

# THE PROTESTANT RECEPTION OF CATHOLIC DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE IN ENGLAND TO 1700

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Discussion of the dispersal of Catholic literature in post-Reformation England tends to focus on the tenacity of recusants and ‘church papists’ in perpetuating allegiance to Rome. Relatively little attention has been paid to the extent to which Catholic texts, either in their original form or modified for a Protestant readership, formed a part of the mainstream culture of the reformed Church. This paper attempts to demonstrate the significance of Catholic literature in the Protestant context by showing the range of Protestant adaptations, the extent of Protestant readership and the influences of Catholic literature on Protestant writers.

## *A Brief Historiography of Catholic Literature in Protestant England*

A couple of decades ago, a fundamental reappraisal of the role of Catholics and Catholicism in post-Reformation England began to take shape. Notably, Duffy demonstrated the vitality of pre-Reformation Catholic culture and the degree of popular resistance to Protestant reforms,<sup>1</sup> Walsham brought into the limelight the hitherto largely overlooked crypto-Catholics of later Tudor and early Stuart times,<sup>2</sup> and Allison and Rogers established the concept of an ‘English Counter-Reformation’.<sup>3</sup> The development of the concept of the ‘long Reformation’<sup>4</sup> and a slew of entries of recusants in *ODNB* are just two indications of the impact this radical revisionism has had on perceptions of the period, and recognition of ‘the porous boundary between recusancy and [outward] conformism’<sup>5</sup> has informed the work of a generation of scholars – Martin Havran, Judith Maltby, Anthony Milton, Michael Questier and Alison Shell, to name but a few.

Much attention, too, has been paid to fleshing out our understanding of the distribution of Catholic literature. The draconian measures that were undeniably a feature of the period<sup>6</sup> are tempered by recognition of the fact that, despite the restrictions, Catholic books were widely disseminated: ‘Merchants sold Catholic works in their shops, and Catholics could even purchase books publicly in places such as St. Pauls churchyard in London’.<sup>7</sup>

Alongside this more nuanced understanding of the dispersal of Catholic literature in early modern England there is increasing recognition that it did not circulate only among Catholics. McClain notes that

'Even staunch Protestants were caught reading Catholic books',<sup>8</sup> though her use of the word 'caught' reflects a perception that (with the exception, perhaps, of controversialists who read such texts in order to expose their errors and condemn them) there were no legitimate contexts for Protestants to engage in any way with the literature of the adversary, an assumption that underlies Von Habsburg's comment (with relation to a Protestant edition of the *Imitatio Christi*) that 'it might seem curious that Protestants should translate a text which was known to have enjoyed widespread appeal within monastic communities'.<sup>9</sup> Basically, Catholic sources in Protestant England tend to be mentioned in the context of a Catholic readership, a Catholic attempt to win souls back from the Protestant cause, and an ongoing Catholic culture. Haigh's discussion of 'Robert Parsons's *Christian Directory* and translations of Luis de Granada', for example, places them in the context of works 'printed for Catholics',<sup>10</sup> ignoring their Protestant incarnations, and, while Walsham does discuss the Protestant versions, she too is basically concerned with 'Post-Reformation English Catholicism'.<sup>11</sup> Protestant interest in such sources is broadly assumed either to indicate a receptiveness to Catholicism among nominal or wavering Protestants, or to be a springboard for refutation or retaliatory action. As Bozeman puts it:

Recusant translators and editors intended their works to serve English Catholics... but they also hoped to influence Protestants. By making available a...rich literature steeped in Catholic religious ideals, they aimed to contribute to the reconversion of the English people... Yet the currency of such books in Elizabethan and early Stuart times, together with the dismal failure of the Counter Reformation in England, suggests that their primary effect was to strengthen Protestant resources. With specific reference to works by Parsons, Granada, and Loarte, the Puritan editors of Rogers's *Seven Treatises*<sup>12</sup> and the author himself saw the work as inspired in part by the dangers of Catholic spiritual literature.<sup>13</sup>

By this analysis, on the one side, the function of Catholic literature was to sustain Catholics and entice lukewarm Protestants, and on the other it served to provoke Protestant (particularly puritan) divines into producing their own works of devotion. Insofar as Protestant readers read Catholic works with sympathy, it was because they were, at heart, uncommitted, open to persuasion, likely to turn again to Rome should the occasion present itself. The true upholders of the reformist spirit would see in such literature only inherent dangers, against which they would take measures by producing their own brand of devotional literature. Hudson, too, notes Persons' challenge to the Protestants to identify 'any one treatise...of devotion, pietie and contemplation' actually written by one of their own creed,<sup>14</sup> and sees in 'The obvious popularity of Catholic works for Protestant readers, such as Thomas Rogers' translation of the *De imitatione Christi*, Bunny's edition of Persons' *First Book of Christian Exercise*, and...the Protestantizing of Luis de Granada's *Of Prayer and Meditation*' an 'apparent lacuna in the offerings of Protestant

booksellers', whose main significance is that it prompted 'puritan clerics in particular to address themselves to this problem'.<sup>15</sup>

Although the underlying assumption is that, by and large, Catholic literature was received positively only by recusants and crypto-Catholics, Bozeman does indicate that adaptations of Catholic works could also serve the Protestant interest, noting that 'Richard Baxter's encounter with Bunny's revision of Parsons's *Christian Exercise* was a landmark in his spiritual development', and even (though he does not develop the full implications of this point) says that, 'Giving strong evidence of renewed English interest in Catholic spirituality, conservative Protestants too contributed to the devotional revival with expurgated editions of Catholic works'.<sup>16</sup> It is on this 'English interest in Catholic spirituality', not as a sign of Protestant backsliding, nor as something which goaded Protestant writers to produce their own brand of spiritual writings, but as a facet of mainstream Protestant culture, that the present paper focuses.

### *Protestant Editions of Catholic Works*

The Catholic sources that played a role in early modern Protestantism can be broadly divided into three types – patristic, medieval and post-Reformation. The Protestant reformers early on legitimized their use of patristic writings by arguing that the Catholic Church had begun to stray from the true faith about a thousand years prior to the Reformation; works written prior to that time, though they might contain 'errors', were considered, on the whole, to be part of the ancient tradition that the reformers were aiming to re-establish.<sup>17</sup> This perception is adequately reflected in modern scholarship. *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, for example, contains several chapters, notably those by Manfred Schulz, Irena Backus, Johannes Van Oort and E.P. Meijering, demonstrating the centrality of patristic sources to the Reformation in general, while Quantin's chapter on 'The Fathers in Seventeenth Century Anglican Theology'<sup>18</sup> gives an account of the role they played in post-Reformation England.

Even in this context of recognition of the role played by the Church Fathers, Augustine of Hippo stands out as a special case, and 'the importance of Augustine for the Reformation'<sup>19</sup> is so striking that some mention of him is more or less obligatory in any discussion of the topic.<sup>20</sup> As Cook observes, 'It is hotly Controverted betweene us and the Papists at this day, Whether the Ancient Fathers, and especially St. *Austin*, was of their Religion or ours'.<sup>21</sup> Given that Augustine is so ubiquitously present in Protestant England during this period,<sup>22</sup> I will, by and large, leave his works out of account in assessing the catholicity of the Protestants discussed in the following pages.

The use by Protestants of medieval writers was somewhat more difficult to justify, though, as Narveson puts it, the idea that they were

‘godly men who erred in some things because they lived before the Reformation’ was ‘a commonplace among those Protestants willing to translate patristic and medieval works’.<sup>23</sup> In the words of the Quaker Robert Barclay:

Who can deny that Bernard and Bonaventure and Tauler and Thomas à Kempis, and a number of others have tasted the love of God, and felt the power of the Divine Spirit in themselves working towards their salvation? Yet ought we not, therefore, to deny, reject and forsake those superstitions in which they were steeped?<sup>24</sup>

Coverage of the relevance of such sources to English Protestantism is somewhat patchy. Strehle looks at a wide range of medieval sources for the European Reformation, noting the influence of, for example, Thomas Aquinas and Bernard of Clairvaux on Luther,<sup>25</sup> but, apart from some mention of William Perkins in connection with Scholastic Calvinism, says little about England.<sup>26</sup> Bozeman notes Richard Greenham’s references to Bernard of Clairvaux, saying, ‘it would be rash to conclude that [Greenham]...knew little of the voluminous post-patristic Catholic theological and spiritual literature available in Latin and, increasingly after about 1580, in English original or translation’.<sup>27</sup> Bozeman also notes that Thomas Rogers’ ‘Protestantized edition’ of the *Imitation of Christ* ‘was reprinted sixteen times between 1580 and 1640’,<sup>28</sup> and there has been some significant research into à Kempis’ role in post-Reformation England.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the overall impression is that such sources are relegated to little more than a footnote to the main narrative of religious reform.

Acknowledgement of Protestant use of contemporary Catholic literature is even sparser. Anthony Milton cites Robert Abbot’s assertion that ‘we forbear not to turne & winde al Popish authors, either of former or latter time, that what gold we can find in their dunghils, we may apply it to the furnishing of the temple of the Lord’,<sup>30</sup> and Bozeman acknowledges that

the Protestant movement by about 1580 possessed embarrassingly scant resources...for spiritual edification and discipline. Nor had the theologians of the presbyterian movement...made the recasting and nurture of spirituality their priority. It is not therefore surprising that those who did so drew both inspiration and material from Catholic tradition.<sup>31</sup>

Maltby, too, concedes that ‘Christianity in its protestant forms’ is not ‘an entirely different species from either medieval Christianity or the Roman Catholicism shaped by the Counter Reformation’,<sup>32</sup> and Bunny’s edition of the Jesuit Robert Persons, while still generally dismissed as a piracy,<sup>33</sup> is beginning to gain recognition as a ‘striking example’ of the ‘profound continuities between Catholic and Protestant practices in the areas of casuistry and personal piety’,<sup>34</sup> a perception which has its roots in Louis Martz’s seminal study.<sup>35</sup> Ryrie, too, in his recent work on the daily life

of early modern Protestants, acknowledges the extent to which Catholic sources played an important role in their lives.<sup>36</sup>

Overall, though, the idea that Catholic sources may have been of any substantial significance to English Protestants continues to be overlooked, or, at best, underplayed, by many modern scholars. Milton concedes that, from late Tudor times on, ‘English Protestants were...making increasing use of contemporary Roman devotional writers’, but limits his discussion of Catholic sources to a few passing references to Bernard of Clairvaux, Jeremias Drexel, Robert Persons, Francis de Sales and scarcely any others. His discussion of ‘catholicity’<sup>37</sup> focuses mainly on what Protestants thought of Catholics, rather than on what they thought of themselves, with the result that he does not really discuss the idea that ‘the religious protestants, are in deed the right Catholiques’,<sup>38</sup> that is, that Protestantism is the true heir of the ‘ancient apostolic’ Catholicism of the early Church, an idea that underpins the Protestant rationale for drawing on Catholic sources. He also dismisses Joseph Hall’s *The Olde Religion* as ‘a conventional and unremarkable piece of anti-papal writing’,<sup>39</sup> brushing aside Hall’s basic point that many Catholic doctrines were not intrinsic to the Catholic Church in its original form but add-ons adopted at a later date – transubstantiation, half-communion, missal sacrifice, image-worship, indulgences and purgatory, divine service in an unknown tongue, sacramental confession, invocation of saints, seven sacraments, the doctrine of traditions, the universal headship of the bishop of Rome, papal infallibility, the pope’s superiority to councils, papal dispositions and ‘Popes domineering over Kings and Emperours’.<sup>40</sup> For example, with regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, Hall observes that ‘the Laterane Councill authorized it for a matter of faith, *Anno* 1215’, and half-communion, finally ratified in the ‘Councill of *Constance*’ (1453), dated back, as a custom, to ‘about the yeare of God 1260’.<sup>41</sup>

Hall’s arguments are admittedly of variable validity; for example, it was indeed the Lateran Council which sanctioned the label of ‘transubstantiation’, but the doctrine itself goes back to Cyril and Ambrose and other Fathers of the Church. Nevertheless, Hall’s work is the most exhaustive treatment of an approach that is ultimately, perhaps, based on Bullinger (‘the christen faith...hath endured sens the beginnyng of the worlde’ and ‘al vertuous men haue pleased God, and wer saued through the Christen fayth’)<sup>42</sup> and forms the basis for such works as Josias Nicholls, *Abrahams Faith: that is, The Olde Religion* (London, 1602), and Richard Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks* (London, 1659).<sup>43</sup> This line of argument was an important justification for Protestant use of Catholic sources, leading people like Edmund Bunny, Thomas Rogers and Frances Meres to find nuggets of ‘true’ piety in Catholic literature, despite an avalanche of reforms, each of which had systematically, from their point of view, turned the medieval Church further away from its original form and intention.

In their own eyes, Protestant editors of Catholic texts were showing ‘an honest Impartiality and Freedom of Temper, and a Love for Piety wherever it is found’,<sup>44</sup> but this is not, in general, how they are perceived through the lens of modern scholarship. Despite Bunny’s edition of Persons being probably the most popular work of religious devotion of its time, little attempt has been made to evaluate its impact on Protestant readers (a point I return to later on), while the only in-depth study of the influence of Luis de Granada in England was published in Germany some 80 years ago and has never been translated into English.<sup>45</sup> Bozeman, in attempting to convey a sense of the dispersal of Catholic literature for a Protestant readership, acknowledges (as mentioned above) the sixteen Protestant editions of the *Imitation of Christ*, as well as ‘thirty-two editions [of Persons’ *Christian Exercise*] between 1584 and 1639’, but spoils it by noting of Luis de Granada only that ‘Frances Meres’s translation of...*Sinners Guyde* went through two London editions’,<sup>46</sup> overlooking the nine editions of the Protestant adaptation of the Catholic Richard Hopkins’ translation of *Of Prayer and Meditation* (the first being published in London in 1592) and several other Protestant editions of Luis de Granada’s work – *The Sinners Guyde* (London, 1598), *Granados Devotion* (London, 1598), *Granada’s Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* (London, 1598), and *A most Fragrant Flower or Deuout Exposition of the Lords Praier* (London, 1598). Between them, these editions probably make the Dominican Luis de Granada second in popularity only to the Jesuit Robert Persons among late Tudor and early Stuart Protestant readers of devotional literature, who might in addition have had on their shelves, not only works by the Church Fathers, or à Kempis and other medieval divines, but also Protestant editions of works by such contemporary Catholic writers as Miguel de Comalada, Jeremias Drexel, Diego de Estella, Francis de Sales, Cristóbal de Fonseca, Antonio de Guevara, Gaspar de Loarte and Andrés de Soto.

Taken in their entirety, these texts comprise a sizeable body of largely neglected work. Modern scholarship has perhaps gone beyond the ‘gentleman’s agreement to stop short of disputed territory’ that characterized commentators of an earlier generation,<sup>47</sup> but the Protestant use of Catholic literature, whether adapted for a Protestant readership or in its original form, still tends to fall between ideological cracks. Scholars of the Counter-Reformation are, on the whole, not concerned with what Protestants were reading, while those of the Reformation tend to dismiss Protestants who read Catholic literature as nominal or backsliding Protestants, and Protestants who adapted Catholic literature for a Protestant readership as plagiarists whose efforts are beneath serious consideration. The first step towards rehabilitating these works and showing that, while they may be marginalized, they are not entirely marginal, is to demonstrate that, by and large, they were indeed published by Protestants for Protestants, not as part of the continuing dispersal of

literature designed to win souls back to Catholicism. The second step is to see them in the broader context of Catholic literature's Protestant readership. And the third is to demonstrate that Catholic literature as a whole made a significant and traceable impact on the works of orthodox English writers.

### *Protestant Editors of Catholic Texts*

What kind of people, then, translated or adapted Catholic literature for a Protestant readership? Simply asking the question pulls into the limelight a number of figures who would otherwise attract little attention. Behind the 'unremarkable Elizabethan clerical career' of Thomas Rogers, for example, lies the tale of a man who, in addition to several original works, 'Between 1577 and 1592...produced no fewer than twelve separate translations' and, 'Although a stout protestant, his tastes were catholic in the true sense of that word'.<sup>48</sup> His Protestant translations include the work of 'a Protestant divine named Shelto à Geveren [who] adapted a Talmudic passage about the six-thousand year duration of history',<sup>49</sup> along with the Lutherans Niels Hemmingsen and Johann Habbermann, the humanist Joannes Rivius and Philippus Caesar's third-century condemnation of usury, but he also translated à Kempis' *Of the Imitation of Christ* (London, 1580), the Franciscan Diego de Estella's *A Methode vnto Mortification* (London, 1586), and several suppositious works of Augustine.

Rogers' translation of à Kempis contains an 'Epistle concerning the translation and correction of this Booke', in which he defends his work, saying, 'neither is my doing for noueltie strange; nor am I (as I trust) to be reprobued therefore', which implies that not all his contemporaries would approve of his endeavour. He also demonstrates his meticulousness in weeding out anything that 'might be offensiuue to the godlie'.<sup>50</sup> These themes recur in the epistle dedicatory of *A Methode vnto Mortification*, which contains a spirited defence of Rogers' choice of a Catholic text and of his expurgation of the 'superstition' therein (which he relegates to an appendix at the back of the book), and in which he defends himself from attack by both Catholics and Protestants:

I thinke it verie necessarie some-thing to saie in this place, that neither the Christians may shun this as a Serpent because of the auctor a Papist; nor the papistes condemne it, as heretical, in respect of my selfe, a Protestant. For seeing the ground, subiect, and substance of the booke is such, as...al the wisest of both sides doe agree in me thinks the circumstance of persons is not to be regarded.<sup>51</sup>

He also justifies using a Catholic source by pointing out that Augustine favoured taking from the Greek and Roman philosophers whatever did not offend against Christian doctrine, and that Catholics also edited and adapted texts – even, occasionally, Protestant ones.<sup>52</sup>

Rogers' original writings are all very clearly Protestant works. Notable among them is *The English Creede* (two parts, London, 1585 and 1587), which was reprinted several times, and in which he asserts the conformability of the Church of England 'with the true, auncient, catholique, and apostolique church'.<sup>53</sup> *An Historical Dialogue Touching Antichrist and Poperie* (London, 1589), written in the wake of the Spanish Armada and in response to the appellant controversy, is virulently anti-Catholic, with Rogers indulging in the standard 'Whore of Babylon' rhetoric of the day and dedicating himself to 'the bringing of this...most impudent harlot...into a common hatred'.<sup>54</sup> In *Miles Christianus* (London, 1590), a response to what Rogers took to be a slight by Miles Mosse (in the preface to Edward Dering's *A Short Catechisme for Housholders*), he discourses on the errors of the papists in their insistence on the visible church ('the faithfull people...are of the Catholike Church, yet are not the faithfull people the Catholike Church'), and notes that no Christians prior to the Reformation, whether 'Schoolemen, Heretikes, or Fathers... were free altogether from errors, and ill opinions'.<sup>55</sup>

There is, of course, some possibility that, at certain points in his career, Rogers was trimming in order to salvage his position, but it is also perfectly possible to see his very disparate output as conformable with a single coherent point of view: the visible church of Rome is a whore, leading its followers into error, and yet, within, but not completely smothered by the whore, the true Christian spirit – falteringly, and encumbered with errors – nevertheless survives and, where found, should be recognized and cherished.

If Rogers were writing in any way in the Catholic interest, he would, of course, not say so, so some examination of the context of his translations is necessary in order to determine whether he really was, as Craig has it, 'a stout protestant'. A fairly wide variety of printers were involved in the production of Rogers' editions of Catholic works, but the main ones (Henry Denham, John Windet and John Wolfe) are not known for any Catholic sympathies or for printing works in the Catholic interest. It would appear, too, that he was, in part, guided by the advice of his printers; in a prefatory epistle to *Of the Imitation of Christ* he says, 'whatsoever I haue done, was taken in hand at the motion of the Printer hereof' (that is, Henry Denham) and praises Denham's 'zeale to set forth good bookes for the aduancement of virtue, and care to publish them as they ought to be'.<sup>56</sup> Equally, the dedicatees of his Catholic editions (Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor, two justices of the peace for the county of Suffolk and Thomas Wilson, doctor of civil law) appear to be of impeccable Protestant orthodoxy. Wilson, in particular, was involved in the examination of Catholics suspected as traitors, and was hardly someone to whom a Catholic sympathizer would have dedicated his work.

Rogers' wider circle of associates throws into relief the shifting nature of religious allegiances in the England of those days. In his early days

he apparently harboured radical Protestant sympathies, though these had mellowed by the 1560s, a development that would appear to be compatible with the fact that he was at some stage chaplain to Christopher Hatton and Richard Bancroft. The career of the former was plagued by 'recurrent rumours of his Catholic sympathies', but, 'Whatever his private views, in public life he denounced the pope' and worked 'within the framework of the Elizabethan settlement' and was a favourite of the queen, while the latter, who was obliquely accused of 'insufficiency in taking action against the publication of popish books', went on to become Archbishop of Canterbury and proved himself in the years following the Gunpowder Plot to be 'implacable in his opposition to the papists'.<sup>57</sup> Despite the doubt surrounding Hatton's private sympathies, it seems unlikely, based on what little we know of his circle, that dalliance with Catholicism formed any significant part of Rogers' religious outlook.

Edmund Bunny, the puritan editor of Robert Persons' *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise Appertayning to Resolution* (Rouen: Robert Persons' Press, 1582), falls under even less suspicion of harbouring Catholic sympathies. Working as he was 'in a region in which Catholicism continued to have a strong hold', Bunny 'thought that a protestant version might serve equally well in inducing...church papists to give up their attachment to the Catholic mission'.<sup>58</sup> Far from pandering to a readership with Catholic sympathies, he explicitly sought to win them over to the Protestant cause.

Bunny's other works, which include a reply to Persons, are also incontrovertibly Protestant; *The Whole Summe of Christian Religion* is avowedly Calvinistic<sup>59</sup> and most of the rest is biblical exegesis. The various editions of *Christian Exercise* were handled by too many printers to mention here, but there is nothing in the history of the printers of the first edition (Ninian Newton and Arnold Hatfield) that would suggest they might publish in the interest either of overt or covert Catholics, and still less cause for suspicion in the life and career of the 'robustly anti-Catholic'<sup>60</sup> Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, to whom Bunny dedicated *Christian Exercise*.

Francis Meres, the other editor of Catholic texts for Protestants who has been mentioned so far in these pages, translated the works of Luis de Granada, probably from the Latin translation of Michael ab Isselt,<sup>61</sup> and published them as *The Sinners Guyde* (London: J. Roberts, 1598), *Granados Deuotion* (London: E. Alde, 1598) and *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* (London: J. Roberts, 1598). Unlike Rogers or Bunny, both of whom show themselves to be acutely aware of the issues involved in producing a Catholic edition of a Protestant work, Meres merely addresses Captain John Sammes, to whom he dedicated the last of these works, with the words, 'I present these diuine and celestiall meditations vnto your *Worship*, which, vnder the title of your protection, may doe as much good in England, as they haue done in Spayne,

Portugall, Italy, Fraunce, and Germanie',<sup>62</sup> breezily ignoring the fact that these editions were for a Catholic readership. His only attempt to vouch for 'the soundnes of the doctrine' in these works is in the epistle dedicatory to Thomas Egerton in *The Sinners Guyde*, in which he says it is 'warranted by the authority of the holie Scriptures'.<sup>63</sup>

*Granados Deuotion* is Meres' translation of *Libro de la Oración*, the first part of which had already appeared both in Richard Hopkins' Catholic translation, *Of Prayer and Meditation* (Paris: T. Brumeau, 1582), and in the anonymously-edited Protestant version of Hopkins' work (London: for T. Gosson and J. Perin, 1592), which carries a dedication to Ferdinando Stanley, couched in equally insouciant terms concerning the matter of publishing a Catholic text:

How nobly it hath been countenanced in the impressions of *Latine, Spanish, Italian* and *French*, the editions in all those Languages remaine to witness: now then at last in *English* it receiues no iote of disadvantage, being stamped in the fore-head with your most noble Names.<sup>64</sup>

This 1592 edition omits the treatise on consideration, with which Hopkins' translation opens (though this is included in editions from 1599 on), and is basically a series of prayers, or meditations, for the morning and evening of every day of the week. In addition to expunging all specifically Catholic references, such as to making the sign of the cross, and giving scriptural references to the Tyndale Bible, this edition gives out all the morning meditations in the evening and vice versa, but otherwise is lifted wholesale from Hopkins.

Meres' translation is of the second part of *Libro de la Oración*, dealing in depth with the concept of devotion, of the things which encourage and promote devotion, those which impede and hinder it, divine consolation, despair, and so on. Meres is known for his euphuistic style, at its height in *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury* (London: P. Short for C. Burbie, 1598), and his epistles dedicatory to Granada's works are laced with classical allusions, praising the author for 'the honnyed sweetnes of his celestially ayre' and the 'supernaturall and heauenly treasures in him'.<sup>65</sup>

The lack of reference to doctrinal issues may indicate nothing more than a desire, on Meres' part, to emphasize personal piety and bypass religious controversies. However, the dedication of *The Sinners Guyde* to Thomas Egerton pulls Meres into a curious network of relationships. In his youth, Egerton was 'caught up in a notorious Catholic circle', but 'as a law officer of the crown in the 1580s he necessarily laid aside any youthful sympathies for the Catholic cause' and 'became heavily involved in the prosecution of recusants and Jesuits'. Meanwhile, Ferdinando Stanley (to whom the anonymously-edited Protestant version of *Of Prayer and Meditation* was dedicated), a suspected crypto-Catholic, was regarded as a possible heir to the throne, and when he was made Earl of Derby in 1593 Catholic plotters sent Richard Hesketh to try to persuade

him to seize the throne. Stanley, however, betrayed Hesketh and, though he hoped to be rewarded for his loyalty by being offered the post of Lord Chamberlain of Chester, this was offered instead to Egerton. The embittered Stanley sickened and died some months later, giving rise to rumours that he had been poisoned by Jesuits, and Egerton married his widow.<sup>66</sup>

The unworldly and devotional *Libro de la Oración* sits in curious juxtaposition to the interwoven careers of its patrons, which, on the face of it, were driven by expediency and ‘career-Protestantism’. Despite their dalliances, however, neither Stanley nor Egerton could be accused of promoting the Catholic cause. On the contrary, they betrayed any Catholic allegiances they may have had, and the fact that Meres and the anonymous Protestant editor of Hopkins’ translation were associated with them reinforces the impression gained from the lives and careers of Rogers and Bunny. Finally, Gosson and Perrin, the printers of the 1592 Protestant edition of *Of Prayer and Meditation*, were defendants in a case brought by Richard Day for infringement of patent of devotional works,<sup>67</sup> while Richard Smith, who printed the second edition together with Gosson, was involved in the unauthorized and anonymous publication of sermons by Lancelot Andrewes.<sup>68</sup> Pirating a Catholic work can be seen as an act of opportunism; it can scarcely be seen as in the Catholic interest.

Further enquiry into the Protestants who translated, edited and published editions of Catholic texts will add more details to the picture, but will not change it fundamentally. A few, like James Mabbe and Henry Vaughan, may have harboured Catholic or Anglo-Catholic sympathies.<sup>69</sup> Overall, though, their efforts belong firmly to the culture and spirit of Protestant England, and it is in that context that they need to be evaluated.

### *Catholic Texts and Protestant Readers*

Richard Baxter recommends to Protestant readers a wide range of medieval and contemporary Catholic literature – ‘*Bernaud, Gerson, Gerhardus Zutphaniensis, Sales, Kempis, Thauleros, Benedictus de Benedictis Regula Vitae; Barbanson, Ferus*, the Oratorians, and in English, *The Interior Christian, Parsons of Resolution, Baker, the Life of Nerijs*, and of *Mr. de Renti*, and other such’. By stressing that he does not encourage ‘any raw ungrounded Protestants to cast themselves on the Temptation of Popish Company or Books’<sup>70</sup> he indicates that he considers this material suitable for Protestants who are strong in their faith, and, indeed, library lists of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods demonstrate that Catholic texts, in one form or another, were quite frequently read by committed Protestants. I begin here with some comments on the readership of Protestant adaptations, contrasting it with that of the original Catholic texts where possible, before moving on to the issue of Protestant readers of unexpurgated Catholic texts.

Lists of the period are often vague in their identification of specific editions, but it appears that *Christian Exercise*, Bunny's edition of Persons, was owned by Edward Higgins, of Brasenose College, Oxford (d. 1588),<sup>71</sup> William Mitchell, of Queens College, Oxford (d. 1599),<sup>72</sup> and Richard Stonely, an official at Elizabeth's court (d. 1600),<sup>73</sup> all three of whom also owned substantial numbers of Protestant works, along with a small number of Catholic or pre-Reformation titles. It also seems almost certain that the politician and baronet Roger Townshend (d. 1637) owned copies of 'both the Roman and the Protestant'<sup>74</sup> versions of *Resolution*. Certainly, he owned the latter, in addition to several other works by Persons.<sup>75</sup> Townshend, a favourite of King James,<sup>76</sup> had a lively interest in such subjects as the need for Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance, and owned a substantial number of works by both Catholic and Protestant writers. The likelihood is that readers such as these accepted Bunny's edition as a suitable work for Protestants.

In general, whereas the recorded owners of Bunny's Protestant edition appear themselves to be Protestants, the owners of Persons' original text were recusant Catholics. The recusant schoolmaster John Slade owned a copy,<sup>77</sup> as did the Catholic loyalist Thomas Tresham,<sup>78</sup> the conspirator Anthony Babington,<sup>79</sup> and Elizabeth and Bridget Brome.<sup>80</sup> Tresham also owned two copies of the Catholic edition of *Of Prayer, and Meditation*,<sup>81</sup> a copy of which was also owned by the Bromes.<sup>82</sup> Once again, the pattern of ownership suggests that Catholics read Catholic editions, and Protestants read Protestant adaptations; Townshend owned Meres' translation, *Granados Devotion*,<sup>83</sup> and probably also *A Paradise of Prayers*,<sup>84</sup> a Protestant selection from Granada's writings, while Jean Loiseau de Tourval, a French Huguenot living in England, also probably owned a Protestant edition of *Of Prayer and Meditation*.<sup>85</sup> The two PLRE entries for the Protestant edition of Diego de Estella, *A Methode unto Mortification*, also indicate Protestant owners (Edward Higgins<sup>86</sup> and the disgraced teller of the exchequer, Richard Stonely<sup>87</sup>), and the pattern of Protestant ownership of Protestant adaptations can be seen in the libraries of the ejected puritan minister Thomas Lye, the politician John Salusbury, and Benjamin Furly, a Quaker merchant in Rotterdam, all of whom owned copies of Giles Randall's *A Bright Starre* (a translation of the third part of Benet Canfield's *The Rule of Perfection*, which in turn is based largely on Walter Hilton's *The Cloud of Unknowing*).<sup>88</sup>

Although the broad pattern of ownership suggests that Protestant editions of Catholic works were almost invariably owned and read by Protestants, there are examples of Protestant ownership of Catholic editions even though a Protestant adaptation did actually exist. Notably, the antiquarian and religious controversialist Sir Edward Dering owned a copy of Francis of Sales' *An Introduction to a Devoute Life*, translated by the Catholic John Yakesley (London: N. and J. Oakes, 1637). Oakes had brought out an expurgated edition in 1616 (London: N. Oakes for W.

Burre), but this time it seems he published ‘without regard to the censor’s cuts’, and the work was ordered to be recalled and burned.<sup>89</sup> Although Dering was noted for his anti-Catholicism<sup>90</sup> he owned a number of recusant works, including several copies of works by Persons<sup>91</sup> (though it seems he did not have either *Resolution* or Bunny’s adaptation of it), and Nicholas Caussin,<sup>92</sup> which he presumably read, not for spiritual edification, but in order to understand his enemy.

Mitchell’s library suggests that he, too, perhaps approached Catholic texts from a militantly Protestant point of view; his English titles include more controversialist works, such as John Whitgift and Thomas Cartwright, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, John Rainolds and John Hart, *The Summe of the Conference* (an account of the exchanges between the reformist Rainolds and the Jesuit Hart), and Andrew Willet, *Synopsis Papismi, that is, a Generall Viewe of Papistry*,<sup>93</sup> along with a number of Protestant commentaries on the Bible.<sup>94</sup> Among his Latin books are numerous reformist works and a sprinkling of Catholic ones, notably Robert Bellarmine’s *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei*, Francisco Melchor Cano’s *De locis theologicis*, and some Latin commentaries on Aquinas.<sup>95</sup> The fact that, along with a copy of the Rheims New Testament, he probably owned a copy of William Perkins’ *A Reformed Catholike*<sup>96</sup> suggests that he may have had an interest in the extent to which Roman and Reformed Catholics were both similar and different.

To some extent, any Protestant reader of Catholic works would have been on the lookout for things with which to disagree. However, Higgins, whose shelves were filled mainly with reformist literature, but also contained a fair number of works on a wide variety of subjects, appears less interested in controversialist literature, and perhaps read principally for edification. His library, too, was mostly in Latin, but, in addition to the Protestant editions of Persons and Estella already noted, his vernacular books include a number of solidly reformist works, such as the Lutheran Juan Perez de Pineda’s *An Excelent Comfort to all Christians*, the puritan John Prime’s *The Fruitefull and Briefe Discourse*, and the 1586 edition of *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches*.<sup>97</sup> Among his Latin books there are a few Catholic works, such as Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica*, and the Rheims New Testament,<sup>98</sup> but nothing that stands out as particularly contentious.

And there were others, like the soldier and politician Henry Sibthorp who, though clearly Protestant in their allegiances, took an interest in Catholic literature.<sup>99</sup> Townshend, in addition to the works already mentioned, owned Robert Bellarmine, *De ascensione mentis in Deum*, Luis de Granada, *Vita Christi* and Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdom*.<sup>100</sup> Like Mitchell, he also owned a copy of Perkins, *A Reformed Catholike*.<sup>101</sup>

Ultimately, though, while library lists allow us to see what people read, most of the time we can only speculate on why they read Catholic works or what they made of them. Readers who mainly owned Protestant books,

did not overly concern themselves with controversialist issues, owned a sprinkling of Catholic works and are not otherwise known to have had either Catholic or anti-Catholic sympathies, may have been sympathetic, or at least tolerant, readers of Catholic texts, but hard evidence remains elusive. At the very least, though, we can say that there were was a fair number of readers who, while they were, to all appearances, staunch Protestants, took a keen interest in Catholic literature, whether in Protestant editions or in unexpurgated Catholic ones.

*The Influence of Catholic Literature on English Protestant Writers*

As Houliston observes, Persons' work, mostly in its Protestant guise, was highly influential over a broad cross-section of English society. In addition to being 'the obvious choice' for Middleton to use as an example of a devotional work that his audience would recognize, it comforted Robert Greene on his deathbed, garnered praise from Thomas Nashe, provoked John Harington to justify his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, brought about the conversion of the young Richard Baxter, was praised for its style by Protestants as far apart in time and character as Gabriel Harvey and Jonathan Swift, and exercised a powerful influence on John Donne.<sup>102</sup> Shakespeare, too, makes a punning reference to Persons, though it is not clear whether he used the Protestant version or the Catholic, and several scholars have noted passages in which Shakespeare owes an apparent debt to Persons.<sup>103</sup>

*Exercise* stands out as 'the most popular devotional work to appear in English before 1560',<sup>104</sup> but it is by no means an isolated case. Its closest rival was the Protestant version of Granada's *Of Prayer and Meditation*, and between them they dominated the market in devotional literature during the late Tudor and early Stuart periods. Hagedorn devotes a dozen pages to Granada's influence on Francis Meres, John Donne, Henry Vaughan, Thomas Browne and the Elizabethan drama.<sup>105</sup> However, the most sustained reference to Granada is by Francis Trigge, an anti-Catholic controversialist and a Church of England clergyman with pronounced puritan leanings. Trigge acknowledges that '...as Saint Paul also had some friends in Caesars house...now hath the Gospell some friends among the Popes traine, and that in no smal matters'. At the same time he bemoans the fact that they are working for the other side: 'There is no one thing...doth so dazell the eyes of a great nūber, that...keeps thē stil in the obedience of the Church of Rome: as the reading of *Granatensis*, *Stella*, *Ferus*, *Philippus de diez*, & such like', he says, maintaining that 'in the principall points of religion they ioyned hands with vs'.<sup>106</sup> He draws on Catholic sources with fervent approval, particularly Diego de Estella and Luis de Granada, both of whom he cites dozens of times, saying of the latter's writings, 'I would to God these Meditations could sinke into our hearts'.<sup>107</sup>

The number of references Trigge makes to such sources is exceptional, but Protestant use of Catholic sources in itself was not unusual. Estella is cited with approval by, among others, Thomas Morton (1609), John Donne (1610), Miles Mosse (1614), Robert Mandevill (1619), Thomas Bedford (1621), William Harrison (1625), Thomas James (1625), Robert Bayfield (1629), Francis Meres (1634), Simon Birkbeck (1635), William Prynne (1655), William Guild (1656), Edward Leigh (1656) and Thomas Pierce (1663), while those citing Luis de Granada include Robert Wilmot (1601), Henoah Clapham (1609), John Boys (1610), Miles Mosse (1614), Alexander Roberts (1614), Robert Burton (1621), James Wadsworth (1624), Robert Baron (1633), William Sclater (1639 and 1653), William Bridge (1642), John Cotton (1656), Stephen Jerome (1631), Samuel Otes (1633), Edward Leigh (1656), William Towers (1654), Richard Ward (1655), Thomas Hall (1658), Jeremy Taylor (1667), John Wilson (1678) and Gilbert Burnet (1692). Similar (or, in some cases, longer) lists could be compiled for Bernard of Clairvaux, Jeremias Drexel, Francis de Sales, Jean de Charlier de Gerson, Thomas à Kempis, John Thauler, Johann Wild (Ferus) and other Catholics.

While some Catholic writers, such as Persons and Robert Bellarmine, were as frequently cited in order to contradict them as in support of them, and not infrequently one Catholic writer is cited in confutation of another, there are very few negative references to writers such as those mentioned in the previous paragraph. To take Luis de Granada as an example, Stephen Egerton recommends Rogers' *Seven Treatises* (an early puritan competitor for the market in devotional literature) with the words, 'Reade it...and thou shalt finde...more true light and direction to a true deuout and holy life, then in all the Resolutions of the Iesuiticall Father Parsons...meditations of Frier *Granatensis*, or any Popish Directories whatsoever'.<sup>108</sup> Rogers himself makes a similar derogatory comment elsewhere,<sup>109</sup> as does the Protestant convert Richard Sheldon.<sup>110</sup> But these are the exceptions; nearly all the references are positive, and most of them occur in a devotional, rather than a controversialist, context.

The significance of Catholic sources to Protestant divines is well illustrated by Thomas Barlow's posthumously-published catalogue of recommended reading for Anglican divines. He lists a significant number of Catholic texts, both before and after the Reformation, and observes

...of the Schoolmen, (and of Popish Casuists and Commentators too, especially those before Luther) that when they speak of Moral Duties, and those things which are within the compass of Natural Reason, to know and judge of, we shall find many things well, and some very acutely said.

Alongside the praise there is also criticism, and he goes on to speak of the Catholics' 'Ignorance of Tongues and Antiquity, and consequently of the meaning of Scripture...besides their being inslav'd to maintain all the Errors and Superstitions of *Rome*'.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, he finds much of

value in Catholic writings. It is perhaps not surprising that he calls the Catholic reformist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Jacob Faber Stapulensis) 'an Honest and Sober *Papist*', but he also acknowledges Johann Wild as 'a Pious *Papist*', Siméon Marotte de Muis as 'the best *Popish* Writer on the *Psalms*', Willem Hessels van Est (Estius) as 'one of the best *Popish* Writers' on the Epistles, and says of Peter Lombard, 'in many things Honest *Peter* is no *Papist*'.<sup>112</sup> He recommends the works of such writers as Cajetán (Gaetano dei Conti di Tiene), Francisco Suárez, Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Vasquez.

Just as Cranmer upholds that which was 'euer the olde fayth of the catholike church, vntyll the Papistes inuented a newe fayth',<sup>113</sup> and Abbot avers that 'there is nothing farther frō Catholicisme thē Popery is',<sup>114</sup> so Barlow draws a distinction between Catholicism and 'popery', describing himself elsewhere as 'a Real Catholick of the Church of England'.<sup>115</sup> His selection of Catholic reading matter is sharply divided between works which are Catholic but not 'popish' (and may therefore be recommended) and those which are to be condemned, but should nevertheless be read, simply because it is a divine's responsibility 'to know what are those erroneous Opinions which our Enemies and the Church's hold'.<sup>116</sup>

Theologically, the argument was that 'real' Catholicism could and did survive, even in the Church of Rome; 'God hathe in all times, yea euen in the midst of moste wicked Papistrie, had his electe. So euen then, as likewise nowe'.<sup>117</sup> As Baxter puts it:

our Religion was at first with the Apostles...and for diuers hundred years after, it was with the universal Christian Church: And since Romes usurpation, it was even with the Romanists though abused, and with the greater part of the Catholick Church that renounced Popery then, and so do now.<sup>118</sup>

This served early modern Protestants both as a reassurance that 'many of our forefathers, & ancestors in the midst of popery obtained eternall life'<sup>119</sup> and as a justification for drawing on Catholic sources:

notwithstanding the great and deserved aversion which this Nation has to Popery, yet the Books of Their Divines upon Devotional and Practical subjects have met with as favourable reception among us, as if the Authors had been of a better Religion.<sup>120</sup>

Nicholls' comment cannot be taken completely at face value; in 1637 a Protestant edition of the same work to which he prefaces his comment (François de Sales' *An Introduction to a Devout Life*) was ordered to be burned by the English authorities,<sup>121</sup> and there were always those, like the converted Catholic Robert Sheldon, who would denounce 'such as dare secretly muster and mussitate; *Rome* and the Reformed *Churches* agree in the substance of Religion, that there is no fundamentall difference between them and us'.<sup>122</sup> At the same time, many other Protestant editions of Catholic works were *not* burned, and the 'mussitating'

Sheldon speaks of was not secret but printed openly throughout this period, at least when it came to asserting the substantial areas of faith in which ‘the wisest of both sides doe agree’.<sup>123</sup> It is Sheldon, not those he is commenting on, who is the extremist here.<sup>124</sup>

Finally, mention needs to be made of the covert dispersal of Catholic literature through textual piracy. Baxter observes that, ‘If an esteemed Minister should Preach part of *The Interior Christian*.<sup>125</sup> or such another book, and not tell his hearers *whose it was*...many godly people, would cry it up for a most excellent Sermon: When as if they before knew that it was a Papists they would run away’.<sup>126</sup> While he is speaking putatively, others demonstrate the substantial truth of what he says. Henry Smith, for example, systematically plagiarized Robert Persons, *The Christian Directorie: Guiding Men to their Salvation* (Rouen: Father Persons’ Press, 1585), a revised and expanded edition of *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise Appertayning to Resolution* (Rouen: Robert Persons’ Press, 1582),<sup>127</sup> while the following extracts give clear evidence of textual indebtedness to Bunny’s edition of Persons’ work in a seveneenth-century Protestant sermon:

And first of al, it is to be noted, that there be two judgements appointed after death; wherof the one is called particular; wherby ech man presently upon his departure from this world, receaveth particular sentence, either of punishment, or of glorie, according to his deeds in this life (as Christs own words are) wherof we have examples in Lazarus, and the rich glutton, who were presently caried the one to pain, the other to rest...The other judgment is called general, for that it shal be of al men together in the end of the world, where shal a final sentence be pronounced (either of reward or punishment) upon al men that ever lived, according to the works which they have done, good or bad, in this life: and afterward never more question be made of altering their estate: that is, of easing the pain of the one, or ending the glorie of the other.<sup>128</sup>

You must know that after death there are two judgements; There is a particular, and there is a general Judgement. The particular Judgement is immediatly, as soon as ever the breath is gone out of the body...we have example for the proof of it in Scripture, of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, the one whereof being dead, was presently carried to joy, the other presently to torment. The other is a general judgement; so called, because it shall be of all men in general that ever lived...all must give an account of all their words, thoughts and actions: all must receive the sentence either of, *Come ye blessed*, or, *go ye cursed*. After which sentence once pronounced, there shall never question be made of the end of the joy of the one, or the ease of the torments of the other.<sup>129</sup>

There have been a few scholarly articles in which plagiarism of this kind is brought to light (Milton notes papers by Birrell, Blom and Allison<sup>130</sup>) but there is clearly much more to be done before it can be ascertained whether such borrowings are merely curiosities at the margins of Protestant literature or indications of a more profound and systematic debt.

### Conclusion

In order to evaluate claims that Catholic sources permeated significantly into Protestant England it is necessary to substantiate these claims systematically and quantify the extent to which they are true. From the foregoing, it is clear that, by and large, Protestant editions of Catholic works were published by committed Protestants in the Protestant interest, not as a way of tempting wavering Protestants back to Rome; that the readers of such editions were mainly committed Protestants; that a fair number of committed Protestants also read unexpurgated Catholic works, sometimes in order to disagree, but also, quite often, for edification; and that a significant number of Protestant divines drew substantially on the broader Catholic tradition in their own writings. There remains much more to be said on this subject, and if the present paper helps to convey a sense of the size and complexity of the terrain and encourage others to explore it further it will not have failed in its purpose.

### ABBREVIATIONS

Bozeman, <i>The Precisianist Strain</i>	T.D. Bozeman, <i>The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638</i> (Williamsburg, VA: UNC Press Books, 2004).
<i>Christian Exercise</i>	Robert Persons (or Parsons), <i>A Booke of Christian Exercise Apertaining to Resolution</i> , by R.P. Perused, & Accompanied with a Treatise Tending to Pacification, by E[dmund] Bunny (Oxford: John Barnes, 1585).
Milton, <i>Catholic and Reformed</i>	Anthony Milton, <i>Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a> .
PLRE	R.J. Fehrenbach, J.L. Black, and E.S. Leedham-Green, <i>Private Libraries in Renaissance England</i> , <a href="http://plre.folger">http://plre.folger</a> .
Walsham, <i>Church Papists</i>	Alexandra Walsham, <i>Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England</i> (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993; revised edition, 1999).

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*.

<sup>3</sup> A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640* (2 vols., Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989 and 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Tyecke, ed., *England's Long Reformation: 1500–1800* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> See for example Alison Shell's graphic account of the prohibition, burning and expurgation of Catholic texts in 'Anti-Catholic Prejudice in the 17th-Century Book Trade', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600–1910* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992, 33–58), p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Lisa McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience Among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559–1642* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), p. 53. McClain goes on to say that 'Some individuals sold such works privately from their homes or bequeathed them in their wills... Priests also delivered books... Catholics frequently lent their own books to others, and copied printed books by hand... Books were sent into prisons

and across the country to friends and relatives... And often, when...searchers found Catholic books...they would fine the Catholic for possessing the books but then sell the books back to the Catholic and pocket the profit' (*ibid.*).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Maximilian Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Christopher Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past & Present*, 93 (1981), p. 66.

<sup>11</sup> Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'?: Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present* (2000) 168 (1): pp. 72–123; see also Walsham, *Church Papists*.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Rogers, *Seuen Treatises* (London: Felix Kyngston, for Thomas Man and Robert Dexter, 1603).

<sup>13</sup> Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, pp. 66–7. See the final section of this paper for evidence that Rogers and his editors were very much in a minority in seeing Catholic writers such as these as a 'danger'.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Persons, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise Appertayning to Resolution* (Rouen: Robert Persons' Press, 1582), fo. 9<sup>r</sup>. While I refer to him (following *ODNB*) as Persons throughout, he is also known as Parsons, and where I cite from sources that refer to him as such I have retained the original spelling.

<sup>15</sup> E.K. Hudson, 'The Catholic Challenge to Puritan Piety, 1580–1620', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 77.1 (1991): pp. 8–9.

<sup>16</sup> Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, pp. 67 and 76.

<sup>17</sup> For English Protestants, John Jewel's 'Challenge Sermon' (November, 1559) was obviously crucial in this respect.

<sup>18</sup> Jean-Louis Quantin, in Irena Backus and Antoinina Bevan, eds., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 987–1007.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Arshagouni Papazian, 'How a "Second S. Augustine"?', in Mary Arshagouni Papazian, ed., *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation: New Perspectives* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2003), pp. 66–89; p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Madeleine Gray, *The Protestant Reformation: Belief, Practice, and Tradition* (Brighton, Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2003), p. 31, Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2011), p. 76, Jesse Couenhoven, 'Augustine, Saint', *The Encyclopedia of Ethics* (Wiley Online Library, 2013), and Kate Narveson, 'Publishing the Sole-talk of the Soule: Genre in Early Stuart Piety', in Daniel W. Doerksen and Christopher Hodgkins, eds., *Centered on the Word: Literature, Scripture, and the Tudor-Stuart Middle Way* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 110–125; p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander Cooke, *Saint Austins Religion. Wherein is Manifestly Proued...that he Dissented from Poperie and Agreed with the Religion of the Protestants, in all the Maine Poynts of Faith and Doctrine*. (London: A. Mathewes, 1624), p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> For a bibliographical list of some 200 Protestant works that could be described as basically Augustinian, see John R. Yamamoto-Wilson, 'An Annotated Catalogue of Protestant Editions in English of Works by and Relating to Saint Augustine of Hippo, 1529–1700', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 13.1 (2011), pp. 93–132.

<sup>23</sup> Kate Narveson, 'Publishing the Sole-talk of the Soule: Genre in Early Stuart Piety', in Daniel W. Doerksen and Christopher Hodgkins, eds., *Centered on the Word: Literature, Scripture, and the Tudor-Stuart Middle Way* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 110–125; p. 112.

<sup>24</sup> 'Quis denegabit, & Bernardum, & Bonaventuram, & Thaulerum, & Thomam à Kempis, ceterosque complures de divino amore gustâste, & divini Spiritus virtutem in seipsis ad salutem suam operantem sensisse? Debemus ne igitur istas superstitiones non abnegare, repudiare & derelinquere, quibus ii utebantur?' Robert Barclay, *Roberti Barclaii Theologiae verè Christianae apologia* (Amsterdam: for J. Claus, 1676), p. 225.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen Strehle, *The Catholic Roots of the Protestant Gospel: Encounter between the Middle Ages and the Reformation* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 41–45. Even then, Strehle relates Perkins to pre-Reformation writings only indirectly, via the influence of such European Protestants as Beza and Zanchi.

<sup>27</sup> Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, p. 78.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

- <sup>29</sup> Notably Elizabeth K. Hudson, 'English Protestants and the *Imitatio Christi* 1580–1620', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19.4, 1988, pp. 541–58, and, more recently, Nandra Perry, 'The Imitation of Christ in English Reformation Writing', *Literature Compass*, 8.4, (2011), pp. 195–205, and 'The Place of the *Imitatio Christi* in the Protestant World', chapter 8 of Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi*, pp. 145–77.
- <sup>30</sup> Robert Abbot, *The Second Part of the Defence of the Reformed Catholicke* (London, 1607), 982, cited in Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 235.
- <sup>31</sup> Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, p. 75.
- <sup>32</sup> Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 12.
- <sup>33</sup> See, e.g., Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (London: Blandford Press, 1967), p. 188, Ceri Sullivan, 'Cannibalizing Persons's *Christian Directorie*, 1582', *Notes and Queries*, 41.4 (1994), pp. 445–6, Jeremy Gregory, 'The Making of a Protestant Nation: "Success" and "Failure" in England's Long Reformation', in N. Tyacke, ed., *England's Long Reformation: 1500–1800* (London: University College, 1998), pp. 209–32; p. 224, Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 252, William W.E. Slight, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 252, and Victor Houlston, 'Why Robert Persons would not be Pacified: Edmund Bunny's Theft of *The Book of Resolution*', in T.M. McCoog, ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (revised edition, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007).
- <sup>34</sup> Carl Trueman, 'The Impact of the Reformation and Emerging Modernism', in Paul Ballard and Stephen R. Holmes, eds., *The Bible in Pastoral Practice: Readings in the Place and Function of Scripture in the Church* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2005), pp. 78–95; p. 89.
- <sup>35</sup> Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1954).
- <sup>36</sup> Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 284–92.
- <sup>37</sup> Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 150–57.
- <sup>38</sup> Robert Crowley, *A Deliberat Answere Made to a Rash Offer, which a Popish Antichristian Catholique, Made to a Learned Protestant* (London: I. Charlwood, 1588), title page.
- <sup>39</sup> Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 142.
- <sup>40</sup> Joseph Hall, *The Olde Religion* (London: W. Stansby, 1628), chapter headings. For Hall, as for a number of Protestant writers, the 'old religion' was the faith of the early Church, before it had been corrupted by 'popery'.
- <sup>41</sup> Hall, *The Olde Religion*, p. 62, p. 71 and p. 73.
- <sup>42</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, *The Olde Fayth*, translated from the Latin by Miles Coverdale ([Antwerp: M. Crom?], 1541), title page.
- <sup>43</sup> Baxter is of particular significance in this context, since it was Bunny's edition of Robert Persons' work which first touched his heart 'with a livelier feeling of things Spiritual' (Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, London, 1696, p. 3).
- <sup>44</sup> William Nicholls, 'A Discourse of the Rise and Progress of the Spiritual Books in the Romish Church', in Francis de Sales, *An Introduction to a Devout Life* (London: E. Holt, 1701), sigs. A4<sup>r</sup>–a4<sup>v</sup>; sig. A8<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>45</sup> Maria Hagedorn, *Reformation and Spanische Andachtsliteratur: Luis de Granada in England* (Leipzig: Kölner anglistische Arbeiten, 1934).
- <sup>46</sup> Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, p. 76.
- <sup>47</sup> Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 7.
- <sup>48</sup> John Craig, in Patrick Collinson, John Craig and Brett Usher, eds, *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church: Dedham and Bury St Edmunds, 1582–1590* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003), Introduction, pp. cv–cvi. Craig's account is reproduced, almost verbatim, in *ODNB*. Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1 (London: for Tho. Bennet, 1691), pp. 341–2, also gives details of Rogers' life and career.
- <sup>49</sup> John Joseph Collins, Bernard McGinn and Stephen J. Stein, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, vol. 3 (New York: Continuum Publishing, 2000), Introduction, p. ix.
- <sup>50</sup> Rogers, in à Kempis, *Of the Imitation of Christ* (London: by Henrie Denham, 1580), sig. A9<sup>r</sup>–v.
- <sup>51</sup> Thomas Rogers, in Diego de Estella, *A Methode vnto Mortification* (London: J. Windet, 1586), epistle dedicatory, sig. A5<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A6<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>.

- <sup>53</sup> Thomas Rogers, *The English Creede, Consenting with the True, Auncient, Catholique, and Apostolique Church in al the Points, and Articles of Religion* (London: J. Windet, 1585), part one, title page.
- <sup>54</sup> Rogers, *An Historical Dialogue*, preface, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>55</sup> Rogers, *Miles Christianus*, p. 34 and p. 4.
- <sup>56</sup> Rogers, in à Kempis, *Of the Imitation of Christ* (London: Henrie Denham, 1580), sig. A8<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>57</sup> ODNB.
- <sup>58</sup> ODNB.
- <sup>59</sup> Edmund Bunny, *The Whole Summe of Christian Religion* (London: T. Purfoote for L. Harrison and G. Bishop, 1576), sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.
- <sup>60</sup> ODNB.
- <sup>61</sup> Hagedorn, *Reformation and Spanische Andachtsliteratur: Luis de Granada in England* (Leipzig: Kölner anglistische Arbeiten, 1934), p. 52, pp. 72–3 and p. 80.
- <sup>62</sup> Francis Meres, in Luis de Granada, *Granados Spirituall and Heauenlie Exercises* (London: J. Roberts, 1598), epistle dedicatory, sig. A4<sup>r-v</sup>.
- <sup>63</sup> Francis Meres, in Luis de Granada, *The Sinners Guyde* (London: J. Roberts, 1598), epistle dedicatory, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.
- <sup>64</sup> In Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer and Meditation* (Paris: T. Brumeau, 1582), epistle dedicatory, sig. ¶4<sup>r-v</sup>.
- <sup>65</sup> Francis Meres, *The Sinners Guyde* (London: J. Roberts, 1598), epistle dedicatory, sig. Aii<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>66</sup> ODNB.
- <sup>67</sup> E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, 5 vols. (London: privately printed, 1875–94), vol. 1, pp. 791–2.
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 561.
- <sup>69</sup> Gary Taylor, ‘The Cultural Politics of Maybe’, in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson, eds., *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 242–58; p. 250, has uncovered evidence indicating that Mabebe was actually imprisoned on suspicion of being a Catholic spy, and Geraldine E. Hodgson, *English Mystics* (London: Maubray, 1922), p. 226, famously remarks of Vaughan that, ‘if ever an Anglo-Catholic mystic existed after the Reformation, Henry Vaughan was one’.
- <sup>70</sup> Richard Baxter, *Against the Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction* (London: for Thomas Parkhurst, 1691), 538.
- <sup>71</sup> PLRE 149.199.
- <sup>72</sup> PLRE 154.96. This is catalogued as ‘Resolut. pars ultraque’, and the PLRE entry comments, ‘It is assumed that by *pars ultraque* the compiler means both Persons’ original and Edmund Bunny’s Protestant adaptation’.
- <sup>73</sup> PLRE Ad4.278.
- <sup>74</sup> PLRE 3.129, volume entry (<http://plre.folger.edu/booksDetail.php?id=544>).
- <sup>75</sup> PLRE 3.129, 3.131, 3.147, and 3.201.
- <sup>76</sup> J.C. Townsend et al., *Townsend-Townshend, 1066–1909*, revised by Margaret Townsend (New York: s.n., 1909), p. 13.
- <sup>77</sup> PLRE 225.2. Inventoried on Slade’s imprisonment in 1583.
- <sup>78</sup> PLRE 251.5. Inventoried on seizure in 1584.
- <sup>79</sup> PLRE 242.15. Inventoried on seizure in 1586.
- <sup>80</sup> PLRE 244.5. Inventoried on seizure in 1586.
- <sup>81</sup> PLRE 251.3, 251.6.
- <sup>82</sup> PLRE 244.8.
- <sup>83</sup> PLRE 3.148.
- <sup>84</sup> PLRE 3.179.
- <sup>85</sup> PLRE 259.41. Inventoried in 1626.
- <sup>86</sup> PLRE 149.248.
- <sup>87</sup> PLRE Ad4.290.
- <sup>88</sup> Birrell, ‘English Catholic Mystics in Non-Catholic Circles’, *The Downside Review*, 94 (1976), pp. 60–81, 99–117 and 213–28; p. 65.
- <sup>89</sup> See W.W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 347–8.
- <sup>90</sup> ODNB.
- <sup>91</sup> PLRE 4.173, 4.178, 4.226, 4.239, 4.260.
- <sup>92</sup> PLRE 4.34, 4.354.
- <sup>93</sup> PLRE 154.20, 154.63, 154.59.
- <sup>94</sup> PLRE 154.49–54, 154.91–2, 154.117.
- <sup>95</sup> PLRE 154.5, 154.116, and 154.13, 154.14, 154.90.

<sup>96</sup> *PLRE* 154.15, 154.192.

<sup>97</sup> *PLRE* 149.184, 149.194, 149.205.

<sup>98</sup> *PLRE* 149.54, 149.6.

<sup>99</sup> In addition to Robert Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaint* (*PLRE* Ad3.97), Sibthorp probably owned a Catholic edition of Augustine's *Confessions* (*PLRE* Ad3.76) and perhaps John Cosin, *A Collection of Private Devotions* (*PLRE* Ad3.99), an adaptation for Protestant consumption of the post-Tridentine *Primer*.

<sup>100</sup> *PLRE* 3.11, 3.161, 3.172.

<sup>101</sup> *PLRE* 3.119.

<sup>102</sup> Houliston in Robert Persons, *Robert Persons S.J.: The Christian Directory* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. xi–xiv. Harington's name is perhaps inappropriate here; Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), makes a strong case for him being a crypto-Catholic.

<sup>103</sup> See Christopher Devlin, *Hamlet's Divinity and Other Essays* (London: Hart-Davis, 1963), 36–41, Peter Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 44–52, Donna Hamilton, 'Shakespeare and Religion', in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook, I* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 187–202, and John R. Yamamoto-Wilson, 'Shakespeare and Catholicism', *Renaissance and Reformation Review* 7.2–3 (2005): pp. 347–361; p. 354.

<sup>104</sup> Houliston in Robert Persons, *Robert Persons S.J.: The Christian Directory* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. xi.

<sup>105</sup> Maria Hagedorn, *Reformation and Spanische Andachtsliteratur: Luis de Granada in England* (Leipzig: Kölner anglistische Arbeiten, 1934), pp. 136–47.

<sup>106</sup> Francis Trigge, *The True Catholique Formed According to the Truth of the Scriptures* (London: Peter Short, 1602), epistle to the reader, sig. ¶4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>108</sup> Stephen Egerton, in Richard Rogers, *Seuen Treatises* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1603), 'To the Christian Reader', sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Richard Rogers, *A Commentary vpon the VWhole Booke of Iudges* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1615), p. 199.

<sup>110</sup> Richard Sheldon, *The Motiues of Richard Sheldon* (London: William Hall and William Stansby for Nathaniel Butter, 1612), p. 11 and p. 155.

<sup>111</sup> Thomas Barlow, *Autoschediasmata, de studio theologiae* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1699), pp. 40–41.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10–14.

<sup>113</sup> Thomas Cranmer, *A Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament* (Reginald Wolfe, 1550), fo. 48<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> George Abbot, *The Reasons vvhich Doctour Hill hath Brought, for the Vpholding of Papistry* (Oxford: Joseph Barners, 1604), p. 84.

<sup>115</sup> Thomas Barlow, *A Few Plain Reasons why a Protestant of the Church of England, should not Turn Roman Catholick* (London: for R. Clavel, 1688), title page.

<sup>116</sup> Thomas Barlow, *Autoschediasmata, de studio theologiae* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1699), p. 48.

<sup>117</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, *Questions of Religion* (London: Henrie Bynneman, 1572), fo. 23<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Richard Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks* (London: R.W., 1659), p. 124.

<sup>119</sup> William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1600), p. 104.

<sup>120</sup> William Nicholls, 'A Discourse of the Rise and Progress of the Spiritual Books in the Romish Church', in Francis de Sales, *An Introduction to a Devout Life* (London: E. Holt, 1701), sigs. A4<sup>r</sup>–a4<sup>iv</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> Charles Ripley Gillett, *Burned Books; Neglected Chapters in British History and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 133.

<sup>122</sup> Richard Sheldon, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross. Upon the 14 of Revelations* (London: W. Jones, 1625), p. 30, *vero* p. 31.

<sup>123</sup> Thomas Rogers, in Diego de Estella, *A Methode vnto Mortification* (London: J. Windet, 1586), epistle dedicatory, p. iii.

<sup>124</sup> Sheldon would have his readers believe that Catholicism forces all its adherents to receive the mark of the Beast, in the form, not of 'corporall signes', but of 'flagitious mysticall ceremonies', and that no one who does not bear these marks is allowed to enter into any form of buying or selling (*A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross. Upon the 14 of Revelations*, London: W. Jones, 1625, pp. 32–3). Walsham notes that by airing such views Sheldon spelled his 'professional suicide' (*Church Papists*, p. 117).

<sup>125</sup> Bernières Louvigny, *The Interiour Christian* (Antwerp: s.n., 1684).

<sup>126</sup> Richard Baxter, *Against the Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction* (London: for Thomas Parkhurst, 1691), pp. 538–9.

<sup>127</sup> Henry Smith, *Gods Arrowe against Atheists* (London: Felix Kingston for Thomas Pavier, 1609). I am indebted to Peter Milward for pointing this out to me.

<sup>128</sup> *Christian Exercise*, pp. 41–2.

<sup>129</sup> Daniel Featley, in *Thrâenoikos the House of Mourning...Delivered in LIII Sermons* (London: G. Dawson, 1660). This work is an anthology of sermons by Featley, Martin Day, John Preston, Richard Holdsworth, Richard Sibbs, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Fuller and others (title page).

<sup>130</sup> T.A. Birrell, 'English Catholic Mystics in Non-Catholic Circles', *The Downside Review*, 94 (1976), pp. 99–117, J.M. Blom, 'A German Jesuit and his Anglican Readers. The Case of Jeremias Drexelius (1581–1632)', in G.A.M. Janssens and F.G.A.M. Aarts, editors, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Literature, History and Bibliography* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), pp. 41–51, and A.F. Allison, 'The "Mysticism" of Manchester Al Mondo. Some Catholic Borrowing in a Seventeenth-Century Anglican Work of Devotion', in G.A.M. Janssens and F.G.A.M. Aarts, editors, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Literature, History and Bibliography* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), pp. 1–11. Cited in Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 234.

