, for

*Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . from 1641 to 1667* (1907), 198.

147 See below, Appendix 1: *M. Perkins his exhortation* (1605).
148 My comments are based on the 1628 edition of *Deaths knell* at the Huntington Library; for other uses of the same woodcut, see Watt, *Cheap Print*, 313, and *Euing Collection*, 618.
150 These works are listed in STC; a stationer was fined in 1617 for publishing the *Humble petition* without registration, and the same work was disowned by another John Andrewes, a minister in London, in 1621: Watt, *Cheap Print*, 307–8.
example, that he bought up all the copies of the first of these works in order to sell them himself, and in the case of the third had it ‘imprinted at my own cost and charges’. The second title mentioned consists of a set of allegorical verses which, as we saw in Chapter 7, sold well enough to qualify for our sample of steady sellers, and he peppered his other earlier works with simple verses of his own composition. In the fourth and fifth titles, he also compressed his message into a much smaller space than his first, reducing the cost accordingly. However, by the time he published *Humble petition* in 1623 he described himself as ‘in the autumn or declining of his age’, and between 1624 and 1630 only two new works appeared, both of them moderately long: *A most necessary caveat* in 1627, and *The converted mans new birth* in 1629.

Round about this time, certain changes began to occur. First, most of his works came to be controlled or distributed by publishers who sold ballads and ‘merry’ chapbooks, and in the 1630s and early 1640s small woodcuts were placed on the cover, just as they had been on the ballads of the period. Secondly, as with earlier pamphleteers such as Dekker, Greene, and Nashe, Andrewes’s name was increasingly used as a trademark for his works, as in *Andrewes repentance* (1631), *Andrewes caveat* (1631), and *Andrewes golden chaine* (1637) (Andrewes also borrowed a motto from one of these pamphleteers: ‘Sero sed serio’). Thirdly, there are fewer of his beloved verses, and fourthly, the subject-matter is considerably narrowed from his earlier range down to just two related themes: judgement and repentance. This led to some repetition: passages in the *Golden chaine* contain direct echoes of his early work, the *Humble petition*; and parts of *A golden trumpet* (first surviving edition 1641) are the same as parts of *Converted mans new birth*. The latter’s direction or dedication—to ‘all the elect children of God, which truly repent’—is repeated on the title-pages of the 1630 edition of *Andrewes resolution*, and on those of *Andrewes caveat*, and *A golden trumpet*. In other cases liberties were taken with Andrewes’s original texts. The fifty-six duodecimo pages of the *Celestiall looking-glasse* of 1621 were reduced to twenty-four in the 1630s; and the thirty-six duodecimo pages of *The converted mans new birth* of 1629 were reduced to twenty-three octavo pages by lopping off the introduction and most of chapter 5 of the original.

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151 Andrewes, *Christ his crosse*, sig. L2; id., *A celestial looking-glasse* (1621) (cited in Watt, *Cheap Print*, 308); the 1639 edition does not have this reference.

152 See above, Ch. 7.xii, and for verses, *Christ his crosse*, sig. L2; *Andrewes humble petition*, sigs. A1r, A3v, B3r–4v; and *Andrewes resolution*, sigs. A1v.


154 Watt, *Cheap Print*, 308–10, 361–2; woodcuts of a Bible, a chain, and an angel with a trumpet were placed on the cover of *Andrewes caveat*, *Andrewes golden chaine*, and *A golden trumpet* respectively.

155 For the eponymous works by Thomas Dekker, Robert Greene, and Thomas Nash, see STC 7597, 1241–61, and 18370.


157 Cf. the 1621 and 1639 editions of *Celestiall looking-glasse* and the 1629 and 1648 editions of *Converted mans new birth*. 
Also it was claimed that the 1648 edition of the *Golden trumpet* was the ‘nine and twentieth impression’ when the first known copy dates from 1641. The large number might be explained by the overlaps of text between this and an earlier work by Andrewes, but sounds suspiciously like publishers’ hyperbole.\(^{159}\)

It is also arguable that the later works attributed to Andrewes show a less confident handling of doctrine. In an earlier work, like *Andrewes resolution* (1621), the author was very firm that the conversion of a sinner is a work of grace and that God is the author of repentance, and the relationship between faith and repentance was carefully explained.\(^{160}\) But in later works, especially those published in the 1630s or early 1640s, the stress was more on men’s ‘care’ or ‘desire’ to be saved, or on their applying to God for the grace to repent, and less was said about faith. In *A golden trumpet*, for example, the stress is on the detailed account to be rendered to God on Judgement Day, the torments of hell and the shortness of time for repentance, and on the simple equation of those who had done well in their calling being welcomed into heaven while the wicked are consigned to hell—the message we have encountered in some of the works discussed in Chapter 6 and again earlier in this chapter in ballads which owed a large debt to medieval precedents. Andrewes’s peroration on this occasion reads: ‘O therefore let us speedily repent that we may be unblameable before the Judge at that general day of judgement; and be clothed with the white robes of righteousness.’\(^{161}\) The promises made on the title-pages of these later works also tended to be bolder than on those of earlier ones, as in *Andrewes repentance*, ‘perfectly guiding all those that hope to be saved, in the direct way of repentance’.\(^{162}\)

The regular use of the qualifying phrase ‘which truly repent’ after ‘elect children of God’ is also odd. The *Celestial looking-glasse* of 1621 had been dedicated simply to ‘all the elect children of God’,\(^{163}\) but the addition of the clause ‘which truly repent’ in a number of later works could be taken either as a corollary—the elect will inevitably repent truly (as Calvinists believed and did not really need saying)—or as a qualification—the work is dedicated only to those of the elect who truly repent (which from a Calvinist standpoint was close to being nonsense). The omission of the comma between ‘elect children’ and ‘truly repent’ on the cover of *Andrewes caveat* in 1631 left it wide open to

\(^{159}\) J. Andrewes, *Golden trumpet* (1648), title-page; and see previous notes. Wing seems to have confused *Golden trumpet* with *Golden chaine*; the 1645 edition of the latter does not claim to be the 29th impression.

\(^{160}\) J. Andrewes, *Andrewes resolution* (1630), 2, 6, 14–16.

\(^{161}\) Andrewes, *Golden trumpet*, sig. B4* and passim; and cf. id., *Andrewes caveat* (1631), 19.

\(^{162}\) Andrewes, *Andrewes repentance*, title-page; and cf. the title-page of id., *Andrewes caveat*: ‘a true and perfect way to win careless sinners (if there be but the least spark of grace in them) unto speedy repentance, that in the end they may obtain eternal life’.

the unsuspecting reader to take the latter interpretation. Was Andrewes dead by then, and were these later examples of his works in part rehashes of his earlier ones by a less assured hand? Thus Andrewes golden chaine, published in 1637 by John Wright, the ballad publisher, with a small woodcut of a chain on the cover, is said on the title-page to have been ‘never in print’ before, ‘nor from any man elsewhere to be had’; it consists of a prayer ‘newly made’ but incorporates passages from Andrewes humble petition, published in 1623. It seems quite possible that the more Andrewes’s work became like a ballad or a moralistic pamphlet and the more it anticipated the later ‘penny godlies’, the less of the original Andrewes there was in it, and that the works attributed to Andrewes which (if we can believe the publishers) were by a long chalk the most popular, A golden chaine and A golden trumpet, were not his most typical.

The same may well have been true of John Hart’s output. There appears to have been a real John Hart active in the reign of James I, for in 1616 a man of that name published a treatise entitled The burning-bush not consumed. This took the form of a dialogue, and trod the by then increasingly well-worn path of showing the children of God how to gain assurance of election. There is an oddity which may link this Hart to the chapbook author. By 1634 four editions of The burning-bush had been published, but then there was a gap of nearly forty years before two more London editions were produced, in 1671 and 1685, and two in Edinburgh in the 1670s. The publishers of the 1671 edition are not known since the only surviving copy is imperfect, but the publishers of the 1685 edition were none other than Clarke, Thackeray, and Passinger, three members of the ‘ballad partners’ who were also responsible for the publication of most of the ‘Hart’ chapbooks which by then were reaching the peak of their popularity.

In 1629 a John Hart, perhaps the same man, edited the sermons and catechism of his ‘dear friend’, John Smith, a minister in Essex, and published them as the Essex dove. In the preface Hart tells us that he hesitated to publish but then remembered the wise words of a bishop who had told him ‘If a thousand several men had all written on these several subjects, yet he could wish them all printed’ on the grounds that they agreed in the main, even if they differed in presentation. In the next year, a John Hart turned a treatise on conversion by Robert Welsthed into another dialogue, entitled The cure of a hard heart. If the titles published in 1616, 1629, and 1630 were all the work of the same man, this would put Hart fairly near to London, in the position of favouring publication of helpful works on subjects like assurance, conversion,

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164 Andrewes, Andrewes caveat, title-page; and cf. the title-pages of Converted mans new birth (1629 edn.), and Golden trumpet (1641 edn.).
165 Andrewes, Golden chaine, title-page, see above, n. 143.
166 See Appendix 1.
167 Cf. the details given under STC 12891–3, and Wing H9238–253.
169 STC 25296.
and repentance (one set of sermons in *The Essex dove* had been on repentance), in touch with publishers, and with a good eye for a title. No trace of a living has been found for this first Hart, nor of the doctorate of divinity claimed by (or for) the author of the chapbooks, so that it is far from certain that this is the same man as the ‘Hart’ who started to publish chapbooks and double books in the mid-1650s. The catalogue at Dr Williams’s Library may be trying to link the two when it describes John Hart, D. D., as ‘floreat 1636–55’, but if he was in his mid-twenties when he published *The Burningbush* (which would have been quite young for such a work), this would put him in his sixties by the end of the Interregnum.

Establishing the identity of the author of the chapbooks is not helped by the absence of prefaces or epistles dedicatory in his works, and the cavalier way in which the publishers handled his works. In publishers lists of his works, he is usually referred to as ‘John Hart Doctor of Divinity’ and ‘a godly, able, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ’, but on one occasion he becomes just ‘J. H., a servant of Jesus Christ’, and on others ‘Hart-On-hi’, ‘a godly pastor’, and ‘A lover of hospitality’. Moreover, on some occasions works regularly attributed to John Hart on publishers lists were printed without his name at all on the title-page. To add to the confusion, in some cases Hart had works attributed to him which on most other occasions were said to be by Andrew Jones (who was variously described as ‘student in divinity’ and ‘MA’, or as ‘William Jones’, but who is an even more shadowy figure, and whose works are of much more dubious originality and value); while in other cases a ‘Hart’ work was printed with Jones’s name on the cover. Hart’s name was often paired with a stylized woodcut of a ‘godly’ minister with a ruff and a spade-shaped beard, but this cut was also used at the start of works by totally different authors, including Jones; on other occasions Hart’s name is paired with a woodcut of a cleric who looks much more like Cardinal Richelieu, with a cap, a moustache and pointed beard, a lace collar, and slashed sleeves on his coat. The name Hart was also increasingly associated with works and

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**References:**


171. Compare the lists in PG nos. 26–7 and 34 cited in previous note, and Wing for attribution to Andrew Jones of *Morbis Satanicus*, *Black book of conscience*, and *Dooms-day*. For ‘William’ Jones, see first edition of Wing, J1001.

172. e.g. *The dying man’s last sermon* (PG no. 34, and 1685 edn., in Dr Williams’s Library, attributed to ‘Andrew Jones, a servant of Jesus Christ’); and *Dreadful character of a drunkard*: see cancelled entries for J914–20 in first edition of Wing.

173. Cf. the editions of *Christ’s first sermon* and *Christ’s last sermon* in Dr Williams’s Library, 10.36.25 (1) and (12); cf. Bodleian Vet A3, f. 491 (1), (3), (4), (13), (14), etc.; and PG nos. 26–7. For the use of the former for other authors, see PG nos. 32 [*Jones’, *Dying man’s last sermon* (1681–84)]; and 10 ([J. B.], and DWL 10.36.25 (9) [*Jones’, *Dying man’s last sermon*, 1685]), and (11) ([R. Baxter’, *Preparation for sufferings*, 1683]).
statements that would not perhaps have been expected from the fairly orthodox Calvinist author of *The burning-bush* or the careful editor of Smith’s *Essex dove*. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that by the mid 1650s John and Elizabeth Andrews (no relations of the Wiltshire preacher as far as we know, but perhaps impressed by the sales of the ‘Perkins’ *Deaths knell* and the ‘Andrewes’ *Golden trumpet*) had acquired the genuine works of a John Hart, but those works were then either cut down or altered by another hand, and supplemented by works which were not Hart’s at all. Then when they proved successful they came into the hands of the ballad partners. The way in which some of the ‘Hart’ titles were mixed up with those of ‘Jones’ and the inconsistency in the portraits would tend to strengthen the impression that the original author was not supervising production of his works, and that the owners of the copyright regarded them as nothing more than money-making texts.

This hypothesis is supported by a comparison of some of the larger works attributed to Hart, including the first we know to have been produced in chapbook-type format, with some of the shorter. *Christ’s first sermon* ‘or the absolute necessity, gospel-duty, and Christian practice of repentance, opened and applied’ was published in 1656, and looks as though it could have been written by an informed and orthodox author. Repentance is a gift from God, the reader is told; we cannot get faith and repent by ourselves; repentance is a change of the whole heart and the whole man. Nor is it in man’s power to repent when he pleases: if it is offered today by God, it may not be tomorrow. The division of those who deny or defer repentance into three groups, and the discussion of the hindrances to repentance and how they may be overcome, also have a ‘godly’ ring to them. On the other hand, the use of black letter in a double book format and the inclusion at the start of a page of verse entitled ‘A short motive to repentance’ suggest that the way in which this message was presented to the public was nearer to that of Andrewes than that of the typical ‘godly’ author of Elizabethan or Jacobean times. *Christ’s last sermon* may have been in existence by 1659 but the first surviving edition is that of 1663. It takes the form of a sermon on John 14: 2–3, which is expounded section by section, and the stress is on Christ preparing a place for believers, who are equated with the people of God, the saints, who bear crosses on earth before experiencing joy in heaven. There are some instances of an apparent appeal to self-interest, as if that was the key: ‘Would you be received by Christ in glory?’ and ‘Would you prepare for heaven?’ But these are set in a framework of ‘active’ advice of the type one regularly finds in the writings of the experimental predestinarians of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods: ‘labour’ to receive Christ into your souls, ‘be fruitful’ in doing well, ‘get’ your

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54 See previous paragraph, and next paragraph below.
55 For changes of control, see the entries in Wing s.v. John Hart.
title to heaven confirmed by ‘keeping up your evidences’, and so on.\(^{177}\) The Christians blessed choice was another double book, of which the first surviving edition is dated 1668. The author takes as his text Hebrews 11: 25–6, sets this in context, analyses the words of the text, and then offers practical observations and uses, as in many sermons of the day. The vocabulary in places is more advanced than one tends to find in a chapbook, and the reader was apparently expected to have his or her own Bible, since at one point the author says: ‘Read that dreadful scripture in St Matthew’s gospel, Matt. 16: 26’. Also the theme—that it is better to choose to suffer affliction with the people of God than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season—and the hint that the wicked commands of lawful authority could be lawfully disobeyed are ones that one would associate with a ‘godly’ rather than a conformist author.\(^{178}\)

A number of other works attributed to Hart have echoes of a ‘godly’ original or were written by someone who could imitate the ‘godly’ style, but most of them, especially the shortest, are very different from the longer works described above in both coherence of style and content. Let us take four examples here, though others tell much the same story. The charitable Christian (third edition 1658) is described as ‘a word of comfort from the God of comfort to such as are truly poor’, and contains a number of arguments for the rich to be charitable, such as when you give to the poor you give to Christ, and that lack of charity is ‘a badge of a reprobate condition’. The impression created by this statement is reinforced by the later assertions that by doing good to the poor ‘we do thereby lay up in store for our selves a good foundation for eternal life’ and that the merciful man ‘does good to his own soul’, which sound perilously close to an equation of good works with divine reward.\(^{179}\)

The dying man’s last sermon (third edition 1659), also attributed to Jones (as in Pepys’s copy), purports to be ‘a father’s last blessing, left and bequeathed as a legacy to his children immediately before his death’, but looks like a scissors-and-paste creation in imitation of the ‘last dying words’ genre to be discussed shortly. Thus the first few pages contain sage remarks on the inevitability of death for all, reviews the deaths of Adam, Methuselah, and others, comments on the different kinds of death, and says that those who desire to die the death of the righteous must first learn the art of living well. Then with a sudden change of gear and the phrase ‘And now, my son’ (no sign of the other children mentioned on the title-page), we move to the dying father requiring his son to fear the Lord, avoid bad company, and look not on the wine when ‘tis red, but be well grounded and settled in religion.\(^{180}\)

A godly sermon of Peters repentance (first surviving edition the second of 1663, described as ‘corrected and enlarged’) is by the standards of Hart’s larger

\(^{177}\) J. Hart, Christ’s last sermon (1679), sigs. B5r, C6v–7r, and passim.

\(^{178}\) J. H., The Christian’s blessed choice (1668), sig. B6v, and passim. For a defence of the magistracy by ‘Hart’, see Plain man’s plain pathway, cited below, in the next paragraph.

\(^{179}\) J. Hart, The charitable Christian (1682), sigs. A4r, A8r, B2r.

\(^{180}\) ‘A. Jones’ [J. Hart], The dying mans last sermon [PG no. 34], title-page, sig. A6v, and passim.
works a confusing piece which eschews the usual division of text, reasons, and uses, and switches back and forth between the story of Peter and its application. Repentance is equated with walking in God’s laws (rather than piercing grief or the need to strengthen faith), and readers are urged at one point to ‘make a good end by repentance’, which would have upset both William Perkins and Jeremy Taylor. The plain man’s plain pathway to heaven was probably inspired by the success of Arthur Dent’s Plaine mans pathway, which must have reached about its thirtieth edition by the mid-1650s; this may explain why one of the first surviving editions of the Plain man’s plain pathway, that of 1665, is described as the thirty-fourth, and that of 1675 as the fifty-third. If so, Dent’s original has not only been greatly reduced in size (from over 400 duodecimo pages to just 22), but also has been altered a good deal in the process, with the dialogue format of the original giving way to a sermon on Matthew 7:13–14 (on the wide and narrow gate and the need for repentance). It is instructive that Dent had written ‘so all can see whether they are saved or damned’, but the work by ‘Hart’ was described as ‘directing every man how he may be saved’. It was also ‘very seasonable for these times’, in which religion was reproached not only by loose and lascivious persons, but also by Quakers, Shakers, and Ranters who pretended holiness but were wolves in sheep’s clothing who laboured to ‘beat down magistracy and ministry’, so that the devil might more easily delude souls. This looks like a cross between a piece of commercial opportunism and that preoccupation with how to be saved that characterized the later works of Andrewes and many later chapbooks.

Other late works attributed to ‘Hart’ include a moralistic diatribe against drink, and a schoolbook that combined prayers, psalms, a derivative catechism, and advice on godly living with a scripture quiz. The longer the production of new works by ‘John Hart’ continued, the more varied their character became, and the more it would appear that the later ‘Hart’ was a publishers’ creation.

xiv. Chapbook Debts to Older Genres: Cautionary Tales and Ballads

While evidence for regular clergy writing specifically for the 24-page format is sparse, and the impetus for the production of ‘penny godlies’ owed most to publishers’ initiatives, the possibility remains that the content of these works was more edifying than that of, say, ballads (which would not have been too difficult) or moralistic pamphlets. It is also possible that individual chapbooks which passed through more repeat editions than the average can confidently

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181 [J. Hart], A godly sermon of Peters repentance (1663), sig. A5–6, and passim.
182 [J. Hart], The plain man’s plain path-way to heaven (1674), title-page, and sigs. A3–4.
183 For ‘Hart’s Dreadful character of a drunkard, see below, Ch. 8.xv; and [J. Hart] The school of grace (Wing’ 9590–1).
be labelled ‘godly’, and so justify the application of the term ‘small godlies’ to the genre as a whole.

One impression gained from leafing through the Pepys ‘godlies’ after looking at the other types of work which we have been surveying in the last four chapters is how many belonged to older genres in which entertainment tended to predominate over edification, or were pastiches of works in other genres. Dr Duffy has conceded the former point for a minority of the works in the Pepys collection, but it will be made again here as part of the process of analysing content, and because the balance of Pepys’s collection seems to me to be different from the one he suggests. Thus the last two items in Pepys’s collection, Murthers reward (c.1685) and An allarum from heaven (1683) combined elements of the cautionary tale and the ballad tradition which we have already encountered. In its concern to tell a ripping yarn, and the small amount of space devoted to the religious or moral issues raised, Murthers reward was indistinguishable from many other accounts of horrible crimes in the yellow press of the day. Indeed, the prose soon gives way to a ballad account of the whole proceedings which had already been published separately as ‘Strange and true news from Westmoreland’—one of the sample of ballads considered in the first part of this chapter.

Similarly, An allarum from heaven (1683) tells the story of a maid who said that if she told a lie ‘she wished her tongue might swell’, which it inevitably did until it hung out and prevented her from speaking. Undeterred, she wrote a ballad and a prayer for forgiveness (which she could not utter), and had to listen to a sermon on why it was wrong to use idle and vain expressions, though there is no supporting detail of the time and place when the sermon was given, or any personal application to the maid’s plight in the three pages of the sermon quoted. In fact, there is little to convince a suspicious reader that the sermon cited had been given before the girl in question.

The wicked life and penitent death of Thomas Savage had everything: an account of Savage’s increasingly vicious life, the murder of a fellow servant at the prompting of a ‘strumpet’, the murderer’s contrition, his scaffold speech, ‘the mournful ditty’ he had composed and which it would have taken him half an hour to sing if he was allowed to do so, his last prayer and last words, and a bungled execution resulting in Savage having to be hung twice. One can hardly tell that the original text from which much of this material was taken was an extremely serious account of contrition by one of the ministers who attended Savage in jail, which has attracted attention from both Dr Duffy and Professor Lake. For, as Duffy rightly says when comparing the two, the chapbook account ‘turns a powerful demonstration of the power of grace to

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184 PG no. 45; Euing Collection, 505–6.
185 PG no. 46, passim; the woodcut at the ends shows a maid with her mouth firmly closed despite the point of the story being that her tongue was so swollen that it hung out.
awaken even the worst sinner to assurance in Christ, into a conventional moral exemplar in which all Christological content is emptied away." A less grotesque distortion occurred in *A warning to wicked livers*, ‘a faithful and true account of the life and death of John Duncalf’ who stole a bible and then denied it by saying if it was true he hoped his hands might rot off. That his hands did drop off—and his legs too for good measure—was attested by a number of witnesses who saw it and whose accounts were printed separately. But whereas the original accounts gave pride of place to the discourse by a local minister on the way in which God used such providences as lessons to warn people of their sins, in the chapbook version which was clearly dependent on these originals, most space was devoted to the sensational rotting of Duncalf’s flesh, and the discourse was cut down to a few pages at the end.

At least Duncalf is not reported to have broken into song during the ordeal.

The hold of the ballad tradition, though somewhat weaker by the late seventeenth century, is still evident in the number of the other supposed ‘godlies’ collected by Pepys in which characters did break into verse, especially on their deathbeds. In *The dying Christians pious exhortations* [1681–4], an unnamed man offers ‘godly counsel to his wife, children and friends’, but in case they did not get the message the first time when he spoke in prose, he then turns it into a ‘sacred song’. The authenticity of this verse is dubious: it is described at the outset as the old man’s expression of his inward joy at triumphing over death, but turns out instead to be full of moral advice; and shortly before the end the verse switches from the first person to the third person of an equally anonymous bystander who carries on the story with ‘And then departed this old man’. The language used in the old man’s ‘concluding prayer at his last departure’ is also quite out of character with that used earlier in the text, and this, together with the unusually elaborate illustration on the title-page, suggests that the whole thing was a pastiche produced as a speculative commercial venture to cash in on the market for ‘dying words’. In *The young mans last legacy* (1686), which was supposed to represent the deathbed advice given by a moral young man to his family and was published as ‘a pattern for all young men’, the speaker claims to have written a few lines to help those present memorize what he has just told them, but again part way through there is a sudden lurch to the third person, a description of the mother’s feelings and the young man’s death, and then an elegy in an affected style (‘O pale fac’d death, see what thy hand has done’). Other examples could be given: the

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186 PG no. 37; and see Appendix 1 s.v. [J. Janeway?], *A murderer punished* (1668); Duffy, ‘Godly and the Multitude’, 47; P. Lake, ‘Two Puritan Appropriations’, 317–31.
187 PG no. 6; for other cautionary tales in Pepys’s collection, see PG nos. 27 (*Heaven’s messengers*), and 44 (*An almanack for two days*).
188 PG no. 7, *passim*; note also the borrowing from the Prayer Book funeral service near the start which should have been familiar to most readers.
189 PG no. 15, title-page, sigs. A3’, A5’, and *passim*. 

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bulk of the text of *The mother’s blessing* (1685), which was supposed to contain ‘several godly admonitions given by the mother unto her children upon her death-bed’, consists of the long-lived ballad entitled ‘A hundred godly lessons’ which we examined earlier in this chapter; while at the end of *A call to extravagant youth* (c. 1685), William Crook’s ‘last will and testament’ to all young men advising them of the wickedness of the age and the price sinners will have to pay, the same sentiments are repeated in verse which equates good works and divine reward: ‘The deed will be thy gain, | If thou dost right and just; | And ease thy soul from pain, | When thou liest in the dust.’

It is also a moot point whether the prose or verse accounts of the life of Christ in *The golden drops of Christian comfort* (1687) was written first. Compare the prose ‘No costly cradle had he, but in a manger was he laid’ with the later verse: ‘No costly cradle was there made, | But in a manger was he laid’; and the prose ‘when he was but twelve years old, he was found in the temple’ with the same point in the verse account: ‘For when he was but twelve years old, | He in the temple did unfold . . .’ The author is said to be ‘S.M.’, to whom a number of poetic works are ascribed in the Wing Short-Title Catalogue; and this together with the double woodcut of nativity and crucifixion on the cover, and the legend on the cover ‘an excellent new song, suitable for this season of the year’, suggests that the verse came first. The verse-dialogue in *A dialogue between a young divine and an old beggar* is also straight out of the ballad tradition, even down to the anticlerical edge of a studious young divine learning more about life from a beggar than from all his books. And the verses on that undefeated conqueror of mankind, Death, in *Death triumphant*, attributed to both Andrew Jones and John Hart at different times, were designed to be frightening rather than instructive. Indeed, they are largely secular in tone, saying nothing about repentance or Judgement Day and making only a brief reference to life after death. They are more reminiscent of the medieval dance of death than Protestant teaching—a point reinforced by the subsequent rules of godly living, of which it is said that if the reader keeps them he may die a happy death.

**xv. Chapbook Debts to Moralistic Pamphlets**

A number of chapbook ‘godlies’ clearly owed a debt to another genre—the moralistic pamphlet. Drunkenness, as one of the Seven Deadly Sins, had long

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90 PG nos. 31, 3; for another deathbed scene, see PG no. 34, and for the use of verse in connection with death PG no. 19.

91 PG no. 25, pp. 2–3, 9–10; and Wing s.v. S. M.

92 PG no. 33. This verse-dialogue probably owes much to ballad tradition, such as ‘St. Bernard’s vision’ which we considered earlier in this chapter, as well as the works by Keach we considered in Ch. 7.1.

93 PG no.19 passim.
been the subject of official and unofficial censure, and was condemned not only in larger works such as Richard Younge’s 700-page diatribe, *The drunkard’s character* (1638), but also in many shorter works. According to Sandra Clark, excessive drinking was ‘perhaps the most commonly and vehemently attacked of all pastimes’ in moralistic pamphlets like Thomas Young’s *Englands bane: or, the description of drunkenesse* (1617) and Thomas Heywood’s *Philocothonista, or, the drunkard, opened, dissected, and anatomized* (1635), and an early chapbook, George Shawe’s *A looking-glasse for drunkards* (1627). The drunkard was a figure of both ridicule, as he proceeded through the different bestial stages of drunkenness, and tragedy, as he damaged his own health, his family’s prospects, and his chances of salvation. *The dreadful character of a drunkard* attributed to ‘John Hart’ and bound at the very start of Pepys’s volume of ‘godlinesses’ was thus in direct line of succession to a number of earlier works on the subject, just as the lively woodcut on the cover showing animals drinking round a table was a commonly used image of the day. ‘Hart’ reiterated earlier warnings on the many dangers of drink, especially for the poor, and also listed some of the ‘fearful judgements that have befallen notorious drunkards’, using scripture texts to support his case, and ending with a ‘brief exhortation to persuade men from that swinish and abominable sin’. The first surviving edition—a 22-page, black-letter octavo—is dated 1663, but is said to be the tenth edition, and by the early 1680s it was claimed that thirty editions had been sold. Its success compared to earlier examples was perhaps due to its relative brevity, or simply the greater professionalism of the chapbook distributors by that period. Despite the woodcut and the warning stories, there is much less roistering and good-neighbourly humour than in the rowdier pamphlets on the subject, and it is hard to imagine that many people can have read this work for titillation as they would have a ballad on Sir John Barleycorn. Its readers may have numbered some drunkards and also some who knew drunkards, and wished to have good arguments at hand to win them from that condition. That having been said, there is nothing to indicate conclusively that it was the work of a minister, ‘godly’ or otherwise, as opposed to a skilful pamphleteer.

A similar conclusion may be drawn about some of the other ‘godly’ chapbooks by ‘Hart’ and ‘Jones’, such as the condemnation of swearing in *A godly sermon of Peter’s repentance*, of miserliness and lack of mercy in the rich in *The charitable Christian*, and of pride, especially in women, in *Morbus Satanicus*, which was not in Pepys’s collections but sold perhaps thirty-six editions in as many years from the 1650s to the 1680s. That such works sold so well helps

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Ibid., 159–60, 168–202; Watt, *Cheap Print*, 312–13; [J. Hart], *The dreadful character of a drunkard* (1686), title-page and passim.

As previous notes.

PG nos. 26 and 27; [A. Jones], *Morbus Satanicus* [1656?], ‘36th’ edn. 1685. The excessive pride of women was a regular theme of male balladeers.
explain why the publishers with the copyright of the ‘Hart-Jones’ works regularly advertised them as being ‘all very necessary for these licentious times’, and urged prospective purchasers to ‘Read them over carefully, and practise them constantly, and rest assuredly thou wilt find comfort in them to thy own soul’.\textsuperscript{198} The same note of being ‘very necessary for these times’ is caught in the sub-title of a work by Roger Hough, Gods hatred against sin and wickedness, also sold by Thomas Passinger: in this work ‘is discovered the odiousness of the sins of these times’ such as pride, lying, bloodshed, wicked imaginings, false witness, and sowing discord.\textsuperscript{199} It is also there in the cautionary tales about the consequences of lying and swearing and the ballad-type verses urging the young to be moral which we have already considered.

Since sins such as pride and meanness were the special prerogative of the rich, it is also worth noting that a number of the more popular works of ‘Hart’ and ‘Jones’ had a levelling streak to them. Death comes to all, even the rich and powerful, warned ‘Jones’ in Death Triumphant. ‘Whole coachloads of gallants be tumbled down into hell’, he wrote in The black book of conscience, and urged the ‘great ones of the world who live in pleasure’ to think on this. ‘A merciless man’s name will hardly be found in the Book of Life, Col. 3: 11’, said ‘Hart’ in The charitable Christian, and the author’s sympathy with the lower orders was strengthened by the addition of the legend ‘I pray you remember the poor’ (and a rather inapposite reference to Amos 8: 6) underneath his portrait.\textsuperscript{200} A similar work outside the Pepys collection made the point more forcibly: in Dives and Lazarus, Robert Johnson asserted on the basis of Luke 16: 19–23 that the poor will go to heaven and the selfish rich to hell. Aided by a woodcut showing a dog licking the sores of the beggar seeking crumbs at the rich man’s table, and still in black letter in the 1680s, this work may have sold over twenty editions in the previous sixty years.\textsuperscript{201}

xvi. Chapbook Debts to Other Genres

Other genres to which chapbooks inside and outside the Pepys collection owed a debt were those of the almanac, the schoolbook, and the book of prayers. As Professor Capp showed some time ago, the ubiquitous almanac of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provided not only basic factual information, for example on church festivals and how to make a will, but also some religious teaching which was dominated, he says, by the call to repentance. In most cases this took the form of stressing the wickedness of sin and the certainty of punishment, but in other cases there was also a stress, as might have

\textsuperscript{198} See the adverts at the end of PG nos. 5, 26, 34 and the start of 27.
\textsuperscript{199} PG no. 39, title-page and passim. For a condemnation of suicide, exploiting a recent case, see PG no. 24 (anon., The danger of despair).
\textsuperscript{200} PG nos. 19, sigs. A3–4r; 5, sig. B3r; and 27, sig. A8r.
\textsuperscript{201} See Appendix 1.
been expected from astrologers, on the nearness of death and the approach of the Last Judgement. This last was the case in *The almanack for one day* in the Pepys collection which was a mixture of four-line verses and simple exegesis of scriptural material about Judgement Day; it was not millenarian or apocalyptic, and apart from a reference to all being judged, from kings to beggars, not at all subversive.\footnote{B. G. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press. English Almanacs 1500–1800* (1979), 144–7; PG no. 14.}

An almanack for two days, viz the day of death, and the day of judgement is also in the Pepys collection, and is a good example of Capp’s further point that almanacs tended to put great emphasis on the importance of a holy life as a means to win divine favour and salvation. ‘The link between virtue and salvation fitted neatly into the astrologers’ treatment of the doctrine of providence . . . God constantly intervened, it was believed to reward virtue and punish sin, and the doctrine was used as both carrot and stick to strength moral exhortation.’ There is also an important and neglected insight in Capp’s comment that ‘very many almanacs combined elements of Calvinist terminology with a general message suggesting that salvation depended on moral conduct, with no apparent awareness of the contradiction’.\footnote{PG no. 44; Capp, *Astrology*, 148–9.} Almanacs (like many ballads) also often contained some polemical material, especially anti-Catholic material, and while this was not a major theme in the Pepys ‘godlies’ it does crop up in *Crumbs of comfort scattered for the relief and support of all weak doubting Christians*, a sermon preached to his ‘parishioners’ by J. B. (‘late of Sandwich in Kent’) in the middle of the Popish Plot scare and Exclusion Crisis, and in which he tried ‘to provide armour of proof against all popish bloody villainies’ in these ‘unsettled times’.\footnote{Capp, *Astrology*, 150–1, 157–60; PG no. 10.} There is also the not very subtle use of a portrait of Elizabeth on the cover of a schoolbook produced about the same time, entitled *The new school of education*, which was accorded the sub-title ‘for the behaviour of children and their instruction in the Protestant religion, practised by Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory’.\footnote{PG no. 9; though see the portraits of Charles II on the cover of *The school of godliness* (PG no. 16) and in *The Protestant tutor* (1679), which is outside the sample, and of James II on *The school of holiness* (PG no. 23).}

There are four chapbooks in the Pepys ‘godlies’ which purport to be schoolbooks, but of which the kindest thing that can be said is that they are pale and cheap imitations of originals such as Coote’s *The English schoolmaster*, Hoole’s *New discovery*, and Ellis’s *English school*, or the reading primers of Fox and Hookes or Keach.\footnote{All but one are listed in Appendix 1; the exception is C. Hoole, *New discovery* (1660).} The four also contain sections in question-and-answer, though in two cases these are quite unrepresentative of the catechisms used in churches and schools, and in the other two look like paraphrases or summaries of existing forms. *The school of godliness*, attributed to ‘J. Williams’, the lately deceased minister who had experienced a vision, is frankly a hotch-
potch. After the account of his vision, noted above, come some rules of behaviour, then a scripture quiz of the type that Duffy rightly calls the Guinness Book of Records variety, then a series of epithets, then some notes for parents, then extracts from some metrical psalms (in the Sternhold and Hopkins version—not the one then favoured by the ‘godly’), then back to the scripture quiz (for no obvious reason), then prayers for each day of the week, and graces for before and after meals. 

The school of piety contains moralistic advice, another scripture knowledge quiz, scripture texts to encourage a pious life, and verses from the psalms. There were, it may be added, proper catechisms based on the contents of the Bible, as we saw in Chapter 3, but they were much more rigorous than the ones in these chapbooks, some of which, as Dr Duffy has pointed out, are ‘traceable to the 14th and 15th centuries’ and ‘are clearly worlds removed from the requirements of evangelical puritanism’. 

The new school of education contains two prayers for each day of the week and a short catechism which reads in places like a paraphrase of the Prayer Book catechism but ends with a non sequitur of a kind I have not seen in hundreds of other catechisms. The school of holiness was said to be by the author of The school of piety and was offered to the public as ‘very profitable for all people, and useful for families’, and complete with a portrait of the new king, James II, on the cover. The publisher was John Back, who was perhaps trying to put out a rival work to Passinger’s New school and other cheap works for those educating themselves or attending the least well-endowed type of school. The school of holiness contained advice on prayer, four prayers for each day of the week, prayers for the royal family, heavenly meditations, graces, a short catechism, and the ‘holy sayings’ of the Fathers. The fact that the prayers contain echoes of those in the Book of Common Prayer; that the catechism looks to be a cut-down version of an older form and contains the incongruous mixture noted by Capp of some Calvinist phrases with the teaching that salvation is conditional on the meeting of certain terms laid down by Christ; and the use of sayings of the Fathers (described as ‘holy’) rather than the scriptures at the end—all confirm that this was not a ‘godly’ work. The one 24-page work that was authentic and combined the functions of a reading primer, catechism, and first prayer book was The ABC with the catechism, hundreds of thousands of copies of which were being printed every decade from the 1660s to the 1680s. But the copyright of this work (and its big brother The primer and the catechism which sold even more copies) was carefully protected by its owners, the Stationers Company, so that chapbook publishers had to create rival versions.
Prayers figured quite large in various types of chapbook. In all, fifteen of the forty-six Pepys ‘godlies’ contained prayers, and there was even a complete little book of prayers attributed to ‘that reverend divine R. B.’, inferring Richard Baxter. This is not surprising considering the centrality of prayer in the worship of both church and chapel, and the plethora of books of supplementary prayers in circulation, as we saw in Chapter 5. The chapbook prayers appear to be orthodox, if somewhat predictable, in content, and in a third of the chapbooks under consideration they probably represent the clearest element of Christian edification, and Protestant instruction, in that they avoided the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, and prayers such as the Ave. But in most cases the prayers were a small element of the whole, and closer examination may well reveal a good deal of borrowing or paraphrasing, as in ‘Andrew Jones’s’ Black book of conscience, which ends with the blessing delivered by the priest at the end of the Prayer Book communion service, and The dying Christians pious exhortations, whose author borrowed from the Prayer Book funeral service. In other words, we are again in the situation that a significant proportion of the ‘godlies’ in the Pepys collection look to be derived from or were pastiches of genres that publishers knew were making steady sums of money for their rivals.

xvii. Chapbook ‘Sermons’

There remains a score of works in the Pepys collection which belong to none of these genres. The great majority of them are referred to on the title-page or elsewhere as ‘sermon’, and of those which are not most at least begin with the customary analysis of a scripture text. A large proportion are on the need for repentance, and while very few of these dwell for more than a sentence or two on Judgement Day itself, they do perhaps reflect the emphasis on death and judgement that Spufford noted in the ‘godlies’ as a whole. Duffy agrees with the stress on the condemnation of sin and the need for repentance and conversion, but sees the underlying thrust of the message in the ‘godlies’ as urgent rather than gloomy, and containing a positive and reassuring message to trust in God and his promises of forgiveness and grace. The key question as far as these chapbook sermons and tracts on repentance are concerned is how far the doctrine of these works, and the way in which it was presented to the reader, is typical of puritanism, and especially the ‘affectionate’ divinity praised by Baxter, and how far it may be a modification or even in some cases

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214 PG nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 23, 24, 28, 37, 43, 46.
216 See above, Ch. 5.1 and 5.5–vi and passim.
217 PG nos. 5, sig. B3; 7, pp. 1–2, and cf. p. 13; see also above, n. 205, for echoes of Prayer Book prayers in The school of holiness.
a distortion of that teaching by authors who either did not fully understand or did not sympathize with that teaching. It might also be pointed out here that the particular forte of the ‘affectionate practical English writers’ admired by Baxter and others lay only partly in the field of calling the unregenerate to salvation: much of their work was intended to provide spiritual reassurance to the regenerate, though advice of the latter kind is rare in chapbooks.219

On the basis of the works on repentance published in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, and of statements such as the Westminster Confession, what one might expect to have been in the minds of committed Calvinists writing on conversion and repentance would have been the following assertions. Fallen man was totally unable to turn to God without the help of the Holy Spirit. Turning to God was not an act of free will but of divine grace which only the predestined elect would receive, and election was totally irrespective of human action or merit. There had to be a process of self-examination, a sense of wretchedness for sins committed, and a personal experience of saving grace if the calling by the Holy Ghost was to be effectual. The moment of regeneration was only the first stage of a long drawn-out process of turning from the old man to the new; there was a risk of mistaking ‘counterfeit grace’ for the real thing. And the sincerity of repentance had to be tested constantly by self-analysis for signs of a truly broken heart and joy in good works, though these works were acceptable to God only as the fruits of a lively faith.220

By contrast, what we find in a number of the ‘sermons’ in the Pepys collection, especially those by authors about whose background we know least or about whom suspicions have already been aroused, is a stress on how easy it is to turn to God, how anyone can do it, and how Christ is waiting with open arms for men to turn to him. There is no mention of a corrupted, impotent human will; little or no mention of the key role of the Holy Spirit, or of a heart-piercing inner experience of conversion and repentance; barely a hint that some might have doubts about their conversion; little or no mention of the fact that only a minority will be truly repentant; and the implication that turning to God is enough to win divine favour. There is also a distinct whiff of untrammelled free will in a number of the questions posed or assertions made. Can your hearts ‘endure to think of being shut out of heaven... and dwell with everlasting fire?’ asked the author-publisher Thomas Passinger in The door of salvation opened. When Christ continues to knock at sinners’ hearts, he concluded, they should open the door to let him in, and come to Christ by believing in him and repenting.221 It is the duty of all men to open the door of their hearts to Christ, wrote J. G., adding that it was vital to open the door of

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219 Keeble, Baxter, 34, 38; and see above, Ch. 6.ii.
220 Green, Christian’s ABC, chs. 8–9; and the works cited there.
221 PG no. 8, pp. 15, 18, and passim.
the desire to come to Christ, for if not ‘Christ can’t come and dwell with us’; if you want faith, said Roger Hough, then beg God earnestly for it; and William Knowles directed his appeal to all those who had ‘refused’ the Lord’s offer to cover them with his wings (no irresistible grace here), and urged them to turn speedily to God. Hough insisted that Christ’s invitation ‘is on free terms’, and that if anyone was willing to come to him, Christ would not cast them out; in another work in the Pepys ‘godlies’, he urged readers to love righteousness and follow the truth, ‘and so enter heaven’s gate’.

Hough is, in fact, a good example of Capp’s point that some authors combined Calvinist-type phrases, such as God’s people being chosen from eternity, making our election and calling sure, and Christ praying for those who are given him, with some distinctly un-Calvinist remarks, such as God’s promises being either absolute or conditional, and in the case of the latter God looking to believers to fulfil the conditions set, or the assertion that ‘those who call on the Lord in the Lord’s Prayer are the Lord’s people’. The acrostic on Hough’s surname runs: ‘Hate sin, and every evil thing, | Only upon thy God depend, | Unto him that is heaven’s king, | Give praises due, world without end, | He’ll save thy soul, and thee defend’. The anonymous author of Heaven’s messengers, denouncing judgements against this sinful nation also drew a simple connection between virtue and salvation when he urged his readers to repent the current sins of pride, riotous living, oppression, and deceit in business, and to walk in humility, oppress and defraud no one, and be charitable, and ‘God shall bless thee. . . and thou shalt be eternally blest hereafter in heaven’. These authors were not typical Calvinists, or indeed typical ‘Arminians’ or non-Calvinists, for the latter were as hostile to a naive equation of good deeds and salvation as the former.

Only in some of the sermons which contained material drawn from reputable authors and one or two anonymous works do we find some caveats being introduced. Elizabeth Clark’s abridgement of Hooker’s Poor doubting Christian drawn unto Christ described the broken heart, the inexpressible joy, and the danger of despair that those called to Christ would encounter, and urged readers to ‘labour to have thy conscience settled . . . in the truth’. The majority of the material cut out of the abridged version of Baxter’s Now or never was from the central section of the original in which Baxter had tried to deal with various objections. But even so what was left in included references not only to repentance but also to belief, sanctification, and the diligent performance of duties, and to the many helps available to those who turned to Christ. In One of Mr. Vincent’s last sermons, stubborn sinners were warned that
‘the sole disposing of all things... is the prerogative of the most high God’, and urged them to examine their souls to see if they were guilty of more obvious sins such as being drunkards or adulterers, and also less obvious ones such as being hypocrites or backsliders. Nathaniel Vincent’s *The day of grace* is voluntaristic in places and has been rather garbled in the compression, but in the strong stress on the role of Christ in calling sinners to repentance may have been taken from either a genuine text by Vincent or someone’s shorthand notes of one of his sermons; the same may be said of Thomas Wadsworth’s *Christ in the clouds* for its careful exposition of the text, though the author or editor had difficulty integrating a double predestinarian message with the stress on being judged by our works. And in their insistence on introspection and change, *A knock at the door of Christless ones* (‘transcribed’ by T. H. and offering ‘sixteen considerations for unchanged persons’) and the anonymous *A Christian indeed* also look to be taken from genuine originals.

Perhaps those authors who omitted all mention of the inability of the human will to achieve anything unaided, the need for introspection, and the problems or effects of repentance were choosing to emphasize one particular moment—the instant of turning to God—and for pastoral and evangelical purposes playing down the caveats and technicalities, on the grounds that these could be tackled later: this could be said of some of Bunyan’s more open-ended invitations to the greatest of sinners to come to Christ. But most ‘godly’ authors were so worried by the risks of semi-Pelagianism or complacency that they made it clear who it was that took the initiative in conversion, and what else was needed from the truly repentant, as John Andrewes did in an early work like *Andrewes resolution*, and as did Perkins, Greenwood, Alleine, Bunyan, and many others. And a much more likely reason for the absence of such a statement in most of the Pepys ‘sermons’ on repentance is that their authors were either not well versed in the older Calvinist or non-Calvinist theology, or were not completely orthodox.

There thus remains in Pepys’s collection a hard core of half a dozen sermons or tracts on repentance which might be counted as reflecting the views of orthodox ‘godly’ ministers, albeit at second hand. To these might be added a couple of works which were intended to provide comfort for those who already believed but were suffering from some affliction—relief which was seen at the time as one of the special skills of the ‘godly’ clergy: Ralph Venning’s posthumously published *The Christian’s temptation*, and the anonymous *The Christians triumph, over temptation, tribulation and persecution*, though the text with fear and trembling’, with the 1662 edition of the full-length *Now or never: The holy, serious, diligent believer justified*.

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227 PG no. 35, pp. 1, 7–11, 13.
228 PG nos. 12 (for examples of garbling see sigs. A 7r, B1v–2r); 36 (for the predestinarian message pp. 8, 14); 38, title-page and passim; and 22, pp. 10–12.
229 See above, Ch. 6.ii and 6.viii.
230 See above, Ch. 8.ii and 8.xii.
itself says very little about persecution, and the author’s heavy reliance on the Fathers is perhaps unusual. But even taken together, these works constitute no more than a very small minority of the Pepys ‘godlies’.

Did this minority sell well? If we compare the forty-six chapbooks in Pepys’s collection of ‘godlies’ with the Short-Title Catalogue for the period, we find that twenty-seven titles may have been published only once, and a further six published twice in the later Stuart period. Of the remaining thirteen, ten sold more than five editions or carry the number of a repeat edition higher than ‘fifth’ on the title-page (which may or may not reflect reality). However, these thirteen titles do not include most of the works by authors associated by Dr Duffy with the ejected nonconformist clergy, such as two of the titles attributed to Baxter, and those associated with Thomas Brookes, Ralph Venning, and Nathaniel and Thomas Vincent. Only the abridged versions of works by Hooker, Baxter (Now or never), and Wadsworth—all abridged by hands other than the author’s—appear to have passed the five-edition mark. Impressive though some of these sales are, they were also swamped by the alleged sales of the publications of ‘Andrew Jones’ and ‘John Hart’: fifty-four editions for Jones’s The black book of conscience, thirty-six for his Morbus Satanicus, thirty for his Dooms-day, thirty for Hart’s The dreadful character of a drunkard, twenty-four for Christs first sermon, twenty-three for Christs last sermon, sixteen for The Christians blessed choice, and so on. This was a mixed bag of best-sellers, with some works perhaps being genuine or having a much higher element of a genuine original in them than others, and a hefty pinch of salt being needed to swallow some of the larger totals of editions. But the general conclusion seems clear, that in the popularity stakes it was the publishers’ products and not the ‘godly’s which won hands down.

xviii. **Thwarted Attempts by Genuinely Sincere Authors**

As confirmation of this point from the reverse angle, the sincere author’s, we may mention the works of three authors: one active in the early seventeenth century, the other two near-contemporaries of ‘Hart’ and ‘Jones’. The first we may pass over briefly since he has already been discussed in a previous chapter: Henry Goodcole, the prison chaplain of Newgate who published a number of pamphlets that reflected his inside knowledge of the last days of various sinners and his desire to make the murder pamphlet a more edifying

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231 PG nos. 30, 42, 35, 12, 36, 38, and 22 (raised in previous paragraphs), and nos. 40 and 13.
232 This is based on a comparison of the PG items with Wing. The six that went into a second edition were PG nos. 2, 12, 15, 18, 29, and 44; the two that passed through three or four editions were nos. 17 and 43; and the eleven that passed through five or more are nos. 1, 5, 8, 19, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, and 42.
233 PG nos. 20 and 28 (‘Baxter’); 11 (Brooks); 40 (Venning); 12 (N. Vincent); 35 (T. Vincent); as against nos. 30 (Hooker/E. C.); 42 (‘Baxter’, Now or never); and 36 (Wadsworth).
234 See below, Appendix 1 s.v. Hart and Jones.
genre. But this did not prove a popular mixture in that hardly any of his works got beyond the first edition.235

The same was true of the great majority of the works of Richard Younge, a zealous layman who in the middle third of the seventeenth century wrote, published, lent, and gave away many copies of his little tracts. There can be little doubt of Younge’s commitment to double predestinarian thought, but despite his generosity in lending and giving copies away, of the more than fifty titles he produced, barely a third got past the first edition, and only two reached the five-edition mark.236 Perhaps significantly these two were among the works in which his Calvinism was less distinctive. In *A hopeful way to cure that horrid sinne of swearing* [1643?], he combined exhortation and some cautionary tales with a dialogue between ‘Messenger’ and ‘Swearer’. In a postscript by two leading presbyterians, John Downname and Thomas Gataker, readers of the work were urged to read it out loud to any they heard swearing. ‘Ignorant worldlings’ were also told that they should not mistake God’s refraining from striking down all swearers for an indication that he did not loathe the practice.237 *A serious and pathetical description of heaven and hell* was an extract of five chapters from a larger work in which the joys of heaven and the horrors of hell were evoked.238 His larger and more sober works, for example on the sinfulness and ingratitude of man, the need for self-examination for sin, the benefits of affliction, and the importance of listening to sermons, did not sell nearly as well.239

Matthew Killiray was one of those authors mentioned earlier in this chapter as a little-known figure, who nevertheless between 1673 and 1675 had a dozen works published by the leading ballad and chapbook publisher, William Thackeray.240 These works, referred to variously as ‘tracts’, ‘small books’ or ‘little books’, and ‘discourses’, were mostly published in black-letter and in 24-page octavo.241 Killiray was an educated man with some knowledge of theology,242 and from various comments in his work (the importance in conversion of the Word heard and read, the benefits of affliction, and the condemnation

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235 See above, Ch. 7.vii; and Lake, ‘Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder’, 283, and cf. 257–83 passim.
236 STC: s.v. Richard Younge; a thorough study of Younge’s publications is long overdue.
238 R. Younge,  *A serious and pathetical description of heaven and hell* (1658), passim.
239 e.g. R. Younge, *The victory of patience and the benefit of affliction, A sovereign antidote against all grief, The people’s impartial and compassionate monitor, The proofe of a good preacher, The hearts index*, and *Self-examination*.
240 Wing K4748–75; anon., *The Christians comfort* (1673), which is part of the Killiray collection in the Linenhall Library Belfast (II/1169) has some features, such as the characteristic ending, which suggests that this too may be by Killiray, though not listed in Wing as such.
241 anon./[M. Killiray],  *Short and sure way to grace* (1674), title-page; id., *The sinners sobs* (1673), sig. B4; [id.], *Every man’s duty* (1673), sig. A2; and [id.], *The touchstone of a Christian* (1675), p. 2.
242 anon./[M. Killiray],  *The pathway to saving knowledge* (1673), sigs. A2–3, and passim; [id.], *The ready way to get riches* (1673), sigs. A8 , B3, B4; id., *The godly mans gain* (1674), passim; id., *Touchstone*, passim.
of the ‘carnal’) one imagines that he had a ‘godly’ background. Moreover, he was anxious to explain technical terms and usually wrote clearly and simply, and had a penchant for lively titles and alliteration—The Christians comfort, The godly mans gain, The sinners sobs, The short and sure way to grace, The ready way to get riches, and so on. His ‘little books’ covered a wide variety of topics, but although they tackled sins such as swearing and drinking, the need for true sorrow for sin and sincere repentance, and the duty of thankfulness, they also presented much material in a very positive way: how to obtain saving knowledge, how to examine oneself to see if one had the qualifications of a true Christian, and how to prosper (spiritually). When he was trying to encourage sinners, he sometimes let fall phrases that hinted at free will and rewards of the kind we have seen above, but he also regularly warned against complacency, especially among those who thought they had faith but did not keep God’s commandments.

A useful addition to a publisher’s list of authors, it might be thought, and the fact that Killiray had Thackeray’s patronage suggests that the latter appreciated this: Killiray’s little book of prayers was even published with ‘first edition’ confidently emblazoned on its cover. But, sadly, Killiray’s works did not sell. In 1675 Thackeray was reduced to packaging up unsold copies as Ten sermons, and of those published between 1673 and 1675, only the alluringly entitled Ready way to get riches was ever printed again, in 1681. Perhaps Killiray was too ‘godly’ for Thackeray’s customers, who reverted to the mixture which he knew would sell: on the one hand, threats of hellfire for sins already committed, and, on the other, assurance of how easy it was to turn to Jesus when the moment was right.

xix. Conclusion

Publishers evidently knew the market for cheap religious books much better than the ‘godly’, and perhaps the conformists too. Between them different publishers provided works of very different levels of sophistication: from enormous multi-volume commentaries on the Bible at the top, through large treatises and collections of sermons, and smaller tracts and catechisms, to what the ballad publishers thought were ‘small godly books’ at the bottom. It is not being suggested that the ‘godly’ did not care about the multitude: clearly a number of them did, though even the most zealous sometimes used

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43 Ibid., p. 2; [id.], Christian’s comfort, passim; id., Godly mans gain, sig. Br’.
44 Id., Sinners sobs, p. 2; id., Short and sure way, pp. 3–5, 10, 18, 20.
45 anon./[M. Killiray], The swearer and the drunkard (1673); id., Sinners sobs; id., Every man’s duty.
46 Id., Pathway; Short and sure way; Touchstone; Ready way.
49 See Wing K475J.
derogatory terms when describing them to each other, and many, like the members of the Westminster Assembly, regularly overestimated what people with little formal education or limited commitment were likely to absorb. But the ‘godly’ were not the only ones to be concerned about the multitude, or to use print as a means of ending their ignorance. The many catechisms produced by the parish clergy, cited by Dr Duffy as evidence of ‘godly’ concern, were in fact written by all kinds of ministers, but mostly by conformists. And by far the biggest use of cheap print for ‘religious’ ends was the massive production of *The ABC with the catechisme* and *The primer and catechism* that we considered in Chapters 4 and 5.

What was perhaps the bigger divide was not between the attempts of the ‘godly’ and those of the non-godly to provide cheap print for the poor, but between the kind of publication we have encountered in Chapters 4–6 and to some extent Chapter 7, and the types examined in this one. Some ‘godly’ chapbooks did contain much more by way of authentic Protestant teaching than ‘godly’ ballads and moralistic pamphlets, though a good deal less than, say, a properly organized catechism, tract, or confession of faith. But in their stress on the need for good works, the authors of the great majority of ‘penny godlies’, like those of the great majority of ballads, leant towards the obstinate popular semi-Pelagianism of which parish clergy from different camps complained. And there is a strong likelihood that these popular attitudes were perpetuated by authors and publishers who did not fully grasp or did not sympathize with official or ‘godly’ teaching, but who did know what would sell copies.

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250 For some of the harsh terms used to describe uneducated catechumens, and the problems that catechists had with using the Westminster Shorter Catechism, see my *Christian’s ABC*, 73–5, 81–3, 89–90, 261–2, 268–9, 272–3.

251 Duffy, ‘Godly and the Multitude’, 35; note the elision from ‘protestant’ to ‘puritan’ in successive sentences; Green, *Christian’s ABC*, chs. 2–4, and pt. ii.

252 For a continuing market, even in the 1640s and 1650s, for newsbooks and cheap print discussing prodigies, apparitions, and divine curses, see J. Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution* (1993); and for the continuing superficiality and sensationalism of chapbooks after 1700, J. Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century* (1882).
The Mystery of the Metrical Psalm

The metrical version of the psalms known as ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ was probably published more often than any other work in the early modern period. As with the Bible and Prayer Book, its first editions were sponsored by the educated elite, guaranteeing early sales. Thereafter, the pattern differed: more and more of the cognoscenti turned their backs on ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, but the less-educated majority increasingly appropriated it, and for reasons that will become clear it became a prime example of how print could affect the lives of those who could not read.

i. Hostility to ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’

From the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth century there stretched a long line of poets and critics who were openly contemptuous of the quality of Sternhold and Hopkins’s verse or felt they could do much better at turning the Book of Psalms into elegant, intelligible English verse. Comparing ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ unfavourably with other versions written in England and abroad, John Donne was moved to ask: ‘Shall our Church, unto our Spouse and King | More hoarse, more harsh than any other sing?’ For his contemporary, George Wither, the ‘old version’ was ‘barren and simple poesy’, full of ‘absurdities’ and expressions ‘quite beside if not contrary, to the meaning of the text’, which allowed ‘the papist, the atheist, and the libertine occasion to scoff at our Christian exercises’. The divines of the Westminster Assembly sought a replacement for ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, mainly on the grounds of the faults in its translation, and in 1651 a bishop living in enforced retirement was still referring to the ‘general distaste taken at some unhandsome expressions’ in the old version which ‘both disfigured the meaning of the Holy Ghost, and reproached our English tongue’.

1 For Surrey and Sidney, see R. Zim, English Metrical Psalms. Poetry as Praise and Prayer 1535–1601 (Cambridge, 1987), chs. 3, 5; J. Dryden, Religio laici (1682), 28; for Addison and Pope, C. Freer, Music for a King: George Herbert’s Style and the Metrical Psalms (1972), 23; and see next notes.


3 Though some members did show themselves alive to the ‘more poetical’ quality of the work of William Barton compared to that of Francis Rous: W. A. Shaw, A History of the English Church . . . 1640–1660 (2 vols., 1900), i. 383; on Rous and Barton see below, nn. 69, 77.

4 [Henry King], The psalms of David (1651), sig. A2; cf. Wilkins’s remark that the ‘old version’
prick-song’ for ‘the people’ was how Milton’s nephew, John Phillips, described it a few years later, while an episcopalian writing in 1679 thought it had been patched up carelessly, and complained that many of the words it used were by then “out of use and scarce intelligible”. Even the gentle Isaac Watts said that for many Christians the spirit of devotion was crushed when the common translations were used: ‘the psalm dies upon their lips’. The kindest remarks were usually along the lines that the verse was the best the mid-sixteenth century could offer, or that the authors meant well. Hence Falkland’s observation that ‘so pious an attempt’ could be ‘(though not allowed) excused’, and Thomas Fuller’s comment that Sternhold and Hopkins ‘had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon’.

The manner in which the metrical psalms were sung by parish clerks and congregations was also a subject of regular complaint. In the reign of Charles II, the earl of Rochester, the courtier and wit, improvised an epigram ‘To a country clerk after having heard him sing psalms’: ‘Sternhold and Hopkins had great qualms | When they translated David’s psalms | To make the heart full glad; | But had it been poor David’s fate | To hear thee sing, and them translate, | By God! ’twould have made him mad’. At that time the wage of a parish clerk was very low, and a contemporary observer opined that clerks were chosen ‘more for their poverty than skill and ability’. The result was described by Phillips as follows: ‘Straight then the clerk began with potsherd voice | To grope a tune, singing with woeful noise, | Like a cracked Sans-bell jarring in the steeple.’ Some clerks were said to adopt a nasal tone or to drawl the words, or rely on sheer lung power, reflected in the following epitaph: ‘In church none ever heard a layman | With a clearer voice say “Amen”. | Who now with hallelujah’s sound | Like him can make the roof rebound?’ Others developed individual quirks, like the Fenland blacksmith who adorned

‘embases and depraves’ the splendour and purity of the original, cited in Sir John Denham, A version of the psalms of David (1714), p. xxii.

5 John Phillips, A satyr against hypocrites (1655), 5 (often erroneously attributed in secondary accounts of this period to his brother Edward).

6 John Patrick, A century of select psalms (1679), sig. A1; a physician thought it a great scandal that the gross faults of the ‘old version’ had been tolerated so long: J. Gibbs, The first fifteen psalms of David (1701), sig. A1; and cf. Denham, Version, p. xiii.


8 George Sandys, A paraphrase upon the psalmes of David (1636), sig. [A6]; Thomas Fuller, The church-history of Britain (1655), iv. 73 (though see also the remark that two blacksmiths beating on an anvil made better music than most psalm singers).


11 Phillips, Satyr, 5; ‘sans-bell’ is an old form of Sanctus-bell.

his performance with ‘an extraordinary shake, which he was accustomed to
execute at the end, or wherever else it was required to give effect, and which
used to astonish and delight the congregation greatly’.

To the ears of the sophisticated, the performance of enthusiastic but untu-
tored rural congregations was no better than that of their clerk. The ‘greater
number’ of church-attenders, wrote Wither in 1619, performed these psalms
‘with the same devotion, wherewith (as the proverb is) dogs go to church’;
‘some roar, some whine, some creak like wheels of carts’, wrote another critic
in 1655; in 1676 a Cambridge clerk complained of the ‘whining, tooting,
yelling, or screeching there is in many country congregations’; and a hundred
years later Charles Burney referred to the ‘old version’ psalms being ‘roared
like orgies’ in the streets. The arrival in many later eighteenth-century
parishes of church bands, replete with bassoons, oboes, serpents, and strings,
only added to the discomfort of those with delicate sensibilities, such as
Hardy’s vicar in Under the Greenwood Tree; and for many of the better-educated
members of society in Hanoverian England, the gradual replacement of met-
trical psalms by hymns was greeted with sighs of relief, especially if the hymn-
singing was led by a proper choir and an organist. Thereafter, like so much
else of the early modern period that displeased Evangelicals or supporters of
the Oxford movement, ‘the old way of singing’ was treated as an embarrass-
ing aberration. As a result the subject is, with one honourable exception,
ignored in virtually all of the historical accounts of the early modern church
currently available.

In the face of this barrage of disapproval from those who aspired to shape
society’s tastes or keep its doctrinal teaching pure, it might seem a mystery
why ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ became entrenched in the first place, and then
lasted so long. But ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ had many supporters too, among
both clergy and laity, and metrical psalms were undoubtedly the most com-
monly performed type of music in English churches and chapels from the late
sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries. One purpose of this chapter is to
show when, how, and why the singing of metrical psalms proved popular with
different groups of people. Another is to ask what religious knowledge they
may have derived from this source, since, whatever their shortcomings as

13 Temperley, Music, i. 138.
14 Wither, Preparation, 68; Phillips, Satyr, 5; Temperley, Music, i. 90; Freer, Music, 20 n. 49.
15 Temperley, Music, i. 148–51, 196–201; the story of the displaced musicians in Hardy’s novel was
based on what happened in his own parish at Stinsford.
16 Ibid., chs. 8–10.
17 Horton Davies, in the first three volumes of his Worship and Theology— I From Cranmer to Hooker,
1534–1603 (Princeton and Oxford, 1970), II From Andrews to Baxter and Fox, 1603–1690 (Princeton,
1975), and III From Watts and Wesley to Maurice—treats metrical psalms mainly in the context of puritan wor-
ship; see below, n. 126. Metrical psalms do not even warrant a mention in The Cambridge Guide to the Arts
in Britain, ed. B. Ford (Cambridge, 1988—), vols. 3 and 4 (1989). The honourable exception to this general
neglect is Professor Temperley’s excellent study cited in n. 10 above, which unravels a number of
the neglected and mysterious aspects of the history of the metrical psalms from the standpoint of an
historian of music.
verse, metrical psalms were treated as a form of the Word of God. And since this is a book about print as well as Protestantism, there will be an inevitable focus on printed copies of the metrical psalms.

Here we have another mystery. In 1710 Bishop Beveridge suggested that ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ had been ‘printed oftener than any other book in England’, and that millions of copies had been issued. If he was right, why did sales of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ outstrip those of bibles, prayer books, catechisms, sermons, handbooks, and the rest? The solution to this mystery neatly dovetails with a solution to the previous one. Although metrical psalms began life and achieved acceptance as a form of praise among the literate elite, increasingly they were appropriated by the masses, with the help of ‘lining out’ by the parish clerk, so that by the time the chorus of protest was reaching its climax ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ had taken such a hold that it could not be easily replaced. That climax also coincided with a rise in the attention paid to the musical side of performance, especially in towns. And one of the key mechanisms for each phase—initial acceptance, subsequent appropriation, and musical revival in the towns—was the printing press.

ii. Early Sales of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’

In 1548 or early 1549 Thomas Sternhold, a groom of the king’s robes, published a few psalms which he had turned into verse, mainly in a ballad-like metre of alternating lines of eight and six syllables. These were intended to be sung, probably in private households including that of the young king himself, whom Sternhold praised for preferring these ‘holy songs of verity’ to ‘feigned rhymes of vanity’. In 1549—perhaps in response to rapid sales of the first editions, but again probably for private use—there was published an enlarged edition of forty-four psalms in metre, mostly by Sternhold but with a few by John Hopkins, then a young Oxford graduate. Next, in Geneva in 1559, following the adoption of Sternhold and Hopkins’s incomplete set in the public worship of the English exiles there, there appeared a complete edition of all 150 psalms, and in 1562 the first full edition in England with a title-page on which it was claimed that the volume was ‘set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches of all the people together, before and after Morning and Evening prayer, as also before and after sermons’ as well as in private households.

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8 W. Beveridge, *A defence of the Book of Psalms* (1710), 85, 102–3; for some approximate estimates of numbers produced, see following pages of this chapter. Possible exceptions to Beveridge’s ‘oftener’ are editions of *The ABC with the catechisme* and *The primer and catechism* in the later seventeenth century: cf. Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 176–7, and above Ch. 4.iv.

There are some minor mysteries associated with the 1562 version. Who was responsible for the conversion of the remaining 106 psalms into metre? Forty were there attributed to Sternhold, though he had been dead since August 1549—and sixty-one to Hopkins, though there is no sign that Hopkins, who served as a schoolmaster and later as rector in Suffolk, was ever in Geneva. The remaining forty-nine (together with emendations to the original forty-four and the addition of more tunes and new prefaces to each psalm) were apparently the work of English exiles in Geneva, men like William Whittingham, allegedly responsible for eleven psalms, and Thomas Norton, responsible for perhaps twenty-five, though later editions have different attributions. The puzzle need not detain us, though since two-thirds of the metrical psalms were still ascribed to the first authors the older nickname of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ will be used here in preference to ‘the Anglo-Genevan psalter’.

Another puzzle is why the title-page claimed that the 1562 volume was ‘set forth and allowed’ for public worship in all English churches. In his history of the English Reformation written a hundred years later, Peter Heylyn claimed that this was ‘a connivance rather than an approbation’: he could find no records to support this claim. ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ had been approved for private devotion, he thought, but then ‘by little and little’ had been brought into the use of the church, and permitted rather than allowed to be sung before and after sermons. Soon, he noted, printers had started publishing ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ in tandem with the Book of Common Prayer and then with the Bible as well, giving the metrical psalms a further veneer of official approval. Heylyn gave the metrical psalms a grudging approval, if their use did not interfere with the liturgy laid down in the Prayer Book; but as a doughty supporter of the established church he strongly disapproved of the way in which the ‘puritan faction’, when it had grown strong, had ‘thrust out the Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis quite out of our church’.

Another episcopalian author, who was much better disposed towards ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, accepted that there was no documentary proof of royal approval for the 1562 edition, but took the view that the publishers would not have presumed to claim royal approval if this was not true, or—a more convincing argument—that the claim would have been challenged and omitted from all subsequent editions if the crown had strongly objected. William Beveridge, bishop of St Asaph early in Anne’s reign, also suggested

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22 Zim, *Metrical Psalms*, 143.
24 Ibid., cols. 184–5; for a similar view, see L. Milbourne, *The psalms of David in English metre* (1698), sigs. A5–v.
that from 1603 at least royal approval had been given implicitly, for in that year metrical psalms were put on the same footing as the prose version (whose use was permitted in the official liturgy) when letters patent were issued granting the Stationers’ Company a monopoly of a number of standard works including ‘psalters and psalms in verse or in prose’. From then until his own day (and, in fact, until the nineteenth century) the Stationers supervised production of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’.25

The phrase in the royal injunctions of 1559 which permitted the performance before or after Morning or Evening Prayer of ‘an hymn, or suchlike song . . . in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised’ may have covered metrical psalms. But this is not conclusive, since the term ‘hymn’ was often used of a text that was not derived from scripture, and while the title-page of the first full English edition of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ claimed metrical psalms could be sung before and after the sermon, the 1559 injunction had allowed a ‘hymn’ or ‘song’ only before and after the service.26 As we shall see, Archbishop Parker may have approved of or even had a hand in the publication in England of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, and by the late 1570s at least the singing of metrical psalms was specifically approved in an official form of thanksgiving for the anniversary of the queen’s accession.27 In the light of these thanksgiving services and the letters patent of 1603, and the fact that some Elizabethan diocesans asked in their visitation articles if each parish had a copy of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’,28 Heylyn was perhaps correct in thinking that metrical psalms had been brought in ‘little by little’. But it had been with the assent of the bishops and crown rather than at the instigation of the ‘godly’ alone.

During the closing decades of the sixteenth and the first four decades of the seventeenth centuries, there were probably two overlapping and interconnected processes: acceptance of metrical psalms in public worship by a growing number of the better-educated sections of society, and adoption by an increasing proportion of the illiterate or partially literate among the ‘common people’. The first of these is today the best documented, and the most obvious indicator of it is the apparently rapidly growing number of editions of the text published. Trying to provide even moderately accurate figures for this is fraught with the same problems as trying to calculate the numbers of bibles that we encountered in Chapter 2 above, and in particular the possibility that by the early seventeenth century the practice of continuous reprinting was

25 Beveridge, Defence, 25–9; Blagden, Stationers’ Company, 75, 92.
26 Temperley, Music, i. 39–40, 46–8. These objections also apply to the claim on the title-page of the incomplete 1561 edition that it was ‘allowed, according to the order appointed in the Queen’s Majesty’s Injunctions, 1560’ (Julian, Hymnology, 858–9).
being adopted for the most popular editions, such as two-column black letter quarto, two-column roman octavo, two-column roman duodecimo, and one-column roman twenty-fourmo. However, as in the case of bible production, continuous reprinting probably reflected high demand and large numbers of copies being run off, even if from today’s perspective it means somewhat fewer bibliographically discrete editions than the title-pages suggest. Cutting the Gordian knot, we may use the editions listed in STC until further work reveals their shortcomings, and suggest that the approximate number of editions between 1562 and 1640 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Editions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1562–69</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570–79</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580–89</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>1590–99</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>1600–1609</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1610–19</td>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>1620–29</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630–40</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>482</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of editions may thus have increased fivefold during the reign of Elizabeth, and perhaps more than doubled again by the reign of Charles I. Already in the 1620s the Stationers were complaining of unlicensed editions being produced at Cambridge, though a deal was struck to allow the university press to print a specified number of reams of psalms. One cannot be certain about the size of the print run for these editions, or at least those which were conventionally discrete editions, but like other official titles that came to be included in the Stationers’ monopoly it was probably high and grew higher. If we use a multiplier of no more than 1,500–2,000, which is probably on the low side for those printed from the late 1580s, and especially for copies in octavo and duodecimo, we are probably talking of hundreds of thousands of copies, quite possibly a million, having been produced by 1640.

Some of these copies were undoubtedly purchased in batches for use by those choirs in cathedrals and collegiate churches which continued to perform choral services, sing polyphonic anthems, and chant the psalms to plainsong tunes, but on some occasions performed metrical psalms. As for parish churches, there are again specific references to the singing of psalms, and a thorough survey of churchwardens’ accounts in the time of Elizabeth has yielded evidence of small numbers of copies of the metrical psalms being purchased, presumably for the minister and the clerk, or for the singing boys or men and the organist if the parish still had them. But the numbers bought were relatively small: rarely more than six, and often only two copies per

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9 The totals of complete editions have been extracted from STC; i.e. 90–115; editions published outside England (e.g. 2499–99) have not been counted. For McMullin’s theory of continuous reprinting, see below, Appendix 2.

10 McKitterick, *History of CUP*, 273, and cf. 172; Smith (‘Practice’, 644) thought editions were smaller than average, but see above, Ch. 4.x; and below, n. 75.

church, with relatively few repeat purchases in later years.\textsuperscript{32} If we optimistically assume that the churchwardens of most of the churches and chapels in England bought a few copies near the start of Elizabeth’s reign and a few additions or replacements occasionally thereafter, this would account for a substantial proportion of the output of the 1560s and 1570s, though by no means all. Moreover, one would have expected at least some of the copies bought for use by clerks or choristers to have been of the specialized kind of which relatively few editions were published: large-print editions which could easily be read at arm’s length; and editions providing not just the melodies (which were printed in most Elizabethan and early Stuart copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’), but four-part harmonizations by composers like John Dowland and Giles Farnaby.\textsuperscript{33}

For the destination of the remainder, we probably have to look in three directions: parish priests wanting a personal copy; schoolmasters and schoolchildren; and literate adults who wished to have their own copies. A number of parish clergy may have bought their own copies before they were appointed to their first parish, or felt the need of one when moving from one cure to another, though since some parish clergy disliked the metrical psalms, we cannot assume that all parish priests had private copies.\textsuperscript{34} Educational theorists like Brinsley and Hoole were convinced of the great value to the young of learning psalms, and the best-selling textbook of the day, Coote’s English schoolmaster, contained a number of metrical psalms lifted straight from ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’. The statutes for the grammar school set up at Kirkby Stephen in 1566 stipulated that the master and scholars were daily to sing one of the psalms appointed (a list was appended), and other Elizabethan and Stuart school statutes specified that pupils should attend church with their ‘psalm books’ and help to sing the service. Boys educated in London at Bridewell and Christ’s Hospital who showed musical talent were hired out, and even schoolchildren of average talent were taught new tunes so that they might ‘give the tunes sweetly’ to the rest of the congregation the following Sunday.\textsuperscript{35} It would not be at all surprising, therefore, if a sizeable market for metrical psalms emerged in the school textbook market—a supposition which receives strong

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.; see also below, n. 41; and on four-part settings by Dowland and Farnaby, see STC: 2482, 2488, 2495, 2515, and 2538.5.
\textsuperscript{34} See above, pp. 507–8, and below, Ch. 9.iii.
support from an analysis of the types of copy sold, to which we will come shortly.

As for literate adults under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, they may have wanted their own copies for a variety of reasons: to sing metrical psalms at home, or at work, or to enable them to join in or even to lead the singing in church. Psalm-singing at home was practised by conformists like Sir Robert Cecil, Lady Danvers, Lady Falkland, George Herbert, and the Little Gidding circle, as well as adopted by puritans like the earl of Essex and gatherings of the ‘godly’. However, musicologists have pointed out that Dowland and Far-naby were better known for their madrigals and other secular music, and the harmonized settings they composed for psalms may have been designed for those leisureed aristocratic or gentry households which had already taken to singing madrigals, and whose members could read music as well as words. In other words, some households may have sung both religious and secular songs—at least for a while (by the 1650s there was talk of the need to revive domestic psalm-singing).\(^36\) Weavers are a group who are conventionally associated with singing psalms in the workplace, as in Falstaff’s ‘I would I were a weaver, I could sing psalms’, and in the real-life Kidderminster where Baxter found weavers set a book before them ‘as they stand in their loom’, so that a number of printed copies may have found a home with them.\(^37\) What can be shown, from analysis of probate material such as that of a number of Kentish families in this period, is that many merchants seem to have possessed a copy of the metrical psalms as well as a bible and/or a Prayer Book.\(^38\) Furthermore, as will be shown below, many of the surviving copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were bound up at the time with a bible and/or a Prayer Book, which offers a prima-facie case for their being used in worship or devotions, either at home or—more likely—in church.

Analysis of the pattern of editions produced supports a number of these assumptions. At the outset most editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were published in the largest formats: folio and quarto. Many of these, especially

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\(^{37}\) Smith, ‘Practice’, 653, 658–9; and note that the second edition of George Sandys’s Paraphrase upon the psalms in 1638 was ‘set to new tunes for private devotion with a through bass, for voice or instrument’ by the fashionable composer, Henry Lawes of the Chapel Royal. On perceptions of decline, see below, n. 66.

\(^{38}\) 1 Henry IV, ii. iv. 43–7; and R. Baxter, Reliquiae Baxterianae ed. M. Sylvester (1696), lib. 1, pt. 1, para. 155 (and cf. paras. 153–6); the proportion of weavers who possessed copies of a metrical psalter has not yet been explored as far as I know. Many Quakers were weavers, but presumably did not sing psalms: T. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II (Cambridge, 1987), 67.

those printed in a larger than average typeface, could be read at arm’s length by someone standing up, and were probably designed for a permanent position on the desk where the minister or clerk sat. But in the early seventeenth century, as can be seen from Table 9.1, there was a marked swing towards the production of editions in middling formats—octavos and duodecimos—and a striking rise in the numbers of editions in sixteemno, twenty-fourmo, and thirty-twomo (even allowing for continuous reprinting, this trend is reasonably clear). All of these newly popular sizes used a typeface either of below average size (brevier) or in some cases diminutive size (nonpareil), presumably in an effort to pack the maximum of text onto the minimum of sheets and thus keep costs and prices down. Since the men who published these editions were all anxious to make money from the venture, there is little reason to doubt that most copies of one edition were sold before the next one was set up, so the swing to smaller formats is reasonably good evidence of more copies being purchased for personal and portable use in the early Stuart period.

The names and other brief details of ownership inscribed in some surviving copies and the bindings also tend to confirm the trend to smaller formats. An octavo copy of 1631 now in the Bodleian Library and bound with a Book of Common Prayer and bible has various autographs and verses inscribed on the flyleaves and elsewhere, including one often written by children in books or on samplers: ‘Sarah Wilkins senior her book | God give her grace therein to look | Not only look but understand | That learning is better than house | and land. | When house is gone and land is spent | Then learning is most exelent [sic].’ Underneath in a less formed hand is ‘When this you see: remember me . . . Sarah Wilkins’, perhaps Sarah junior. Other surviving copies in smaller formats, again often paired with a Prayer Book or bible, have moderately valuable bindings, some in embossed leather with the crest of a noble or gentry family, others in drawn-thread needlework using silver thread, showing that its owner had spent much time and not a little expense in decorating the copy which she probably took to church.

What is also evident from Table 9.1 for the period before 1640 is that the

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40 See the one-column, black-letter folio editions published between the 1560s and the 1630s, and the one-column, black-letter quartos published between the 1560s and the 1610s. See also n. 74 below. A few copies may have been purchased by clergyman acting in a private capacity, or teachers or wealthy laymen wanting a stout copy with easily-read type.

41 The smallest type-face of all was normally used in the two-column, roman octavos and duodecimos, and in 16mo, 24mo, and 32mo editions. The source for Table 1 is STC. The two queries in the 32mo columns are items not traced since the 1930s:

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2461, 2532

2538

2648.

42 Bodleian Library, Bib.Eng.1631.f.2; and cf. Bib.Eng.1615.e.3 and 1616.e.4.

43 Bodl. Bib.Eng.1598.e.3 and 1598d.1, Bib.Eng.1644.f.1, and C.P.1666.e.1, and Bib.Eng.1617.e.1, 1626.e.1, and cf. DMH, no. 383. Neither bindings nor inscriptions have been analysed systematically yet, but could be.
### Table 9.1 Approximate Number of Editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ Printed 1562–1640

| Years | Folio | Folio | Folio | Quarto | Quarto | Quarto | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Octavo | Total |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|       | 1 col.| 2 cols.| 2 cols.| 1 col.| 2 cols.| 2 cols.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 2 cols.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 2 cols.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| 1 col.| Total |
| 1562–9| 2     | –     | –     | 4      | 1      | –      | 1      | –      | –      | –      | –      | –      | 1      | –      | –      | 1      | –      | –      | 1      | –      | 9      |
| 1570–9| 2     | –     | 2     | 5      | 8      | 1      | 3      | –      | –      | –      | –      | –      | 3      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 25     | 26     |
| 1580–9| 3     | 1     | 1     | 7      | 15     | 1      | 4      | –      | 5      | –      | 1      | –      | 4      | 3      | –      | 1      | 46     |
| 1590–9| 2     | 1     | 1     | 3      | 13     | 2      | 4      | –      | 6      | –      | –      | –      | 2      | 2      | –      | 2      | 43     |
| 1600–9| 4     | –     | 4     | 2      | 14     | 4      | 4      | 1      | 11     | 1      | –      | –      | 1      | 3      | 5      | 4      | 59     |
| 1610–19| 5    | –     | 2     | 1      | 21     | 8      | 6      | 2      | 12     | –      | 1      | 3      | 2      | 5      | 10     | 2      | 5      | 85     |
| 1620–9| 4     | –     | 3     | –      | 13     | 2      | 7      | 2      | 14     | 1      | –      | 11     | 8      | 3      | 10     | 3      | 5      | 86     |
| 1630–40| 7    | –     | 3     | –      | 18     | 8      | 6      | 2      | 23     | 2      | 1      | 14     | 6      | 2      | 17     | 7      | 4      | 120    |
| Sub-total | 29  | 2     | 16    | 22     | 103    | 26     | 35     | 7      | 71     | 4      | 3      | 28     | 26     | 19     | 42     | 15     | 24     | (+2?s) |
| Total     | 47  | 151   | 113   | 35     | 45     | 42     | 41     | 474    |

Notes: (*) indicates that the numbers are approximate.
metrical psalms were published in at least seventeen different forms—an even higher range of formats than that in which bibles were printed. It was not simply a matter of different formats, from folio to thirty-twomo, or of different typeface (only the twenty-fourmo was printed exclusively in roman, all the others were published in separate black letter and roman editions), or of size of typeface (from nonpareil to pica). It was also a matter in the case of the four larger formats of whether the text was printed in one column or two. The basic reason for this variety seems to have been, as Heylyn and Beveridge had realized, that Elizabethan and early Stuart publishers had spotted the commercial advantages of having available matching editions of official prayer books, bibles (or New Testaments), and metrical psalms. Thus anyone wishing to buy and bind together, for example, a two-column, black-letter bible or Book of Common Prayer (or both) with a similar edition of the metrical psalms could do so. If one plots the appearance of fresh editions of the different types of edition of metrical psalms and the publication of similar editions of either bibles or Prayer Books or both, one finds a close correlation. If we take 1638 as a busy but otherwise not untypical year we find that the following ‘editions’ were published:


In the period from 1562 to 1640 as a whole, the correlation is not total, but the great majority of new editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ appear to have been published in the same calendar year or in an adjoining year to a matching edition of the Bible, Testament, or Prayer Book.45

On closer inspection one finds slight variations in the pairings. The two

44 STC 2676–83, 2275, 93, 104, 123–6, 159–145. Editions of the other varieties mentioned in Table 9.1 were not reprinted in that year.
45 This conclusion and the conclusions in the next three paragraphs were reached by comparing the entries in STC i. 97–95, 104–15, 123–6 and ii. 93–101, year by year.
best-selling versions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were the two-column, black-letter quarto and the two-column, roman octavo. At first these were often published at much the same time as a matching edition of the Bible (the Geneva version until 1612–13, then the King James); later they were paired with a matching edition of the Book of Common Prayer as well (from the 1580s in the case of the quarto, from 1615 in that of the octavo). In the case of the two next most popular versions—the black-letter octavo and the (roman) twenty-fourmo—the closest correlation is with the New Testament, in the Bishops’ version for the octavo, and the Geneva-Tomson and then the Authorized Version for the twenty-fourmo. Of the remaining versions that sold steadily rather than just in a handful of editions, the closest correlation was sometimes with the Book of Common Prayer (for example, the one-column, black-letter folio and quartos, both in larger than average type), and sometimes with the Bible (as in the two-column, roman quartos and duodecimos, though reprints of the quarto also moved in tandem with similar editions of the Prayer Book from 1615). The two versions of the sixteenmo are of interest in that the black letter can be paired to some extent with publication of matching editions of the Book of Common Prayer, while editions of the roman version shadowed those of the Geneva-Tomson New Testament.

What all this suggests is that in most cases the first move was made when a new size or layout of the Bible, New Testament, or Book of Common Prayer was offered to the public, and sold well; a matching version of the metrical psalms was then published. It is hard to be categoric about which appeared first, since all we usually know is the year rather than the month in which a new edition of, say, the bible or the metrical psalms appeared. But common sense would suggest that the public would be more interested in a new translation or a cheaper form of the Bible, or with a more manageable or up-to-date version of the Prayer Book (with a current almanac and listing all the members of the royal family for whom prayers were to be offered) than with

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See, e.g., quarto editions of the works mentioned for the years 1576–7, 1579–86, 1588–9, 1602, 1605, and 1610; and octavo editions for the years 1589–91, 1600–2, 1606–8, 1612–14.

See, e.g., quarto editions of the works mentioned for the years 1586, 1592, 1597–1600, 1606–8, 1620–1, 1630–2; and octavo editions for the years 1615, 1618–20, and 1622–40. (From 1579–83 the two-column, black-letter quarto editions of the Geneva Bible had incorporated much of the Book of Common Prayer; but in 1586 this was not the case, and round about that time a two-column, black-letter quarto edition of the Prayer Book appeared.)

See, e.g., octavo editions of the works mentioned for the years 1581–2, 1618–20, 1627–8, etc.; and 24th editions for the years 1603, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1616, 1618–21, 1627–8, etc.

See, e.g., one-column, black-letter folio editions of the Book of Common Prayer and ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ for the years 1573, 1575, 1580, 1586, 1599, 1603–5, 1615, 1625, etc.; and one-column, black-letter quarto editions of the same for 1562, 1565–6, 1571, 1573, 1575, 1577, 1579–81, 1583–5, etc.

See two-column, roman quartos for 1587, 1594, 1606, etc.; and similar duodecimos for 1618–20, 1625–9, 1631–5, etc.

See, e.g., editions of the works mentioned for the years 1615, 1619, 1629–30, 1633, and 1638.

In the case of the black letter, see editions for the years 1570, 1577, 1581, 1585, etc.; and of the roman 1578, 1581, 1586, 1615, 1619, 1625, etc.
a new form of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, the text of which changed relatively little after the 1570s. We do know, for example, that when the Cambridge press began bible production in a serious way, it printed equivalent numbers of bibles, prayer books, and metrical psalms, and these are generally found within the same covers today; similarly at Oxford in 1675 when 5,000 copies of the new quarto bible were printed, Prayer Books and metrical psalms were produced in the same year in a form suitable for binding with those bibles.53

In only two cases, the black-letter thirty-twomo and the roman thirty-twomo, are there no clear correlations between the publication of editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ and of other standard works. This can be put down to the diminutive size of a thirty-twomo—two and three-quarters by one and a half inches; it was simply not practicable to publish complete bibles or Prayer Books in such a small format, though a few New Testaments were.54 What this does mean, however, is that the thirty-twomos and to some extent the sixteenmos, which can be only loosely correlated with bible or prayer book production, were probably aimed at those people who wanted a copy of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ by itself, such as schoolboys and girls (or their mentors). To this category we may have to add some of the copies of the octavo editions, for a reason that will emerge shortly.

How far the public took advantage of these correlations is illustrated by the books with which surviving copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ are bound in most libraries with large stocks of early modern bibles and Prayer Books, such as the British Library, Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian, the New York Public Library, and the Folger. Let us take the Bodleian’s collection for the period 1562 to 1640 as the basis for one sample. If we examine its 188 copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ dated from 1566 to 1640, we find that more than two-fifths (at least 78 copies) are bound with an English bible or with a New Testament (and in almost half of these cases the binding also incorporated a Book of Common Prayer as well), while just under a sixth (30 copies) are bound with a Book of Common Prayer alone.55 In nearly all the volumes examined, the formats, layout, and typeface of the two or three items bound together are the same. Of the remaining 80 copies, 53 are bound by themselves, the great majority of these having been produced, and so probably purchased, before 1600, that is, before the practice of binding two or more related works together was firmly established. It is also instructive that both before and after 1600, the largest single group of these separately bound copies were octavos, which suggests that this size should perhaps be added to

53 McKitterick, History of CUP, 197; Carter, History of OUP, 71–2.
54 e.g. in the early 1590s. Another possible correlation of editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ is with the [prose] Psalter with Morning and Evening Prayer: STC: 2397-7, 2402-5, 2406.
55 The Bodleian copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ are listed under ‘Psalms, English, Sternhold and Hopkins’ [with a ‘Ps. verse’ shelfmark]; those bound with a Bible mostly have a ‘Bib.Eng.’ shelfmark, those with a New Testament a ‘NT’ one, and those with a Book of Common Prayer a ‘CP’ one.
those smaller format copies which were intended for personal use, and not necessarily in conjunction with a bible or Prayer Book.\textsuperscript{56} Finally there are a few copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ bound with other works, such as the Bible in Latin, a New Testament in Italian or Greek, Buchanan’s Latin metrical version, or a best-selling devotional or godly living guide of the day.\textsuperscript{57} This means that in this sample over 60 per cent of the copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ are bound either with a bible or Prayer Book, or both, or some related work. The binding of more than one work inside the same cover is not an infallible guide to those works having been produced or bought simultaneously, but a further check shows that in the case of the Bodleian’s copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ which were bound with a bible or Book of Common Prayer, four out of five are bound with a bible or Prayer Book published in the same or an adjoining year, so that there is a strong presumption that most were bought and bound together at the time.\textsuperscript{58}

What remains unclear is how far the customer who bought a copy of the metrical psalms that matched another staple religious work was acting under pressure. There are some reasons for suggesting that the initiative came from those Elizabethan and early Stuart printers, publishers, and booksellers who spotted the opportunity of boosting their sales by catering for as many different kinds of taste and of pocket as possible, and by selling matching sets of two or three religious handbooks instead of just one where this was possible.\textsuperscript{59} The relatively sudden and short spate of embroidered and other fine bindings for a pair or trio of works in the early Stuart period also suggests that there may have been an element of keeping up with a new fashion. However, it would probably be wrong to draw the conclusion that such copies were not wanted, since it is unlikely that purchasers would have parted with their money if they had not believed that there was a good chance that they might soon need a copy. Moreover, as the analysis of formats and the Bodleian sample suggests, a certain proportion of copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were

\textsuperscript{56} The broader pattern of English production of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ is perhaps concealed in this sample by the relatively small number of copies of small format editions held in the Bodleian.

\textsuperscript{57} Bodl. Bib. Lat.1614 e.1, 1628.f.1, f.2 and f.3; NT Ital.1555, f.1, and NT Gr.1610.f.1; Buchanan e.112, d.54, g.40, and Ps. verse 1609.g.1. Other libraries have other combinations, for example with E. Bunny’s Booke of Christian exercise (Smith, ‘Practice’, 635), and with M. Sparke’s Crums of comfort (BL C.65.i.7).

\textsuperscript{58} e.g. Bodl. Bib.Eng.1598 e.1, d.1, 1625.f.1, 1629.d.1; NT Eng.1596.d.1, and Douce NT Eng f.1586; CP 1606 g.1, Douce CP e.1606, CP 1627.d.1 and 1631.d.2. That this continued after 1660 is evident in the Stationers’ accounts stating which editions of the psalms were for binding with bibles: see below, n. 75, and J. Barnard, ‘The Stationers’ Stock 1663/6 to 1705/6: Psalms, Psalters, Primers and ABCs’, in The Library (forthcoming) (I am very grateful to Professor Barnard for advance sight of this article).

\textsuperscript{59} A number of printers and publishers had interests in selling more than one variety of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, for example John Day (1562–83), John Wolfe (1583–91) and H. Lownes, T. Snodham and E. Griffin in the early seventeenth century. For a binder-bookseller in Jacobean York who had already bound psalms with bibles or service books, see J. Barnard and M. Bell, The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster’s Inventory of 1616 (Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Lit. and Hist. Section, 24, Leeds, 1994), 25–8, 32–3, 58–62.
probably not intended to be sold with a matching version of another work, or in practice were purchased and bound separately. The printing trade was probably both responding to public demand, and trying to shape it.  

The parallel adoption of metrical psalms by the illiterate or semi-literate during the Elizabethan and early Stuart period is naturally much harder to document. It has been suggested (on the basis of complaints from the ‘godly’) that psalm-singing among the people was actually declining in this period, but to balance that we have Wither’s complaints in 1619 that the ‘old version’ had become so well entrenched with the ordinary people that no congregation would allow another version to be substituted, despite the desire for change of those with more cultivated tastes. We also have the findings of the musicologists, and especially Professor Temperley, that during the reign of Elizabeth there was a trend towards a simplification and popularization of the music to which the metrical psalms were sung. In the editions of the 1560s over forty tunes were made available for singing the 150 psalms, but thereafter more and more psalms were marked to be sung to the same few tunes, so that by the 1590s over half the psalms were appointed to be sung to just three tunes. As for the remaining psalms, the number of tunes used there probably also shrank: by the seventeenth century, it has been suggested, most congregations made do with only half a dozen tunes, and those almost certainly learnt by ear rather than through reading music. Moreover, some of the tunes used in the 1590s and early seventeenth century had probably been modified to suit popular tastes; and it was perhaps at this point, as the tunes became more lively, that they acquired the nickname ‘Geneva jigs’ or ‘Hopkins’s jigs’. 

As for those with limited literacy, there is the interesting point that in the early seventeenth century there was a slight revival in the proportion of editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ produced in black-letter type. The proportion of editions in black letter fell in the 1580s, but then in the case of the largest formats, folio and quarto, the proportion of editions in black letter first stabilized and then actually increased; while in the case of two of the smallest formats, sixteenmo and thirty-twomo, there was also a slight reversal of the trend, with more black-letter editions being printed in the 1620s or 1630s than in previous decades. What this may indicate is that London publishers, and from the 1630s the Cambridge printers with whom they were in competition, had come close to glutting the market for the well-educated reader, but found

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60 For parallel responses in bible production, see above, Ch. 2.v.
61 Collinson, Religion of Protestants, 237–8; Wither, Preparation, 68; and see below, n. 225, for an English translation in 1616 of a Catholic author’s complaints about the popularity of Protestant versions of the psalms.
62 Temperley, Music, i. 33–7; 57–76 (and pace Zim, Metrical Psalms, 114, and 286 n.12); and OED for mid-seventeenth century references to ‘Geneva’ and ‘Hopkins’s jigs’, though the nicknames may have been older than this.
63 For a parallel development in bible production, see above, Ch. 2.vi.
the market for black letter still buoyant—probably among the less well educated and less prosperous reader in many cases, and perhaps including some parish clerks as well as many of those sitting in a pew.64

We also have, for what it is worth at this point, the theory worked out by a couple of later Stuart clergy: that the metrical psalms had been produced by the first generation of English reformers so that the ‘common people’, ‘vulgar people’, or the ‘ordinary sort of Christians’ (to use Simon Ford’s terms) or ‘all sorts of people’ (in William Beveridge’s account) could participate in praising God. Casting round for an explanation of what they saw happening around them in the 1680s and 1690s, both decided that the decision to provide metrical psalms for the generality of the people, while the choirs in cathedrals and colleges continued the older practice of chanting prose psalms, must have been deliberate.65 This was not so: metrical psalms probably began life in educated households, and official approval came later. But as an example of post hoc propter hoc argument their observations may have a certain force.

iii. Sales in the Later Seventeenth Century

The remaining phases of the history of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ can be summarized as follows: a period of relative decline from the 1640s to the 1660s followed by modest recovery in the 1670s–1680s; sustained recovery and diversification from the 1690s to the mid-eighteenth century; and final eclipse only in the closing decades of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth.66 In the first of these phases Professor Temperley sees a growing tension between the educated elite, especially the gentry and the clergy, and the rest of society over the advisability of continuing to use the ‘old version’, and an increasing withdrawal of the social elite from the people’s crude rendition of coarse verse.67 As early as the 1630s Charles I had recommended the use of a version prepared (in part) by his father;68 and in the 1640s the Westminster Assembly wavered between substituting one of two new versions for the ‘old version’: Francis Rous’s was eventually accepted by the Commons, though not by the Lords, while William Barton’s was given an imprimatur by the Protector in Council in 1654.69 In the late 1690s the New version of Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady was accorded royal approval as an alternative to

64 See the variants or other issues published in the 1630s: STC 2636.3, 2662, 2664, 2668 and 2681;7 and also the Dutch pirated editions: STC 2632, 2499.4, 99.6, and 99.7. See also above, Ch. 9.1, for the allegedly poor standards of education of the parish clerks of the early seventeenth century.
66 Temperley, Music, i. 52, 79, 87; Beveridge, Defence, 31–2. In all these phases we are talking mainly about the public use of metrical psalms, less being heard of domestic psalm-singing.
67 Temperley, Music, i. 46, 53, 66–7, 87–8, 90–1.
68 STC 2732, 2736–36b; Beveridge, Defence, 110–18; T. Young, The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases (1909), chs. 4–6.
69 Shaw, History, i. 377–84.
‘Sternhold and Hopkins’. And in addition to these officially sponsored attempts there was a large number of unofficial ones by churchmen, musicians, poets, and others who claimed that their version was either more faithful to the original Hebrew or a smoother and more comprehensible basis for public worship.\footnote{The order in council dated 3 December 1696 was printed opposite the titlepage of N. Tate and N. Brady, \textit{A new version of the psalms of David} (1698). See below, pp. 540–2.}

At first sight the bibliographical evidence supports the case for the alienation of the educated elite. Compared to the surge of new editions recorded in STC\footnote{Sources: Wing B2380–2629, BLC; and ESTC. Wing makes it clearer than the original Wing but not as clear as STC or the BLC which editions of the metrical psalms it lists were of the ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ variety and which were not. With eight possible exceptions (editions probably printed abroad in Amsterdam), the estimates here are for The whole book of psalms printed for the Company of Stationers in England. To the totals for the 1640s one might add STC 2 2692, 2499–299, 3 and 2499, 5, and for the 1650s 2680, 1, and 2680, 7. See also now J. Barnard, ‘The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, ABCs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationers’ Stock 1660–1700’, \textit{The Library}, 6th ser., 21 (1999), 148–50.} for the period up to 1640—more than eighty in the 1610s and 1620s and well over a hundred in the period 1630–40 (assuming these are separate ‘editions’) —there was almost certainly a marked fall in the numbers of new editions in subsequent decades. The vagaries of Wing that we encountered in Chapter 2 mean that we again cannot be absolutely certain, but cross-checking between Wing, the British Library catalogue, and the ESTC for the period 1701–29 suggests that perhaps no more than about 70 editions were published in the 1640s; there was then a further dramatic fall to 31 editions in the 1650s and about 24 in the 1660s, before a small recovery to approximately 32 in the 1670s and a new peak of about 40 editions in the 1680s. There was another slight dip to about 28 editions in the 1690s, when the first editions of Tate and Brady’s \textit{New version} were published, but thereafter production of the ‘old version’ rose again slightly, to something like 32 editions in the 1700s, 37 in the 1710s, and 43 in the 1720s.\footnote{Blagden, \textit{Stationers’ Company}, 187; and cf. J. Barnard, ‘Some Features of the Stationers’ Company and its Stock in 1676/7’, \textit{Publishing History}, 36 (1994), 11, 22.} The number of different formats and layouts remained high: in the 1690s, for example, the Stationers’ Company was advertising copies of the metrical psalms in a folio, a quarto ‘for the parish clerk’, three octavos and two duodecimos (in different sizes of paper and type), and a twenty-fourmo, at prices ranging from 2s. 10d. at the top to 3d. for the smallest sizes.\footnote{See below, pp. 540–2.}

There are, however, good reasons for proceeding cautiously. If we take a provisional total of approximately 337 editions published between 1641 and 1729 and break this down by formats, we find that there appears to have been a relatively constant demand for the larger format most likely to have been used in church or school—quartos (53) and, from 1660, folios (34) —but that there was also a continuing move towards the workmanlike duodecimos (134) and octavos (92), and away from the petite but cramped twenty-fourmos and
thirty-twomos that were briefly popular in the early Stuart period.74 As has been mentioned already, the size of permitted maxima for print-runs was raised in the 1630s, and in the 1680s there are records of editions of 6,000 for octavos, 9,000 for duodecimos, and 18,000 for twenty-fourmos. On the basis of his study of the Stationers’ records, Professor John Barnard has suggested that nearly 400,000 copies may have been produced in the final quarter of the century, and this does not count illegally imported copies, English pirated copies, and several editions which other printers were permitted to produce by the Stationers, at a price.75 In short fewer editions did not necessarily mean many fewer copies.

The reasons for the drop in production of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ in the 1640s and the much greater reduction in the 1650s were varied but perhaps in some cases temporary. One already suggested above in the case of bible production was that the apparent flood of new copies in the 1620s and 1630s may have glutted the market for a while, especially where copies were sturdily bound and passed down from one generation to another, like the 1621 black-letter quarto in the Bodleian still in use in the early eighteenth century to judge from the inscriptions in it.76 Another factor was the opportunity given to two alternative versions, those of Barton and Rous, to establish themselves: Barton’s may have passed through three editions between 1644 and 1654, though this cannot have made great inroads into the market for the ‘old version’.77 More significant was the way in which the normal patterns of the printing trade were severely disrupted by the political developments of the 1640s and the unprecedented demand for pamphlets, so that the books with which ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were usually bound—a bible and a Book of Common Prayer—were in short supply. When production of the Prayer Book was revived after 1660 and that of bibles increased too, so too eventually did sales of the ‘old version’ of the metrical psalms.78

A limited proportion of these revived sales was of the largest formats—folios and quartos—probably to be kept permanently in the church for the minister and parish clerk; as one Restoration publisher conceded, some volumes were too big to be carried to and from church conveniently.79 Most of the sales, as we just noted, were apparently of octavos and duodecimos, and

74 Same sources as in n. 72 above; see also Table 9.1 above, p. 513; and Barnard, ‘Stationers’ Stock 1663/4 to 1705/6’ (forthcoming), where it is stated that 66% of the psalms printed in 1664–6 were duodecimos or twenty-fourmos.
75 For sizes of editions, see Barnard, ‘Stationers’ Stock 1663/4 to 1705/6’; for overall production, Barnard, ‘Some Features’, 17, 31; see also DMH, 184–5; McKitterick, History of CUP, 327; note also the 5,000 copies of the psalms in duodecimo ‘for bibles’ printed to make up for stocks lost during the Great Fire of London: Blagden, Stationers’ Company, 186.
76 Bodl. Bib.Eng.1619.e.4; and see above, n. 42.
77 Wing B2401, 2407, and 2456; other editions followed in 1682 and the 1690s (B25468, 2575, 2582B, 2595) and in 1705 (ESTC).
78 See above, Chs. 2.4v, 4.4v, 5.4v, and Ch. 9, n. 72.
if we turn again to the Bodleian’s holdings of copies of the metrical psalms, we find that a clear majority of those published between 1660 and 1700 are bound either with a matching bible or Prayer Book or both. The balance—copies bought and used independently of other works—probably belonged to schoolboys, choristers, and less prosperous families. At the turn of the century Bishop Beveridge thought there was hardly a family of which one member could read ‘but there is one or more of the psalm-books there’. The housekeeper, apprentice, and young lady in a busy city church who appear to be singing, presumably a psalm, in Hogarth’s 1747 print of ‘The industrious ’prentice performing the duty of a Christian’, are all holding slim volumes that look like octavos or duodecimos.

Another possible reason for a fall in production in the mid-seventeenth century was a change in the way in which metrical psalms were performed, especially in rural churches, which almost certainly meant that fewer private individuals needed to own copies. The practice of ‘lining out’, whereby the minister or parish clerk read out each line of a psalm before it was sung by the congregation, may have been adopted in Elizabethan times; but the first convincing evidence of its use dates from the 1640s, when the presbyterian Directory gave its blessing to ‘lining out’ for the benefit of those who could not read. In singing psalms, it was stated, ‘the chief care must be to sing with understanding and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord’. The best way was for all who could read to have a psalm book, ‘But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read’, lining out by the minister or other fit person was permissible. The practice spread and, despite the hostility of purists who pointed out that French and Dutch Protestants had not adopted it, continued in many rural parishes well into the eighteenth century. We then find doughty supporters of church music such as Edmund Gibson and Isaac Watts defending the continued use of lining out against those conservatives like a Restoration bishop, Matthew Wren, who disliked it because it was new, and those enthusiasts like John Playford who said that it broke up the flow of the music. Bishop Gibson defended ‘lining out’ on the grounds that ‘they who cannot read will be able to bear a part in singing’, and those who cannot read or sing would receive ‘from the matter of the psalm

80 21 of the 33 copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ bound with a bible or with a bible and a Book of Common Prayer, and 16 of the 21 copies bound with a Prayer Book alone, were dated the same year as or an adjoining year to the works with which they were bound.

81 Beveridge, Defence, 103: he also suggested that in some households there were more psalm-books than inhabitants, presumably where older copies were inherited: see above, n. 42, and the Bodleian copy of a 1677 ‘old version’ (Bib.Eng.1677.f.1) inscribed successively by Elizabeth and Joseph Tonge.

82 Temperley, Music, i, illustration 14: since most editions of Tate and Brady were also mainly octavos and duodecimos, the copies might equally have been of the New version.

83 A Directory for the publicke worship of God throughout the three kingdoms (1645), 83–4; Smith, ‘Practice’, p. 636; Temperley, Music, i, 8a, 87, 89.

84 Temperley, Music, i, 93, 96, 138; Playford’s comment was based on the practice of the French and Dutch congregations in London: Whole book, sig. A3’.
both instruction in their duty, and improvement in their direction’. Playford’s preferred solution was to offer other methods of enhancing understanding of the psalms and raising performance standards: by modifying the text to remove obscurities and ‘gross words and unhandsome expressions’, and by introducing new tunes and harmonies and hiring more skilful parish clerks—an anticipation of the improvement in performance standards and introduction of new tunes we will encounter in the next phase. But Playford did concede that ‘lining out’ was an acceptable practice in small parishes where only one or two people in a congregation could read, which might still have been true of many rural churches in the later seventeenth century. However, as one contemporary commentator pointed out, once a clerk started to ‘line out’ the psalms, the people were wont to ‘leave their books at home’, and by the same token those who did not yet possess a copy were spared the cost of purchasing one.

The appearance of the first edition of Playford’s modified version of *The whole book of psalms* in 1677 posed a potential challenge to supporters of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’. But Playford’s version actually coincided with a rise in the number of editions of the ‘old version’ to a new plateau of perhaps thirty to forty new editions in the 1670s and 1680s. Milton’s other nephew, Edward Phillips, might complain that ‘it hath been long heartily wished’ that a better choice of metrical psalms had been made under Edward and Elizabeth, but it was the ‘old version’ which continued to sell thousands every year. ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ outsold Barton’s version at a rate of perhaps more than twenty-five editions to one during the fifty years after the latter’s appearance, and probably outsold Tate and Brady at a rate of over four to one during a similar period. There is also a clutch of statements from laymen as well as clergy, and from opponents of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ as well as supporters, that by the last quarter of the seventeenth century the ‘only psalms sung in all parochial churches’ were those of the ‘old version’. In the early eighteenth century Bishop Beveridge noted that the ‘common people’ who comprised ‘the greatest number of sincere Christians’ have ‘such a value and fondness for these old psalms that they would not part with them for all the world’, and that, apart from a few ministers in London, almost all the clergy preferred the ‘old’ to the ‘New’ version. In short, the lower orders had taken longer to become familiar with and attached to ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ than their better-educated superiors, but having done so were reluctant to let them go.

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87 Ibid.


89 For Barton, see above, n. 77; for Playford, B 2527–7aA, 2593, 2604, 2610, 2617, 2629, and 13 editions from 1701–1719 (ESTC); there were perhaps 30 editions of the complete ‘Tate and Brady’ from 1696–1729 (Wing’ and ESTC).


There are also clear indications that by the late seventeenth century many people had memorized at least part of a number of the psalms in the ‘old version’, with or without the benefit of print. People accustomed to singing psalms regularly from their youth had ‘got many of them by heart’, wrote Beveridge, and many who could not read could nevertheless recite them verbatim and ‘call them to remembrance upon all occasions’. The idea of the laity learning psalms was not an innovation. In the later Middle Ages and in the early modern period, a devout Catholic would have been expected to be familiar with the penitential psalms, and Protestant schoolchildren were also taught psalms as a matter of course. Moreover, the use of the vernacular almost certainly facilitated the fixing of ‘divers of the divine truths . . . contained [in the psalms] more firmly in the minds of the vulgar’, as one observer put it in 1696, and the use of ballad-type verse rather than prose may also have made it easier for illiterate Protestants to memorize a few psalms than their Catholic predecessors. This was evidently the hope of many of the greatest supporters of psalm-singing, whether church leaders, schoolteachers or simply devout poets, who in the prefaces of their works stressed that they had laboured to achieve a version that was not only comprehensible but also memorable. Given that the memory of early modern man may through necessity have been more capacious and retentive than ours, he may well have been able to memorize a number of the psalms that were declaimed at first by literate adults or children, and later ‘lined out’ by the clerk. Parallel exercises may be considered—learning the Talmud or the Koran—or, in early modern England, listening to proclamations at assizes or from the pulpit, or the regular declaiming of the laws of war before the assembled ranks in the 1640s. In the latter, listeners were not necessarily intended to memorize the whole text, but would have been expected to have grasped the gist of it, and perhaps to be able to repeat a number of key phrases.

Mastery of a few psalms would also have been facilitated if only a limited number of the metrical psalms were used on a regular basis. There was no fixed rota for the singing of metrical psalms as there was for the prose psalter, and the minister or the clerk may well have chosen from a moderately small selection of psalms that fitted the few most commonly used tunes or had proved acceptable on similar occasions before: a joyful one on a festive day,

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93 Bernard Lord Manning, *The People’s Faith in the time of Wyclif* (Sussex, 1975), 46–7, 170, 179; N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (1973), 62, 238; and above, n. 35.
and a grave one on a sad or penitential occasion. It is quite likely, for example, that the same few psalms were sung every time there was a communion service or a funeral, or at Christmas or Easter. The preface published with most early editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ recommended specific psalms for calendar and festival days; and a guide for parish clerks published regularly in the later Stuart period was equally precise about which psalms should be sung on the major festivals of the church, a confirmation or celebration of communion, or the different rites of passage.

We also find several indications, one as early as 1603 but others in the later Stuart and early Hanoverian periods, that not all the psalms were regularly sung: those of a more personal, imprecatory nature and those set to more difficult tunes were usually omitted. It was even conceded that there were certain advantages to singing only a limited number of psalms. Wise men who lead the singing, wrote Isaac Watts in 1719, ‘dwell upon 4 or 5 and 20 pieces of some select psalms’ rather than try to sing the whole 150. He added that ministers found some congregations would only use Psalm 23 or 118 at the Lord’s Supper. Five years later Bishop Gibson urged his clergy to adopt a rota of psalms which would take six months, but which by regular repetition would implant ‘the most useful parts of the Book of Psalms’ in the people’s minds. His rota was divided into three sections—praises and thanksgivings; prayer to God and trust in him; and precepts and motives to a godly life—from which an appropriate choice could be made for the time of year. This rota used less than fifty of the psalms, and in the case of many of those fifty only a few verses were specified, so that in the end less than a quarter of the Book was recommended for regular use. According to the liturgical expert Gordon Cuming, this rota was widely adopted outside Gibson’s diocese. Certainly by the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century, if members of a congregation had memorized a few regularly used psalms, and could tackle any of the remaining ones with the help of the clerk ‘lining out’, they had a more than passing acquaintance with the ‘old version’ of the metrical psalms.

iv. Improvements in Standards of Musical Performance

The steady demand for repeat editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ from the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries outlined above may also be

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97 Smith, ‘Practice’, 638; and on contemporary recognition of different types of psalm, see below, nn. 185–6, 188.
98 Davies, Worship and Theology I, 275; ‘A treatise made by Athanasius the Great, concerning the use and virtue of the psalms’ (see below, Ch. 9.vi), numbers 60, 73, 90–99, B[en.] P[ayne], The parish-clerk’s ‘vade-mecum’ (1694), pp. 140–2; see also below, n. 171.
100 Gibson, Directions, 10, 59–60.
101 Cuming, Anglican Liturgy, 131.
102 See also below, Ch. 9.viii.
attributable to new factors. One of these was the rise of movements like the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Charity School movement whose members are known to have put a high priority on psalm-singing, as reflected in Alexander Pope’s lines on the ‘old version’: ‘The boys and girls whom charity maintains | Implore your help in these pathetic strains’.

Another undoubtedly important factor was the wider acceptance of John Playford’s idea of raising the standards of musical performance of metrical psalms; and here too print played its part by ensuring that, after more than a century of relative uniformity, many new settings of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ became available to the public.

There had been occasional attempts to improve the way in which these tunes were performed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, but none of the printed volumes devoted to this end, such as Thomas Ravenscroft’s *The whole booke of psalmes . . . composed into four parts by sundry authors* in 1621, was reprinted regularly before the Restoration. After the Restoration, and especially from the 1690s, however, this began to change. Professor Temperley has painstakingly compiled a chronological list, starting in 1544, of collections of music for use in English parish churches, and while the first edition of Ravenscroft’s work is the sixteenth item on this list, and the first edition of Playford’s is number twenty-three, by 1740 another hundred items had appeared, two-thirds of which date from the late 1690s to the 1730s. The authors of these new works ranged from Playford himself, a music publisher and clerk to the Temple Church in London, and John Chetham, the long-serving curate of Skipton in Yorkshire, to provincial composers and travelling psalm-salesmen like William Tans’ur.

It should be added at once, however, that these authors’ works would not have had much impact unless various other groups had been prepared to use them: parish clerks, like those in London who were members of the Company of Parish Clerks who met every week to practice psalm-singing; more scholarly musicians who anticipated the day when parish music would imitate...
cathedral practice (which was itself developing rapidly at this time);¹⁰⁸ amateur teachers and peripatetic professional singing masters who taught the new tunes;¹⁰⁹ schoolmasters or organists linked to the Charity Schools;¹¹⁰ and last but not least the members of congregations who were tempted into joining a parish choir to sing the new three- or four-part harmonies.¹¹¹

Much of the market for these new works was probably urban rather than rural. It is from the late seventeenth century that Temperley dates the rise of what he calls ‘town psalmody’: the singing of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ or another metrical version to a harmonized setting, led by a choir and supported by an organ, as opposed to the older ‘country’ practice of singing in unison, often with no accompaniment and no choir and (from the mid-seventeenth century) the clerk ‘lining out’.¹¹² The spread of ‘town psalmody’ can be traced through the accounts of the many urban churches which installed new organs or a gallery or other accommodation for the choir at this time,¹¹³ and can also be gauged by the rapid growth in the sales, and also for the first time the printing, of music for metrical psalms in centres outside London. Three examples may make this process clear. Edmund Ireland, who was based at Hull, then York, published four editions of his Psalm-singer’s guide at York between 1699 and 1720, but the later editions were destined for named booksellers as far apart as London, Louth, Peterborough, Liverpool and Newcastle-upon-Tyne as well as Hull. The first edition of John Barrow’s A new book of psalmody (1730) was printed in London for sale by Barrow, though he himself was based in the Herefordshire area; an enlarged second edition (1740) was to be sold by Barrow again, but also by named booksellers in twenty-five different towns in a wide band from Herefordshire and Worcestershire across the Midlands to Cheshire and Derbyshire. The first edition of William Knapp’s A sett of new psalm-tunes and anthems (1736) was to be sold in five towns in Dorset and Somerset; the second at named towns in Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Berkshire and in London; the third (1747) by ‘all country booksellers’, that is, in county towns and other provincial centres.¹¹⁴

Analysis of these and other works suggests considerable interest in psalm-singing in urban churches (and perhaps neighbouring rural ones as well) in at least three areas of the country not always associated with a strong commitment to the official church: first of all, the West Riding of Yorkshire, South Lancashire, and the North Midlands; secondly, the four counties in the far

¹⁰⁸ Mack Smith, ‘Anglican Chant’, passim, but especially pp. 90–1, 94–5, 198–9 and ch. 6; Temperley, Music, i. 144.
¹⁰⁹ Temperley, Music, i. 141, 146–7, 152, 161–5, 176–81.
¹¹⁰ Ibid., 134, and above, n. 103.
¹¹¹ Jones, Charity School Movement, 80–1; Temperley, Music, i. 124–7, 141–5, 151–62.
¹¹² Temperley, Music, i, chs. 5–6; but see also C. Dearnley, English Church Music, 1650–1750 (1970), ch. 8.
¹¹⁴ Further details in British Library Catalogue. Other examples could be cited; see, e.g., the title-pages of different editions of the relevant works by Abraham Barber (Psalme tunes in four parts), John Bishop (A set of new psalm tunes) and Israel Holdroyd (The spiritual man’s companion).
South-West; and, thirdly, East Anglia.\textsuperscript{115} The result of all this activity was not only an increase in sales of music for, but also of the text of, metrical psalms, and here ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ still seems to have been the favourite choice. Much of the new music was designed to fit both the ‘old version’ and Tate and Brady’s \textit{New version} or any other version then on the market;\textsuperscript{116} but, as we have seen, copies of the text of the old easily outsold those of its rivals until well into the eighteenth century, so the ‘old version’ was probably being used by at least some of the new choirs as well as of the older, more conservative congregations.

The advent of these new choirs was not always welcome. Some members of the congregation are said to have objected strongly to the introduction of new tunes, or to the singing being led and eventually dominated by a minority of parishioners rather than the congregation as a whole.\textsuperscript{117} The prose and pictures of the eighteenth century also contain a number of unflattering images of some choirs, and their conduct often seems to have been regarded as lacking in decorum or clannish to the point of obstructiveness.\textsuperscript{118} Twice in the late 1760s Parson Woodforde had to intervene when his church choir at Castle Cary, who clearly knew their way round the psalter, used their privilege of choosing the psalm to pillory fellow parishioners. On one occasion, when displeased with Woodforde, they chose Psalm 12: ‘Help, Lord, for good and godly men \(\vdash\) do perish and decay’, as the result of the ‘flattering and deceitful lips’ that ‘speak proud words and make great brags’. However, the choristers drew some comfort from another verse which ran: ‘for the great complaint and cry \(\vdash\) Of poor and men oppressed, \(\vdash\) Arise will I now, saith the Lord, \(\vdash\) and them restore to rest’. On another occasion, when upset by a Mr Burge who had sent non-singers up to sit in the singers’ gallery contrary to a recent agreement, the choir chose Psalm 36 (‘The wicked with his works unjust \(\vdash\) doth thus persuade his heart . . .’). Parts of this psalm must have given the choir special pleasure to sing:

\begin{quote}
  His words are wicked, vile and naught, \(\vdash\) his tongue no truth do tell,
  Yet at no hand will he be taught \(\vdash\) which way he may do well . . .
  Let not the proud on me prevail, \(\vdash\) O Lord, of thy good grace:
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{115} As last paragraph; see also above, n. 106, and Temperley, \textit{Music}, i. 158.
\textsuperscript{116} \textit{e.g.} J. Chetham, \textit{A book of psalmody, containing variety of tunes for all the common metres of the psalms in the old and new versions} (1718); J. Bishop, \textit{A set of new psalm tunes . . . containing, proper tunes to all the different measures of the psalms which are to be found in the old, or any of the new versions} ([1722]); I. Holdroyd, \textit{The spiritual man’s companion. Containing . . . tunes fitted to all (or most) different measures of the psalms} [c.1724]; John Barrow, \textit{The psalm-singer’s choice companion . . . containing variety of tunes for all the common measures of the psalms} (1730); and \textit{Harmonia perfecta: a compleat collection of psalm tunes . . . fitted to all the various measures now in use} (1739).
\textsuperscript{117} A. Bedford, \textit{The excellency of divine music} (1733), 28–30; Gibson, \textit{Directions}, 11; Temperley, \textit{Music}, i. 171.
Nor let the wicked me assail,  
To throw me out of place ![1]
But they in their device shall fall,  
that wicked works maintain:
They shall be overthrown withall,  
and never rise again.119

Another choir, when crossed by its parish priest, threatened to decamp and sing for the Methodists instead.120 Not surprisingly, the reformation or even the disbanding of such choirs soon became a high priority for some of the clergy and laity.

But not all of the evidence points in this direction. The new harmonies together with anthems and organ voluntaries seem to have proved popular with the upper and middling ranks of many urban parishes. Experience also suggested that one of the advantages of setting up a choir was that the novelty of its efforts were found to attract numbers of irregular attenders back into church. ‘In churches where psalms are best and oftest sung, those churches are always best filled’, wrote a Bristol incumbent, Arthur Bedford, in 1711. Another incumbent, in London this time, pointed out that choir practice and singing on Sundays kept the young out of idleness and mischief.121 Standards in the countryside may have been technically poorer, but most of Woodforde’s comments on the performances of the country choirs he heard were appreciative rather than critical.122 And equity suggests that the musical renditions of the average contemporary choir should be judged by standards other than those of performances of anthems in cathedrals or of the choral music of Purcell and Handel.123

In the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, sales of the ‘old version’ were finally overhauled by copies of Tate and Brady. But both old and new were in turn pushed aside by the rise of hymn-singing as a result of the efforts of Evangelicals, ritualists, and others anxious to reform ‘country psalmody’. Ironically the new choirs and organs of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian period had laid the ground for the introduction of the hymns which were the natural successor of metrical psalms and which still predominate today. They had also paved the way for the infiltration of the choral chanting of the prose psalter, as laid down at the start of the Book of Common Prayer and still practised in some parish churches in the Anglican communion.124 Metrical psalms survived in parts of the English countryside into Victorian times, and a modified version of the Scottish metrical psalter of 1650 is still used in some Free or Reformed Presbyterian

119 Woodforde, *Diary of a Country Parson*, i. 84–5, 92–3, 95; iv. 22; the quotations are from ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’.
122 Woodforde, *Diary*, iii. 386, 389, 400; iv. 81, 87, 88, 97; for examples of good relations see also ii. 144, iii. 372, and iv. 26.
123 See below, Ch. 9.viii for the idea of psalm-singing as a form of folk music.
churches today. But as far as the mainstream English churches are concerned the long innings of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ drew to a close in the nineteenth century.

v. The ‘Godly’ and Psalm-Singing

It may have been thought strange that in this brief survey little has been said about the connection between puritanism and the singing of metrical psalms, since a connection has often been drawn between the two. There is certainly a ‘godly’ ring to the view of Miles Coverdale, Thomas Becon, and other zealous first-generation reformers that both young and old should ‘leave their lascivious, wanton, and unclean ballads, and sing such godly and virtuous songs as David teacheth them’; and the men who revised and completed ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ in Geneva included a number of the ‘hotter sort of Protestants’ who evidently agreed with that sentiment, as did the publishers of the first full English edition in 1562 who hoped people would lay aside ‘all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice and corruption of youth’. Psalm-singing was also practised at ‘godly’ gatherings and in ‘godly’ homes, and, conversely, there are reports of puritan ministers having difficulty in getting the ungodly in their flocks to join in congregational psalm-singing. In some London churches in the early 1640s, psalms seem to have been sung to interrupt the official liturgy, and during the fighting that followed, the parliamentarian armies are said to have sung psalms at the battles of Marston Moor, Newbury, and Dunbar. And we have already seen that the predominantly presbyterian members of the Westminster Assembly were anxious that everyone who could read should have his or her own copy of the metrical psalms. Indeed, when the Independents challenged the adoption of a particular form of metrical psalms, partly on the grounds that they disliked the imposition of set forms and partly because they were not sure how far there was scriptural warrant for congregational singing of such psalms, the
presbyterians overrode them on the revealing grounds that ‘the Psalter is a great part of our uniformity’.\textsuperscript{130}

But although there was clearly a link, especially perhaps at the outset, the metrical psalms were neither a puritan prerequisite\textsuperscript{131} nor a puritan monopoly. The idea of trying to replace unclean ballads with virtuous songs was an unconscious echo of a late medieval plea, and was in turn echoed by Archbishop Parker in his \textit{The whole psalter translated into English metre}, published in 1567, and by a Catholic writer and publisher, Richard Verstegan, in his collection of metrical psalms and hymns in 1601.\textsuperscript{132} Besides, not all committed Protestants would have agreed with Becon that there was a sharp distinction between godly verse and profane verse; as we have seen, men like Sidney, Spenser, Donne, and Milton, who were committed Protestants but had received a humanist education, felt able to write poems in a variety of genres.\textsuperscript{133} Bibliographical evidence also runs counter to the idea of a strong or an exclusive link between ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ and puritanism. The peak of sales of the ‘old version’, as of many other religious publications, was in the era of Charles I and Archbishop Laud; by contrast, one of the decades which witnessed the smallest number of repeat editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ in the two and a half centuries after 1562 was the 1650s.

One particular reason for this contrast, as we have seen, was probably that before and after the middle decades of the seventeenth century most copies of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were bound with a Book of Common Prayer or with a Bible or New Testament, usually of the Authorized Version, which provides further confirmation of its acceptability in conformist circles.\textsuperscript{134} Indeed, most editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ also contained extra material at the start and finish, including metrical versions of texts regularly used in Morning and Evening Prayer or in the Communion Service—the Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Veni Creator, Te Deum, Benedicite and the Athanasian Creed—as well as hymns of Lutheran provenance. It should not surprise us, therefore, to hear that metrical psalms were also sung by royalists during the civil wars, at York in 1644.\textsuperscript{135}

The attitude of the Laudians to ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ seems to have been ambivalent. Charles I sponsored a rival version partly prepared by his father, and admirers of the best choral and organ music of the day probably found the rough rendition of metrical psalms distasteful.\textsuperscript{136} Laud’s attitude

\textsuperscript{130} Shaw, \textit{History}, i. 378; Baxter, \textit{Reliquiae}, lib. i, part 1, para. 77; Davies, \textit{Worship and Theology II}, 272–6.

\textsuperscript{131} For a full account of a ‘godly’ life that did not include psalm-singing at home, see \textit{The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby}, ed. D. M. Meads (1930), passim; other examples could be cited.


\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., pp. 4–6; and cf. above, Ch. 7.

\textsuperscript{134} See above, nn. 42–5, 55–6, 58, 75.

\textsuperscript{135} See below, n. 172; Temperley, \textit{Music}, i. 12–13, 31–2, 47–8, 54–6; and T. Mace, \textit{Musick’s monument} (1676), 19 (cited ibid., 78).

\textsuperscript{136} See above, n. 68; and for a Laudian attacking the ‘godly’s distaste for church music and association of it with Rome, H. Sydenham, \textit{Sermons upon solemne occasions} (1637), 15.
seems to have been one of resigned toleration. Writing to Wentworth in 1637, he referred to some of the lower clergy in Ireland who ‘do not only sing Psalms after the Geneva Tune, but expound the text too in the Geneva sense, at least so far as they can possibly venture upon it’—perhaps a reference to the predestinarianism read into some of the psalms in the Geneva Bible marginal notes. As Wentworth knew (added Laud), he had suffered from the same problem himself, but, he went on, ‘these things and many other must be passed over, or there will be no peace’. 137 Hence, presumably, the lack of restriction on publication and singing of the ‘old version’ in the 1630s, though another reason was probably that few of the schools and congregations using it were adding a Genevan gloss.

Ironically it was some of the Calvinist or presbyterian successors of Whittingham and Norton, men like Henry Dod and William Barton, who began to distance themselves from the ‘Anglo-Genevan psalter’, while some mainstream episcopalian, such as Beveridge, became its staunchest supporters. The Geneva exiles who had completed the first volume of metrical psalms had consulted the Hebrew original and such Continental scholarship as was then available, but thereafter there had been a number of major new translations of the Bible and further scholarly work, as well as a continuing concern for literalness, all of which conspired to throw doubts on the value of the original. 138 By the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, presbyterians and Independents were apparently using versions such as those of William Barton, John Patrick (an episcopalian preacher), and Isaac Watts, while it seems to have been conformist congregations who were the most devoted admirers of the original. 139 In other words, in the first instance enthusiasm for metrical psalms spread outwards from the ‘godly’, but as the decades passed it was probably a percolation downwards from a literate minority of broader religious views to a semi-literate or illiterate majority of church attenders that led to the wider acceptance of the late seventeenth century.

The only dividing line that can be drawn with any confidence is between those Protestants who thought that singing metrical psalms in church was acceptable to God and those who had decided it was not. The former included nearly all varieties of episcopalian, most presbyterians and some of

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137 The Earl of Strafford’s Letters and Dispatches, ed. W. Knowler (2 vols., 1739), ii. 100.
139 For continued sales of Barton, see above, n. 77; Temperley, Music, i. 121–2; Watts was not ashamed to admit that he borrowed some psalms from Patrick (Psalms of David, p. xxv); for conformist congregations, see Ford, New version and Beveridge, Defence. The DNB article on Tate (of ‘Tate and Brady’) suggests that it was Tories who defended ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ against the ‘New version’ which they saw as Whiggish: quite why, unless it had something to do with its sponsors or the party situation in 1696, is not clear.
vi. Psalms as Sources of Instruction and a Basis for Worship

The best-educated members of society had what to modern eyes may seem an extraordinarily high regard for the Book of Psalms. It is now generally accepted that the original Book consisted of a number of collections of psalms written by a variety of people over a considerable period of time, some intensely personal in tone, but others with a strongly national, Jewish perspective. But in the early modern period, the book was usually treated as a single entity and the work of a king, whose portrait, complete with crown and harp, appeared on the title-pages of a number of contemporary copies of the Psalms. Also, emphasis was placed not on its Hebrew origins but on its

141 See above, n. 83; and N. Homes, Gospel musick (1644); preface of Barton, Book of Psalms, sigs. Aq–u10; and id., A view of many errors, sigs. A2–u3; J. Cotton, Singing of psalms a gospel-ordinance (1650); preface of H. King, Psalms of David (1647); T. Ford, Singing of psalms the duty of Christians (1655); Philip Goodwin, Religion domestica redevisa (1655); preface of S. Ford, New version (1688); Benjamin Keach, The breach repaired (1691); R. Battell, The lawfulness and expediency of church-musick asserted (1694), 13–14 [an episcopal citing the Westminster Assembly’s conclusions with approval]; L. Milbourne, The Psalms of David in English metre (1698), sigs. A8–g9, and id., Psalmody recommended in a sermon (1713), pp. v–vi; Gideon, Directions, 10. Also Thomas Grantham, Christianismus primitivus (1678); Isaac Marlow, Preliminary forms of praising God (1691); William Russell, Some brief aminadiversions upon Mr. Allen’s essay (1696).
142 As previous note, and G. Towerson, A sermon concerning vocal and instrumental musick in the church (1666); Beveridge, Defence; Samuel Harris, Scripture-knowledge promoted by catechizing. . . In which is also set forth, The excellency and usefulness of singing of psalms (1712); and the preface to Watts’s Psalms of David.
144 Some commentators made it clear that David was not the sole author, e.g. J. Calvin, The psalmes of David and others (1571), sigs. *iii–vii; T. Wilcox, A right godly and learned exposition (1586), 1; H. Ainsworth, Annotations upon the Book of Psalms (Amsterdam, 1617), sig. A2; S. Patrick, Book of Psalms paraphras’d (1700), sig. A4. For David with crown and harp, see G. Wither, A preparation to the psalter (1619); Bodl. Bib.
prophetic qualities, and especially the ways in which David was a ‘type’ or prefiguring of Christ, and his psalms anticipated the coming of the Messiah.¹⁴⁵

The Book of Psalms was also widely held to be an epitome of Christian teaching. As Thomas Sternhold put it, the Book ‘by the opinion of many learned men, comprehendeth the effect of the whole Bible’.¹⁴⁶ He may have been thinking of the Fathers, or Luther who lectured twice on the Psalms in the years 1513–21, and remained strongly attracted to this ‘dear and beloved book’ which ‘promises Christ’s death and resurrection so clearly, and so typifies his kingdom and . . . all Christendom that it might well be called a little Bible’. It ‘puts everything that is in all the Bible most beautifully and briefly’, so that ‘whoever could not read the whole Bible would here have almost an entire summary of it . . . in one little book’.¹⁴⁷ Later the editors of the Geneva Bible included a similar encomium to a book in which ‘all things are contained that appertain to true felicity’, and the editors of the Bishops’ Bible prefaced their translation of the same book with a quotation (from Basil) to the effect that it encapsulated the wisdom of the prophetic books, the divine histories, the law and the proverbial books.¹⁴⁸ Later in the century Richard Hooker made a similar point:

The choice and flower of all things profitable in other books the psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by reason of that poetical form wherewith they are written . . . What is there necessary for man to know which the psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect amongst others.¹⁴⁹


Others saw the Book more as an image of the Christian soul: in his commentary on the psalms, Calvin described them as ‘the anatomy of all the parts of the soul, inasmuch as a man shall not find any affection in himself, whereof the image appeareth not in this glass’.  

What also impressed contemporaries about the Book of Psalms was the variety of uses to which it could be put. A table published with a paraphrase of the psalms in 1581 listed several of the ‘heads’ into which the psalms could be divided and used: as sources of doctrine, prophecy, prayer, consolation, thanksgiving, and praise; and the author of an exposition published a few years later suggested that psalms had eight different functions, such as providing instruction on faith and manners, commending God’s laws, illustrating his wonderful power, showing how to confess sins and pray for repentance, how to pray against the enemies of the church, and how to formulate prayers for groups of the faithful or for individuals who were suffering in body or soul. When George Wither published *A preparation to the psalter* in 1619 as part of his scheme to provide a new version of the metrical psalms, he cited different scholars’ analyses of the Book of Psalms, to the effect that they were partly historical, partly prophetic, partly instructive, and partly ethical, and on top of all this provided the basis of praise and thanksgiving, prayer, consolation, and exhortation. Barton’s *Book of Psalms in metre* (1644–5) came equipped with an index to enable the reader to find psalms on topics such as God, Christ, sin, affliction, prayer, repentance, grace, and so on; Isaac Watts had a similar index in his *Psalms of David imitated* (1719). Also in the early eighteenth century an episcopalian churchman found no less than eleven different types of psalm, all of which were thought to assist in different ways ‘the devotion, and edification of the people’. In short, for early modern English Protestantism the Book of Psalms represented a point at which the interests of a number of groups overlapped: theologians and liturgists, parish clergy and schoolteachers, authors of devotional works, poets and musicians, and the man or woman in the pew who was prepared to participate in the worship and musical life of the new church.

If we isolate two of the main functions of the Book of Psalms in contemporary eyes—as a source of insight into the Christian faith, and a fund of devotional material—we find that both were the object of considerable attention. Schoolteachers were particularly keen on their pupils becoming familiar

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152 Wither, *Preparation to the psalter*, 49–51; but cf. ch. xii where Wither suggests the knowledge a man should have before he read the psalms.
153 The index at the end of the 1645 edition of Barton’s work was an enlarged version of that at the end of the 1644 one; and Watts, *Psalms of David imitated*.
with the Psalms, whether in prose or metre, at the earliest possible age, and in the seventeenth century publishers regularly published sixteenmo and octavo editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ ‘both in prose and metre’ or ‘with the prose in the margin’, so the two versions—the Great Bible prose translation (still the official version for liturgical purposes) and the original metrical version based on it—could be easily compared.\textsuperscript{155} In many schools (and some churches) the prose psalter and metrical psalms were probably used in harness—with the one perhaps being spoken and the other sung.\textsuperscript{156} To help scholars’ parents, there was from the late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century a steady succession of commentaries, annotations, explanations, and paraphrases which were designed to help a wide audience, not just of students or preachers but ‘vulgar readers’ as well, to appreciate the valuable lessons contained in the Book of Psalms.\textsuperscript{157} These expositions were written by churchmen of widely varying background and belief and with some differences of emphasis, but in terms of doctrine they could agree that the psalms not only provided a type of Christ, but also much else. To quote Hooker again:

\begin{quote}
Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of providence over this world and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known or done or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth.\textsuperscript{158}
\end{quote}

Liturgists and authors of devotional works also valued the psalms because, as one put it, the church had in all ages made the psalter ‘the greatest part of her public and private devotions’\textsuperscript{159}. Selected psalms had been inserted into the most regularly used parts of the Prayer Book, and the authorities also encouraged those who owned and could read a bible to use the psalms as a basis for their personal prayers and meditations.\textsuperscript{160} In addition there were a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{155} Zim, \textit{Metrical Psalms}, 31–2; STC: 2505 (published in 1601), 2511, 2527.5, 2535.3, etc.; the last of about nineteen such editions were published in 1635 (2659 and 2661). See also above, n. 33.
\item \textsuperscript{156} E. Coote, \textit{The English scoole-maister} (1596), 49–50, 52–63; Hoole, \textit{A new discovery}, 22; and for the use of prose psalter and metrical psalms in the same service, see above, n. 31.
\item \textsuperscript{157} See following paragraphs.
\item \textsuperscript{158} \textit{Works of Richard Hooker}, ii. 150; see also the works by Luther, Calvin, Parker, Hooker, Ainsworth, Hammond, Simon Patrick, and Watts cited above, and the Athanasian preface cited below; also I. Walton, \textit{The lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Watton, George Herbert and Robert Sanderson} (Oxford, 1956), 394; W. Tilly, \textit{The acceptable sacrifice} (1719), passim; and Gibson telling his clergy that singing psalms was a ‘special means of education’: Directions, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{159} [Hatton and Taylor], \textit{Psalter of David}, sig. *5; similar remarks can be found in G. Abbot, \textit{The whole Book of Psalms paraphrased} (1650), sig. A6, and Patrick, \textit{Book of Psalms}, sig. A5 (citing Basil on the psalms being ‘the voice of the church’). Note also that many editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ contained a full set of prayers in verse and prose, which are discussed briefly in H. C. White, \textit{The Tudor Books of Private Devotion} (Madison, Wis., 1951), 46–7.
\item \textsuperscript{160} F. E. Brightman, \textit{The English Rite} (2 vols., 1921), i. 516–22; \textit{The holy Bible} (1568), pt. 3, fo. A1; and cf. Dod, \textit{All the psalms}, sigs. R2–9: ‘A table of the principal points of every psalm, that every man may meditate in them, as he affecteth.’
\end{itemize}
number of attempts by individuals to provide the public with little books of devotions or meditations that included material from the Book of Psalms, either by building up new prayers from a selection of verses from the psalms, or by converting psalms into prayers, meditations, or verse through a more or less precise paraphrase of an original psalm.iii

However, it is not necessary to assume that those who used ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ had to do so with the aid of a separate commentary or devotional guide, since in many editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ published in large format from the 1560s to the 1630s, a short but pithy preface was provided which met both these needs. This introduction was entitled ‘A treatise made by Athanasius the great, concerning the use and virtue of the psalm’. Only a section of Athanasius’s original text was used, beginning with the words:

All holy scripture is certainly the teacher of all virtue and of the true faith: but the Book of the Psalms doth . . . teach every man with divers instructions, whereby he may not only espy the affection and state of his soul, and to win a good pattern and discipline, how he may please God, but also with what form of words he may amend himself, and how to give God due thanks.

There then followed a series of ninety-nine statements of the following kind:

1. If . . . thou wouldst . . . describe a blessed man, who he is, and what thing maketh him to be so, thou hast the 1st, 32nd, 41st, 112th, [and] 128th psalms . . .
10. If thou wouldest have thine adversary kept back, and thy soul saved, trust not in thyself, but in the Son of God singing the 9th psalm . . .
17. If thou hast need of prayer for such as be against thee, and have closed thy soul on every side, sing the 16th, 17th, 86th, 141st psalms . . .
19. If thou dost wonder at the order of things created by God, considering the grace of the divine providence, sing the 19th, 24th psalms . . .
29. If thou beholdest such as be baptized, and so delivered from the corruption of their birth, praise thou the bountiful grace of God, and sing the 32nd psalm . . .
42. If thou hast sinned, and art converted and moved to do penance, desirous to have mercy, thou hast words of confession in the 51st psalm . . .
54. If thou wouldst sing to the Lord, thou hast what to say in the 96th, 98th psalms . . .
59. If thou wilt inform any man with the mystery of the resurrection, sing the 81st psalm . . .
73. If thou wilt sing on Good Friday, thou hast a commendation of the Psalm 93 . . .
90. If thou wilt sing specially of our Saviour Christ, thou hast of him in every psalm, but most chiefly in the 25th, 45th, 110th psalms.

iii See above, Ch. 5.
Between them these ninety-nine statements covered all but a dozen of the 150 psalms, sometimes more than once. A number of the statements naturally reflected the circumstances of the Jews around the time of David, but were either converted into a universal and unchanging message or applied to explicitly New Testament events, such as Good Friday and baptism, while at least a dozen of the ninety-nine statements made explicit references to Christ being the son of God, or pointed out how different aspects of Christ’s life and passion were anticipated in specific psalms.\footnote{Whole booke of psalms (1599) (Bodl. Bib. Eng. 1602.c.2 (3)), sigs. A2’–4’.}

The fact that editors or publishers of the complete ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ from the 1560s to the 1630s chose to use a commendation not by a leading reformer but by a leading figure in the Early Church might seem surprising. One wonders what the Genevan exiles would have made of the references to ‘doing penance’, ‘festival day’, and ‘Catholic church’, or of the hint of free will (in no. 10) that a man who wanted to have his soul saved should sing a psalm. But this preface was not removed or, as far as is known, attacked. Perhaps it was simply a case of a translation of Athanasius being to hand in 1562 at a time when an alternative, simple, psalm-by-psalm analysis by a sound Protestant was not yet available in English, and in the absence of official opposition, printers and publishers simply carried on using it even when suitable alternatives did come onto the market.

It is just possible that the preface was the idea of Archbishop Parker. The publisher of the first complete editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ was John Day, who was well known to Parker at this time, and might have sought his advice. Parker had also prepared his own version of the metrical psalms, probably during the dark days of Mary’s reign, and when this work was eventually published (by Day) about 1567, it included in the preface a much longer extract from the original treatise by Athanasius. So too did the preface to the (prose) Book of Psalms prepared by Parker for the first edition of the Bishops’ Bible in 1568.\footnote{For links between Parker and Day, see above, Ch. i.ii; for Parker’s use of Athanasius in his own preface, M. Parker, The whole psalter translated into English metre ([1567?]), sigs. B4’–D4’; also The holie Bible (1568), pt. 3, fo. Ar; A. W. Pollard, Records of the English Bible (1911), 293–6. This extra preface is briefly discussed in White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 45. Other epithets}

\footnote{This extra preface is briefly discussed in White, Tudor Books of Private Devotion, 45. Other epithets}
The deployment of the Athanasian ‘treatise’ can be viewed more positively as reflecting an awareness of the role that the Book of Psalms had traditionally performed in the Church, and a desire to put metrical psalms into that tradition.\textsuperscript{165} In the preface to his own rendition of the Psalms in metre, Matthew Parker cited not only Athanasius but also Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Bernard, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Jerome, and Bede; and in 1568 the episcopal sponsors of the Bishops’ Bible also quoted Basil’s description of the psalms and a short passage of Augustine when they drew readers’ attention to the merits of that Book.\textsuperscript{166} At the end of the century Richard Hooker was almost certainly echoing Athanasius or Basil rather than Luther or Calvin when he made the remarks quoted above to the effect that the psalms taught all a man needed to know; and later in the next century Simon Patrick was certainly quoting Basil in the introduction to his version of the psalms when he referred to the Book of Psalms as ‘a complete body of theology’ and a ‘common [that is, shared] treatise of all good precepts’.\textsuperscript{167}

After the Restoration, when most editions of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were produced in smaller formats, fewer editions had space for the Athanasian preface.\textsuperscript{168} On the other hand, Benjamin Payne’s \textit{The parish-clerk’s ‘vade-mecum’}, also published as \textit{The parish clerk’s guide}, was reprinted regularly from the mid-1680s to the 1730s, perhaps especially for the Company of Parish Clerks based in London, though its steady sales suggest a wider distribution. This little work not only pointed out psalms ‘suited to all the great festivals of the Church of England, and most other special occasions’, but also was ‘useful for all such as would sing with the spirit and with the understanding also’. Its text listed twenty-one psalms which could be sung as ‘praises on all occasions’, seven for ‘pardon upon confession’, and a dozen for singing at the Lord’s Supper, or on pressing occasions such as deliverance from death and dangers such as plague, storms, and ‘windy tempestuous weather’.\textsuperscript{169} A surviving copy of the 1694 edition of Payne’s work in the Bodleian Library is bound with \textit{A collection of some verses out of the Psalms of David}, the main purpose of which was to provide two-part tunes for those singing metrical psalms: the tunes were ‘collected by Daniel Warner for the use of his scholars’ and ‘revised by Mr Henry Purcell’.\textsuperscript{170}

like ‘neutrals’ and ‘crafty, and malicious pickquarrels’ may point to a ‘godly’ author, but few editions had this extra list.

\textsuperscript{165} For English scholars’ knowledge of earlier Jewish and Christian views on the psalms, see Zim, \textit{Metrical Psalms}, i, 25–8, 36, 137, 139–44.

\textsuperscript{166} Parker, \textit{Whole psalter}, sigs. A4*, B1*, B4–D4*, E2–G2*; \textit{The holy Bible} (1568), pt. 3, fo. 1r.


\textsuperscript{168} An exception is the 1661 folio edition in the Bodleian: C.P.1660.d.1(2).

\textsuperscript{169} Wing P 8, 8A and BL Catal.; B[en.]* P[ayne], \textit{The parish-clerk’s ‘Vade-mecum’} (1694), title-page and passim; also Temperley, \textit{Music}, i. 88.

\textsuperscript{170} D. Warner, \textit{A collection of some verses out of the Psalms of David} (1694): Bodl. 8*S 198 (1). Though for
Later editions of Playford’s *Whole book of psalms* (a partial revision of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’) also had an Athanasian-type preface which rehearsed the many virtues of the psalms (which ‘lifeth up the heart to heavenly things, and uniteth the creature to his creator’) and suggested which psalms to sing for which spiritual need (‘If thou wouldst . . . repent thee of thy sins’, or ‘praise the majesty of God’, etc.). This preface singled out Psalm 119 for particular praise: ‘hardly is there a verse, wherein is not mention made of God’s law, commandments, testimonies, or precepts’. In works like these and other little handbooks, guidance was still available to the less well-informed on the doctrinal lessons and the devotional uses of the psalms—if they had the time, the means, and the inclination to pursue them. It should also be noted that much of the other educational and devotional material provided in a typical Elizabethan or early Stuart volume of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, for example the Lord’s Prayer, Decalogue, and Apostles’ Creed in verse, and the hymns and prayers, was still provided in most later Stuart and early Hanoverian editions, and to judge from Payne’s work and other indicators was still regarded as perfectly usable.

vii. Psalms as Poetry

But there was another facet of the Book of Psalms which struck many knowledgeable observers: its poetic potential. To the question ‘Why bother to turn the psalms into verse?’, there were a number of answers. The most obvious was that the original Book of Psalms had been composed in the form of poetry which as Donne put it embodied ‘the highest matter in the noblest form’. Another reason for trying, at least at the outset in the mid-sixteenth century, was that the exercise of turning the Book of Psalms into decent English verse was one of the few channels of artistic activity left open at a time when many forms of art, both religious and secular, were being subjected to fiercely critical scrutiny. Being part of the canonical scriptures, the Book of Psalms was above criticism, so that an aspiring poet could explore its poetic potential without being accused of ‘superstition’ or ‘paganism’; and turning them into English verse was not only instructive and

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scholars, this work also suggested appropriate psalms for deliverance from evil, recovery from illness, in time of war, at a Christening or burial, and so on.

171 Playford, *Whole book of psalms* (1695), sig. A2; I have also examined later editions in the BL’s Music collection.

172 In some editions, however, only one version of the Lord’s Prayer and the Decalogue were provided, whereas before 1640 and in larger format editions the norm was two of each; similarly some editions have fewer prayers than others.

173 Donne, ‘Upon the translation. . . by Sir Philip Sydney’, line 11; and cf. *Works of Richard Hooker*, ii. 150, on the psalms being more ‘moving’ than other parts of the Bible.

174 P. Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia* (Reading, 1986); Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts I*. 
spiritually fulfilling for the poet, but also, if the results were good, might help other Christians.\textsuperscript{175}

The main problem was how to combine the greatest accuracy of translation with a style and vocabulary that would sound like English poetry. It soon became apparent to those who knew some Hebrew that it was extraordinarily hard to convey the full flavour of the original, which unlike most English verse had no rhyme, and which also had a different kind of rhythm from that to which the Western ear had become accustomed. Problems were also caused by differences of syntax, metaphor, and vocabulary: why should we sing about harps and psalteries, asked Isaac Watts, when thousands in England have never even seen such instruments?\textsuperscript{176} It was also realized, as one author put it, that Hebrew is ‘so short and abstruse a language, that many single words . . . to be rightly understood by us, must be turned into . . . sentences’. In addition, some of the tricks of the poetical trade such as assonance and alliteration or the occasional alphabetical or acrostic form were not easily transferred from Hebrew to English.\textsuperscript{177} Nevertheless, from the 1530s to the eighteenth century and beyond, literally scores of men and women accepted the challenge of turning the Psalms into attractive English verse.

Many of those who tried had rank as well as zeal: courtier-poets like Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Thomas Smith, the earl of Surrey and Sir Philip Sidney, and the countess of Pembroke, as well as reformers like Sternhold, Whittingham, Norton, and Parker;\textsuperscript{178} and in the early seventeenth century more courtiers (Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Wotton), a literary bishop (Joseph Hall), a poet-explorer (and son of an archbishop of York—George Sandys), a poet and playwright (and son of a Norfolk rector—Phineas Fletcher), and three well-born poets of the period—John Donne, George Herbert and Richard Crashaw, a well as a Catholic (Richard Verstegan), and a separatist living in Holland (Henry Ainsworth).\textsuperscript{179} In 1631 the seal of respectability was set on the genre by the publication at Oxford of a slim duodecimo of metrical verse entitled \textit{The psalmes of king David} translated by

\textsuperscript{175} See Zim, \textit{Metrical Psalms}, passim.
\textsuperscript{177} As last note, and Sir John Denham, \textit{A version of the psalms of David} (1714), p. xxvi.
\textsuperscript{178} Zim, \textit{Metrical Psalms}, provides an excellent account of the motives and attitudes of the aspiring poets, many at court, who were attracted to the Book of Psalms in the sixteenth century. His concern is naturally with the work and wider significance of the more accomplished poets of the period, whereas the concern here is with works which were less personal in origin and more public in impact, regardless of their artistic merit. For the wider appeal of psalms in court circles, though not necessarily in metrical form, see R. E. Prothero, \textit{The Psalms in Human Life} (1928), ch. 5.
King James, though it now seems that most of the work was done by the earl of Stirling. From the 1640s to the 1660s, there was another clutch of attempts, not just by clergymen of all persuasions, but by a variety of laymen and women too: the ‘radical and mystic’ Francis Rous (an active member of the Long Parliament and Westminster Assembly), John Milton, Sir John Denham (a Cavalier), and a portrait-painter with some reputation as a poet, Mrs Mary Beale. Much the same was true of the period from the 1690s to the 1710s, with some clergy, such as Nicholas Brady, Charles Darby, and Isaac Watts making attempts, and two physicians (James Gibbs and Sir Richard Blackmore) as well as a Poet Laureate and playwright (Nahum Tate).

Many of these authors got no further than turning just a few psalms into verse, and some of them, like Matthew Parker, Henry Dod, and Francis Bacon may have had more zeal than talent (an unkind critic wrote of Dod’s work that it was so bad it had been burnt by the public hangman). But others, such as Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Herbert, and Milton produced genuinely artistic works that combined inventive freedom with scholarly scruples. Indeed, recent work has suggested that the best work of the sixteenth century, far from being mere imitation in the derogatory sense of the word, should be seen as providing a bridge between medieval lyric verse and the better-known Protestant poetics of the seventeenth century that we associate with Donne, Herbert, Milton, Quarles, and others.

The fact that metrical versions came in spurts, from the 1540s to the mid-1580s, another cluster from the 1630s to the 1660s, and another from the late 1680s to the early 1720s, may suggest that turning psalms into verse became periodically fashionable. But we can also see that most of them took the task sufficiently seriously to consult the latest translations of the Bible and scholarly commentaries to help them penetrate to the original meaning of the psalms before they turned their verses.

There is a related question which is not so easy to answer: why did most of these versifiers choose metrical verse rather than some more flexible or less constricting form, or even a variety of forms? There were probably a number of

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\textsuperscript{a\textdagger} Young, \textit{Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases}, 51–58; STC: 2732, 2676–36a.

\textsuperscript{b\textdagger} Clergymen included William Barton, Henry King, Samuel Woodford, and John Patrick; sources as n. 179, and Wing; Milbourne, \textit{Psalms of David}, sigs. A6–7; and on Rous, see R. L. Greaves and R. Zaller (eds.), \textit{Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century} (3 vols., Brighton, 1982–4), iii. 114–15; on Mrs Beale: Woodford, \textit{Paraphrase}, sigs. b4–c1, and DNB.

\textsuperscript{c\textdagger} DNB, and BLC; I have been unable to trace some authors, e.g. Joshua Squire, author of \textit{Select psalms of David translated anew} (1707).


\textsuperscript{e\textdagger} e.g. Woodford, \textit{Paraphrase upon the psalms} (1667/78), sigs. b2–3’, c2; Denham, \textit{Version of the psalms}, p. vii; and Julian, \textit{Hymnology}, 917–20, 922–9.

overlapping reasons. First, there were precedents in the wider Protestant community on the Continent and in Scotland. It is not clear whether Sternhold was influenced directly by Luther’s early experiments or Clement Marot’s metrical paraphrases in French, or by the Wedderburn brothers’ *Gude and godlie ballates* of *c*.1540. But the circle of poets at the English court with which he was in touch had read Marot, or knew of poetic paraphrases in other languages; and Sternhold himself was probably influenced by Coverdale’s Lutheran-inspired *Goostly psalmes* and possibly by early Dutch versions as well. Exiles like Whittingham and Norton would have been aware of Continental models, and anxious to complete an English alternative, but it is again not clear how far their text (as opposed to the music) was influenced by such versions.

Secondly, it was in some ways easier to write large quantities of verse in a metrical than a lyric or epic style. By the seventeenth century it was being said that the regularity of metre was inelegant and aesthetically constricting, and that if pursued rigorously it created problems such as the omission of participles, the transposition of words (as in ‘and on this wise say shall’ for ‘shall say’ in Psalm 119: 172), or the insertion of superfluous words such as ‘eke’ and ‘aye’ to make up the alternating strong and weak stresses (for example ‘And eke no less, ye heavens fair’ in Psalm 148: 4). But a variety of alternatives to common metre were available. All but sixteen of the psalms in ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ were in common metre: four or more lines of alternating eight and six syllables. But the rest of that version and many other metrical versions used short metre (lines of six, six, eight, and six syllables) or long metre (all lines of eight syllables). These and other variations such as different rhyming patterns allowed the poet a measure of freedom which was exploited by those authors who sought a form of verse (or tune) to match the tone of a ‘sad’, ‘doleful’, ‘penitential’, ‘lamenting’, ‘melancholic’ psalm of tribulation ‘bewailing troubles’, or a ‘heroical’, ‘lofty’, ‘joyful’, ‘cheerful’ psalm of thanksgiving or rejoicing, or a ‘solemn’ or ‘humble’ psalm of praise and petition.
Metrical verse was also easier to set to music and perform. The prose psalter in the Book of Common Prayer was pointed and chanted, that is, divided up according to the stress and sense of the words and sung to a plainsong or other chant—a practice which requires both literacy and musical skill. But the metrical psalms consisted of lines of fixed length and regular internal rhythm that could easily be set to simple tunes and mastered by amateurs. The better metrists were also of the view that the tunes to which a psalm was sung could vary according to its mood. Thus in the case of William Barton in 1644–5, we find him using a system of stars to identify what kind of tune should be used for each psalm: one star if a ‘doleful’ tune was suitable, two stars if a ‘solemn mixed tune’, and three if a ‘joyful’ one was best; in each case suitable tunes were listed.

Another reason for persisting with metre was that it was much easier to modify the prototype adopted in the mid-sixteenth century than to abandon it. Despite the growing chorus of condemnation of the flaws of the ‘old version’, many authors found it hard to break away completely from the idiom that it had created. William Barton argued (with some justice) that his version was closer to the Hebrew than ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, but, aware that sometimes he had paraphrased rather than offered a literal translation, had to add the rider ‘as far as English and good verse will allow’. Moreover, Barton was one of the many authors of a new version who included a number of psalms from the ‘old version’: his first volume, which appeared in 1644, contained thirty-five psalms taken direct from ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, and the second in 1645 included thirty more. Similarly in 1687 Simon Ford did not set out to rival a number of the psalms ‘which are commonly sung, in the old version, if they be tolerably there translated’, but confined himself to providing alternative versions, in different metres, so that ‘those that are used to sing’ the old could choose between the old and the new. Other authors, like John Playford as we have seen, changed those ‘gross words and unhandsome expressions’ in the ‘old version’ which they felt obscured the meaning of the text, but simply left the rest alone. Even those who did not borrow or improve in these ways were at pains to point out that their new versions were so similar to the ones they wished to replace that they were written in the same metre, with the same length of verse, and so could be sung to the same tunes as before. Thus Henry King, who thought metre was ‘the least graceful of all measures’, nevertheless used it to try to render the psalms ‘with

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90 See above, p. 509 and n. 31. 90 Barton, Book of Psalms (1645), sig. A1v, and passim.
90 Ibid., sig. A1v.
90 Ford, New version, sig. Aq. Notwithstanding Ford’s desire to provide a better version, his alternatives seem to be often very similar to the originals.
90 King, Psalms of David, sig. Aq; and the title-pages of Patrick, Century of select psalms; Squire, Select Psalms of David; Denham, Version of the Psalms; and Sir Richard Blackmore, A new version of the Psalms of David (1721).
perspicuity and plainness for the vulgar use’; and Luke Milbourne used ‘the old measures’ in the hope that his versions would be ‘sung in the plainest country-congregations’. And it may be remembered that in the early eighteenth century most composers of new tunes or harmonizations stressed that their music could be used for all versions of the psalms, both old and new.

Only a handful of authors tried to break what one of them called ‘the uneasy shackles of confining metre’, as in Abraham Cowley’s epic life of David, Davideis (1656), and Samuel Woodford’s ‘historical’ psalms in ‘the Pindaric way’; but the absence of repeat editions of these works suggests that their efforts were not widely appreciated. Similarly, only a few authors broke openly with the constraints imposed by literal translation, and when they did said that it was in order to convey the meaning of the original to the ‘less learned’ or the ‘capacity of the meanest’. Isaac Watts’s experiment is pertinent here: he persisted with metre, but made it quite clear that his Psalms of David imitated were not meant to be literal translations but ‘imitations’, written in the language of the New Testament to capture the spirit of the psalms, and to present them in a Christian rather than a Jewish light. He omitted many psalms which were not easily accommodated to ‘the various occasions of the Christian life’, and chopped up what he did use into pieces of convenient length, like a hymn. He also turned the psalmists’ sharp invectives against personal enemies into much broader attacks on ‘our spiritual adversaries, Sin, Satan and Temptation’.

One final reason for persisting with metre was the reluctance of the ‘people’ to adopt radically different forms. It is most striking that among the men whose alternative versions sold most copies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—William Barton, John Patrick, Nahum Tate, Nicholas Brady, and Isaac Watts—experienced parish clergy were predominant. The only possible exception is John Playford, but he was a very experienced church musician as well as an active music publisher. These men not only believed that metrical psalms, suitably modified and better presented, could continue to perform a useful role, but also had personal experience of regular parish worship that gave them insights which courtiers and poets did not possess. Hence Isaac Watts’s concern to be not only ‘a servant of the

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198 King, Psalms of David, sig. A2v; Milbourne, Psalms of David, sig. A10v (note also his suggestion that a standard set of metrical psalms could be produced by extracting the best from all versions then on offer: sig. A9v). See also Ford, New version, sings. A5v for concern to produce a middling version neither ‘above the reach of ordinary capacities’, nor flat and slovenly.

199 See above, n. 116.

200 Woodford, Paraphrase, sings. a3v–c2v; Denham, Version of the Psalms, pp. xiii–xiv; Gibbs, First fifteen psalms, sings. a1v–2v.

201 King, Psalms of David, sings. A3v for concern to produce a middling version neither ‘above the reach of ordinary capacities’, nor flat and slovenly.

202 Watts, Psalms of David, preface, passim; this work achieved popularity in some dissenting circles, but Watts’s criticism of existing versions and new ideas upset others wedded to custom or literalness: Temperley, Music, i, 121–2; anon., A vindication of David’s psalms from Mr. I. Watts’s erroneous notions and hard speeches on them (1727).
churches’ by providing his ‘imitations’, but also ‘a helper to the joy of the meanest Christian’.  

viii. ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ and ‘the Common People’

Finally, why did the ‘common people’, in the opinion of one well-placed observer in 1679, ‘show more affection for this than any other part of the service’ of the Church of England? As so often, we must rely on evidence from the better-educated members of society, but whether supporters or critics of the ‘old version’ their testimony is remarkably similar.

First, there is the view that the language used by Sternhold and Hopkins was readily understood by ordinary people. To later generations of poets, that vocabulary might appear outmoded or even archaic, but to this allegation Bishop Beveridge made the telling reply that it was the common people, the ‘country-people’ who comprised ‘the far greatest part of the kingdom’, who were the best preservers of the nation’s language, not those scholars who were fond of introducing foreign words into English use; and that the common people were never heard to complain about the style of the ‘old version’. All the alternative versions which he had seen contained expressions, words, and phrases which were just as hard as, if not harder than, those in ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, and he condemned Tate and Brady’s New version for having too many words derived from Greek, Latin, and French. He defended the use of words like ‘rede’ (advice or counsel, Psalm 1: 1) and ‘mell’ (meddle, Psalm 91: 8) in the ‘old version’, and attacked ‘modish’ words or phrases, such as ‘tragedy’ and ‘the sinner’s mournful gains’ in the New. The original Book of Psalms had contained no flights of wit or fanciful expressions, just ‘every thing necessary for mankind to believe and do’, delivered in a ‘plain and familiar style’ by a God who condescended to use expressions that we commonly use ourselves; and he felt strongly that ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ reflected that style much better than any other translation. The common people ‘love and admire them the more’ and are more edified by them because of their ‘plain low style’; ‘the plainer they are, the sooner they understand them’, he insisted.

Secondly, there is the undeniable similarity of style between the verse in ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ and the ballads of the early modern period, especially those with a didactic content—a bible story, a deathbed scene, a cautionary tale, an ABC of religion. Readers who turn back to pp. 456–7 will see the opening stanzas of a ballad that enlarged on a bible story about the royal psalmist himself: ‘David and Bersheba’ is written in common metre (eight, six, eight, six), has superfluous words to make up the metre (‘All in the pleasant

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203 Watts, Psalms of David, p. xxviii.  
204 Patrick, Century of select psalms, sig. A1’.  
206 Beveridge, Defence, 42–3; note also the barbed comment, in reply to the allegation of poor rhyme in the ‘old version’, that devout people do not notice the rhyme when they are singing (48–9).
month of May', ‘for to wash her there’), and uses familiar and formulaic vocabulary (‘a gallant prospect’, ‘brighter than the morning-sun’, ‘like a lily flower’, and so on). Those who enjoyed or learnt ballads would have had little or no difficulty understanding and even memorizing the ‘old version’, as for example in the addition of ‘eke’ and ‘aye’ to fill out a line or provide a stress—one of the bugbears of the cognoscenti.\footnote{See above, n. 188.} Up to a point, the similarity between metrical psalms and ballads was deliberate, for as the subtitle of ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ makes clear their psalms were ‘to be sung . . . for . . . godly solace and comfort, laying aside all ungodly ballads, which tend only to the nourishment of vice and corrupting of youth’.\footnote{Similar hopes were expressed by a variety of Elizabethan and Stuart churchmen and poets: see above, nn. 19, 127–8; Ford, New version, sig. A3’; E. Hall, The psalm-singers’s compleat companion (1706), 3; Beveridge, Defence, 31–2; and see Temperley, Music, i. 11, 61, 126–7, 144.} In 1687 Simon Ford argued that until the Catholic church had come to disdain choral singing by the people (as opposed to those in orders or a separate choir), psalms had been sung by the people while engaged in everyday activities, and that it had been the achievement of Protestant reformers to turn David’s psalms into ‘such kinds of metre as were most acceptable in their times’, and thus diffuse those works among Christians and raise their spirits.\footnote{Ford, New version, signs. A3’–4’. Ford was partly right in that metrical psalms had existed in the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon times but were replaced by Latin ones thereafter.}\footnote{Ford, New version, signs. A3’–4’.}

Thirdly, there is the argument that participation in metrical psalms may have come as welcome relief for many of those who had to sit through a contemporary service. ‘When the Reformation began in divers parts of Europe’, wrote Ford, ‘the vulgar people’, long inured to devotions they did not understand, ‘were so much taken with the singing the Psalms of David, poetically translated into their own languages’, that it gave them ‘an inward warmth’ in the exercise of their religion. This was, he suggested, ‘no doubt . . . one of the things which very much promoted’ the Reformation in England.\footnote{Davies, Worship and Theology I, 378–80; Temperley, Music, i. 10–11, 16–22.} As in Lutheran Germany and Scandinavia and in Reformed churches abroad and in Scotland, the singing of metrical psalms offered all members of English congregations the opportunity to join in, not just those in the choir as in many pre-Reformation churches or most post-Reformation cathedrals.\footnote{Davies, Worship and Theology I, chs. 5–6} The first Protestant services in England must have been a sobering experience after the loss of the ritual, church decorations, and in many cases the choirs and organ accompaniment of late medieval times, especially since these were replaced by fairly long, set sequences of prayers, Bible readings, and responses, perhaps with a sermon lasting at least an hour.\footnote{Davies, Worship and Theology I, 378–80; Temperley, Music, i. 10–11, 16–22.} As Ford and others realized, the singing of psalms offered ‘the generality of men’ the opportunity of breaking the flow of spoken words for a while, and the signs are that the opportunity
to alleviate the ‘tediousness of sacred exercises’ for ‘the generality of men’ by mixing ‘that which pleaseth the ear, with that which conduceth to the sanctifying of the heart’ was seized with both hands, and that the people sang both loud and long. In the early eighteenth century country clergy reported to the SPCK the ‘uncommon delight’ of children and adults in learning the new music; and another churchman in 1713 said he longed to see the day when ‘men of the highest quality’ would be ‘ashamed to sit silent, when all the congregation . . . are, with a loud voice and earnest devotion, singing praises to their maker’. As another contemporary observer (Alexander Pope) put it, the ‘lab’ring throng’ sang as if ‘Heav’n is won by violence of song’.\(^{213}\) As we have seen, a number of later Stuart authors quoted with approval George Herbert’s couplet ‘A verse may find him who a sermon flies, | And turn delight into a sacrifice’, and it is instructive that on one occasion the first line was misquoted as ‘A tune may catch him who a sermon flies’.\(^{214}\)

The laity may also have welcomed the metrical psalms because this was the one part of the service on which they might be able to exert a little influence. The choice of psalm and of tune was from an early date often delegated by the minister to the parish clerk or later the choir; as early as the reigns of James I and Charles I, the reformers of church music hoped that this trend would be reversed.\(^{215}\) Now it may have been the case that each parish clerk or choirmaster jealously guarded his prerogative of selecting the psalm or chose those tunes which enabled him to show off such talents as he or his choir possessed.\(^{216}\) But on the other hand in terms of his social background the clerk was likely to have been much nearer the man in the pew than the man in the pulpit, and he may have been responsive to the mood or preferences of the congregation, and have chosen the psalms accordingly, perhaps with the help of a copy of *The parish clerk’s guide*, which suggested appropriate psalms for ‘Hail, frost and snow’, ‘Heat and drought’, ‘Lightning, thunder, darkness’, and ‘Whirlwinds’, or how to beg for deliverance from plague, rebellion, and other dangers.\(^{217}\) And what was true of the clerk was in many cases perhaps also true of the choristers, as Woodforde’s troubles with his choir suggests. Certainly the comments of some of those enthusiasts who were trying to improve or replace the ‘old version’ does suggest that they thought certain popular habits and preferences had crept in at much the same time as the ministers had abdicated control over metrical psalms to elements in the congregation.\(^{218}\)


\(^{214}\) The original is from the opening stanza of ‘The Church Porch’; see also above, p. 400; S. Crossman, *The young man’s calling* (1678), 411; R. B. [N. Crouch], *Youth’s divine pastime* (12th edn., 1720), pt. 2, title-page; A. Bedford, *The Temple Musick* (1706), 221.


\(^{216}\) As last note, and see above, nn. 12–13.

\(^{217}\) Above, n. 10; and B. Payne, *The parish-clerk’s vade-mecum* (1664), 129, 137–42.

This brings us to a further point: the attractiveness of the tunes themselves. A Catholic complained bitterly that nothing had drawn the multitudes to Protestantism 'so much as the singing of their psalms, in such variable and delightful tunes'.

These the soldier singeth in war, the artisans at their work, wenches spinning and sewing, apprentices in their shops, and wayfaring men on their travels, little knowing . . . what a serpent lieth hidden under these sweet flowers.

The fact that these tunes were relatively short and simple and could be sung unaccompanied meant that any gathering could sing them: performance was not tied to a choir or an organ or other instrument. Similarly, the fact that in England only a limited number of tunes, perhaps as few as six, may have been in general use in the seventeenth century also probably facilitated the process of learning to sing the psalms, as well as perhaps reflecting popular preferences between the tunes on offer; some, such as the 'Old Hundredth' are still in use today. There is also the suggestion that over a number of decades the music in normal use seems to have been adapted in certain ways, perhaps also to reflect popular taste. The nicknames 'Geneva jigs' or 'Hopkins's jigs' may have been used pejoratively, but the liveliness they suggest may indicate a rapprochement between liturgical and folk music that would not be without parallel in other areas of liturgical and ecclesiastical life in early modern Europe. Conversely, the slowing of the pace during the seventeenth century (which upset many educated supporters of metrical psalms as well as opponents) may also have been a move initiated in part by the congregation, though it was perhaps also the product of a lack of accompaniment and in particular the spread of 'lining out'. There is more than a hint in contemporary writing, such as the lines from Phillips and Pope already quoted, that the people thought that the louder and longer they sang, the greater their reward would be. As usual, Beveridge was not perturbed by this development: the people did not favour 'brisk and lively' psalms, he wrote, because the heavier the style of a psalm, 'the easier they can keep pace with them'.

The people of early modern England may well have come to regard metrical psalms as a kind of folk music. As the result of his field research in Africa,
the eminent anthropologist John Blacking came to believe that all people have an innate talent for music and that most societies encourage this; it has only been the narrow vision of aesthetes and professionals in the West in recent centuries which has led to the suppression of a sense of musical competence in the majority. Before the professionals came to dominate, all music was folk music in the sense that it was a form of communication and interaction between different members of a society. If one listens to unaccompanied metrical psalm-singing today, what it reminds one of quite strongly is the natural, joyful, rhythmic, simply harmonized singing of African or Latin American choirs, or the renditions of folk-songs by those dedicated bands of enthusiasts who have preserved (or resurrected) folk-singing in the Western world.

If the line between ecclesiastical and secular music became blurred, or the two even became transposed to some extent, this would not have been surprising, since this was exactly what happened on parts of the Continent in the early modern period. Martin Luther keyed into the existing German traditions of folk hymns and secular folk-songs, with great success, and soon his hymns were (according to contemporary reports) being sung in workshops, market-places, streets, fields, and even in bath-houses and inns. Later, hymns were also parodied to attack the Catholic clergy to telling effect. A Swedish bishop complained that psalms were being sung in alehouses, while in 1667 the Consistory of Lausanne was ‘shocked to hear . . . of some people who had been singing psalms while they danced’. In the Cévennes the Huguenots were apparently so successful in suppressing traditional folk-songs that psalms appear to have taken over their functions, and were also used as lullabies. There are similar complaints in England. Bishop Bayly bemoaned the practice of interspersing psalms and profane ballads, and we hear of ballads being sung at baptisms and weddings, and find Bishop Hall complaining of the unsuitability of jigs at a funeral (though he may have been referring to the dances at a wake). In the eighteenth century we find Horace Walpole complaining of a group of performers who sang to jigs and danced to church music (probably a criticism of the speeds they chose: the one too fast for singing, the other too slow for dancing in his opinion); and what are we to

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226 Living in Northern Ireland, I have been able to hear psalm-singing in the Reformed Presbyterian tradition.


228 White, *English Devotional Literature*, 61, 232; Marsh, *Songs of the Seventeenth Century*, 24–5; J. Hall, *Sermon at Hampton-Court September 1624* (cited in *OED*., but not traced). For another complaint that artificers and husbandmen were better at singing ballads than psalms (implying that they sang both), see M. Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters* (Cambridge, 1995), 240; see also ibid., 94, for rural dissenters enjoying singing Watts’s hymns and psalms.
make of Charles Burney’s comment that in England psalms were ‘roared like orgies’ in the streets?

Despite these harsh comments from aesthetes and purists, we should not overlook the possibility that the people genuinely did find psalm-singing edifying. Some enthusiasts spoke of music as having a natural propensity to compose the disorderly passions of the mind, excite and heighten devotion, and ‘mightily edify’ the sensitive individual. But Ford and Beveridge were in no doubt that music affected ‘the people’ too. God had received a great deal of praise, and the ‘ordinary sort of Christians a great deal of edification and comfort’ by singing the ‘old version’ over the previous hundred years, said Ford. It was because the people ‘found such extraordinary benefit and comfort thence’ that they memorized many psalms and sang them by themselves, wrote Beveridge. The idea that the people could have derived spiritual benefit from being ‘long accustomed to an hearty and sincere use’ of the ‘old version’ was also expressed, in more Augustan and ironic terms, by Alexander Pope in the lines beginning ‘Hopkins and Sternhold glad the heart with psalms’ which have already been quoted in part:

How could devotion touch the country pews,
Unless the Gods bestowed a proper muse?
Verse cheers their leisure, verse assists their work,
Verse prays for peace, or sings down Pope and Turk.
The silenc’d preacher yields to potent strain,
And feels that grace his pray’r besought in vain;
The blessing thrills thro’ all the lab’ring throng,
And Heav’n is won by violence of song.

What the ‘labouring throng’ derived from the experience is hard to pin down from the sources available to us. Was it an awareness of God’s great power, and man’s helplessness without him, of Christ’s sufferings for fallen man, as prefigured by David’s experiences, or of the certainty of a life hereafter; and of the need to lead a godly life? This was certainly the message in those prefaces, commentaries, manuals, and sermons designed to buttress the regular use of the psalms. Or was it, more prosaically but understandably, a feeling of physical release after having to sit through so many spoken words, and a sense of involvement or even control that they did not experience elsewhere in the service? Or perhaps a means of expressing collective joy or grief, and a feeling of ‘inward warmth’ in the exercise of religion identified by more
than one commentator, a sense of being ‘nearer, my God, to thee’ through
music than through prose, as recent work by psychologists of religion has con-
firmed?

It would certainly be hard to prove the suggestion of one twentieth-century
enthusiast for church music that ‘Where one person has been refined and
enriched in mind by the poetry of Milton, or Wordsworth, or Tennyson, a
thousand may have been comforted, inspired and transformed by Sternhold
and Hopkins, Watts, or Wesley.’ But this is a line of enquiry that would be
worth pursuing as rigorously as the views of those refined contemporaries
who felt that there could not possibly be anything holy about the way in which
metrical psalms were sung by the people. Psalm-singing was considered by
many other educated contemporaries a natural activity and, as Watts
believed, a joyful one too. Perhaps the time has come to compare the vocab-
ulary and syntax in ‘godly’ ballads with those in ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’, and
to examine the church court records, diaries, and surviving copies of the met-
rical psalms for possible reflections of these more positive views on psalm-
singing. At the least we should take the metrical psalms as seriously as that
‘lab’ring throng’ described by Pope who had directly or indirectly learnt their
psalms through the medium of print and who seemed to be trying to win
heaven ‘by violence of song’.

233 C. D. Batson, P. Schoenrade, and W. L. Ventis, Religion and the Individual: A Social-Psychological Per-
234 E. S. Lorenz, The Singing Church (Nashville, 1938), 55. For the popularity of hymns among pietist
movements, see T. A. Campbell, The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth
In the 1680s Richard Baxter knew of ‘no nation that in their own tongue’ had as ‘great store of all sort of good books’ as the English then had. Baxter was in touch with like-minded figures abroad, and he may have been right. The first wave of Protestant printing in Germany had begun to break by the 1550s, and it would take a second wave of expansion in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to bring bibles and pietistic works to the majority of German Lutherans. The Dutch had for some time been busy printing for everybody else (including a hybrid King James Bible with Geneva notes), and so may have had less time for supplying their domestic markets with improving works. And in France the authorities had certainly been using print to improve clerical and lay standards of knowledge, but were were also trying to control the excesses of popular religious print to an extent that we do not find in England. Meanwhile English titles were sufficiently well known and appreciated on the Continent for pietists to have them translated for circulation there.¹

In the previous eight chapters we have seen three patterns emerge regularly. Educated authors responded to the opportunity of using print by experimenting with a much greater variety of genres than before, Canny publishers used nearly every trick in the book to expand markets and maximize profits: smaller formats, cheaper paper, different typeface and layouts, attractive titles, decorated title-pages, experimental genres, abridgements, pastiches, and so on. And increasing numbers of literate people proved willing to acquire printed material, especially in the rapidly expanding middling ranks

¹ Keeble, Baxter, 3.
of society, while the illiterate were regularly exposed to it through other means, such as a vernacular liturgy and ‘lining out’. By focusing on best-sellers and steady-selling items, we have been able to indicate with some confidence what kinds of books were most likely to have been read or heard, and more speculatively what kinds of people encountered them.

Armed with this material, can we construct a revised narrative, as Mark Edwards has done for the role of print in the early Reformation in Germany? Not yet. We are talking of two very different exercises: Edwards’s volume covers two decades, this one two centuries. Moreover, as stated in the preface, the object of this volume was not to supplant what is already well known and accepted about polemical or ‘godly’ publications, but to supplement it by indicating the many other uses to which the printing press was regularly put. Only now are we in a position to start constructing a grid consisting on the vertical axis of the more familiar contentious material and on the horizontal of the more consensual kind of material that the steady sellers considered here tended to provide. Martin Ingram has recently suggested that in early modern England there was not one but a variety of religious cultures and subcultures with different expectations and responses; and Peter Lake, Alex Walsham, and others have argued that there were a number of cross-over forms of publication, combining elements of zealous edification and ephemeral entertainment; and these suggestions also need to be accommodated in this or a similar grid. Moreover, we still need to know much more about contemporaries’ experience of contact with print in early modern England, and how far such contact changed attitudes significantly, or simply led to an idiosyncratic blend of old and new. We also need to set the impact of print in a context which includes the many other ways in which Christian ideas were absorbed: aurally, through sermons, catechizing, psalm-singing, and bell-ringing; visually, through the fittings and fixtures in the church and churchyard, and the gestures and other symbols in the rites of passage and other regular services; and through many other everyday stimuli in school, home, street, or market-place, some of which consisted of modified forms of pre-Reformation practices, while others were selected and simplified versions of newer teachings.

However, what can be attempted in this final chapter is a survey of the message contained in the works we have been examining, and a provisional assessment of what impact that message might have had. What will be

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3 Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, 163, 171, and *passim*.
suggested here is not a completely revised narrative, but one that reinforces the existing one at certain points, corrects it at others, fills in a number of gaps, and makes some suggestions and connections not made before. What is also different is the suggestion that what we have encountered in this study is not one message but at least three, and clearly the impact of those messages depended on the predispositions of different readers and the way they incorporated them into their own world-view.

The findings in this monograph tend to reinforce or extend the existing narrative at various points. As we saw in Chapters 3–5 and Chapter 9, print was regularly used by the ecclesiastical authorities and individual reformers to disseminate statements of what was wrong with the old church and right about the new, and to urge conformity to the new. This was done not just through works with a high quota of propaganda, such as Bale’s diatribes against the papacy and medieval church and Foxe’s prefaces and text in the *Book of martyrs*, large treatises such as Jewel’s *Apologia* and Hooker’s *Laws of ecclesiastical politic*, and official handbooks and homilies, but also through ensuring the availability of hundreds of thousands of copies of the Bible and the official liturgy and psalters in all shapes and sizes, and simple guides to their use and meaning. All of these help explain what is now generally seen as the gradual growth of lay acquiescence in the new religion during the second half of the reign of Elizabeth and that of James, and the emergence of a nation that was at least outwardly Protestant, if not yet (or ever) a nation of well-informed and fully engaged Protestants. These works may also help explain the genesis of that ‘parochial Prayer Book Protestantism’ and ‘unspectacular orthodoxy’ detected in recent work on rural religious practice.5

Nothing said in previous chapters seriously undermines what is already well established about the use of print by the more vocal critics of the established church at various dates: those anxious to remove its remaining popish remnants and cure its lukewarmness in the 1570s–1590s; those engaged in an intellectual crusade against signs of incipient Romanism, ‘Arminianism’, and Laudianism in the early Stuart church; and those who under changed circumstances expounded new ideas and formed new groups in the 1640s and 1650s, and again from 1662 to 1689 and beyond. It was made clear in Chapters 4 and 6 that such works were probably in a relatively small minority of the thousands of works of ‘divinity’ published every decade, though this does not mean that the ideas they contained could not have been spread as effectively as those in the majority, albeit by different means reflecting the often tightly knit nature of dissident groupings.6

This monograph also does not challenge frontally the role of the ‘godly’ among the Elizabethan and Jacobean episcopate, the better-educated parish

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clergy, and the magistracy, in their combined attempts to work towards a more ‘godly’ society, not least through the provision of suitable sermons, treatises, and handbooks by authors such as William Perkins, Richard Rogers, and John Dod and Robert Cleaver. The main caveats thrown up by the sample used in this study are, first of all, the suggestion that most works by ‘godly’ divines were substantial tomes, at the top or middle of any scale of length and difficulty, and aimed at a reasonably literate, leisured readership; and, secondly, that both these and the shorter, simpler works of the ‘godly’ must be viewed as part of a much wider thrust by conformist clergy, enthusiastic laymen, and interested publishers anxious (for whatever reason) to provide a growing variety of forms of instruction, edification, and advice. Moreover, by the early Stuart period there was probably much common ground in the works offered by different groupings within the church. Indeed, to judge from sales, there was already a rapidly growing demand for works of instruction (such as catechisms) and devotion (such as collections of prayers) as well as for handbooks on Christian living and dying—a trend which in commercial terms accelerated in the second century after the Reformation.7

What is different from the existing orthodoxy about print and Protestantism is that in this study we have encountered at least three versions of ‘Protestantism’. The most commonly stated in the first century after the Reformation was manifestly different from late medieval Catholicism, and stemmed especially from the clergy, both conformist and ‘godly’, though it had also support from some among the educated laity. This orthodoxy was not monolithic. The Reformation forced a reconsideration of many staple assumptions, and there were sufficient tensions and variations within the dominant orthodoxy, and especially at the flexible, permeable boundaries between the sacred and the secular, the public and the private, and faith and reason, for the flowers of orthodoxy to vary in colour.8 But they all had roots in the same soil and were evidently of the same genus. A second version of Protestantism which can be found throughout the early modern period also stemmed from the educated elite, but this time more from the laity than the clergy, and was characterized by a constructive tension between Reformation ideas on the one hand and classical, humanist, or Renaissance ideas on the other, and by a tendency towards moralism, rationalism, and anticlericalism. A third version stemmed from ballad and chapbook publishers and their tame authors, who, in the seventeenth century especially, trumpeted their Protestant credentials while churning out works of dubious orthodoxy.

The first and most orthodox message was often conveyed in different ways at different levels. There was an advanced form, for fellow scholars or zealots,

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7 Collinson, *Religion of Protestants* on the role of the ‘godly’; and above, Chs. 4–6.
needing the most scholarly aids to Bible study and theological treatises, the most admired sermons of the day, and the most sophisticated manuals on introspection, meditation, or cases of conscience. There was an intermediate level of works for the moderately well-educated who were looking for more accessible aids to Bible study, prayer, preparation for communion, or advice on the life of the spirit or godly living. And there was an elementary level of catechisms, simple prayers and verses, stories from the Bible, and improving biographies for those with little formal education, though this simplified version of the orthodox message at times came very close to the second type of Protestantism being suggested here.

The second and third messages can also be found in differing forms. The second version, coloured by older, classical ideas and newer, Continental ones, was disseminated both at full-strength (in works of moral philosophy or inspired religious verse which intersected with those in the intermediate level of orthodox teaching), and in a diluted version for younger or less educated readers (for example, in smaller volumes of improving thoughts and simpler verse which overlapped with the message conveyed at the elementary level of orthodoxy). Cheap print also varied from the basic ‘Read and tremble’ variety to more pretentious works consisting of orthodox works cut down to chapbook size and attempted pastiches of best-selling works, as in the supposititious third part of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s progress.* Let us take a closer at these messages in turn.

i. Orthodox Protestantism

This was the version that comes through most strongly in the majority of the works considered in Chapters 3–6—those didactic and edifying works aimed at middle-rank, middle-brow readers by middle-of-the-road authors and publishers. Yet it is also the version most consistently neglected in previous studies of early modern Protestantism, or usually presented in highly coloured antitheses of ‘Anglican’ and ‘puritan’, when what these groups shared in pastoral terms was at least as important as what divided them on doctrine and church government, and only small minorities such as separatists and non-jurors would break away altogether from this shared ground.

The Protestantism of this orthodox message is not in question: the focus on the Word, the primacy of justification by faith alone, the use of a vernacular liturgy, the reduction of sacraments to two, the rejection of much of the structure, teaching, and ritual of the late medieval church, and occasional anti-Catholic polemics are all evident in the works examined in this monograph, especially at advanced and intermediate levels. In our sample of best-sellers

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9 ‘Read and tremble’ was the trademark of the notorious John Trundle, for whom see Walsham, *Providence,* 45–7; and see above, Chs. 7.viii and 8 passim.
and steady sellers, one can detect Anglican and ‘puritan’ elements in that message, but really very few explicit statements of a classic ‘Calvinist’, ‘Arminian’, ‘Latitudinarian’, or ‘High Church’ kind, simply because controversial works on hermeneutics, ecclesiology, and doctrine did not sell nearly as well as those designed to edify the faithful. Indeed, if we take a leaf from the study of comparative religion, and for the next few paragraphs try to view mainstream Protestantism in England not as a guide to local squabbles, but as one among many forms of Christian teaching and even non-Christian teaching, a significantly different picture emerges.

Compared with the emphasis in the medieval church (and many non-Christian religions) on contact with the sacred as a means of overcoming the gulf between God and man, the Protestant church in England, like that of the ‘magisterial’ reformers abroad, focused on a much narrower band of sacred persons, objects, and actions. The parish church continued to be a sacred space, dedicated to a particular saint, and the priest was marked out from the laity by his holy orders, distinct garb, and special powers; but on the whole Protestantism worked on the basis of fewer saints, fewer sacraments, fewer rituals, and no relics at all (as objects of reverence). To compensate for that much greater attention was devoted to other forms of the sacred: in particular Christ, the Bible, and the remaining sacraments.

Teaching centred on Christ as mediator for fallen man, and the inspiration and the model for mankind to emulate, is evident in a large number of the printed works surveyed in this study: in catechisms, especially at elementary and intermediate levels; in most devotional aids, and much religious verse; in Christmas and Easter sermons; and in some types of handbooks. In Chapters 4 and 6, for example, we saw that the role of Christ as both saviour and the ideal of human behaviour was taught throughout the period, even when high Calvinism was at its peak, and that stress on Christ as the great exemplar, and images of him during his life and ministry, probably increased at the same time as fears of antinomianism grew.

The one area of print not so likely to

10 For some examples of puritan and conformist works, see Appendix 1 s.v. Dering (Sermon preached before the Quenes maiestie), Hughes, Geree, E. Calamy, and Penn (1670), and on ‘Calvinist’ see above, Chs. 5.xi and 6.ii, and on ‘High-Church’ pp. 269–70. But there is no obvious ‘Arminian’ text and no S.P., Account of the new sect of latitude now; did Arminianism and Latitudinarianism exist mainly in the beholder’s eye? The works of John Wilkins, John Norris, and Jeremy Collier in Appendix 1 can be seen as part of a move towards Dr Rivers’s ‘moral, rational religion’, but see below, n. 27.


12 G. Herbert, The temple (1633); W. Cave, Antiquitates apostolicae (1675); I. M. Green, ‘Reformed pastors’ and Bons curés’, in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), SCH 26. The Ministry Clerical and Lay (Oxford, 1989), 251–2; Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, pt. ii; those rituals and ceremonies that remained could be taken seriously: above, Ch. 5; the works by Hutton and Cressy cited above, Preface, n. 7; and B. Bushaway, By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England 1700–1880 (1982).

13 See above, Chs. 5 and 7.ii. See above, pp. 000–000, and references there.

14 Above, pp. 200–3, and Ch. 6.v. For Jeremy Taylor’s Great exemplar, see Appendix 1; and for images, above, Ch. 3.xiv.
place Christ at the centre of its teaching was the ‘godly ballad’ and the chapbook, and thereby hangs a tale.\(^7\)

The Christians’ sacred text, the Bible, was (as we saw in Chapter 2) reproduced in enormous quantities and in formats designed for all types of potential reader, and was supported by a wide range of expositions and other aids (discussed in Chapter 3) to help everyone from scholars to the common man understand it, though it is striking how far beginners were urged to start with the historical books in which heroes were rewarded and villains punished.\(^8\) To those should be added separate publication of poetic versions of selected parts of the Bible, and in particular different versions of the Book of Psalms, which was widely described as a bible in miniature and prized for providing important insights into Christian faith and conduct.\(^9\) Those who could not read probably encountered the sacred text most often when it was read or sung out loud as part of a rite of passage or other form of worship—a form of contact requiring only concentration, not literacy. The many different ways in which conformists and ‘godly’ stressed the importance of the Bible must have contributed significantly to that rapid elevation of the Bible to a Protestant icon in the English mind.\(^10\)

In Christian eyes, sacraments are sacred means instituted by God as channels of divine grace, and are normally celebrated in a place set apart and in the presence of the complete congregation which is perceived collectively as the body of Christ. A focus on sacraments is very evident in a number of the works mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5 aimed at all levels of audience: the section on the sacraments in the official homilies and best-selling catechisms of the day; the Book of Common Prayer and other devotional aids for worship in church; and the rapidly growing number of handbooks on preparation for and celebration of the Lord’s Supper.\(^11\) In many of these works the faithful were urged not only to take communion as often as it was offered—an opportunity which many took when urged by a zealous minister—but also to use this occasion as an opportunity for serious self-examination and for renewal of their covenant with God.\(^12\) There were certainly differences of emphasis between different mainstream Protestants in England, but on the necessity of using the ordinances instituted by God, there was relatively little

\(^7\) See above, Ch. 8.i–x.

\(^8\) This is an example where the lower level of the most orthodox message intersected with the second form of Protestantism described above.

\(^9\) See above, Chs. 7.ii and 9.xi.


\(^11\) Green, Christian’s ABC, ch. 12; and above, Chs. 4.iv, 5.iv, and 5.xviii.

\(^12\) See above, Ch. 5.xix.
disagreement, as the best selling publications of the time amply demonstrate.\[23\]

Another focus common to many religions is moral rigour—subordinating sinful man’s will to that of God. ‘Religion’ in the sense of a strict rule under which monks and nuns lived in a community to worship and try to be like Christ had been one of the highest ideals of the Middle Ages, but while the Reformation brought monasticism to an abrupt end, it retained the ideal of living a Christian life of self-denial and obedience to God’s will to the best of one’s ability. And, as we saw in Chapter 6, English translations of the *Imitation of Christ* continued to be popular in England (and on the Continent) throughout the early modern period, with surprisingly few alterations, and among both ‘godly’ and conformist Protestants.\[24\] To Catholic works like this, and Edmund Bunny’s version of Robert Parsons’s *Christian exercise* which sold at least thirty editions between the 1580s and the 1630s, we can add many of those godly living and godly dying handbooks of Protestant origin, by both puritans or alleged puritans, such as Becon, Perkins, Cleaver, and Bayly, and non-puritans such as Jeremy Taylor, Richard Allestree, John Rawlet, and Anthony Horneck, and the section in many catechisms on the Ten Commandments.\[25\] Much of the text of these works was taken up by a detailed regimen of internal and external actions and thoughts for every moment and situation of the waking day. Their authors’ presuppositions about the time available each day, and the length of the finished handbooks, suggest many were targeted at the more leisured sections of society, though these authors were also trying to set the standard for servants, apprentices, and other members of the household, in some cases by reading to them out loud from an improving volume.\[26\]

Catholic and Protestant churches shared the problem of explaining to the faithful how a rigorous programme of moral self-discipline was a necessary response to Christ’s sacrifice for them, but at the same time preventing that programme degenerating into moralism on the one hand, or antinomianism on the other.\[27\] The solutions to this problem usually involved no more than a

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\[24\] Above, pp. 305–8.

\[25\] Above, Ch. 6; Green, *Christian’s ABC*, ch. 10.

\[26\] Ibid., 204–229.

careful reintegration of faith and conduct, as in many catechists’ treatment of Creed and Decalogue, or adjustments of emphasis in the way in which doctrines were presented, as in some of the genres on introspection and assurance discussed above, and in the spiritual biographies and autobiographies and allegories which were targeted at various types of reader.28

Prayer and meditation are also widely accepted as an indispensable means of communication between man and God, and in early modern England authors from very different backgrounds, eagerly seconded by publishers who appreciated the sales potential of such works, saw the need to provide advice and suitable forms of words to a wide variety of readers, whether this was for praise or petition, assurance in time of doubt, or comfort in time of difficulty.29 Too strong an assertion that regular, heartfelt prayer would be answered could create anxiety among those who failed to discern such a response, and too much stress on the benefits of regular contemplation of the divine through meditation risked planting anxiety among those who felt ill-equipped or unable to do so.30 But the well above average number of repeat editions of many of these works, such as John Norden’s Pensive mans practice (at least forty-two editions), Nicholas Themylthorp’s Posie of godly prayers (fifty editions), Thomas Sorocold’s Supplications of saints (nearly fifty editions), and Michael Sparke’s Crums of comfort (well over forty editions), would suggest that these were not major problems, or could be countered by suitable warnings and advice. Perhaps the fact that many of these best-sellers were written by laymen also helped these works hit the right note with other members of the laity;31 Certainly the huge sales of devotional aids or works containing a significant element of prayers or meditations constitute an aspect of English Protestantism which has not received the attention it merits. By contrast, extended, profound meditation was probably never as common a practice in early modern England as in other countries or religions, though in Chapter 5 we noted the growth of interest in techniques of meditation and the borrowings from Catholic or Protestant works printed abroad.32 In Chapters 5, 6, and 7 we also saw that many other authors recommended meditation in the form of a ‘soliloquy’, ‘ejaculation’, or longer contemplation that was not spontaneous but overlapped with the more open-ended meditation of the learned.33

In seventeenth-century Europe there were also a number of distinctive religious movements which subtly altered older devotional traditions in the direction of what Wesley would call ‘the religion of the heart’—a personal

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28 Above, Chs. 6.iii–iv and 7.v–vi; Green, Christian’s ABC, chs. 7, 10.
29 Above, Ch. 5. See above, Ch. 5.xv–xvi. Green, Christian’s ABC, 506–7; and above, Ch. 5.xv–xvi.
30 See above, Ch. 6.xi, and below, Appendix 1 for further details on these works.
31 See above, Ch. 5.xv–xvi. English Protestantism also did not support asceticism as some Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Campbell, Religion of the Heart, 10–11. The nearest some English Protestants came was in strong support for fasting, as in Bayly’s Practise of pietie, Taylor’s Holy living, and Horneck’s Happy ascetick.
32 e.g. pp. 240–1, 285–8, and Chs. 6.x–xi, and 7.iii.
encounter with the divine through a powerful emotional experience. In works
by Jansenists, Quietists, and Eudists (all Catholic but generating ideas later
taken up by some Scottish presbyterians, Quakers, and Methodists), and in
many of the experimental predestinarian writers in England and early pietis-
tic writers in the United Provinces and Germany, we find a stress not just on
the importance of specific acts of devotion or penitence or attempts to unite
with God through meditation, but also on a sense of piercing grief for sins
committed, and a feeling of deep joy at experiencing the love of God. In a
number of the sermons and treatises dating from the 1590s to the 1650s dis-
cussed above in Chapters 4 and 6, and in some of the spiritual biographies
mentioned in Chapter 7, we encountered the experimental predestinarians’
version of this. And in one of the few Quaker works in our sample, Robert
Barclay’s An apology for the true Christian divinity, we have the views of a group
who approached a genuinely heartfelt faith by the experience of the Spirit
within them, and who used print to great effect to disseminate their views,
though their route soon took a different turn in subordinating everything to
the test of their own experiences.

A focus on the need for heartfelt faith did not have to involve the high
Calvinist or the Quaker approach, as the sermons of Hooker and Andrewes
and the piety of the Little Gidding circle and many High-Churchmen and
nonjurors demonstrate. In the Prayer Book’s morning and evening services,
the opening scripture sentences include Psalm 51: 17: ‘The sacrifices of God
are a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise’;
and in its communion service, the minister urges only those who ‘truly and
earnestly repent’ their sins to come forward, and in the ensuing confession all
the communicants say they are ‘heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the
remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burden of them is intolera-
ble’. Not all conformists experienced the ‘many spiritual conflicts that have
passed betwixt God and my soul’ which George Herbert told a friend were
reflected in his poetry, and which, together with his Priest to the temple, were
praised by Richard Baxter for the ‘heart-work and heaven-work’ they con-
tained. But that ‘heart-work’ does reflect the strength of emotion felt by
many in the church in the first two centuries after the Reformation who used
print to disseminate their feelings.

When we come to the members of the new religious societies set up by the

34 Campbell, Religion of the Heart, chs. 2–4.
36 See Appendix 1 for Barclay’s work, and for the later development of Quakerism, M. Watts, The
and 325–33.
Stranks, Anglican Devotion, chs. 3–7.
38 F. E. Brightman, The English Rite (2 vols., 1921), i. 129, 153; The Book of Common Prayer 1559, ed. J.
E. Booty (Charlottesville, 1976), 259.
end of our period—the Welsh evangelicals who preceded Wesley, and Wesley himself with his own ‘Arminian’ brand of ‘the religion of the heart’—what we also find is individuals prepared to give a high priority to the absolute necessity of faith in Christ’s atoning work and the experiential quality of that faith. But in drawing on earlier developments, both from the experimental predestinarian stream and the ‘holy living’ stream, Methodism in particular and evangelicalism in general were not completely hostile to the older church-and-sacrament approach. In Wesley’s case it was the reverse, in that he tried as hard as possible to stay within the established church and use its liturgy and sacraments, at the same time as supplementing its ministry by his own novel techniques of mass evangelism—techniques which included the dissemination of cheap, cut-down versions of earlier best-selling religious titles through his Christian Library.

The picture of the orthodox message that has emerged from our sample of regularly reprinted works is one that focused on what Baxter called the ‘greatest, most certain and necessary things’ that ‘must be known’, and it was one which commanded wide support, as one can see from the overlap between the books recommended to interested readers by clergy as different as Baxter, Wilkins, Wesley, and Doddridge. While being distinctively Protestant in its rejection of many aspects of late medieval belief and practice, it was also closely associated with the broader Christian community through its stress on the sacraments, moral rigour, and personal prayer. Even the growing concern for a ‘religion of the heart’ was a parallel development to what was happening in Counter-Reformation and Protestant churches abroad.

ii. Other Forms of Protestantism

A number of the works studied in previous chapters, including many of those discussed in Chapter 7, such as verse, plays, moral philosophy, improving thoughts, biographies, ‘characters’, allegories, and cautionary tales, and the ballads and chapbooks discussed in Chapter 8, do not fit neatly into the category of ‘orthodox’. Some of these works were written by clergy trying to write edifying works in a less conventional way, others by laymen coming towards Protestant doctrine and piety with rather different preconceptions or priorities (as had been the case in Reformation Germany too). Where the orthodox message focused on man’s total dependence on God for salvation, the

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40 Campbell, Religion of the Heart, chs. 3–5; R. C. Monk, John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage (1966).
41 See above, pp. 370–2.
42 See above, Ch. 6.xiv.
43 See Campbell, Religion of the Heart, passim. There is a case for viewing English religious publications as a three-sided pyramid with different planes representing conformist, ‘godly’, and recusant works, each plane being narrower at the top (advanced works) than the base (more basic ones), but solidly joined to the others along both ridges.
44 The former include Earle, Hall, Bunyan, and Flavell; for lay preconceptions see above, Ch. 1.v, and below, Ch. 10.iv–v.
absolute primacy of faith, and good deeds as the fruits of faith and worthless in meriting salvation, publications embodying our second ‘Protestantism’ recognized the importance of faith but defined or expressed it in ways which gave as great or greater prominence to deeds. Lay authors of prayers, as we saw in Chapter 5, were also likely to be more optimistic about the results of sincere prayer than were clerical authors.

There was also a view among many of the educated laity that they had the right and the duty to use their God-given reason to test what the clergy were telling them. In Religio medici, Sir Thomas Browne understood the importance of grace, but also wanted to respect ‘the law of mine own reason’; in his survey of European beliefs in Europae speculum, Sir Edward Sandys warned English churchmen not to make the mistake of their Catholic counterparts abroad in denying the laity the use of reason; and similar views can be found in the writings of a variety of laymen such as John Norden, Francis Bacon, Sir Francis Rous, John Selden, Lord George Digby, Viscount Falkland, and others. In many cases this emphasis derived from classical or humanist ideals of the value of order and of responsible conduct by each person in his or her own sphere, and tended to the view that good behaviour should, like good citizenship, lead to some commensurate benefit for the individual as well as the community. In other cases, the root may have been new ideas from the Continent, for example on the nature and power of human love in relation to divine love. These laymen would have seen themselves as good Protestants, and many were as well disposed towards the church and its sacraments as the clergy themselves. But some were unconsciously promoting the survival of older ideas on merit among the educated, while others were, wittingly or unwittingly, challenging clerical attitudes to God and his church. The combination was enough to produce a form of English Protestantism subtly different from the official, but probably quite widespread among many of the better-educated laity at whom a number of these works were targeted.

In some of the less sophisticated genres discussed in Chapter 7 and in the ballads and chapbooks considered in Chapter 8, we find yet another mixture:


\(\text{\textsuperscript{46}}\) See the works cited above, Ch. 1.v. For Chrisman’s realization that the German laity often thought independently of the theologians, and how different sectors of the laity reached different conclusions from each other, see M. U. Chrisman, Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519–1530 (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1996), 4–15, 227–9, and passim.

on the one hand leftovers from medieval exempla and an instinctive popular semi-Pelagianism, and on the other pretensions to Protestant orthodoxy carelessly grafted onto older stock in the form of pope-bashing and empty praise for the Bible (at the same time as its text was mangled almost beyond recognition in scripture-based ballads). Cheap print said a great deal about God, but little about Christ; and God was the Old Testament patriarch who intervened providentially to punish wrongdoers in spectacular ways, or to reward those who observed the norms, which were seen in terms of good-neighbourliness rather than the fruits of faith. This almost certainly keyed in successfully with the many community-reinforcing aspects of church life, such as rites of passage (and the many rituals associated with them), psalm-singing, bell-ringing, beating the bounds, church ales, and calendar festivals. Cheap print also helped to foster the popular perception of the Bible as a Protestant icon, which we soon find being used for healing, divination, and other purposes not approved by the authorities. The counterpart of the fully orthodox works encouraging moral rigour discussed above were works written by commercially minded authors who offered lively accounts of the grisly ends met by wrongdoers, and regularly reduced Christianity to the message that good behaviour could ensure salvation. The equivalent of sincere and carefully thought out prayers in officially approved manuals were pastiches which bypassed praise of God and self-abasement in order to get more quickly to the point—an urgent petition for help. This unofficial message had little in common with the kind found in other Christian countries, but was targeted cleverly enough at popular fears, aspirations, and needs, and presented skilfully enough by professional scribblers, to be taken by many readers for the genuine article.

The result of the evolution of three different Protestantisms and of developments outside the realm of print was that the message disseminated from 1660 to 1740 was on balance different from that of 1540–1640. The realization among the clergy that they had to simplify their message if they were to get it across to children and less-educated adults, and from the 1650s their concern to resist what was seen as a wave of antinomianism, led to a version that continued to stress faith, repentance, and morality, in easily understood terms, but that also offered much firmer guidance on Bible study and tried to sideline or temper what was seen as excessive spiritual angst. The laity were inclined to resist or marginalize those aspects of clerical teaching that they

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48 For this paragraph in general, see above, Chs. 7.viii and 8 passim.
50 The element of moralism in this third version may have been enough to attract—or at least not alienate—better-educated lay readers such as Wolfreston and Pepys who in the normal course of events probably leaned towards the second version listed above.
found unattractive, for example, that lineage was less important than grace, or that God habitually punished the virtuous, to test their faith, as well as the wicked for their sins. This selectiveness, combined in the minds of many in the upper and middling ranks with a concern for an ordered society, led them to put a greater stress on morality than the clergy did. At the same time the readiness of the publishers of cheap print to produce pastiches of officially approved works and multiple copies of older works that still had a market resulted in a blatant moralism. Taking these developments together, we have on the one hand the basis for the ‘polite and commercial people’ of mid-eighteenth century England, and on the other a springboard for a new, evangelical ‘religion of the heart’ to target those whose spirits found a stress on outward conformity and morality not sufficiently satisfying.

iii. The Possible Impact of Print on Different Readerships: the Clergy

Any assessment of the impact of the messages just discussed must be provisional, because of the incomplete and problematic nature of the materials available for judging reception, and because the impact on individuals would have varied so much with their predisposition and the stimuli they encountered. This in turn would have varied according to region, status, and education, but also because of other factors, such as what social psychologists term the elements of ‘end’, ‘quest’, and ‘means’ in every adult’s mature religious outlook; and what historians of the late modern church, borrowing from sociology, have identified as different levels of commitment to that church—from zealous through moderate commitment to semi-detached or marginal membership. However, until students of the history of reading reach full steam ahead, we may attempt some conclusions based on comparing best-sellers and steady sellers with individual cases of ownership and use.

There is abundant evidence from the reading lists offered to ordinands and from the collections of older clergy, both conformists like Bancroft, Andrewes, and Sancroft and ‘godly’ such as Perkins, Abbot, and Baxter, that the clergy were expected to be well read in ‘divinity’. The types of work that we have seen were published in England for this clerical intelligentsia included bibles and Testaments of the latest translation with the best marginal annotations, and the fullest lexicons, dictionaries, and concordances, the best paraphrases


and annotations, and accounts of the history of the Old and New Testaments, and other technical aids. Such clergy were also likely at some stage of their careers to have acquired handbooks on preaching, and collections of the sermons of widely admired preachers such as Henry Smith, Andrews, Preston, Sibbes, Sanderson, or Tillotson, handbooks on resolving cases of conscience, detailed expositions of central formulae such as the Decalogue and Creed, more advanced catechisms, and the more professional aids to prayer or meditation on offer, as well as handbooks on the life of faith, godly living or dying, and preparation for the sacrament, if not for their own use, then so that they would know what to recommend to their own charges. For the same reasons, from the 1590s to the 1650s the more Calvinistically inclined might also have acquired some of those long expositions of experimental Calvinism discussed in Chapter 6, while those of a more cautious or conservative bent might have acquired copies of standard defences of the church’s discipline, doctrine, and liturgy.

Well-established clergy of all persuasions would have had an interest in sermons or treatises in which the position of the clergy was under scrutiny, and in the more advanced polemical works against the Catholic church; and given the high price of larger controversial works, whether anti-Catholic or inter-Protestant, they were in a better position to afford them than most of their brethren. Indeed, it may be that what by most standards were the limited sales of larger works, such as Foxe’s *Actes and monuments*, Calvin’s *Institutes*, Hooker’s *Lawes*, Perkins’s collected *Works*, the Walton polyglot, or *Critici sacri*, was due to the fact that there were only a limited number of senior clergy and interested laity able to afford both the text and the added costs of binding and storing such volumes. The main difference between clerical and lay tastes would probably have been in those genres designed to combine edification with entertainment, which with some notable exceptions, such as Herbert’s poetry, were not designed for and on balance less likely to appeal to sober-minded clergy such as Andrewes, Baxter, and Wesley.

The consequence of this pattern of owning and use among the best educated clergy was threefold. First, it confirmed their status as leaders, whether as bishops, deans, preachers, or authors: print had not only helped form their minds, but also helped them justify the position that their talents as scholars then secured them. Secondly, it made them very keen to use print to shore up and extend the system of faith and practice of which they had become part: they encouraged the younger or less-educated clergy and the laity to study the bible and other ‘good books’; they wrote handbooks to help younger clergy

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53 See above, Chs. 5–6; and Green, *Christian’s ABC*, chs. 7, 10.
54 Above, Chs. 6.ii and 6.iv, 4.iv, and 5.iv.
55 See above, pp. 27–8, 83–4, 110, and for Hooker and Perkins below, Appendix 1.
56 Though there were always some exceptions, such as Robert Burton, John Earle, and Joseph Hall, who clearly read very widely.
preach, pray, and minister more effectively; and they supported the use of print to disseminate catechisms, pamphlets, and other simpler works to those of the laity with more rudimentary levels of knowledge and reading skill. Print was not the key to obliterating the old religion and advancing the new, but given the loss of techniques such as confession and of many media that the people had previously found attractive (images, pilgrimages, plays, processions, and other rituals), the press appeared as a providential means of helping to spread the new religion. Thirdly, such men were the most persistent and unequivocal exponents of the official, orthodox message that we saw earlier in this chapter dominating the best-sellers and steady sellers of the day. Less confident clergy might have to bend to lay pressures at parish or chapel level, and the laity might pick-and-mix from elements of official Protestantism and elements of the other messages currently on offer. But the most confident and influential clergy, from Cranmer to Tillotson and Perkins to Baxter, stressed the need for faith above all else, together with sincere repentance and piety, and collective worship in a Christian church or chapel, and they asserted this against those educated laymen who by their actions or writings appeared to be subverting that message, and against those religious radicals who offered an alternative version of it in print.

If we turn to the clergy with fewer years of education or experience, and less money and time to study, we have less evidence, but what there is is often quite striking. Pruett’s analysis of the probate inventories of all incumbents in later Stuart Leicestershire shows that nearly all had libraries of some sort, and most were worth (second hand) £10, which would cover dozens, even scores of books. One of these libraries, valued at £5, contained 120 volumes; and the collection of an early eighteenth-century curate in Warwickshire valued at £9 had 130 volumes. Isolation was not a barrier: a Sussex incumbent who kept detailed records of books purchased from London booksellers spent a pound or two every year from 1656 to 1674, but acquired a sizeable library as a result, and in rural Essex, Ralph Josselin had access to a variety of substantial works in Latin and English by leading Continental and English scholars.

Rural clergy typically owned as scholarly an edition of the Bible and aids to bible study as they could afford, copies of official formularies such as the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles, the occasional controversial work, especially where it touched on the position of the clergy, rather more in the way of catechisms (provincial clergy like Richard Baxter and John Lewis obviously

57 See above, p. 1; and in general, Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, and Green, Christian’s ABC, chs. 1–2.
59 The Journal of Giles Moore, ed. R. Bird (Sussex Record Society, 68, 1971), 117–17, 180–92; A. Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin (Cambridge, 1970), 22–4. There was also better access to libraries of religious works: see above, Ch. 1.iv.
had access to scores of different ones), and some of the simpler or more affordable treatises and handbooks discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. From lack of funds rather than principle, the poorest clergy of all were less likely to spend their hard-won income on entertaining works than their senior brethren, but those with some funds might indulge their interests in history, geography, poetry, and politics.

Again some broader observations may be offered. First, the relative slowness with which bibles, and a range of intermediate aids and handbooks, became available in English and in affordable formats tends to support the picture of a poorly educated and often conservative parish clergy in the Edwardian and early Elizabethan periods. The establishment of a properly educated ministry was the result of various initiatives and incentives, but the timing of the first great boom in religious publications, from the 1570s or 1580s to the 1630s, corresponds closely with the rapid shift to a predominantly graduate clergy with licences to preach. Thereafter clerical standards might vary, but the basic levels, even in more remote parishes, remained far higher than before the arrival of Protestantism and print. Secondly, the great majority of lesser clergy were conformists, and the texts they handled on a day-to-day basis were the official liturgy, catechism, psalters, translation of the Bible (and initially the homilies too)—again embodying the official message described above, albeit at a simpler level perhaps. If, as a number of scholars are now suggesting, some form of ‘parish Anglicanism’ or ‘prayer-book observance’ was emerging in England by the end of the sixteenth century and certainly the early seventeenth century, then these lesser clergy and their copies of these texts were crucial to that process.

Thirdly, less-educated clergy were likely to defer to their superiors when it came to preaching, catechizing, advising, and other such duties, and the form in which they encountered those superiors’ ideas was usually in print. Fourthly, while senior clergy might in some cases encounter theoretical rather than practical opposition, junior clergy were more likely to encounter rival patterns of belief face to face: pre-Christian and pre-Reformation ideas on

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60 As previous notes; and Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641–1729 Isaac Archer and William Coe, ed. M. Storey (Suffolk Records Society, 36; Woodbridge, 1994), 55, 60–1, 64, 84, 92, 106, 133, 167, 169, 171. For Baxter and Lewis’s familiarity with different catechisms, see Green, Christian’s ABC, 45, 194–5.


64 As in the case of William Wake’s catechism: Green, Christian’s ABC, 100–1, 158–62, 184, 194–5, 208.
the one hand, and more radical forms of dissent on the other. Many rural clergy appear to have been ill-equipped to understand or cope with this, partly because of differences of background and education, but partly also perhaps because the different forms of print that nurtured such beliefs—ballads, chapbooks, and almanacs on the one hand, and unorthodox or polemical works on the other—were not familiar to them, either because they found popular genres distasteful, or because they were not able or inclined to keep pace with current controversies. In short, print could reinforce ‘godly’, ‘Laudian’, and ‘High Church’ attitudes and beliefs among different sections of the clergy, but it also could and did reinforce a clerical solidarity among pastors trying to help the faithful and defeat apathy and unbelief.

iv. The Laity: Aristocracy and Gentry

At one end of the spectrum of noble and gentry readers, we have committed laymen and lay women who were probably as anxious as the clerical elite to own the best bibles and aids to bible study, and in some cases the same Continentally produced patristic works and specialist aids, and the most prized sermons. Thereafter there were differences of emphasis: when seeking the most useful practical treatises, devotional aids and handbooks, the laity were probably more attracted to intermediate aids to study and piety, and less interested in items on how to preach or be a minister. Those at this end of the spectrum include include well-known cases of male and female members of the peerage and gentry who were strongly committed to the ‘godly’ cause, and well disposed to read the works their chaplains recommended to them; but they also include the Ferrars at Little Gidding, the Carberies at Golden Grove (Jeremy Taylor’s patrons), and individuals like William Camden, Robert Cecil, Francis Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Thomas Browne, Edward Hyde, John Evelyn, Sir Matthew Hale, and Queen Mary, who in differing ways all appear to have thought hard about spiritual matters but to have decided that the best...
framework in which to operate was that provided by the established church and the spokesmen of that church with whom they came into contact. To judge from the number of devotional aids and pre-communion handbooks dedicated to members of the landed elite by various authors, the committed nobility and gentry must have acquired far more presentation copies of such works than any other readership. However, some of these readers might be more attracted by works of a controversial nature, as in the cases of Sir Edward Dering and Sir Thomas Aston, to which we will come shortly.

At the other end of this spectrum we have individuals who owned a bible, prayer book, devotional aid, or pre-communion handbook, but little else in the way of edifying literature or at least conventional edifying literature. Instead, they could be attracted by works incorporating the second message suggested above: the Christian duty of good or sensible behaviour conveyed in improving thoughts, moral philosophy, poetry, biography and autobiography, and devotional handbooks. Such works were often targeted specifically at well-educated, well-born families, both by authors of gentle birth like Sir John Hayward, Sir Henry Montague, Sir Thomas Browne, and Sir Matthew Hale, and by less nobly born authors like William Baldwin, Owen Feltham, James Cancellor, William Prid, Nicholas Breton, and Francis Quarles, as well as by clergy like Joseph Hall, John Earle, Edward Reynolds, George Herbert, Richard Allestree, Simon Patrick, Gilbert Burnet, and John Norris.

How did such works affect those who read them? It was suggested in Chapter 1 that the landed elite were the hardest group to judge because their cultural horizons were so broad, and their strategies for coping with disjunctures so complex. As one might expect, therefore, individual case studies tend to suggest as many variants as there were readers, and this is especially true where conventional ‘religious’ works were read alongside less conventional ones. Elizabeth I knew her own church’s formularies well, but also translated works by Boethius (on the contest between philosophy and fate), Plutarch (on the nature of vice and virtue and of a moral being), and Horace (on the moral force of poetry), and wrote devotions and prayers reflecting her own personal brand of Protestantism.
We know in great detail what kinds of works James VI was exposed to as a child and adolescent, though as an adult he too developed his own individual amalgam of classical and patristic learning with current Protestant theology and political theory. Charles I too as prince and king is said to have been influenced by devotional works (even if the text of *Eikon basilike* cannot entirely be laid to his credit), and his nemesis, Oliver Cromwell, clearly read his Bible and listened closely to sermons on a very regular basis. But as with the others considered here, it is hard to isolate the impact of this reading from the other forces which made them the kinds of Protestant they became.

After spells at university and the Middle Temple and the fashionable tour of the Continent, Edward Dering settled down and in twenty years acquired over 2,000 books. Like many contemporaries he collected plays, but he then became increasingly interested in genealogical and antiquarian matters, and in the last six years of his life became ‘wholly addicted’ to the study of divinity, according to his son: works by the Fathers, the Councils, and church history in general, and controversy, particularly between Protestant and Catholic in the period before 1640 and then between the supporters of episcopacy and its critics thereafter. The last part of his collection is very idiosyncratic: a high proportion of works by Catholic authors, many printed abroad, an almost total absence of works by Calvinists and ‘Arminians’, only a sprinkling of exegetical works and sermons, drawn from no one particular doctrinal camp, and only the occasional devotional work or improving handbook such as Drexelius’s *Meditations* and Bayly’s *Practise of Pietie*. His intermediate position is suggested by his joining the attack against Laud in 1640–1, but then fighting for the king in 1642–3 before accepting reconciliation with Parliament in 1644. His actions suggest a strongly committed Protestant, but his reading suggests he had not reached that point by a conventional route. The abiding impression from his collection is of a man of great curiosity whose mind had been formed by reading the classics and Erasmian texts before moving onto the burning issues of the day.

Dering’s contemporary, Sir Thomas Aston, was educated at a provincial grammar school, then Oxford, and Lincoln’s Inn, before returning to his native Cheshire, and enduring an unexpected spell in the public eye in the 1630s and early 1640s. As has been shown recently, his 200-page *Remonstrance*

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74 Sharpe and Lake, *Culture and Politics*, 123–31; and Baldwin, *Shakespeare’s ‘Small Latin*’, ch. 24 (and on the education of Mary, Edward, and Elizabeth, chs. 9–12).


against presbytery showed a familiarity with a wide range of printed and manuscript sources: patristic and Continental as well as contemporary English. Like Dering, he was no great admirer of Laudianism, but Aston’s reading and writing show a strong believer in the power of the liturgy to unite a virtuous, Christian community, and a committed supporter of the moderate episcopacy of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church.77

John Ramsey was a country gentleman with more modest pretensions but catholic tastes. From his library he selected certain favourite books to be ready to hand in his parlour, from which we may deduce that he was prone to dip into them. Again they are an eclectic and unexpected mixture: the Bible, the works of William Perkins, the scripturally based poetry of Salluste du Bartas, Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* (with its theme of Christian versus Saracen), Spenser’s *Faerie queene* and Sidney’s *Arcadia* (which contained ethical as well as political messages), and Samuel Daniel’s popular poems and histories.78 What he created from all this is not recorded, but with Frances Wolfreston, the wife of a middling gentleman in Staffordshire, we can get a little closer. In the mid-seventeenth century she accumulated a library of at least a hundred volumes, nearly all in English and small format, the majority consisting of contemporary plays, especially Shakespeare’s, serious poetry, such as Donne’s and Wither’s, as well as lighter verse by John Taylor, and a minority of theology, history, current affairs, and medicine. We can be confident that Frances used these books, for she not only inscribed her name on the cover of her books, but also sometimes added her own comments in the margins or copied improving verses from Quarles onto the blank pages. What is also fascinating is that her religious books fall into three disparate groups: some much older works, including a Tyndale New Testament of c.1566, a copy of Werdmueller’s *Spiritual and most precious perle* (which had been popular in Elizabeth’s reign), and a Catholic catechism (presumably inherited from her recusant mother); some current Protestant best-sellers, such as Dent’s *Sermon of repentance*, Philip Stubbes’s account of ‘the godly life and christian death’ of his wife Katherine, and Mayer’s *Catechisme abridged*; and then a number of ‘penny godlies’79 Here we have a country squire’s wife with no signs of a classical education, but who loved Shakespeare, light verse, and riddles, and also collected and evidently read short tracts which were often less than fully orthodox and targeted at those of lower social status than she was.

A half-century later we can get much closer through the diary of a country gentleman, William Coe. Since he used this diary to record his sins and ‘resolutions of amendment’ and to record ‘providential’ mercies to him and his

77 Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 156–65, and ch. 4 passim.
family, and regularly dipped into Samuel Cradock’s *Knowledge and practice*, it might seem we have another ‘godly’ reader here. But the diary also shows Coe to have been a committed Anglican, who attended church regularly, studied and quoted Thomas Comber’s *Companion to the altar*, and, as recommended there, used reception of ‘the blessed sacrament’ to renew his resolution to lead a better life. He also read closely other works by stalwart episcopalians, such as Jeremy Taylor’s *Great exemplar*, Simon Patrick’s *Devout Christian instructed*, and Matthew Hale’s *Contemplations moral and divine*, and through these and attendance at church had a clear understanding of the importance of faith and repentance, the need for ‘God’s special grace’ to assist him, and the value of prayer and the sacraments. But there is also a layman’s tendency to focus on conduct rather than faith, as in one citation from Taylor: ‘to live according to the laws of the Holy Jesus is the only way to bring us to a glorious and happy eternity. *Great exemplar*, page 415’.80

Reading habits need to be considered alongside other characteristic patterns of gentry thought and action: memorial verses in manuscript and print, funerary monuments and epitaphs in church, and the mixture of classical and Christian iconography inside the home in mouldings, paintings, and embroidery.81 But it would be surprising if a combination of the obligatory classical education, catechizing, and church attendance when young, followed by pressures in adulthood to set a model of domestic piety and take a lead in local religious life, did not play a part in turning many gentry towards respect for the virtues of the established church as a pillar of society through its set liturgy and sacraments. This is not to say that all gentry felt the same way about that church. If one looks at the role played by some of the landed elite in the defence of the established church in 1641–2, in the revanche of 1661–5, and the genesis and strength of the Tory party among the country gentry, as well as the more moderate churchmanship of aristocratic Whiggery, we can see one set of responses to challenges to the church which may have been viewed at first as destabilizing and unwise, and later as potentially seditious and downright heretical.82 But, of course, many other gentry who had been reared in much the same way and often read much the same books supported the further purification of that church; like earlier generations of ‘godly’ leaders, they were not revolutionaries by nature, and proved to be so only by circumstance. The point here is that among those of the landed elite who took an active interest in church matters, it was a very small minority who

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81 I propose to tackle these in *Religious Instruction in Early Modern England* (forthcoming).
supported a radical alternative to an established church in the 1640s and 1650s, and this became a tiny minority after 1660.\(^{83}\)

The other general point to be made about the impact of print on the gentry is that it may have impelled many of them towards the second version of Protestantism outlined above, not only before 1640, but especially after 1650. The strong moral dimension in early Stuart political propaganda, the reclaiming of chivalric codes and pastoral discourse for didactic purposes, and the use of the visual arts to epitomize order, decorum, and virtue, ran along parallel lines to many of the ideas found in the printed works of the period. The idea that morality was a means of civilizing society and that virtue should be rewarded can be found in many of the prayers written by laymen we examined in Chapter 5, and in many of the dialogues, poems, works of moral philosophy, biographies, open letters, and cautionary tales in Chapter 7. If we look at the reaction against the immorality of Charles II’s court, gentry involvement in the new societies to improve standards of education and behaviour in the 1690s and early 1700s, and the popularity of periodicals like the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Rambler* with their mixture of entertainment and exhortation, we can see a section of society for whom morality and Christianity walked hand in hand, and for whom actions spoke louder than protestations of faith which might prove divisive.\(^{84}\) Certainly publishers’ readiness to publish a number of edifying and entertaining works targeted at the social elite, and the survival of copies of such works in the noble and gentry libraries of which we have knowledge, suggest a growing market that should help us construct the cultural nexus in which the individual came to read them. Further work in this area may well suggest that the moralism of which the later Stuart and early Hanoverian church has often been accused, existed more in the eye of the lay beholder—and the publisher—than in official teaching.

v. The ‘Middling Sort’

When we try to assess the impact on ‘middling sorts’ of readers, we are dealing with at least four overlapping levels of publication. At the top was the more advanced type of work aimed at the highly educated clergy and gentry; then there were abbreviated or simplified versions of these, for those with less education or time, such as a growing proportion of aids to bible study, devotional manuals, and godly living handbooks; and then elementary works aimed at those with limited reading skills or what were seen as limited capacities and


\(^{84}\) For gentry libraries confiscated in the 1640s, see Levy, ‘How Information Spread’, 27–31; for others, see above, Ch. 1.v.
memory—the simple catechism or short tract designed to be given away by the rich to the poor. Even this does not exhaust the range, but whereas the works listed so far come from the orthodox end of the spectrum in that they had official approval, or the middle of the spectrum in that they had orthodox elements and official toleration, the last layer—‘godly’ ballads and chapbooks and the short polemical tracts of the mid-seventeenth century onwards—emanated mostly from commercially minded publishers and authors at the unorthodox end.85

Those at the top of their professions—successful lawyers and physicians, masters of major schools or hospitals—were likely to have specialist collections, leavened by works in any wider categories that might attract them.86 Substantial merchants, manufacturers, and entrepreneurs might have works on business practice or foreign languages to help them, while yeomen might be attracted by technical works on agriculture, though some of these had strong didactic overtones, such as Thomas Tusser’s *Five hundred points of good husbandry* and John Flavell’s *Husbandry spiritualized.*87 But the types of book that we can be most confident were in the hands of such people were bibles, Prayer Books, and psalters, followed by edifying handbooks, verse both sacred and secular, and fiction.88

Peter Clark’s analysis of 2,771 probate inventories of substantial citizens in three Kentish towns between 1560 and 1640 shows a fourfold rise in book-owning, with professionals and those in textiles and the distributive trades leading the way. But where the titles of books are given, between 70 and 95 per cent consist of bibles, Testaments, Prayer Books, and psalters; if we add in other prayer books and improving handbooks and devotional works such as Becon’s *Governance of vertue*, the anonymous *Godlie gardeine*, and Themylthorp’s *Posie of godly prayers*, the totals rise to 79 to 96 per cent of named titles.89 Samples of probate inventories in other areas confirm the pattern of a bible, and perhaps a Prayer Book, a psalter, or a godly living handbook.90 In his will dated 1667, a notary public in Durham left some history books to his ‘loving master’, but gave his master’s wife ‘free liberty to choose two or three of my prayer books which she pleases’; and a wine cooper in Newcastle upon Tyne

85 See above, Chs. 2–7, and 8.
87 L. B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), chs. 5–6, 10; L. C. Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge, 1984), 140–1, and ch. 7 passim; for Flavell, see above, p. 440 and below, Appendix 1.
had an ‘old Bible’ and a ‘small bible’, Poole’s *Annotations*, Bishop Hall’s *Works* in folio, as well as ‘Brightman upon Revelations’. (Clergymen’s wills also show spare bibles and Prayer Books and carefully chosen improving works being bestowed on suitable recipients.)

Sales of larger handbooks and devotional aids were simply too great for copies to have been bought by the gentry alone. The social aspirations of the richer middling sort could be excited by depicting a gentleman on the cover of *The practise of pietie*, stressing that Sutton’s *Learne to live* and *Learne to dye* were dedicated to a lady (even though editions were printed in the more plebeian black-letter typeface), and calling works *The gentlemans calling*, *The ladies calling*, or *The Countess of Morton’s daily exercise*. Later periodicals like the *Tatler* would offer to make the polite religious and the religious polite. Another move was to include prayers for all ranks of society, especially those with power over apprentices and servants, and for those engaged in hazardous journeys or enterprises, or to include London in the title in the treatise, as in *Gods terrible voice in the city of London*.

But when we come to gauging the impact of such works in individual cases, it is the wide reading and grafting together of different elements that again comes to the fore. John Taylor was perhaps the son of a surgeon, and related to various innkeepers in the London area; and he attended grammar school for a while, before becoming apprenticed to a waterman. But Taylor was absolutely fascinated by the players and writers who used the watermen of Southwark, made useful contacts at court and among prominent churchmen and lawyers, and became an omnivorous reader of all sorts of books, in English, and (in Professor Capp’s phrase) a ‘cultural amphibian’. Posing as poet, entertainer, social critic, and preacher, Taylor published roughly 150 separate titles and sold perhaps over half a million copies targeting ‘the better sort’ in the towns, but finding readers among scholars and the gentry as well. He did not achieve the success for which he had hoped, but became a well-known figure in the Jacobean literary world. He was also somewhat unusual in pressing his religious concerns with such force that a less serious pamphleteer dubbed him ‘the ferryman of Heaven’. His religious pieces, including summaries of scripture and Foxe’s martyrlogy (which are both in our sample), were given pride of place in his collected works.

What is also striking is what Taylor made of all he had seen, heard, and read. He was equally hostile to popery and fanaticism: in his eyes, both subverted the moderate, pious, learned Church of England which hung, like

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91 Prior’s Kitchen, Durham: wills of R. Hedley (1667), and W. Armorer (1699).
93 See above, Chs. 5–6, and below, Appendix 1.
94 Above, Ch. 1, n. 168.
95 Above, pp. 263–5, and below, Appendix 1, s.v. T. Vincent.
96 Capp, *World of John Taylor*, 7–8, 37–54, 66–74, and 121 (and below, Appendix 1).
Christ, between two thieves. He was also deeply attached to the rituals of the church, a ‘prayer-book Anglican’, but in other ways was idiosyncratic and syncretic, combining a Herrickian fondness for good cheer at Christmas with a strong dislike of drunkenness, and fusing what would later be called evangelical and High-Church elements. As Capp pertinently points out, Taylor ‘parted company with all Reformed theologians in giving as much weight to godly life as to doctrine’; he might deride salvation by works, but equated works with faith—a view with which some of the gentry would probably have agreed, and which in a cruder form would find favour with much humbler readers too.97

Another self-made man, Samuel Pepys, was the son of a London tailor, but went to grammar school and university, and through the patronage of the earl of Sandwich rose high in the ranks of the Admiralty administration. By his death he had accumulated a library of 3,000 volumes designed to provide in ‘fewest books and least room the greatest diversity of subjects, styles, and languages its owner’s reading would bear’. The final collection ranged from incunabula, maps, and prints, to broadside ballads and chapbooks, all carefully arranged and catalogued, but unfortunately not annotated or excerpted in commonplace books. The evidence of his diary shows that he read constantly—for pleasure and profit—and read widely—history, law, politics, the new science, and literature, as well as the occasional religious tome such as Stillingfleet’s Origines sacrae (in our sample) which he admired, and William Penn’s pamphlets which he found ‘ridiculous’. He saw himself as ‘a good Protestant and good churchman’, a moderate episcopalian, very fond of the Book of Common Prayer, and a good sermon, and a supporter of decent ceremonial against the ‘fanatics’ who would abolish them. But he also thought the church was a humane and thus flawed institution, often made sharp remarks about ambitious clergy and futile ecclesiastical disputes, and saw morality in essentially pragmatic terms. In his closing years, like Jeremy Collier in his Essays (also in our sample, and bought by Pepys), he denounced the growth of ‘public depravity’ and neglect of religion, and moved close to the piety of the nonjurors.98 He is thus an excellent example of the conformist who strongly supported the church’s ritual and public morality in his own selective and slightly sceptical fashion, and read books to confirm views he for the most part already held.

Thomas Turner was a shopkeeper and general dealer in East Hoathly, Sussex, in the mid-eighteenth century. Like William Coe, he attended church regularly to repent his sins and promise amendment. He had an ‘eager thirst after knowledge’ that led him to spend more on books than he could afford

97 Capp, World of John Taylor, 124, 132, and chs. 5–6 and 8 passim.
and ‘too much time on reading’. He admired the Tatler, the Spectator, Milton’s poetry and Shakespeare’s plays, Boyle’s lectures, Richardson’s Clarissa Harlow, Homer’s Odyssey (which ‘contains a very good lesson of morality’), and Burnet’s History of the Reformation. He thought William Sherlock’s Practical discourse concerning death ‘a very good book, proper for every Christian to read ... rich and poor, men and women, young and old’, and regularly read through Tillotson’s sermons—‘a complete body of divinity ... written in a plain, familiar style’—sometimes reading out loud five or six sermons at a time on a Sunday evening, to a neighbour, a shoemaker named Thomas Davy. Yet again we have someone who sees being a good Christian as being a good person: his excessive drinking—‘that hateful vice’—denies him the title of a Christian; when he takes the sacrament he resolves, with God’s grace and the help of the Holy Spirit, to lead a better life; and on his birthday he writes of his hopes to ‘increase in goodness’, so that each day he becomes ‘more enamoured with the prospect of another world, and more entirely dead to the follies and vanities of this transitory world’. Similarly a local minister who dies is praised not for his soul-searching sermons but as a gentleman and an ornament of his profession for his extensive knowledge, unlimited charity, good behaviour, and other amiable qualities.

In The parish, John Clare described a yeoman farmer, one of the last ‘of the old school’, who combined a fondness for old customs and superstitions with unfailing attendance at church and reading from the Bible every Sunday night, ‘generally from Proverbs for he considered them as the finest parts of Scripture as he said a man could not be made too wise for this world’. Next to the Bible on the mantelpiece sat what Farmer Wormstall thought were ‘two of the best books that ever were printed’: The whole duty of man, and Elliot’s Husbandry, though he also knew ‘Old Tusser’s Husbandry’, and argued with the vicar (a regular visitor, who preferred Horace) that Tusser was the greatest poet on earth. (Also on the mantelpiece were some chapbooks and a cookbook of his wife’s, and Shakespeare’s Hamlet which his daughters had read at school.) Though fictional, Clare’s account was almost certainly based on his close observations of rural life in the east Midlands at the start of the Industrial Revolution.

During the early modern period, and especially in the second century after the Reformation, the middling sort in town and country were undoubtedly flexing their political muscle, and as a society of orders began to give way to

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one based on class, they developed their own characteristic institutions and activities as well. In the broadest terms the connections that could be drawn between these developments and the steady-selling printed works examined in this monograph are the strong element of Protestant commitment, the prominent role of charitable and improving efforts, the new wave of evangelism, and the greater degree of tolerance towards those of other religions—significant elements of what made the English a ‘polite and commercial people’ in the eighteenth century.

Protestant commitment was found among both conformists and nonconformists in the urban middling sort. We do not need to look far to find examples of the strength of zealous Protestants in many Elizabethan and early Stuart towns, though recent research confirms that the pattern was not as ‘godly’ as was once thought. But there was also arguably a shift in forces by the later Stuart and early Hanoverian period, with Anglican elements, both High and Low Church, coming to dominate dissenters in many towns that were former hotbeds of puritanism such as Norwich. Shifts of this sort might be parodied as ‘how the middle class learned to love the Church of England’. The church was a repository of the true faith, but was also a purveyor (in F. C. Mather’s words) of a ‘moderate ecclesiastical conservatism’, and a bastion against popery and sedition. Membership of it and participation in its sacraments confirmed status; and office-holding in it as warden or overseer of the poor enhanced that status.

The same was true of membership of the growing number of societies devoted to charitable, humanitarian, and other improving works, from the Society for the Reformation of Manners, SPCK, and Charity School movement, to the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Abolitionists. The onset of the Evangelical Revival is now seen as a much more international phenomenon, but there are a growing number of indications that a solid basis had been laid in the seventeenth and opening decades of the eighteenth centuries, though better pastoral instruction in the church, and the rise of societies in London and elsewhere to encourage prayer and devout participation in the Lord’s Supper, and at least part of this was due to increased use of the printing press to provide edifying works for all levels of reader. On the other


hand, the equation of morality and outward conformity with true religion epitomized by Pepys and Turner left plenty of opportunity for evangelicals anxious to inspire belief in the atoning blood of Christ, and conversion to genuine ‘heart religion’.  

If we turn from the more prosperous citizens and farmers described in previous paragraphs to the lowest level of reader—small shopkeepers, skilled artisans, better-off freeholders, and apprentices and servants in literate households—we come to readers who probably turned first to the short tracts and ballads of the period, both devout and bawdy, as the young Baxter and Bunyan evidently did (to their later chagrin). On the other hand these readers occasionally acquired or were given works from the intermediate or even more advanced categories. Some of the best-known examples of this are not directly relevant to us here. Baxter, the son of a freeholder, became a minister, and as a professional has been dealt with earlier. Gerrard Winstanley was the son of a mercer who was apprenticed in London, got sucked into the maelstrom of new ideas in London in the 1640s, and wrote theological tracts on behalf of the poor against the rich and the clergy, before becoming a theorist and leader of the radical Diggers, but his reading was largely from works that did not qualify for our sample. And John Bunyan clearly read quite widely but was curiously reticent about what he owned and read as an adult, perhaps feeling that his position as a man of the people who wrote for the people would be undermined if he let it be known that he read widely among works written by and for the educated elite.

A potentially much clearer case is the London turner Nehemiah Wallington, who covered 20,000 pages of paper with his notes on God’s mercies and ‘returns of prayer’ and other spiritual reflections and accounts of political and military events. Late in life he claimed to have read over 200 books (as well as the Bible ‘many times’). But he also haunted sermons and perhaps had access to manuscripts circulating among the ‘godly’, and this, together with the sheer volume of what he wrote, militates against precise identification of the impact of printed material on his thought. Professor Seaver notes that where it is clear from Wallington’s notes that he had been reading a specific book, he was not a passive reader, but interspersed quoted material with his own thoughts, expressed in a very similar vein. However,

104 Campbell, Religion of the Heart, chs. 2–5; Ward, Protestant Evangelical Awakening, ch. 8 and passim; Rupp, Religion in England, chs. 20–2; see also Watts, Dissenters I, 421–7, and id., The Dissenters. II The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity (Oxford, 1995), 46–9, 52–3, 63, 109–110, 113, 122; and many of the essays in Walsh, Haydon, and Taylor, Church of England 1689–1833.


Wallington was aware of how exceptional he was in devoting so much time to his reading and writing, and was also clearly prone to regular bouts of depression, some due to domestic tragedies, but many to doubts of his election. In this he was not alone at this time, but it almost certainly gave a strong bias to how he read and what he wrote.\cite{107}

It is striking how the examples at this level tend to be on the ‘godly’ or radical side, perhaps as part of the process of self-education and self-advancement. But such a pattern was not necessarily typical. As typical may have been John Brooke, servant to a Canterbury glover, who in 1607 left books worth 3s. 4d., consisting of a bible, two catechisms, Becon’s *Governance of vertue*, and the anonymous devotional work, *A godlie gardeine*.\cite{108} Clare’s ‘cottager’ also owned a bible (heavily annotated with details of the family history), a Prayer Book ‘much worn though strongly bound’, a copy of *The pilgrim’s progress* and *The death of Abel* (a sacred poem in the style of Milton, translated from the German), and Tusser’s *Husbandry*, all of which ‘he reads and reads again’. Clare’s ‘shepherd’ also had a bible filled with family details but falling to pieces, which he religiously read on a Sunday when he could not go to church, and, as Clark has noted for an earlier period, where poorer folk in town and country owned just one book that was almost invariably a bible, new or second-hand, which could be viewed as a source of guidance on morality and salvation rather than a political agenda.\cite{109}

Even the ballads and chapbooks which were targeted at this level of reader were not without their moral dimension. They contained attacks on the pride and lack of charity of the rich (as in Johnson’s *Dives and Lazarus*), condemned the evils of drink and fornication among the poor, warned of the special dangers for young men and maids in the big city, and offered explanations for epidemics and other demographic crises (divine wrath) and for political uncertainty (popish plots).\cite{110} But as has often been suggested above, the doctrinal thrust of these works was often far from orthodox in their neglect of faith in Christ and the need for severe repentance, and the impact they had was probably to confirm the semi-Pelagianism of previous generations of lower and lower-middling ranks of society. Here too, however, were plenty of potential recruits for the ‘heart religion’ of the evangelicals if this earlier teaching proved insufficient for their spiritual needs.\cite{111}

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\textsuperscript{107} P. S. Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985), 2–3, 5–6, and passing; on doubts of election, see above, Ch. 6.iii–iv.
\textsuperscript{108} Clark, ‘Ownership of Books’, 102.
\textsuperscript{110} See above, Ch. 8.
\textsuperscript{111} On recruitment among the lower and lower-middling ranks in the early stages of the Evangelical Revival, see Watts, *Dissenters I*, ch. 5; and on evangelical debts to conformist efforts, ibid., 421–7, and Watts, *Dissenters II*, 46–9, 52–3, 63, 109–10, 113, 122.
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vi. Specialized Readerships

Ever alert to the possibility of reaching new readers, authors and publishers experimented with works for specific groups, such as women, children, and the young. Some of the works in these categories belonged to the elementary or intermediate level at which our first and most orthodox form of Protestantism was disseminated, but many leant towards our second or third forms. Once again it is easy to demonstrate the phenomenon in terms of output, but much harder in terms of effect.

If we use our sample of steady sellers, women as readers can be approached from a number of directions. There are a few female authors and translators in the sample, and some of their works were presented as of interest to other women. Others were deemed to be of wider interest: certainly the Quaker Elizabeth Bathurst was prepared to take men on at their own games and beat them. With the possible exception of the 1640s and 1650s, however, the presses were under sufficient male dominance for the female point of view to appear only comparatively rarely in print: women were much more likely to be the targets of dedications or the objects of advice from men than from other women. Although dedications of religious works to the aristocracy fell away somewhat after the first decades of Elizabeth’s reign, its female members continued to be the target for collections of prayers and handbooks on preparation for communion; so much so that the probably spurious Whole duty of prayer (1692) and Whole duty of receiving worthily [1696?] were said to have been prepared for ‘an honourable lady’ and ‘a lady of quality’ some years before. A number of editions of G. B.’s Weeks preparation towards a worthy receiving of the Lords Supper and the follow-up Second part of a week’s preparation had a picture of not a man but a woman kneeling at prayer before a table, and above her there is a bookshelf containing suitable works such as The art of contentment. Women were also likely to be the dedicatees of catechisms, and to be reminded in godly living handbooks of their special role


113 Prowse dedicated her translation to the Countess of Warwick, and Leigh’s first dedication was to Princess Elizabeth; and cf. Crawford, Women and Religion, 188, on Dorcas Bennet.

114 For Bathurst, see Appendix 1; The Countess of Mortons daily exercise was framed for her, but published by her daughter ‘for the use of all devout persons’ (ibid.).


116 See above, pp. 9–10, 261, 293. Of the works in our sample, Becon’s Flower was dedicated to Jane Seymour’s mother, Fletley’s Ancilla to the duchess of Buckingham, Fuller’s Good thoughts to Lady Dalkeith (Princess Henrietta’s governess), and Dryden’s State of innocence to the Duchess of York.

117 Appendix 1 for further details.
in raising their children in a proper Christian way.\textsuperscript{118} What all this suggests is that women of all ranks were considered to have special duties and special needs, such as prayers during childbirth, or as mothers or widows.\textsuperscript{119}

But female readers had to endure both eulogy and disdain from the men who addressed them. On the one hand, they were held up as models of virtue, in biographical accounts like Philip Stubbes’s account of the godly death of his wife, Katherine, a copy of which was owned by Frances Wolfreston, and also in godly living handbooks, and in funeral sermons in our sample, as well as in memorials in church.\textsuperscript{120} Stubbes’s account was taken over by a ballad publisher as part of that trade’s campaign to offer idealized mothers and idealized Protestant heroines to the public at large. This campaign was still active in the 1680s with chapbooks like \textit{The mother’s blessing . . . unto her children upon her death-bed}, which incorporated the text of a much older ballad, ‘A hundred godly lessons’, even if in a typically patriarchal way much of the advice given by the mother was delivered to her sons.\textsuperscript{121} At a more sophisticated level Allstree wrote \textit{The ladies calling to defend the reputation of the sex}, stress the importance of women in family life, and save them from setting a bad example; in the accompanying engraving a woman, having cast her collection of jewels on the ground, reaches up towards a crown of glory.\textsuperscript{122}

But the jewellery represents the other side of the coin: what was seen as the weak side of women’s nature. Their vanity was regularly condemned from the pulpit, as well as in treatises on godly living and handbooks. They were regularly addressed as the inferior partner in wedding sermons like that delivered by Robert Wilkinson in 1607, and their dutiful, subordinate role in marriage was also stressed in many of the expositions of the fifth commandment in treatises and larger catechisms throughout our period.\textsuperscript{123} Susceptibility to doubt was another problem, and in our sample we find help being offered in various forms: a set of rules by Richard Greenham sent to a ‘gentlewoman troubled in mind’ (published in the first part of the \textit{Garden of spiritual flowers} by Richard Rogers and others), an open letter like William Wake’s \textit{Preparation for death}, which contained advice to a young gentlewoman dangerously ill, and a fresh version of Thomas à Kempis’s masterpiece, which Stanhope addressed to a Mrs Shalcrosse for her ‘melancholy retirements’.\textsuperscript{124}

But we can also see women as the proud owners of books in the way in which they inscribed their names in them, and in some cases, such as bibles and Prayer Books, made lavish embroidered covers for them. Frances

\begin{footnotes}
\item[119] See previous notes, and above, pp. 263–5.  
\item[121] Watt, \textit{Cheap Print}, 283–4; and above, n. 79.  
\item[122] See Appendix 1.  
\item[123] See above, pp. 205–6; Green, \textit{Christian’s ABC}, 451–4; and works cited in n. 115 above.  
\item[124] R[ichard] R[ogers], \textit{A garden of spiritual flowers} (1687), 55–61; Thomas à Kempis, \textit{The Christian’s pattern}, revised by George Stanhope (1698), sig. † 1; W. Wake, \textit{Preparation for death} (1688).
\end{footnotes}
Wolfreston wrote her name on the hundred books in her possession, and sometimes added comments of her own in the margins or other people’s improving verses on blank pages; and Mary Yardley noted that the copy of William Beveridge’s sermon on *The happiness of the saints* (preached before Queen Mary in 1690) was ‘the gift of my father’; the copy later seems to have passed to a sister, Eliza. The same attachment is suggested by the beautiful and striking marble effigy of Anne Mary Childe in Blockley church in Gloucestershire, dated 1659, in which she is depicted with all her books shelved behind her, and underneath a verse including the lines: ‘How seasoned was my soul with heaven’s kind looks | When I comparing was with text my godly books’. At a humbler level the transcription onto samplers of improving verses with a feminine slant suggests an acquaintance with the printed word on the part of the embroidery teacher or pupil that went beyond merely putting one’s name on a prized object. Some wives even had to put up with husbands who strongly disapproved of their reading books, especially at bedtime.

In all these and other ways, women of different backgrounds had been exposed to a wide variety of printed works in the early modern period, the great majority of which, as can be seen from the last few paragraphs, were either didactic or devotional. These ranged from orthodox works (both conformist and nonconformist, and aimed wholly or only partly at women) to works which reinforced the second and third kinds of ‘Protestantism’—emphasizing the need for virtue to triumph over vice—though all had a slight spin on them in that women were also expected by their weakness to be submissive to God and their husbands, and yet by their position to set an example for the rest of the household. What women made of all this raises the larger question of whether they were more ‘religious’ than men.

If we base a narrative on well-born women, well educated by fond parents, and with the leisure to read several chapters of the Bible each day, pray, and keep spiritual records, we can certainly construct a strong case for a strong female piety at this time, among both conformist and nonconformist, perhaps encouraged by women’s exclusion from many activities dominated by men, and by their training as role models in both house and parish. A focus on

125 Morgan, ‘Frances Wolfreston’, 197. 200–1, 204–7, 210–11; the copy of the Beveridge is in the BL (4476.aa.111(7)); for other gifts to daughters, see above, pp. 90–1, 161. I will discuss these in Religious Instruction in Early Modern England (forthcoming).


127 For women as regular readers, see above, n. 68; Crawford, *Women and Religion*, 79–80; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 251–4; and following notes.

the role of women in the sects and early evangelicalism has also led some historians to argue for a feminization of certain aspects of religion from the late seventeenth century. But there is no single narrative: we range from the shared ritual of humbly born women when a new mother was 'churched' to the conventional religion of the aristocratic Lennox sisters, and from the humbly born preachers of the sects and early Methodists to the Countess of Huntington's leading role in later Methodism. Contemporaries like Allestree and historians more recently have suggested that women were more likely to be regular worshippers in church than men. But beyond that perhaps the most that can be said of the majority of women is that the better-educated were likely to be pushed by books in the direction of virtue, piety, and philanthropy rather than intense, soul-searing faith, while those with limited or no literacy would encounter a similar but simpler message on female virtue in catechisms and chapbooks, and apparently appreciated the church's offices at certain points of their life cycle.

Another readership that cut across social strata was that composed of children and young people. Official prescription favoured a stern regime for children, though parents at home probably adopted this less strictly than masters in school. Books for schoolchildren were from early days a safe and profitable investment for publishers and booksellers, but the market for such works definitely expanded in the early modern period, not least for those with religious content, such as *The ABC with the catechisme* and *The primer and catechisme*. For those learning to read at home, at work, or later on at a school run by dissenters, there were alternatives such as Edmund Coote's *English schoole-maister*, Benjamin Keach's *Instructions for children*, and Nathaniel Strong's *England's perfect school-master*, all of which combined the teaching of spelling and reading with edifying exercises such as saying prayers and singing psalms, learning a catechism, memorizing improving thoughts, and reading chapters of the bible or uplifting stories of godly children who died young. There was even a chapbook pastiche of this type of work in 'John Hart's' *School of grace*.

Since many teachers were young or part-time clergy, and most schools, even in the charity sector, were supervised by the church, the doctrinal mes-

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132 Shoemaker, *Gender*, 211, 217.
135 Appendix 1 for further details.
sage in all but the last of these works was predictably orthodox, albeit elementary. But the longer boys stayed in education, at grammar school, and then university, the more likely they were to move up the ladder to more advanced forms of catechism and edifying work: Nowell’s catechism in Latin or Greek, Hammond’s alternative, the New Testament in Latin or the Latin dialogues of Châteillon and Cordier, and Thomas Ken’s collection of directions, prayers, and meditations in his Manual . . . for the use of the scholars of Winchester College, which must had a wider circulation than in that school alone to sell over twenty editions in fifty years. At secondary school level, moreover, the Erasmian and Grotian traditions survived at least until the eighteenth century. The commonplace tradition of teaching and learning was reflected in popular works like Baldwin’s Treatise of moral philosophie and Quarles’s Enchyridion and Divine fancies, the last of which was recommended to sixth-formers to help improve the style of their English verse.

A growing number of works such as simple verse, improving stories, and other forms of edifying entertainment were also targeted either at children who were not necessarily attending a school—such as Bunyan’s edifying verses in A book for boys and girls, and Thomas White’s A little book for little children—or at adolescents who had left school and were living in the big, wicked world. The latter were targeted by a number of ballads and chapbooks, such as The young mans last legacy . . . to his dear mother and brethren and Nathaniel Crouch’s Youths divine pastime. But alongside and above these were moderately short works by reputable authors, such as Benjamin Keach’s verse dialogues on the temptations of youth, War with the devil, or a young mans conflict, the funeral sermons published by James Janeway and John Shower as inspiring examples or dire warnings to other young men, especially those living in London, and godly living handbooks such as Samuel Crossman’s The young mans monitor (which combined a treatise with uplifting examples and verses) and Thomas Gouge’s Young man’s guide, through the wilderness of this world. William Burkitt’s best-selling handbook The poor man’s help and the young man’s guide was, as the title implied, aimed partly at the poor, and partly at the young in his parish of Dedham in Essex, but sold much too well to have been of use there only.

Other handbooks were designed to help the young prepare for communion. It was a sign of greater awareness on the clergy’s part that in his Book for beginners Simon Patrick tried to devise a work which would be of use for both

136 Green, Christian’s ABC, 170–204, and Appendix 1.

137 For works cited, see above, Ch. 7.iii, and below, Appendix 1. On Erasmianism in general, see Heal and Holmes, Gentry, 338; and H. R. Trevor-Roper, Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth Century Essays (1987), 42–6, 189.

138 These are all listed in Appendix 1, with the exception of the chapbook, for which see above, p. 489; and cf. J. Sommerville, The Discovery of Childhood in Puritan England (Athens, Ga., 1992), ch. 4; and P. Demers, Heaven upon Earth: the Form of Moral and Religious Children’s Literature to 1850 (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1993), passim.
those young communicants who could read and those who could not, while Theophilus Dorrington in his *Familiar guide to the right and profitable receiving of the Lord’s supper*, which was recommended for godparents to give to their godchildren and for use in ‘Societies of religious young men’ in London, managed to keep the text down to less than eighty duodecimo pages.\(^{39}\) In short, the market for works for children and the young was expanding rapidly well before the century with which it is usually associated—the eighteenth.\(^{40}\) And the message conveyed on the whole was, by the very nature of works designed for beginners in the school of Christ, a fairly straightforward one that placed heavy emphasis on remembering their creator in the days of their youth, and on obedience to his Word, as interpreted by those in authority over them: parents, teachers, and ministers. And to judge from the success of some of those voluntary societies just mentioned they were not without some effect.\(^{41}\)

And when we come to the illiterate, not a ‘readership’ at all but certainly a potential audience for words read out from books and images conveyed by print on paper, we find the official message being conveyed by clergy and parish clerks who read out services from the Book of Common Prayer and any special prayers to celebrate good news or warn against dangers facing the nation; declaimed the appropriate sections of the Bible, encouraged the appropriate responses and the repetition of the staple formulae taught orally in the elementary catechism, enunciated the canticles, and either read out one of the official homilies or delivered a sermon that probably owed not a little to what the preacher had read in previous weeks and months.\(^{42}\) In popular support for the Prayer Book and the vibrant and popular rituals associated with its ceremonies, in attempts to protect parish clergy from parliamentary attack in the 1640s, in the popular support for King and Church in the later Stuart period, and in popular awareness of many of the phrases declaimed in church, reflected in catechisms, painted on boards on the church walls, or carved on the monuments inside the church and in the churchyard, we have evidence for widespread awareness and not inconceivable support for the official message. Dr Spaeth concedes that village Anglicanism made fewer demands than puritanism or official Anglicanism, and that popular support for the church was often selective and simplistic. But

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\(^{39\text{See above, p. 295.}}\)


\(^{42\text{The works mentioned here loomed large in Ch. 4 above; on their use and impact, see my *Religious Instruction in Early Modern England* (forthcoming).}}\)

An outstanding example of that heartfelt support is provided by the metrical psalm: here a work widely available in print to the literate minority was made familiar through regular repetition, later supplemented by ‘lining out’ to an extent that many with little or no facility at reading became familiar with chunks of the Old Testament in verse, and indeed, as we saw in Chapter 9, appear to have appropriated the work for their own purposes. The irony here was that the Psalms, while fully approved by the authorities, were pre-Christian, and although scholars had a clear view of how far their text prefigured Christ, it is far from clear that the average parishioner did. What parishioners probably saw in the selection of psalms that were used regularly was an adaptable medium for expressing joy, grief, or other basic emotions. Only with the metrical psalm’s successor—the hymn—would the explicitly Christian elements such as faith in the saving power of Christ come to dominate, and even then it was perhaps the qualities brought by the music as much as the words which secured such immediate rapport.\footnote{See above, Ch. iv and 9.viii.}

\section*{vii. Print, Protestantism, and Profit}


But what we have seen here is a rather different picture. As demand from the clergy for religious works was supplemented by demand from the landed elite and whole swathes of new readers from the middling ranks and the young, ‘divinity’ continued to dominate press output until the eighteenth century. Moreover, although print was initially disruptive in terms of the message it carried on doctrine, ecclesiology, and piety, and continued to be disruptive
thereafter in the hands of minorities, print as a mass medium became much more conservative. Print may have reflected or refracted different messages at the same time, as we saw earlier in this conclusion, but all three ‘Protestantisms’ became increasingly conservative both doctrinally and socially.

Secularism can certainly be detected in a growing number of aspects of English life from the mid-seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. However, the main threat to God came not from Shakespeare or the Levellers, but from the clergy’s strategic decision to simplify and tone down some aspects of the orthodox message, and from the laity’s preference for a form of belief that regularly slipped into equating faith with good works, and good works with salvation. For if, as later ages came to believe, morality could be derived not just from the teaching of the Bible, but from any religion, or the rational mind, or the needs of the state, the firm hold of Christianity over Western Europe was at risk.

In all this the publishers are both an excellent barometer and a key player. It was their desire to feed public demand and their constant search for new customers that facilitated the simultaneous dissemination of different Protestant messages. Some were sincere Protestants who saw no contradiction between faith and making a profit. But most had taken to heart an ancient Greek adage reproduced in one of the first books published in England (Aesop’s Fables): ‘the gods help those who help themselves’.

## Appendix 1

Sample of Best-sellers and Steady Sellers First Published in England c.1536–1700

The way in which this sample was constructed is described in Chapter 4 above, pp. 173–80.

**Column 1** gives the name of the author, where known, or a heading, such as ‘Bible’, ‘England, Church of’, or ‘Westminster Assembly of Divines’. Square brackets show where an author’s name was supplied not on the title-page of the first edition but in a preface or later edition or by later detective work.

**Column 2** gives a shortened title for the first edition. Square brackets are used where the title-page of the first edition is missing; the use of a slash indicates a change of title at some stage of the work’s publication history. Anonymous works are usually listed under the first letter of the first substantive word in the title; **bold** has been used to indicate the letter under which the work in question has been listed in STC and Wing where this is not the case, or there could be some doubt. Where more than one work is listed under an author’s name or a heading, titles have been listed in the order of their first appearance in print in England. The only exception is where follow-up volumes were published, for example, parts 2 and 3 of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s progress*, even though other works by the same author had by then started to sell well.

**Column 3** provides the date of the first and last known surviving editions in the period under study. A dash before the first date means an earlier edition was published outside England or is thought to have been published in England but no copy survives; a dash after the last date means that there was another edition or other editions in the period 1730–1800. Round brackets for the first date indicate that the first edition or editions in English were published abroad, for example, the Geneva Bible and New Testament, and works by Tyndale, Calvin, and Bullinger. Square brackets for any edition reflect problems of dating, and provide an approximate date for that edition.

**Column 4** provides an estimate of the possible number of separate editions published in England within the period 1536–1729; editions published outside England have not been counted in the table that follows, because we cannot be sure of the final destinations of the copies thus produced. There are several reasons why the figures in column 4 are estimates and **not** categoric statements: continuous reprinting for some best-selling titles such as the Authorized Version of the Bible (see below, pp. 674–5); the mixtures of sheets or sections from different editions in surviving copies; missing editions; pirate editions produced at home and abroad; inflated claims by publishers of the numbers of editions sold (for example of some works by John Andrews, ‘John Hart’, and ‘Andrew Jones’—see above, pp. 480–7); and for the period after 1640 the lower reliability of Wing (above, p. 169, and below, pp. 675–7). In short, these figures should not be cited or added up without clearly considered and stated reservations. Where the total in column 4 is given in ordinary type, this represents my estimate of the number of times ‘another edition’ was used in the STCs (counting the first edition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Heading</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>First Edition Date</th>
<th>Last Edition Date</th>
<th>Editions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Bunyan</td>
<td><em>Pilgrim’s progress</em></td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Milton</td>
<td><em>Paradise Lost</em></td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Shakespeare</td>
<td><em>Hamlet</em></td>
<td>1603</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Milton</td>
<td><em>Paradise Regained</em></td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bunyan</td>
<td><em>Pilgrim’s Progress Part II</em></td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The figures in column 4 should not be cited or added up without clearly considered and stated reservations. Where the total in column 4 is given in ordinary type, this represents my estimate of the number of times ‘another edition’ was used in the STCs (counting the first edition.
also, of course). In those cases where successive editions were given consecutive numbers by the author or publisher, **bold** type has been used to indicate the highest number of the last edition to be published before 1730. However, when another edition or editions were published before 1730 but without a consecutive number, this is indicated by a plus sign and an estimate of the number of such editions published. Thus 12 + 2 means that twelve numbered editions and two subsequent unnumbered editions were published by 1729. Where the highest numbered edition probably does not represent the full total of earlier editions, that is, where other editions had been intercalated by other publishers without a consecutive number or with a different one, this is indicated by brackets, e. g. 12 (+2), meaning twelve editions with and two without consecutive numbers, but the two pre-dating the appearance of number 12. Brackets have also been used when some editions fall into the first and others into the second of the categories described in the previous three sentences. The use of a plus symbol in isolation after the figure for total editions indicates either the existence of other issues or variants (that is, not fully separate editions) published in England, or that the same work was also published in the collected *Works* of a particular author. Thus 14+ against Allestree’s *Causes of the decay of Christian piety* means probably fourteen separate editions but also reprinted in Allestree’s *Works* (as indicated in Column 5). A question mark in column 4 means there is an element of doubt, either whether the number of discrete editions actually reached five, or because we know only of a ‘fifth’ or ‘sixth’ or ‘tenth’ edition and there are no surviving copies of any or most of the preceding editions.

**Column 5** gives the source for the information supplied in columns 1–4. References from STC: for the period up to December 1640 consist of simple numbers from 1 to 26,000 with occasional use of decimal points and letters for items or editions intercalated at a later stage. References in Wing consist of a letter, reflecting the first letter of the author’s surname or where anonymous the first key word of the title, and a number, though again those in the original edition of Wing have often been supplemented by decimals and additional letters in the revised version. The recall numbers in ESTC are too long to include in a table such as this one, but because this catalogue is on database it is usually not too difficult to find the editions of the works being cited through author and title. Most of the other works cited in column 5, such as *TC* and *Christian’s ABC*, are given in full in the Abbreviations, above pp. xxi–xxiii. For Carruthers, see above, p. 191 n. 81.

**Column 6** provides a short description of the type of work, and the contents or significance of this particular title; major changes in composition or continuing sales on some scale after 1729 are also mentioned. The definition of the terms printed in bold, such as **official**, **treatise**, **devotional aid**, **essay**, or **composite** or **mixture**, is explained at the relevant points of Chapters 4–7 above. But as with the number of editions in column 4, the use made of these descriptors must be clearly understood. They were not intended to be definitive or exclusive, but were used primarily to facilitate the statistical survey summarized above, on pp. 188–9, that is, to try to break down over 700 works into very broad categories, so that their respective popularity could be gauged. As is made very clear there, and in subsequent chapters, the use of a term like ‘official’ does not mean that that work cannot also be classified as a treatise (as in the case of Jewel’s *Apologia*), or a catechism (as with *The ABC with the catechisme*, or Nowell’s catechisms), or a sermon (as in the case of the three versions of
the *Homilies*). In the text it is also made clear that ‘sermons’ and ‘treatises’ frequently overlapped; that the term ‘treatise’ could be applied to a large part of the text of many of the handbooks on prayer or on how to prepare for communion which have been given a different label in column 6; and that a work labelled ‘dialogue’ or ‘verse’ could also be labelled ‘allegory’, according to whether one was focusing on its form or its content. What matters is the complete description given in column 6, together with any further comment in the text above, which the reader can readily consult using the index to make the connection. Prices of titles published before 1640 are taken from F. R. Johnson, ‘Notes on Retail Book-prices, 1550–1640’, *The Library*, 5th ser., V (1951), 94–112 (but see Blayney’s reservations, above, Ch. 1, n. 207); and those after 1668 are from the Term Catalogues cited in column 5, with the exception of some Baxter titles where the r[ecommended] r[etail] p[rice] is taken from Keeble and Nuttall, *Calendar*, §507. ‘Bd.’ and ‘unbd.’ refer to whether the copy for sale is stated to have been bound or unbound.

As in the case of the list of catechisms in Appendix 1 of *The Christian’s ABC*, I should add that any list such as this (last revised in March 1999) is likely to be provisional, and I would welcome any additions, corrections, or alterations, which could be made available on disc to interested parties.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Thomas</td>
<td>The white devil, or the hypocrite uncased</td>
<td>1613–21–5</td>
<td>131–4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon./[Southwell, Robert]</td>
<td>The dutifull advice of a loving sonne to his aged father</td>
<td>1632–6–5</td>
<td>156–156a.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>An alarme to the unconverted/A sure guide to heaven</td>
<td>1672–1704–15?</td>
<td>A961–64A/A977–80 + BLC + NUC; TC i. 33, iii. 282–3</td>
<td>Treatise on conversion (and cases of conscience); price 2s. 6d. (1671), 1s. 6d. (1702).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleine, Richard</td>
<td>Vindiciae pietatis: or, a vindication of godliness</td>
<td>1660–76–8</td>
<td>A1002–8</td>
<td>Long treatise (formerly sermons) defending + directing how to lead a godly life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Allen, Edmond]</td>
<td>A catechisme</td>
<td>1548–62–5</td>
<td>358.5–60.7</td>
<td>Catechism, enlarged by 1551.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Allestree, Richard]</td>
<td>The practice of Christian graces/ The whole duty of man</td>
<td>1658–1729–83+?</td>
<td>A1158–9, A1169–93A + BLC + ESTC (+ Works)</td>
<td>Long treatise on godly living, to be read a chapter a week for 17 Sundays, + so three times a year, by all ‘but especially the meanest reader’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year Range</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The gentlemans calling</td>
<td>1660–1717</td>
<td>26+</td>
<td>A1115–30 + BLC + NUC (+ Works)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The causes of the decay of Christian piety</td>
<td>1667–94</td>
<td>14+</td>
<td>A1097–110B + ( + Works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ladies calling</td>
<td>1673–1727–</td>
<td>12+</td>
<td>A1141–8 + BLC (+4?) TC i. 152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government of the tongue</td>
<td>1674–1721</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+ 4?) A1133–9 + BLC + ESTC (+ Works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The art of contentment</td>
<td>1675–1719</td>
<td>11+</td>
<td>A1085–94 + BLC + Bodleian (+ Works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The lively oracles</td>
<td>1678–1713</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+7?) A1140–55 + Bodleian (+ Works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrewes, John</td>
<td>1617–32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>595.6–95.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A subpoena from the imperall court of heaven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The converted mans new birth</td>
<td>1629–[60]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>595–95.2 + A3119–20A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrewes golden chaine</td>
<td>1637–45</td>
<td>29+</td>
<td>588.5 + A3122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A golden trumpet</td>
<td>1641–48</td>
<td>29+</td>
<td>A3123–23A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrewes, Lancelot</td>
<td>1604–18</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>597–98.5 (+624.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Andrewes, John</td>
<td>1604–18</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>597–98.5 (+624.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Treatise** on godly living for gentry; some edns. have an interesting illustration opposite the title-page.

**Long treatise** on the mischiefs that arise from failure to follow Christian teaching.

**Long treatise** mixing criticism with instruction + exhortation to godly living; for ‘virgins’, ‘wives’, + ‘widows’; price 2s. 6d., bd. (1673)

**Treatise** against lying, scoffing, boasting, + swearing.

**Treatise** describing the many kindnesses God has shown man, our unworthiness of them, + how to gain contentment.

**Treatise** on the excellency of the scriptures + how best to use them. Set of allegorical *verses* comparing the securing of salvation to a protracted legal case.

**Tract** on ‘the direct way to go to heaven’ + the spiritual battle needed to get there.

**Tract** in the form of a prayer from a penitent sinner to God for forgiveness + grace to repent.

**Tract** warning of the need to give an account on Judgement Day; in places similar to the last above.

Easter *sermon* preached before the king, on Christ’s sufferings on the cross.
A pattern of catechistical doctrine 1630–41 6 603–603.5, + A3145–46λ; TC i. 224

The personall raigne of Christ 1641–61 6 + 1 A3614–19λ

The art of catechizing 1691–1718 5 A3766–8 + BLC; TC ii. 355. 416

I am a poore woman and blinde [1625]– [1695] 6 853.5, + A3210π–14

Certaine select prayers, gathered out of S. Augustines meditations . . . Also his manuell 1574–86 5 924–8

A pretious booke of heavenlie meditations 1581–1640 11 944–9

The glass of vaine-glorie (tr. Wm. Prid) 1585–1612 7 929–32.5

A weeks preparation toward the worthy receiving of the Lords Supper 1678–[1725]– 40 + 1 W1248–50 + BLC; TC i. 340

Catechetical lectures on the Decalogue delivered in his Cambridge college; two other versions published (1642, 1650); price 1s. 4d., unbd. (1630), 12s., bd., in folio (1675).

Treatise explaining the manner, duration, + timing of Christ’s kingdom on earth. 3 catechisms + an expository discourse on Prayer Book catechism; price 1s. 6d. (1691), 1s. (1692).

Ballad very loosely based on the story of the Protestant martyr, Anne Askew; strongly anti-Catholic, but doctrinally thin. Translation of two sets of meditations ascribed erroneously to Augustine; printed with decorated borders including scriptural motifs. Different translation of pt. 1 of last, expurgated + ‘adorned’ with scripture texts by Thos. Rogers. From 1597 this included The manuell and Augustines psalter too: see 939–41, 950–3.

Mixture of prayers (+ expositions of the same), verses, an almanac, a calendar, + astrological advice; price 4d., bd. (1585).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Editions</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bacon, (Sir) Francis</td>
<td>Essayes, religious meditations, places of perswasion and disswasion</td>
<td>1597–1624</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>1137–40, 1142–6 Early edns. of the Essayes also contained a separate series of ‘sacred’ or ‘religious meditations’ in Latin or English, though in content + style these are very close to the ‘religious’ essays in the parent work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B[acon] N[athaniel]</td>
<td>A relation of the fearefull estate of F[rancis] Spira</td>
<td>1638–1718–</td>
<td>20+?</td>
<td>1177.5–79 + B357–66A + BLC Reconstruction from various sources of the cautionary tale of an Italian lawyer who recanted his Protestantism + was then strick by an overpowering sense of guilt; later editions had strip cartoon of Spira’s decline and end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldwin, William</td>
<td>A treatise of morall philosophie</td>
<td>1547–1651</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1253–69 + B547 Moralistic treatise using the ‘godly good doctrine’ of classical authors to defend Christian teaching; twice much enlarged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball, John</td>
<td>A short treatise/ catechisme contayning all the principles</td>
<td>–1628–1689</td>
<td>56 +2</td>
<td>1313.2–13.7 + B563–69A Best-selling unofficial catechism; first surviving edn. is twelfth; first edn. probably pre–1615—see next.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A short treatise containyng the principles/all the principall grounds, together with an exposition</td>
<td>1615–70</td>
<td>15 +1</td>
<td>1314.2–18.5 + B5708–74; TC iii. 39 Same catechism as last, but this time with exposition added after each answer; price 1s. 6d. (1670).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balmford, James</td>
<td>A short catechisme</td>
<td>1597–1610</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1336.5–37.5 B25–9 + BLC; TC iii. 270 Short, simple catechism, with prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>First Published</td>
<td>E.C.</td>
<td>Enlarged in</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastingius, Jeremias</td>
<td>An exposition or commentarie</td>
<td>1564–7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1589–1614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baxter, Richard</td>
<td>The saints everlasting rest</td>
<td>1649–88</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>B1382A–95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A sermon of judgement</td>
<td>1655–72</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>B1408–12 (also in B1420–1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A call to the unconverted</td>
<td>1658–96</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>B1196–1204; TC i. 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Directions and perswasions to a sound conversion</td>
<td>1658–83</td>
<td>4 (+6)</td>
<td>B1243–8A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Now or never; the holy, serious, diligent believer</td>
<td>1662–89</td>
<td>6?</td>
<td>B1320–22 + 1325–6; TC i. 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Now or never: work out your salvation</td>
<td>1663–[1685]</td>
<td>28 + 1</td>
<td>R8–9B + B1324A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The poor man’s family book</td>
<td>1674–97</td>
<td>6 (+2?)</td>
<td>B1352–7; TC ii. 104–5, 227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heidelberg Catechism with expositions ‘gathered out of’ Calvin’s Institutes; translated from Latin original. Treatise combining exposition + polemics in defending Quakers’ position on a number of debated issues; enlarged in 1691. Very long treatise on the nature of the saints’ rest, and the importance of seeking it. Sermon enlarged into a long treatise listing the frivolous excuses of the unrighteous, + warning of the judgement to come. Treatise (based on Ezek. 33:11) on the call to be converted, + motives + means thereto. Long prayers added to later edns.; Baxter’s r.r.p. 8d; price 1s., bd. (1674). Long treatise on how to make a sound conversion; Baxter’s r.r.p. 8d. Treatise defending serious holiness; price 1s., bd. (1677). A ‘small treatise’ taken mainly from the opening + closing sections of the last above. Mixture of dialogues, catechisms, + prayers; price 2s., bd. (1684).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Dates</th>
<th>Pages/Issues</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bayly, Lewis</td>
<td>The practise of pietie</td>
<td>1612–1728–57</td>
<td>1601.5–23 +</td>
<td>Very long treatise on godly living, combining exposition of the basics of the faith with large number of meditations + prayers. Price is. 6d. (1708–9). Many other edns. published outside England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becon, Thomas</td>
<td>The governance of vertue</td>
<td>[1538]–1611</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Long treatise on godly living, dedicated to Jane Seymour; price 8d., unbd. (1578).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[The flower of godly prayers]</td>
<td>[c. 1550]–[c. 1570]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1719.5–20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The principles of Christen religion</td>
<td>[c.1550]–[1580]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1751–53.5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The pomander of prayer</td>
<td>1558–78</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1744–8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The sycke mannes salve</td>
<td>[c. 1560]–1632</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1756.5–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bennet, Thomas]</td>
<td>An answer to the dissenters pleas for separation</td>
<td>1700–28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>B1888–9 + BLC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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- Very long treatise on godly living.
- Combining exposition of the basics of the faith with large number of meditations + prayers. Price is. 6d. (1708–9). Many other edns. published outside England.
- Long treatise on godly living, dedicated to Jane Seymour; price 8d., unbd. (1578).
- Prayers for all sorts of people + all occasions, dedicated to Jane Seymour’s mother; price 8d., unbd. (1565).
- Long exposition of catechetical material for the faithful who could read.
- Prayers with some parallels to but often shorter than Flower above; also some borrowings from Prayer Book; some edns. contain ‘Augustine’s Meditations (q.v.).
- Very long treatise on coping with sickness + preparing for death; price is. unbd. (1577).
- A long treatise, abridging the Collection of cases (1685–) written by leading conformists against separatism.
- ‘Boyle lecture’ (sermon) on the folly of atheism compared to Christianity.
- Ballad: condensed version of William Crashaw’s 1613 metrical version of the supposititious ‘Visio Sancti Bernardi’ (a dialogue between the soul and body of a recently deceased man).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bernard, Richard</td>
<td>A weeke worke. And a worke for every weeke</td>
<td>1614–[1633?]; 5?</td>
<td>1644.3–65 (+ Bloomsbury Book Auctions 12.5.94)</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The Isle of Man: or the legall proceeding in Man-shire against sinne</td>
<td>1626–1683; 16</td>
<td>1946–52 + B2026–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The common catechisme</td>
<td>1630–40; 11</td>
<td>1929–33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertramus/ Ratramnus</td>
<td>A/The booke of Bertram the priest</td>
<td>1582–1688; 11?</td>
<td>20751–52.5 + B2049–51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beveridge, William</td>
<td>A sermon concerning the excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer</td>
<td>1682–1729–; 27+</td>
<td>B2100–10 + BLC; TC ii. 35</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A sermon preached . . . [12.10.1690] Of the happiness of the saints</td>
<td>1690–1708; 8</td>
<td>B2114, B2097–9 + BLC; TC iii. 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beza, Theodore</td>
<td>A briefe and piththie summe of the Christian faith (tr. R. Filles)</td>
<td>1563–89; 7</td>
<td>2006.7–13</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A booke of Christian questions and answers (tr. A. Golding)</td>
<td>1572–86; 5</td>
<td>2037–40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLE (in English)</td>
<td>different versions:</td>
<td>2062–2200 + B2199A–378A + DMH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Matthew’</td>
<td>1537–51; 7</td>
<td>See Ch. 2 above</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Great Bible’</td>
<td>1539–69; 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Bishops’ Bible’</td>
<td>1568–1602; 18</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Composite:** A godly living handbook in form of a dialogue between John and Gaius (1616) or ‘the elect lady’ (1628); contains general rules + many prayers + meditations for different times of the day.

**Allegory:** Of the detection + trial of ‘the chief malefactors [sins] disturbing both church + commonwealth’.

Exposition of Prayer Book catechism through extra questions + answers.

Polemical, anti-Catholic **treatise**, mainly against transubstantiation.

**Sermon** (on 1 Cor. 14: 26) in defence of the edifying qualities of the Book of Common Prayer; 44th edn. 1824. Price 1s., bd. (1683).

**Sermon** (on Col. 1: 12) given before Queen Mary; who the saints are who will inherit heaven; price 3d. or 20s. a 100 (1701).

**Treatise** expounding several central points: the Trinity, the church, the last judgement, + where the ‘papist’ err.

Translation of long, advanced **catechism** first published in Latin in Geneva.

**Official or approved** versions of the Bible. See also **Psalms**.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Editions</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Geneva Bible'</td>
<td>1560-1576</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Other editions (including first ones) published abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'King James'/ 'Authorized'</td>
<td>1611-1729</td>
<td>478?</td>
<td>2823–57 + B2644–706 + DMH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEW TESTAMENTS only:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyndale</td>
<td>1525–1536</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>See Ch. 2 above. Over 20 other editions (including the first) were published abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverdale</td>
<td>1538–1538</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5 more editions published abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Great'</td>
<td>1539–1569</td>
<td>11+</td>
<td>Also used in editions of Erasmus's Paraphrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Bishops'</td>
<td>1568–1619</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Other editions published abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Geneva'</td>
<td>1560–1575</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Other editions published abroad + in Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'King James'/ 'Authorized'</td>
<td>1611–1729</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom + Ecclesiasticus: Great Bible version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Books of Solomon'</td>
<td>1540–51</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>New Testament in Latin with notes by Beza + Camerarius; price 1s. 6d. unbd. (1577).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iesu Christi d. n. novum testamentum/Novum testamentum</td>
<td>1574–1726</td>
<td>29?</td>
<td>New Testament in Latin with notes by Beza + Camerarius; price 1s. 6d. unbd. (1577).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomons proverbs, English and Latin</td>
<td>1666–81</td>
<td>6?</td>
<td>Extracts from Proverbs + Ecclesiastes grouped under headings, + in parallel English + Latin texts; a teaching tool prepared by H. Danvers; price 1s. 2d., bd. (1674).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicknoll, Edmund</td>
<td>1579–1618</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Treatise condemning swearing + showing God's punishments of swearers; enlarged with more examples of divine judgements in 1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Refs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bold(e), Samuel</td>
<td>A sermon against persecution</td>
<td>1682–3</td>
<td>4 (+2)  B3488–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton, Robert</td>
<td>A discourse about the state of true happinesse</td>
<td>1611–38</td>
<td>7 + 1  3228–34</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Some generall directions for a comfortable walking with God</td>
<td>1625–38</td>
<td>5      3250–4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolton, Samuel</td>
<td>The guard of the tree of life</td>
<td>1644–61</td>
<td>7      B3520–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>First Edwardian</td>
<td></td>
<td>1549–51</td>
<td>11+    16267–77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Edwardian</td>
<td></td>
<td>1552–3</td>
<td>14    16279–80,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabethan (revised 1604 + 1662)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1559–1729–</td>
<td>526?  B3612–703 + ESTC</td>
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<tr>
<td>La liturgie, c’est à dire/ de l’Eglise Anglicane</td>
<td></td>
<td>1661–1702</td>
<td>15?  B3621A–91B + ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liturgia, seu liber precum</td>
<td></td>
<td>1660–1727–</td>
<td>19?  B3637A–75C + ESTC</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Boyle, Robert]</td>
<td>Some motives and incentives to the love of God</td>
<td>1659–1708–</td>
<td>9 (+3?)  B4032–41+ BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradford, John</td>
<td>Godlie/Holy meditations upon the Lordes Prayer, the Beleefe, and Ten Commaundements</td>
<td>1562–1633</td>
<td>8     3484, 3486–7, 3489a–93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date of Publication</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>Two [notable] sermons/ A double summons</td>
<td>1574–1617</td>
<td>6(+) 3499.5–3503 (+ cf. 3496–9) Sermons: one on the need for repentance (also published separately), the other on the nature + purpose of the Lord's Supper, in Protestant eyes. Pre-communion handbook (revised by 1614) + form of self-examination (also revised in 1614). Also contains a pre-communion treatise by Arth. Hildersham; price 9d., bd. (1634).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradshaw, A</td>
<td>A direction for the weaker sort/ A preparation for receiving the sacrament</td>
<td>1609–43</td>
<td>ii 3510–15-4 + B4159 Abridgement of his own 32 lectures on the opening questions + answers of the Prayer Book catechism. Verses in praise of God, his creation, + what he has done for man. Series of verses including acrostics on God, Jesus, + Christ, + on themes such as grace, glory, + heaven. Polemical treatise on the errors + barbarities of the Catholic mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bray, Thomas</td>
<td>A short discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant</td>
<td>1697–1704</td>
<td>4 (+ 1) B4297–99A + BLC + ESTC A barbarities of the Catholic mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breton, Nicholas</td>
<td>A solemne passion of the soules love</td>
<td>1598–[1625?]</td>
<td>5? 3696–98.3 A series of verses including acrostics on God, Jesus, + Christ, + on themes such as grace, glory, + heaven. Polemical treatise on the errors + barbarities of the Catholic mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The soules harmony</td>
<td>1602–76</td>
<td>ii 3699–700 + B4392 A barbarities of the Catholic mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brevint, Daniel</td>
<td>Missale Romanum, or the depth and mystery of Roman mass</td>
<td>1672–86</td>
<td>5? B4420–22 + B4419A A barbarities of the Catholic mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Brightman, Thomas)</td>
<td>Reverend M. Brightmans judgement or prophecies what shall befall</td>
<td>[1641]–1644</td>
<td>8? B4682–9 A work with a with a complex history (see Christian's ABC) later known as The Baptist catechism + attributed to Keach; price 6d., bd. (1703). Tract (derived from Brightman's earlier exposition of Revelation) on what would happen to various Protestant churches, including England's. Pt. 1 is a treatise on self-examination (using Decalogue + Creed), pt. 2 one on prayer (including four expositions of Lord's Prayer); also pts. 3 + 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brinsley, John (the elder)</td>
<td>The true watch. Or a direction for the examination [+] The second part of the true watch</td>
<td>1606/7–37</td>
<td>10 + 2 3775–85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brooks, Thomas</td>
<td>Precious remedies against Satans devices</td>
<td>1652–1705</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A believer’s last day is his best day</td>
<td>1653–73</td>
<td>5²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heaven on earth: or a serious discourse touching ... assurance</td>
<td>1654–73</td>
<td>5²</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apples of gold for young men and women</td>
<td>1657–1717</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A string of pearls, or the best things reserved till last</td>
<td>1657–84</td>
<td>10 (±1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The mute Christian under the smarting rod</td>
<td>1669–1720</td>
<td>11 (±1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Brough, William]</td>
<td>Sacred principles, services, and soliloquies</td>
<td>1650–79</td>
<td>5 + 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Browne, Sir Thomas]</td>
<td>Religio medici</td>
<td>1642–1685</td>
<td>8 (±4?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bull, Henry (ed.)</td>
<td>Christian prayers and holy meditations</td>
<td>1568–1614</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bullinger, Heinrich</td>
<td>The christen state of matrimony</td>
<td>(1541–1542)</td>
<td>6+</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Grace abounding to the chief of sinners</td>
<td>1666–1726–</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The barren fig-tree; or, the doom and downfall of the fruitless professor</td>
<td>1673–1728–</td>
<td>6 + 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Come, and welcome, to Jesus Christ</td>
<td>1678–1719–</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The pilgrim’s progress from this world to that which is to come [pt.1]</td>
<td>1678–1727–</td>
<td>22 (+?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The pilgrim’s progress . . . The second part</td>
<td>1684–1728–</td>
<td>14+</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The pilgrim’s progress . . . The third part</td>
<td>1693–1722–</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>——</td>
<td>A discourse upon the pharisee and the publicane</td>
<td>1685–[1725?]</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Refs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Good news for the vilest of men/The Jerusalem-sinner saved</td>
<td>1688–1728</td>
<td>B5545–8, B5522, B5552–8, +</td>
<td>‘Discourse’ (a sermon greatly expanded into a treatise) on Luke 24: 47: Christ offers mercy to</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bunyan, Misc.Wks., xi. 3–5;</td>
<td>the greatest of sinners; price 1s. (1706).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TC iii. 499</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Solomons temple spiritualized</td>
<td>1688–1727</td>
<td>B5595–7 + BLC + Harrison,</td>
<td>Treatise on the symbolism of the Temple; price 1s. (1706).</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bibliog., 59–60; TC iii. 499</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The acceptable sacrifice: or the excellency of a broken heart</td>
<td>1689–1718</td>
<td>B5480–2 + BLC</td>
<td>Treatise on Ps. 51: 17: the nature of a contrite heart + how God welcomes it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The heavenly footman; or, a description of the man</td>
<td>1698–1724</td>
<td>B5532–3 + BLC; TC iii. 75, 190, 222</td>
<td>Treatise on 1 Cor. 9: 24: how to reach heaven, + motives for trying; price 6d. (1698), is., bd. (1700).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burkitt, William</td>
<td>–1694–1720</td>
<td>B5738–38A + BLC + ESTC</td>
<td>Mixture of instruction on how to live a godly life, a catechism, + prayers; 19th edn. cost 1s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The poor man’s help, and young man’s guide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Christian’s ABC, 607); 22nd edn. 1736, 45th edn. 1824.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cautionary biography: Rochester’s death-bed conversation with Burnet, who acts here as both historian +</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>divine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burnet, Gilbert</td>
<td>1680–1724</td>
<td>B5922–5 + BLC</td>
<td>Tract stating the Quaker position on a number of basic doctrines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some passages of the life and death of . . . [the] Earl of Rochester</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sermons on the correct ways of worshipping, hearing the Word, partaking the sacrament, + praying.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sermons on the duty of Christian contentment + how to be content; price 2s. 6d., bd. (1670), 3s. (1678).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byfield, Nicholas</td>
<td>1617–37</td>
<td>4236–36.6</td>
<td>Treatise on assurance + how to tell the signs of it, published at the request of its ‘hearers’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The signes or an essay concerning the assurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Title</td>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Editions</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>———— [The principles or,] the paterne of wholesome words</td>
<td>1618–65</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mainly a treatise, stressing the necessity of applying the principles learnt through being catechized. Contents changed from one edn. to another; at its core were ‘little treatises’ on sin, assurance, godliness, + a cure for the fear of death.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The marrow of the oracles of God</td>
<td>1619–60</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>C., E. The poor doubting Christian</td>
<td>see below s. v. T. Hooker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calamy, Benjamin Sermons preached upon several occasions</td>
<td>1687–1726-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Miscellaneous sermons by Calamy, + the sermon preached at his funeral.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calamy, Edmund The godly mans ark, or city of refuge</td>
<td>1657–1709</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>A funeral sermon + 4 sermons offering support for saints in affliction; price 1s., bd. (1678).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin, John The catechisme or manner to teache children</td>
<td>(1556)–1560–98</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Catechism for ten- to fifteen-year-olds; other edns. published in Geneva + Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———— The institution of Christian religion (tr. T. Norton)</td>
<td>1561–1634</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Treatise providing a systematic exposition of Protestant doctrine; price 4s. unbd. (1578), 10s. for folio (1611).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancellar, James Catechismus ecclesiae Geneuensis</td>
<td>1562–92?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Latin version of catechism above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The alphabet of prayers</td>
<td>1564-c. 1610</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Prayers, ‘psalms’ (petitions grouped under headings), a litany, + a meditation; dedicated to the earl of Leicester whose name is twice used as the basis of acrostics; price 6d. unbd. 1576.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capel, Richard Tentations: their nature, danger, cure</td>
<td>1633–59</td>
<td>6 + 1</td>
<td>Treatise on how to resist temptation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caryl, Joseph An exposition with practicall observations upon the three first chapters of Job</td>
<td>1643–69-</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>Lectures on chs. 1–3 of Job, on the need to repent; succeeding vols. on chs. 4–42 sold only moderately well (cf. Keeble, Literary Culture, 130).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cave, William</td>
<td>Primitive Christianity</td>
<td>1673–98</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chamberlaine, Bartholomew</td>
<td>A sermon preached at S. James/The passion of Christ</td>
<td>1580–1623</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Chandler, William et al.</td>
<td>A brief apology in behalf of the people in derision call'd Quakers</td>
<td>1693–1719</td>
<td>6?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Châteillon/Castalio/Castellion</td>
<td>Dialogorum sacrorum libri quattuor</td>
<td>1560–1723</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>See ENGLAND, CHURCH OF</td>
<td>1646–71</td>
<td>4 (+1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarke, Samuel</td>
<td>A mirrour or looking-glasse both for saints, and sinners</td>
<td>1646–71</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleaver, Robert</td>
<td>A godly form of householde government</td>
<td>1598–1624</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clutterbuck, John</td>
<td>A plain and rational vindication</td>
<td>1694–1727</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Coles, Elisha] (the elder)</td>
<td>A practical discourse of God's sovereignty</td>
<td>1673–[1726]–</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Colet, John’ (ed. H[enry?] Myriel)</td>
<td>Daily devotions</td>
<td>1641–1722</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>[Collier, Jeremy]</strong></td>
<td>Essays upon several moral subjects</td>
<td>1697–1722–</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>[Colmer, T[homas]</strong></td>
<td>A companion to the temple and closet</td>
<td>1672–1702</td>
<td>7+?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>Friendly and seasonable advice to the Roman Catholicks of England</td>
<td>1674–86</td>
<td>4 (+2?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——]/'An English Protestant'</td>
<td>The plausible arguments of a Romish priest . . . answered</td>
<td>1686–88–</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coote, Edmund</td>
<td>The English schoole-maister</td>
<td>1596–1700</td>
<td>49 (+?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>A copie of the proceedings of some worthy and learned divines</td>
<td>1641–60</td>
<td>6?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cordier, Mathurin</td>
<td>Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri quatuor</td>
<td>1584–1725–</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cosin, John</td>
<td>A collection of private devotions; in the practise of the ancient church</td>
<td>1627–1719</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton, Clement</td>
<td>The mirror of martyrs</td>
<td>1612–85</td>
<td>6 (+ 1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>None but Christ, none but Christ</td>
<td>−1629–55</td>
<td>9 + 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowper, William</td>
<td>The triumph of a Christian, containing three excellent and heavenly treatises</td>
<td>1608–39</td>
<td>10 + 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Three heavenly treatises/ Heaven opened</td>
<td>1609–32</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A most comfortable and Christian dialogue</td>
<td>1610–39</td>
<td>7 + 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cradock, Zachary</td>
<td>A sermon preached [10. 2. 1677]</td>
<td>1678–95</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig, John</td>
<td>A short summe of the whole catechism</td>
<td>−1583–[1608?]</td>
<td>7?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crashaw, William</td>
<td>Milke for babes. Or, a north-countrie catechism</td>
<td>−1618–33</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crisp, Stephen</td>
<td>An epistle to Friends</td>
<td>1666–1710</td>
<td>5 (+ 3?)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Prayers** for different hours of the day + other occasions, with scripture texts, penitential psalms, hymns, et al; price is. unbd. (1627), 2s., bd. (1672).

**Biographical** materials from Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* abridged to provide ‘profitable delight’ for those lacking the time or money to read the original.

**Composite**: treatise (on the iniquities of sin, + steps to conversion), prayer (to Christ, with Christ’s reply), + from the 5th edn. *The sicke mans ABC*.

**Treatises** on comfort for Christ’s soldiers resisting temptation, all things working for those who love Christ, + preparation for communion.

Long **treatise** (like 2nd above based on Rom. ch. 8) on the good news for those who are in Christ.

**Dialogue** between ‘The Lord’ and ‘The soul’, often close to meditation or prayer.

**Sermon** given at court: the good + bad will get their deserts in the next world.

**Catechism** for ‘common people + children’; Scottish origin.

**Catechism** for country people + the simple; with prayers at the end.

**Open letter** urging Quakers to stand firm against the wiles of the enemy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crook(e), Samuel</td>
<td>The guide unto true blessednesse</td>
<td>1613–50</td>
<td>C7228</td>
<td>Long catechism. Abridgement of the last.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A brieue direction to true hoppiness</td>
<td>1613–43</td>
<td>C7226x</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Crossman, Samuel]</td>
<td>The young mans monitor/calling, or the whole duty of youth</td>
<td>1664–1725–</td>
<td>C7272–4 + BLC +</td>
<td>Composite: a treatise on godly life with uplifting examples, + some verses in pt. 3; appropriately illustrated; price 1s. 6d. (1695).</td>
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<td>Bodleian; TC ii. 551</td>
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<td>[Crouch, Nathaniel]/</td>
<td>Wonderful prodigies of judgement and mercy</td>
<td>1682–1707–</td>
<td>C7361–72 + BLC;</td>
<td>Over 300 ‘memorable histories’—mainly cautionary tales, but some uplifting ones too; ‘embellished with divers curious pictures’; price 1s. 6d. (1681).</td>
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<td>R. B[urton?].</td>
<td></td>
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<td>TC ii. 31</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Youths divine pastime</td>
<td>–1691–</td>
<td>C7363 + BLC;</td>
<td>40 ‘scripture histories’ (even more by 1720) turned into verse + illustrated; also contains scripture hymns; price 8d. (1686).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[1720?]–</td>
<td>TC ii. 178</td>
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<tr>
<td>Culverwell, Ezekiel</td>
<td>A treatise of faith</td>
<td>1622–48</td>
<td>6113.5–18 + C7567</td>
<td>Very long treatise for the ‘weakest Christians’ on how to live by faith + apply God’s promises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D., L.</td>
<td>A protestants resolution</td>
<td>1673–1684</td>
<td>D53A, D54</td>
<td>Composite: a dialogue on why protestants should not become papists, + a Protestant father’s open letter to his son on same theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The story of David and Berseba</td>
<td>[c.1635]–</td>
<td>6317 +</td>
<td>Ballad on the cautionary tale of David and Bathsheba, though the reader is told to consult the Bible to find the penalty for adultery + murder.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[1700?]–</td>
<td>D375A–77A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title and Description</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>Dawes, Sir William</td>
<td>The duties of the closet. Being an earnest exhortation to private devotion</td>
<td>1695–1709</td>
<td>D455A + BLC + NUC; TC ii. 547</td>
<td>Handbook on what prayer is, how to pray, + different types of prayer; price 1s. 6d. (1695).</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The great duty of communicating explain’d and enforc’d</td>
<td>1700–1721</td>
<td>D455b + BLC; TC iii. 180, 183</td>
<td>Handbook on the nature of the Lord’s Supper + how to prepare for it, with suitable prayers; price 3d. or 2os. a 100 if copies to be given away (1700).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The deadmans song</td>
<td>[1625?]–[1700?]</td>
<td>17220-5 + D4888-89AB</td>
<td>Ballad containing a vision of the bliss of heaven + the sufferings of various categories of sinner in hell.</td>
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<td>[Delaune, Thomas]</td>
<td>A plea for the non-conformists /Dr Sacheverel’s recantation</td>
<td>1684–1720</td>
<td>D893–93A + BLC + ESTC; TC iii. 444, 560</td>
<td>Open letter which became ‘the standard Baptist apology’ (DNB); 1st edn. burnt; price 1s. 6d. (1705), 1s. (1707).</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon./ [Deloney, Thomas]</td>
<td>The most rare and excellent history of the Dutchess of Suffolks calamity</td>
<td>[c.1635]–1695</td>
<td>6557-8 + D958A–59bA</td>
<td>Ballad on the adventures of the Suffolks in Germany while fleeing from Marian England.</td>
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<td>Denison, John</td>
<td>A three-fold resolution, verie necessarie to salvation</td>
<td>1603–30</td>
<td>6595-7–97.7</td>
<td>Very long treatise on the vanity of earth, the horror of hell, + the felicity of heaven.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denison, Stephen</td>
<td>A compendious catechisme</td>
<td>[c.1618]–1632</td>
<td>6599–600</td>
<td>A catechism for children + servants to learn before taking communion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The monument or tombe-stone</td>
<td>1619–31</td>
<td>6603.5–6.5</td>
<td>Funeral sermon on text (John 7: 3–4) chosen on her deathbed by the deceased, who found 20 ‘marks’ wrought by the Holy Spirit on her.</td>
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<td>——</td>
<td>The plaine mans path-way to heaven [part 1]</td>
<td>1601–82</td>
<td>6626–37 + D10528–61a; TC i. 182</td>
<td>Dialogue for ‘the ignorant + vulgar sort’ on the means to salvation; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1674).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>The ruine of Rome: or an exposition upon the whole Revelation</td>
<td>1603–56</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6640–46.2 + D1957–9</td>
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<td>A pastime for parents/A recreation . . . conteyning the grounds of</td>
<td>1606–37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6622–5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Christian religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>[A sermon of] Christes miracles, delivered in a sermon</td>
<td>1608–17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6613–15</td>
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<td>A platforme/A sermon of Gods providence</td>
<td>1608–29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6646.7–49.3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>The opening of heaven gates.</td>
<td>1610–24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6619–21</td>
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<td>A sermon preached at the Tower of London [11.12.1569]</td>
<td>[1570?]–89</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6694–8</td>
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<td>A sermon preached before the Quenes maiestie [25.2.1570]</td>
<td>[1570?]–1603</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>6699–710 (+ in Works)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXVII lectures, or readings, upon part of the epistle to the Hebrues</td>
<td>1576–1614</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>6726–31.5 (+ in Works)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Godlye private praiers for houholders in theyr families</td>
<td>1576–1624</td>
<td>9+</td>
<td>6884.5–90 (+ in Works + next).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A brief and necessary [catechisme or] instruction</td>
<td>1572–1614</td>
<td>13+</td>
<td>6679–82.3 (+ in Dering’s Works)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A short catechisme for houholders with praiers/ [and] the prooves of</td>
<td>1580–1634</td>
<td>27+</td>
<td>6710.5–24.5</td>
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<td>the scripture</td>
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</table>

**Treatise;** an exposition of Revelation which becomes increasingly anti-Catholic as it develops.

**Dialogue** for parents to use with children ‘for recreation’ to teach them the basics of the faith.

**Sermon** on John 9: 16 on Christ’s miracles + the uses thereof.

**Sermon** on divine providence.

**Dialogue** between ‘Reason’ + ‘Religion’ on predestination + free will.

**Sermon** on John 6: 34: Christ as the way to salvation, though some anti-Catholic points also made, + suggestions that the authorities put down sin.

**Sermon** on Ps. 78: 70 condemning the conduct + quality of the parish clergy + vehemently urging the queen to take a care for the ministry.

**Lectures** expounding opening chapters of Epistle to Hebrews chs.1–6; ed. J. Field.

**Prayers;** from 1580 these were often printed with the next but one below.

**Catechism** for domestic use, though probably used in church + school too.

**Catechism,** as last, but with scripture proofs added, + prayers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Publication</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Dérodon, David]</td>
<td>The funeral of the mass</td>
<td>1673–1716</td>
<td>11 + 1 D1121–5 + BLC; TC i. 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The devout communicant exemplified</td>
<td>[1670]–1714</td>
<td>10 D1244A–446, (+ 1?) BLC, + ESTC; TC i. 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The devout companion</td>
<td>–1699–1721</td>
<td>24 S2450A + BLC; TC ii. 215, 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewsbury, William</td>
<td>The discovery of mans returne to his first estate</td>
<td>1654–[1665?]</td>
<td>6? D1259–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diodati, Giovanni</td>
<td>Pious [and learned] annotations upon the holy bible</td>
<td>1643–64</td>
<td>4 (+3) D1509A–10, + D1506–508A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>A directory for the publike worship of God in the three kingdomes</td>
<td>1644–60</td>
<td>15+? D1543A–53A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The doctrine of the Bible</td>
<td>1602–1726–34 (+?) 3022.7–32.5, D1771A–73B, + BLC; TC i. 988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Dod, John (+ Cleaver, Robert)]</td>
<td>A plaine and familiar exposition of / treatise . . . upon the ten commandements</td>
<td>1603–62</td>
<td>19 (+2) 6967–79 + D1786A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Polemical **treatise** against the mass, translated from the French; price 1s., bd. (1673). Devotional work on how to prepare ourselves for **communion**, largely in the form of meditations + prayers; price 1s., bd. (1670); conflated by Arber (TC iii. 164) and Wing* (S2450) with A. Seller’s *Devout communicant assisted*. **Prayers + meditations** for every day of the week + other occasions, and for different groups; 1st edns. 1688, price 6d.; attributed to A. Seller by Arber (TC ii. 216) and Wing* (S2450A), but 1715 has preface signed E.S. (Edw. Synge?). **Tract** saying we cannot hide from God, so must do something about it; also urges fellow Friends to stay firm. **Aid to bible study** notes to help expound ‘the most difficult places’ of the scriptures, by a Geneva divinity professor; R. G. translated different edns. of this work in 1642 + 1648. Issued by presbyterians to replace the Book of Common Prayer as the new **official** basis of worship. **An aid to bible study** in question- and-answer form; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1680); cf. E. Paget (1603), and Way*, below. Long **treatise** on the doctrines + uses of the Decalogue as a basis for godly living.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Mr. Dod’s sayings</td>
<td>Dod, John</td>
<td>1667–1681</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>D1783–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devotions upon emergent occasions</td>
<td>Donne, John</td>
<td>1624–36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7033–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A treatise concerning the lords supper</td>
<td>Doolittle, Thomas</td>
<td>1667–1726</td>
<td>27 (+?)</td>
<td>D1899–1905A + BLC; TC i. 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A call to delaying sinners</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>–1698–1720</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>D1880A + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform’d devotions, in meditations, hymns, + petitions</td>
<td>[Dorrington, Theophilus]</td>
<td>1686–1727</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>D1945–9 + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A familiar guide to the right and profitable receiving of the lord’s supper</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1695–1718</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>D1936–7 + BLC; TC iii. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A brief concordance to the Bible of the last translation/A concordance</td>
<td>Downname, John</td>
<td>1630–1726</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>7125.5–30 + D2065–73 + ESTC; TC i. 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Christians defence against the fears of death</td>
<td>Drelincourt, Charles</td>
<td>1675–1719</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>D2160–60bA + BLC; TC i. 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- **preparation for communion:**
- **meditations,** **expostulations** + **prayers**
- **Lord’s Supper**
- **Aid to bible study:** concordance to the King James translation of the Bible; price 10d., bd. (1671).
- Very long treatise on coping with the prospect of death; includes prayers + meditations, + advice on godly living; price 6s., bd. (1675); 28th edn. 1811.
Drexelius, Hieremias  The considerations of Drexelius upon eternity (tr. R. Winterton)  1632–1724  21?  7235–7 +D2169–81 + BLC + NUC
Long treatise (by a German Jesuit) on the nature of eternity + how to meditate upon it; often printed with illustrative plates.

Dryden, John  The state of innocence and fall of man  1677–1703  10+?  D2372–8 + BLC + Bodleian; TC i. 266
An ‘opera written in heroic verse’ on the temptation of Adam + Eve in Eden; price 1s., stitched (1677)

——  Religio laici: or the layman’s faith  1682–1710–  5+  D2342–5 + BLC
Verse written (according to author) to defend true, revealed religion against deism.

Du Moulin, Peter (the younger)  A vindication of the sincerity of the Protestant religion  1664–79  4 + 1  D2571–74
Treatise denouncing rebellion against sovereigns; more historical + polemical than doctrinal.

Duppa, Brian  Holy rules and helps to devotion both in prayer and practice  1673–1707  8+  D2660A–60G + BLC; TC i. 162
A handbook, of which pt. 1 states what prayer is + how to pray properly (with supporting examples), + pt. 2 provides prayers for various occasions; price 1s., bd. (1674).

Sermons on various topics ‘printed for the use of private families, especially his friends in Devon’.

Dyke, Daniel  The mystery of self-deceiving  1614–51  14  7398–406 + D2939–59aA
Long treatise (finished by brother Jeremiah) on how to tell if our hearts are deceiving us; some eds. had 2 ‘tables’ to help enlighten readers.

——  Two treatises. The one of repentance, the other, of Christ’s temptations  1616–35  6  7408–9a
Two treatises (published by brother Jeremiah): first urges daily repentance + explains how; second shows how Christ defeated Satan’s temptations.

Dyke, Jeremiah  Good conscience  1624–35  6  7415–18
Long treatise on the ‘nature, means, marks, benefit, + necessity’ of a good conscience, + how to keep it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Editions</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A worthy communicant</td>
<td>1635–96</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7429–31 + D2961–66; TC i. 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[E., R.]</td>
<td>A scriptural catechism</td>
<td>1676–1729</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>E32–4 + 36, + BLC; TC i. 396, iii. 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Eachard, John]</td>
<td>The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy</td>
<td>1670–98</td>
<td>10 + 2</td>
<td>E50–6 + BLC (+ in Works); TC i. 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>Some observations upon the answer</td>
<td>1671–1705</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>E60–3 + BLC (+ in Works); TC i. 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle, John</td>
<td>Micro-cosmographie</td>
<td>1628–76</td>
<td>12+</td>
<td>7439–45 + E89–93A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E[genton], S[tephen]</td>
<td>A briefe methode of catechising</td>
<td>–1594±1671</td>
<td>45+</td>
<td>Christian's ABC, 640–1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>Eikon basilike. The pourtraicture of his sacred maiestie</td>
<td>1648–85</td>
<td>50+?</td>
<td>E268–311B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ellis, Clement]</td>
<td>The gentile sinner; or England's brave gentleman</td>
<td>1660–90</td>
<td>7 (+3)</td>
<td>E556–62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellis, John</td>
<td>Articulorum XXXIX . . . defensio</td>
<td>–1694–1709</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>E581 + Bodleian + BLC + ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elton, Edward</td>
<td>A forme of catechizing</td>
<td>1616–34</td>
<td>10?</td>
<td>7615–18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very long handbook on the duties of a communicant before, during + after the Lord's Supper; price 1s., bd. (1674). Variied catechetical material (including Whole duty of man in questions + answers) + prayers; price 6d. (1678); 10,000 copies sold by 1698. Controversial open letter on the shortcomings of the clergy + the contempt into which this brings religion; price 1s., bd. (1670). Follow-up to the last, but much more flippant + satirical; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1671). A ‘character’ book: essays on a number of social + moral types. Mostly catechetical: 6 forms in its best-selling version; also has prose rules, + verses. Polemic treatise with strong religious + devotional overtones. Open letter to ‘a friend’ saying too few gentlemen are sincere Christians. Treatise defending the 39 Articles, in Latin; later, enlarged edns. were published in 1720 + 1729. Long catechism based on 6 principles; later edns. included an abridgement.
### ENGLAND, CHURCH OF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Injunctions geven by the kynges maiestie</td>
<td>1547</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Official instructions for the running of the Edwardian church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injunctions geven by the quenes maiestie</td>
<td>[1559]–1600</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ditto for the Elizabethan church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles whereupon it was agreed/agreed upon by the archbishops</td>
<td>[1563?]–1720</td>
<td>49+?</td>
<td>The 39 Articles: the officially agreed statement of faith, revised by 1571; still printed in black letter in late 17th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eusebius (Pamphili, Bishop) The auncient ecclesiaccall histories</td>
<td>1577–1676</td>
<td>6+4</td>
<td>Treatise: history of the first six centuries of the Christian era taken from Eusebius + others, with translator’s notes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everinden, Humphrey The reward of the wicked</td>
<td>1625–35</td>
<td>5+?</td>
<td>Sermon (on 1st half of Matt. 25: 46): why the wicked will be punished in hell, + the uses to be made of this; preached in Sussex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The recompense of the righteous</td>
<td>–1626–35</td>
<td>6?</td>
<td>Sermon (on 2nd half of Matt. 25: 46) on the happiness of the righteous in the next world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A collection of certaine promises/The saints legacies</td>
<td>1629–88</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Treatise consisting of a series of scripture texts containing God’s promises to the elect, arranged under suitable headings + with some comments, for the people of God to read.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the works listed below some sets of visitation articles + forms of prayer may have been printed five times or more in a thirty-year period. See also above or below s. v. Bible, Homilies, + Psalms.
Faust, Johann  
*The historie of the damnable life, and deserved death of doctor John Faustus (tr. P. R., gent.)*  
1592–[1700?]  
13?  
Cautionary tale (translated from a German original), as ‘an example + warning’ to all good Christians; (also the subject of a ballad).

Featley, Daniel  
*Ancilla pietatis: or, the hand-maid to private devotion*  
1625/6–75  
9  
10725–9 + F577–9; TC i. 213  
Very long devotional handbook on how to prepare for one’s devotions, hearing sermons, + taking communion, with prayers for daily use + special occasions, hymns, + a catechism; price 4s., bd. (1675).

——  
*Katabaptistoi . . . The dippers dipt*  
1645–60  
7 + 1 F585–90λ  
Polemical treatise against the Baptists on immersion, believer’s baptism, etc; some edns. contain large illustration.

Feltham, Owen  
*Resolves divine, morall, politicall*  
1623–1709  
12  
10755–61 + F654–8 (+ 4) + BLC; TC i. 40  
Two ‘centuries’ of short essays of moralistic kind, in part more classical than scriptural in inspiration; price 10s., bd. (1670).

Fenner, William  
*A divine message to the elect soule*  
1645–76  
4 + 7 F685–898; TC i. 285  
8 sermons on various subjects, including meditation + self-examination before communicating; price 2s., bd. (1677).

——  
*Wilfull impenitency*  
1648–58  
5+ F712–16 (+ *Works*)  
Treatise on why the wicked cannot + will not repent; + why we must make use of all the means we may.

[Fenton, Edward]  
*So shorte a catechisme, that whosoever cannot*  
[c. 1582]–1662  
12?  
10782–92.8–95.5 + F718–188  
Best-selling of the very short catechisms, designed especially for those about to receive communion.

F[erne], H[enery]  
*The resolving of conscience upon this question*  
1642–3  
5? F800–804  
Polemical tract: no man can in conscience take up arms against the king.

[Fisher, Edward]  
*The marrow of modern divinity*  
1645–1721  
10 (+ 1) F996–988 + BLC  
Dialogue between four characters on the covenants of works + grace; author sought a middle way between ‘Antinomists’ and ‘Legalists’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Format</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Christian caveat</td>
<td></td>
<td>1650–55</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>F989–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The wise virgin</td>
<td>Fisher, James</td>
<td>1653–64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>F1004–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A saint indeed; or the great work of a Christian opened and pressed</td>
<td>Flavel[l], John</td>
<td>1668–1729</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>F1187–94 + BLC + NUC; TC i. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A new compass)/Navigation spiritualiz’d</td>
<td></td>
<td>[1664]–1677</td>
<td>7 (+ 2)</td>
<td>F1174, F1171–73A, + BLC; TC i. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husbandry spiritualized: or the heavenly use of earthly things</td>
<td></td>
<td>1669–1724</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>F1165–8 + NUC + ESTC; TC i. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The diamond of devotion, cut and squared into six several points</td>
<td>Fleming, Abraham</td>
<td>1581–1608</td>
<td>5 +</td>
<td>11041–5 (+ cf. 11039–40); TC ii. 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To all that would know the way to the kingdom</td>
<td>[Fox, George]</td>
<td>1653–91</td>
<td>5 (+ 3)</td>
<td>F1942–47A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A paper sent forth into the world</td>
<td></td>
<td>1654–[59]</td>
<td>7?</td>
<td>F1872–76A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God</td>
<td></td>
<td>–1660–84</td>
<td>5?</td>
<td>F1786–9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Polemical treatise on keeping the sabbath, Christmas, Easter, etc.
- Uplifting biography of the miraculous recovery + powers of a seven-year old girl, Martha Hatfield.
- Treatise (based on Prov. 4: 23) on the importance of keeping the heart free from fear + anger, + how God will refresh + reward upright hearts; price 1s. (1675).
- Mixture of advice on godly living for seamen built around 32 compass points, with verses + comments, + a short catechism, prayers, etc; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1670).
- Mixture of edification + diversion, through e.g. verses, hives of ‘bees’ (‘Be merciful’, ‘Be obedient’), hymns, songs, etc; price 1s. (1691).
- Tract warning those who live in sin + hate the light to repent.
- Polemical tract on why Quakers reject the regular ministry + its views.
- Tract in which Quakers deny they are plotters + say they are guided by Christ’s spirit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F[ox], G[eorge] and H[ooke], E[llis]</td>
<td>A primer and catechism for children/ Instructions for right spelling</td>
<td>1670–1700</td>
<td>Composite: designed to teach children how to read (primer) + basic religious knowledge (catechism).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox, John</td>
<td>Time and the end of time</td>
<td>[1664?]–1720</td>
<td>Discourses: on how to spend one’s time best, + considering one’s latter end; perhaps sermons originally; price 1s., bd. (1669); translated into Welsh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foxe, John</td>
<td>A sermon of Christ crucified</td>
<td>1570–1609</td>
<td>Sermon delivered at Paul’s Cross on Good Friday (much longer in the printed version) on 2 Cor. 5: the benefits we receive from Christ crucified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulke, William</td>
<td>A sermon preached at Hampton Court [12.11.1570]</td>
<td>1570–9</td>
<td>Sermon proving Rome to be Babylon, the church of the Antichrist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, Thomas</td>
<td>Good thoughts in bad times</td>
<td>1645–80</td>
<td>Improving thoughts, often scriptural in origin, in the form of ‘meditations’ from 1649 published with Good thoughts in worse times; price 1s., bd. (1670).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>A godlie gardeine, out of which the most comfortable herbs may be gathered</td>
<td>1569–1640</td>
<td>Devotional: confessions, prayers, ‘psalms’, etc, for daily use, preceded by a calendar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gataker, Thomas</td>
<td>. . . his vindication of the annotations by him published</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td>Polemical treatise replying to criticisms of his predictions from Jer. 10: 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauden, John</td>
<td>The whole duty of a communicant</td>
<td>–1685–1723</td>
<td>Handbook on how to prepare for worthy reception of the sacrament, with prayers, ejaculations, + meditations; price 1s., bd. (1681); value of attribution to Gauden unclear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G[ee], J[ohn] Steps of ascension unto God 1625–36(37) 6? 11706.4–6.6

Geree, John The character of an old English Puritane, or non-conformist 1646–72 6 G589–93

Gerhard, Johann The meditations/Gerhards meditations 1627–1695 12 11772–79.5 + G609D-12; TC i. 39 + 12

—— . . . meditaciones sacrae – 1633–72 6 11770–1 + G609–9c

[Geveren, Sheltco à] Of the ende of this world, and seconde commyng of Christ 1577–89 9 11803–47

Gifford, George A brief discourse of certaine points 1581–1612 7 11845–47.5

[Glanvill, Joseph] An earnest invitation to the sacrament 1674–1720 10 G802–7 + ESTC; (+ 3) TC i. 157

Godwin/Godwyn, Thomas Moses and Aaron. Civil and ecclesiastical rites 1625–86 12 + 4 11951–55 + G976–848


—— The penitent pardoned 1679–1724 8 G1115–19 + BLC + ESTC

[——] A winter evenings conference between neighbours [pts. 1 + 2] 1684–1720 11 G1129–37 + BLC

Prayers + meditations for each day of the week + for other occasions, providing ‘a ladder to heaven’.

Tract defending puritans as moderate but zealous Christians.

Meditations on a wide variety of themes, each preceded by a couplet, + prayers for daily use; published with translation of Gerhard’s Prayers from 1631; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1673). Latin original of last.

Treatise prophesying the destruction of the world + Last Judgement, + warning against ‘security’; tr. by Thos. Rogers.

Dialogue used to attack ‘country divinity’. Handbook on nature of communion + reasons for participating; with prayers; price 1s., bd. (1673). Technical treatise on Jewish customs.

Long treatise on the causes of the present neglect of Protestantism, + reasons to conform to the established church; price 2s. 6d., bd. (1674).

Long treatise, expounding the parable of the prodigal son; with illustrations.

Dialogue between fictitious characters, denouncing the sins of the age + urging Christian virtue on the ‘better ranks of men’; pt. 3 followed in 1686.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Published</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin, Thomas</td>
<td>A childe of light walking in darkness</td>
<td>1636–59</td>
<td>$6</td>
<td>12037–8 + G1230–31A Long treatise on why God leaves his children to distress of conscience, + how to escape this condition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The returne of prayers</td>
<td>1636–59</td>
<td>$9</td>
<td>12040–2 + G1253A–55A Treatise on the importance of prayer, God's response to it, + how to deal with apparent lack of success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The vanity of thoughts discovered</td>
<td>1637–50</td>
<td>$5</td>
<td>12043a–44.5 + G1264–65 Treatise condemning vain thoughts as sinful + abominable, + offering some remedies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Christ set forth in his death, resurrection, ascension</td>
<td>1642–53</td>
<td>$8</td>
<td>G1232–6 Treatise on Rom. 8: 34: Christ is the cause of our justification + the object of justifying faith; the uses of this. Short treatise on John 6: 37–8, expounding the readiness of God + Christ to welcome + pardon sinners.</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Encouragements to faith. Drawn from several engagements</td>
<td>1642–50</td>
<td>$5</td>
<td>G1241–44 Short treatise warning the saints of the need to repent at once, + the regenerate to perform their duties; price 2s., bd. (1672).</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Gordon, James]</td>
<td>A request to Roman Catholicks to answer the queries</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>$5</td>
<td>G1282–83A Long treatise comprising a series of long, loaded questions on the usual issues of controversy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gouge, Thomas</td>
<td>Christian directions, shewing how to walk with God</td>
<td>1661–729</td>
<td>$12</td>
<td>G1359–66a + BLC + ESTC; TC i. 130 Long treatise on godly living, drawn up for his London parishioners; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1673). Catechism, much extended by 1675.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>The principles of Christian religion</td>
<td>1668–84</td>
<td>$9</td>
<td>G1371–6 Catechism, much extended by 1675. Short treatise on godly living aimed at the young; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1670).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>A word to sinners, and a word to saints</td>
<td>1668–91</td>
<td>$8</td>
<td>G1379–84; TC i. 123 Short treatise on godly living aimed at the young; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1670).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The young man’s guide, through the wilderness of this world</td>
<td>1670–96</td>
<td>$5</td>
<td>G1385–88a; TC i. 48 Catechism to help prepare for communion; with prayers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
 mark Panoplia . . . The whole-armor of God 1616–47 6 12122–3 (+12109 + 12110.5) + G1400

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Price</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greenham, Richard</td>
<td>The works (collected by H[enry] H[olland])</td>
<td>1599–1612</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12312–18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greenwood, Henry</td>
<td>A treatise of the great and generall daye of judgement</td>
<td>1606–14–5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12337–37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G[riffith], E[van]</td>
<td>Pax vobis, or ghospell and libertie</td>
<td>1679–87–5</td>
<td>5 (+1)</td>
<td>G1990–94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grotius, Hugo</td>
<td>A fiery pillar of heavenly truth . . . de veritate religionis Christianae</td>
<td>1641–63</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>G2070–5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grotius, Hugo</td>
<td>Hugonis Grotii baptizatorum puerorum institutio</td>
<td>1647–1706</td>
<td>11?</td>
<td>G2086–92A + Bodleian; TC i. 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greenwood, Henry</td>
<td>A treatise of the great and generall daye of judgement</td>
<td>1606–14–5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12337–37.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sermons** on Ephes. 6: 10–20, on the armour of God which can be put on to fight against the devil.

Greenham's collected works, which sold more in this format than as single titles; a composite volume, with 'counsels', especially for those afflicted in conscience; sermons; treatises; + a catechism; rearranged + supplemented in 1612 edn.

Short treatise (based on Matt. 12: 36) on the account we must all give on the Day of Judgement.

5, rising to 7 'tractates' (formerly sermons) on various topics which sold better in this combined form than individually.

Anti-Catholic dialogues between 'Ismael' + 'Isaac'; attributed to J. Gordon (q. v.) in DNB.

**Catechism** on the ordo salutis.

**Treatise** in 6 books (in Latin) proving the existence of God + the truth of Christianity compared to other religions.

**Catechetical** work in Latin + Greek; early edns. also had a verse translation in English; price 2s., bd. (1669).

Translation of the *De veritate religionis* (above) with an extra book added by Patrick on the falseness of Roman Catholic teaching.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gurnall, William</td>
<td>The Christian in compleat armour</td>
<td>1655–79</td>
<td>4 +2</td>
<td>G2251–52D (+ cf. G2253–57A); TC i. 22 Sermons turned into very long treatise, in 3 parts, expounding Ephes. 6: 10–18, on the spiritual armour needed to fight the Devil; price 16s., bd. (1669).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habermann, Johann (tr. T. Rogers)</td>
<td>The enimie of securitie</td>
<td>1579–1620</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12582.2–82.19 Several prayers for each day of the week ‘drawn out of the scriptures’ by a Lutheran professor at Wittenberg. Tract on predestination, for those of ‘meaneast capacity’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haggar, Henry</td>
<td>The order of causes, of Gods foreknowledge</td>
<td>1652–9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>H188–90 Two large volumes of contemplative essays written after Sunday afternoon sermons to fix the author’s + his children’s thoughts on divine subjects; still very popular in late 18th century; price 5s., bd. (1676).</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Hale, Sir Matthew]</td>
<td>Contemplations moral and divine</td>
<td>1676–1720</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>H225–31A + BLC + ESTC; TC i. 233 Two large volumes of contemplative essays written after Sunday afternoon sermons to fix the author’s + his children’s thoughts on divine subjects; still very popular in late 18th century; price 5s., bd. (1676).</td>
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<tr>
<td>——/Pennyman, John</td>
<td>Some necessary and important considerations</td>
<td>1697–1700</td>
<td>10 +1</td>
<td>H260A–61 Tract ‘freely given away’ by John Pennyman who took the text from Hale’s account of the ‘great audit’ of conscience made by the good steward.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hall, John</td>
<td>Jacob’s ladder: or, the devout souls ascention to heaven</td>
<td>1672–1728-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>H387A–87E + BLC Devotions, + some sacred poems; with suitable illustrations; 19th edn., 1764 (DNB). Private, family and occasional devotions, + some sacred poems; with suitable illustrations; 19th edn., 1764 (DNB).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
<td>Meditations and vowes divine and morall</td>
<td>1605–21</td>
<td>9+?</td>
<td>12679–84 (+ Works) Three ‘centuries’ of improving + uplifting thoughts; other works by Hall were added to later edns. Composite: collected works, in large folios costing 20s. unbd., 28s. bd. in 1634; contents vary from edn. to edn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The works</td>
<td>1624–48</td>
<td>8?</td>
<td>12635–40 + H3618–62A Composite: collected works, in large folios costing 20s. unbd., 28s. bd. in 1634; contents vary from edn. to edn.</td>
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<td>The balme of Gilead</td>
<td>1646–60</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>H365–9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Resolutions and decisions of divers practicall cases of conscience</td>
<td>1649–59</td>
<td>4 (+ 1)</td>
<td>H406–9a</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>Of resisting the lawful magistrate upon colour of religion</td>
<td>1644–7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>H556–9</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>A practical catechisme</td>
<td>1645–1715</td>
<td>15 (+ 8?)</td>
<td>H581–96 + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A paraphrase and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament</td>
<td>1653–1702–1715</td>
<td>7 + 5</td>
<td>H573–7 + ESTC</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is truth?</td>
<td>1670–9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>H685–9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absaloms funerall</td>
<td>1610–35</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>12817–23 (+ cf. <em>Works</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The drunkards cup</td>
<td>1619–29</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>12827–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Page Range</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peters</td>
<td>Enlargement upon the prayers of the church</td>
<td>1624–40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12839.5–46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrison, William +</td>
<td>Deaths advantage little regarded; and The soules solace against sorrow</td>
<td>1601–17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12866–9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leigh, William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hart, John</td>
<td>The burning bush not consumed</td>
<td>1616–85</td>
<td>8?</td>
<td>H925b–25A</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>Christ's first sermon</td>
<td>1656–[80?]</td>
<td>26+</td>
<td>H935–39B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>The charitable Christian</td>
<td>–1658–85</td>
<td>8 + 4</td>
<td>H926–28C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[——] / Jones, Andrew</td>
<td>The dying mans last sermon: or, the fathers last blessing . . .</td>
<td>–1659–[84?]</td>
<td>7 + 5</td>
<td>H945c–45l</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>The dreadful character of a drunkard</td>
<td>–1663–82</td>
<td>30 + 1</td>
<td>H943a–45b</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>A godly sermon of Peter's repentance</td>
<td>–1663–82</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>H955a–54A</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>Christ's last sermon</td>
<td>1663–[1700?]</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>H940a–43</td>
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<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>The plain mans plain path-way to heaven</td>
<td>1664–[80]</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>H956a–c</td>
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<td>[——]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sermon on Acts 12: 6–7 on the power of prayer in affliction + persecution; from 5th edn. a section of questions + answers on prayer was added. Two funeral sermons for the same lady, published partly to clear her name of charges made against her by her popish neighbours.

Dialogue between a minister + a scholar, on how to tell if one is elect.

Sermon on Acts 17: 30–1 urging the need to repent at once.

Sermon on 1 Tim. 6: 17–19 urging the Christian duty of charity, especially by the rich to the poor.

Composite: part tract, part open letter from father to children, on the inevitability of death for all, with ‘comfortable meditations + preparations for the day of death’.

Tract warning of the physical, social, financial, + spiritual dangers of drunkenness.

‘Sermon’ on Mark 14: 68, 70: let us all repent our sins with Peter, before Christ comes again.

‘Sermon’ on John 14: 2–3 on the fate of godly + ungodly in the world to come.

‘Sermon’ on Matt. 7: 13–14: on the need to repent for sin if we wish to be saved.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Copy</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Christians blessed choice</td>
<td>1668–78</td>
<td>16 + 1</td>
<td>H932–4 ‘Sermon’ on Hebr. 11: 25–6 on it being better to suffer with the godly than sin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The school of grace; or, a book of good nurture</td>
<td>–1675–[88]</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>H959d–95e A mixture of advice on godly living, prayers, psalms, a catechism, + a scripture exam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvey, Christopher The synagogue, or, the shadow of the Temple</td>
<td>1640–1709</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12898 + H1045–50 + BLC Verses on the synagogue modelled on Herbert’s Temple, + often published with it from the late 1650s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H., L./Hayward, Sir John The [first and second part of the]</td>
<td>1600–50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13003.5–5a.5 + H1234 Two large collections of meditations by a layman; some edns. had suitable illustrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanctuarie of a troubled soule</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hayward, John Hell’s everlasting flames avoided</td>
<td>[pre-1690?]–1696–1710</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>H1231a + BLC; for date of 1st edn. see preface of next below Composite: pt. 1 is a treatise with elements of soliloquy as a sinner laments his wicked life; pt. 2 provides prayers + praises to help prepare for receiving the sacrament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The horrors and terrors of the hour of death</td>
<td>1690–1707</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>H1231b–c + BLC Mixture of mini-sermons, advice on godly dying, + a number of dreadful warning stories; 21st edn. [1730?] Partly a treatise, but mainly a set of meditations on Christ’s death + sacrifice for mankind; 34th edn. 1731.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The precious blood of the son</td>
<td>–1696–1699</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>H1231d–f + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon. Heavens happiness: or a brief epitome</td>
<td>–[1628?]–1632</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13018.5–18.7 Tract on the happy state of God’s saints in heaven; 1st surviving edn. the 7th. Short treatise stating the case for reformation of manners in England + elsewhere; from the 5th edn. an ‘account of the progress’ made was tacked on.</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon. A help to a national reformation</td>
<td>1700–1720</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>H1404–4b + Bodleian + ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>A help to prayer for the catechised youth of the Church of England</td>
<td>1678–86</td>
<td>6 + 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hemmingsen, Niels</td>
<td>A postill, or exposition of the gospels</td>
<td>1569–[85]</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henshaw, Joseph</td>
<td>Horae succisivae, or, spare-hours of meditations</td>
<td>–1631–61</td>
<td>7 (+ 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert, George</td>
<td>The temple. Sacred poems and private ejaculations</td>
<td>1633–1709–</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrey, Robert F</td>
<td>Two right profitable and fruitfull concordances</td>
<td>1578–1622</td>
<td>29?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hieron, Samuel</td>
<td>The doctrine of the beginning of Christ</td>
<td>1606–58</td>
<td>16 + 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>A helpe unto devotion</td>
<td>–1612–50</td>
<td>21 + 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The workes/[All] the sermons</td>
<td>1614–34</td>
<td>6?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill, Robert</td>
<td>Christ's prayer expounded/The pathway to prayer/pietie</td>
<td>1606–41</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A very short set of **prayers** designed for the young or less educated, in a cheap black-letter format.

Very large **treatise** providing short expositions of over 70 gospel readings used in the church.

Series of **improving** + uplifting **thoughts** on duties to God, others + ourselves; much enlarged in 1633.

Herbert’s famous set of **poems** built around the idea of entering a church; price 1s. 6d. bd. (1635).

**Aid to bible study**: concordances to the Geneva Bible, one on the meaning of words in ancient languages, the other listing the ‘principal words + matters’ in English.

Short, heavily scriptural **catechism**, with list of duties for all ranks.

Large collection of **prayers** for all persons + occasions.

Collected **sermons**, the great majority on Ps. 51 on penance for sin, + other items which varied according to the edn. (see note in STC on this); price 13s. 4d., unbd. (1635).

**Composite**: 1st edns. had two dialogues (on prayer, + godly living) + a catechism; later edns had enlarged catechism + extra dialogue on godly dying.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hill, William</td>
<td>The first principles of a Christian</td>
<td>1616–[39?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The history of the seven wise maisters of Rome</td>
<td>−1576–[1700?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H[obar], L[eonard]</td>
<td>Index Biblicus multijugus</td>
<td>1668–72</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HOMILIES</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Certaine sermons, or homilies [Book I]</td>
<td></td>
<td>1547–1640</td>
<td>36 13638.5–61</td>
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<tr>
<td>The second tome of homelyes [Book II]</td>
<td></td>
<td>1563–1640</td>
<td>20 13663–77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hooker, Richard</td>
<td>Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie [Books 1–4, + 5 from 1597]</td>
<td>[1593]–1639</td>
<td>7+ 13712–20 (+ cf. Works: H2630–3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Hooker, Thomas]</td>
<td>The soules preparation for Christ, or a treatise of contrition</td>
<td>1632–58</td>
<td>7+ 22503, 13735–8 + H2656–7 + TC i. 166</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The poor doubting Christian drawne to Christ</td>
<td>−1635–1700</td>
<td>12 (+1) 13726.2–26.8 + H2651b–53; + TC i. 166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Catechism** based on Prayer Book catechism.

Medieval **allegory** with a Christian slant revised in 1576 (by T. Green); for the ‘ignorant’; printed in black letter with cheap woodcuts.

**Aid to bible study**: abridgement of O. + N. T., harmony of gospels, explanations, parallels, chronology, etc; price 6d. (1668).

**Officially** approved set of homilies.

Second + much larger volume of the same. This + last above cost 5s., bd. (1623).

Last two published as one title.

**Treatise** defending the established church in England: opening books only; price 6s. 6d. unbound (1617)

Later parts of the same. All 8 books cost 20s., bd. in 1676: TC i. 230.

Long **treatise** (formerly sermons) on contrition as part of the process of conversion.

Long sermon/treatise on the main hindrances preventing men from turning to Christ + the special helps for recovering God’s favour; price is., bd. (1674).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The poor doubting Christian</td>
<td>1669–83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>C26–26B; TC i. 166</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[abridged version]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abridged form of the last.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hopkins, Thomas</td>
<td>Two sermons upon the XII chapter of Hebrewes/Two godlie and profitable sermons</td>
<td>1609–23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13770–73</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Like Dorrington's Reform'd devotions (q.v.), this is an adaptation of a Catholic devotional work of the same name by J. Austin; 'psalms, hymns, + prayers' for each day of the week and holy days; with a long approving preface by Geo. Hickes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Hopton, Susanna]</td>
<td>Devotions in the ancient way of offices</td>
<td>1700–1717</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>A4250b–c, + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hornbeck, Anthony</td>
<td>The great law of consideration: or a discourse</td>
<td>1677–1729</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>H2833–37c + BLC; TC i. 251</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>The happy ascetick: or the best exercises together with prayers</td>
<td>1681–1724</td>
<td>6 (+ 1)</td>
<td>H2839–43 + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Very large treatise on 'ordinary exercises of godliness' with suitable prayers.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The fire of the altar: or, certain directions</td>
<td>1683–1724</td>
<td>14+</td>
<td>H2826–9 + BLC; TC ii. 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Mixture of an instructive dialogue + prayers designed to 'raise the soul into holy flames' before receiving the sacrament; price 1s., bd. (1687).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Lewis</td>
<td>The crucified Jesus: or a full account of the nature</td>
<td>1686–1727</td>
<td>7 (+ 4)</td>
<td>H2821–4 + BLC + ESTC</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Very large handbook on how to prepare for communion, with a large number of prayers + meditations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Common-Prayer Book the best companion in the house and closet as well as in the temple</td>
<td>1686–1725</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>H3130a–33b + BLC + ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howell, William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A manual of prayers built around elements taken from the official liturgy, for use in the home; 21st edn. 1758.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Lewis</td>
<td>Certaine grievances well worthy the serious consideration</td>
<td>–1640–43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(13917)–13917.5 + H3314–15A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dialogue between a gentleman + a minister; denounces 'errors' in the Book of Common Prayer + bishops’ actions in the 1630s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hunnis, William</td>
<td>Seven sobs of a sorrowful soul for sinne</td>
<td>1583–1636</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mixture of penitential psalms in metre, prayers, meditations, verses, + dialogues – much of it set to music; price 8d. unbd. (1583).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutchins, Edward</td>
<td>David's sling against great Goliath</td>
<td>1581–1615</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mixture of prayers for various occasions, short treatises on different topics, + a dialogue; price 1s. 3d. (1581).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inett, John</td>
<td>A guide to the devout Christian</td>
<td>1688–1728–</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Composite: prayers + meditations for every day for individuals + families, + a treatise on the necessity of frequent reception of the sacrament; price 2s. (1705).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A guide to repentance</td>
<td>1692–1720–</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Short treatise on repentance, often published with later eds. of last title above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The institution of a christen man</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Official exposition of Creed, sacraments, et al, also known as the Bishops’ Book; Lutheran in origin but much modified to meet conservative objections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The institution of a christen man</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Official exposition of Creed, sacraments, et al, also known as the Bishops’ Book; Lutheran in origin but much modified to meet conservative objections.</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
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<td>1537</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Official exposition of Creed, sacraments, et al, also known as the Bishops’ Book; Lutheran in origin but much modified to meet conservative objections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>Heaven upon earth; or the best friend in the worst of times</td>
<td>1667–1710–</td>
<td>7 + 1</td>
<td>Catechism; price 2d. (1682). Long treatise (a greatly expanded sermon) on how to get to know your best friend – God; price 3s., bd. (1669).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Editions</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janeway, James</td>
<td>A murderer punished and pardoned/A warning to youth</td>
<td>1668–1720</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Cautionary tale (sometimes attributed to Richard Alleine) of Thos.</td>
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<td>Savage’s murder of a fellow servant, + his subsequent conversion;</td>
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<td>later edns. suitably illustrated.</td>
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<td>Funeral sermon (on Rev. 14: 13) for Thos. Mowsley, with a brief</td>
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<td>biography + a dialogue with a minister in which Mowsley described</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>his conversion; price 1s., bd. (1671).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>An edifying biography of his elder brother John Janeway; price 1s.,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bd. (1673).</td>
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<td>Jekyll, Thomas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A brief and plain exposition of the church-catechism</td>
<td>1690–1700</td>
<td>3 (± 2?)</td>
<td>Catechism based on Prayer Book catechism; price 6d. (1692).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>A very long treatise designed to prove the truth of Christianity + the</td>
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<td>authority of the scriptures against their critics; price 5s. (1700).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A large collection of prayers, for all occasions, designed by a</td>
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<td>minister for his parishioners to use; price 2s. 6d. (1708); 24th</td>
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<td></td>
<td>edn. 1802.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>An edifying biography of Mrs Sarah Wight with her testimony of what</td>
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<td>the Lord had done for her.</td>
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<td>Official defence of the Elizabethan church, in Latin.</td>
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<td>Open letter from a mother to a child, urging piety, good conduct,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>godly exercises + prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Volume(s)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnson, Robert</td>
<td>Dives and Lazarus</td>
<td>1623–84</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14694–3–94.7 + J28–28A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([Johnson, Samuel])</td>
<td>Julian the Apostate: being a short account of his life . . . Together with a comparison of popery and paganism</td>
<td>1682–9</td>
<td>4 (+ 1)</td>
<td>J829–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Andrew</td>
<td>Morbus Satanicus</td>
<td>–[1656?]–85</td>
<td>36 + 1</td>
<td>J920A–23E</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>The black book of conscience</td>
<td>–1658–1700</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>J904–9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dooms-day: or, the great day</td>
<td>–1660–82</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>J911–13A</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Death triumphant</td>
<td>–1674–81</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>J910–10B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, David</td>
<td>A farewell-sermon</td>
<td>1692–1703</td>
<td>4 + 1</td>
<td>J934E–34H + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph ben Gorion (pseud./[Josippon])</td>
<td>A compendious and most marvellous history/The wonderful and most deplorable history</td>
<td>–1567–1706</td>
<td>25²</td>
<td>14795–805 + J1683–90 + ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keach, Benjamin</td>
<td>Instructions for children: or the child’s and youth’s delight</td>
<td>[1664?]–1723</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>K72A + BLC (+ see Christian’s ABC); TC iii. 444–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Composite: a reading primer, 3 catechisms, precepts + much else; price 6d., bd. (1703).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Sermon** on Luke 16: 19–23 on how the poor will go to heaven + the selfish rich to hell; still in black-letter in 1684, + with eye-catching woodcut. **Treatise:** thinly disguised comparison of Julian with James (II), urging Protestants to defend their church; work was ordered to be burnt 1683; cf. also J821–23A.


A mixture of prose, verse, + image on that irresistible warrior, Death; many are not ready for death, but good Christians should welcome it. **Sermon** on Gal. 4: 16: a minister must speak the truth even at the risk of antagonizing his friends. **Treatise** providing part of Abraham ben David’s abstract of Josephus’s account of the history of the Jews to the fall of Jerusalem.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>War with the devil: or a young man's conflict</td>
<td>1673–1728</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>K103–7 + BLC; TC i. 305&lt;br&gt;Dialogue in verse on the temptations faced by youth (also illustrated), + on true religion; with some hymns; price 1s. 8d., bd. (1678).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sion in distress, or the groans of the Protestant church</td>
<td>1681–92</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>K87–92a&lt;br&gt;Dialogue in verse between Sion, her friend + relations, Christ, Jehovah, etc; partly anti-Catholic polemic, partly condemning the sins of the English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The travels of true godliness, from the beginning of the world</td>
<td>1683–1725</td>
<td>8 + 1</td>
<td>K97–100 + BLC; TC ii. 24&lt;br&gt;An allegory (comparable to Bernard’s + Bunyan’s) recounting the fortunes of ‘True Godliness’ on his travels to Jerusalem; partly in verse; price 1s. (1683); edns. of 10,000 copies claimed (Keeble, Literary Culture, 128).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The progress of sin, or the travels of ungodliness</td>
<td>1684–1724</td>
<td>4 (+ 2)</td>
<td>K80–80A + BLC + NUC; TC ii. 118&lt;br&gt;An allegory interspersed with short verses, dialogues, + illustrations, on the travels + fortunes of ‘Tyrant Sin’—a partner to the last item above; price 1s., bd. (1685).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A manual of prayers for the use of the scholars of Winchester College</td>
<td>1675–1728</td>
<td>21+?</td>
<td>K266–75A + BLC; TC i. 168, 447&lt;br&gt;A mixture of directions, prayers, ejaculations, meditations, + instruction on self-examination; for students; price 6d., stitched (1674), is., bd. (1681).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An exposition on the church-catechism</td>
<td>1685–1718</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>K261–4 + BLC; TC ii. 156&lt;br&gt;An exposition of the Prayer Book catechism using extra questions and answers interspersed with ejaculations; price 6d., stitched (1686).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The measures of Christian obedience</td>
<td>1681–1715</td>
<td>6 (+ 2)</td>
<td>K372–6 + BLC + ESTC; TC iii. 652&lt;br&gt;Very long treatise on Christian obedience + the rules of godly living that the regenerate must follow; price 6s. (1709).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Editions</td>
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<td>——</td>
<td>An help and exhortation to worthy communicating</td>
<td>1683–1717</td>
<td>8+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidder, Richard</td>
<td>The young man’s duty</td>
<td>1671–90</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Hallelu-iah</td>
<td>1617–35</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>King, John</td>
<td>Lectures upon Jonas</td>
<td>1597–1618</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, William</td>
<td>The straight gate to heaven</td>
<td>1616–36</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, William (archbishop)</td>
<td>A discourse concerning the inventions of men</td>
<td>1694–1726</td>
<td>7+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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L., T. –see below s. v. L[upton], T[homas] |
Lake, Edward | Officium eucharisticum. A preparatory exercise | 1673–1699 | 18+ | L188A–92D; TC i. 181 |

A ‘little manual of directions + prayers for the holy communion’, written for a person of quality but now made more widely available; price of 2nd, enlarged edn. (1674) 1s., bd.; 30th edn. 1753.

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Large handbook on the sacrament, trying especially to remove the doubts or excuses offered by many for not partaking; price 3s., bd. (1683).

**Treatise** on true repentance, urging on the young the necessity of seeking the Lord at once; price 1s., bd. (1676); 11th edn. 1758.

**Cautionary tale** of Kilby’s own spiritual odyssey, combining self-accusation + exhortation to others not to do the same.

**Mixture** of warning story, similar to the last, with ‘rules’, prayers, + his own metrical version of some psalms. 38 sermons on the first 3 chs. of Jonah, delivered at York in 1594; + Abp. Piers’s funeral sermon.

**Sermon** on Luke 13: 14 preached to the prisoners in the ‘King’s Bench common jail’; urging repentance + following God’s ways.

**Treatise** comparing conformist + nonconformist ways of worshipping (to the latter’s discredit); written for use in an Irish diocese.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Langhorne, Mary sitting at</td>
<td>Funeral sermon for Mrs Mary Swain (on Luke 10: 42) urging gentlewomen</td>
<td>1611–33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The collected sermons of the Marian martyr, on various texts + themes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancelot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Despite change of title, this is predomantly the same work: a sequence of prayers from Sunday to Saturday, with other prayers, + paraphrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latimer, Hugh</td>
<td>27 sermons preached by the ryght reverende . . .</td>
<td>1562–1636</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>The collected sermons of the Marian martyr, on various texts + themes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laud, William</td>
<td>A summarie of devotions/The daily office</td>
<td>1667–1705</td>
<td>6+?</td>
<td>Despite change of title, this is predomantly the same work: a sequence of prayers from Sunday to Saturday, with other prayers, + paraphrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leigh, Dorothy</td>
<td>The mothers blessing; or, the godly counsaile of a gentle-woman</td>
<td>1616–74</td>
<td>23?</td>
<td>Long treatise in the guise of an open letter to a friend on the 4 rules that will infallibly prove the truth of the Christian religion against deists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Leslie, Charles]</td>
<td>A short and easie method with the deists</td>
<td>1698–1726</td>
<td>8 + 1</td>
<td>Polemical treatise on toleration, church discipline, obedience to crown, et al., in reply to an attack on his own works (cf. L1260–4, 1321–3A, etc); price 6d. (1681).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Espine, Jean de</td>
<td>An excellent treatise of Christian righteousness (tr. J. Field)</td>
<td>1577–84</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Treatise on Christ’s righteousness being our justification, how to appropriate it through faith, + recognize its effects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Estrange, Sir Roger</td>
<td>The dissenter’s sayings</td>
<td>1681–5</td>
<td>4 + 1</td>
<td>Polemical treatise on toleration, church discipline, obedience to crown, et al., in reply to an attack on his own works (cf. L1260–4, 1321–3A, etc); price 6d. (1681).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linaker, Robert</td>
<td>[A comfortable treatise for such as are afflicted in conscience]</td>
<td>–1595–1638</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Treatise to comfort troubled consciences + answer the objections of the afflicted, with ‘comfortable texts’ added in 4th edn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Lloyd, William]</td>
<td>A seasonable discourse/advice</td>
<td>1673–1704</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>Short anti-Catholic treatise designed to stir Protestants up to maintaining the established religion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lockyer, Nicholas</td>
<td>Christ's communion with his church militant</td>
<td>1640–72</td>
<td>6 + 4</td>
<td>L6651 + L2786A–90; TC i. 122</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Balm for bleeding England and Ireland</td>
<td>1643–9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L2783–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodge, Thomas +</td>
<td>A looking glasse for London and England</td>
<td>1594–1617</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L6679–82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene, Robert</td>
<td>The natural man's case stated</td>
<td>1652–8</td>
<td>3 + 2</td>
<td>L3168A–70A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love, Christopher</td>
<td>Grace: the truth and growth and different degrees thereof</td>
<td>1652–77</td>
<td>3 (+4)</td>
<td>L3155–59A; TC i. 231</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Heavens glory, hell's terror</td>
<td>1653–79</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L3161–4A; TC i. 75</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Lucas, Richard]</td>
<td>Practical Christianity: or, an account of the holiness</td>
<td>1677–1721</td>
<td>6 + 1</td>
<td>L3408–12 + BLC + ESTC</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Humane life: or a second part of the enquiry after happiness</td>
<td>1690–1717</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L3398–400 + NUC</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Funeral sermon (on Hebr. 13: 7) for John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>price 6d., stitched (1673). Sermons turned into a 'little tract':</td>
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<td>Christ will not leave his church comfortless;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+ how to know Christ is with us; price 1s., bd. (1676).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 sermons on Col. 11:11–12: God will help the weak, but England's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sufferings are likely to be long</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A play based upon the story of Jonah as told in the Bishops' Bible.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>17 sermons, mainly on Col. 2: 12 on man's miserable state in nature,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>but offering comfort to those with an interest in Christ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A 'small treatise' consisting of Love's last 16 sermons, preached</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two treatises, both derived from sermons, 8 on Col. 3: 4 on the glory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of the saints, + 8 on Matt. 10: 38 on the torments of the damned;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on man's miserable state in nature, but offering comfort to those with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>price 2s. 6d., bd. (1676).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An inquiry after happiness (which sold less well); long treatise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>showing how to be happy through reason, industry, virtue + religion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Luis de Granada Of prayer and meditation (ed. – Banister) 1592–1634 7 (+?) 16909–15

[A prophesie that hath lyen hid, above these 2000 yeares.] Babylon is fallen 1597–1620 5 15111–12

L[upton], T[homas] Advice on prayer, with morning meditations on our sins, + evening ones on Christ’s life; very long; from a Spanish Dominican original. Short treatise on Esdras bk. 4, ch.11 (supplemented in later edns.) on the history of Rome + its imminent downfall. Attribution to Lupton by D. Brady, Contribution of British Writers (Tubingen, 1983), 180–1.

Luther, Martin A commentarie . . . upon the epistle to the Galathians 1575–1635 7 16965–74


An explanation of the shorter catechism 1675–1702 6? L3532–6 + Carruthers, p. 111

Lyford, William Principles of faith and good conscience 1642–58 5 L3552–6

Lynde, Sir Humphrey Via tuta: the safe way 1628–32 5 17097–100a


Advice on prayer, with morning meditations on our sins, + evening ones on Christ’s life; very long; from a Spanish Dominican original. Short treatise on Esdras bk. 4, ch.11 (supplemented in later edns.) on the history of Rome + its imminent downfall. Attribution to Lupton by D. Brady, Contribution of British Writers (Tubingen, 1983), 180–1.

Very long verse-by-verse exposition of Galatians; treatise’s preface is by Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London. Advice to householders on how to catechize the young, often bound with one of Lye’s expositions of the Westminster Shorter Catechism. The most popular of Lye’s efforts to explain the Westminster Shorter Catechism.

Long polemical treatise defending the ‘ancient + catholic faith’ of the English church by a frontal attack on Roman Catholicism. Treatise published in answer to An humble remonstrance: against the Prayer Book + prelacy, + for Presbyterian church government.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Mason, John]</td>
<td>Spiritual songs, or, songs of praise</td>
<td>1683–1718</td>
<td>M921–22A, BLC + Bodleian + ESTC</td>
<td>Religious verse on various themes, including a version of the Song of Songs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The midnight-cry</td>
<td>1691–1707</td>
<td>M917–19 + BLC</td>
<td>Sermon on Mark 13: 35 urging all to watch, for none knew when the Son of Man would come; also contains ‘hymns for the coming of Christ’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxey, Anthony</td>
<td>The goulden chain/Five sermons/Certaine sermons</td>
<td>1605–56</td>
<td>17685–87 + 17692–94.5 + M1373A</td>
<td>Sermons on various themes, preached before the king ‘+ elsewhere’; Maxey’s sermons were constantly republished under different titles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayer, John</td>
<td>The English catechisme</td>
<td>1621–35</td>
<td>17732–8</td>
<td>Prayer Book catechism with extra questions + answers, + expositions. Abridgement of last, with different typeface for different readers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The English teacher/Mayers catechisme abridged</td>
<td>1623–39</td>
<td>17739–40.5 + Christian’s ABC, 782–3</td>
<td>Sermons preached in London turned into a treatise on the many steps to heaven taken by those who would still be only ‘almost a Christian’; price 1s., bd. (1675).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mead, Matthew</td>
<td>En oligo Christianos. The almost Christian discovered</td>
<td>1662–1708</td>
<td>M1546–53C + BLC; TC i. 201</td>
<td>Treatise, formerly sermons; polemical but scholarly exposition of 1 Tim. 4: 1–2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mede, Joseph</td>
<td>The apostacy of the latter times</td>
<td>1641–55</td>
<td>M1590–93A</td>
<td>‘A poem written in ten books’ on the Fall + man’s expulsion from Eden; price 3s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton, John</td>
<td>Paradise lost</td>
<td>1667–1727</td>
<td>M2136–51 + BLC; TC i. 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Edn</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montague, Sir Henry</td>
<td>Contemplatio mortis, et immortalitatis/Manchester al mondo</td>
<td>1631–88</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>? 18023.5–28.5 + M404–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Moore, John]</td>
<td>Of religious melancholy</td>
<td>1692–1708</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 M2546–9 + BLC + ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morton, Ann</td>
<td>The Countess of Morton’s daily exercise</td>
<td>1666–96–</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M2817–19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M[orton], J[ohn]</td>
<td>A brief rule of life</td>
<td>1662–84</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M28268–e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Nalson, John]</td>
<td>The countermine: Or, a short but true discovery</td>
<td>1677–84</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 N96–100; TC1. 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayler, James</td>
<td>A salutation to the seede of God</td>
<td>1655–65</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 N309–12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Treatise** on contemplation of death + immortality partly in English, partly in Latin, from a Christian perspective but with regular infusions of or comparisons with classical thought.

Lenten repentance **sermon** on Ps. 42: 6 preached before Queen Mary (6. 3. 1692) + published at her command.

Long **treatise** on the nature + marks of the visible church + why the pope is not its head.

**Prayers**, confessions of sins + faith, hymns, + meditations for different times of the day + week; written for the countess, + published by her daughter; echoes of Book of Common Prayer, Creed, + psalms; 24th edn. 1760.

**Mixture** of pious + prudent advice on living a better life, + prayers for domestic use (with different typefaces for different situations).

Long anti-Presbyterian **treatise**: they pretend religion, but intend rebellion; cf. L’Estrange’s works; price 3s., bd. (1678).

Short **treatise** by a Quaker urging the saints to arise + set forth Christ to those whose worship is merely outward + carnal.
—— Love to the lost: and a hand held forth to the helpless 1656–[?74] 5² N294–97A

anon. A/The new-years-gift composed of prayers + meditations/complete in six parts -1681–1725 9² N797D–97F + BLC

N[icholes], M[artin] A catechisme, composed according to the order 1631–42 5 + 1 18531–31.7 + N1083

Nicholson, William A plain, but full exposition of the catechisme 1655–89 9 N1113–20A

Nieremberg, J. E./ Taylor, Jeremy Contemplations of the state of man in this life 1684–1720– aA–cA + Abridgement by Taylor of a Spanish original by a Jesuit; combines instruction + meditation.

Norden, John A pensive mans practise [pt. 1] 1584–1640 42 + 1 18616–26a

—— —— pts. 2 + 3 (1594/98)–1633 5+ 18626a.1–26a.8

—— A/The poore mans rest -1620–84 20 18629–31.5 + N1228A–B; TC i. 99

Norris, John A collection of miscellanies 1687–1723 9 N1248–50 + ESTC

Treatise expounding what had to be known by all who profess godliness; designed to direct ‘the simple into the living way of truth’.

The text of this work varied considerably, but the majority of what were (from 1685) its 6 parts were the same: prayers + meditations for different days + occasions (starting 1 Jan.), + on different themes + texts.

Exposition of Prayer Book catechism by extra questions + answers.

Long exposition of Prayer Book catechism in prose.

Abridgement by Taylor of a Spanish original by a Jesuit; combines instruction + meditation.

Prayers for help, faith, forgiveness, etc; over 40 impressions produced according to 1620 edn., 42 by 1636.

Another devotional aid: a dialogue between ‘Hope’ + a ‘Pensive Man’ (including prayers); plus reasons to pray, + more prayers.

A large collection of prayers (+ some meditations), some for regular use in home + church, others when in spiritual or other distress; price 1s., bd. (1672).

Mixture of verses + essays, partly Christian, partly classical in inspiration.
Reason and religion 1689–1724 7 N1265–6 + BLC Large treatise on reasonableness of belief in the form of ‘contemplations’ on God + man, with uses + applications of the latter, + prayers.


Practical discourses vol. II 1691–1716 6? N1261–2 + Bodleian 10 discourses on divine wisdom, heavenly-mindedness, the importance of doing God’s will on earth, etc

—– vol. III 1693–1722 8? N1263 + Bodleian 7 discourses on various topics. (This + previous vols. were published separately, + existing ‘sets’ often contain vols. of different edns.)

—– vol. IV 1698–1722 8? N1264–64c + Bodleian 8 more on various themes.

An account of reason and faith 1696–1728– 13 N1243 + BLC A treatise written in reply to Toland’s Christianity not mysterious + seeking to defend the Christianity of the Church of England.

Northbrooke, John Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. 1571–1606 8 1864.5–69 The poor man’s garden, part defence of Protestant ‘principal points of religion’, part attack on Catholic errors; drawn from scriptures, Fathers + Councils; for ‘the simple + ignorant’.

Northumberland, Elizabeth Percy, duchess of Meditations and prayers to be used before, at, and after the receiving of the sacrament 1682–1715 6 N1308–9A + BLC (+ 1?) Mainly prayers, but with some meditations, for use before, during + after participation in the sacrament; value of attribution unclear.


A catechisme, or first instruction of Christian religion 1570–77 5 i8708–710a.5 Last above translated into English (by Thos. Norton).
Christianae pietatis prima institution 1574–1664 22 18712–25.6 + N1436d

A catechism, or institution of Christian religion 1572–1663 18 18730–8 + N1436–36a

[Nye, Philip] A declaration of the faith and order 1658–88 5 N1486–90

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy 1660–84– 5? O82–5

[Oldham, John] Satyrs upon the Jesuits 1681–97 5 O244–7A

Short questions and answers, conteyning the summe 1579–1639 19? 18816–30.2 + STC: Addenda

and Openshaw, Robert Short questions and answeres . . . newly enlarged [1586?]–1633 9? 18830.2A–30.9 + Christian's ABC, 694–5

The history of the Bible briefly collected 1603–82 15 19105.5–109.4d + Pr185–6

Heresiography 1645–62 6 (+ 3) Pr174–82

An endeavour of making the principles of religion 1640–5 6 19154.5, + P230aA–32

Memorials of godlinesse and Christianity 1644–[1708?] 11 + 2 P236–41 + BLC; TC i. 60

An abridgement of the original form—the ‘middle’ catechism—in Latin. Last above in English.

Official confession of faith of Congregational churches, agreed at the Savoy Conference of 1658.

Reprint of official 1559 oaths at the return of king + church; in black-letter type. Topical verse satires on the plots + tricks of the Jesuits.

Catechism.

Last above with many questions + answers subdivided + the scripture references cited there now printed in full. Aid to bible study: contents of the Bible in catechetical form; cf. Doctrine; + Way.

Treatise denouncing the errors of Anabaptists, Brownists, Independents, Familists, Antinomians, + many others.

Catechism with innovative technique. A mixture of ‘meditations’ (often reading like memoranda), instructive paradoxes, + advice + exhortation on godly living through the week; price 10d., bd. (1670).
Parr, Elnathan  The grounds of divinitie  1614–51  8 + 1 19314–18 (+ see Works: 19311, P543)  Catechism with long ‘explications’ + ‘uses’.

Parsons, Robert  A booke of Christian exercise (adapted by E. Bunny)  1584–1630  30+ 19355–76.5 (+ cf. 19379)

——  The second parte of the booke of Christian exercise  1590–1627  13+ 19380–89 (+ cf. 19379)

P[assinger/Passenger], T[homas]  The door of salvation opened  [1650]–81  6 P657A–58E (+ cf. 19379)  ‘Sermon’ on Ezek. 33: 11: repent before it is too late; has clear parallels with the treatise by Baxter entitled A call to the unconverted.

—— Gods call to unconverted sinners  1662–[c.1680]  57 P1098–10bA

anon.  A pastoral letter from a minister to his parishioners  1699–1726– 9 P672–3 + BLC + ESTC; TC iii. 566

Patrick, Simon  The hearts ease, or a remedy against all troubles  1660–99  7 P809–14; TC i. 90

—— Mensa mystica: or a discourse concerning the sacrament  1660–1717  7 (+ 3) P822–25A

—— A brief exposition of the Ten Commandments and the Lords Prayer  1665–88  5? P757A–59; TC i. 479

—— The parable of the pilgrim: written to a friend  1665–87  6 (+ 2?) P826–32; TC i. 45

Open letter in which minister urges his parishioners to repent + turn to Christ; price 1d. or 6s. per 100.

Two treatises: how to obtain spiritual quiet; + consolation in bereavement; price 2s., bd. (1671).

Large handbook on the purpose of the sacrament + how to prepare for it; with prayers, supplemented in later edns. Catechism on Decalogue + Lord’s Prayer only, for his London parishioners to use; price 2d. (1682).

Open letter, which is in effect a very long allegory on the pilgrim’s journey to Jerusalem; price 6s., bd. (1670).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A friendly debate betwixt two neighbours/between a conformist and a nonconformist</td>
<td>1668–84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P798–803; TC i. 1 (+ i?)</td>
<td>Dialogue to persuade Presbyterian nonconformists to return to the fold of the established church; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1668).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Christian sacrifice. A treatise shewing the necessity</td>
<td>1671–1713</td>
<td>14+</td>
<td>P760–9 + BLC; TC i. 71</td>
<td>Handbook on why we have to take communion + how to do so with profit (in part an abridgement of <em>Mensa mystica</em>); also has large number of prayers + meditations; price 4s. 6d., bd. (1671).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advice to a friend</td>
<td>1673–1712</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>P738–43 + BLC; TC i. 147</td>
<td>Very large collection of prayers + ‘ejaculations’ for most occasions + many kinds of people; price 2s., bd. (1673).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The devout Christian instructed how to pray</td>
<td>1673–1721</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>P780–6 + BLC; TC i. 182</td>
<td>A long open letter offering advice + rules on how to meditate + lead a spiritual life; price 2s., bd. (1673).</td>
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<tr>
<td>A book for beginners: or, a help to young communicants</td>
<td>1680–1727</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>P751–3 + BLC</td>
<td>Handbook to help the young prepare for communion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The great concern: or, a serious warning</td>
<td>1671–1725</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>P983–6 + BLC; TC i. 156</td>
<td>Treatise (built round Ps. 39: 13) on the need + means to be constantly ready for death, + encouragement at the prospect of death; price 1s., bd. (1673).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The best match: or the souls espousal to Christ</td>
<td>1673–1721</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>P971–738 + BLC; TC i. 125</td>
<td>Long treatise on closer union with Christ; price 2s., bd. (1673).</td>
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<tr>
<td>An exposition of the Creed</td>
<td>1659–1723</td>
<td>11+</td>
<td>P995–100 + BLC; TC i. 15</td>
<td>Large treatise (originally sermons) expounding the Apostles’ Creed word by word; price 10s., bd. (1669).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An introduction to the worthy receiving the sacrament</td>
<td>1628–39</td>
<td>3 (+3)</td>
<td>19579–81</td>
<td>Treatise on who should + should not receive the Lord’s Supper, + the penalties for unworthy receiving; published posthumously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Penn, William</td>
<td>No cross, no crown</td>
<td>1669–1725/6</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>P1327–32 + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Original treatise was a defence of Quaker belief + practice, but the</td>
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<td>greatly enlarged 2nd edn. was much broader.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] Englands present/true interest discover'd/considered</td>
<td>1670–1702</td>
<td>5 (+1)</td>
<td>P1279–81 + 1281A–82 + BLC</td>
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<td>Controversial treatise arguing against confiscation of dissenters'</td>
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<td>property + in favour of religious toleration.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[——] A key, opening the way</td>
<td>1692–1710–</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>P1312A–16 + BLC + Bodleian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Tract clearing Quaker beliefs from the false charges levelled against</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>them.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] Some fruits of solitude</td>
<td>1693–1718–</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>P1367–70 + BLC + ESTC</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Improving ‘reflections + maxims’ on a wide range of human activities +</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>problems.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perkins, William</td>
<td>A treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man</td>
<td>1588–1619</td>
<td>9+</td>
<td>19752–6 (+ cf. 19712)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Treatise on how far the reprobate may go in religion + how to tell if</td>
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<td></td>
<td>one is elect or not; uses dialogue form at some points.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] The foundation of Christian religion</td>
<td>1590–1723</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19709–21, P1563–70 + BLC + Christian's ABC, 698–9</td>
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<td>Catechism based on 6 principles, prefaced by list of common errors.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] A golden chain: or, the description of theologie (tr. R. Hill)</td>
<td>1591–97–</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>19657–63 (+ in Works)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] Perkins upon the Lords Praier/An exposition of the Lords Prayer</td>
<td>1592–6</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>19699.5–702a.5 (+ cf. 19712)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] A direction for the government of the tongue</td>
<td>1593–[1638?]</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19688–95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[——] Two treatises. I. Of . . . repentance. II. Of the combat of the flesh</td>
<td>1593–[1638?]</td>
<td>12+</td>
<td>19758–63.3</td>
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<td>A translation of the original Latin treatise on soteriology, enlarged</td>
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<td>in 1592.</td>
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<td>Treatise expounding the Lord’s Prayer.</td>
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<td>Treatise on the correct + incorrect way to speak (+ write).</td>
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<td>Short treatise on nature of repentance + how to examine the conscience,</td>
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<td>tract on the struggle between flesh + spirit based on Gal. 5: 17.</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>An exposition of the symbole or creed of the apostles</td>
<td>1595–1631</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19703–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A salve for a sick man</td>
<td>1595–[1638?]</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19742–47:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified</td>
<td>1596–[1638?]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19685–87a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A graine of musterd-seed</td>
<td>1597–[1638?]</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>19724:5–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A reformed catholike</td>
<td>1597–1621</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19735:8–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Works</td>
<td>[1597?]–1616/17</td>
<td>7+?</td>
<td>19646–54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>How to live, and that well, in all estates and times</td>
<td>1601–[38?]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19728–30:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The first part/The whole treatise of the cases of conscience</td>
<td>1604–52</td>
<td>11+</td>
<td>19668–76+P1574–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>M. Perkins his exhortation/A faithfull and plaine exposition (published posthumously by Wm. Crashaw)</td>
<td>1605–9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19706:5–708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Perkins, W.’</td>
<td>Deaths knell. Or, the sick mans passing-bell</td>
<td>–1628–64</td>
<td>16 (+1)</td>
<td>19684–84:7+P1562</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very long *treatise* expounding the Apostles’ Creed. 

**Treatise** on readiness for death + making a godly end.

Short *treatise* on knowing the benefits Christ has wrought + framing one’s life accordingly.

**Treatise** on the beginnings of grace in those called to salvation.

Long *treatise* examining the common grounds + differences between Protestantism + Catholicism.

**Composite**: different edns. of the collected works varied greatly in content, + surviving 3-volume ‘sets’ often comprise vols. from different edns.; cost 33s. unbd. (early 1630s).

**Treatise** on living by faith.

Very long *treatise* of ‘case-divinity’: what to do or think in specified situations.

**Sermon** preached at Stourbridge Fair on Zeph. 2:1–2: search your souls for your sins, + turn to the Lord before it is too late.

**Tract** printed in black letter with eye-catching woodcut ‘summoning all sick consciences to prepare themselves for the coming of the great day of doom’. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perrault/Perreaud,</td>
<td>The devill of Mascon (tr. Peter Du Moulin)</td>
<td>1658–79</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>P1584–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Pierce, Thomas]</td>
<td>A correct copy of some notes</td>
<td>1655–72</td>
<td>3 + 2</td>
<td>P2170–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The primitive rule of reformation</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>P2191–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The plain mans way of worship</td>
<td>1670–8</td>
<td>5?</td>
<td>P2364A–65A; TC1. 35, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playfere, Thomas</td>
<td>A most excellent and heavenly sermon/The meane in mourning</td>
<td>1596–1616</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>20014–19 (also published in next)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The whole sermons</td>
<td>1623–33</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>20003–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poole, Matthew</td>
<td>The nullity of the Romish faith</td>
<td>1666–79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P2843–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English protestant</td>
<td>1667–87</td>
<td>11 +?</td>
<td>P2828–35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon./[Pope, Walter]</td>
<td>The Cathlick ballad: or an invitation to popery</td>
<td>1674–89</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P2906–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Popple, Sir William]</td>
<td>A letter to Mr. Penn, with his answer</td>
<td>1688–[1700?]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P2961–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon./[Penn, William]</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Purports to be an autobiographical account by a 56-year-old husbandman of his religious experiences + ideals; price 1s., bd. (1670).

The whole sermons: in the first Priest attacks + Protestant defends his faith; in the second the roles are reversed.

2 dialogues: in the first Priest attacks + Protestant defends his faith; in the second the roles are reversed.

A cautionary tale of the power of the devil.

Treatise by an ex-Calvinist attacking some high Calvinist tenets.

Sharply anti-Catholic sermon on Matt. 19: 8 preached before Charles II + said to have been published at his order.

Sermons on testing our love for Christ + warning against formal religion.

The whole sermons: in the first Priest attacks + Protestant defends his faith; in the second the roles are reversed.

Satirical, anti-Catholic ballad: to be sung "to the tune of '88'" (i.e. 1588).

Open letters in which Popple urges Penn to distance himself from James's bid to increase toleration, lest it bring in popery, + Penn replies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Volume(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Powel, Gabriel</td>
<td>The resolved Christian, exhorting</td>
<td>1600–23</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>20150–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston, John</td>
<td>The new covenant, or the saints portion (ed. R. Sibbes + J. Davenport)</td>
<td>1629–55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20241–7 + P3304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The saints daily exercise (ed. Sibbes + Davenport)</td>
<td>1629–35</td>
<td>9+</td>
<td>20251–60a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The breast-plate of faith and love (ed. Sibbes + Davenport)</td>
<td>1630–51</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20208–13 + (2?) P3300–18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Sermons preached before his majestie; and upon other occasions (ed. T. Goodwin + T. Ball)</td>
<td>1630–7</td>
<td>5 (+ 1)</td>
<td>20270–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Three sermons upon the sacrament/ A preparation to the Lords supper</td>
<td>1631–8</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>20280.3–1a.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prideaux, Humphrey</td>
<td>The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet</td>
<td>1697–1723–</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>P3416–18 + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMERS</td>
<td>The primer, set foorth by the Kynges Maiestie</td>
<td>1545–</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16034–50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Editions</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The primer, in Englishe and Latyn</td>
<td>1545–[1550?]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16040–52  Last above, in English + Latin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The primer set furth/primer and catechisme</td>
<td>1554–75</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16053–4, 16057, 16090–2 Edwardian revision of the official Henrician primer; contains the 1549 version of the Prayer Book catechism.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A prymmer/primmer or boke of private prayer</td>
<td>1553–68</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20373–77  Approved collection of prayers based on the Book of Common Prayer, + its catechism; slightly modified in 1560. Abridged version of the last, the partner of <em>The ABC with the catechisme</em> (q.v); reprinted in huge numbers: see <em>Christian's ABC</em>, 65–8, 176–7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A/The primer and ... catechisme</td>
<td>[c.1570]–[c.1670]</td>
<td>[See col. 6]</td>
<td>20377.3–77.7, P3493 + BLC Abridged version of the last, the partner of <em>The ABC with the catechisme</em> (q.v); reprinted in huge numbers: see <em>Christian's ABC</em>, 65–8, 176–7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSALMS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The psalter or psalms of David ... poynted</td>
<td>1549–1620</td>
<td>[See col. 6]</td>
<td>2378–413  Psalms, in official, Great Bible version, pointed for choral singing; usually published as pt. 2 of edns. of Book of Common Prayer, q.v above.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The whole booke of psalms collected into English meter</td>
<td>1565–1729</td>
<td>[approx. 790]</td>
<td>2434–700, B2381–629 + BLC  Sternhold + Hopkins’s notorious <em>metrical</em> version of the psalms; see Ch. 9 above.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The psalter [or psalms of David] ... with the ordinarie service/morning and evening prayer</td>
<td>[1567?]–1693</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>2386–418.7 + B2391C–2584C Great Bible version of psalms, pointed for singing in churches, printed with the most common of the Prayer Book services; several edns. 1581–1606 had ‘a table by T. Beza’ added. William Barton’s version of the psalms in <em>metrical</em>. See below, s.v. Taylor, Jeremy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Book of Psalms in metre</td>
<td>1644–1705</td>
<td>8+?</td>
<td>B2401–595 + ESTC John Playford’s version of <em>metrical</em> psalms, with old + new tunes scored in 3 parts; price 4s., bd. (1677).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The psalter of David with titles and collects</td>
<td>1644–1724</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The whole book of psalms</td>
<td>1677–1728</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>B2527–2584C + ESTC; <em>TC</em> i. 281</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A century of select psalms 1679–91 5+ B2536–81A (+cf. 2580, 2608, BLC + ESTC) New **metrical** version of a selection of psalms, by J. Patrick, for use in the Charterhouse, London; later enlarged. Tate + Brady's officially approved successor to 'Sternhold + Hopkin's'. Supplement to the last, containing old + new versions of certain 'hymns' + metrical versions of Creed, etc.


A supplement to the new version of the psalms 1700–[1725?] 9 B2624 + ESTC

---

Quarles, Francis

Divine poems 1630–1717 9 + 4? 20533–6.5 + Q70–6+ BLC + ESTC; TC i. 15 **Verses** on ‘the history of Jonah, Esther, Job’, Samson, et al, illustrated in later edns.; price 3s., bd. (1669). Epigrams, meditations, + observations on various topics all in **verse**; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1671).

——

Divine fancies 1632–1722 9 (+ 4?) + BLC + ESTC; TC i. 76

——

Emblemes 1634–1723 18? 20540–2 + Q77–85 + BLC + Bodleian + ESTC; TC iii. 277 Series of **poems** headed by a scripture text + paired with an engraving of an emblem (cf. also his *Hieroglyphes*); price 5s. (1701). 4 ‘centuries’ of **improving thoughts**, some political, others religious or moral; price 1s., bd. (1670).

——

Enchyridion: containing institutions divine . . . moral [etc] 1639/40–1702 14 20543 + Q86–97A + ESTC; TC i. 61 ‘**Meditations**, soliloquies, + prayers’ for afflicted consciences; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1671).

——

Boanerges and Barnabas: or judgement and mercy 1644–90 10 Q50–61; TC i. 68

Rainolds, John

The summe of the conference 1584–1611 5 20626–9 Very long **treatise** giving an account of the debate between Rainolds + a Jesuit, Hart, on the usual topics. Large handbook on the nature of the sacrament, + how to + why one should communicate; price 1s. 6d., bd. (1672).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[——]</td>
<td>The Christian monitor</td>
<td>1686–1729–</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Treatise on why + how one should lead a better life; 95,000 copies were said to have been sold by 1696 (19th edn.); price 3d. or 20s. for 100 if to be given away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Reyner, Edward]</td>
<td>Precepts for Christian practice</td>
<td>–1645–68</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Treatise (which grew longer in later edns.) listing duties to be observed daily in godly living; duties varied somewhat from edn. to edn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds, Edward</td>
<td>Three treatises</td>
<td>1631–58</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>Treatises on vanity, sin, and the life of Christ, based on sermons given at Lincoln's Inn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>An explication of the hundredth and tenth psalme</td>
<td>1632–56</td>
<td>4 + 1</td>
<td>Very long treatise expounding Ps. 110, + the teaching it contained on Christ's works, death, + resurrection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soul of man</td>
<td>1640–58</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Very long treatise on human emotions + understanding, which owes as much to classical as Christian teaching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds, John</td>
<td>The triumphs of God's revenge</td>
<td>1621–79</td>
<td>6 (+5)</td>
<td>A collection, which grew to six books, of cautionary tales, especially about murder; published to confirm the reader's faith + resistance to sin; extra stories + 'new sculptures' added in 1679; price 1os. bd. (1671).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberts, Francis</td>
<td>A communicant instructed</td>
<td>1651–76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>A long treatise (based on sermons given to parishioners) offering practical directions on how to receive the Lord's Supper worthily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, John (of Dedham)</td>
<td>The doctrine of faith, wherein are handled ten/twelve principall points</td>
<td>1626–40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Long treatise (the sum of weekday lectures) on what faith is, its author, how it is wrought in us, its signs + hindrances, + how to live by it; price 2s. (1675).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publication Dates</td>
<td>Treatises</td>
<td>Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rogers, Richard</td>
<td>Seven treatises, containing such direction</td>
<td>1602–29</td>
<td>5 (+1)</td>
<td>21215–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The practice of Christianitie</td>
<td>1618–35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21221–23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R[ogers], R[ichard] [Wm. Perkins, Rd. Greenham, et al.]</td>
<td>A garden of spirituall flowers</td>
<td>1609–87</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21204.5–13 + R1825–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Thomas</td>
<td>The faith, doctrine, and religion, professed in England</td>
<td>1607–91</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21228–33 + R1832–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Timothy</td>
<td>The righteous mans evidences for heaven</td>
<td>1618–70</td>
<td>14 + 1</td>
<td>21244–9 + R1853–6; TC i. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross, Alexander</td>
<td>Pansebeia: or a view of all religions in the world</td>
<td>1653–96</td>
<td>10?</td>
<td>R1971–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The <strong>saints</strong> legacies</td>
<td>1642–88</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salluste du Bartas, Guillaume de</td>
<td>Bartas his devine weekes and workes (tr. J. Sylvester)</td>
<td>1605–41</td>
<td>4 + 4</td>
<td>21649–54 + D2405–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saltmarsh, John</td>
<td>Free grace</td>
<td>1645–1700–</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>S484–88; TC iii. 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanderson, Robert</td>
<td>De juramenti promisorii obligatione</td>
<td>1647–1719</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>S582–88 + ESTC 7 Latin lectures on Num. 30: 3, given in the Oxford Theology School in 1646, on cases of conscience involving the taking + keeping of oaths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XX/XXI sermons</td>
<td>1656–81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>S649–43 Miscellaneous sermons: 16 at court, 3 ‘ad magistrum’ + 1 ‘ad populum’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXXIII/XXXV/XXXVI sermons</td>
<td>1657–89</td>
<td>8 + 2</td>
<td>S632–9; TC i. 75 Last above combined with Fourteen sermons (S605–6) which included 4 visitation sermons, 3 assize sermons, + 7 (‘to the people’) at Paul’s Cross + elsewhere; price 18s., bd. (1671).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De obligatione conscientiae</td>
<td>1660–1719</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>S590–6 + ESTC; TC i. 60–1, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Sir Edwin</td>
<td>A relation of the state of religion</td>
<td>1605–38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21716–22 Treatise describing the churches in different parts of Europe, + offering a ‘project’ for their reunion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The school of learning; necessary for families as well as children</td>
<td>−1668–87</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>S8838–4A Prayers for every day, with a short catechism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>—— [pt. 2, vol. 2]</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>1686–1701</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Continuation of last; pt. 3 (another 3 vols.) was not as popular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scudder, Henry</td>
<td>The Christians daily walke</td>
<td>1627–90</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Very long <em>treatise</em> on walking with God in all things + at all times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ed. J. Davenport)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 2</td>
<td>Wedding <em>sermon</em> (on Gen. 2: 18) on the virtues + mutual obligations of marriage, + how to choose a wife; price 6d., bd. (1676).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>Second part of a week’s preparation</td>
<td>–1686–1716–</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Seymour, Thomas]</td>
<td>Advice to the readers of the Common-Prayer</td>
<td>1682–1707</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Price 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharp, John</td>
<td>A sermon about the government of the thoughts</td>
<td>1698–[1706?]</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>Price 6d. + cf. T12708–71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shephard, Thomas</td>
<td>The sincere convert</td>
<td>1641–92</td>
<td>18+?</td>
<td>Long <em>treatise</em> on the small number of true believers + the obstacles in the way of saving conversion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The sound believer</td>
<td>–1645–92</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Long <em>treatise</em>, first published in Scotland, intended as part 2 of last above on how Christ humbles and then saves sinners; price 2s. 6d., bd. (1672).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sherlock, Richard]</td>
<td>[The] principles of holy Christian religion</td>
<td>1656–99</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Provides comments on + extra questions + answers to the Prayer Book <em>catechism</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Editions</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>[Mercurius Christianus;] The practical Christian</td>
<td>1673–1713</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S3242–448 + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sherlock, William]</td>
<td>A preservative against popery</td>
<td>1688–1714</td>
<td>5 + 1</td>
<td>S3326–30 + BLC (also reprinted in E. Gibson, <em>Preservative</em> (1738))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A practical discourse concerning death</td>
<td>1689–1726</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>S3312–21 + BLC + NUC; <em>TC</em> ii. 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The case of the allegiance due to sovereign powers</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S3269–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>A practical discourse concerning a future judgement</td>
<td>1692–1725</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>S3307–11 + BLC; <em>TC</em> ii. 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S[herman], T[homas]</td>
<td>Divine breathings; or, a pious soul</td>
<td>–1671–98</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>S3388–90; <em>TC</em> i. 123</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shower, John</td>
<td>An exhortation to youth to prepare for judgement</td>
<td>1681–[c.1725]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>S3664–5 + BLC; <em>TC</em> ii. 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Serious reflections on time, and eternity</td>
<td>1689–1725</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S3686–78 + BLC; <em>TC</em> ii. 608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A very long composite work: it is a treatise on how to examine oneself for sin, but the greater part of both sections consists of prayers, meditations, psalms, + hymns. **Treatise** offering ‘plain directions to unlearned Protestants how to dispute with Romish priests’, on the usual topics; provoked a reply + a defence. Long **treatise** (originally sermons at the Temple) on notions of death, its certainty, its timing, + remedies against fear of death; price 2s. in 12", 3s. in 8" (1692). **Treatise** on political obedience treated partly from a religious, partly from a legal standpoint. Long **treatise** on the use of reason + revelation to prove future judgement; price 3s. 6d. (1692). 100 items on which to meditate: deceitfulness of riches, misery of sin, happiness of a Christian, etc; price 1s., bd. (1672); 15th edn. 1775. Funeral **sermon** (on Eccles. 11:9) containing a warning story as well as an exhortation to be ready for death; price 6d. (1691). From 1707 reprinted as pt. 2 of next. Long series of meditations on the transitoriness of life on earth, et al; enlarged after 1st edn.; price 1s. 6d. (1696).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Vol</th>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sibbes, Richard</td>
<td>The bruised reede, and smoaking flax</td>
<td>1630–58</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22479–84 + S3732</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The soules conflict with it selfe</td>
<td>1635–58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22508–11 + S3745–6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith, Henry</td>
<td>A sermon of the benefite of contentation</td>
<td>1590–1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22693–96.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>The wedding garment</td>
<td>1590–1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22713–13.5</td>
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<td>The trumpet of the soule</td>
<td>1591–1640</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22706–12</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sermons</td>
<td>1592–1675</td>
<td>21+</td>
<td>22718–34 + S4044–6</td>
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<td>Sixe/Ten/twelve sermons</td>
<td>1592–99</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22775·3–80.5</td>
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<td>Gods arrowe against atheists</td>
<td>1593–1656</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22666–76 + S4040</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Two sermons preached [The sinners conversion; The sinners confession]</td>
<td>[1595?–1625]</td>
<td>5?</td>
<td>22765–9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sermons**, ‘contracted out of’ Matt. 20: 12, for weaker Christians: bruising is necessary before conversion, but Christ will not break the bruised reed; price 1s.–1s. 8d. bd. (1635).

**Treatise** based on sermons on Ps. 42: 5: souls troubled by Satan should look to God for assurance of salvation; price 2s. 6d.–4s. bd. (1636).

**Sermon** on 1 Tim. 6: 6 against covetousness; 1st edn. ‘taken by characterie’, later edns. consist of Smith’s approved version.

**Sermon** on Rom. 13: 14: put on Christ as a garment to clothe yourself with righteousness.

**Sermon** on Eccles. 12: 1: enjoy yourself if you want, but there is a Judgement Day, so repent now.

Very large collection of sermons on miscellaneous themes. (‘Silver-tongued’ Smith’s sermons were often reprinted in different combinations.)

**Sermons**: 2 on the Nunc Dimittis, + 4 on Jonah (including 2 of those noted below), with others added later

**Treatise** condemning atheists, non-Christians, papists, + Brownists +Barrowists, + defending the established church.

Two sermons on the story of Zaccheus in Luke 29, warning against worldliness.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Samuel</td>
<td>Davids blessed man</td>
<td>1614–82</td>
<td>15 + 2</td>
<td>22839–41.3 + S4165–8. Long treatise expounding the first psalm, on how to be godly + find true happiness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Davids repentance</td>
<td>1614–1722</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>22841.7–46 + S4169–74 + ESTC. Long treatise (formerly sermons) on Ps. 51, showing what unfeigned repentance is, + exhorting all to labour to achieve it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>A solemn league and covenant, for reformation</td>
<td>–1643–5</td>
<td>18?</td>
<td>S4442–50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sorocold, Thomas</td>
<td>Supplications of saints</td>
<td>1612–1723</td>
<td>42 + 6?</td>
<td>22932–36 + S4705–9; TC i. 296. ‘A book of prayers and praises’ for all types of people + various occasions (many political); also has a long meditation; great numbers said to have been given to the poor by a pious lady (DNB); price 1s., bd. (1677).</td>
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<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Three sermons</td>
<td>1599–1673</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22735–47 + S4047–8. Sermons including the first cited above, 1 on being kin to Christ by obeying God’s will, + 1 on true + false spirits occasioned by a recent case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Two sermons of Jonas punishment</td>
<td>1602–24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22752–60. Sermon on the theme of God punishing rebels; see also Six sermons above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The great assize, or, day of jubilee</td>
<td>–1617–1726</td>
<td>45+</td>
<td>22847.7–49.9 + S4175–85 + BLC + NUC + Bodleian + ESTC. Sermons on Rev. 20: 12–15 (et al); those whose names were not in the Book of Life would be thrown into the flames on Judgement Day.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>Pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southwell, Robert/ W., S.</td>
<td>Marie Magdalens funeral teares</td>
<td>1591–1636</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22950–3, 22965–6, + 22968</td>
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<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>Saint Peters complaint</td>
<td>1595–1636</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22955.7–62, 22965–6, + 22968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spangenberg, Johann</td>
<td>The sum of divinitie</td>
<td>1548–67</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23004–7</td>
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<td>Sparke, Edward</td>
<td>Scintill[a]la altaris./Primitive devotions in the feasts and fasts of the Church of England</td>
<td>1652–1700</td>
<td>8 (+ 3)</td>
<td>$4807–14; TC i. 121</td>
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<td>Sparke, Michael</td>
<td>Crum(m)ses of comfort</td>
<td>–1622–1726</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>23015.7–17.5 + ($4?) 23016.7–17.5 + Bodleian; TC i. 76–7</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Sparrow, Anthony]</td>
<td>A rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer</td>
<td>1655–1722</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>$4827–34; TC i. 55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sprint, John</td>
<td>The Christian sword and buckler</td>
<td>1623–50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23108.2–8.7 + $5087</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Stanley, William]</td>
<td>The faith and practice of the Church of England-man</td>
<td>1688–1727</td>
<td>9 (+1)</td>
<td>$5245–8 + Bodleian; TC iii. 279</td>
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**Appendix 1**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stillingfleet, Edward</td>
<td><em>Origines sacrae, or a rational account of the grounds</em></td>
<td>1662–1709</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>S5616–20 + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>A sermon preached . . . [10.10.1666]</td>
<td>1666–9</td>
<td>4 + 1</td>
<td>S5637–40</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>A sermon preached . . . [13.11.1678]</td>
<td>1678–9</td>
<td>5 (+ 1)</td>
<td>S5649–53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>The mischief of separation</td>
<td>–1679–1709</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>S5605A + BLC; TC i. 393</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strong, Nathaniel</td>
<td>England’s perfect school-master</td>
<td>–1676–1716</td>
<td>9 + 2?</td>
<td>S5995A–97 + BLC + ESTC; TC i. 172</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stubbs, Henry</td>
<td>Conscience the best friend upon earth</td>
<td>1677–1702</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S6029C–296 + ESTC; TC i. 271</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sutton, Christopher</td>
<td>Disc. mori. Learne to dye</td>
<td>1600–62</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>23474–82 + S6207</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament</td>
<td>1601–83</td>
<td>13 + 2</td>
<td>23491–5 + S6208–96; TC i. 122</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Very long **treatise** on the divine authority of the scriptures.

*Sermon* on Amos 4: 11 preached to Commons on fast day for Great Fire: God punishes sin, so the rebuilt city must be a habitation of holiness.

Another fast-day **sermon** before the Commons (Popish Plot) on 1 Sam. 12: 24–5, on the need for humiliation, but also offering advice + encouragement.

**Sermon** (on Phil. 3: 16) preached before Mayor of London, on why dissenters should cease their separation from the established church; price 6d. (1680).

**Composite**: essentially a reading primer but shows how to spell or read any chapter in the Bible, + contains a lot of scriptural material; price is., bd. (1674).

Uplifting **biography** of the godly Mrs. Katherine Stubbes.

3 **sermons** on Job 27: 6: what conscience is + does, why + how one should live by it, + what to do if it still pricks; price 8d., bd. (1677); later translated into Welsh.

Long **treatise** on godly dying.

Handbook combining exposition of the origins + worth of the **sacrament** with advice on how to prepare, + meditations, soliloquies, + dialogues; price is. 6d., bd. (1672).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Editions</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>Disce vivere. Learne to live</td>
<td>1602–62</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>Long treatise on living like Christ; 3 edns. were published with <em>Disce mori.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Synge, Edward</td>
<td>An answer to all the excuses and pretences</td>
<td>1697–1726</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Short treatise to explode excuses for not taking communion. + provide an account of how to prepare for it, with prayers + meditations; price 3d. (1697); 36th edn. 1800.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taffin, Jean</td>
<td>Of the markes of the children of God</td>
<td>1590–1634</td>
<td>8?</td>
<td>Long treatise on how to tell who are the children of God; they are afflicted but beloved of God.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taylor, Jeremy</td>
<td>The psalter of David with titles and collects</td>
<td>1644–1724</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Composite: psalms (in the Prayer Book version) paired with matching prayers, + followed by other types of prayer + confession, written by Taylor; for Christopher Lord Hatton’s role, see <em>TLS</em> (1955), 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The rule and exercises of holy living</td>
<td>1650–1727</td>
<td>24 (+3?)</td>
<td>Long treatise on how to obtain virtues + remedy vices; with devotions for all occasion; from 1680s often published in tandem + bound with next.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The rule and exercises of holy dying</td>
<td>1651–1727</td>
<td>20?</td>
<td>Treatise on preparing ourselves + others for death, + remedies against the temptations associated with illness; with appropriate prayers. *From 1680 its publishers numbered editions parallel to those of last above, even though by then <em>Holy dying</em> only had 4 to <em>Holy living’s</em> 11 editions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISBN</td>
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<td>Pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>T329–33; TC i. 137</td>
<td>Over fifty miscellaneous sermons first preached at Golden Grove in the winter + summer half years, supplemented from 3rd edn. with court sermons + a funeral sermon; price 20s., bd. (1673).</td>
<td>1653–78</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>composite: history of the life of Christ, described in episodes, with 'considerations' + 'prayers', + from 1675 Wm. Cave's lives of the saints, mixture of 'credenda' (catechetical material), 'agenda' (how to spend each day devoutly), + 'postulanda' (prayers, hymns, meditations).</td>
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<tr>
<td>T342–6 + 287–88aA + BLC</td>
<td>The great exemplar/Antiquitates Christianae for all the sundaies of the year</td>
<td>1653–1703</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>T336–41a + BLC</td>
<td>The Golden Grove, or, a manuall of daily prayers and letanies</td>
<td>1655–1725</td>
<td>26+</td>
<td>mixture of 'credenda' (catechetical material), 'agenda' (how to spend each day devoutly), + 'postulanda' (prayers, hymns, meditations).</td>
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<tr>
<td>T317–8 + 350–1</td>
<td>A discourse of the nature of . . . / The measures and offices of friendship</td>
<td>1657–87</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>T417–24 + BLC; TC i. 76</td>
<td>The worthy communicant</td>
<td>1660–1701</td>
<td>6 + 1</td>
<td>very long treatise on benefits of communicating, duties required for preparation, + resolution of cases of conscience; price 4s., bd. (1671).</td>
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<tr>
<td>23731–3–33</td>
<td>The booke of martyrs</td>
<td>1616–39</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>19465–7–73, T794–802 + ESTC</td>
<td>The testaments of the twelve patriarches (tr. A Gilby)</td>
<td>1574–1716</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>treatise containing supposititious text said to be the last testaments of Jacob + his 12 sons, all prefiguring Christ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Themylthorp,</td>
<td>The posie of godly prayers</td>
<td>1609–1721</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23934.2–36 + T847–8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholas</td>
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<td>Prayer book for various occasions + needs, by an Elizabethan courtier.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas à Kempis</td>
<td>Of the imitation of Christ</td>
<td>1580–1640</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23973–86</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tr. T. Rogers)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Long treatise on the vanity of worldly things, + the importance of the</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>inner life; with suitable prayers.</td>
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<td>The Christians pattern</td>
<td>1657–1722</td>
<td>15?</td>
<td>T939D–44A + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tr. J. Worthington)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>A Protestant revision of an early Stuart version of the original, by</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ant. Hoskins, which was popular with Catholics (cf. STC: 23987–92);</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Worthington's version cost 2s. 6d., bd. (1676).</td>
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<td>—— / Stanhope,</td>
<td>The Christian pattern paraphrased</td>
<td>1696–1727–</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>T944B–47 + BLC + ESTC; TC iii. 106</td>
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<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td></td>
<td>(±8?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A paraphrase rather than a translation of the same, with added prayers</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>+ meditations; price ‘with cuts’ 5s., but in a smaller vol. 2s. (1699).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas, Lewis</td>
<td>Seaven sermons</td>
<td>1599–1638</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24003–6.5</td>
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<td>7 sermons on miscellaneous topics, + a short ‘treatise’ on the Decalogue.</td>
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<td>Tillotson, John</td>
<td>Sermons preach’d upon several occasions [vol. I]</td>
<td>1671–94</td>
<td>8+ 1</td>
<td>T1256–60; TC i. 84</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous sermons preached in London; price 3s. 6d., bd. (1671).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—— [vol. II]</td>
<td>1678–94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>T1260B–60A</td>
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<td></td>
<td>—— [vol. II]</td>
<td>1678 + [1710?]</td>
<td>6 + 2</td>
<td>T1229A–31; TC i. 326</td>
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<td>A sermon preached . . . [5,11,1678]</td>
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<td>As last; see also Works below.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sermon (on Luke 9: 55–6) on the cruelties carried out in the name of</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>religion, especially Catholicism; price 6d. (1678).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td><img src="https://via.placeholder.com/150" alt="Image" /> Sermon on the need for preparation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>for communion, + the duty of frequent communion; price 6d., bd.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1691); 24th edn. 1771.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A persuasive to frequent communion</td>
<td>1683–</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>T1206–13 + BLC + ESTC; TC ii. 387</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[1709?]</td>
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<td>Short treatise on the difference between Churches of England + Rome on</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>transubstantiation.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A discourse against transubstantiation</td>
<td>1684–1728–</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>T1190–6 + BLC + ESTC</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| ——                                               | 1694–1709–6? | Sermon on the nature of and extent of the prohibition on evil-speaking, with dissuasions + remedies. Tillotson's collected sermons + discourses, including those listed above; gradually extended from 54 to 254 items; price in 1706, 6s., bd.  
|                                                    |             | Handbook on nature of + preparation for Lord's Supper; price 1s., bd. (1671). |
| ——                                               | 1696–1728–9 (+4) | Thys booke is called the treasure of gladnesse + Thys booke is called the treasure of gladnesse |
| Tozer, Henry                                     | 1628–80     | Directions for a godly life + Directions for a godly life         |
| anon.                                            | 1563–1601   | Thys booke is called the treasure of gladnesse + Thys booke is called the treasure of gladnesse |
| T[runtle?]., J.                                   | [1619]–[c.1630] | Keepe within compasse: or, the worthy legacy of a wise father + Keepe within compasse: or, the worthy legacy of a wise father |
| Tuke, Thomas (ed.)/ T., J.                       | 1613–84     | The practise of the faithfull + The practise of the faithfull         |
| Tymme, Thomas                                    | 1605–59     | A silver watch-bell + A silver watch-bell                               |
| Tyndale, William                                 | (1528)–[1537?]–1561 | The obedience of a christen man + The obedience of a christen man |

**Notes:****

- **Bodleian + ESTC:** Bodleian Library and English Short Title Catalogue.
- **ESTC:** English Short Title Catalogue.
- **TC:** ThomasCTR Index to Early Printed Books (1475-1640).
- **54–254 items:** Number of items in the collection.
- **Price:** Cost of the book.
- **bd.:** Bound.

---

**Prayers for private devotions, often heavily scriptural in language.**

Short moralistic work in prose + verse containing aphoristic advice from a father to his ‘beloved son’ on religion, conversation, apparel, + diet.

Large collection of prayers + meditations for a wide variety of needs; price is., bd. (1675).

Four short catechetical forms on the usual staples. Wide-ranging treatise on the urgency of the need to repent + what to do, in 12 chapters representing 12 strokes of a bell.

Treatise expounding the scriptural basis of authority + obedience, + attacking papal claims to authority; first edns. published abroad; price is. unbd. (1561).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Dates</th>
<th>Editions</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[The parable of the wicked mammon]</td>
<td>(1528)–[1537]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24454–61</td>
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<tr>
<td>An exposition upon the v. vi. vii chapters of Mathew</td>
<td>([1533]–[1549])</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24440–42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ussher, James: Immanuel, or, the mystery of the incarnation</td>
<td>(1638)–1643</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24553 + U180–80A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ursinus, Zacharias: The principles of Christian religion</td>
<td>1644–1720</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>U201–7 + BL; TC i. 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘‘‘’: A body of divinitie</td>
<td>1645–1702</td>
<td>8+?</td>
<td>U151–8 + BL + ESTC; TC i. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentine, Henry: Private devotions</td>
<td>–1631–1706</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24576.3–76.7 + V238–23f + BLC; TC i. 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venning, Ralph: Mysteries and revelations</td>
<td>1647–57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>V209–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘‘‘’: Orthodoxe paradoxes</td>
<td>1647–77</td>
<td>8 (+ 1)</td>
<td>V217–22A; TC i. 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Editions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vesey, Henry</td>
<td>The scope of the scripture</td>
<td>1614–37</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vincent, Nathaniel</td>
<td>The spirit of prayer</td>
<td>1674–99</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Christ’s certain and sudden appearance</td>
<td>1667–1705</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>An explicatory catechism</td>
<td>1673–1721–</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virel, Matthieu</td>
<td>A learned and excellent treatise</td>
<td>1594–1635</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Wake, William]</td>
<td>Preparation for death</td>
<td>1687–1723</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Of our obligation to put our trust in God</td>
<td>1695</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall, Thomas</td>
<td>A comment on the times</td>
<td>1657–64</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallis, John</td>
<td>A brief and easie explanation</td>
<td>1648–62</td>
<td>8 + 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward, Samuel</td>
<td>A coal from the altar</td>
<td>1615–27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Catechism.** Handbook on the nature of prayer, with a poem by Herbert, + directions on how to pray correctly; price 1s., bd. (1674).

**Treatise:** the sins of the people are the reasons for the recent disasters. Long treatise designed as a successor to the last; there is an even worse judgement to come – the Last.

Exposition of Westminster Shorter Catechism through extra questions + answers; many edns. in Scotland + elsewhere.

Dialogue-catechism, translated from the French (by S. Egerton).

**Open letter** to a young gentlewoman who was dangerously ill, on preparation for death.

**Sermon** (on Ps. 146: 3–5) on the virtuous life + untimely death of Queen Mary: trust in God, + live to be worthy of his protection.

**Treatise** on the enemies of the church: the over-scrupulous, ignorant, ambitious, proud, hypocritical, etc.

Exposition of Westminster Shorter Catechism by a novel method.

Visitation sermon (at Ipswich) on Rev. 3: 19: on the need to be zealous.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The life of faith</td>
<td>1621–7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ward, Seth]</td>
<td>A philosophical essay</td>
<td>1652–77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W[aring], H[enry], gent.</td>
<td>The rule of charity</td>
<td>1690–7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick, Arthur</td>
<td>Spare-minutes; or, resolved meditations</td>
<td>1654–80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson, Thomas</td>
<td>The Christians charter</td>
<td>1652–65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>Autarkeia, or the art of contentment</td>
<td>1653–708–1708–17</td>
<td>ESTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>The way to true happiness</td>
<td>1610–[50?]</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weemes, John</td>
<td>The Christian synagogue</td>
<td>1622–36</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werdmueller, Otto</td>
<td>A spyrytual and moost precyous pearle (tr. M. Coverdale)</td>
<td>1550–1605</td>
<td>7+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES**

The humble advice . . . concerning a larger catechisme 1647–58–62 | W1436–9 |

**Treatise** (formerly sermons) on the nature + development of the life of faith.

**Treatise** exponding the grounds of Christian belief against atheists et al.; price 1s., bd. (1677).

**Treatise** by a layman on Eccles. 4: 11 on the duty, rules + rewards of alms-giving.

**Improving thoughts**, mainly on the Christian sense of sin + virtue.

Long treatise on the blessings of a believer.

Long treatise on the nature of contentment + motives to be content.

**Aid to bible study** in question-and-answer form; cf. *Doctrine* and E. Paget.

Six sermons on the nature of inward + outward quietness, with directions how to be quiet + avoid anger, envy, etc.

**Treatise** comparing texts + describing Jewish + other customs.

Long treatise on bearing with affliction as sent by God, + directing us how to live a better life; price 8d. unbd. (1575).

Westminster Larger *Catechism*. 


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The humble advice . . . concerning a shorter catechisme</td>
<td>1647–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The grounds and principles of religion . . . in a shorter catechism</td>
<td>1648–1737–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The confession of faith, and/ together with the larger and shorter catechisms</td>
<td>1649–1717–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The shorter catechism compos'd by the reverend assembly</td>
<td>1656–1737–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Wetehall, Edward]</th>
<th>Enter into thy closet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whately, William</td>
<td>The redemption of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>The new birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, John</td>
<td>The way to the true church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[White, Josias?]</td>
<td>A short catechisme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Thomas</td>
<td>A little book for little children: wherein are set down several directions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| anon. [/author of *The whole duty of man*] | The whole duty of prayer |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Edition</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1647–87</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648–1737–</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1649–1717–</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656–1737–</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1663–84</td>
<td>5 + 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606–73</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618–35</td>
<td>6+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1608–24</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>[1660?]–1702</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1692–[c.1720]</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16440–41A + Carruthers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2135A–8bA + Carruthers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Carruthers, C5760A–76A, C5796–8 + BLC W1448–548, + Carruthers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1495A–1500C; TC i. 28</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1590</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25318–71</td>
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<td>25308–13</td>
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<td>25394–8</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4803.2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Demers, <em>Heaven</em>, 43, + BLC</td>
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<tr>
<td>A1195–95A + BLC; TC ii. 592</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Westminster Shorter **Catechism**, with, from 1648, scripture proofs. Last above with a more suitable title.

The Westminster Confession of Faith, + the Larger + Shorter **Catechisms**; many Scottish edns.

Westminster Shorter **Catechism** with the scripture proofs printed in full.

A long handbook on the how and why of prayer; price 2s., bd. (1670).

**Sermon** (on Ephes. 5: 16) condemning the common ways of wasting time. **Treatise** (formerly sermons on John 3: 3) on the necessity, nature + effects of regeneration.

Long treatise, answering point by point a ‘popish’ discourse on faith + the marks of the church. **Catechism** (cf. also 25399.5–400).

**Composite** work for children, offering comforting + admonitory directions for children, + stories of godly children who died young; possibly related to a spelling primer with similar title.

Collection of **prayers + meditations** for a wide variety of people + situations; said to have been composed by the author of *The whole duty of man*, for an ‘honourable lady many years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anon./[author of <em>The whole duty of man</em>]</td>
<td>The whole duty of receiving worthily</td>
<td>[1696?]–1717</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>At195B + ESTC before’ + then committed to the care of G. B. (q.v.); price 1s., bd. (1696). Instructions for the young + a week’s pre-communion meditations + prayers for older communicants; again allegedly by the author of <em>The whole duty of man</em>; preface by G. B. (q.v.) says this had also been kept privately by a lady of quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcox, Thomas</td>
<td>A choice drop of honey from the rock Christ</td>
<td>[1690?]–1723</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>W2119A–19A + BLC Tract warning against over-confidence + urging humility; 40th edn. [1732].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkins, John</td>
<td>Ecclesiastes, or, a discourse concerning the gift of preaching</td>
<td>1646–1718</td>
<td>9 (+ 4)</td>
<td>W2188–95 + BLC + Bodleian + ESTC; TC i. 11 TFC on how to preach; price 2s., bd. (1669).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>A discourse concerning the gift of prayer</td>
<td>1651–1718</td>
<td>9 (+ 1)</td>
<td>W2179–85 + BLC Handbook on prayer + how far one can attain the gift of prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>Of the principles and duties of natural religion (ed. J. Tillotson)</td>
<td>1675–1723</td>
<td>8 (+1?)</td>
<td>W2204–8 + BLC + Bodleian + ESTC; TC i. 209 Long treatise arguing that natural and Christian religion were not incompatible + the importance of leading a moral life; price 5s., bd. (1675).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Robert</td>
<td>[A sermon of hearing, or] A jewel for the ear</td>
<td>1593–1644</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25652–5 + W2250–50A Sermon on the importance of listening to God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———</td>
<td>The merchant royall</td>
<td>1607–15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25675–60 Sermon with a strong nautical flavour (on Prov. 31: 14) given at an aristocratic wedding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Williams, John] (archbishop of York)</td>
<td>The holy table, name and thing</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>7?</td>
<td>25724–6 A treatise on the position of the communion table in reply to one by P. Heylyn; no one printer produced the whole of any one edition—to spread the risk?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williams, John</td>
<td>A brief exposition of the church-catechism</td>
<td>1689–1724</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>W2685–8 + BLC; TC ii. 341</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bp. of Chichester)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[———]</td>
<td>A brief discourse concerning the lawfulness of worshipping God</td>
<td>1693–1704</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>W2682–4 + BLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Thomas</td>
<td>A Christian dictionary/A complete Christian dictionary . . . continued</td>
<td>1612–78</td>
<td>8 (+ i)</td>
<td>25786–89 + W2942–5 (+ cf. W2940–408)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by . . . J. Bagwell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1690).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wimbledon, Richard</td>
<td>A sermon no less fruteful than famous</td>
<td>[1540?]–1635</td>
<td>15 (+ 5)</td>
<td>25823.3–39</td>
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<tr>
<td>W[ither], G[orge]</td>
<td>The hymnes and songs of the church</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25908–10a.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolleb, John</td>
<td>Compendium theologiae Christianae</td>
<td>1642–61</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>W3257–62A</td>
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<tr>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>A wonderful example of God’s justice</td>
<td>[1641–8]–</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>W3365A–66</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[1693?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthington, John</td>
<td>Hupotuposis . . . A form of sound words</td>
<td>1673–1723</td>
<td>6 (+ 1)</td>
<td>W3625–9, BLC + ESTC; TC i. 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Exposition of Prayer Book catechism through extra questions + answers, + scripture proofs; price 6d. (1690).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tract</strong> (in reply to one by Increase Mather) on the lawfulness of using the Book of Common Prayer in public worship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Aid to bible study</strong>: huge work offering explanations of words + phrases used in the Bible; much extended in the 1650s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sermon</strong> (on Luke 16:2), allegedly preached in 1387/8, on giving an account of one’s stewardship. Scriptural passages turned into English verse, with music by Orlando Gibbons; price 2s. 4d. unbound (1623).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Treatise</strong> providing summary in handy pocket form of all the major heads of theology; in Latin. Ballad containing a cautionary tale of the dreadful fate of a Scottish atheist + blasphemer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Treatise</strong> (from a sermon on Ps. 119: 136) on mourning for our sins + for others’; in another 2 edns.(25992–3) the author reverted to his original text + added other sermons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Catechism</strong> said to have been published in edns. of 10,000 copies; see Christian’s ABC, 748–9; price 6d., stitched (1673).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>Shelf</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wright, Leonard</td>
<td>A summons for sleepers</td>
<td>1589–1637</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26033-5-35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yearwood, Randolph</td>
<td>The penitent murderer</td>
<td>1657–9</td>
<td>5²</td>
<td>Y23-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younge, Richard</td>
<td>A hopefull way to cure that horrid sinne of swearing</td>
<td>[1643²]–59</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Y160A–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A serious and pathetical description of heaven and hell</td>
<td>1658–77</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Y182–84A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2
Problems in Counting Editions of the Bible in Early Modern England

Counting editions of the Bible in English published in early modern England is much more difficult than it might appear. Our starting point has to be the Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961, published in 1903 by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, but based partly on the earlier analyses by Francis Fry and other scholars of the collection of several thousand bibles then in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1968 a revision by A. S. Herbert was published in which he not only modified some of the earlier conclusions but also incorporated details of copies in major repositories in the United Kingdom and United States which held other large collections of bibles. There is a further, manuscript revision of this Catalogue which is kept with the Bible Society’s collection, now housed in the Cambridge University Library, but these revisions consist mainly of the sale of duplicate copies and the acquisition of new bibles of which the Society did not have a copy. The practice adopted by Fry and his successors, Darlow, Moule, and Herbert (DMH), was to look at a number of variables in each copy: format, size of page, type of paper, type-face, collation of signatures or numbers of pages, the layout of type on each page, any ornaments and illustrations used, technical apparatus such as headers and footnotes, and preliminary and concluding material as well as the title-page itself. The fact that contemporary printers preparing a new edition usually copied the previous edition of a work page by page, before again breaking up the type, means that many copies may look superficially alike, but consideration of the combination of variables mentioned above meant that, at the time DMH’s list was prepared and revised, it was confidently felt that discrete editions could in most cases be readily identified. Where only minor differences between copies were detected, such as the correction of a misprint, DMH referred to the later of the two as ‘another copy’ or sometimes ‘variety’ (though the term ‘variety’ was also used in many cases where much greater differences had been identified).

The case of separate New Testaments was also fairly straightforward at the outset: most sixteenth-century New Testaments, as DMH noted, were a completely separate publishing venture rather than just the tail end of an edition of the complete bible. A discrete New Testament had its own title-page with full details of when, where, and by whom it was published, perhaps had a separate introduction, and had pages grouped in signatures beginning with the letter A; whereas a New Testament which was part of a complete bible had a much simpler title-page, often without bibliographical details, and its signatures usually followed on consecutively from those of the Old Testament.

1 DMH, pp. vii, xxi.
2 Separate New Testaments appeared first and easily outsold complete bibles for some time: see above, pp. 50–1.
When the section on bibles in the Short-Title Catalogue prepared by Pollard and Redgrave for the period to 1640 was revised recently (to become STC), there was a large measure of agreement between its findings and those of DMH. STC confirmed that the great majority of what DMH termed ‘another edition’ or ‘variety’ were indeed separate editions. On a few matters, however, STC has revised DMH further. STC lists a few undetected editions, suggests new dates for copies with missing title-pages, and has gone much further in sorting out the problematic copies published by Dutch printers with title-pages claiming to have been published in Elizabethan or early Stuart England. Other differences are due to the more rigorous definition of a new edition adopted in STC: one in which more than half the sheets are from a fresh setting of type. As a result STC classifies as ‘imperfect editions’ one or two copies of which insufficient pages survive to be sure of the separateness of the edition; but more importantly it uses the terms ‘variant’ or ‘re-issue’ (rather than DMH’s ‘another copy’) in cases where only minor alterations are known to have been made to a set of sheets before they were sold. One common case in which this occurred was where an important error had been noted—one on occasion ‘Judas’ was inadvertently substituted for ‘Jesus’ in John 6: 67—and a new, correct sheet was run off to replace the old; in other cases a number of sheets, and occasionally as much as a third, might be reprinted. Another not uncommon case was where a fresh general title-page was issued with a new date or some other minor alteration of spelling or information. The bibliographers of STC also spotted (or confirmed) cases where a specific copy consisted of a mixture of sheets from different ‘editions’—as could happen in an age when large books were often bought loose in sheets before being sent to a binder, and a publisher or bookseller did not have a full set of sheets from one printing to hand. Indeed, late in the reign of James I, Robert Barker was accused of easing his cash flow problems by selling unfinished sets of bible sheets at well below the usual price, leaving customers to do the best they could to complete the set.

When revision of STC was nearly complete, a large spanner was thrown in the works as far as ‘editions’ in the more popular smaller formats printed in the period from the 1610s or 1620s were concerned. Painstakingly detailed examination of a number of octavos published in 1628 led Professor Brian McMullin to suspect that rather than a number of discrete editions of a conventional sort, there had developed a process of continuous reprinting as fresh sheets were composed and printed (always in the same collation) to use up leftovers, planned or accidental. At its worst, he felt, a book might consist of parts which were printed over a period as long as thirty years, and in such cases ‘what constituted an edition may be impossible to determine’.

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2 e.g. STC: 2152.5, 2289, 2329.8.  
3 e.g. DMH, nos. 180, 217, and STC: 2887.3, and 2892, 2866.5, or 2890.  
4 e.g. STC: 2174–80, 2330–30.9.  
5 e.g. DMH, nos. 283–4, and STC: 2904.  
6 e.g. DMH, no. 306, and STC: 2212–3; and cf. STC: 2104, 2175, 2224, and 2282–3 (and DMH, nos. 412–16).  
7 e.g. STC: 2161–3, 2297.9, and 2233.  
8 e.g. STC: 2224 and 2217, 2294, and 2298.3.  
McMullin says, much more work is still needed to establish the working of the bible trade at this time, and as yet it is far from clear that continuous reprinting occurred before the 1610s or 1620s, or in the case of larger formats such as folios or very small ones thereafter, or indeed in any format where there was not sufficient demand, such as more than one edition a year, to justify tying up a press or a setting of type for long. How far the numbers of copies produced were affected is also open to question. Presumably if continuous reprinting was designed to use up leftovers at a time of great demand, the numbers of copies with mixed sheets that resulted would not have been much smaller, at least in the first instance, than the numbers produced if those copies all consisted of sheets from the same discrete editions; otherwise the printer would have ended up with more copies of the new sheets than of the originals with which they were to be matched. Nevertheless, McMullin’s findings provide another reason for caution in trying to calculate numbers of ‘editions’ of bibles and Testaments before 1640, and although I have followed STC closely for the estimates in Chapter 2, and especially for the period prior to 1620, it is on the understanding that there are approximations in order to give us a very broad pattern of the patterns of production, and that further research may qualify them.

For the period after 1640 the technical problems are even greater. The principles adopted by DMH for the century after 1640 were the same as for the period before, but the task of proper comparison of bibles was made much more difficult by the increased scale of pirate copies being imported from Holland from the 1640s to the 1680s, the growing practice of altering the last digit of a date by pen or on the engraved plate used for a title-page, the increased use of cancel title-pages, and the mixing of sheets or of Old and New Testaments from different printings, together with the very wide diaspora of surviving copies of bibles by the twentieth century. But the main difference for the later Stuart period is that the bibliographers who prepared Wing and its successor Wing appear to have adopted an approach which focused on the title-page, which may help antiquarian booksellers and librarians, but is of little use to those scholars who are more interested in what lies behind the title-page.

The fixation on title-pages has led to some curious anomalies. If no general title-page has survived for a copy (which was often the fate of a much-used work that lost its front cover and then its first leaf), Wing does not list it, even though the rest of the work is catalogued in DMH. If a title-page says ‘London’, Wing lists it as such, even if earlier scholars had deduced from the nature of the type used, the spelling errors (‘assings’ for ‘assigns’, ‘S. Jean’ for ‘S. John’), or other suspicious signs, such as a defunct publishing partnership, that it was published abroad, usually in Amsterdam.


See the figures in square brackets in Tables 2.3 and 2.5 in Ch. 2; and comments in DMH, pp. 182, 184–5, 217, and the list at the foot of p. 187; and cf. McKitterick, History of CUP, 196, 319, 347.

DMH, nos. 466, 781, 783, 789, 793. See below, n. 23.

DMH, nos. 591 and 705, and below, n. 22.

cf. DMH, nos. 595, 600, 617, 816, and cf. 853 (= Wing B2375A).

DMH, nos. 700, 728, 735, 754, 777 and 779, and 791; and Wing 2778, 2296, 2301, 2311C, 221–2, 2335.
If a general title-page gives one date, and the New Testament title-page or colophon gives a later, even some years later, it is the earlier which is followed in Wing\(^2\) when, from the point of view of when a copy was bound, reason suggests that the two were unlikely to have been bound together before the later date.\(^2\)

During the disruption of production in the 1640s and 1650s the earlier habit of printing \textit{either} complete bibles \textit{or} separate New Testaments tended to give way to what looks like continuous rolling production of separate Old and New Testaments, each with their own full title-page giving the name of publisher and date and separate signatures. Customers wanting a complete bible therefore had to buy one of each in matching size and typeface, and a significant proportion of surviving bibles do not have the same date for the two parts. Up to a point Wing\(^2\) does cater for this, by listing as separate editions cases where an Old Testament of one date has been found bound with a New Testament of a different date. But in some early cases such a discrepancy may represent not a separate setting up of type but production spanning two calendar years.\(^2\) Wing\(^2\)’s system of separate listings even \textit{creates} anomalies. Three ‘editions’ of the 1676 octavo by Bill and Barker are listed when the only difference appears to be that some copies of the 1676 Old Testament were sold or bound with earlier New Testaments: in one case a 1669 Testament, in another a 1671, and in others a 1675.\(^2\)

Wing\(^2\) also consistently lists as separate editions those cases in which two or three cancel title-pages were printed for the different booksellers who wished their name alone to appear on the cover. For example, in the case of the Oxford folio of 1682, all copies have the same text and only the title-pages differ according to which London bookseller was involved—Ann Leake, Moses Pitt, or Peter Parker.\(^2\) Conversely, while many entries in the bible section in Wing\(^2\) refer to different ‘settings’ of a text, a single Wing number may actually conceal two, three, or four quite distinct editions. Of the many examples which could be given, here are two. Under the single entry for a 1669 octavo edition (B 2278), Wing\(^2\) conflates two editions of slightly different-sized and clearly different sizes and quality of type, one of which was almost certainly printed in Holland. And the ‘2 settings’ listed under B2328, a 1682 Oxford octavo, consist of one on paper measuring 149 by 95 mm and finishing on sig. Mmm4a, and the other on paper measuring 163 by 92 mm and finishing on sig. Kkk7a.\(^2\)

The net result of all this is that Wing\(^2\) cannot be used as a check on DMH in the way that STC\(^2\) can (until the 1610s), and in Table 2.3 and related calculations I have,

\(^2\) e.g. B2209A (1645 general title-page, New Testament dated 1648, listed under 1645); B2237B (1653 general title-page, New Testament 1656, listed under 1653).

\(^2\) For an example of a conventional difference of dating, see DMH, no. 596: general title-page 1646, New Testament title-page 1645 but colophon 1646; that is, the New Testament was prepared in the December–January period of 1645–6 and the two parts published as an entity in 1646.

\(^2\) Wing’ 2297–2299B. Many other examples could be given: see ibid., 2223A (1648 general title-page with 1646 New Testament), 2224A (1648 general, 1647 New Testament), 2311C (1689 general, 1668 New Testament), and 2372B (1668 general, 1666 New Testament). In a number of these cases only one or at most two or three exemplars survive, and the matching is much more likely to have taken place at the selling and binding stages rather than the production.

\(^1\) (Wing\(^2\) references first, DMH nos. in brackets): 2324–5 and 2326A (769–71); 2259–2259A (672–3); 2263–4 (675–6); 2332–2334A (784); and 2350–2350A (809).

\(^1\) Many other examples could be given, e.g. 2203 (572–3), 2209 (585, 587), 2233 (626–7, 628), 2253 (662–3, 664–5), 2332 (785–6).
with some trepidation, relied primarily on DMH and treated its ‘varieties’ as separate editions unless the accompanying text made it clear that the only apparent differences were on the title-page or a preliminary leaf. Entries in Wing have been collated with those in DMH, and where Wing offers information of an edition that is not listed at all in DMH, such as John Flesher’s duodecimo of 1653 and the Cambridge New Testament of 1666 (a year in which there was virtually no bible production in London), this has been included in the totals too, as, for the period between 1700 and 1729, have ‘new’ editions thrown up by the Eighteenth Century Short-Title Catalogue. But where an ‘edition’ listed in Wing does not appear in DMH and it seems that it is quite probably no more than a case of a cancel title-page or a mixture of different printings of Old and New Testaments, this has been counted as a query. The huge number of queries that will be seen in Table 2.3 for the 1680s—almost one in three of complete bibles and half the separate Testaments—is due to the fact that in that decade two trends already mentioned appear to have peaked: that of providing different booksellers with their own title-page, and that of selling Old and New Testaments printed at different times to make up a complete copy. Further work is also badly needed on bible production in the period after 1640, but in the meantime some very approximate and provisional figures have been offered in Chapter 2 as a means of gauging in broad terms how far earlier patterns of production had changed.

5 The ESTC references are itemized at the foot of Table 2.3 in Ch. 2 above. Scott Mandelbrote has undertaken a different method of assessing production levels in this period, but his conclusions are, I believe, not widely different from mine.

6 This is an impression based on the collation of DMH and Wing, but for some indicative examples see previous notes. The situation seems to have stabilized in the 1690s and during the era of John Baskett from 1709 to 1739, for whom see Carter, *History of OUP*, 166–76.
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