

# **The Reception of English Government Propaganda, c.1530-1603**

Jonathan Harris

New College, University of Oxford

D.Phil

2014

## The Reception of English Government Propaganda, c.1530-1603

Name: Jonathan Harris

College: New College

Degree: D.Phil

Term and Year of Submission: Trinity Term, 2013

### Abstract

Despite a wealth of scholarship on the Tudors' printed and visual propaganda, little has been written on how the population received this material. Doubts over how far either media penetrated a largely illiterate society with questionable access to the visual arts have likely been partly responsible, but as studies increasingly disprove these assumptions the need to address this gap becomes more pressing.

After establishing that the governments from Henry VIII to Elizabeth were interested, to varying extents, in propagating particular messages to their subjects, this thesis employs a diverse range of sources to analyse popular responses to official pamphlets, portraits and other visual iconography. Primarily using inventories, the ownership of these different types is examined, in particular exploring the mixed motives that underlay the display of monarchical portraits and royal devices. Broadly positive reactions to propaganda are then discussed, similarly uncovering the different, potentially subversive reasons that drove people to accept government materials. The evidence of marginalia in surviving copies of polemical works is then used to show both the different approaches taken to reading official books, and how people engaged with several specific pamphlets, illuminating the success of particular arguments and propagandistic techniques. Finally, negative reactions to government images and books are investigated, highlighting not only opposition but, conversely, more evidence of propaganda's positive impact.

Analysing reception in these ways not only permits judgements about the extent and nature of propaganda's success; it also provides valuable insights into important historiographical debates, like the progress of the English Reformation and the potential emergence of a public sphere, besides more generally revealing widely-held attitudes that underpinned sixteenth-century society and conditioned the relationship between rulers and ruled.

## The Reception of English Government Propaganda, c.1530-1603

Name: Jonathan Harris

College: New College

Degree: D.Phil

Term and Year of Submission: Trinity Term, 2013

### Abstract

A great deal of scholarship has focused on official Tudor propaganda of various kinds. Generally, however, this has analysed content and use; little has been said about how propaganda was received, and whether or not it worked. Analysing reception has arguably become increasingly important given studies that stress the ability of print to thoroughly permeate England's largely illiterate society, and highlight a socially and geographically diverse public interested in portraiture. This thesis therefore fills this historiographical gap, concentrating on how printed pamphlets, monarchical portraits, and royal iconography, like the royal arms, were received in the period from the Break with Rome, which stimulated the production of both printed and visual materials, to Elizabeth's death.

This thesis first outlines what can be considered official propaganda and discusses how governments employed materials as a necessary prerequisite to later judgements about propaganda's success. The four governments in this period generally employed the same heraldic symbols, using them not only to indicate their possessions but also to project their authority to both domestic and international audiences. The nature of portraiture, however, evidently called for greater individuality. With records of who commissioned and/or painted monarchical portraits frequently lacking, this thesis posits three, sometimes overlapping ways in which a ruler could confer official sanction upon a portrait: by commissioning it, sitting for it, or using it in an official capacity. Employing this approach reveals numerous official portraits, similarly used to impress elites at home and abroad, and to articulate specific polemical points. Crucially, officials also condoned the wider dissemination of their portraits throughout society.

Governments equally made considerable use of the printing press to influence English and continental readers. This thesis' focus on responses to royal authority means that it only discusses works intended to uphold that authority over church and state, not those that concentrated more exclusively on debating religious doctrine and church government. Predominantly defining official pamphlets as those issued by the royal printer and/or written by a government employee, this thesis suggests that Henry and Elizabeth's governments generally produced more political propaganda than Edward and

Mary's, partly explained by the respective presence and absence of key organisational figures. Nevertheless, even Henrician and Elizabethan output was not consistent over time, but rather fluctuated according to needs: generally propaganda was designed to justify and explain policies, and answer critics. These aims dictated the polemical strategies employed, with governments increasingly using official documents to create ostensibly accurate, reliable publications, and Elizabeth's government frequently hiding its responsibility for certain books in an effort to make them appear more objective. Analysing official distribution strategies at home and abroad crucially reveals governmental intentions to reach broad audiences, and to target specific individuals for political ends.

Having established what constituted official propaganda and what governments hoped to achieve through it, this thesis moves on to discuss reception, beginning with the ownership of these materials. Polemical tracts frequently do not appear in inventories, likely because of their small value, whilst sufficiently detailed library lists often belong to university figures, and perhaps therefore privilege certain kinds of books. Nevertheless, a brief analysis of official pamphlet ownership suggests that many were interested in the religious controversies of the early 1580s, often engaging with both sides. This in turn justified the emphasis that both officials and their opponents placed on refuting each other's books, which in turn reflected a belief in the power of print and the malleability of popular opinion. More generally, evidence of individuals sometimes promptly buying government books may suggest that particular importance was attached to official views.

More information is available on the ownership of monarchical portraits and visual symbols, which are recorded in inventories of various kinds, and sometimes survive. Despite historians' frequent emphasis on portraiture's propagandistic nature, popular ownership of such images has not been studied in depth. Certainly the numbers of those owning such images were very low as a percentage of the population, but this arguably makes the phenomenon more interesting. Furthermore, studies of portrait ownership more generally have outlined numerous different motivations, with an emphasis on the fact that images had a purpose. They have similarly stressed the importance of display in determining meaning. Building on these ideas, this thesis considers biographical information about owners and available details about display to reach a more nuanced explanation of monarchical portrait ownership that moves beyond generalities about loyalty. Certainly loyalty was a common motivator, but it was far from straightforward: people were loyal to their own individual conceptions of monarchs and monarchy, which were liable to be influenced by numerous factors such as their relationship to their sovereign(s) and their religious beliefs. Furthermore, self-interest was another consideration: people displayed monarchical portraits to advertise their connections and to enhance their authority in national and local offices. Whilst owning such items in general served to represent a relationship between subject and sovereign, this was emphasised further when owners displayed pictures of themselves alongside images of their sovereigns. Similar ideas applied to the ownership of items bearing royal symbols, or the incorporation of such symbols in the fabric houses: again people

were motivated by a combination of loyalty and more self-interested factors, with interior decoration frequently featuring owners' familial devices too.

The fact that meaning was seemingly individualised, with owners buying and displaying portraits according to their own beliefs and priorities, meant that visual materials was not necessarily effective propagandistic vehicles capable of inculcating specific messages. Nevertheless, from governments' perspectives such patterns of ownership still had some more favourable implications. Whether the motive was sincere or self-interested, it was evidently considered worthwhile and advantageous to display monarchical imagery and advertise one's loyalty, highlighting the authority that such imagery was widely considered to have. Moreover, these displays not only relied on this authority for their effectiveness, they promoted it further. Whilst the government could not control this, they could still benefit from it.

The authority of visual material is further addressed when considering broadly positive responses to official propaganda. Little evidence of engagement with iconography survives, but further examples of use, predicated partly on the theory that a portrait could act as a substitute for the person it depicted, again suggest their potential power. This was particularly clear when individuals sought to use this power and authority for their own purposes.

Significantly, an analysis of how printed propaganda was positively received reveals some similarities with conclusions about visual imagery. Evidence comes from a variety of sources, including straightforward reports from those charged with distributing propaganda and examples of reverent use. Much evidence, however, is drawn from non-government works which used material from official publications, both explicitly and implicitly, to make their arguments. Often they reinforced official polemic by emphasising similar key themes, and their use of official material more broadly indicated their belief that this constituted reliable, accurate information. Partly perhaps this was down to the tendency for official pamphlets to include official documents, which were frequently referenced. Crucially however, it was not only government supporters writing similar sorts of pamphlets that did this. Outright opponents occasionally did too when it suited them, accepting some official facts but giving them a different interpretation, and thus using government books in new, unexpected, and potentially subversive ways.

Nor was this confined to authors. Others in society also used government propaganda for their own purposes, appropriating its authority to bolster their own. Only rarely did this involve drastically misinterpreting official books. More commonly, and potentially more problematically from officials' perspectives, people were simply able to redeploy official arguments and information in new circumstances. It is not always easy to discern how deliberately this was done, but it was quite possibly calculated in certain situations. Several individuals referenced official propaganda when they found themselves in trouble with various governments, perhaps attempting to construct arguments that

rested on or related to indisputably legitimate information contained in official pamphlets. In this way, governments were potentially constrained by their own rhetoric.

Just as with visual imagery therefore, printed propaganda was considered inherently authoritative, and this led to both sincere and self-interested usages, where the problem of adequately fixing meaning remained. Consequently, similar doubts exist about the ability of printed propaganda to successfully promulgate specific messages.

Such doubts can be at least partially addressed by utilising another source: marginalia in surviving copies of polemical pamphlets. Admittedly, this can be a problematic source, with dating usually imprecise, and sometimes difficulties discerning the significance of annotations. Such issues are by no means insurmountable though. The presence of certain symbols can indicate an early modern reader, and thus suggest that they were at least a near-contemporary, whilst even if the exact meaning of markings is unclear, it is still useful to understand what was deemed significant.

In general, it is clear that polemical works were read in a similar fashion to other types of books, and annotated with similar objectives: books were supposed to be useful, and marginalia was supposed to facilitate this. Thus, although explicit judgements were rare, many books featured a variety of markings, such as brief marginal summaries, underlining, numbers and manicules, designed to break down texts and provide an individual guide. Considering this, the fact that polemical pamphlets were annotated at all is significant: most were printed to address a specific set of circumstances, yet readers seemingly believed that they would be of use at some point in the future. This makes it clear that their uncommon appearance in inventories of the period is not a sign that they were ephemeral.

Yet, it does not automatically follow that readers marked or considered important those sections that governments and polemicists may have done, and the act of providing one's own guide to a text indicated that they did have their own views and opinions, and were not necessarily passive recipients. This was perhaps particularly clear when readers focused only on relatively small parts of pamphlets, betraying their own specific interests.

Still, comparative analyses of several surviving copies of the same pamphlets gives more cause for optimism regarding print's propagandistic potential. Certainly some copies suggested readers who had their own personal concerns, or who read official texts alongside unofficial ones, but there is plenty of evidence of readers identifying pamphlets' main points. Consequently it appears that officials enjoyed a reasonable level of success in at least communicating what constituted the official line. Even more importantly, marginalia explicitly suggesting that readers agreed with this was not uncommon, whilst many other examples implicitly suggest that people approved, for example by featuring dense annotation with no negative comments.

Such evidence of apparent official success is seemingly undermined by examples of people challenging and disagreeing with printed and visual propaganda. This was done in various ways. Most straightforwardly in the case of printed polemics, these were simply refuted in kind, with a transition during the century from disputes among academics to attempts to influence the broader population. Books could also be attacked in manuscript, but whilst all these examples very obviously show that some people disagreed with official texts, they nevertheless indicate its authority: the very act of countering an official book involved tacitly acknowledging its potential influence.

Similarly, frequent instances of people in trouble for insulting official books must also be viewed as evidence of propaganda's authority and success: such cases only found their way into the records when defendants were denounced by apparently loyal neighbours. Crucially, people were also denounced for making seditious speeches that made no explicit reference to polemical texts, but which clearly attacked official arguments and positions. Such evidence is important in revealing the ability of printed propaganda to permeate society.

Some of the evidence regarding challenges to visual material similarly comes from popular denunciations. Occasionally people defaced royal iconography, or else sometimes their encounters with it sparked anti-monarchical speeches. The latter are significant in showing the close association between the monarch and their symbols. Another element was introduced, however, as a result of the same theory that made official portraits particularly potent: if a portrait could be considered a substitute for the person depicted, then attacking that portrait constituted some form of attack on the person themselves. Consequently, the vandalising of monarchical images was treated extremely seriously. Significantly, the range of visual media with which people engaged in these various challenges was quite wide, including seals and coins as well as portraits, and thus undermining suggestions that such images received little attention.

By considering the reception of propaganda in these various ways, it is possible to make some tentative claims about its overall success. Evidently it was widely held to be authoritative, and this was visible when people accepted it, rejected it, and appropriated it. Yet there were evidently also some sizable problems, notably the potential for it to be accidentally or deliberately misunderstood. This cannot be overplayed though. In some ways, it was even a strength, enabling a broad range of people to construe official propaganda, and by extension official policy, in ways that pleased them, and thus making them more amenable to accepting it. This was perhaps particularly significant during the early English Reformation, when Henry managed to implement largely unwanted and unpopular policies. Furthermore, the phenomenon of people interpreting official propaganda in various ways also involved accepting its authority, and in this way governments secured a reasonable level of obedience. This was key: propaganda's fundamental purpose was to help the government control the

population, and outward conformity was far more important than inner belief. Consequently, government propaganda was extremely useful, even if responses were somewhat unpredictable.

# The Reception of English Government Propaganda, c.1530-1603

## Contents

Abbreviations	3
Introduction	5
- Government Propaganda Part I: Visual Material	9
o Tudor Symbols	9
o Portraits	13
- Government Propaganda Part II: Print	31
o What was Printed?	31
o Explaining the Pattern of Printing	39
o Polemical Strategies	42
o Uses and Distribution	53
Chapter 1: Owning Propaganda	65
- Owning Books	65
- Owning Portraits	73
- Owning Tudor Symbols	103
- Conclusion	128
Chapter 2: The Authority of Propaganda	130
- Accepting and Using Visual Propaganda	130
- Accepting Printed Propaganda	136
- Using Printed Propaganda	155

Chapter 3: Marginalia in Government Polemics	177
- Methods of Annotation	179
- The <i>Determinations</i> and Anti-Papalism	198
- Reading Morison's <i>Remedy for Sedition</i>	212
- Marking <i>The Execution of Iustice</i>	216
- Accepting Elizabeth's 1585 <i>Declaration</i>	224
- The Significance of Documents	229
- Owners	235
- Conclusion	241
Chapter 4: Challenging Propaganda	243
- Challenging Print	243
- Challenging Visual Propaganda	272
- The Reigns of Edward and Mary	291
- Conclusion	292
Conclusion	295
Bibliography	300

## Abbreviations

Unless otherwise stated, place of publication is London.

*APC: Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J.R. Dasent (46 vols., 1890-1964).

*BCI: E.S. Leedham-Green (ed.), Books in Cambridge Inventories* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1986).

*BL: British Library.*

*BM: Burlington Magazine.*

*CP: Hatfield House, Cecil Papers.*

*CSPF: Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, ed. J. Stevenson (23 vols., 1863-1950).

*CSPS: Calendar of Letters, Dispatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between Spain and England*, ed. P. de Gayangos (13 vols., 1862-1954).

*CSPS Simancas: Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas*, ed. M.A.S. Hume (4 vols., 1892-9).

*CUL: Cambridge University Library.*

*E: TNA:PRO Exchequer.*

*EHR: English Historical Review.*

*FSL: Folger Shakespeare Library.*

*HJ: Historical Journal.*

*HLQ: Huntington Library Quarterly.*

*HPO: History of Parliament Online.*

*Huntington: Huntington Library.*

*Lansdowne: BL Lansdowne.*

*LP: Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer (23 vols., 1862-1932).

*MATB: Making Art in Tudor Britain.*

*NPG: National Portrait Gallery.*

*ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

PLRE: R.J. Fehrenbach, E.S. Leedham-Green (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (7 vols., Binghamton; Marlborough, 1992).

*PP: Past and Present.*

PROB: TNA:PRO PROB.

RCIN: Royal Collection Inventory Number.

SP: TNA:PRO State Papers.

STC: A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, rev. K. Pantzer (3 vols., 1976-91).

*TAMO: The Acts and Monuments Online.*

TCD: Trinity College, Dublin.

*TRHS: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.*

## Introduction

In 1992, Anglo challenged a long established historiographical tradition of which he had formerly been part, claiming that scholarship focusing on the symbolism of portraits, public spectacles, coins and other media had gone too far in attributing a political, rather than recreational, purpose to everything. He believed that historians had assumed rather than proven 'government planning in the creation and propagation of political symbolism', and he also downplayed the impact and use of the printing press in England. In consequence, he largely denied government propaganda's existence: governments only 'sporadically' 'employed a propaganda machine', and 'the notion that there was a carefully-thought-out systematic sales promotion of recondite imagery to the nation at large is a wholly modern, academic invention'.<sup>1</sup>

Few historians, however, have followed Anglo in rejecting the notion of official propaganda in the sixteenth century, and the many subsequent studies that have analysed governments' involvement in both visual imagery and printed polemics have rendered such a stance untenable. In terms of visual imagery, the historiographical tradition which Anglo was fighting against is perhaps most strongly associated with Strong. His extensive work convincingly attributed a propagandistic purpose to the complex iconography of Tudor portraiture, for example analysing the links between Holbein and Thomas Cromwell, and describing how a 'cult of Elizabeth' was deliberately created 'to replace the pre-Reformation externals of religion'.<sup>2</sup> King similarly viewed visual imagery as a form of propaganda, and his study of religious iconography seen in a variety of media again focused on both its meaning and what it revealed about official intentions.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Sharpe traced the symbolism of representations of monarchs in different media to argue that there was considerable effort employed to 'sell' the Tudor monarchy.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (1992), pp. 3, 130. For his earlier views, see: S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> R.C. Strong, *Holbein and Henry VIII* (1967), pp. 13-8; Idem., *The Cult of Elizabeth* (1977), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> J.N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> K.M. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (2009).

Work on print has frequently demonstrated similar priorities, concentrating on content and how this illuminates authors' and patrons' intentions. Baumer outlined the rhetorical construction of a 'cult of authority' through government propaganda.<sup>5</sup> Elton reviewed the content and use of the government's 1530s publications.<sup>6</sup> Read examined William Cecil's involvement in 'public relations' under Elizabeth, discussing printed pamphlets that he either drafted or commissioned and their aims.<sup>7</sup> Lake's 2011 Ford Lectures examined the dialogue between government pamphlets and those of their Catholic opponents from c.1572 to the mid-1590s, arguing that neither could be fully understood independently.<sup>8</sup>

Little has, however, been written about the reception of government propaganda of any media. Elton briefly chronicled a few responses to 1530s print, but maintained that insufficient evidence of popular reactions survived to enable judgement of official success.<sup>9</sup> On later government print, only the reception of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* has received any sustained discussion.<sup>10</sup> Claims that the oral transmission of news was pre-eminent in a predominantly illiterate society,<sup>11</sup> and that preaching was therefore the most effective polemical medium,<sup>12</sup> are likely a contributing factor. Based on the ability to sign one's name, Cressy suggested that at Elizabeth's accession about 80% of men and 95% of women were illiterate.<sup>13</sup> Thomas, however, claimed that such calculations underrated those that could

---

<sup>5</sup> F.L.V. Baumer, *Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New York, 1966).

<sup>6</sup> G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 171-216. See also: Idem., *Reform and Renewal* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 38-65.

<sup>7</sup> C. Read, 'William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations', in S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, C.H. Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society* (1961), pp. 21-55.

<sup>8</sup> P. Lake, 'Bad Queen Bess? Libellous Politics and Secret Histories in an Age of Confessional Conflict', *Ford Lectures* (2011). Other studies include: J.P.D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State* (Oxford, 2003); V. Murphy, 'The Literature and Propaganda of Henry VIII's First Divorce', in D. MacCulloch (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 135-58; R. Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *HJ*, 39 (1996), pp. 863-94; T.A. Sowerby, "'All our books do be sent into other countreys and translated": Henrician Polemic in its International Context', *EHR*, 121 (2006), pp. 1271-99; Idem., *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England* (Oxford, 2010), chs. 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 207-10.

<sup>10</sup> J.N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 230-42, 284-320.

<sup>11</sup> See for example: E.H. Shagan, 'Rumours and Popular Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII', in T. Harris (ed.), *Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 30-66.

<sup>12</sup> J. Block, 'Thomas Cromwell's Patronage of Preaching', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8 (1977), p. 37; Elton, *Policy*, p. 211.

<sup>13</sup> D. Cressy, *Literature & the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 53-61, 176.

read print, suggesting that many could do this who could not necessarily read handwriting.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Fox rejected a simple dichotomy between oral and literate culture, and stressed the ways that oral, scribal and printed media ‘fed in and out of each other as part of a dynamic process of reciprocal interaction and mutual infusion’. Print thus permeated the entire social hierarchy.<sup>15</sup> So, despite the English print industry’s modesty when compared with Continental ones,<sup>16</sup> if judged on its own terms, it still revolutionised society.

The absence of scholarship on visual imagery’s reception is perhaps more surprising. Whilst Anglo potentially rendered such studies redundant by maintaining that there was no propaganda to be received, his arguments were based on practical questions about how portraits and other media could have operated as polemical vehicles, such as who saw monarchical portraits. This focused at least some attention on the masses’ exposure to propaganda.<sup>17</sup> Sharpe declared an intention to discuss how monarchs’ representations were received and contested, but his descriptions of negative and opposing representations of monarchs reveal little about how specific pieces of propaganda were received, with little emphasis on whether unofficial representations, positive and negative, were explicit responses to official ideas and propaganda.<sup>18</sup>

This thesis therefore addresses a significant historiographical gap by analysing the reception of official propaganda pamphlets and visual material in England from 1530 until Elizabeth’s death. Historians have identified the 1530s as a watershed moment in the use of print. Although used for

---

<sup>14</sup> K.V. Thomas, ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 99-103, 113. He nevertheless maintained that ‘political information’ still circulated primarily through ‘oral communication’, and that literate people ‘did not necessarily become habitual book-readers’.

<sup>15</sup> A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 17-19, 50, 410. Thomas More and William Rastell in the 1520s and the government itself in the early 1540s believed that literacy was widespread. See: D.M. Loades, ‘The Press under the Early Tudors: a Study in Censorship and Sedition’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964), pp. 29-30.

<sup>16</sup> A. Pettegree, ‘Centre and Periphery in the European Book World’, *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 18 (2008), pp. 101-28; Idem., ‘Printing and the Reformation: the English Exception’, in P. Marshall, A. Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 157-79. This matters, as Anglo dismissed official printed propaganda partly because more was produced by other European governments. See: Anglo, *Images*, p. 120.

<sup>17</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 1-4, 99-130.

<sup>18</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, passim.

propagandistic purposes before 1530,<sup>19</sup> scholars have argued that Henry's Great Matter made the government employ print more extensively.<sup>20</sup> Equally, studies of visual imagery have noted the stimulus provided by new policies in the 1530s,<sup>21</sup> some of which partly prompted broader changes that stimulated increased interest in portraiture among the wider population.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Sharpe suggested that a modified form of Habermas' idealised version of the public sphere emerged in the 1530s, with monarchs' tendencies to 'represent' themselves to the nation stimulating popular debate. Conversely, Pincus, Lake and Questier argued that Elizabeth's reign marked the emergence of a form of public sphere, again differentiated from Habermas' model, and produced by officials' attempts to win support for their policies by appealing to the masses. Since Sharpe rarely discussed specific instances of engagement with propaganda his argument is unproven, whilst Lake's focus on how pamphlets' ideas were recycled in parliament and stimulated refutations makes the extent to which they influenced wider public opinion unclear.<sup>23</sup> Studying reception can therefore illuminate this debate.

This thesis will first discuss what propaganda governments produced and why, before considering evidence of ownership of books and visual materials, generally positive instances of reception, marginalia in surviving copies of polemical pamphlets, and negative reactions to print and images. Defining propaganda is difficult. Sharpe noted the contrast between the term's origins, which suggested sincerely spreading the truth, and the negative connotations of cynical manipulation

---

<sup>19</sup> See for example: A. Allan, 'Royal Propaganda and the Proclamations of Edward IV', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), pp. 146-54; P. Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics and Religion', in L. Hellings, J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol.3: 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 576-89; R. Rex, 'English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s', *TRHS*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser., 39 (1989), pp. 85-106; T. Thornton, 'Propaganda, Political Communication and the Problem of English Responses to the Introduction of Printing', in Idem, B. Taithe (eds.), *Propaganda* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 48-50; Sowerby, 'Polemic', pp. 1272-5, 1296.

<sup>20</sup> Baumer, *Theory*, p. 214; Elton, *Policy*, pp. 171, 174-5; Neville-Sington, 'Press', p. 589; Thornton, 'Propaganda', p. 50. For Neville-Sington the change was one of degree, not kind.

<sup>21</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 131-2; Strong, *Holbein*, pp. 7-9

<sup>22</sup> R. Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (Oxford, 2012), ch. 2.

<sup>23</sup> P. Lake, S.C.A. Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', in Idem. (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 1-30; P. Lake, M. Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), pp. 587-627; P. Lake, 'The Politics of "Popularity" and the Public Sphere: the "Monarchical Republic" of Elizabeth I Defends Itself', in Lake, Pincus, *Politics*, pp. 59-94; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 30-2. Shagan rejected Habermas' concept as something that never existed, but appropriated his language when examining how discourses of the commonwealth and evangelicalism were employed during the Pilgrimage of Grace. See: E.H. Shagan, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Public Sphere', in Lake, Pincus, *Politics*, pp. 31-58.

engendered by association with twentieth-century totalitarian regimes, suggesting that sixteenth-century people would have understood the concept of propaganda in both these ways.<sup>24</sup> Although broad, this definition reflects officials' production of material combining elements of truth and sincerity with manipulation and misrepresentation. Of course, not everything produced by officials should be considered official. For example, Elizabeth's advisors possibly encouraged John Stubbs' *Gaping Gulf*, which infuriated Elizabeth,<sup>25</sup> whilst Montrose suggested that councillors' independent agendas make the 'notion of an "official" image' problematic.<sup>26</sup> This thesis therefore attempts to concentrate on materials produced with monarchs' consent, where officials acted in their public rather than private capacity, whilst recognising that even these materials could simultaneously serve independent interests.

## Government Propaganda Part I: Visual Material

Tudor governments produced a wide range of visual material encompassing numerous media.<sup>27</sup> Since the evidence of reception encountered mostly concerns portraits, the royal arms and royal heraldic symbols, this section will discuss these types of imagery, and how monarchs used them.<sup>28</sup>

### Tudor Symbols

Anglo considered Tudor monarchs' emblems their most important form of visual representation. The Tudor rose, portcullis, dragon, and greyhound, were developed under Henry VII, referencing his marriage to Elizabeth of York and his family's British and Lancastrian ancestry. They thus represented the Tudors' legitimacy, and were used by Henry's successors. Yet, Anglo argued that they promptly became 'symbols not of pedigree but of the dynasty itself': becoming a 'decorative commonplace', the dragon's 'original British signification dwindled', whilst the portcullis and

---

<sup>24</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 18-9.

<sup>25</sup> Lake, "Popularity", pp. 70-7.

<sup>26</sup> L. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth* (2006), pp. 136.

<sup>27</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, chs. 4-5, 7-8, 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> Other media, including coins and seals, will be considered as required.

greyhound lost their meaning as the ‘dynastic connection’ to the saintly Lancastrian Henry VI became ‘less important’, particularly after the break with Rome. Admittedly, the Tudor rose represented the peace achieved by Henry VII’s marriage as well as ‘lineage’ and retained this meaning.<sup>29</sup>

Although Anglo’s argument perhaps suggests that some of these symbols lost their polemical utility as they evolved to simply represent the Tudors, he nevertheless maintained that because these ‘dynastic hieroglyphs’ were ‘straightforwardly heraldic’, they were ‘especially effective’. Such symbols’ value was that people recognised them, and they appeared ‘on all things Tudor’, including moveable goods and the fabric of buildings, indicating ‘proprietary rights’. The importance attached to this was reflected in Henry VIII’s replacement of former wives’ iconography.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, using heraldry in this manner still had a propagandistic purpose. Sharpe argued that Henry VIII used arms and symbols to ‘instruct and persuade’ people of his ‘legitimacy, virtue and authority’. Besides representing the dynasty in general, symbols could make more specific points in certain circumstances, such as Henry’s piety when placed on religious objects. Similarly, Sharpe suggested that Elizabeth ‘was conscious of how goods and possessions might represent her’. Moreover, he stressed the potentially wide audience of such items, ranging from the elite to servants, whilst moveable goods also moved with monarchs.<sup>31</sup>

Foreign visitors’ accounts during Elizabeth’s reign suggest that such symbols were noticed on possessions and as part of palaces’ decoration. In the mid-1580s flags bearing Elizabeth’s arms were seen at Whitehall,<sup>32</sup> and in 1599 cushions featuring the royal arms were noted at the Tower of London.<sup>33</sup> Around this time at Windsor, visitors mentioned that a private chapel’s ceiling was ‘embellished with golden roses and fleurs-de-lis’,<sup>34</sup> and saw a gateway at Hampton Court bearing

---

<sup>29</sup> Anglo, *Images*, esp. pp. 3-4, 34-5, 59-60, 73, 97.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-8.

<sup>31</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 146-52, 410-1.

<sup>32</sup> G. Von Bülow (ed.), ‘Journey through England and Scotland made by Liupold von Wedel in the years 1584 and 1585’, *TRHS*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 9 (1895), p. 234.

<sup>33</sup> T. Platter, *Thomas Platter’s Travels in England, 1599* (1937), p. 162.

<sup>34</sup> P. Hentzner, *Travels in England during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1889), p. 71; *Ibid.*, pp. 211-2. Platter also saw another Whitehall ceiling ‘painted with [Elizabeth’s] name and her usual mottoes’.

Elizabeth's arms and the 'usual motto', 'Dieu et mon Droict' – a remark suggesting that such inscriptions were commonplace. One of the latter also noted an instrument in the royal library that had 'the Queen's cipher' inside.<sup>35</sup> Another visitor in 1599 described a gallery's ceiling in the chapel there as painted with a portcullis, fleur-de-lis, rose and mottoes.<sup>36</sup> Numerous visitors also noted the queen's servants wearing her arms and badges,<sup>37</sup> whilst in 1599 one mentioned pennons displaying the royal arms on battleships at Rochester.<sup>38</sup> Visitors' accounts also suggest that arms were used in symbolically important places. In the mid-1580s at Whitehall, a chimney-piece featuring a stone-carved royal arms was in the room where the Privy Council met,<sup>39</sup> and in 1600 in Windsor's 'stately church' there was a stall on a raised dais bearing a wood-carved royal arms on its canopy, where the 'Sovereign' of the Order of the Garter sat.<sup>40</sup> The latter visitor and one in 1599 also noted the impressive canopy of state in Hampton Court's Paradise Chamber: standing above the throne, it included the royal arms and jewels,<sup>41</sup> combining magnificence with royal iconography. In these instances, the royal arms would have pointedly advertised monarchical authority. Foreign audiences also encountered such iconography among English ambassadors' goods, which 'visually branded' them 'as their sovereign's loyal representatives'.<sup>42</sup>

Beyond the court, many likely saw the royal arms in churches. No order for their installation survives,<sup>43</sup> but there was official consent, and occasionally encouragement. A 1560 proclamation prohibited the destruction of royal images, among others, in churches, whilst Archbishop Grindal's

---

<sup>35</sup> G.W. Groos (ed.), *The Diary of Baron Waldstein* (1981), pp. 147-8, 155; Hentzner, *Travels*, pp. 74-5. Admittedly, the visitors possibly saw separate gateways at Hampton Court. Equally, the arms potentially dated to 1521, when Wolsey possessed the palace.

<sup>36</sup> Platter, *Travels*, p. 200.

<sup>37</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 73, 81-2; Platter, *Travels*, p. 194; W.B. Rye (ed.), *England as Seen by Foreigners* (1865), pp. 87, 106; Von Bülow, 'Wedel', pp. 250, 256. Waldstein also mentioned that the chancellor carried a purse 'bearing the royal insignia'.

<sup>38</sup> Platter, *Travels*, pp. 150-1. In 1600 Baron Waldstein noted that one ship had Elizabeth's effigy. See: Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 179-1.

<sup>39</sup> Von Bülow, 'Wedel', pp. 235-6.

<sup>40</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 143-5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.151; Platter, *Travels*, p. 203.

<sup>42</sup> T.A. Sowerby, "'A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith": Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *EHR*, forthcoming, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> H.M. Cautley, *Royal Arms and Commandments in our Churches* (Ipswich, 1934), p. 17. Contra: Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 146.

1571 injunctions commanded that ‘some convenient crest’ supplant crosses on rood beams.<sup>44</sup> Scholars have connected the arms to the Royal Supremacy.<sup>45</sup> Yet, the fact that Mary apparently only ordered arms ‘to be set in a place more convenient’, rather than destroyed,<sup>46</sup> suggests that they had some secular utility too, and therefore more complicated meanings.<sup>47</sup>

Tudor monarchs therefore employed devices and arms on their possessions and homes to project their authority to domestic and foreign audiences, whilst also at least tolerating the widespread appearance of their arms in churches, presumably hoping that these could perform similar functions. Less clear, however, is their role in the widespread use of these symbols by people at various levels of society, both on their possessions and in their homes’ decoration.<sup>48</sup> Although efforts were made to prevent inappropriate use, with Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, being executed for treason in 1547 for appropriating the royal arms as his own,<sup>49</sup> monarchs likely condoned less provocative uses, since their visits to homes displaying royal iconography ensured their awareness of it.<sup>50</sup> But there is little evidence that they carefully considered how to encourage their subjects to use royal iconography in the same way that they occasionally contemplated royal portraiture’s dissemination.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps the fact that such symbols could be copied by anyone without the need for official patterns accounts for this, but the phenomenon of popular use of royal iconography still requires explanation, as this potentially altered the monarchical functions of indicating rulers’ ‘proprietary rights’ and projecting royal authority.

### Portraits

Whilst all Tudor monarchs used the same dynastic hieroglyphs, portraits were obviously individualised. Despite extensive scholarship on these images, determining which were official

---

<sup>44</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 73-4, 269.

<sup>45</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 19; Cautley, *Arms*, pp. 1-4; R.A. Pardoe, *Some Notes on Royal Arms in Merseyside Churches* (Liverpool, 1978); Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 70; Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 40. Catholic criticisms of the practice are discussed below. See pp. 273-4.

<sup>46</sup> Cautley, *Arms*, p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> See below, pp. 124-7.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-24.

<sup>49</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>50</sup> See below, pp. 109-12.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30.

remains difficult, often because of the fragmentary documentary record. This section therefore suggests three ways in which portraits can be considered official: firstly, governments commissioned monarchical portraits themselves; secondly, some portraits commissioned by others involved a sitting by a monarch, which conferred a degree of officiality; thirdly, portraits used by governments had official status. This third strand overlaps with the others, as portraits commissioned by the government and others were employed for official purposes, but it also includes images whose circumstances of creation are unknown. Examining these three strands reveals not only what the government produced, but why.

### Government Commissioned Portraits

Proving that specific portraits were officially commissioned is surprisingly difficult, often resting on attribution, with varying degrees of certainty, to government employed artists, although such artists were not necessarily employed as portrait painters.<sup>52</sup> Certainly Henry and/or his government were responsible for several images of the king.<sup>53</sup> Despite payments to Holbein only starting in the accounts in 1538, he was in royal service earlier, with his 1536 Thyssen portrait possibly being part of the ‘table like a booke, with the picture of Kynge Henry theight and Quene Jane’ recorded in surviving royal inventories.<sup>54</sup> More overtly propagandistic in both content and usage was Holbein’s official 1537 mural at Whitehall Palace, depicting Henry VIII, his parents and Jane Seymour. After instability caused by rebellion and the succession, the painting and its inscription celebrated the Tudor dynasty, portraying Henry as heir to Henry VII, who had brought peace, and, having banished the pope, as ‘founder of a new church and polity’.<sup>55</sup> Importantly, Privy Chamber staff levels increased throughout the 1530s, and new, more private rooms were built at Whitehall. Foister suggested that this indicates the Privy Chamber’s increasingly public nature, which ‘perhaps prompted the commissioning of

---

<sup>52</sup> For example, see: S. Foister, *Holbein & England*, (2004), pp. 14-20.

<sup>53</sup> Some of his commissions pre-dated the 1530s. See: Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 131.

<sup>54</sup> R. Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols., 1969), i, p. 158. Others questioned this usage. See: K. Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties* (1995), p. 43; J. Rowlands, *Holbein* (Oxford, 1985), p. 144.

<sup>55</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 136-7. It is unclear if it predated Edward’s birth. Contra. Strong, the inscription was undoubtedly contemporary. See: Foister, *Holbein*, pp. 180, 183-4; Strong, *Holbein*, pp. 49-54.

Holbein's mural'. In the 1540s the Privy Chamber also acquired some of the presence chamber's functions, with Henry receiving the duke of Najera there in 1544 and Edward some French commissioners in 1550, and Elizabeth feasting the Knights of the Garter. Numerous visitors under Elizabeth and James saw it too.<sup>56</sup> Evidently the audience was sufficiently wide for the mural to function as propaganda.

Most of the portrait types of Edward identified by Strong originated during Henry's reign, several presumably commissioned by the king. A drawing by Holbein in the Royal Collection from the early 1540s was the basis for one portrait type, half-length showing Edward facing the spectator and holding a rose. At least one, NPG 1132, is from c.1542. Commentary on an identical version claims that the 'clothes and pose recall Holbein's portraits' of Henry.<sup>57</sup> But a c.1546 portrait type does this more explicitly, the original being a three-quarter length in the royal collection seemingly painted for Henry and attributed to William Scrots, the best paid artist at court from 1545. In the painting Edward, wearing a jewel featuring the Prince of Wales feathers, deliberately copies Henry's stance in the Whitehall mural, thus appearing 'ready to assume the mantle of kingship'. A 1547 full-length at Petworth House portrays Edward as king, standing before a 'cloth of estate', his jewel now lacking the Prince of Wales feathers.<sup>58</sup> The numerous profile portraits of Edward possibly also stemmed from a pattern by Scrots, who seemingly produced the 1546 anamorphic version, whilst NPG 442 was apparently from his studio.<sup>59</sup> Scrots is more concretely linked to a portrait type that existed by 1550 and again showed Edward in a pose reminiscent of Henry's in the Whitehall mural. There are stylistic similarities to one of Scrots' earlier paintings in a copy in the Louvre, Paris, whilst he was paid for two full-lengths of Edward in March 1551/2 which were seemingly sent abroad as part of marriage

---

<sup>56</sup> Foister, *Holbein*, pp. 178-80; Strong, *Holbein*, p. 32; S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, (1993), pp. 136-9. Foister showed that the room containing the mural was Henry's Privy Chamber, undermining Rowlands' argument that it originally had another function. See: Rowlands, *Holbein*, pp. 113-4.

<sup>57</sup> National Maritime Museum BHC2678; RCIN 912201; Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 88, 92.

<sup>58</sup> Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 49-50; C. MacLeod, 'Guillim Scrots', *ODNB*; RCIN 404441; Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 191; Strong, *Portraits*, i, p. 92; Idem., *Gloriana* (1987), p. 52. Hearn and implicitly MacLeod questioned the attribution to Scrots.

<sup>59</sup> MATB, Highlights from the Research: Edward VI; Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 88-90, 92-3. Rowlands doubted the attribution to Scrots, whilst MacLeod was cautious about Scrots' involvement in either the anamorphic portrait or NPG 442. See: MATB, Workshop 3 (March 2008): C. MacLeod, 'Paintings Associated with Guillim Scrots: Some Technical Evidence'; Rowlands, *Holbein*, pp. 235-6.

negotiations. Other copies potentially came from his studio.<sup>60</sup> Altogether, Edward's portraits as prince emphasised his legitimacy and 'readiness' to govern, downplaying his youth, whilst all 'representations' of him, in whatever media pre- and post-1553, aimed to show Edward 'as the site of authority and regality', not as an actual and political minor.<sup>61</sup>

Princess Mary's November 1544 Privy Purse expenses included a payment to 'John' for painting her portrait, probably NPG 428. Depicting Mary, who had been returned to the order of succession that year, in suitably royal fashion, this image 'reflected her newly regained position of honour'.<sup>62</sup> As queen, Mary presumably commissioned some of Hans Eworth's portraits of her. He was seemingly her 'unofficial court painter', intimate enough to obtain access to her jewellery, and creating one of Mary's main portrait types. The Society of Antiquaries' 1554 version echoes her attire in the 1544 portrait and employs the same pose, connoting 'rank and status'. Her 'royal status' was equally highlighted by a cloth of state, whilst Eworth deviated from the underdrawing 'to create a more regal and imposing image'.<sup>63</sup>

A portrait of Princess Elizabeth, representing her 'as a king's daughter' and associating her with piety and learning by including two books, was by the same artist as the c.1546 frontal portrait of Edward and therefore attributed to Scrots, probably painted for Henry VIII at the same time, their panels possibly containing wood from the same tree.<sup>64</sup>

Ascertaining which of the surviving portraits of Elizabeth as queen were official commissions is challenging. The government possibly commissioned Stephen van Herwijck's 1560s portraits, depicting Elizabeth 'as an aristocratic lady'. Strong initially linked them to the 1563 draft

---

<sup>60</sup> MacLeod, 'Scrots', *ODNB*; Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 93-4.

<sup>61</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 193. Changes made to NPG 5511 during painting show the painter 'experimenting' to best depict Edward 'as a powerful and believable ruler' at his accession. See: MATB, Highlights: Edward VI.

<sup>62</sup> Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 47; Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 208-9.

<sup>63</sup> Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 66-7; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 265-7; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 12-4.

<sup>64</sup> Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 50, 78-9; RCIN 404441, 404444; Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 52. The similarities between Edward's and Elizabeth's portraits undermine Arnold's argument that the latter was one given to Edward by Elizabeth in May 1547. See: J. Arnold, 'The "Pictur" of Elizabeth I When Princess', *BM*, 123 (1981), pp. 302-4.

proclamation which planned to suppress unsatisfactory pictures of Elizabeth and develop a suitable pattern for multiplication, but later he seemingly connected them to a new sitting c.1567, attributing several to Steven van der Meulen. Grosvenor convincingly argued, however, that Strong confused these two artists, and that van Herwijck painted these portraits in connection with the 1563 draft proclamation, specifically attributing several to him ‘on stylistic grounds’. He was primarily based in England from c.1562, and told authorities in Antwerp in 1565 that he was working for Elizabeth.<sup>65</sup>

The Phoenix and Pelican portraits were potentially also official commissions. Painted c.1575 in the same workshop using the same face-pattern, they have been attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, given their similarities to a 1572 miniature by him.<sup>66</sup> Although lacking a government salary, in 1573 Elizabeth rewarded Hilliard for his ‘good, true and loyal service’,<sup>67</sup> whilst he accompanied the ambassador Sir Amyas Paulet to France in 1576, having apparently been ‘recommended’ by Elizabeth and ‘instructed’ to paint the duke of Alencon.<sup>68</sup> Strong noted that the Phoenix and Pelican portraits, named after the jewels that Elizabeth wears in each, ‘are the earliest to indicate any kind of personal iconography’, with these emblems ‘overtly politico-religious theme’, demonstrating ‘the uniqueness and sanctity of Elizabeth’s government and her care for her people’, perhaps a response to Pius V’s 1570 excommunicatory bull or the 1572 Ridolfi Plot.<sup>69</sup> Placing them in this context, Sharpe regarded the portraits as Elizabeth’s ‘highly personal statements’ wherein she reassured people over the succession and resisted pressure to marry. Yet, Doran’s claim that when Elizabeth commissioned pictures ‘she was more usually depicted as a Protestant ruler rather than a virgin queen’ undermines Sharpe’s stress on these portraits’ emphasis on Elizabeth’s virginity. Certainly Doran argued that the

---

<sup>65</sup> B. Grosvenor, ‘The Identity of “the Famous Paynter Steven”: not Steven van der Meulen but Steven van Herwijck’, *British Art Journal*, 9 (2009), pp. 12-7; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 59-63; Idem., *Portraits*, i, pp. 109-10.

<sup>66</sup> See below, p. 20.

<sup>67</sup> Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 80, 122; MATB, Highlights: ‘The Phoenix and the Pelican: Two Portraits of Elizabeth I, c.1575’.

<sup>68</sup> M. Edmond, ‘Nicholas Hilliard’, *ODNB*.

<sup>69</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 81-3.

Pelican and Phoenix could operate as Protestant symbols,<sup>70</sup> so that these portraits were likely still produced by Elizabeth and/or her government, particularly given Hilliard's involvement.

#### Sittings for Non-Royal Commissions

Sharpe noted that monarchs never had total control over their representations, as these were 'mediated' through others, including artists, some of whom 'sometimes had their own clear ideas and agenda'.<sup>71</sup> Unofficial commissioners could also shape monarchs' representations, but, crucially, when portraits involved a sitting, monarchs effectively indicated their acceptance of these as legitimate representations.

Joos van Cleve's c.1535 image of Henry VIII holding a scroll likely acquired official status by involving a sitting: it looks like Henry, and van Cleve correctly painted Henry's shadow, which was wrongly painted in a group of seemingly derivative Anglo-Flemish portraits.<sup>72</sup> Van Cleve's similar portrait of Francis I lacks a scroll; the two were thus not made as pendants to mark the two kings' 1532 meeting. Henry's scroll contains a scriptural quotation from the Vulgate meaning 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature', and has been used to connect the portrait to the 1535 Coverdale Bible and its title page featuring the same quotation. But that title page features ten quotations in English, so that one in Latin relates little to it or vernacular scripture. The quotation may therefore signify Henry's position as Defender of the Faith. Whilst this could have a conservative meaning, it would not have been inconsistent with the Royal Supremacy, after which Henry still used the title.<sup>73</sup> Sharpe's cautious suggestion that Henry authorised the image based on its inclusion in the

---

<sup>70</sup> S. Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in Idem., T.S. Freeman (eds.), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 172, 178-9; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 370-2.

<sup>71</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 20-1. This applied to authors of official pamphlets too. See below, p. 40.

<sup>72</sup> MATB, Workshop 3: T. String, 'The Transmission of Artistic Conventions/Visual Vocabulary in Tudor Portraits'. Strong incorrectly lists this group of images as a separate portrait type. See: Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 158-9.

<sup>73</sup> For example, on a 1545 medal. See: Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 153.

royal collection is unacceptable though, as it was possibly not there originally.<sup>74</sup> Henry's authorisation must instead be based on the apparent sitting.

Holbein's surviving sketch for his portrait of baby Edward shows that some kind of sitting occurred, doubtless requiring official permission. Yet, since Henry received the portrait as a New Year's gift in 1539 from Holbein, he seemingly did not commission it. Holbein was possibly trying to demonstrate his loyalty, as when he had been abroad painting Henry's prospective brides, Basel's local authorities had encouraged him to return there. The portrait aimed to show Edward's suitability to rule, depicting him unrealistically mature, with a rattle reminiscent of a royal sceptre. Moreover, official polemicist, Richard Morison's Latin inscription encouraged him to 'emulate thy father', whilst remaining sceptical that surpassing Henry was possible.<sup>75</sup>

Mary sat in late 1554 for Antonio Mor, who was commissioned by Charles V. This image depicted her 'as a Habsburg consort, rather than an English sovereign': her seated pose is reminiscent of images of other 'Habsburg brides', whilst she wears betrothal gifts from both Charles and Philip. More generally, England's reconciliation with Rome in November 1554 and rumours of Mary's pregnancy 'made this an exceptionally propitious moment from a Habsburg perspective'.<sup>76</sup> Two of Mor's autograph versions were seemingly in Spanish collections originally. Nevertheless, Mary apparently rewarded Mor,<sup>77</sup> and possibly owned a copy of this image herself.<sup>78</sup>

Doran suggested that Elizabeth primarily 'left the task and expense of commissioning the paintings [of her] to her courtiers'.<sup>79</sup> Some involved sittings. Goldring convincingly argued that the earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley, commissioned Zuccaro to paint Elizabeth's portrait in 1575 for festivities at

---

<sup>74</sup> Foister, *Holbein*, pp. 161, 282; Philadelphia Museum of Art Cat.769; RCIN 403368; Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 132; Strong, *Portraits*, i, p. 158.

<sup>75</sup> Foister, *Holbein*, pp. 196-8; Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 41; RCIN 912200; Rowlands, *Holbein*, pp. 116, 146-7; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 190-1. Strong alone dated this to 1540. See: Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 91-2.

<sup>76</sup> Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>77</sup> Strong, *Portraits*, i, p. 212.

<sup>78</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 267-70. A 1558 portrait combined Mor's image with Philip's picture and their arms and titles, obviously representing Mary's Spanish marriage.

<sup>79</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', p. 190.

Kenilworth. Zucarro was only in England briefly,<sup>80</sup> making it unlikely that he also painted the Darnley portrait.<sup>81</sup> Yet, since this presumably stemmed from a sitting, it, like Zucarro's picture, had a form of official status, although the artist and commissioner are unknown.<sup>82</sup> Sharpe argued that the Darnley portrait represented Elizabeth's two 'pure, perfect, virginal and sacred' bodies: 'the personal, physical, *sexual* female body of the woman', emphasised by the positions of her pearl necklace and ostrich feather fan, and 'the royal body public', symbolised by crown and sceptre.<sup>83</sup> Considering Doran's claim that Elizabeth generally did not present herself as virginal,<sup>84</sup> she presumably did not commission this, but only legitimised it by sitting for it.

Similar reasoning may suggest that Elizabeth conferred legitimacy on the c.1588 Armada portrait pattern, representing a new face-mask and showing Spain's defeat in the background, by sitting for it, not commissioning it. She possibly sat for the serjeant painter, George Gower, a February 1589 grant of properties perhaps being a reward, although none of Elizabeth's portraits can be certainly attributed to him, despite a 1584 draft patent (which Gower himself authored) giving him a monopoly on Elizabeth's portraits, except miniatures. Whoever painted it, the portrait's politically useful emphasis on Elizabeth's virginity, with bows and pearls, perhaps argues against her responsibility. Instead, Sir Francis Drake possibly commissioned one version, which descended through his family. Certainly he gave Elizabeth the 'Cynthia' miniature and a fan featuring her portrait which also alluded to this goddess, with both also referencing his naval service.<sup>85</sup> The Armada portrait could have fulfilled a similar function.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> E. Goldring, 'Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester for Kenilworth Castle', *BM*, 147 (2005), pp. 654-660; see below, pp. 96-7.

<sup>81</sup> Contra: Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 85-9.

<sup>82</sup> The NPG, claiming that the painting was 'almost certainly' from life, suggested that a courtier, who had perhaps given Elizabeth the pendant or fan featured in the painting, probably commissioned it. See: NPG 2082.

<sup>83</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 372-4.

<sup>84</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>85</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 188, 190; K. Hearn, 'George Gower', *ODNB*; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 145-8; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 15-6, 125, 131-3; Idem., *Portraits*, i, p. 111. Doran expressed no opinion on who commissioned it, whilst Montrose perhaps implied that Elizabeth did.

<sup>86</sup> Elizabeth's fingers seemingly point to America on a globe, and possibly 'a line that may plot Drake's journey' there. See: Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 381.

Elizabeth sat several more times: for Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, who produced the Ditchley portrait for Sir Henry Lee in 1592,<sup>87</sup> and for Cornelius Ketel and a French artist in 1578 and 1581 respectively, although no resulting portraits seemingly survive. Strong's suggestion that Ketel's sitting was actually later, between 1579 and 1581 and connected to the second series of Sieve portraits, is unconvincing: these, like the 1579 Sieve portraits, were based on the Darnley pattern, thus presumably not from life.<sup>88</sup>

Elizabeth also sat for limnings by Levina Teerlinc, Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver. Even when Hilliard began repeating a c.1587 face-mask, not drawing it from life, the costume was still 'directly observed', indicating that he had access to Elizabeth's wardrobe, and that she therefore still consented to these images. Certainly Elizabeth gave miniatures of herself to her followers in the 1580s and 1590s, including Drake, Walsingham, Hatton and Sir Thomas Heneage, to show her favour, but others she did not commission. Besides producing a portrait of Princess Elizabeth, seemingly involving a sitting, when commissioned by the Privy Council in 1551, and possibly a miniature, Teerlinc, who received an annuity from 1546 onwards, gave the queen miniatures as New Year's gifts, beginning in 1559. Similarly, Hilliard's 1572 miniature of Elizabeth was possibly commissioned by Sir Francis Knollys to mark his appointment as treasurer of the royal household, whilst one of his 1580s *au vif* miniatures was probably produced for Elizabeth's cousin, Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon. That others commissioned Hilliard is unsurprising: despite his continued royal service, indicated by his inclusion in Gower's unfulfilled draft patent as the recipient of a monopoly on Elizabeth's miniatures, he was seemingly badly paid. He received an 'unconditional warrant' and annuity as Elizabeth's goldsmith and limner in 1599, making him a member of Elizabeth's household, and Elizabeth later intervened on his behalf when he could not renew his home's lease, but otherwise he received small benefit. Indeed, Hilliard's c.1600 treatise on limning implicitly criticised Elizabeth for his lack of maintenance.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> See below, p. 97.

<sup>88</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 15-6, 95, 101-2; Idem., *Portraits*, i, pp. 110-1.

<sup>89</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 177, 190; Edmond, 'Hilliard', *ODNB*; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 15-6, 52, 55, 109-10; Idem., 'Levina Teerlinc', *ODNB*; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Hidden Treasures: The Heneage Jewel*. Conversely, Doran connected Hilliard's 1572 miniature to Elizabeth's marriage negotiations.

Strong emphasised the importance of Elizabeth's c.1592 sitting for Isaac Oliver, who was apparently commissioned by a book- and printseller, Jan Woutneel. A pattern was produced for studio reproduction, but only one miniature using it survives, seemingly because Oliver captured Elizabeth's age, rendering it unsuitable for Elizabeth and her government. Woutneel apparently sent the drawing to Crispin van de Passe, who engraved it, and William Rogers similarly employed it. These prints' limited survival led Strong to suggest that the government 'deliberately suppressed' them.<sup>90</sup> The incident thus suggests a reasonable level of governmental control in limiting the pattern's dispersal; allowing others to commission images was seemingly not tantamount to losing all influence. After all, Doran suggested that others, with various motives, 'commissioned and created the royal image themselves within certain prescribed limits',<sup>91</sup> whilst Elizabeth possibly influenced Leicester's images of herself and him by ensuring that they would not face each other when displayed, like husband and wife.<sup>92</sup>

#### Official Use of Portraiture

Through commissions and sittings monarchs thus instilled numerous portraits with official status. Analysing how governments used monarchical portraits is crucial to further understanding their aims, besides allowing other portraits invested with official status to be identified.

Most simply, monarchical portraits were displayed in royal palaces. A 1547 royal inventory included Edward's picture at Greenwich, and, at St James' House in 1549-50 were two images of Henry VIII (one possibly being on a table), plus two more 'cut in wood in a case of mettall' and 'wrought in yerth'. At Whitehall in 1547 was Scots' picture of Princess Elizabeth, a full-length of Edward and two more that had been present in 1542, and six of Henry at various stages of life, one being unfinished and at least four, including the diptych containing the Thyssen portrait, being present in

---

<sup>90</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 143-5.

<sup>91</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', p. 192.

<sup>92</sup> E. Goldring, 'Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progresses: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575', in J.E. Archer, E. Goldring, S. Knight (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2007), p. 176.

1542. Also among the four was one of Henry 'standing upon a mitre with IIIi Crownes having a serpent with vli hedds commynge out of it having a sworde in his hand wherein is written Verbum Dei'.<sup>93</sup> This evidently represented Henry's Royal Supremacy, and its inclusion in the royal collection indicates that Henry was permitting images promoting his 'new, imperial kingship'.<sup>94</sup>

Most of these pictures' locations are unknown, and were not necessarily public. At Greenwich, for example, Edward's image was in the withdrawing chamber.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless Elizabethan and Jacobean foreign travellers saw monarchical portraits in royal palaces. Images of Henry VIII were seen at Whitehall in the mid-1580s (where he wore the garter inscribed 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'), 1600 and 1613 (a 'very fine' full-length), at Nonsuch in 1600 (along with pictures of his wives), and at Hampton Court in 1598 (in the hall, above a Bible) and 1600 (in the Paradise Chamber), along with in 1602, 'the likenesses of the three [German] prince-electors, offering Henrico octavo the [German] Empire'.<sup>96</sup> Similarly Edward's picture was seen in Hampton Court's hall in 1598 and at Whitehall in 1613, whilst a marble bust of him was over the door to the royal library by 1600.<sup>97</sup> In 1599 'a long cover' on a side-board at Greenwich depicted Elizabeth in a coach with a Latin inscription meaning, 'Renowned not for guile but for virtue', in 1600 Hampton Court's Paradise Chamber's ceiling showed her 'being received into Heaven', and her image was seen in 1613 at Whitehall in a portrait, 'very beautifully painted', and on a looking-glass.<sup>98</sup>

Nevertheless, visitors noted several recognisable pictures. In 1600 Baron Waldstein saw the Whitehall mural, which seemingly projected its message reasonably successfully: Waldstein attentively copied down the Latin inscription, and in his diary was prompted to explain that Henry VII's marriage had

---

<sup>93</sup> W.A. Shaw (ed.), *Three Inventories, of the Years 1542, 1547 and 1549-50, of Pictures in the Collections of Henry VIII & Edward VI* (1937), pp. 27-8, 33, 35, 41, 48, 53, 62-3, 65-6.

<sup>94</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 132. Dating this highly anti-papal image to c.1535 is, however, questionable.

<sup>95</sup> Shaw, *Inventories*, p. 27.

<sup>96</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 45, 151, 157; Hentzner, *Travels*, p. 76; Rye, *Foreigners*, p. 160; Von Bülow, 'Wedel', p. 235; Idem., W. Powell (eds.), 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania through England in the Year 1602', *TRHS*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 6 (1892), p. 55.

<sup>97</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 153; Hentzner, *Travels*, p. 76; Rye, *Foreigners*, p. 160.

<sup>98</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 151; Platter, *Travels*, p. 225; Rye, *Foreigners*, pp. 161, 165. In 1602 the duke of Stettin-Pomerania was seemingly familiar with pictures of her 'in her thirtieth year'. See: Von Bülow, Powell, 'Stettin-Pomerania', p. 53.

united ‘the two roses’, with the king intending to end ‘the struggles’. Equally attentively, Waldstein transcribed Morison’s Latin inscription on the portrait of Edward as a baby (although he confusingly claimed that it depicts Edward aged twelve). Visitors in 1598 and 1613 saw an image of Elizabeth when she was young, presumably Scots’ picture. Five visitors described Scots’ anamorphic picture of Edward, although the duke of Stettin-Pomerania seemingly thought that Henry VIII was depicted in 1602. Lupold von Wedel, however, declared that ‘this must indeed be considered a great piece of art’.<sup>99</sup> This picture’s display in the palace confirms that the profile portrait-type was officially sanctioned.

Visitors’ accounts also enable other portraits to be identified as serving official purposes. A picture of Henry VIII meeting Maximilian I at Tournai and Théroutanne was observed at Whitehall in 1600 and 1613, when it was deemed ‘old and beautiful’.<sup>100</sup> Henry apparently commissioned this c.1513, depicting a fictional ‘equality of power’ between the rulers, and concentrating on ‘Henry’s martial prowess and England’s military might’.<sup>101</sup> The same two visitors also saw a pair of pictures showing Henry at Calais and/or Boulogne preparing to receive either Francis I or Charles V. Waldstein noted that they showed Henry’s ‘magnificent display’ there, whilst the duke of Saxe-Weimar said that many figures were ‘painted from life’, creating ‘a very beautiful old picture’.<sup>102</sup> Since both agree on a French setting, they may relate to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In 1600, Waldstein also saw at Whitehall Elizabeth’s portrait ‘when she was still young’, wearing ‘the dress which she wore when going to attend Parliament’.<sup>103</sup> Presumably this was the so-called Coronation portrait, seemingly related to Teerlinc’s miniatures.<sup>104</sup> Also at Whitehall in 1602 in a picture gallery was a picture of

---

<sup>99</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 43-8, 57-8; Hentzner, *Travels*, pp. 32-3; Rye, *Foreigners*, pp. 159-61; Von Bülow, ‘Wedel’, p. 235; Idem., Powell, ‘Stettin-Pomerania’, p. 25. Admittedly, Waldstein mistakenly claimed that Henry VIII married Elizabeth of York. Other potential references to the mural came in 1598, when portraits of Henry VII, Henry VIII and his mother were recorded, and 1613, when full-lengths of Henry VIII and Henry VII were seen.

<sup>100</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 43; Rye, *Foreigners*, p. 160. This could conceivably be the picture of ‘the Seging of Torney and Turwyn’ at St James’ House in 1549-50. See: Shaw, *Inventories*, p. 63.

<sup>101</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 131.

<sup>102</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 43; Rye, *Foreigners*, p. 159.

<sup>103</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 45.

<sup>104</sup> R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, (Oxford, 1963), pp. 54-6; Idem., *Gloriana*, pp. 55-6.

Henry VIII with Edward ‘on his arm’, his daughters standing on either side.<sup>105</sup> This was likely the c.1545 image, ‘The Family of Henry VIII’, probably painted for Henry and depicting him between Edward and Jane Seymour, and further away, separated by columns, Elizabeth and Mary. It was certainly at Whitehall by c.1588. Strong suggests that the composition parallels the ‘Virgin and Child enthroned flanked by standing saints’, and Sharpe noted that this thus represents the Tudors as a ‘holy family’ who have and would continue to defend religion. Sharpe further argued that the portrait presents Henry, unrealistically, in continuing health, and Edward as ‘another Henry’, not a child, whilst the composition represents the succession’s ‘hierarchy’, with Edward the ‘undisputed heir’.<sup>106</sup>

The obscure origins of ‘Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses’ (1569) make it significant that Waldstein saw this at Whitehall, even transcribing the Latin inscription.<sup>107</sup> The portrait and inscription praise Elizabeth as triumphing over Juno, Venus and Pallas and embodying their virtues. The portrait also emphasises Elizabeth’s monarchical authority by juxtaposing her imperial crown and dignified stance to Juno, queen of Olympus’ open crown and ‘loss of dignity’. Elizabeth is equally contrasted with Paris: his Judgement, ‘corrupted’ with ‘passion’, sparked war and ruin, whilst self-controlled Elizabeth’s ‘retention of royal power benefits her realm’. Who commissioned it is unknown, although scholars explicitly and implicitly suggest that it was not Elizabeth, and was possibly designed to counsel her to marry. Crucially though, Doran noted that Elizabeth ‘liked it sufficiently to keep it on display’,<sup>108</sup> thus according it official status.

Monarchical portraits were therefore visible within royal palaces, where they were seen by domestic elites too. Importantly, visitors seemingly deemed them significant: besides recording their presence, they also noted inscriptions and gave occasional compliments. Impressing such people was likely an important aim of displaying portraits, given their polemical messages and the fact that visitors were

---

<sup>105</sup> Von Bülow, Powell, ‘Stettin-Pomerania’, p. 23.

<sup>106</sup> RCIN 405796; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 138-40; Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 49. Jane Seymour’s presence undermines Hearn’s suggestion that it ‘reflects Catherine Parr’s efforts to reunite’ Henry and his children. See: Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 79.

<sup>107</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 47.

<sup>108</sup> Doran, ‘Portraits’, pp. 175-6; Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 73-4; RCIN 403446; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 366-8; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 65-9.

guided around residences. In the mid-1580s someone 'led' von Wedel 'to see the inner part' of Whitehall, whilst when Thomas Platter visited Nonsuch in 1599, he carried an introductory letter from the mayor of Dover to Lord Cobham, 'requesting him to make arrangements for me and my party to see the royal palaces'. Cobham duly 'put us in charge of someone to guide us over the palace'. Similarly, he gave a letter of introduction to Hampton Court's governor, whose wife and daughters took them through 'the inner royal apartments and cabinets, and show us all the treasures'. Windsor's overseer likewise arranged for him to see that palace, and he possibly also had a guide at Woodstock.<sup>109</sup> Presumably guides emphasised certain pictures, given that different visitors noted them. The same phenomenon also suggests that displays were not much altered over time, perhaps suggesting that officials were confident that they were functioning effectively.

Elizabeth used portraits to influence elites more directly. Scholars have linked her gift of 'The Allegory of the Tudor Succession' to Francis Walsingham to the 1572 Anglo-French Treaty of Blois. The painting's composition echoes the earlier 'Family of Henry VIII', but with more emphasis on Elizabeth and Protestantism: Henry turns slightly towards Edward and Elizabeth, the latter foregrounded and the largest figure, also accompanied by Peace and Plenty. On the other side, Mary is joined with Philip and Mars, god of war. This contrasts the two queens' policies: Catholic Mary's Spanish marriage brought an unsuccessful French war, whilst Protestant Elizabeth's treaty will secure prosperity. Walsingham was a suitable recipient, helping to negotiate the treaty as an ambassador and because he desired a more aggressive foreign policy. The picture thus emphasised that this would not be forthcoming. Scholars have viewed this as evidence of Elizabeth's role in directing her representation, although Montrose admitted that her role was possibly just 'approving it after the fact'. Sharpe observed that the image parallels Philip and Peace, making the latter Elizabeth's marital partner just as Philip is Mary's, and that the inscription indicated her contentment to be 'a virgin queen'.<sup>110</sup> But whilst this shows Elizabeth's willingness to use such terminology, the context perhaps

---

<sup>109</sup> Platter, *Travels*, pp. 191, 201, 205, 220; Von Bülow, 'Wedel', p. 235.

<sup>110</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 185-6; Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 81-2; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 57-62; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 368-70; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 71-7. More people would have seen the image when it was updated in the 1590s as both a portrait and engraving, the latter including an anti-Marian inscription.

makes it more about avoiding a potentially hazardous marriage and securing peace at a particular time rather than a decided commitment to virginity.

Elizabeth possibly used portraiture on another occasion to make a pointed statement about foreign policy to an adviser. Sharpe suggested that Elizabeth possibly gave Cecil the Ermine portrait when she visited Theobalds in June 1585. Cecil did not share her 'preference for peace' but the picture was iconographically similar to the 'Allegory', with Elizabeth holding an olive branch and figured as Peace. Yet Sharpe again argued that peace was connected to Elizabeth's unmarried state, here symbolised by an ermine representing purity and chastity, whilst Doran also identified Elizabeth's virginity as a prominent theme, applied to the state in an increasingly hostile international context so that 'the body politic' is comparably 'pure, uncorrupted and strong'. Such prominence is apparently inconsistent with Elizabeth's preferences as elucidated by Doran, who believed that Cecil commissioned this picture.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, Sharpe's theory is plausible: the 'Allegory' shows at least some willingness on Elizabeth's part to reference her virginity, whilst instability in the Low Countries perhaps made a reiteration of commitment to peace timely (even if it was shortlived). Perhaps the ermine's representation of purity could have connoted Elizabeth's blamelessness for tense Anglo-Spanish relations, an argument subsequently made in print.<sup>112</sup>

Portraits also helped aid policy abroad, serving varied and sophisticated diplomatic functions, partly because of the commonly held belief that a portrait was a 'stand-in of the person it represented'.<sup>113</sup> They were employed in marriage negotiations (proving useful even when these were insincere),<sup>114</sup> given as gifts to help build and maintain relationships, and used in audiences to make subtle political points. English ambassadors often displayed them, highlighting that they were their sovereigns' trusted intimates, and marking their household as English territory. Ambassadors were 'more directly'

---

<sup>111</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 172, 188; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 378-80. Strong also admitted the image's possible connection to Elizabeth's visit to Theobalds. See: Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 113.

<sup>112</sup> Elizabeth I, *A declaration of the causes moouing the Queene of England to giue aide to the defence of the people afflicted and oppressed in the lowe countries* (1585).

<sup>113</sup> Sowerby, 'Portraiture', p. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Several examples already discussed had such functions, such as Scots' Edwardian commissions and Mor's portrait of Mary. See above, pp. 14-5, 18.

linked to Elizabeth's authority when they wore miniatures of her. Their connotations of intimacy, fidelity and affection, particularly because they were gifts from Elizabeth, 'reinforced the political closeness between queen and ambassador', marking the latter as a 'loyal servant'. Among those wearing images were Robert Cecil, Lord Zouche and Henry Unton, whilst former diplomats Walsingham, Hatton and Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, also owned them.<sup>115</sup>

From the 1530s onwards royal portraits evidently carried polemical messages and were deliberately used for propagandistic and practical purposes at home and abroad. This counters Anglo's apparent belief that only Elizabeth's pictures undoubtedly contained sophisticated iconography, and partly answers his doubts about portraits' 'underlying purposes'. Yet, Anglo also maintained that these pictures were not 'intended for the uncouth gaze of the multitude' and that had people seen them, they would not have understood them.<sup>116</sup> When discussing spectacles though, Sharpe asserted the masses' familiarity with commonly-found 'religious and moral emblems', whilst also stressing the later sixteenth century popularity of works on emblems and heraldry, which were aimed at those beyond the elite and educated people 'in the significations of visual forms'. Furthermore, when discussing Henry VIII's portraiture, Sharpe claimed not only that the elite were 'the most important audience' that needed to be convinced of the king's Royal Supremacy, but also that many non-nobles visited palaces.<sup>117</sup> Whilst their access was presumably not complete, they likely saw some portraits on display.

Nevertheless, although permitting a wider, non-elite audience, this argument still suggests a reasonably restricted one. Crucially, Sharpe also noted the ownership of copies of royal portraits.<sup>118</sup> Portraits by Holbein, Scrots, Eworth and Mor were all copied, along with various portraits of Elizabeth.<sup>119</sup> Workshops made these either as commissions or for stock using patterns, enabling different artists to produce similar images. Crucially, Strong argued that governments were involved

---

<sup>115</sup> Sowerby, 'Portraiture'; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 29-30, 168; R. Zim, 'Thomas Sackville', *ODNB*.

<sup>116</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 112-7. Doran echoes these doubts. See: Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 192-3.

<sup>117</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 48-9, 140, 359-360. See also: Thornton, 'Propaganda', p. 46.

<sup>118</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 140-1.

<sup>119</sup> Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 91-4, 109-11, 158-9, 212-3.

in this process, hypothesising that the 1563 draft proclamation, which suggested that an artist would be commissioned to produce an acceptable image for multiplication, explained how workshops acquired patterns. The process, he believed, was ‘nothing new’: Mary used such a system, since Eworth’s and Mor’s patterns account for all images of her, and Strong claimed that Holbein’s Henry VIII provided ‘evidence of the production of the royal portrait, on almost factory lines, as a symbol of political loyalty’.<sup>120</sup>

Strong’s fundamental point that governments were complicit in this process is difficult to refute: the numerous copies of official portraits, in some cases commissioned by senior government personnel,<sup>121</sup> make it inconceivable that they were unaware of the practice, and patterns of all the above portraits must ultimately have come from an officially sanctioned source, painter or artist. At the very least then governments condoned the process, even if Strong’s apparent notion of active encouragement is difficult to prove. There are important hints though. Besides the uniformity of Marian portraiture, a document from September 1553 by the French ambassador highlights that Mary was seemingly eager to have her portrait painted for distribution.<sup>122</sup> Under Elizabeth, even Anglo conceded that there was undoubtedly ‘some kind of industry involved in [portraits’] production and multiplication’, and that something similar to the draft proclamation must have been adopted to account for the number produced, and their conformity to patterns.<sup>123</sup> Crucially, the draft proclamation sought to control copies and ensure their quality, not ban them. Similarly, in July 1561 Cecil wrote to London’s mayor to suppress ‘certain papers wherein be prynted’ Elizabeth’s face and the king of Sweden, because it was inappropriate given his offer of marriage. But, he seemingly also observed that Elizabeth was not ‘miscontented’ that her face ‘be prynted or portracted’ in general.<sup>124</sup> The same combination was evident in a 1596 order, possibly unenforced: ‘unseemly portraits’ that offended Elizabeth were to be destroyed, with portraits approved by Gower the only ones to be produced. These documents together

---

<sup>120</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 12-4, 16-7.

<sup>121</sup> See below, pp. 73-101.

<sup>122</sup> *Ambassades de mm. de Noailles en Angleterre*, ed. A. de Vertot d’Anbeuf, C. Villaret (5 vols., Leyden, 1763), ii, pp. 145-6.

<sup>123</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 116-7.

<sup>124</sup> CP153/83, fo. 83<sup>r</sup>. The document is damaged, but this is most likely what Cecil said.

prove that Elizabeth's government paid close attention to the distribution of her images and sporadically intervened. Interestingly, Strong also noted a petition to the queen from the Painter Stainers' in 1575, where they complained about people exercising their craft without sufficient skill, including 'counterfeiting' Elizabeth's picture and those of nobles. Strong categorised this with other attempts by the Company to gain greater control and consolidate their rights,<sup>125</sup> but they significantly believed that highlighting the negative impact on royal portraits constituted the best way of gaining a response. They thus assumed, correctly, that Elizabeth cared about her image.

Since governments were aware of, condoned and occasionally promoted the copying of their images, these should be viewed as having a degree of official backing.<sup>126</sup> Crucially, this acceptance of the promulgation of royal images technically applied to those pictures, some of whose origins are obscure, which derived from official patterns, such as Strong's final portrait-type of Henry from c.1542, which used Holbein's face-pattern and thus may not have involved a sitting. Likewise Strong identified a c.1545 portrait type of Edward similar to the c.1542 one, showing him again holding a rose. Strong claimed that these were produced 'by royal portrait workshops',<sup>127</sup> but perhaps they were a poor imitation of the earlier type.

Under Elizabeth, officially sanctioned face-masks were commonly re-used, which Strong interpreted as further evidence of official control. The Darnley portrait's composition was imitated, and the face-mask still employed in the 1590s. During this decade Strong argued that there was a conscious decision to hide Elizabeth's age, with Hilliard employed to develop the Mask of Youth. There were then attempts to 'impose' this mask on other pictures, including those owned by Bess of Hardwick and the Corporation of Dover, and the Rainbow portrait. Even Gheeraerts' Ditchley face-mask was influenced, being softened in subsequent versions of that image.<sup>128</sup> Interestingly, however, several of

---

<sup>125</sup> Lansdowne Vol/20, fo. 22<sup>r</sup>; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 14-5.

<sup>126</sup> Elizabeth's early portraits are a possible exception, as Strong suggested that their inadequacy prompted the 1563 draft proclamation. Nevertheless, he also said that they presumably 'stemmed from a sitting'. See: Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 59-61; Idem., *Elizabeth*, p. 56.

<sup>127</sup> Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 92, 159.

<sup>128</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 89, 140, 147-8.

these portraits, including the three using Hilliard's mask and Hatton's sieve portrait, which employed the Darnley face-mask, all served various agendas, and Hatton's included iconography that might not necessarily have been Elizabeth's choice.<sup>129</sup> Yet their officially-derived nature also gave them a certain level of legitimacy. A wide range of portraits copied or ultimately derived from official images thus had a degree of official status, such that owning them was a form of owning royal propaganda.

Successive governments thus produced or permitted a variety of polemical images, employing them for political purposes domestically and internationally. Official control was evidently not absolute, with many having a role in shaping monarchs' representations, but the importance of use in conferring official status offered governments opportunities to determine what was legitimate by employing, allowing, or suppressing images. Maintaining that portraiture served a propagandistic purpose and that the audience was not as narrow as sometimes thought makes the issue of reception important. Whilst some evidence of positive and negative reactions to monarchical images survives, more is available on their ownership, an area in need of investigation. After all, although several of Anglo's arguments have been undermined, his query about why people possessed monarchical portraits remains,<sup>130</sup> and often copies perhaps did not function polemically in the same way as the originals. For example, Holbein's mural's power and meaning relied on its size, location, content and Latin inscription; a half-length copy of Henry alone, displayed on the wall of a modest building, was hardly the same. Similarly, Mor's portrait of Mary, presenting her as a Spanish bride, sometimes lost aspects of this iconography when cut down.<sup>131</sup> The possibility that the portraits people owned had different meanings makes a closer study of this phenomenon imperative.

---

<sup>129</sup> See below, pp. 78, 95, 97-8, 100.

<sup>130</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 112-7.

<sup>131</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 267.

## Government Propaganda Part II: Print

### What was Printed?

Governments printed a range of texts which included explicit or implicit polemical elements, including statutes, proclamations, prayers, liturgical works and pamphlets. This thesis, however, focuses only on the last category: whilst not denying the considerable potential for other media to influence the masses, this was not their primary function, unlike propaganda pamphlets.<sup>132</sup> More specifically, this thesis aims to analyse popular responses to royal authority, so that what follows is a discussion of official works that aimed to uphold that authority over church and state. Those that more exclusively debated religious doctrine and church government will not be considered. Distinguishing between these categories in a period where politics and religion were intertwined is understandably complicated, and certainly several works below involved considerable theological engagement. Furthermore, uncertainty over the relationships between officials, printers and authors makes deciding which books are official equally challenging. These issues ensure that the following survey is unavoidably not definitive.

Baumer and Elton defined 1530s' official printed propaganda. Elton correctly criticised Baumer for including 'happy windfalls' produced by government supporters in his assessment, and provided a realistic definition of official propaganda: books printed by the royal printer, and those emanating from 'government-employed pens'. The former include government tracts about General Councils which Elton, unlike Baumer, misguidedly discounted as irrelevant to 'a study of the domestic enforcement of the revolution'.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> On polemical aspects of some other types, see: Elton, *Policy*, p. 210; N. Mears, 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), pp. 4-25; Read, 'Cecil', pp. 21-3, 26. Crucially, Mears noted that Elizabethan 'special prayers' were not primarily intended to disseminate news and 'official interpretations', despite suggesting that they were more important in this regard than pamphlets.

<sup>133</sup> Baumer, *Theory*, pp. 215, 218-9; Elton, *Policy*, pp. 171-4; Sowerby, *Reform*, pp. 64-72.

Thomas Berthelet, king's printer, issued most official Henrician propaganda. Several tracts concerned the king's Great Matter,<sup>134</sup> whilst others attacked the pope and defended the Royal Supremacy.<sup>135</sup> Four 1536 pamphlets concerned the rebellions,<sup>136</sup> and several in 1537 and 1538 addressed papal attempts to summon a General Council.<sup>137</sup> Richard Morison also authored pamphlets concerning Edward's birth, the Exeter Conspiracy and the threat of invasion.<sup>138</sup> Yet Berthelet seemingly only published one polemical pamphlet in the 1540s, outlining foreign policy towards Scotland in 1542.<sup>139</sup> Considering that some of these works survive in very small numbers,<sup>140</sup> it is conceivable that more were printed that have not survived.<sup>141</sup>

The government co-opted other works that supported their arguments. Unlike Baumer, Elton discounted Christopher St German's works since he was not a government employee, but wrongly claimed that Berthelet published none of his works.<sup>142</sup> Berthelet published several,<sup>143</sup> suggesting possible government involvement.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, useful older works were reissued. Berthelet printed English and Latin versions of the medieval work, *A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke*,

---

<sup>134</sup> *Grauissimae ... academiaram censurae* (1530); *The determinations of the ... vniuersities* (1531); *A glasse of the truthe* (1532) (STC 11919.5 is a 1532 French translation); *Articles deuised by the holle consent of the kynges moste honourable counsaile* (1533, 1534).

<sup>135</sup> E. Fox, *Opus eximium, de vera differentia regiae potestatis et ecclesiasticae* (1534, 1538); T. Swinnerton, *A litel treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistis in corners* (1534); *A treatise vwherin Christe and his techynges, are compared with the pope and his doinges* (1534); S. Gardiner, *Stephani VVinton. Episcopi de vera obedientia oratio* (1535); R. Sampson, *Richardi Sampsonis, regii sacelliae decani oratio* (1535); T. Starkey, *A preface to the Kynges hyghnes* (1536); R. Morison, *Apomaxis calumniarum* (1537); S. Matthew, *A sermon made in the cathedrall churche of Saynt Paule* (1535); *A treatise prouynge by the kynges lawes, that the byshoppes of Rome, had neuer ryght to any supremitie within this realme* (1538); C. Tunstall, *A sermon of Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme* (1539).

<sup>136</sup> *Ansvere to the petitions of the traytours and rebelles in Lyncolneshyre* (1536); *Ansvere made by the kynges hyghnes to the petitions of the rebelles in Yorkeshire* (1536); R. Morison, *A lamentation in vvhiche is shevedd what ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon* (1536); Idem., *A remedy for sedition* (1536).

<sup>137</sup> *A protestation made for the most mighty and moste redoubted kyng of Englande* (1537, 1538); *An epistle of the most myghty and redouted Prynce Henry the .viii.* (1538); A. Alesius, *A treatise concernynge generall councilles, the byshoppes of Rome, and the clergy* (1538).

<sup>138</sup> R. Morison, *A comfortable consolation* (1537); Idem., *An invective ayenste the great and detestable vice, treason* (1539); Idem., *An exhortation to styre all Englyshe men to the defence of theyr countreye* (1539).

<sup>139</sup> *A declaration conteyning the iust causes and consyderations of this present warre with the Scottis* (1542).

<sup>140</sup> See for example: Elton, *Policy*, p. 207.

<sup>141</sup> The FSL has a copy of a 1540s French pamphlet relating Henry's arrival at Calais in 1544. The title page bears the royal arms, so that it was potentially official. See: FSL 230- 169q. I owe this reference to Tracey Sowerby.

<sup>142</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 173-4.

<sup>143</sup> C. St German, *Here after foloweth a lytell treatise called the newe addicions* (1531); *A treatise concernynge the diuision betwene the spiritualtie and temporalitie* (1532); Idem., *Salem and Bizance* (1533); Idem., *The addicions of Salem and Byzance* (1534);

<sup>144</sup> J.H. Baker, 'Christopher St German', *ODNB*.

*concernynge the power spiritual and temporall*,<sup>145</sup> whilst Cromwell sponsored a 1535 pro-government translation of Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*, printed by Richard Wyer.<sup>146</sup>

Under Edward, King proposed that Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset encouraged a 'massive propaganda effort' to promote religious reforms, ensuring that 'Protestant reformist propaganda comprised the bulk of printed literature'.<sup>147</sup> Besides being generally questionable,<sup>148</sup> King's analysis focused on theological works that lie beyond this thesis' scope. Loach, however, maintained that Edward's government did little to promote directly 'secular book production'.<sup>149</sup> Following Elton's definition for official propaganda consequently yields few publications. The royal printer, Richard Grafton, printed works concerning Edward's Scottish claim,<sup>150</sup> and Edward's response to the 1549 rebels.<sup>151</sup> Erroneously, King labelled these 'unofficial propaganda', along with a 1548 prayer, a 1547 work defending English scripture, and chronicles by Edward Hall and Arthur Kelton,<sup>152</sup> only the last of which perhaps warrants inclusion here, although it was written during Henry's reign.<sup>153</sup> Official works printed by Reyner Wolfe, king's printer in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, included conservative cleric Richard Smith's recantations,<sup>154</sup> and a Latin translation of Somerset's *Epistle*.<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> William of Ockham, *Disputatio inter clericum et militem* (1531); Idem., *A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporall* (1533).

<sup>146</sup> Marsilius of Padua, *The defence of peace* (1535); S. Lockwood, 'Marsilius of Padua and the Case for the Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 1 (1991), pp. 89-119; W. Underwood, 'Thomas Cromwell and William Marshall's Protestant Books', *HJ*, 47 (2004), pp. 517-39. Despite the non-government printer, Chapuys seemingly considered this official. See: *LP* VII 14.

<sup>147</sup> J.N. King, 'Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset', *HLQ*, 40 (1976), pp. 1-10.

<sup>148</sup> See below, p. 39.

<sup>149</sup> J. Loach, 'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press', *EHR*, 101 (1986), p. 142.

<sup>150</sup> J. Harrison, *An exhortacion to the Scottes* (1547); N. Bodrugan, *An epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the souereigntie of Scotlande* (1548); W. Patten, *The expedicion into Scotlande* (1548); E. Seymour, *An epistle or exhortacion, to vnitie [and] peace* (1548). On these, see: J.N. King, *English Reformation Literature* (Guildford, 1982), pp. 465-8.

<sup>151</sup> *A message sent by the kynges Maiestie, to certain of his people, assembled in Deuonshire* (1549). Loach suggests that Sir John Cheke's *Hurt of sedicion*, printed twice in 1549 by John Day with the royal arms, was not officially commissioned. See: J. Cheke, *The hurt of sedition* (1549); Loach, 'Establishment', p. 142.

<sup>152</sup> King, 'Freedom', p. 7; P. Gerrard, *A godly inuectiue in the defence of the Gospell* (1547); A. Kelton, *A chronycle with a genealogie* (1547); *A prayer for victorie and peace* (1548); E. Hall, *The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* (1548, 1550).

<sup>153</sup> Kelton's work celebrated, among other things, the Tudors and the Reformation. Hall's conversely was not uncritical of Henry VIII, and Grafton simply inherited the unfinished text in Hall's will. See: P.C. Herman, 'Edward Hall', *ODNB*; P. Schwyzer, 'Arthur Kelton', *ODNB*.

<sup>154</sup> R. Smith, *A godly and faythfull retraction* (1547); Idem., *A playne declaration made at Oxeforde* (1547).

<sup>155</sup> STC 22269. Wolfe perhaps established a relationship with Somerset when he printed a work by him in 1544. See: A. Pettegree, 'Reyner Wolfe', *ODNB*.

Mary's printed output has been compared unfavourably, both quantitatively and qualitatively, with that of her predecessors and religious opponents.<sup>156</sup> Loach seemingly agreed that Mary's 'political pamphleteering' was inferior to her opponents', claiming that there was little effort to produce English books for English readers, but she maintained that there was an attempt to influence foreign opinion. Yet, the widespread distribution of Northumberland's recantation, considered evidence of official success,<sup>157</sup> was seemingly Habsburg-driven,<sup>158</sup> whilst the government's role in numerous texts celebrating Mary's marriage and the reconciliation with Rome was unclear and secondary at best respectively, with Streckfuss maintaining that the government made 'no determined effort' to disseminate propaganda internationally.<sup>159</sup> Loach's emphasis on the regime's contrasting priority of printing books to aid the clergy is more convincing. Duffy similarly stressed the importance of works like Bonner's *Profitable and Necessary Doctryne*, besides being more positive about domestic propaganda: not only was there little wrong with propaganda pamphlets' quality, but they functioned as part of a mutually-reinforcing multimedia campaign.<sup>160</sup>

Although convincing, this does not change the limited volume of the sort of official propaganda that this thesis discusses. Defining this remains challenging however, with Duffy observing that pro-government books were both officially commissioned and independently produced, making the extent of central direction difficult to judge.<sup>161</sup> Royal printer John Cawood's works can be considered official: he printed the confessions of Northumberland and Cranmer,<sup>162</sup> and works on the

---

<sup>156</sup> E.J. Baskerville, *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic published in English between 1553 and 1558* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 6-30; Loades, 'Press', pp. 29, 46-8; J.W. Martin, 'The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing', *HLQ*, 44 (1981), pp. 231-47. Martin admittedly suggested that 'pro-regime writers on political matters' were 'in touch with their audience'.

<sup>157</sup> Loach, 'Establishment', pp. 142-8; Idem., 'Pamphlets and Politics, 1553-8', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), pp. 31-2.

<sup>158</sup> W.K. Jordan, M.R. Gleason, 'The Saying of John Late Duke of Northumberland upon the Scaffold, 1553', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 23 (1975), pp. 139-79, 324-55.

<sup>159</sup> C. Streckfuss, 'England's Reconciliation with Rome: a News Event in Early Modern Europe', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), pp. 64-5, 71; Idem., "'Spes Maxima Nostra': European Propaganda and the Spanish Match", in A. Hunt, A. Whitelock (eds.), *Tudor Queenship* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 145-58.

<sup>160</sup> E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith* (2009), ch.3; Loach, 'Establishment', pp. 139-41.

<sup>161</sup> Duffy, *Fires*, p. 63.

<sup>162</sup> J. Dudley, *The saying of Iohn late Duke of Northumberlande* (1553); T. Cranmer, *All the submysyons, and recantations of Thomas Cranmer* (1556).

reconciliation,<sup>163</sup> Wyatt's rebellion,<sup>164</sup> and Mary's marriage,<sup>165</sup> and accession.<sup>166</sup> Cawood also reissued Edwardian bishop, William Barlow's 1531 anti-Lutheran book, which unfortunately also attacked the papacy.<sup>167</sup> Duffy noted that Robert Caly also printed official or semi-official works, including Proctor's book on Wyatt's rebellion and Miles Hogarde's pamphlets.<sup>168</sup> Duffy also discussed an anonymous 1555 defence of the burnings, *A plaine and godlye treatise concerning the masse*, that was co-opted by the government, being incorporated into the official Marian primer published by John Wayland.<sup>169</sup>

Read's analysis of Cecil's contribution to 'public relations' demonstrated the Elizabethan government's extensive use of print. He found identifying official works potentially difficult, but noted that 'publication by the Queen's printer establishes a strong presumption of government action'.<sup>170</sup> The royal printers and their deputies published works about Catholic actions and conspiracies,<sup>171</sup> foreign policy,<sup>172</sup> the Armada,<sup>173</sup> affairs in France,<sup>174</sup> and the treasons of evangelical

---

<sup>163</sup> J.D. Harchies, *Pro instauratione reipublicae* (1554). Cawood also printed a poem celebrating Mary's re-establishment of Catholicism. See: G. Marshall, *A compendious treatise in metre* (1554); R. Rex, 'George Marshall', *ODNB*.

<sup>164</sup> J. Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion* (1554).

<sup>165</sup> *Oratio pia* (1554).

<sup>166</sup> J. Gwynneth, *A briefe declaration of the notable victory given of God to our Soueraygne Ladye Quene Marye* (1553).

<sup>167</sup> W. Barlow, *A dialoge describing the originall ground of these Lutheran faccions* (1553); Baskerville, *Bibliography*, p. 13.

<sup>168</sup> Duffy, *Fires*, pp. 63, 76; J. Proctor, *The historie of Wyates rebellion* (1554, 1555); M. Hogarde, *The assault of the sacrament of the altar* (1554); Idem., *A treatise declaring howe Christ by perverse preaching was banished out of this realme* (1554); Idem., *A treatise entituled the path waye to the towre of perfection* (1554); Idem., *A mirrour of loue* (1555); Idem., *The displaying of the Protestantes* (1556). Contra Duffy, Loades claimed that Caly received a government patent. See: Loades, 'Press', pp. 46-7. Several of Caly's other books were perhaps official. See: J. Brooks, *A sermon very notable, fructefull, and godlie* (1553, 1554); R. Smith, *The seconde parte of the booke called a boucklier of the catholyke fayeth* (1555). Mary's hosier Hogarde had ties to Bonner, and Martin suggested that he possibly received government encouragement, although his help was seemingly 'an unsolicited bonus'. See: J.W. Martin, 'Miles Hogarde: Artisan and Aspiring Author in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34 (1981), esp. pp. 378-9; Idem., 'Printing', pp. 244-7.

<sup>169</sup> Duffy, *Fires*, pp. 76-8.

<sup>170</sup> Read, 'Cecil', p. 29.

<sup>171</sup> W. Charke, *An answer to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Iesuite* (1580, 1581); Idem., *A replie to a censure written against the two answers to a Iesuites seditious pamphlet* (1581); J. Nicholls, *A declaration of the recantation of Iohn Nichols* (1581); *An aduertisement and defence for trueth against her backbiters* (1581); *A particular declaration or testimony, of the vndutifull and traiterous affection borne against her Maiestie by Edmond Campion* (1582); T. Norton, *A declaration of the fauourable dealing of her Maiesties commissioners* (1583); W. Cecil, *The execution of iustice in England* (1583, 1584); A. Nowell, *A true report of the disputation ... with Ed. Campion* (1583); Q.Z., *A Discouerie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the realme, by Francis Throckmorton* (1584) (a 1584 Latin translation is STC 24051.5); *A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons, practised by William Parry* (1585); *A true and*

prophet, William Hackett,<sup>175</sup> and the earl of Essex.<sup>176</sup> Reyner Wolfe, ‘typographer for Latin, Greek and Hebrew,’ also published a translation of Elizabeth’s 1562 *Declaration*,<sup>177</sup> and Latin and English versions of John Jewel defence of Elizabeth’s religious settlement, ‘co-ordinated’ by Cecil.<sup>178</sup>

The government made extensive use of other printers, like John Day, with whom Cecil had worked since Mary’s reign.<sup>179</sup> Historians have linked officials to ‘man of business’ Thomas Norton’s works concerning the Northern rebellion, Pius’ V’s bull, the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Stuart,<sup>180</sup> and other

---

*summarie reporte of the declaration of some part of the Earle of Northumberland’s treasons* (1585); R. Cecil, *The copie of a letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of Leycester* (1586) (a 1587 French translation is STC 6053); *The true copie of a letter from the Queenes Maiestie, to the Lord Maior of London* (1586); T. Clarke, *The recantation of Thomas Clarke* (1594); F. Bacon, *A letter vvritten out of England to an English gentleman remaining at Padua* (1599) (a 1599 translation is STC 10017.5). Several of these contain extensive theological discussion, but their political importance justifies their inclusion. Mullett suggested that other works by John Nicholls were also printed ‘by authoritye’. Thomas Dawson printed *Iohn Niccols pilgrimage* (1581), whilst John Charlwood printed *The oration and sermon made at Rome* (1581), which included the royal arms on the title page’s reverse. See: M. Mullett, ‘John Nicholls’, *ODNB*. Another potentially official anti-Catholic work is that entered in the Stationers’ Register to queen’s printer, Christopher Barker, in February 1581: ‘*A sermon preached by [a] Jesuit in the Tower on Sondaie the ffiveth daie of Februarie 1580 [ie 1581]*’. See: E. Arber (ed.) *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (5 vols., 1875-94), II, i, p. 388.

<sup>172</sup> *A declaration of the Quene’s Maiestie ... Conteyning the causes which have constrained her to arme certaine of her subiectes* (1562); *Declaration* (1585) (1585 translations are STC 9190, 9191, 9192 and 9193); *A declaration of the causes, which mooued the chiefe commanders of the nauie ... in their voyage and expedition for Portingal, to take ... certaine shippes* (1589) (1589 translations are STC 9197 and 9198); *A declaration of the causes mouing the Queenes Maiestie of England, to prepare and send a nauy to the seas* (1596) (1596 translations are STC 9204, 9205, 9206, 9207 and 9208); *A declaration of the iust causes moouing Her Maiestie to send a nauie, and armie to the seas* (1597) (1597 translations are STC 9208.3, 9208.4 and 9208.5).

<sup>173</sup> *A packe of Spanish lyes* (1588).

<sup>174</sup> J. Bongars, *An aunsvere to the excommunication lately denounced and published by Sixtus Quintus* (1585); P.D. Mornay, *An aduertisement from a French gentleman* (1585).

<sup>175</sup> R. Cosin, *Conspiracie, for pretended reformation* (1592). Works more focused on inter-Protestant controversies will not be discussed.

<sup>176</sup> F. Bacon, *A declaration of the practises & treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex* (1601).

<sup>177</sup> STC 9187.

<sup>178</sup> J. Jewel, *Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae* (1562); Idem., *An apologie, or aunsver in defence of the Church of England* (1562, 1564); J. Craig, ‘John Jewel’ *ODNB*; Read, ‘Cecil’, p. 25. These merit inclusion given their at least partial concern with the Royal Supremacy.

<sup>179</sup> E. Evenden, ‘The Michael Wood Mystery: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35 (2004), pp. 383-94.

<sup>180</sup> Lake, ‘Popularity’, pp. 62-3, 67, 90; Read, ‘Cecil’, pp. 31-3; T. Norton, *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes* (1569); Idem., *A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes* (1569, 1570); Idem., *An addition declaratorie to the bulles* (1570); Idem., *All such treatises as haue been lately published by Thomas Norton* (1570); Idem., *A bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* (1570); Idem., *A disclosing of the great bull* (1570). Norton’s work on the 1569 rebellion, besides being included in the collected edition, was printed by Henry Bynneman. See: T. Norton, *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes of the northe contreye* (1569). Although Graves referenced Norton’s relationship with Cecil, he arguably portrayed him as writing independently. See: M.A.R. Graves, *Thomas Norton* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 160-71.

similar tracts.<sup>181</sup> Cecil was similarly responsible for appropriating George Buchanan's works against Mary Stuart, one of which was subsequently defended by a shorter pamphlet.<sup>182</sup> Again with Cecil's involvement, Day also printed John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.<sup>183</sup>

Former book-pirate, John Wolfe,<sup>184</sup> also printed official works. Walsingham's correspondence with John Rainolds suggests that the printed account of the latter's conferences with English Catholic, John Hart, which the secretary had organised, was official,<sup>185</sup> and Wolfe published translations of Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* and *Copie of a letter*, introduced below.<sup>186</sup> He also printed an English translation, ordered by Cecil, of a work detailing the Armada's composition,<sup>187</sup> and another 1588 work that answered William Allen's 1587 pamphlet on Sir William Stanley's defection to the Spanish. The Privy Council prompted this, hoping also to counter Allen's more recent productions which encouraged English support for the Armada, ideally without revealing their existence.<sup>188</sup> Parmelee described how Cecil also used Wolfe to print pamphlets about France, sourced from, among others, Edward Stafford, Elizabeth's ambassador in Paris. These featured 'anti-League, anti-Guise, anti-Jesuit, anti-papal and anti-Spanish' sentiments, thus constituting useful propaganda 'against nearly every source of England's anxiety and hatred'. Lake suggested that these works also served the useful purpose of answering libellous attacks on Elizabeth's regime without drawing attention to them.<sup>189</sup>

Although lacking concrete evidence, Read thought it possible that officials published polemical

---

<sup>181</sup> Lake, "Popularity", pp. 63-6, 68; W. Fleetwood, *The effect of the declaration made in the Guildhall (1571)*; R.G., *Salutem in Christo (1571)*. Gabriel Harvey heard that Cecil wrote *Salutem in Christo*. See: BL G.5443(2).

<sup>182</sup> E. Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 131-2; Lake, "Popularity", pp. 66-7; G. Buchanan, *De Maria Scotorum Regina (1571)*; Idem., *Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes (1571)*; Idem., *Ane admonition direct to the trew Lordis (1571)*; *The copie of a letter written by one in London to his frend (1572)*. Lake noted that Day's involvement in printing these and the above pamphlets strengthens the argument that officials were responsible. Perhaps they were also linked to another anti-Catholic book from Day's press. See: *A copie of a letter lately sent by a gentleman ... concernyng. D. Story (1571)*.

<sup>183</sup> E. Evenden, T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 32, 102-4, 112.

<sup>184</sup> I. Gadd, 'John Wolfe', *ODNB*.

<sup>185</sup> SP12/154, fo. 28<sup>r-v</sup>; J. Rainolds, *The summe of the conference betwene Iohn Rainoldes and Iohn Hart (1584)*; M. Feingold, 'John Rainolds', *ODNB*; M. Murphy, 'John Hart', *ODNB*. Although quite theological, it had political importance since Hart seemingly denied the papal deposing power.

<sup>186</sup> STC 4907, 15414.6.

<sup>187</sup> D.B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York, 1973), p. 26.

<sup>188</sup> B.T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 84-6; G.D., *A briefe discouerie of Doctor Allens seditious drifts (1588)*.

<sup>189</sup> Lake, 'Histories', No. 5; L.F. Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce (1596)*, pp. 29-44. There was some overlap with works published during the Archpriest Controversy, when officials secretly encouraged the printing of anti-Jesuit books.

ballads.<sup>190</sup> Perhaps some of Wolfe's were officially sponsored, since they potentially served governmental interests.<sup>191</sup>

Other presses issued other official, predominantly anti-Catholic works. Cecil apparently instigated Walter Haddon's Latin response to Jerome Osorio, which was published in Paris in 1564. Cecil's client, William Seres, printed an English translation in 1565. Read characterised this as an ecclesiastical matter, but in defending the Reformation it merits inclusion here.<sup>192</sup> Similarly, Cecil was seemingly involved in Jewel's works against Thomas Harding, printed by Henry Wykes,<sup>193</sup> whilst William Whitaker and Laurence Humphrey, Oxford and Cambridge professors of divinity, were officially commissioned to answer Campion's *Decem Rationes*,<sup>194</sup> ensuring that their works had political relevance. Non-theological works included two 1581 government pamphlets stressing Everard Haunse's guilt,<sup>195</sup> Cecil's 1588 work on the Armada's defeat,<sup>196</sup> and the government's 1594 pamphlet condemning several Spanish/Catholic conspiracies.<sup>197</sup> Non-royal printers also issued other translations of Cecil's *Execution of Iustice*,<sup>198</sup> and the government appointee William Barlow's official Paul's Cross sermon explaining the earl of Essex's execution, which followed Cecil's written instructions.<sup>199</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup> Read, 'Cecil', pp. 28-9.

<sup>191</sup> For example: T. Deloney, *The Queenes visiting of the campe at Tilsburie* (1588); T.I., *A ioyful song of the royall receiuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into her highnesse campe at Tilsburie* (1588). More were entered in the Stationers' Register. See for example: Arber, *Transcript*, II, i, pp. 412, 494-7, 506, 508, 517.

<sup>192</sup> E. Evenden, 'William Seres', *ODNB*; Read, 'Cecil', pp. 25-6, 31; L.V. Ryan, 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy (1563-1583)', *Church History*, 22 (1953), pp. 142-154. Read suggested that the government potentially orchestrated Seres' 1569 republication of Cheke's *Hurt of sedition*.

<sup>193</sup> J. Jewel, *A replie vnto M. Hardinges ansveare* (1565, 1566); *Idem.*, *A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande* (1567, 1570, 1571); SP12/36, fo. 14<sup>r</sup>, 12/44, fo. 27<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> Read, 'Cecil', p. 36; W. Whitaker, *Ad Rationes decem Edmundi Campiani* (1581); L. Humphrey, *Iesuitismi pars prima* (1582).

<sup>195</sup> A. Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community* (Aldershot, 2002), p. 76.

<sup>196</sup> W. Cecil, *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza* (1588) (1588 translations are STC 15414.2, 15414.3, 15414.4). Also see above, p. 37.

<sup>197</sup> W. Cecil, *A true report of sundry horrible conspiracies* (1594) (a 1594 French translation is STC 7580).

<sup>198</sup> STC 4904, 4905, 4906.

<sup>199</sup> W. Barlow, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse* (1601); A. Hunt, 'Tuning the Pulpits: the Religious Context of the Essex Revolt', in L.A. Ferrell, P.E. McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 100-101; T.S. Nowak, 'Propaganda and the Pulpit: Robert Cecil, William Barlow and the Essex and Gunpowder Plots', in K.Z. Keller, G.J. Schiffhorst (eds.), *The Witness of Times* (Pittsburgh, 1993), pp. 35-8, 42-4.

## Explaining the Pattern of Printing

Henry's and Elizabeth's governments therefore did not print propaganda pamphlets consistently, whilst Edward's and Mary's published few altogether. Besides short reigns and, in Mary's case at least, competing priorities, the mid-Tudor governments' polemical output was limited by a lack of sufficiently interested personnel. King's arguments for Somerset's importance centre on his relaxation of censorship legislation, granting of patents to sympathetic printers, and 'direct patronage of reformers'. The latter was measured only by book dedications, some of which King admitted were actually 'requests for support', whilst among the patents cited was that awarded to Walter Lynne to print 'bokes consonant with godlines', which is difficult to equate with an order to print propaganda. Lastly, whilst Took generally agreed that Somerset encouraged Reformist works, she suggested that 'the outburst of radical street literature' following Henry's death 'was not organised', even surprising Somerset.<sup>200</sup> Such considerations justify Loach's claim that Somerset was far inferior to Cromwell and Cecil in this respect,<sup>201</sup> whilst Martin noted that Mary's reign also lacked any such figure. Partly this was because many potential propagandists were compromised by their experience in the 1530s.<sup>202</sup>

Conversely, engaged personnel were active in the other reigns. Elton demonstrated Cromwell's direction of 1530s printed propaganda.<sup>203</sup> Unsurprisingly given the subject matter of certain publications and his authorial success in the 1520s,<sup>204</sup> Henry wrote some official publications, and commissioned others.<sup>205</sup> Similarly Elizabeth was demonstrably interested in the press, supervising Walsingham's drafting of an answer, included in the 1585 *Declaration* about the Low Countries, to an Italian pamphlet; helping to draft the 1586 *Copie of a letter to ... Leycester*;<sup>206</sup> and apparently editing

---

<sup>200</sup> King, 'Freedom', pp. 1-9; P.M. Took, 'Government and the Printing Trade, 1540-1560' (King's College, London Ph.D. thesis, 1978), pp. 134, 321-2.

<sup>201</sup> Loach, 'Establishment', p. 142.

<sup>202</sup> Loach, 'Pamphlets', p. 32; Martin, 'Printing', pp. 231-3; Sowerby, 'Polemic', p. 1297. Admittedly Streckfuss highlighted Pole's involvement in tracts about the reconciliation. See: Streckfuss, 'Reconciliation', pp. 64-5.

<sup>203</sup> Elton, *Policy*, ch. 4.

<sup>204</sup> Rex, 'Campaign'.

<sup>205</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 176-7, 189-90, 199-200; Sowerby, *Reform*, p. 69.

<sup>206</sup> Read, 'Cecil', pp. 41-4.

Bacon's work against Essex.<sup>207</sup> Printed works were probably broadly consistent with Elizabeth's views. Read's work showed, however, that much of the drafting and commissioning was done by Cecil, often with Walsingham's help.<sup>208</sup> Admittedly, Lake described officials' deliberately concealed involvement in publishing works designed to direct Elizabeth through the mobilisation of popular and parliamentary opinion, including John Stubbs' *Gaping Gulf* against the Anjou marriage, and works by Norton, Fleetwood and Buchanan, intended to secure Norfolk's and Mary Stuart's execution. But Lake's contention that Norton's and Fleetwood's actions differed by degree rather than kind from Stubbs', despite the latter's punishment, is questionable.<sup>209</sup> In orchestrating the anti-Marian works, officials were arguably acting in their public role as government representatives, even if the books simultaneously served their private agenda. This was nothing new, as shown by Morison's attempts to push Henry towards further reform in officially commissioned pamphlets. Just as Henry found Morison's general arguments useful,<sup>210</sup> so too would Elizabeth likely have appreciated anti-rebellion and anti-papal messages. Certainly the books were not suppressed, nobody was punished, and English diplomats distributed Buchanan's works.<sup>211</sup> Lake thus overplayed their oppositional nature.

As politicians were interested in printed propaganda throughout both Henry's and Elizabeth's reigns, the fluctuating output must be attributed to fluctuating needs. Elton argued that government propaganda in the 1530s was initially 'active', explaining changes whilst also hinting at forthcoming policies to prepare people. Subsequently there was a 'less-planned sequence of writings', as the government further defended what had been done, using 'possible waverers' to commit them publicly to official policy and better persuade a foreign audience aware of their 'hesitations'. Finally, government propaganda became more reactive, attacking opponents.<sup>212</sup> These distinctions are too clear-cut. In practice the two broad goals identified, explaining and developing policy and defending

---

<sup>207</sup> G. Jenkins, 'Ways and means in Elizabethan propaganda', *History*, 26 (1941), p. 105.

<sup>208</sup> Read, 'Cecil', pp. 29-55.

<sup>209</sup> P. Lake, "'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabeth I' Revisited (by its Victims) as a Conspiracy', in B. Coward, J. Swann (eds.), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 106; Idem., "'Popularity'", pp. 62-77.

<sup>210</sup> Shagan, 'Pilgrimage', pp. 38-41; Sowerby, *Reform*, chs. 2-3.

<sup>211</sup> See below, p. 59.

<sup>212</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 199, 205-6.

against criticism, were linked: explaining policies helped prevent criticism, whilst countering opposition involved maintaining that what had been done was justified. Certainly books served both functions. Thomas Swynnerton's *Litel Treatise* 'announced the policy of extirpating the pope in England', but was also inspired by a Cromwellian memorandum that recorded the need to persuade the Boleyn marriage's critics. Similarly, the *Glasse* hinted that parliament would decide Henry's annulment, but Henry also hoped that its translation would 'answer his Continental detractors'.<sup>213</sup> These linked goals were less important in the 1540s: with the most controversial reforms accomplished, the government potentially considered further propaganda unnecessary,<sup>214</sup> as publications like the *King's Book* explained religious changes,<sup>215</sup> and proclamations justified an aggressive foreign policy,<sup>216</sup> which itself indicated England's increased security.

Jenkins considered official Elizabethan propaganda essentially reactive,<sup>217</sup> and again pamphlets often explained and justified government policy,<sup>218</sup> whilst performing the related function of answering opponents. This became increasingly important given a more aggressive oppositional press and greater polarisation of religious beliefs.<sup>219</sup> Questier and Walsham noted the opinion shared by government members, supporters and critics that books had to be answered lest they be believed or deemed victorious. This reflected a belief in the efficacy of print and the malleability of popular opinion.<sup>220</sup> Amongst those sharing this view were Cecil and Walsingham. In the 1580s, the former thought that printing's invention had made suppressing libels impossible, whilst Tacitus' suggestion

---

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., pp. 178-9, 183, 206; Sowerby, 'Polemic', p. 1276.

<sup>214</sup> Baskerville, *Bibliography*, p. 3.

<sup>215</sup> *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man* (1543). After all, religious policy crucially shifted in the 1540s. See: A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 2003).

<sup>216</sup> *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, eds. P.L. Hughes, J.F. Larkin (3 vols., London: Yale University Press, 1964-69), i, pp. 320-1, 369-70.

<sup>217</sup> Jenkins, 'Propaganda', p. 114. This seemingly led people to expect pamphlets to be printed to mark important events, like the Cadiz expedition. See: CP43/103, fo. 104<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>218</sup> Read, 'Cecil', p. 29. Cecil reacted to numerous events by drafting pamphlets, many unfinished and/or unpublished.

<sup>219</sup> Religious identities had been more fluid earlier. See: P. Marshall, A. Ryrie, 'Introduction: Protestantisms and their Beginnings', in Idem., *Beginnings*, pp. 1-13.

<sup>220</sup> M.C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 13-8; A. Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'?: Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *PP*, No.168 (2000), p. 89; Idem., 'The Spider and the Bee: the Perils of Printing for Refutation in Tudor England', in J.N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 170-4. See also below, pp. 244-5. The belief was also voiced in relation to non-religious disputes. See: *CSPF XVI* 453.

that one should ‘suffer tyme to *overrule* rvmors *that* they may wax old, because *whan* they *cum* to age they ar easely *contenned*’, was inappropriate when they targeted the church, queen, government and subjects. Since the authors could not be found and punished, ‘ther poysoned lyes’ should be ‘*confovnded*’.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, in c.1581-2 Walsingham proposed a plan for deciding what books were worth answering, who would do it, and who would pay for it. Walsingham also actively engaged authors: in 1582 he suggested that Norton be commissioned to answer seditious publications,<sup>222</sup> and, in a manner reminiscent of his document, asked Thomas Cartwright to answer Jesuit books.<sup>223</sup>

Admittedly, Lake emphasised that some people thought differently, citing Edward Stafford’s remarks to Cecil in 1585: it was better to regard *Leicester’s Commonwealth* ‘as a thing that we make no account of, than by speaking of it or against it to make think that a galled horse, when he is touched, will wince’.<sup>224</sup> Stafford told Walsingham the same thing, and gave similar advice concerning William Allen’s *Modest Defence*.<sup>225</sup> Perhaps such sentiments explain why some oppositional books were ultimately not answered, although attempts were still made to suppress them domestically and internationally.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, indicative of the same fearful attitude was the tendency for works to claim to be contradicting slanderous rumours.<sup>227</sup> This was not entirely new,<sup>228</sup> but its increased frequency again suggests a more contested environment.

### Polemical Strategies

Mindful of their aims of justifying policy and answering and/or pre-empting critics, governments seemingly accepted that accuracy made for authoritative publications that were persuasive and

---

<sup>221</sup> CP144/143, fos. 143<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>. Cecil’s own experience of seditious printing in Mary’s reign perhaps made him fear its impact. See: Evenden, ‘Wood’, pp. 383-94.

<sup>222</sup> SP12/133, fo. 80<sup>r</sup>; Graves, *Norton*, pp. 276-8. Norton also attached importance to answering books, complaining that Persons’ were ‘infecting’ the English.

<sup>223</sup> SP12/154, fo. 87<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>224</sup> Lake, ‘Histories’; *CSPF* XIX 529-30.

<sup>225</sup> *CSPF* XVIII 630, XIX 41. He also had a similar attitude towards an offensive image of Elizabeth. See: *CSPF* XVIII 246, 251.

<sup>226</sup> Parmelee, *Newes*, p. 38; Walsham, ‘Preachers’, pp. 87-8.

<sup>227</sup> See for example: *Aduertisement; Particular; Norton, Declaration; Nowell, Disputation; Q.Z., Discouerie; Northumberland; Cecil, Conspiracies*.

<sup>228</sup> See for example: Swinnerton, *Treatise*.

difficult to challenge. Sowerby argued that the envisaged international uses of Henrician polemic engendered concerns for consistency and accuracy, citing, amongst other things, efforts to ensure that erroneous publications were not circulated. More strikingly, Morison's *Invective* employed the legal records of the Exeter Conspiracy to construct an authoritative pamphlet that was entirely consistent with the trials.<sup>229</sup> Even earlier, the Latin and English versions of the *Determinations* were based on a text that Henry had employed at the Blackfriars' legatine court in 1529, besides printing universities' supportive opinions.<sup>230</sup>

Publication of Smith's recantations indicates the Edwardian government's similar appreciation of neutral, reliable material.<sup>231</sup> Similarly, Streckfuss suggested that orations about England's reconciliation in Mary's reign, including Harchies' *Instauracione*, possessed 'authenticity',<sup>232</sup> whilst Bryson outlines Proctor's construction of an authoritative account of Wyatt's rebellion, which used official documents and eyewitness testimony, and asserted its desire to correct an earlier publication's inaccuracies.<sup>233</sup> Furthermore, Northumberland's and Cranmer's confessions were printed without prefatory remarks or commentary, although an earlier version of the latter's statement needed suppressing,<sup>234</sup> and historians have criticised the non-publication of Cheke's useful recantation.<sup>235</sup> Care was also taken to avoid errors: surviving copies of Christopherson's *Exhortation* have the same mistakes corrected in the same hand, presumably the royal printer's or an assistant's.<sup>236</sup> The Marian exiles also appreciated the polemical value of ostensibly neutral, accurate publications, including allegedly verbatim reports of the October 1553 Convocation and an interview between Gardiner and

---

<sup>229</sup> Sowerby, 'Polemic', pp. 1292-3; Idem., *Reform*, pp. 93-4. Morison's approach potentially influenced contemporary lawyers.

<sup>230</sup> Murphy, 'Literature', pp. 147, 155.

<sup>231</sup> Smith, *Declaration*; Idem., *Retractation*.

<sup>232</sup> Streckfuss, 'Reconciliation', p. 66.

<sup>233</sup> A. Bryson, 'Order and Disorder: John Proctor's *History of Wyatt's Rebellion (1554)*', in M.J. Pincombe, C. Shrank (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 323-35. Whilst Bryson does not suggest that Proctor's account was official, Martin considered Proctor's use of official documents potential evidence of government involvement. See: Martin, 'Printing', pp. 241-2.

<sup>234</sup> Dudley, *Saying*; Cranmer, *Submissyons*; D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (1996), pp. 596.

<sup>235</sup> Baskerville, *Bibliography*, p. 13; Martin, 'Printing', p. 238.

<sup>236</sup> This work included an errata sheet, but other alterations occur in six copies on N1<sup>r</sup>, R5<sup>r</sup>, R6<sup>v</sup>, R7<sup>r</sup> and S7<sup>v</sup>. Further changes on R7<sup>v</sup>, S3<sup>r</sup>, S6<sup>r</sup> and X4<sup>r</sup> occur in at least four copies. See: Beinecke Ocm16 554C; Bodleian Douce C 404; BL G.5927, 697.a.17; FSL STC 5207; Harvard University Library STC 5207.

Judge Hales, a papal bull regarding the alienation of church property, and a letter from Poland's papal legate wherein he discussed his 'political maneuverings'.<sup>237</sup>

Construction of the 1594 pamphlet regarding conspiracies involving Dr Lopez, Richard Williams and Edmund Yorke demonstrates accuracy's paramount importance under Elizabeth. Cecil had the second draft corrected by Robert Cecil, Sir Edward Coke and William Waad, who were familiar with the cases, and Waad suggested inserting some documents.<sup>238</sup> These would 'declare notably the Truth of the Matter', although he worried about other documents' 'Doubtfullnes'. The latter were not printed. Waad also explicitly told Cecil that he had annotated the draft 'that it may in all Points agree with the Truth'.<sup>239</sup> In the draft's margin, letters appear at various points that correspond to another document composed by Waad, wherein he explained that he had noted 'these few things wherin ther might be *somme* small mistaking'. The document lists the letters with suggested changes, predominantly adding information or correcting inaccuracies. The second draft has then been corrected accordingly. For example, 'M' appears by the section of the draft claiming that Catholic exile Thomas Throckmorton suggested that York and Williams use 'a spetiall deuse of a little small Crosbowe'. Waad underlined this, and in the separate document advised that this part be omitted. They should instead say 'in generall termes' that Throckmorton 'gaue his aduise also, for there is Cause to doubt that deuse not to haue Come from Throgmorton'. The draft was changed to say only that Throckmorton suggested 'some spetiall deuse', and it was printed like this.<sup>240</sup>

Crucially, Waad here also explained his concern for accuracy: 'if anie one vntruthe should be set downe it would giue them great occasion to deny all the whole plott'.<sup>241</sup> Evidently the same contested environment that necessitated government pamphlets against rumours and critical works convinced officials that opposition to their own publications was inevitable. Accuracy was one way of producing works capable of withstanding responses. One official pamphlet concerning Everard Haunse was

---

<sup>237</sup> Baskerville, *Bibliography*, pp. 15-6.

<sup>238</sup> Read, 'Cecil', pp. 52-3.

<sup>239</sup> CP28/79, fo. 79<sup>r</sup>; Cecil, *Conspiracies*, D2<sup>r</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>240</sup> CP13/72, fo. 72<sup>r-v</sup>, 139/41, fos. 41<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>; Cecil, *Conspiracies*, C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> CP13/72, fo. 72<sup>v</sup>.

therefore intended to correct the errors in Anthony Munday's supportive publication,<sup>242</sup> whilst Cecil was similarly eager to produce something more suitable than Philip Stubbs' unsatisfactory pamphlet about William Parry, consequently discussing publicising Parry's guilt with 'Mr Attorney and Mr Solicitor'. Read suggested that the crown's law officers were the government pamphlet's likely authors, speculating that they were usually responsible for this task in treason cases, being subsequently involved in the pamphlet about the earl of Northumberland, and had perhaps previously helped with that regarding Francis Throckmorton.<sup>243</sup> Other government pamphlets also frequently printed, or were based on, official documents.<sup>244</sup> This was Cecil's preferred approach, as outlined by Coke's annotation on a copy of the Lopez pamphlet: 'The lo: treasurur Burghley thought best to rely principally vpon the confessions of the delinquents *without* any inference or argument & this book was never annswered to my knowledg and this is the best kind of publication'.<sup>245</sup> This even became expected practice: Sir Henry Nevill told Robert Cecil in April 1601 that he had heard a rumour that a 'declaracion' would be published about Essex's rebellion, and asked that 'my declaracion may not be put in print'.<sup>246</sup> Officials used these books in ways suggesting that they considered them to be reliable accounts. In his 'Notes of the proceedings of the parliament in the cause of Mary Stuart', Robert Beale commented that 'Other notes concerning the parliament. Look in the book published in print by Mr R. Cecil and dedicated to the earl of Leicester,' referring to the 1586 *Copie of a letter*.<sup>247</sup> Similarly, on a copy of a letter from Parry to Elizabeth, Beale wrote, 'for other particularities looke

---

<sup>242</sup> Dillon, *Martyrdom*, p. 76. The second edition of Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* was printed to correct transcription errors in the first, whilst numerous copies also have the same correction on D4<sup>v</sup>, probably performed by the printer or an assistant. See: Bodleian Vet.A1.e.74; CUL Syn.7.60.131(4); FSL STC 4902 Copies 3, 4; St John's, Cam., Aa.6.70; TCD P.mm.14(5).

<sup>243</sup> Read, 'Cecil', pp. 39-40.

<sup>244</sup> See for example: *Particular; Cecil, Iustice; Q.Z., Discouerie; Parry; Cecil, Leycester; Bacon, Letter*. Pamphlets on other topics and those appropriated by the government also utilised documents. See: Buchanan, *Detectioun; Cosin, Conspiracie; Bacon, Declaration; Barlow, Sermon*. Although official pamphlets were based on official documents, it does not necessarily follow that the conspiracies themselves were real. See for example: F. Edwards, 'Sir Robert Cecil, Edward Squier and the Poisoned Pommel', *Recusant History*, 25 (2001), pp. 377-414; D. Green, *The Double Life of Doctor Lopez* (2003); L. Hicks, *An Elizabethan Problem* (1964), chs. 1-3; Idem., 'The Strange Case of Dr. William Parry: the Career of an Agent-Provocateur', *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review*, 37 (1948), pp. 343-62.

<sup>245</sup> Read, 'Cecil', pp. 39-40, 52-3; BL 599.b.5.

<sup>246</sup> CP86/1, fo. 1<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup>. Neville's declaration was merely referenced in a marginal note. See: Bacon, *Declaration*, D3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>247</sup> Read, 'Cecil', p. 43.

the English booke printed in quarto of Parryes traytrous desseignes'.<sup>248</sup> Coke's further annotations on his copy of the Lopez pamphlet, writing 'Nota' and various names in the margin as a guide to key points,<sup>249</sup> significantly indicate his intention to use the work.

Using official documents to maintain accuracy did not preclude editing for polemical or political advantage.<sup>250</sup> Morison combined two statements apparently made by the marquis of Exeter at different times, since this 'sharpened the polemic',<sup>251</sup> whilst Proctor edited and omitted material as his argument required.<sup>252</sup> Official documents in the Parry pamphlet were edited to help the government answer libels. Lake argued that this pamphlet attacked Allen's *Modest Defence* by showing that it encouraged Parry's plotting.<sup>253</sup> Changes made to the printed confession of Edmund Neville, who denounced Parry, helped it serve this purpose. The pamphlet printed both Neville's claim that Parry cited Allen's work in support of his plot, and Neville's response that he had not read it and that he 'did not beleue that authoritie'. Yet, the government did not print Neville's claims that he had spoken to Allen, finding him 'so far from the writing of any such thinge, as himselfe did affirme it A damnable thing to seeke hir *Majesties* death', and had also heard Allen pray for Elizabeth's 'long & prosperous reigne'; comments that undermined the official view of Allen's work. Similarly, Neville's printed confession includes Parry's assertion that the government would never reward Neville, but omits his reasoning that Cecil and Leicester would not allow it.<sup>254</sup> Besides removing insulting remarks about councillors who helped compile the pamphlet,<sup>255</sup> this also prevented any notion of evil councillors spreading – particularly significant considering Lake's persuasive demonstration of how *Leicester's Commonwealth* influenced Parry.<sup>256</sup>

---

<sup>248</sup> BL Yelverton, 48027 fo. 242<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>249</sup> BL 599.b.5 A3<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>r</sup>-B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>-C2<sup>f</sup>. C4<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> Waad's recommendation to Cecil in October 1594 that they print a letter 'or some Part of it', suggests that editing documents was standard practice. See: CP28/79 fo. 79<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>251</sup> Sowerby, *Reform*, p. 93.

<sup>252</sup> Bryson, 'Order', pp. 329-35.

<sup>253</sup> Lake, 'Histories', No. 4.

<sup>254</sup> *Parry*, B1<sup>r-v</sup>; SP12/176/1, fo. 156<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>255</sup> SP12/176/2, fo. 10<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>256</sup> Lake, 'Histories', No. 4.

The Elizabethan government's increased need to be persuasive perhaps accounted for pamphlets' more varied appearance. Books could be presented as official in several ways: through their titles, by stating that royal printers published them, by incorporating the royal arms, and by having the royal privilege.<sup>257</sup> The latter was an instrument of copyright, although also employed for patronage and to encourage publication of specific works and classes of books. Privileges thus remained useful after the Stationers' Company received its 1557 charter and began offering copyright protection.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, their function was not always interpreted correctly. In 1534, John Hussee, agent of Lord Lisle, deputy of Calais, defended Lisle's sacking of a soldier, telling Cromwell that he had been sent to Cranmer for examination, presumably for reading certain books. Cromwell rejected this excuse, asserting that 'what is past by bockes or other wise by the kinges previledge must be common, and it is lawfull for euery man to occupy them', and 'all suche bockes ar set owet for the furthraunce of the kinges matyers'.<sup>259</sup> With even government officials seemingly misconstruing the privilege as royal sanction, others unsurprisingly did too, perhaps influenced by the secular authorities' acquisition of regulatory responsibilities in 1529.<sup>260</sup> In 1534 Cranmer rebuked someone for withholding an English *Enchiridon*, 'supposyng the same to be of no good auctoritie or priuelege', from Richard S. This person seemingly connected privileges with permission.<sup>261</sup> Similarly, Reed highlighted John Bale's anger that Richard Lant printed a 'popish' book with the royal privilege, believing that this 'dyshonoured hys kinge'. More explicitly, Reed cited the statement made in 1534 by villagers of Langham, Essex, that the king privileged books 'to thentente ... that no man shulde feare but rather be encoragede to occupye them'. Consequently the villagers were 'desirous to reade & heare redde in places & tymes conuenient soche bokes', in order to know god's will and Henry's. Reed suggested that a 1538 proclamation demanding the addition of the words 'ad imprimendum solum ('for printing only') to the usual 'cum privilegio regali' was motivated by a need for clarification. Grafton objected to the change because it removed the notion of royal approval: if the new words were printed on English Scripture, enemies could claim that publishing it was 'not the Kynges acte'; he only licensed

---

<sup>257</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 110.

<sup>258</sup> C.S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 6-14.

<sup>259</sup> SP3/5, fo. 127<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>260</sup> Baumer, *Theory*, pp. 219-20.

<sup>261</sup> BL Harley, 6148 fo. 43<sup>f</sup>.

printers to sell it.<sup>262</sup> Despite Grafton's concerns, the privilege was seemingly still linked to royal approval in Elizabeth's reign. William Allen noted that Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* was issued without privilege in England and without the name of printer or author, 'euen thence where such matter is specialle currant, and might easilie haue bene authorized', and observed the attempt to have it privileged in France 'where for shame they durst not publiquellie allowe it at home'.<sup>263</sup> Officials also endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to have Haddon's answer to Osorio printed with the French king's privilege,<sup>264</sup> and they noted that oppositional books obtained this.<sup>265</sup>

Thus books printed with the royal privilege were likely deemed official. Other markings were probably interpreted similarly. Mary's opponents thought it worthwhile to falsely claim that one of their 1555 tracts was printed by 'John Cawoode prynter tho the quenes mayestie wyth here most gracyus lycence',<sup>266</sup> and certainly this irked Hogarde.<sup>267</sup> Similarly, in May 1589 Rasse des Neux referred to Christopher Barker as 'Walsingham's good servant'.<sup>268</sup> Thomas Harding also used the royal arms when dedicating a work against Jewel to Elizabeth,<sup>269</sup> mimicking that which featured in Jewel's earlier publication.<sup>270</sup>

Government propaganda from 1530 to 1558 did not employ these markers of officiality with much variation. The origins of Henry's propaganda were clear:<sup>271</sup> some pamphlets had titles or authors marking them as official, most were privileged,<sup>272</sup> and all tracts published by Berthelet declared this,

---

<sup>262</sup> A.W. Reed, 'Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (1917-19), pp. 176-83; E36/120, fos. 48<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>. Contra.: Clegg, *Press*, pp. 9-10. Grafton's view is significant given that he evidently understood the privilege's function in providing copyright as well. See: BL Cotton Cleopatra EV, fo. 340<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>263</sup> W. Allen, *A true, sincere and modest defence, of English Catholiques* (Rouen, 1584), \*2<sup>r</sup>. Stafford suggested that if Henri III ordered more of Cecil's work printed or 'gaue leaue to any printer *with* priuiledge to print them', this 'brotherlie action' would 'breede' in Elizabeth 'as great an opinion of kindnes, as any thing he could doe'. See: SP78/11, fo. 126<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>264</sup> Ryan, 'Controversy', pp. 147-8.

<sup>265</sup> For example: CSPF XV 634-5, XVI 54, XVII 92.

<sup>266</sup> *A supplicacyon to the quenes maiestie* (Strasbourg, 1555).

<sup>267</sup> Loades, 'Press', p. 48.

<sup>268</sup> CSPF XXIII 444.

<sup>269</sup> T. Harding, *A confutation of a booke intituled An apologie of the Church of England* (Antwerp, 1565).

<sup>270</sup> See below, p. 50.

<sup>271</sup> When distributing books, agents seemingly emphasised official origins. See below, p. 53.

<sup>272</sup> The exception was: *Censurae*.

although not always on the title page or specifying his official position. Neville-Sington's discussion showed that thought was certainly given to pre-1530s' books' appearance. Royal arms were frequently incorporated until focus shifted to anti-Lutheran tracts and a plainer continental style which persisted in the 1530s. Neville-Sington suggested that this 'reflected Berthelet's own preferences and stock', but also matched Cromwell's needs and 'taste'. Berthelet obtained a border featuring the royal arms around 1538,<sup>273</sup> presumably that used for the 1538 edition of Fox's pro-Royal Supremacy work.<sup>274</sup> Wyer earlier printed his translation of Marsilius' work with a form of royal arms.<sup>275</sup> Similarly, under Edward and Mary some books had official-sounding titles, and others identified their printer, although with the same limitations as before, and usually included a privilege.<sup>276</sup> Neville-Sington noted that Grafton employed the royal arms more frequently, like the pre-1520s style.<sup>277</sup> One work had this on the title page,<sup>278</sup> another had some combination of the royal arms,<sup>279</sup> and a third included them after the dedication.<sup>280</sup> Among Marian propaganda pamphlets though, only Northumberland's confession used the royal arms.<sup>281</sup>

Elizabethan propaganda pamphlets, however, often went to greater lengths to either show or hide their origins. The five foreign policy declarations listed above advertised that they were printed by the royal printer or his deputies. The four from the 1580s and 1590s featured the royal arms on the inside cover, suggesting this genre's increasing standardisation, encompassing appearance as well as titles. The official presentation was entirely appropriate for statements of policy printed in multiple languages. A work on the Armada also acknowledged its printer, as did those against Hacket and Essex which incorporated other indicators of officiality: the former declared itself 'published now by authoritie', the latter included the royal arms several times.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>273</sup> Neville-Sington, 'Press', pp. 578-91. She suggested that such a border was 'a common method of displaying royal arms under Berthelet's successors'.

<sup>274</sup> Fox, *Differentia*.

<sup>275</sup> Marsilius, *Defence*.

<sup>276</sup> An exception was: Marshall, *Compendious*. Possibly also: Harrison, *Exhortacion*; Gwynneth, *Declaration*.

<sup>277</sup> Neville-Sington, 'Press', p. 598.

<sup>278</sup> Seymour, *Epistle*.

<sup>279</sup> Kelton, *Chronycle*.

<sup>280</sup> Harrison, *Exhortacion*, A8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>281</sup> Dudley, *Saying*.

<sup>282</sup> See above, pp. 35-6; Bacon, *Declaration*, A2<sup>v</sup>, G2<sup>v</sup>, K3<sup>v</sup>.

Anti-Catholic pamphlets printed by the royal printers, however, varied considerably in appearance. Many indicated their officiality. Wolfe's editions of Jewel's works all bore his name, although not on the title-page, and they omitted his title, whilst the 1562 English translation had the royal arms on the title-page's reverse.<sup>283</sup> Numerous publications by Barker and his deputies acknowledged who printed them on the cover, specifying their positions, and incorporated the royal arms on the title-page's front or back, whilst the *Disputation* with Campion and *A Particular Declaration* announced that they were published 'by authoritie',<sup>284</sup> the latter case observed by a Catholic reader and William Allen.<sup>285</sup> Other pamphlets, however, were less obvious: that against the earl of Northumberland stated only 'in aedibus C. Barker', whilst the Parry pamphlet only said C.B., but was privileged. The content of both was clearly official, although Lake noted the Parry pamphlet's inclusion of a short treatise summarising the case, claiming to have been given to the printer by 'a gentleman of good vnderstanding', who had attended the trial and seen all Parry's confessions and letters used against him.<sup>286</sup> A similar pretence about a 'very honest Gentleman' appeared in Norton's *Declaration*, whilst the work about Throckmorton had an even more convoluted one. Moreover, these were two of four books that appeared with no reference at all to the printer, nor any other markers of officiality.<sup>287</sup> Anonymity was presumably a deliberate choice, probably representing efforts to present works as unbiased and therefore reliable. Yet, the inclusion and/or evident use of official sources undermined any pretence of neutrality. Lake described this curious combination of credibility-creating strategies as 'plausible deniability': the government distanced themselves from potentially controversial publications whilst dropping enough hints of their true origins so that readers would believe what they read.<sup>288</sup>

---

<sup>283</sup> See above, p. 36.

<sup>284</sup> Charke, *Answer*; Idem., *Replie; Particular*; Nicholls, *Recantation*; Nowell, *Disputation*, A1<sup>r</sup>, G4<sup>r</sup>, Gg2<sup>r</sup>; Cecil, *Leycester; Maior*; Clarke, *Recantation*. Bacon, *Padua*, cited the printer but did not include the royal arms.

<sup>285</sup> See below, p. 246; W. Allen, *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of XII. reuerend priests* (Rheims, 1582), c1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>286</sup> *Northumberland; Parry*, F4<sup>v</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup>; Lake, 'Histories', No. 4. This treatise also included numbers referring to the main points of Parry's confession, printed earlier, thus controlling how this was read.

<sup>287</sup> *Aduertisement*; Cecil, *Iustice*; Norton, *Declaration*, A2<sup>r</sup>; Q.Z., *Discoverie*.

<sup>288</sup> Lake, 'Histories'. Read merely noted that some pamphlets appeared anonymously. See Read, 'Cecil', p. 37.

Whilst this is probably the best way to explain such anonymous yet unsubtle publications, the varying appearances still require explanation. Norton's *Declaration* about Campion and the work against Throckmorton both defended the official use of torture. As Read noted, contemporaries were uneasy about torture, and the opposition exploited the issue. This therefore necessitated a response,<sup>289</sup> and the topic's sensitivity seemingly made an impartial perspective advantageous. The *Aduertisement* (which focused on Campion) and Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* conversely discussed the government's claim to execute people for treason, not religion,<sup>290</sup> yet other works on the same topics were, conversely, patently official in content and appearance,<sup>291</sup> and one of these, like the *Aduertisement*, was read aloud at executions.<sup>292</sup> The differing appearances of works similar in argument and use suggest that officials were experimenting with different approaches, particularly concerning Campion, whose persistent popularity necessitated the *Disputation's* 1583 publication, two years after the event.<sup>293</sup> The pamphlet's official appearance suggests that, where Campion was concerned, anonymity had been abandoned in favour of strident authority. Indeed, Allen remarked that *A Particular Declaration* was to be 'redd and spred' at priests' executions 'as an other litle liueret', possibly the *Aduertisement*, 'vvas at the death of the former, but this novv with more authoritie'.<sup>294</sup> The retention of anonymity for Cecil's work, also of 1583, however, suggests that this was still preferred, and considered viable, for a more general discussion of official policy.

Barker's two pamphlets concerning affairs in France also appeared anonymously.<sup>295</sup> This was consistent with hiding official involvement in such pamphlets by having Wolfe print them, and suggests more broadly that non-government printers were generally used for this purpose. Lake discussed the publications surrounding Norfolk and Mary Stuart in terms of 'plausible deniability', with particular efforts to make Buchanan's work appear as an 'exclusively Scottish production'. These works hid official involvement whilst 'parading the semi-official status of their version of

---

<sup>289</sup> Norton, *Declaration*; Q.Z., *Discoverie*, A1<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup>; Read, 'William Cecil', p. 37.

<sup>290</sup> *Aduertisement*; Cecil, *Iustice*.

<sup>291</sup> *Particular*; Nowell, *Disputation*.

<sup>292</sup> See below, p. 57.

<sup>293</sup> Lake, Questier, 'Campion', p. 622.

<sup>294</sup> Allen, *Historie*, c1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>295</sup> See above, p. 35.

events', with *Salutem in Christo*'s narrator, for instance, claiming to have heard the facts from 'such as have cause to know them'. Since Lake saw these pamphlets as intended to pressure Elizabeth, 'plausible deniability' was deemed at least partly about the need to protect councillors, as in the Stubbs' case.<sup>296</sup> In viewing these works as less oppositional, however, the use of anonymity served instead to create an impression of objectivity to make works more convincing. This likely also accounts for Jacqueline Vautrollier's press issuing Cecil's 1588 *Letter to Mendoza*. The pamphlet, allegedly authored by an English Catholic to stress their loyalty during the Armada, emerged from Cecil's earlier suggestion that Allen's *Admonition* be answered as if by Catholics, who 'shuld profess ther obedience and service with ther lyves and power ageynst all strang forces', and warn Allen that his 'rash wrytyng may gyve cause of daunger to liff' to Catholics. Personal favours were possibly another factor.<sup>297</sup> Since Charles Yetsweirt helped to prepare summaries of the government's case against Lopez,<sup>298</sup> perhaps he was given the pamphlet to print as a reward. Certainly his wife subsequently referred to Robert Cecil's 'fauor and kindnesses' to Charles.<sup>299</sup>

In practice, many seemingly knew that these works were official. As noted, Harvey heard rumours that Cecil wrote *Salutem in Christo*,<sup>300</sup> whilst William Herle, ambassador in Germany, knew that he authored the *Execution of Iustice*.<sup>301</sup> Allen not only knew that this was official, but his remarks suggest that anonymity aroused suspicions.<sup>302</sup> Similarly, *The Treatise of Treasons* had earlier remarked that books concerning Norfolk and Mary Stuart 'come forth without name of maker, printer or privilege', suggesting official involvement. It also alleged that Norton wrote on behalf of 'persons of authority', naming Cecil and Bacon as 'the privy publishers of these pamphlets'.<sup>303</sup> Unsurprisingly therefore Persons also saw through the anonymity of both the Throckmorton pamphlet and Cecil's

---

<sup>296</sup> Lake, "Popularity", pp. 62-8, 74. Lake discussed the Parry pamphlet's role in advising Elizabeth to be more cautious over her treatment of Catholics, and the parliamentary context, but may not have seen these motivations as driving its ambiguous appearance. See: Lake, 'Histories', No. 4.

<sup>297</sup> Woodfield, *Printing*, pp. 27-8; SP12/211, fo. 24<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>298</sup> Green, *Lopez*, p. 309.

<sup>299</sup> CP32/5, fo. 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>300</sup> See above, p. 37.

<sup>301</sup> SP83/22, fo. 110<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>302</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>303</sup> Lake, 'Conspiracy', p. 97; Idem., "Popularity", pp. 68-9. This further demonstrates the connection of royal privilege to approval.

work.<sup>304</sup> Similarly a Spanish author named Cecil as the author of the 1588 *Letter*.<sup>305</sup> Nevertheless, the employment of such strategies is itself significant, representing another way in which officials sought to create persuasive books in response to the more challenging Elizabethan environment. It also reflects the depth of official anxieties over oppositional counter-narratives: their belief that critical responses were inevitable meant that in practice officials aimed to influence not their staunchest opponents but everyone else, yet they apparently felt that on some issues people would not take the government's word for granted.

### Uses and Distribution

Analysing official propaganda's use and distribution further elucidates government aims. Henry's government sometimes targeted specific audiences to advance particular policies. In September 1532 Richard Croke informed Cromwell that he had distributed copies, 'hot from the press', of the *Glasse of truth*, published that month, in Oxford. Cromwell considered winning over 'England's intelligentsia' important, particularly as Henry's Great Matter encountered opposition in Oxford in 1530.<sup>306</sup> Croke, a Greek scholar at Henry VIII College, had both appropriate knowledge of the controversial arguments and useful contacts: he had discussed the pamphlet's printing with Berthelet,<sup>307</sup> and gathered support for Henry's marital case in Italy.<sup>308</sup> Crucially, Croke mentioned the response of John Roper, an opponent of Henry's policies, and stressed that he could not convince everyone that the book was Henry's work.<sup>309</sup> Croke was thus seemingly engaging the government's critics, not preaching to the converted, attempting to use the king's possible authorship as a selling point. Perhaps an equally suitable candidate did the same in Cambridge.

---

<sup>304</sup> R. Persons, *A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of ... secular priestes* (Antwerp, 1602), L1<sup>v</sup>; L. Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J.* (1942), p. 268.

<sup>305</sup> Woodfield, *Printing*, p. 29.

<sup>306</sup> R. Rex, 'Redating Henry VIII's *A Glasse of the Truthe*', *Library*, 7<sup>th</sup> ser., 4 (2003), p. 24.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>308</sup> J. Woolfson, 'Richard Croke', *ODNB*.

<sup>309</sup> *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, ed. H. Ellis, 3<sup>rd</sup> series (4 vols., 1846), ii, pp. 197-9.

Similarly, when attempting to convince the Charterhouse monks to accept the Royal Supremacy in May 1535, Thomas Bedyll gave them books against papal primacy and that of St Peter on the same day that Prior Houghton was executed.<sup>310</sup> By October, William Marshall had given them twenty four copies of his translation of Marsilius of Padua,<sup>311</sup> perhaps acting for the government, which was eager to persuade them: John Hilsey organised their attendance at Paul's Cross sermons from December.<sup>312</sup> Cromwell also sent potentially polemical books to Sion, where, in September 1536, they were in 'publyke places' 'for the comfort of the covent', the most recently received being read aloud at dinner.<sup>313</sup>

Henry's books against the 1536 rebels were intended for distribution amongst them to attain political ends.<sup>314</sup> The king's October draft letter giving orders for suppressing the Pilgrimage commanded an unnamed recipient to declare 'the effect of these books in the marquet place, and in the most public and open audience that you can have',<sup>315</sup> presumably meaning his *Ansvvere* and/or Morison's *Lamentation*. Similarly, Henry planned to send the duke of Norfolk 'a certain oration lately made by some of our subjects touching the malice and iniquity of this rebellion', along with a proclamation.<sup>316</sup> These could be used to 'better furnish your letters to be sent to the rebels', and Norfolk could further publicise them 'as you may think most expedient to induce the traitors to submit and [encourage] your soldiers to the greater detestation of this abominable rebellion attempted by them of Yorkshire'.<sup>317</sup> On the same day, Wriothesley informed Cromwell of 'the kinges pleasure' that Cromwell send one hundred books 'to be deuided by seuerall messangers betwen my lordes of Suff Norfolk Stewarde and others, to be sent abrode in to the cuntreys aboute them'.<sup>318</sup> A proclamation on 2 November subsequently claimed that since the king realised that the rebels' offences 'proceded of Ignorancie' and because of 'sundry falce tales' 'moost craftely contriued' by 'sedicious personnes', he sent them

---

<sup>310</sup> BL Cotton Cleopatra E/VI, fo. 259<sup>r-v</sup>; J. Hogg, 'William Exmew', *ODNB*.

<sup>311</sup> BL Cotton Cleopatra E/IV, fo. 43<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 214-5

<sup>313</sup> SP1/106, fo. 192<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>314</sup> Loades, 'Press', p. 33.

<sup>315</sup> *LP XI* 712.

<sup>316</sup> Perhaps Morison's *Lamentation*. Certainly both this and Morison's *Remedy* had been sent to the rebels by 2 November. See: Sowerby, *Reform*, pp. 42-4.

<sup>317</sup> *LP XI* 816.

<sup>318</sup> SP1/108, fo. 224<sup>v</sup>.

books, whereby they would have ‘iuste cause’ to acknowledge their ‘errore’, and to be careful not to again ‘entre into like folies’.<sup>319</sup> Henry’s intent on reaching a wide audience is clear, hoping thereby to hasten the rebels’ surrender and encourage loyal supporters. His pamphlets seemingly caused a stir, indicating that his distribution strategy was likely successful.<sup>320</sup>

The Imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys suggested that books were intended to influence parliament. In November 1531, he reported that Henry had distributed the *Determinations* all over England ‘to win over the people to his opinion against the new meeting of Parliament’. Chapuys again suggested in February 1536 that books were printed during parliament’s meeting ‘for the information of its members, containing a list of the measures to be discussed therein’, including moves against ‘ceremonials’ involving images and worshipping saints, and upholders of purgatory.<sup>321</sup>

Elizabethan officials sometimes publicly read books aloud. On 31 May 1596, Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, told Cecil of his publication of Elizabeth’s *Declaration* concerning the navy.<sup>322</sup> Hutton had received three copies of this on 15 May from Cecil and followed his instructions to publish it. On 16 May, Hutton and the ‘Counsell here’ summoned York’s mayor and aldermen to the Common Hall ‘where we were sitting to heare causes’, and Hutton had the book openly read. Hutton also sent copies to the bishops of Durham, Carlisle and Chester.<sup>323</sup> Cecil thus seemingly ordered the pamphlet publicised in a formal setting to important local officers, and possibly also that copies be sent to other bishops for them to do likewise. Given that this pamphlet stressed that any nation helping Spain was a legitimate target and that it was being translated into several languages for distribution in Spanish and Portuguese ports, the effort to publicise it in northern England is significant. Presumably officials hoped to build support for English foreign policy, but maybe it also reflected unease about northern subjects and Scotland.

---

<sup>319</sup> SP1/110, fos. 93<sup>v</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>320</sup> See below, pp. 252-3. People in the south reacted too, with Morison’s tracts also shaped for Londoners. See: Sowerby, *Reform*, p. 43.

<sup>321</sup> *CSPS* IV ii 838, V ii 21.

<sup>322</sup> *Declaration* (1596).

<sup>323</sup> CP173/80, fo. 80<sup>r</sup>.

The government did not focus solely on elites. In November 1570 the Privy Council ordered Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* placed in all churches to 'come to the hands and knowledge of all hir majesties good subiectes', as the content was 'very profitable' to bring them 'to good opynion, understanding, and dere liking of the present government'. This instruction ultimately prompted initiatives to have London companies, cathedrals and various clergymen buy copies. Evenden and Freeman suggested that Foxe's implicit criticism of Elizabeth's religious settlement<sup>324</sup> potentially encouraged certain councillors in this endeavour, hoping to prompt further reform, and that it 'inspired later efforts to have edifying books disseminated', like Archbishop Parker's 1572 order that Jewel's 1565 *Replie* against Harding be placed in the Norwich diocese's churches. Evenden and Freeman emphasised that these efforts instilled such books with 'near-Biblical status', ensuring that they were read 'reverently' and thus 'at least partially' controlling their reception.<sup>325</sup> Furthermore, signs of 'heavy wear' on some surviving copies apparently reflected 'the heavy use' of publicly-located books,<sup>326</sup> so that these strategies were potentially successful.

Even more directly, in November 1588 the council wrote to the lord lieutenants of the counties about G.D.'s *Briefe discouerie*. Since it was published 'in the dead time of the year', it was 'not so publicly known as were convenient' considering its content, as it countered Allen's 'deceitfull argumentes' aiming to seduce English subjects 'from their duety'. Since the book was 'very convenient for the vse of the Comon subiect, who is easiest to be abused by the cunning & lewd allurementes of the aduersarie, and most necessarie for the present tyme', the lieutenants, 'for the better meane to haue the same vniuersally published', should 'take some good course to make the same publicly known by recommending it' to JPs and 'chief officers' of urban areas, 'wherby it may be publicly had & redd by the Subiectes, for their better resolucon, comfort, & contentment'.<sup>327</sup> Although printed as a pre-emptive strike against Allen's publications concerning the Armada, the Council clearly considered it

---

<sup>324</sup> On which see: T.S. Freeman, 'Providence and Prescription: the Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', in Doran, Freeman, *Myth*, pp. 27-55.

<sup>325</sup> E. Evenden, T.S. Freeman, 'Print, Profit and Propaganda: the Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', *EHR*, 119 (2004), pp. 1288-1307. See also: Walsham, 'Spider', pp. 170-2.

<sup>326</sup> King, *Martyrs*, p. 285.

<sup>327</sup> Whitehead, *Braggs*, p. 86; SP12/205, fo. 132<sup>r-v</sup>.

useful after the enterprise's failure. In both these examples, the intention to influence 'the Comon subiect' with lengthy books importantly indicates officials' belief that such works were suitable for everyone.

Pamphlets reached wide audiences in other ways. Dillon stressed that Catholic executions 'were a critical medium for propaganda' for both sides, where the condemned's behaviour and last words were 'precise indicators of guilt'. The government wanted to demonstrate that the priests deservedly died. Dillon cited Allen's description of how *A particular declaration*, containing condemned priests' answers to the six 'bloody questions', which focused on the legality of papal excommunicatory bulls,<sup>328</sup> was distributed and read aloud at their executions; the pamphlet's preface and extracts from seditious works were read if a priest's answers were deemed 'insufficiently incriminating'. Dillon also described pamphlets against Everard Haunse, executed in July 1581, as an example of official efforts to ensure that works presenting the condemned as traitors were available for their executions. These pamphlets were presumably effective, as Thomas Alfield cited them as a reason for him to document Campion's execution lest the government repeat their tactics.<sup>329</sup> His caution was wise. Teller of the exchequer, Richard Stonley, recorded the executions of Campion and Ralph Sherwin in his diary on 1 December 1581, noting that 'a pamphlet bok was redd by wey of Aduertisement agenst all thos that were busye flaterers favorers or whisperers in [Campion's] cause'. This was the *Aduertisement*, whose full title referenced Campion's 'whispring Fauourers'. It stressed that Campion and others were condemned for treason, not religion, but did not discuss Campion's execution, suggesting that it was printed before this.<sup>330</sup> Similarly, John Hart, imprisoned in the Tower, recorded Francis Throckmorton's execution in his diary on 10 July 1585, claiming that 'a disgraceful libel was circulated about him',<sup>331</sup> presumably the official pamphlet.<sup>332</sup>

---

<sup>328</sup> For a discussion of their application, see: P. McGrath, 'The Bloody Questions Reconsidered', *Recusant History*, 20 (1991), pp. 305-19.

<sup>329</sup> Dillon, *Martyrdom*, pp. 73-7.

<sup>330</sup> FSL V.a.459 i fo. 33<sup>v</sup>; *Aduertisement*. Mendoza noted the pamphlet's appearance, but did not link it to the executions. The Calendar mis-identifies it. See: *CSPS Simancas III* 175.

<sup>331</sup> B.A. Harrison (ed.), *A Tudor journal* (2000), p. 64.

<sup>332</sup> Q.Z., *Discouerie*. This did not reference Throckmorton's death, thus pre-dating it.

Official books sometimes served an administrative purpose. The Privy Council told a commission tasked with interrogating London's jailed priests and recusants in 1588 to ask questions written 'in a printed book wherewith some of them are acquainted'. Whitehead suggested that this referred to Cecil's *Execution of Iustice*, which included the 'bloody questions',<sup>333</sup> but a manuscript containing examinations of priests in London from June 1587 has a page headed, 'The printed articles ministred to the Preists', which listed the questions as printed in a *Particular Declaration*, except for some small alterations to the first one.<sup>334</sup> Thus the 1588 commission likely referred to this latter work, which was potentially commonly employed. By such use, the government confirmed that this pamphlet faithfully represented their position, whilst the expectation that both officials and prisoners would be aware of it reflects a belief in its widespread distribution.

Tudor governments similarly targeted international audiences. Henry's government printed books in multiple languages, sometimes allowing for continental audiences' different tastes. Works were distributed at the English court and by English ambassadors at foreign courts, sometimes targeting specific individuals in the pursuit of particular policy objectives. For example, Sampson's *Oratio* was employed as part of Henry's attempts to secure a visit from Philip Melancthon. Books provided English diplomats with arguments for their audiences, creating 'an essential uniformity' in English diplomatic rhetoric at home and abroad. Evidence suggests that Edward's government had similar concerns, with books concerning the Scottish campaign appearing in Latin and German.<sup>335</sup> Somerset also gave the Scotsman, Robert Lockhart, 'one buke of doctor Smithis recanting', and Lockhart 'verrie gretlie Reiosede therof', although he admittedly, favouring an Anglo-Scottish marriage and union, did not represent his government.<sup>336</sup>

---

<sup>333</sup> Whitehead, *Brags*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>334</sup> FSL K.b.1, p. 2; *Particular*, C2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>335</sup> Sowerby, 'Polemic', pp. 1276-1296.

<sup>336</sup> CP137/444, fos. 146<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>.

Whilst Mary's government seemingly had little to do with producing and distributing works to a foreign audience,<sup>337</sup> Elizabeth's certainly did. Books were printed in multiple languages, sometimes abroad,<sup>338</sup> and distributed at foreign courts. Cecil organised the distribution of Jewel's *Apologia* in Paris via Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador,<sup>339</sup> whilst Buchanan's work against Mary Stuart was carefully distributed in English, Latin and French there, including in January 1572 to the Huguenot Jacques de Montaigne, who wrote *L'Histoire de L'Europe*, showing the government's concern for 'the future representation and interpretation of events'.<sup>340</sup> Furthermore, Elizabeth's ambassador in France, Henry Killigrew, translated and seemingly distributed *Salutem in Christo* in late 1571 and early 1572.<sup>341</sup> In 1581, the apostate John Nicholl's *Recantation* was apparently 'distributed abroad',<sup>342</sup> whilst in 1584 Stafford provided Henri III with a copy of *The Execution of Iustice*.<sup>343</sup> That year, William Herle took two dozen copies of this work in Latin, French and Italian on embassy to Emden, informing Elizabeth that he had 'well distributed sondrie' of them. They were 'maruailously lyked', with the archbishop of Cologne even translating it for distribution throughout Germany; 'the same in vttering the truthe so wiselie, is lykely to do greate good'.<sup>344</sup> Similarly, in 1585, Thomas Bodley, ambassador in Denmark, showed the official pamphlet condemning Parry to the Danish king, who had it translated into German.<sup>345</sup> Walsingham sent Stafford a copy of Cecil's *Letter* to Mendoza in September 1588, and a Spanish agent suggested that many copies were sent to France.<sup>346</sup> Robert Cecil sent copies of the 1597 foreign policy *Declaration* to Robert Bowes in Scotland in June, who dispersed them 'into honorable handes'. The 'well affected' prayed for 'good success', but 'many' were 'pyntched therwith, fearing that the Spanish affayres shall not speid and prosper in those Northern Countryes as hath ben expected'.<sup>347</sup>

---

<sup>337</sup> See above, p. 34.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid., pp. 35-8; C. Giry-Deloison, 'France and Elizabethan England', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 14 (2004), pp. 236-7.

<sup>339</sup> Loach, 'Printing', p. 143. This was also translated into other vernaculars.

<sup>340</sup> C. Shrank, "'This Fatall Medea,'" "This Clytemnestra": Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots', *HLQ*, 73 (2010), pp. 526-7.

<sup>341</sup> SP70/121, fo. 45<sup>r</sup>, 70/122, fo. 126<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>342</sup> Hicks, *Letters*, p. 85.

<sup>343</sup> SP78/11, fo. 126<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>344</sup> SP83/22, fo. 110<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>345</sup> CSPF XIX 780, XX 14.

<sup>346</sup> Woodfield, *Printing*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>347</sup> CP53/3, fo. 3<sup>r</sup>.

Several books served practical purposes. The 1585 *Declaration* justifying intervention in the Low Countries, drafted and published with the knowledge of the Dutch commissioners of the States<sup>348</sup> and circulated at foreign courts in multiple languages,<sup>349</sup> was repeatedly used in English diplomacy.<sup>350</sup> A copy, presumably in manuscript, was given to the Duke of Parma in August 1585, and Sir John Smith was instructed to refer to it in his audiences.<sup>351</sup> In December 1587 English commissioners attending peace negotiations at Ostend were told to refer to the *Declaration* as proof of Elizabeth's well-intentioned purpose,<sup>352</sup> whilst in July 1588, Dr Dale told Parma in Bruges that despite suspicions that Elizabeth intended to keep the Dutch towns currently in her possession 'whatsoever shalbe treated', the *Declaration* represented Elizabeth's 'mynd yn that point', and she 'woulde never varie yn anie one poynt from that *which* [she] had so openly published'.<sup>353</sup> This attitude partly explained Elizabeth's anger at Leicester's assumption of the Governor-Generalship.<sup>354</sup> The *Declaration* was referenced numerous other times, including by government officials, those corresponding with them seemingly in pursuit of peace, and apparently a friend of Parma.<sup>355</sup> A range of actors therefore viewed the *Declaration* as an accurate representation of English intentions, and of continuing relevance. Even a pro-peace manuscript treatise linked to 1598 debates over foreign policy, triggered by the Treaty of Vervins,<sup>356</sup> cited the *Declaration*: if a reasonable peace was possible, it was 'more agreeable' to Elizabeth's 'scope & intention' in intervening than war, 'because they haue bine mad knowne to the world by wrightinge in all languages by publique authoritie and not lightlie to be regarded'.<sup>357</sup>

---

<sup>348</sup> *CSPF* XX 8; Read, 'Cecil', p. 42.

<sup>349</sup> *CSPF* XX 226; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, ed. R. Brown (38 vols., 1864-1947), viii, 297, 314.

<sup>350</sup> Its importance was reflected in Cecil's careful editing of the first edition, which included adding marginal comments, designed to shape the reader's interpretation, that were subsequently incorporated into the second edition, such as 'English power sent *only* to defend'. See: BL C.194.a.851 C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>f</sup>; STC 9189.5 C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>351</sup> Read, 'Cecil', p. 41; *CSPF* XIX 912.

<sup>352</sup> *CSPF* XXI iii 781.

<sup>353</sup> SP77/4, fo. 231<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>354</sup> *CSPF* XXI ii 39. When correcting Elizabeth's letter to Norris reminding him that her 'meaning' was 'to defend', Walsingham added 'as we have pvblyckely notefied vnto the world'. See: SP84/4, fo. 118<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>355</sup> *CSPF* XX 486, 575, 794-5, 847, 859, 889, XXI ii 676.

<sup>356</sup> A. Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 97-104.

<sup>357</sup> Huntington HM 102, fo. 35<sup>f</sup>.

The Parry pamphlet probably had a more focused diplomatic purpose. On 12 February 1585, the day after Parry had confessed, Stafford was informed that Elizabeth was requesting the extradition of Thomas Morgan, an English Catholic exile in France named as Parry's principal sponsor. Stafford reported Morgan's arrest on 1 March, but Henri III was ultimately unhelpful.<sup>358</sup> Nevertheless, the pamphlet's compilers likely had this diplomatic effort in mind, naming Morgan as Parry's principal encourager,<sup>359</sup> and revealingly editing Parry's letter to Elizabeth.<sup>360</sup> The apparently useful assertion that 'there is neuer a man mor of *our* nation abrode or at home pryvy to this cause but Tho. Morgan' was removed, probably because of what followed: 'a catholike gentleman so beloued trusted and protected in France as you shall hardly be able to touch hym by any ordynary course, the proufe depending vpon his yea and my nay and hauing no lre or ciphre of his wherewith to charge hym. Leaue hym therefore to god and his amendment'. This would not have helped the government persuade Henri and could have been problematic had Morgan been obtained and tried. Furthermore, Parry's insulting remarks about Henri's unreliability as an ally were left in,<sup>361</sup> potentially to encourage dislike of the plotter and his accomplices, and make Henri more amenable. There is no evidence that Henri saw the pamphlet, but Stafford planned to show him relevant documents, and perhaps used the pamphlet too; ambassadors in the Netherlands and Denmark had copies in mid-March and June respectively,<sup>362</sup> whilst a French translation printed at La Rochelle retained Parry's insulting remarks about Henri.<sup>363</sup> The pamphlet was compiled in early March, whilst Morgan was in custody but before Henri's reluctance was fully apparent;<sup>364</sup> printing the insulting remarks was thus not revenge for his intransigence.

---

<sup>358</sup> *CSPF* XIX 385, 389, 433, 449, 453, 463-4, 484, 497, 511, 533-4, 548, 569, 635; SP78/13, fo. 63<sup>r</sup>. Stafford had to control one Cooke, sent by Walsingham, who 'gaue out' that 'Parry denied att his deathe all that he had confessed', undermining the diplomatic effort.

<sup>359</sup> *Parry*, A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>360</sup> Historians have not satisfactorily explained the editing. This letter was not read aloud at the trial, as mistakenly claimed; its printing motivated the editing. See: Hicks, 'Parry', p. 356; Idem., *Problem*, p. 67; D. Jardine, *Criminal Trials* (2 vols., 1832-5), i, pp. 261-3; J. Lock, 'William Parry', *ODNB*; J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (4 vols., 1725-31), iii, pp. 262-3, App. pp. 102-4.

<sup>361</sup> *Parry*, C3<sup>r-v</sup>; Lansdowne Vol/43, fo. 117<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>362</sup> *CSPF* XIX 359, 484, 780; SP78/13, fo. 63<sup>r</sup>. Admittedly the government seemingly did not send the work to the Dutch ambassador.

<sup>363</sup> *Histoire veritable de la conspiration de Guillaume Parry* (La Rochelle, 1585).

<sup>364</sup> SP12/176/2, fos. 1<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup>.

Equally important diplomatically was the 1594 pamphlet attacking Philip II for sponsoring anti-Elizabeth conspiracies.<sup>365</sup> In early September the government planned to send Thomas Wilkes to Archduke Ernestus to discuss these conspiracies, hoping that the Spanish ministers involved would be punished, the implicated English fugitives would be extradited, and other English fugitives would lose their Spanish pensions and be banished. Wilkes was to warn Ernestus that if Philip did not express his horror, Elizabeth would be forced to publish ‘a just condemnation of him’. As proof, Wilkes would have copies of confessions and other ‘memorials’, the second one showing the evidence against numerous conspirators, and the third listing rebels and fugitives maintained by Spanish pensions. In October Ernestus sent a passport for Wilkes, mentioning his confidence that Wilkes would say nothing ‘to the disservice of the King’. Yet, Ernestus was informed that this response had offended Elizabeth, who would therefore publicise the matter. The Spanish were astonished that ‘on so feeble a ground’ Elizabeth had cancelled Wilkes’ mission, and Ernestus told Philip that ‘from their changing their minds for such a trifle, one may conclude that there was little sincerity in their embassy’. The preparations belie this, however. Rather, the government probably panicked when Wilkes’ mission was widely connected to peace negotiations. English allies were suspicious, with reassurances only partially effective.<sup>366</sup> In early November, Cecil explained to Noel de Caron, lest anyone ‘haue anie Iealous apprehencon of some secrett negotiation’ with the Spanish, about the original purpose, again claiming that Ernestus’ letter caused the cancellation. Instead they would ‘declare it to the world’.<sup>367</sup> Certainly George Gilpin wrote on 4 and 13 November that the cancellation was ‘not a little liked’ at the Hague, with the States happy that the enemy’s ‘shamefull courses’ against Elizabeth ‘shalbe manifested to the worlde’.<sup>368</sup> The pamphlet was produced quickly,<sup>369</sup> probably using the memorials,<sup>370</sup>

---

<sup>365</sup> Minor document editing aided the pamphlet’s anti-Spanish thrust. One conspirator’s reference to the ‘Robberies, hurtes, & losses’ which Elizabeth ‘caused to be committed by her subiects’ against Philip was removed from his printed confession. See: Cecil, *Conspiracies*, D3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>366</sup> *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the ... Marquis of Salisbury* (24 vols., 1883-1976), v, 68; *List and Analysis of State Papers: Foreign Series: Elizabeth I*, ed. R.B. Wernham (7 vols., 1964), v, 577-83, 585-7. The second and third memorials are likely: CP28/36, fos. 36<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>; SP12/250, fos. 20<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>367</sup> CP28/107, fo. 107<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>368</sup> SP84/49, fos. 211<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>369</sup> A secretary was busy transcribing two drafts in November. See: Lansdowne Vol/77, fo. 170<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>370</sup> The pamphlet largely follows the content and order of the second memorial. See: Cecil, *Conspiracies*, C1<sup>r</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>; CP28/36, fos. 36<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>; SP12/250, fos. 25<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>.

and sent by the end of November to the Hague and, in translation, France. Although generally liked, both audiences wished for a ‘sharper’ publication.<sup>371</sup>

Governments thus employed polemical works to accomplish specific objects at home and abroad, underlining official confidence in print’s utility. Crucially, Henry’s government engaged its critics with targeted distribution strategies, apparently believing that reasoned argument could persuade anyone. This again suggests a shift in attitude over the period. Elizabeth’s government admittedly made Catholic prisoners hear sermons,<sup>372</sup> apparently demonstrating some comparable optimism, but much of their printed output focused on refuting current and inevitable future criticism, effectively recognising that stalwart opponents would not be persuaded, and hoping instead to ensure the masses’ support. Evidence of distribution also undermines suggestions that foreign and academic audiences were targeted with Latin works, and everyone else was reached through English ones,<sup>373</sup> with the same pamphlets, sometimes in translation, used to reach different audiences.

Moreover, the general desire to distribute works of all sorts to wide audiences raises difficult questions. Throughout the century, numerous laws and proclamations discouraged gossip and rumours, emphasising that affairs of state did not concern the masses.<sup>374</sup> How strange then that officials should try so hard to inform them. Lake recognised this tension, arguing that appeals to the masses were ‘emergency measures’; in the case of certain books concerning Norfolk and Mary Stuart, ‘the need to go public’ was occasioned ‘by the seriousness and ubiquity of the lies being spread by the regime’s enemies’, and believed by many, with the aim of creating pressure on Elizabeth.<sup>375</sup> This arguably provides part of the explanation: countering opposition and presenting a ‘true’ account of policies and events were important goals that necessitated propagandistic activities. Yet, most pamphlets, including some of those discussed by Lake, were not oppositional; they did not aim to

---

<sup>371</sup> CP29/45, fo. 46<sup>r</sup>; SP84/49, fo. 216<sup>r</sup>; Stowe 166 EP I, fo. 167<sup>r</sup>. Cecil seemingly hinted that another edition could be printed in France. One copy also reached Brussels by mid-1595, albeit probably through unofficial channels. See: CP33/85, fo. 86<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>372</sup> Hicks, *Letters*, p. 85.

<sup>373</sup> Baumer, *Theory*, pp. 216-7; Elton, *Policy*, p. 206; Neville-Sington, ‘Press’, p. 589.

<sup>374</sup> D. Cressy, *Dangerous Talk* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 10-1, 49-50, 54-5, 57-8, 62-7.

<sup>375</sup> Lake, “Popularity”, pp. 59-60, 67-8, 87-8.

actively mobilise the people against the monarch. Therefore, rather than seeking an active response, it is likely that governments sought a passive one consisting of respectful acceptance, in keeping with statutes and proclamations. The aim was to educate, not to stimulate discussion,<sup>376</sup> and it predated Lake and Pincus' 'post-Reformation public sphere'.<sup>377</sup>

---

<sup>376</sup> When positing the creation of a public sphere in the 1530s, Sharpe suggested that the 'representational state' stimulated debate, potentially unintentionally. See: Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 31.

<sup>377</sup> Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking', pp. 1-30.

## Chapter 1: Owning Propaganda

### Owning Books

With little scholarship addressing official polemics' reception, their ownership unsurprisingly also remains largely undiscussed.<sup>1</sup> Evidential limitations are partly to blame. Inventories containing detailed book lists mostly belonged to university academics and clerics, therefore privileging books other than political propaganda. Other surviving inventories rarely include polemical works, perhaps because many were relatively small and inexpensive, and also because inventories often listed 'books' without specification.<sup>2</sup> Certainly their absence should not be considered proof that they were only briefly relevant and therefore always discarded; those mentioned in library lists, and evidence from marginalia,<sup>3</sup> show that they retained their use for some time. Despite these issues, enough evidence survives to enable useful observations on government propaganda's ownership.

Common among the detailed clerical and university inventories were John Jewel's works, unsurprising given their combination of theology and politics. Between the 1560s and 1620s, many students, academics and clerics owned his *Apologiae Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, the English translation, and his *Replie* and *Defence* against Harding. Individuals, such as Andrew Perne, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, sometimes owned several of these works and occasionally multiple copies of the same book.<sup>4</sup> Evidently Jewel's works were popular, with owners perhaps influenced by the authority given to them by official distribution strategies.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, although Jewel's works

---

<sup>1</sup> The wide ownership of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* has been recognised. See: King, *Martyrs*, pp. 267-84.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Sir Henry Unton's study contained 220 unspecified books. See: J.G. Nichols (ed.), *The Unton Inventories* (1841), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 193-5.

<sup>4</sup> BCI i pp. 295-7, 313, 316, 318, 347-8, 350, 398-401, 419-24, 456, 508-9, 511, 516, 531-3, 536-7, 540, 544, 546, 559-60, 562-3 567, 569-71; PLRE i pp. 3-9, 31, iii pp. 80-2, 103-5, 140-1, 152, iv pp. 81-2, 132, 137-8, 212, 223, 256-8, 265, v pp. 138-9, 147, 155, 282, 290, vi pp. 22, 41, 47-8, 56, 65, 74, 85, 129, 193-4, 234, vii pp. 11, 13-4, 19-21, 113-6, 194, Online 174.5, 256.2, 257.1, 257.2, 257.10, 257.49, 259.6, Ad1.40; W.C. Costin (ed.), 'The Inventory of John English, B.C.L., Fellow of St. John's College', *Oxoniensia*, 11 & 12 (1948 for 1946-7), pp. 107-8, 129. A 1570s translation of one of Jewel's works against Harding was also owned. See: PLRE vii pp. 25-6, 41; BCI i pp. 385, 456.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 56.

incorporated much of Harding's whilst refuting them, thereby giving readers access to both sides,<sup>6</sup> some nevertheless obtained Harding's books too, like Perne, fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, Richard Mote, and possibly cleric and translator Loiseau de Tourval.<sup>7</sup> The attention given to this controversy potentially undermines Questier's characterisation of the 1560s debates prompted by Jewel's Challenge sermon as 'exceptionally unwieldy and tedious'.<sup>8</sup>

More politically focused official pamphlets less commonly appear in surviving inventories. Moreover, ascertaining their significance when they appear in large, varied university and clerical libraries is challenging, especially when appearing alongside works representing different political and religious positions.<sup>9</sup> For example, in 1613 cleric and Corpus Christi, Oxford, fellow Walter Brown's c.600 books included Jewel's *Apologia*, Morison's *Apomaxis*, the *Disputation* with Campion, and probably G.D.'s *Briefe discoverie*, seemingly indicating Protestant sympathies, but also Osorio's work against Haddon and other Catholic books. Some of his Oxford contemporaries even accused him of being Catholic in c.1603, and accusations of Catholicism against Laud at his trial were based on his friendship with Brown. Compounding these difficulties, Brown was only born in the mid-1570s, making it unlikely or impossible that he acquired the official books on publication. How he acquired them is unknown.<sup>10</sup>

Greater knowledge about owners, however, permits more definite conclusions. Perne's c.3,000 book library included Fox's *De vera differentia* and Gardiner's *De vera obedientia*,<sup>11</sup> Christopherson's *Exhortation*, and works by Haddon. These themselves reflected varying religious positions, whilst

---

<sup>6</sup> Walsham, 'Spider', pp. 165-70.

<sup>7</sup> BCI i pp. 435, 441, 508-9, 511; PLRE Online 259.6. Walsham's claim that these inventories show 'many' Elizabethan Oxbridge scholars owning 'both' Jewel's works against Harding and Harding's against Jewel is unsustainable. Of her examples only Perne owned 'both', whilst the only additional instance is Mote. See: Walsham, 'Spider', p. 184. Perne's ownership of other works against Jewel further illustrates his interest in these debates. See: BCI i p. 442.

<sup>8</sup> Questier, *Conversion*, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Admittedly there were legitimate reasons for engaging with one's opponents' works. See: Walsham, 'Spider', pp. 184-6.

<sup>10</sup> PLRE vii pp. 113-5, 144, 148, 150-1, 170, 194, 206. He also owned Stubbes' oppositional *Gaping Gulf*.

<sup>11</sup> His library, mostly arranged by subject, placed Fox's work with anti-Catholic books, but Gardiner's similarly pro-Royal Supremacy book in the Catholic section. Gardiner's role in Mary's government thus effected how Perne perceived his earlier writing. See: BCI i pp. 423, 442, 455.

Perne also owned directly oppositional works by Joannes Cochlaeus and Osorio, and Pole's *De Unitate*.<sup>12</sup> Collinson noted that Perne was possibly a 'closet papist', but whilst his contemporaries vilified what they considered Perne's hypocrisy, Collinson maintained that 'his confessional fluctuations were typical of the times', and here represented 'theological latitude', with his library demonstrating his 'openness to conflicting tendencies'. Perne's commitment to collecting also made a diverse collection inevitable.<sup>13</sup>

Perne's official and oppositional 1580s texts belong in these contexts of 'latitude' and collecting. He owned Charke's *Replie to a censure*, Cecil's *Execution of iustice* in Latin, the 1583 *Disputation* with Campion, G.D.'s *Briefe discoverie*, Humphrey's and probably Whitaker's officially-commissioned anti-Jesuit works, and John Rainolds' *Conference* with Hart. He also possessed, however, Campion's *Decem Rationes*, Persons' *Defence of the censure* against Meredith Hanmer (whose work he also owned) and Charke, and books against Whitaker. Admittedly Perne also owned Whitaker's responses to his critics and a 1586 refutation of Persons, possibly by Charke.<sup>14</sup> Evidently these debates interested Perne, as they did other potential conservatives. Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, Edward Hawford's 1582 library indicates his prompt acquisition of Charke's *Replie* and Nicholl's *Recantation*.<sup>15</sup> Whilst Wright characterised him as having 'instincts' 'not far removed from' Elizabeth's,<sup>16</sup> Collinson grouped him with 'the old popish guard'.<sup>17</sup>

Others with even less clear religious outlooks were equally interested in these affairs and apparently willing to consider different views. In 1588, Edward Higgins' religious books were not those of 'a zealot seeking support for his own narrow doctrinal point of view', but represented different theological positions, seemingly showing his desire to understand contemporary religious debates.

---

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 440-442, 454-5. On refutations, relevant to this and subsequent paragraphs, see below: pp. 243-5.

<sup>13</sup> P. Collinson, 'Andrew Perne and his Times', in D. McKitterick (ed.), *Andrew Perne* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 3, 13; D. McKitterick, 'Andrew Perne and his Books', in *Idem.*, *Perne*, pp. 35-61.

<sup>14</sup> BCI i pp. 435, 438, 441 454-6, 465. Interestingly, Cecil's work was seemingly not kept with these other anti-Catholic works.

<sup>15</sup> BCI i pp. 348. 351.

<sup>16</sup> S. Wright, 'Edward Hawford', *ODNB*.

<sup>17</sup> Collinson, 'Perne', p. 7.

They included Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* and Rainolds' *Conference*, plus works by Whitaker, Humphrey and Dudley Fenner that answered oppositional refutations of official books.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, Mote's 1592 inventory, besides Gardiner's *De vera obedientia* and Christopherson's *Exhortation*, included Cecil's *Execution of iustice*, probably Charke's *Answere*, Rainolds' *Conference*, and G.D.'s *Briefe discouerie*, and works by Whitaker. He also, however, possessed Persons' book against Nicholls, his *Defence of the censure* (and a response to this, possibly by Charke), and a work against Whitaker.<sup>19</sup>

Conversely, Thomas Morrey, scholar of Christ Church, where a memorial notes his 'zeal for the Lord', seemingly owned official anti-Catholic propaganda because of an anti-Catholic outlook. Besides Jewel's *Apologia*, his library, displaying his interest in continental Calvinism, included Cecil's *Execution of Iustice*, Whitaker's work against Campion, a work recorded as 'Conference', suggested as Rainold's *Conference* with Hart but potentially the *Disputation* with Campion, and probably Charke's works.<sup>20</sup> He must have acquired some of these reasonably promptly before his death in 1584, whilst unlike others he seemingly did not possess direct Catholic refutations.

Similarly, religious sympathy perhaps underpinned former bishop of Salisbury, Nicholas Shaxton's prompt acquisition of Marian publications. Although previously a committed evangelical, he recanted after being condemned to death in 1546 for denying the real presence. Subsequently he was apparently conservative, even attempting to persuade Marian Protestants to follow his example.<sup>21</sup> Hence his ownership in 1556 of Hogarde's *The assault of the sacrament*, which evidently appealed to the educated, and works by Bonner and Watson.<sup>22</sup>

The motives behind ownership of official Henrician polemic are sometimes obscure too. In 1558 the Merton fellow, William Brown, owned Morison's *Apomaxis* and a Latin version of Henry VIII's

---

<sup>18</sup> PLRE vi pp. 193-4, 206-7, 212, 221, 236, 238.

<sup>19</sup> BCI i pp. 512, 514, 516, 518-9. He also owned one of Osorio's works against Haddon.

<sup>20</sup> PLRE vi pp. 22, 37-9, 41.

<sup>21</sup> S. Wabuda, 'Nicholas Shaxton', *ODNB*.

<sup>22</sup> BCI i pp. 154-9.

*Epistle*,<sup>23</sup> suggesting an interest in 1530s politics. Sometimes this was seemingly based on evangelical religious beliefs: many 1530s works were implicitly or explicitly anti-papal. Cranmer possessed the 1536 Strasbourg edition of Gardiner's *De vera obedientia*,<sup>24</sup> and Morison's *Lamentation*, which attacked monasticism and the papacy.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Bishop Richard Cox, former chaplain to Cranmer and Henry and advocate of the Royal Supremacy, possibly owned a Latin version of the *Determinations* and Fox's *De vera differentia*. These 1530s works' appearance in a 1581 inventory representing a 'working library' significantly shows their longstanding relevance.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps fellow of Pembroke, Cambridge, John Chekyn's ownership of Fox's *De vera differentia* also reflects evangelical sympathies. He evidently acquired it quickly, being recorded in his mid-1530s inventory, which also featured works by Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Bullinger.<sup>27</sup>

The conservative conformist, William Buckmaster, likely owned several Henrician books out of political affiliation. Cambridge University's Lady Margaret preacher in divinity, he became vice-chancellor in 1529, becoming involved in attempts to secure Henry VIII a favourable opinion regarding his marital affairs, although the king considered his first effort deficient.<sup>28</sup> His purchase of '1 opus regis de matrimonio' is thus unsurprising. Although suggested as the *Glasse*, it was perhaps the *Determinations*, which was published the same year as Elyot's *The Governour* (1531), with which it was purchased.<sup>29</sup> The work perhaps had practical relevance for Buckmaster; at least knowing the official line was useful, having been caught out with the university's first attempt to please Henry. This may similarly account for his ownership of Fox's *De vera differentia*.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> PLRE iii pp. 1-2, 20, 30.

<sup>24</sup> D.G. Selwyn (ed.), *The Library of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1996), p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Shagan, 'Pilgrimage', pp. 40-1; Sowerby, *Reform*, pp. 46-8, 113. Cranmer also owned Cochlaeus' work against Morison's *Apomaxis*, further demonstrating his unsurprising interest in Henrician polemics.

<sup>26</sup> F. Heal, 'Richard Cox' *ODNB*; PLRE i pp. 6-7, 22, 27.

<sup>27</sup> BCI i pp. 1-3. His ownership of the Virgin's picture at this early date did not necessarily reflect religious conservatism, there being no anti-image consensus among reformers. See: T. Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household* (2010), pp. 38-9.

<sup>28</sup> S. Wright, 'William Buckmaster', *ODNB*.

<sup>29</sup> E.S. Leedham-Green, D.E. Rhodes, F.H. Stubbings, *Garrett Godfrey's Accounts, c.1527-1533* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 20-1, 141.

<sup>30</sup> BCI i p. 81.

Government propaganda was not only owned by academics and clerics. For example, other owners of Jewel's works included a Norwich alderman, an estate landowner, teller of the exchequer, Sir Richard Stonley, Sir Edward Stanhope, and Sir Roger Townshend,<sup>31</sup> perhaps disproving Walsham's suspicions about the limited 'social reach' of such 'dense and voluminous literature'.<sup>32</sup> Those outside the church and universities also sometimes owned official propaganda out of political and/or religious affiliation. Lawyer, printer and Protestant convert, John Rastell apparently owned the *Glasse*,<sup>33</sup> whilst Sir William More, a country gentleman heavily involved in local administration and close to government figures, including Elizabeth, owned Henrician and Edwardian materials. More seemingly embraced evangelicalism in Henry's reign, opposing Marian religious legislation as an MP.<sup>34</sup> During Elizabeth's reign, seemingly grouped with his Protestant scriptural, liturgical and doctrinal works in a section headed 'Scripture bookes in English', he kept Henry's *Epistle*, Gardiner's *De vera obedientia*, and 'the busshops of Durehums sermonde', presumably Tunstall's 1539 defence of the Royal Supremacy. His ownership of a likely exile printing of Gardiner's work, given its inclusion under English books, suggests that he ignored Gardiner's disavowal of the work under Mary.<sup>35</sup> By placing Henry's *Epistle* in this section, More perhaps demonstrated his receptiveness to Morison's evangelical ideas buried within it.<sup>36</sup>

Stonley probably also owned government propaganda out of evangelical sympathies. The 1597 inventory of his London home included Jewel's works, Haddon's book against Osorio, the 1548 English translation of Fox's *De vera differentia*, and Nicholl's *Recantation*, plus Holinshed's

---

<sup>31</sup> F.R. Beecheno (ed.), 'The Sucklings' House at Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 20 (1921), p. 176; E178/2980; PLRE Online 179:1:3; i pp. 41-4, 52, 79-83, 121.

<sup>32</sup> Walsham, 'Spider', p. 170.

<sup>33</sup> C.H. Clough, 'John Rastell', *ODNB*; R.J. Roberts (ed.), 'John Rastell's Inventory of 1538', *Library*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 1 (1979), pp. 35-6, 40.

<sup>34</sup> D. Flynn, 'William More of Loseley and Early Elizabethan Anti-Catholicism', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 91 (2004), pp. 1387-40; W.B. Robison, 'Sir William More', *ODNB*.

<sup>35</sup> See below, p. 163.

<sup>36</sup> FSL L.B.550, fos. 57<sup>r</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>. Curiously, the group also included the *Bishops Book* and Henry VIII's 'answere' to Luther, presumably the *Assertio*. More was also interested in Anglo-Scottish affairs, owning Harrison's *Exhortation*, Bodrugan's *Epitome*, and Somerset's Latin *Epistola*. Other laymen also had particular secular interests. John Dee owned Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, Norton's *Warning and Discourse*, and Fleetwood's *Declaration*, suggesting an interest in Mary Stuart. See: R.J. Roberts, A.G. Watson (eds.), *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (1990), nos. 1211, 1749-51.

*Chronicle*, which reprinted numerous official anti-Catholic works.<sup>37</sup> Although missing from his inventory,<sup>38</sup> Stonley also owned G.D.'s *Briefe discoverie*, which he signed,<sup>39</sup> whilst his diary recorded the purchase, apparently soon after publication, of *A Particular Declaration*, 'the Booke of the Arrayment of Everard Duckett al haunc', and Whitaker's work against Campion, among other early 1580s anti-Catholic works.<sup>40</sup> Admittedly Scott-Warren doubted Stonley's Protestantism, observing that he owned numerous Catholic works, including official if not politically propagandistic Marian texts, was appointed under Mary, and knew the Catholics John Heywood and John Cawood. He was also close to the Petre family, who harboured Catholic priests. Scott-Warren considered the religious mixture of Stonley's library odd, possibly indicating Stonley's 'broad religious sympathies' or showing someone 'protesting too much, struggling to suppress an earlier confessional identity'. He also considered Stonley's diaries to reflect 'ostentatious conformity', with entries marking 17 November, the fate of Campion and other Catholics, and clergymen's degree of orthodoxy<sup>41</sup> being potentially 'semi-public statements' emphasising Stonley's 'unimpeachable loyalty'.<sup>42</sup> Whilst Stonley's diaries do have some of the hallmarks of a public diary,<sup>43</sup> it is overly cynical not to accept Stonley's Protestantism as genuine. Stonley's proximity to the Petres is not necessarily indicative of Catholicism: William Petre and his son, John, conformed, and Stonley worked with Richard, William's brother, in the Exchequer.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Stonley's positive remarks about Anne Petre and the records of his visiting Ingatestone Hall would have arguably been inappropriate in a diary intended to publicly demonstrate his loyalty, whilst most of John Petre's and his 'overt Catholic' son's identifiable non-family guests from 1606 to 1619 were Protestants.<sup>45</sup> Stonley's interest in anti-Catholic polemic and apparent Protestantism did not necessarily make him loyal: his inventory was

---

<sup>37</sup> E178/2980; see below, pp. 141-2.

<sup>38</sup> This was inexhaustive in several ways. See: J. Scott-Warren, 'Books in the Bedchamber: Religion, Accounting and the Library of Richard Stonley', in King, *Books*, pp. 238-9.

<sup>39</sup> FSL STC 6166 Copy 1.

<sup>40</sup> FSL V.a.459, i, fos. 12<sup>r-v</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>r</sup>, 65<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> This included whether or not they prayed for Elizabeth. He also spent days reading scripture, and owned a sermon book. See for example: *Ibid.*, i, fos. 5<sup>r</sup>, 19<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup>, 69<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Scott-Warren, 'Books', pp. 244-6.

<sup>43</sup> A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007), p. 811.

<sup>44</sup> Scott-Warren, 'Books', p. 244.

<sup>45</sup> A. Schmitt, 'Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Social Networks and Religious Allegiances at Lord Petre's Dinner Table, 1606-1619', *Recusant History*, 29 (2009), pp. 341-54.

only made to assess his wealth after he was convicted of embezzlement,<sup>46</sup> although he may have been unlucky or incompetent rather than dishonest.<sup>47</sup>

The considerable interest by conservatives and Protestants, academics and others, in the early 1580s polemical debates is significant. Lake and Questier analysed the conflict in terms of the creation of a form of public sphere, as Persons' and Campion's effectiveness moved the government not to close down discussion but to perpetuate it in an attempt to win the argument. Yet, in focusing mainly on the texts and staged events that constituted this battle, and the protagonists' justifications and perceptions of popular response, this analysis said little on the extent of actual interest by non-participants.<sup>48</sup> Evidence of book ownership, however, indicates widespread engagement with both sides, thereby demonstrating why officials and their opponents considered it so vital to refute each other's books. They presumably had some understanding of reading practices that involved implicitly or explicitly testing opposing ideas, as well as potentially some awareness of general popular opinion on these issues.

These points about 1580s polemic apply to other sixteenth century exchanges, as audiences engaged with both sides of disputes. Furthermore, audiences' potential diversity shows that a range of people read official polemics, undercutting distinctions concerning intended or probable audiences, educated or popular, foreign or domestic, that have sometimes been posited.<sup>49</sup> Finally, whilst inventories frequently do not reveal whether official books were necessarily privileged, and certainly show that they were not read exclusively, the prompt acquisition of some works, as well as some surviving volumes of pamphlets,<sup>50</sup> may indicate that some people were particularly eager to know the government view, confirming government print's importance.

---

<sup>46</sup> Scott-Warren, 'Books', p. 236.

<sup>47</sup> N.M. Fuidge, 'Richard Stoneley', *HPO*.

<sup>48</sup> Lake, Questier, 'Campion', pp. 587-627.

<sup>49</sup> See above, p. 63.

<sup>50</sup> See below, pp. 235-8.

## Owning Portraits

Considering the weight placed by scholars on royal portraiture's propagandistic role, the absence of extensive discussion about why people at all social levels owned such pictures is a serious omission. Admittedly, only 10% of sixteenth century inventories from the probate court of Canterbury, which handled the property of reasonably affluent people, contained any artwork,<sup>51</sup> and Tittler, although stressing that those interested in portraiture were geographically and socially diverse, noted that this sample's figure for ownership of all kinds of portraits, 3%, was higher than others'.<sup>52</sup> The ownership of specifically monarchical portraits was thus inevitably smaller. None were found among over 450 inventories from c.1550-1630 in the Norwich Consistory Court,<sup>53</sup> nor in some 300 inventories from the Dean and Chapter, Chancery, and Prerogative courts of York,<sup>54</sup> although some were possibly included in inventories that listed 'pictures' without specifying their subject.<sup>55</sup> That only a minority owned them, however, arguably makes the need for analysis of ownership even more pressing: it was not habitual, but a conscious decision. Anglo's conclusion, that they represented 'elementary' expressions of 'loyalty and enthusiasm',<sup>56</sup> remains a largely untested assumption, which more general examinations of popular interest in portraiture have rendered increasingly inadequate. Tittler argued that portraiture was 'more a function of polemic than of politesse', with pictures owned and commissioned by those searching for legitimacy at both ends of the social scale,<sup>57</sup> and some people owning monarchical portraits to 'appropriate' rulers' 'glory' to boost their own status.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, when discussing monarchical portrait sets, Cooper hypothesised that some did not collect full sets but instead 'added portraits of individual monarchs to their sets whose personal attributes or specific

---

<sup>51</sup> S. Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *BM*, 123 (1981), pp. 273-282.

<sup>52</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, chs.2-3, esp. pp. 46-9.

<sup>53</sup> Norfolk Record Office DN/INV 1B 1-21, 23-32; 2 1-25, 27-41; 3 1-40; 6 1-40; 9 1-39; 12 1-32, 34-39; 15 1-13, 16-42; 17 1-40; 21 1-40; 25 1-40; 28 1-21, 23-41; 31 1-38, 40-41.

<sup>54</sup> Borthwick Institute Chancery, Dean and Chapter, and Prerogative Court inventories.

<sup>55</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 46.

<sup>56</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 117.

<sup>57</sup> Aleci similarly observed that portrait collections could be 'instruments' of self-fashioning. See: L.K. Aleci, 'Images of Identity: Italian Portrait Collections of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in N. Mann, L. Syson (eds.), *The Image of the Individual* (1998), p. 68.

<sup>58</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 26. For similar ideas about the reasons for owning non-monarchical portraits, see: T. Cooper, *Citizen Portrait* (2012). Other scholars concur that some had self-interested reasons for owning monarchical portraits. See: Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 190, 192; Montrose, *Subject*, p. 105; Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 140.

histories made them appear meaningful to their own interests or family fortunes'.<sup>59</sup> This raises another issue: portraits often 'acquired meaning' through their display with others.<sup>60</sup> Studies of individual portrait collections featuring royal images, discussed here, have shown that displays articulated complex meanings, again making a re-examination of assumptions about loyalty imperative.

This section will build on these approaches, evaluating evidence of monarchical portrait ownership, primarily from inventories, to present a more nuanced explanation of people's motivations. Loyalty emerges as an important factor which was neither straightforward nor necessarily the sole rationale. To understand a portrait's meaning to its owner, it must be placed in the context of both their other pictures and possessions, and the portrait's display.<sup>61</sup> Admittedly, inventories have their limitations. Some listed goods by type, not location, whilst Orlin argued that probate inventories do not automatically 'help us "re-create" any room' accurately. They misrepresented how homes appeared: heirlooms and goods belonging to a man's wife before marriage were among those exempted from probate, whilst houses sometimes contained several people's goods. Their concern with valuing goods also meant that they would not always reveal if pictures were actually on display. Furthermore, Orlin's point that inventories present a potentially misleading 'impression of stability'<sup>62</sup> raises other problems: portrait collections only 'reflect methodical acquisition and organisation' when viewed with hindsight and 'a teleological bias that introduces a false sense of completeness, coherence and intention'.<sup>63</sup> Details on acquisition are usually unknown;<sup>64</sup> some collections were probably formed haphazardly, by accident rather than design, particularly if pictures were given as gifts. Moreover, the danger in assigning meaning is compounded by the probability that this changed over time as religious and political circumstances shifted, altering perceptions of figures depicted.

---

<sup>59</sup> T. Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in T. Hamling, C. Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects* (Farnham, 2010), p. 169.

<sup>60</sup> J. Peacock, 'The Politics of Portraiture', in P. Lake, K. Sharpe (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 215.

<sup>61</sup> Tittler observed that knowing portraits' locations helps reveal motives behind display. See: Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 45.

<sup>62</sup> L.C. Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory', in H.S. Turner (ed.), *The Culture of Capital* (2002), pp. 63-73.

<sup>63</sup> Aleci, 'Images', pp. 72-4.

<sup>64</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 45.

Nevertheless, inventories remain the best source for analysing people's possessions, whilst reasonably reliable conclusions about why people owned monarchical portraits can be reached when collections are homogenous enough or when sufficient information on owners is available. These conclusions in turn illuminate popular attitudes to rulers and the potential for portraiture to function as a communicative medium.

Tudor portraits were occasionally owned as part of monarchical portrait series. Cooper explained how portrait sets of various types were commissioned and possibly 'bought ready-made', seemingly to provide a 'co-ordinated' decorative scheme and sometimes because of antiquarian interest in national history.<sup>65</sup> Their evocative power was 'largely rooted in the pleasure of the familiar', refreshing observers' memories, and they could potentially reflect an owner's loyalty to the monarchy.<sup>66</sup> The NPG possesses a set of sixteen portraits depicting fourteen English monarchs, including Henry VII and Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and Mary I. Acquired from Hornby Castle, in the late sixteenth century home to the Conyers family, they were potentially always there,<sup>67</sup> being painted between 1590 and 1620. Elizabeth's picture was perhaps originally included too. Recent research suggests that they were 'likely' produced as a set, although not by one artist.<sup>68</sup> The duke of Norfolk's 'eleven pictures of kynges and queens' at Kenninghall in 1571 perhaps included Tudor monarchs,<sup>69</sup> whilst an unnamed inventory, probably from the mid-Tudor period, recorded the prominent display of painted cloths of all the kings from 1066 until Edward VI in the great chamber, and 'hangings painted with stories of kings and queens' and 'pictures of king Philip and his sister' in the parlour,<sup>70</sup> seemingly illustrating the owner's commitment to the English monarchy and their Spanish allies.

---

<sup>65</sup> Others make this latter point. See: T. Cooper, C. Macleod, M. Zoller, 'The Portraits', in M. Evans (ed.), *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree* ([England], 2010), p. 61; R. Gibson, 'The National Portrait Gallery's Set of Kings and Queens at Montacute House', *National Trust Year Book* (1975-76), p. 83; MATB, Highlights: Picturing History: A Portrait Set of Early English Kings and Queens.

<sup>66</sup> Cooper, 'Enchantment', pp. 165-9, 172.

<sup>67</sup> Gibson, 'Set', pp. 81-2.

<sup>68</sup> MATB, Highlights: Picturing.

<sup>69</sup> Foister, 'Inventories', p. 278.

<sup>70</sup> E154/6/36.

Whilst such sets visually acknowledged the current ruler's 'hereditary claim',<sup>71</sup> thus loyally reinforcing the Tudors' legitimacy,<sup>72</sup> they perhaps most obviously indicated general support for England's monarchy. Conversely, more focused collections represented commitment to specific sovereigns. Courtiers and councillors frequently owned portraits to emphasise their loyalty and personal connection to monarchs. Brooke suggested that 'an important courtier' commissioned high-quality full-length pictures of Henry VIII at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, and Petworth House, West Sussex, both possibly produced during Henry's reign and probably by Holbein's assistants or artists with access to his studio. Their unique composition suggests that someone with access to the Privy Chamber commissioned them, possibly Edward Seymour, Henry's brother-in-law and military campaigner: although a 1552 inventory contains neither portrait, they seemingly descended through his family.<sup>73</sup> In advertising Seymour's loyalty, service and relationship to Henry, these paintings would have enhanced his status, and subsequently his authority as Lord Protector.

John Dudley, duke of Northumberland's material goods similarly augmented his authority as Edward's de facto regent by emphasising his loyalty and political closeness to Henry and his son (via Jane Seymour), and to the monarchy more generally. His early Marian inventory recorded two pictures of Henry and one of Jane in Durham Place. This residence also contained a cup bearing Henry's arms (perhaps borrowed from the Jewel House), a cushion embroidered with 'the king and the queen's arms', and a pair of andirons 'with the king's arms and a lion upon every top'. Similarly, Syon housed a counterpoint embroidered with a rose and the initials HR, a tester embroidered with the king's arms with crown and supporters,<sup>74</sup> four pieces of cloth embroidered with the king's arms among the hangings, and pieces of 'damask work of the flower de luce and the crown', some being for towels.<sup>75</sup> Had Northumberland owned these during Henry's reign, when he was warden-general of the Scottish marches and lord high admiral,<sup>76</sup> they would have functioned similarly.

---

<sup>71</sup> MATB, Highlights: Picturing.

<sup>72</sup> Macleod, Cooper, Zoller, 'Portraits', p. 61.

<sup>73</sup> X. Brooke, D. Crombie, *Henry VIII Revealed* (2003), pp. 35-49, 64-8.

<sup>74</sup> The other items 'likewise richly embroidered' perhaps contained the royal arms too. See: E154/2/39.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> D. Loades, 'John Dudley', *ODNB*.

Northumberland's inventory also shows that mistress Clarencieux bought one picture of Henry and the embroidered hangings at Syon, and acquired the cushion from Durham Place and the counterpoint, tester and 'damask work' from Syon for Mary's use. Sir Thomas Pope bought the other picture of Henry and that of Jane Seymour, and Sir Robert Southwell purchased the andirons.<sup>77</sup> These last goods now symbolised Pope's and Southwell's loyalty and political connections. Southwell was a privy councillor under Henry, master of the rolls from 1541 until 1550, and an MP and commissioner thereafter. Pope had been treasurer of the court of augmentations and became a Marian privy councillor.<sup>78</sup>

The Cavendish family possibly commissioned the portrait of Henry that they owned in 1685, painted by Eworth between 1557 and the early 1570s to celebrate Sir William Cavendish's service. His family prospered through his Henrician career as a commissioner for the dissolution of the monasteries and treasurer of Henry's chamber.<sup>79</sup> In 1579-80 another courtier, John Savell, a gentleman of the royal chapel, also owned Henry's picture, along with Edward's,<sup>80</sup> presumably to demonstrate his attachment to Elizabeth's family.

Somerset's brother-in-law, Michael Stanhope, Edward's groom of the stool and chief gentleman of the Privy Chamber, possibly commissioned Edward's profile portrait, allegedly painted by Scrots c.1550, to forcefully signify personal and political attachment. The portrait showed plants turning towards Edward rather than the sun, whose power the king's exceeded according to the inscription. Stanhope was imprisoned after the 1549 coup,<sup>81</sup> so perhaps commissioned this to reassert his loyalty.

Owning Mary's portrait also had political significance. Mary's friends, the Pexalls of Beaurepaire, seemingly acquired 'John's' 1544 portrait of her soon after it was painted. Sir Richard Pexall received

---

<sup>77</sup> E154/2/39.

<sup>78</sup> J.H. Baker, 'Sir Robert Southwell', *ODNB*; C. Hopkins, 'Sir Thomas Pope', *ODNB*.

<sup>79</sup> Brooke, *Henry*, pp. 54-6; S.M. Jack, 'Sir William Cavendish', *ODNB*.

<sup>80</sup> MATB, *Tudor and Jacobean Painting: Production, Influences and Patronage* (2010): T. Cooper, 'Towards a History of the Market for Portrait Painting and Commissioning Practices in England 1550-1610'.

<sup>81</sup> [www.comptonverney.org.uk](http://www.comptonverney.org.uk), British Portraits, Record Number: CVCSC:0337.B; K. Dockray, 'Sir Michael Stanhope', *ODNB*. Compton Verney acquired the portrait from the Stanhope family.

the office of Master of the Buckhounds in 1554 for his previous ‘faithful service’ to Mary, so that the portrait would have symbolised the family’s close relationship with her, particularly if she gave it to them. In visually representing Mary’s re-instatement in the succession,<sup>82</sup> the portrait effectively indicated the Pexall’s political support for this. Similarly, the Jerningham family of Costessey Hall, Norfolk, previously owned one of Mor’s portraits of Mary, perhaps acquired by Sir Henry Jerningham. He first entered Mary’s service in 1528, subsequently aiding her 1553 ascension and becoming a privy councillor and vice-chamberlain, whilst his wife was one of Mary’s gentlewomen. In owning Mor’s Spanish bride image,<sup>83</sup> Jerningham loyally endorsed her marriage.

The Cecils’ portraits, evidently shown to guests, enhanced their authority by demonstrating their intimacy with the Tudors. At Theobalds in 1600 Baron Waldstein saw pictures of Elizabeth’s coronation and Edward, whom William Cecil had also served.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, a 1612 Hatfield House inventory recorded three pictures of Elizabeth, possibly including the Ermine,<sup>85</sup> and certainly the Rainbow portraits.<sup>86</sup> Robert Cecil seemingly commissioned the latter c.1600, praising Elizabeth through symbols with both secular and religious connotations. For example, her mantle bears eyes and ears, with the former symbolising divine ‘omniscience’, whilst in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* both represent ‘the Art of Government’. These symbols possibly also represented Cecil’s ‘own claim to be the queen’s eyes and ears’ in the struggle for post-Burghley pre-eminence.<sup>87</sup>

Other courtiers and councillors owned Elizabeth’s picture. Thomas Wilson, Elizabeth’s ambassador, privy councillor and principal secretary, possessed her image,<sup>88</sup> reflecting his loyalty and potentially enabling him to appropriate Elizabeth’s authority to bolster his own. The same considerations

---

<sup>82</sup> Strong, *Portraits*, i, pp. 208-9; see above, p. 15.

<sup>83</sup> Strong, *Portraits*, i, p. 212; A. Weikel, ‘Sir Henry Jerningham’, *ODNB*; see above, p. 18.

<sup>84</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 85-7.

<sup>85</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>86</sup> E. Auerbach, *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House* (1971), pp. 34-5, 55-61. The inventory also listed Henry VII’s and Elizabeth of York’s pictures.

<sup>87</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 384-6.

<sup>88</sup> Auerbach, *Paintings*, p. 57; S. Doran, J. Woolfson, ‘Thomas Wilson’, *ODNB*.

probably motivated Lord Keeper Sir Thomas Egerton's 1597 payment for Elizabeth's picture,<sup>89</sup> she having seemingly favoured him specifically for several posts.<sup>90</sup> More explicitly, when Sir Edward Hoby, courtier and constable of Queenborough Castle, made Elizabeth's portrait the 'culmination' of a set depicting that castle's constables since Edward III's reign,<sup>91</sup> he strengthened his own authority by emphasising his office's longevity and associating its holders with the queen. Elizabeth also gave her portrait to Philip Sidney;<sup>92</sup> it therefore symbolised their intimacy.

Furthermore, prominent figures owned and/or wore portrait miniatures of Elizabeth. The associations that made them effective diplomatic tools<sup>93</sup> were equally applicable in a domestic setting to promote similar messages. Strong also linked the fashion of wearing miniatures to that of wearing medallions seemingly promoted by the government in an atmosphere of concern for Elizabeth's wellbeing.<sup>94</sup> Other owners included Elizabeth's champion Sir Henry Lee, Francis Drake and member of the Council of the North, the earl of Rutland,<sup>95</sup> although the latter's seemingly held little significance for him, being part-exchanged for another brooch about two weeks after purchase.<sup>96</sup> Others, however, valued them highly: Sackville bequeathed his in his 1607 will,<sup>97</sup> suggesting its importance as an heirloom,<sup>98</sup> whilst William Cecil, Walsingham, Hatton, vice-chamberlain of the household and privy councillor Thomas Heneage, and Francis Drake all wore them in portraits,<sup>99</sup> further advertising their loyalty to and intimacy with Elizabeth. Furthermore, as Drake, Walsingham, Hatton and Heneage's miniatures were apparently gifts from Elizabeth, they represented powerful signs of her favour.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 17-8.

<sup>90</sup> J.H. Baker, 'Thomas Egerton', *ODNB*.

<sup>91</sup> L.A. Knafla, 'Sir Edward Hoby', *ODNB*; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 21-2.

<sup>92</sup> J. Osborne, *Entertaining Elizabeth I* (1989), p. 145.

<sup>93</sup> See above, pp. 26-7.

<sup>94</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 121-2.

<sup>95</sup> S.M. Jack, 'Edward Manners', *ODNB*; *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>96</sup> *The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland* (4 vols., 1888-1905), ii, p. 351.

<sup>97</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 168.

<sup>98</sup> Paintings with 'particular emotional or monetary value' could be designated heirlooms and appear in wills. See: Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 45.

<sup>99</sup> M. Hicks, 'Sir Thomas Heneage', *ODNB*; Montrose, *Subjects*, pp. 96-7; Sowerby, 'Portraiture', p. 6; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 30, 121.

<sup>100</sup> See above, p. 20.

Others beyond court and council owned monarchical portraits, again desiring to show their enthusiasm for particular monarchs, illustrate their service, and bolster their authority in local offices. Tittler explained how local officials used portraits of themselves and ‘local heroes, officials and benefactors’ to better exercise their authority.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps Sir John Cope’s Northamptonshire office-holding during Henry VIII’s reign explains his displaying of Henry’s portrait in his parlour in 1557. This image potentially still symbolised the family’s service in 1572, John’s son perhaps owning it.<sup>102</sup> Similarly, Elizabethan local office-holder, Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsey, Lancashire’s 1579 inventory included her picture.<sup>103</sup>

Richard Stonley’s portraits indicated his loyalty, service and personal connections to Elizabeth’s government, augmenting his status. Purchased in 1594,<sup>104</sup> in 1597 Elizabeth’s picture resided in Stonley’s London home’s gallery alongside pictures of Hatton, Sir Walter Mildmay, Cecil, Lord Dyer and a merchant, Master Branch (possibly Sir John Branch, with whom Stonley dined often), among others.<sup>105</sup> Stonley had dealings with Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, and Cecil, to whom he gave a New Year’s gift in 1594, and whose death he heard reported that month, but this ‘proved a false lye god kepe hym many yeres emonges vs to the common weales sake’. In 1594, Stonley also visited Hatton’s tomb at St Paul’s. The display probably also reflected gratitude to Elizabeth’s government, particularly Cecil, who seemingly gave him the benefit of the doubt repeatedly over his exchequer losses, with accusations of fraud made as early as 1584.<sup>106</sup> Many would have seen these pictures: besides often dining with friends, he seemingly entertained his neighbours at Christmas.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, pp. 36-8.

<sup>102</sup> E154/3/3; FSL V.b.127; W.J.J., ‘George Cope’, *HPO*; S.M. Thorpe, ‘John Cope’, *HPO*. Cope displayed it alongside pictures of ‘Povertye’, Mary Magdalen and Lucretia. Elsewhere was a painted cloth of Pavia, highlighting Francis I’s humiliation. Cope, having fought France in the 1540s, perhaps appreciated this. See: Foister, ‘Inventories’, p. 277.

<sup>103</sup> A. Davidson, ‘Thomas Butler’, *HPO*; N.M. Fuidge, Thomas Butler’, *HPO*; G.J. Piccope (ed.), *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories from the Ecclesiastical Court, Chester* (3 vols., 1857-1861), ii, p. 124.

<sup>104</sup> FSL V.a.459, ii, fo. 80<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> E178/2980. The other items displayed mostly reflected Stonley’s interest in religion and geography.

<sup>106</sup> FSL V.a.459, i, fos. 4<sup>f</sup>, 24<sup>f</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, ii, fos. 53<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>v</sup>; Fuidge, ‘Stoneley’.

<sup>107</sup> FSL V.a.459, i, fos. 38<sup>f</sup>, 97<sup>v</sup> ii, fo. 48<sup>v</sup>.

Less well-known owners' monarchical portraits probably also signalled their affection. An anonymous merchant displayed Mary's and Elizabeth's pictures in his parlour in 1562.<sup>108</sup> If Elizabeth's image depicted her as queen, it was acquired promptly, suggesting particular enthusiasm. By 1592, Ralph Kaye and his wife, of Knightrider Street, London, owned pictures of Elizabeth and her arms. As they housed lodgers, many people potentially saw these, whilst the Kayes' discomfort at their defacement indicates their attachment to them.<sup>109</sup> In 1575 Milburgha Russell, widow of a yeoman of Little Malvern, Worcestershire, displayed Henry VIII's picture in her parlour,<sup>110</sup> indicating the king's continued popularity. In 1554, William Moryce, of Chipping Ongar, Essex kept Henry's picture in his great parlour, along with the 'kings arms in a table'. This loyal display was complicated by Francis I's picture.<sup>111</sup> Whilst this perhaps acknowledged Francis as Henry's worthy adversary, praising both as illustrious rulers, by 1554 they additionally represented opposition to England's pro-Spanish foreign policy. Moryce likely recognised this: his January 1554 will's executors included anti-Spanish rebels Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Thomas Wroth.<sup>112</sup>

Religious division ensured that loyalty was not a purely secular matter. For owners whose support was based on shared beliefs, monarchical portraits demonstrated their admiration for and service to rulers as representatives of particular faiths. Henry's banishment of the pope partly fuelled his enduring popularity, whilst others undoubtedly shared their monarchs' religion: for example, Jerningham was an Elizabethan recusant, Wilson was a Marian exile, and the bishop of Chester considered Butler a 'sound Protestant' in 1564.<sup>113</sup> Some owners explicitly made the link: Alexander Nowell, Elizabeth's Dean of St Paul's, referred to Edward's portrait as depicting 'the Josias of Englande'. Josiah, the reforming king of Judah, was the most frequently employed Biblical example by Edwardian court preachers and polemicists, demonstrating that reform could be implemented

---

<sup>108</sup> PROB2/746. They were displayed with images of St Jerome and 'Barsaba', which were apparently not devotional. See: Foister, 'Inventories', p. 276.

<sup>109</sup> See below, pp. 278-9.

<sup>110</sup> S.E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603* (Farnham, 2009), p. 112; M. Wanklyn (ed.), *Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry, 1537-1786* (1998), p. 50.

<sup>111</sup> PROB2/255.

<sup>112</sup> PROB11/37/40; S. Lehmborg, 'Sir Thomas Wroth', *ODNB*.

<sup>113</sup> Davidson, 'Butler'; Doran, Woolfson, 'Wilson'; Fudge, 'Butler'; Weikel, 'Jerningham'.

during a royal minority and emphasising iconoclasm.<sup>114</sup> The portrait potentially represented Nowell's sincere acceptance of such rhetoric, although in 1593 he sent it to Cecil's servant, Michael Hicks, as 'a poore token' when requesting information. Monarchical portraits' value as gratuities and political currency is significant, with Nowell presumably believing that the Puritan Hicks would value this because of a similar, religiously-motivated identification with Edward.<sup>115</sup> The former Marian exile, Henry Knollys, likely shared this attitude, as he bequeathed a 'Counterfette of Kinge Edward' in 1583. Perhaps it similarly symbolised the Protestantism and service of the recipient, his brother, Francis, treasurer of Elizabeth's household, who had served Edward as prince and king.<sup>116</sup>

Portrait ownership at society's lower levels also stemmed from religiously-based affection. In 1573, the London merchant tailor, George Saunder, kept Elizabeth's picture in a bedchamber, along with a work by Calvin, a Bible, a service book and probably Sleidanus' history of the Reformation,<sup>117</sup> connecting Elizabeth with the struggle for true religion. As a bedchamber was a relatively private space, generally accommodating 'somewhat more intimate portraits',<sup>118</sup> this emphasised Saunder's affection for Elizabeth. Similarly, in 1573 William Mace displayed Edward's picture in a chamber, and Elizabeth's in his hall. A picture of Edward 'in waynscot' in another chamber further emphasised Mace's attachment to him.<sup>119</sup> Meanwhile, Mace's little parlour contained a table with scriptural texts, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, a bible, and Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, which 1547 and 1559 injunctions required parishes to buy,<sup>120</sup> creating a godly room. Likewise in 1576, London goldsmith, Thomas

---

<sup>114</sup> C. Bradshaw, 'David or Josiah? Old Testament Kings as Exemplars in Edwardian Religious Polemic', in B. Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2 vols., Aldershot, 1996), ii, pp. 77-90.

<sup>115</sup> Lansdowne Vol/75, fo. 30<sup>r</sup>; S. Lehmborg, 'Alexander Nowell', *ODNB*; A.G.R. Smith, 'Michael Hicks', *ODNB*. A fictional although 'entirely plausible' account of Nowell showing people his picture gallery further suggests that he valued portraiture. See: Tittler, *Portraits*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>116</sup> PROB11/65/504; P. Hyde, 'Henry Knollys', *HPO*; W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Sir Francis Knollys', *ODNB*.

<sup>117</sup> PROB2/399.

<sup>118</sup> R. Tittler, 'Faces and Spaces: Displaying the Civic Portrait in Early Modern England', in Hamling, Richardson, *Objects*, p. 180.

<sup>119</sup> This was potentially carved into the fabric of the house. Such decoration was possibly more widespread, as inventories frequently omitted fixtures and fittings. See: Orlin, 'Inventory', pp. 69-70.

<sup>120</sup> PROB2/711. Grafton's *Chronicle* was also there. On the *Paraphrases*' place within post-1547 England, see: J. Craig, 'Forming a Protestant Consciousness? Erasmus' *Paraphrases* in English Parishes, 1547-1666', in H.M. Pabel, M. Vessey (eds.), *Holy Scripture Speaks* (2002), pp. 313-58.

Green, displayed Elizabeth's picture in his hall with a Bible, elsewhere keeping Foxe's work and a Coverdale Bible.<sup>121</sup>

Others were probably similarly motivated. In 1577 serjeant-at-law William Lovelace's great gallery at Canterbury displayed Edward's portrait and ten pictures on cloth of 'emperors and kings'. He also owned a cushion and casting bottle each bearing the royal arms, and a 'table with a frame of the kings of this realm written'.<sup>122</sup> Whilst this assortment represented his loyalty and service to England's monarchy, the portraits praised Edward specifically by associating him with illustrious rulers, even though Lovelace served Elizabeth, not Edward, as an MP and local office-holder. Protestant beliefs likely motivated this affection: Lovelace was an ecclesiastical commissioner in 1559 and mourner at Archbishop Parker's 1575 funeral,<sup>123</sup> and bequeathed his soul to god in his will, trusting to enter heaven by the merits of Christ's passion.<sup>124</sup> Likewise, the 1589 inventory of William Aunger, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, featured Elizabeth's picture. Trinity was 'an important centre of puritanism' when Aunger matriculated in 1568,<sup>125</sup> although he owned Catholic works against Jewel.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, adherence to Elizabeth as a Protestant queen remains probable.

Clergymen who displayed monarchs' pictures unavoidably appeared to endorse their religious policies. A mural of Henry VIII at a building used briefly by the Archdeacons of Taunton as a summer palace in Milverton has been connected to John Redman, who held that ecclesiastical office from 1540.<sup>127</sup> Although doctrinally conservative, helping to produce the 1543 *King's Book*, he accepted Henry's Royal Supremacy, and was a royal chaplain.<sup>128</sup> The mural thus represented his personal relationship with Henry, record of service, and support for the king's ecclesiastical governorship, whilst also enhancing his authority in this ecclesiastical position. Other similar murals

---

<sup>121</sup> E101/431/10.

<sup>122</sup> PROB2/404B. The great gallery also contained pictures of 'death' and 'death and pride'.

<sup>123</sup> N.M. Fuidge, 'William Lovelace', *HPO*.

<sup>124</sup> PROB11/59/205.

<sup>125</sup> Smith, 'Hicks'.

<sup>126</sup> BCI i pp. 480-1, ii, p. 823. Elizabeth's picture was seemingly displayed with a 'table with verses and all the Colleges Armes', linking her to the University and learning.

<sup>127</sup> [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-somerset-12306904](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-somerset-12306904). I am grateful to Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch for this information (personal correspondence).

<sup>128</sup> A. Null, 'John Redman', *ODNB*.

perhaps once existed. Conservative bishop Robert Sherborne commissioned Lambert Bernard's pictures in Chichester Cathedral of Caedwalla, king of Wessex, giving St Wilfrid land in Selsey, where Chichester diocese was initially based, and Henry VIII, with Henry VII, confirming the grant. These were joined with a series of English kings, all to be set opposite a series of the bishops of Chichester. Although linked to a possible 1526 royal visit, intended as a defence of the see's 'jurisdictional and territorial rights' against increased financial demands and implying 'equality between Church and monarchy', other elements like Henry's closed, imperial crown and a Latin inscription potentially emphasising 'divine monarchy directly under Christ' may account for its surviving Edwardian iconoclasm.<sup>129</sup> For those considering it an endorsement of the Royal Supremacy, Sherborne's conservatism likely made it especially significant.<sup>130</sup>

More simply, in 1542, cleric Geoffrey Blythe possessed pictures of Henry VIII and 'the queene', inevitably acknowledging the legitimacy of Henry's 1533 annulment and subsequent policies, despite his likely conservatism: he possessed images of saints, the Virgin and a crucifix, was the nephew of two pre-Reformation bishops, and, according to Foxe, heckled Hugh Latimer.<sup>131</sup> Likewise, in 1586, the vicarage of Ringwood, Southampton, had Elizabeth's picture in its hall, similarly symbolising adherence to official religious policies. Indeed, one contemporary seemingly connected this to Elizabeth's relationship with the clergy.<sup>132</sup>

Portrait collections themselves could explicitly display religious affiliations. Archbishop Parker's 1575 inventory, after recording Lambeth Palace's gallery's furniture, listed pictures in groups, either representing different rooms where they were displayed, or particular groupings within the gallery. Two expensive pictures of Elizabeth listed individually showed Parker's affection for her, but a group containing portraits of Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, Edward VI, Jane Seymour, Elizabeth, Henry VII

---

<sup>129</sup> D. Lush, J. Woolfson, 'Lambert Barnard in Chichester Cathedral: Ecclesiastical Politics and the Tudor Royal Image', *Antiquaries Journal*, 87 (2007), pp. 259-80.

<sup>130</sup> Barnard's painted decoration of the Bishop's Palace's hall ceiling, with Tudor roses, H and K monograms, and Sherborne's and others' devices, altogether bound Sherborne and the bishopric to the pre-1533 monarchy. See: *Ibid.*, pp. 260-4.

<sup>131</sup> BCI ii p. 821; D.G. Newcombe, 'Geoffrey Blythe', *ODNB*.

<sup>132</sup> See below, pp. 287-8.

and Margaret Beaufort pointedly omitted Mary and her mother, constituting a distinctly Protestant display. Other groups, although also including Catholic and/or less obviously Protestant figures, nevertheless reinforced this impression. Pictures of the Reformers Wyclif, Melancthon and Zwingli were grouped together, as were those of Melancthon, Jewel, Peter Martyr and Nicholas Bacon. Likewise, portraits of French Protestant leaders were together, and those of Cranmer, Jewell and the Protestant Henry Hastings. Another group featured pictures of Protestants Cromwell, Leicester, Warwick, Bacon, Cecil and Cranmer.<sup>133</sup> Besides demonstrating Parker's close association with numerous officials and his queen, these pictures also showed his Protestantism, in turn linking the Tudors to the Reformation.

In 1600, one room at Lambeth Palace similarly contained pictures, some perhaps inherited from Parker, connecting Archbishop Whitgift to the Tudors' promotion of Protestantism. There were images of Edward, a young Elizabeth, what were probably early archbishops of Canterbury, a genealogy of English rulers, and a parchment listing those who had founded, endowed or benefited English colleges, including Henry VIII. Other images included the Spanish Inquisition in Belgium and Protestant figures, William of Orange, Bullinger, Zwingli, and Peter Martyr.<sup>134</sup>

Smaller collections similarly displayed owners' religious identification with monarchs. In 1574 Edward Isaack, of Ickham, Kent's parlour featured pictures of Edward, Elizabeth, Cranmer and Cromwell, plus a first edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, kept separately from his other books,<sup>135</sup> highlighting its role as a Protestant symbol. His will confirmed his religious views, stating his belief in attaining forgiveness through Christ's passion, and requiring that 'learned men' preach thirty sermons in Kent in the year following his death, exhorting people to obey 'their Prynce'. He bequeathed rings inscribed 'Remember thy Frend' to former Marian exiles and an overseer and executor respectively, Edwin Sandys, bishop of London, and Richard Rogers, bishop-suffragan of

---

<sup>133</sup> W. Sandys (ed.), 'Copy of the Inventory of Archbishop Parker's Goods at the Time of his Death', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), pp. 10-12.

<sup>134</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 61-3. A panel relating a story about Caedwalla was possibly pro-Henry VII propaganda.

<sup>135</sup> PROB2/402.

Dover. He even bequeathed £100 to Canterbury, provided, among other things, that Elizabeth and the council banned ‘anye one Papist or anye that shalbe suspected *that waye*’ from office in Canterbury. Moreover, Isaack was an executor of William Moryce’s will, along with Wyatt and Wroth;<sup>136</sup> perhaps he knew them too and shared their views. Similarly, in 1574 London alderman, Henry Milles, displayed Elizabeth’s and Edward’s pictures publicly in his hall, with a Bible. His will also highlighted his belief that he would have remission of his sins through Christ’s sacrifice, and requested sermons preached at his funeral and a service and dinner for the Grocers’ Company, commending ‘Charytie, vnytie and good agreamente in Religion and christian lyfe’. One executor, possible witness and beneficiary was the polemicist Thomas Norton, Milles’ cousin, whilst Alexander Nowell was an overseer and witness.<sup>137</sup>

Conversely, the grocer, Steven Bodyngton’s prominent hall display late in Henry’s reign placed pictures of Henry and Mary alongside images of ‘the striking of Powll’ and ‘the day of Dome’, indicating not only support for the monarchy and Mary’s place in the succession, but also affection for traditional religion. Doom paintings were common in late medieval churches,<sup>138</sup> whilst after the 1539 Act of Six Articles and 1543 *Kings Book*, Henry could be plausibly considered just as conservative as Mary.<sup>139</sup> Bodyngton’s other possessions, including an item ‘of Joyned worke *with* the kyngs armys’, and stained cloths of ‘Dyves & Lazarus’, the prodigal son, and Holofernes, three Biblical if not necessarily Catholic images,<sup>140</sup> likewise demonstrated similar concerns. Moreover, another stained cloth probably depicting Ferdinand,<sup>141</sup> Mary’s grandfather, perhaps also represented Bodyngton’s particular attachment to her. Owning her portrait at this time was, after all, seemingly uncommon.

Owning and displaying pictures of monarchs with different beliefs represented particularly powerful, and often politically necessary, demonstrations of faithfulness. Besides placing Mary’s picture in a

---

<sup>136</sup> PROB11/55/202.

<sup>137</sup> PROB2/400, 11/56/176; M. Axton, ‘Thomas Norton’, *ODNB*.

<sup>138</sup> Hamling, *Household*, pp. 28, 280.

<sup>139</sup> C. Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford, 1993), ch. 9.

<sup>140</sup> For examples of Protestants using these Biblical examples, see: Hamling, *Household*, pp. 133-4, 155-7, 192-5.

<sup>141</sup> E154/2/23.

Catholic-oriented long gallery display in 1614, Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, owned Elizabeth's picture set 'in agatt' with jewels.<sup>142</sup> Whilst the former represented his probable religious convictions, the latter was likely part token of affection for Elizabeth, who gave him a pension, and part potentially insincere statement of reassurance from a suspected conspirator, arrested five times, who gave Bernardino Mendoza information and corresponded with Mary Stuart.<sup>143</sup> As a miniature, perhaps worn, these meanings would have been amplified. This applied equally to the Elizabethan Catholic exile, Richard Shelley: according to Thomas Baxter, writing from Venice in December 1581, Shelley always 'showed hime selfe a Right Englishe man to his Prince and Countrey', carrying Elizabeth's picture everywhere.<sup>144</sup> Corresponding with Walsingham, Shelley maintained both his Catholicism and his political loyalty, seemingly informing on fellow Catholics.<sup>145</sup> Elizabeth's picture thus emphasised that his religious beliefs did not undermine his commitment to her, arguably separating him visually from more militant exiles. Indeed, in April 1585, Shelley offered to distribute Parry's 'proces', if Cecil sent copies, 'where it is meat trewly to bee vnderstand, and where bothe authoritye and Inclynation is to change the manner of dealing *with vs*'.<sup>146</sup>

In 1582, Sir Thomas Offley, former London sheriff and mayor, possibly used portraits for this purpose. His little chamber contained pictures of Elizabeth, Henry VIII, Lazarus and Elizabeth's arms, which also adorned a cloth. Foister observes, however, that his two images of the Virgin would seemingly 'confirm or at least justify' contemporary 'suspicions' of his Catholicism.<sup>147</sup> Perhaps such suspicions partly stemmed from his London offices under Mary, when he escorted Philip and Mary through the city. Nevertheless, he apparently supported 'the new learning',<sup>148</sup> and his will expressed his trust to be saved by Christ's 'meritts'.<sup>149</sup> Thus whilst his distinctly Tudor decorative scheme

---

<sup>142</sup> E. Shirley (ed.), 'An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K.G., Earl of Northampton', *Archaeologia*, 42 (1869), pp. 349, 356-8. Mary's image appeared alongside conservative religious images and portraits of religious conservatives.

<sup>143</sup> P. Croft, 'Henry Howard', *ODNB*.

<sup>144</sup> SP99/1, fo. 7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> M. Mullett, 'Richard Shelley', *ODNB*.

<sup>146</sup> Lansdowne Vol/45, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>. On Catholic loyalism, see: M.C. Questier, 'Elizabeth and the Catholics', in E.H. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 69-94.

<sup>147</sup> PROB2/423; S. Foister, 'Tudor Collections and Collectors', *History Today*, 35 (1985), p. 25.

<sup>148</sup> E.L. Furdell, 'Sir Thomas Offley', *ODNB*.

<sup>149</sup> PROB11/64/449.

probably primarily represented support for his monarchs, particularly given the seemingly unostentatious location, it perhaps also deflected undeserved suspicions about his beliefs. Lower down the social scale, the Somerset yeoman, Anthony Gilbert's conservatism appears more definite, yet he seemingly prioritised loyalty to monarchs. His 1556 will, which left money for masses for his soul, included pictures of the Virgin, Edward and Dives. Tittler suggested that these 'each invoked a different cultural base': Catholicism, loyalty to the Tudors, and 'contemporary social discourse' respectively.<sup>150</sup> Yet Edward's picture suggests Gilbert's loyalty to him specifically, which is significant given their conflicting religious beliefs.

Protestants' pictures perhaps served similar functions. In c.1588, Vincent Skinner, involved in Duchy of Lancaster administration in Lincolnshire from 1573 and in Cecil's service shortly after, gave Elizabeth's portrait, painted between 1575 and 1580, to Cambridge University.<sup>151</sup> Had he owned it beforehand, it probably highlighted his government service, reinforcing his influence, whilst also constituting a powerful symbol of loyalty from a Puritan who hoped for further reform. Skinner's friends at Trinity College, Cambridge, included Thomas Cartwright, Michael Hicks and John Stubbs, and he sponsored a 1572 parliamentary bill legalising nonconformity.<sup>152</sup>

Displaying monarchical portraits automatically connected monarch and subject, but the connection was sometimes more explicit, further emphasising loyalty and service, and more pointedly appropriating royal authority. Goldring observed that William Herbert, earl of Pembroke's pictures were seemingly 'grouped thematically – both in the [1561] inventory and on the walls of Baynard's Castle itself'. She suggested that such groups included one of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward and Elizabeth, another of Pembroke and his immediate family, and a third of Mary and 'other continental figures', whilst the earl's 'political and familial allies' were also depicted.<sup>153</sup> Yet the inventory, not

---

<sup>150</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 25.

<sup>151</sup> J.W. Goodison, *Catalogue of Cambridge Portraits* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 11-2; R. Sgroi, 'Vincent Skinner', *HPO*; A.G.R.S., 'Vincent Skinner', *HPO*.

<sup>152</sup> Sgroi, 'Skinner'; A.G.R.S., 'Skinner'.

<sup>153</sup> E. Goldring, 'An Important Early Picture Collection: The Earl of Pembroke's 1561/62 Inventory and the Provenance of Holbein's "Christina of Denmark"', *BM*, 144 (2002), p. 158.

separated into rooms, records most of Pembroke's pictures in one section, including the first two groups above, those of Pembroke's allies, and religious images. Perhaps then these were all in one room, effectively placing the two Henrys, Edward and Elizabeth among Pembroke's friends, enhancing his status and authority while representing his service. Elizabeth, who visited Baynard's Castle in 1562, likely saw this. Having been chief gentleman of Henry's Privy Chamber, Pembroke became Edward's president of the council in the marches of Wales and eventually lord high steward of Elizabeth's household. The inventory listed pictures of Mary, Philip, Catherine of Aragon and others elsewhere, implying a different location. This suggests that Pembroke distinguished between her and the other Tudors, perhaps demonstrating his acceptance of Mary's Habsburg representation,<sup>154</sup> despite initially disliking the match. This group significantly includes another picture of Pembroke, emphasising his place within international circles too: he was a Marian privy councillor and one of her executors, whilst he accompanied Philip to meet Charles V in Brussels, hence his ownership of 'a tablett' featuring Philip's and Charles' faces, and 'a george' bearing Philip's face. As the continental group was possibly in Pembroke's bedchamber he potentially represented himself and his family as part of Elizabeth's establishment publicly, whilst celebrating his service to Mary privately.<sup>155</sup>

In 1565 Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox's portraits at Temple Newsome similarly celebrated his political and familial ties with the Tudors, enhancing his status. Besides a 'tester' embroidered with the royal arms kept in Lennox's bedchamber, his more public great chamber housed pictures of Henry VIII, Mary, Philip, Margaret Tudor (his mother-in-law and Henry's sister), himself, his brother, his wife, and their son, Lord Darnley, along with a cloth tester featuring Lennox's and his wife's arms.<sup>156</sup> Lennox was Henry's ally in the 1540s, becoming an English subject, appointed, somewhat tokenly, lieutenant for the north of England and south of Scotland, and promised Scotland's governorship if England conquered it. Likewise under Mary, Lennox became a privy councillor, whilst the pictures of her and Philip potentially reflected his and his wife's 'Catholic sympathies' too. With the succession

---

<sup>154</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>155</sup> National Art Library 86.ZZ.130 pp. 98, 152, 162-5, 172-3; N.P. Sil, 'William Herbert', *ODNB*.

<sup>156</sup> E.W. Crossley (ed.), 'A Templenewsam Inventory, 1565', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 25 (1920), pp. 94-6.

uncertain after 1558, however, Lennox's portrait display presumably became more controversial, implicitly depicting Darnley's dynastic claim. The queen's suspicion of 'possible successors' was heightened by Lennox's contacting Mary Stuart for the restoration of his forfeited Scottish estates, and in 1561 both he and his wife were imprisoned in the Tower, albeit later released.<sup>157</sup>

The earl of Leicester's pictures similarly enhanced his status by emphasising his loyalty and proximity to Elizabeth and the Tudors. In 1580, Leicester House's pictures included Henry VIII, Mary and Elizabeth, plus alabaster 'portraictures' of Elizabeth and Leicester. Other portraits mostly depicted contemporary European royalty and nobility. Although those of Henry, Mary and Elizabeth were in Wanstead's great gallery by 1588, another two pictures of Elizabeth were at Leicester House by that December, with others showing Leicester, his family, and European and English nobility.<sup>158</sup> In 1590, the 'riche wardrobe' there contained old pictures of Elizabeth and Leicester, whilst the high gallery featured, among others, images of Elizabeth, Leicester, his brother Ambrose, Charles Howard, lord admiral, Leicester's son, the Prince of Orange, the Count Palatine, Philip Sidney and Francis Knollys' son, Henry.<sup>159</sup> This inserted Elizabeth into both Leicester's family circle and a broader European Protestant one. Hangings at Leicester House in 1580 featuring Elizabeth's arms reinforced Leicester's intimacy with her,<sup>160</sup> as did a 'table *with her Maties Armes*' in the 'greate chamber next the garden' there in 1590.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, an Essex House ceiling, perhaps dating from Leicester's time, apparently featured the royal arms and Tudor motifs.<sup>162</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> E.F. Greig, 'Henry Stewart', *ODNB*; M. Merriman, 'Matthew Stewart', *ODNB*.

<sup>158</sup> *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath* (5 vols., 1904-80), v, pp. 202-4, 208; W.J. Thoms, 'Pictures of the Great Earl of Leicester', *Notes and Queries*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 2 (1862), pp. 224-6; 'Inventory for Probate of the Goods of Robert, Earl of Leicester, 1588', *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), p. 46.

<sup>159</sup> 'The Queen's Commissioners' Inventory of the Goods at Leicester House, 1590', *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), pp. 49-50. A November 1590 inventory listed a similar display in the high great gallery, although omitting Elizabeth's image. Conversely, those pictures earlier moved to Wanstead had apparently returned. A 1600 inventory suggests that Essex perhaps owned one of Leicester's pictures of Elizabeth. See: *Bath*, v, p. 224; FSL G.b.4 No. 20.

<sup>160</sup> *Bath*, v, p. 202.

<sup>161</sup> 'Inventory', p. 50.

<sup>162</sup> C. Gapper, 'Plasterers and Plasterwork in City, Court and Country, c.1530-c.1640', (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1998), p. 460.

Similarly, Thomas Sackville, Lord high treasurer, seemingly inserted himself into a visual, predominantly Elizabethan political history. A set of forty-four portraits at Knole depict Sackville, Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth, courtiers and councillors, and some important continental figures. These apparently date to c.1600, although they also include James I's image.<sup>163</sup> Sackville had acquired Knole in 1566, but only actually moved there in 1603.<sup>164</sup> Perhaps he commissioned this set to demonstrate his impressive connections and role as a prominent public servant.

In 1600 Lord John Petre's portraits at Ingatestone Hall glorified his family through association with Henry VIII. A presumably impressive 'matted and wainscoted' gallery included the king's picture alongside, among others, those of illustrious figures, Henry V, Cleopatra, and Diana. Also displayed, however, was Lord Petre's father, Sir William's picture,<sup>165</sup> highlighting the latter's long-standing service, for example on Katherine Parr's advisory council.<sup>166</sup> Perhaps William obtained Henry's picture himself for this purpose, as he seemingly recognised portraiture's value: William's 1567 picture depicted him with rod of office and arms, as portraits could help 'to present the appropriate face of judicious authority and a willingness to serve'.<sup>167</sup> Perhaps Petre owned Henry's image when Elizabeth, on whose Privy Council he served, visited Ingatestone in 1561.<sup>168</sup> Advertising the family's service was likely also useful since William's and John's wives were Catholics,<sup>169</sup> and John thought to be. Furthermore, it perhaps enhanced John's influence in his local offices in the 1570s and 1580s. Conversely, had John's son, William, who was little involved in government but who still received important guests,<sup>170</sup> displayed the pictures, they possibly reminded everyone of the family's glorious past.<sup>171</sup>

---

<sup>163</sup> National Trust Collections P.25-68. CMS 12971-129794. I owe the information on dating to Tracey Sowerby.

<sup>164</sup> Zim, 'Sackville'.

<sup>165</sup> *Ingatestone Hall in 1600* (Chelmsford, 1954), p. 9.

<sup>166</sup> C.S. Knighton, 'Sir William Petre', *ODNB*.

<sup>167</sup> Cooper, *Citizen*, p. 71.

<sup>168</sup> Knighton, 'Petre'.

<sup>169</sup> Scott-Warren, 'Books', p. 244.

<sup>170</sup> Schmitt, 'Networks', pp. 342, 344, 346-7.

<sup>171</sup> William seemingly valued portraiture, making 1599 payments concerning 'mie picture'. See: FSL V.a.334, fo. 36<sup>r</sup>.

Likewise, in 1554 Sir Gawain Carew kept Henry VIII's picture in his broad chamber at Tiverton, Devon, with those of himself, his wife, and his wife's first husband, emphasising his family's connection to the crown and commemorating his service as a gentleman pensioner in the 1540s and in France. The arrangement perhaps also strengthened his local authority as a commissioner from 1546 and Edwardian JP and sheriff.<sup>172</sup>

Less distinguished people used these tactics too. In 1553 Stephen Kirton, London alderman and staple of Calais merchant, displayed Edward's picture with his own coat of arms,<sup>173</sup> appropriating royal authority, and potentially representing loyalty to a Protestant king. In his will, Kirton placed his 'confydence of saluacion' in the merits of Christ's passion, and requested that 'dyscreate' people preach thirty sermons in St Andrew's parish.<sup>174</sup> Likewise, in 1577 staple of Calais merchant, Thomas Cony's public dining parlour at Bassingthorpe, Lincolnshire, featured pictures of Henry VIII, Edward and Elizabeth, along with a 'table of my *Mistress* arms', presumably Cony's wife's, associating both families with their rulers. Pictures of Mary and Elizabeth in 'Lord Wraies Chamber'<sup>175</sup> belonged to Lord Chief Justice Sir Christopher Wray,<sup>176</sup> Cony's friend. Mary's picture perhaps marked Wray's sitting in all her parliaments, and his probable 'Catholic inclination', whilst Elizabeth's symbolised his extensive service in her reign, including in local Lincolnshire offices.<sup>177</sup> Meanwhile John Vernon, master of the Merchant Taylors, possibly displayed pictures of Henry VIII, Elizabeth and himself, which he gave to the Company in 1616,<sup>178</sup> together, potentially enhancing his status.

William More likely displayed his portrait alongside Elizabeth's to show his affection, demonstrate their intimacy, and reinforce his local authority. In the period 1572-6 More commissioned portraits of the queen, himself and his wife. Admittedly, whilst the Mores' pictures were sent to Loseley, the last

---

<sup>172</sup> SP11/3, fo. 27<sup>r</sup>; A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'Gawain Carew', *HPO*.

<sup>173</sup> PROB2/252.

<sup>174</sup> PROB11/36/231.

<sup>175</sup> E.L. Grange, J.C. Hudson (eds.), *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, 1 (1888), pp. 113, 132-3, 198.

<sup>176</sup> Contra: James, *Dynamic*, p. 112.

<sup>177</sup> N.G. Jones, 'Sir Christopher Wray', *ODNB*. Subsequently, he possibly commissioned one of the Sieve portraits of Elizabeth. See: Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 95.

<sup>178</sup> Tittler, 'Spaces', p. 182.

information on Elizabeth's was that it required further work. Crucially, More's servant, Charles Bradshawe, told More that his and his wife's pictures were smaller than Elizabeth's, asking if they, and four even smaller ones, should all be the same size,<sup>179</sup> perhaps suggesting that they were intended to be displayed together. This would have emphasised their personal relationship: Elizabeth visited More's home before and after these commissions.<sup>180</sup> Perhaps they were intended for her eyes. The Mores' images could also have been displayed with other monarchical portraits. Henry VIII's image graced More's parlour in 1556,<sup>181</sup> and he purchased Elizabeth's picture in 1560.<sup>182</sup> This early acquisition likely reflected his enthusiasm for a Protestant monarch, whilst the Tudor images would have signalled his loyalty and emphasised his authority as a crown servant in Surrey and Sussex,<sup>183</sup> particularly if displayed with his own.

Tudor monarchs' portraits and sculptures were displayed at Lumley Castle, possibly alongside images of John, Lord Lumley's family. Lumley seemingly assembled his large collection after his imprisonment following the Ridolfi Plot sidelined him from mainstream politics. He focused instead on his ancestry.<sup>184</sup> A 1590 inventory of several residences reflected his priorities, listing pictures of his relations first, even before English monarchs. He owned full-lengths of Henry VIII, Edward, and Anne Boleyn, plus smaller pictures of Henry VII, Margaret Beaufort, Elizabeth of York, Prince Arthur, Henry VIII, Catherine of Aragon, Prince Edward, Jane Seymour, Catherine Parr, Mary, and two of Elizabeth, c.1558 and c.1588. He also possessed the Holbein cartoon of the Whitehall mural, a full-length of Philip II, and images of other English kings.<sup>185</sup> They were seemingly not in Lumley Castle's hall or great chamber, and possibly adorned Lumley's more private rooms: pictures of Mary and Elizabeth were in a drawing room in 1609, whilst his monarchical portraits were possibly

---

<sup>179</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 18.

<sup>180</sup> Robison, 'More'.

<sup>181</sup> J. Evans (ed.), 'Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth', *Archaeologia*, 36 (1855), p. 288.

<sup>182</sup> FSL L.b.184, fo. 12'; L.b.420. Certainly neither picture appeared in a 1560 inventory, reviewed in 1567, of his Blackfriars house.

<sup>183</sup> Robison, 'More'.

<sup>184</sup> K. Barron, 'The Collecting and Patronage of John, Lord Lumley (c.1535-1609)', in E. Chaney (ed.), *The Evolution of English Collecting* (2003), pp. 127-8, 130.

<sup>185</sup> T. Cooper, C. Macleod, M. Zoller, 'A List of Portraits in The Lumley Inventory', in Evans, *Inventory*, pp. 157-9, 163; Idem., 'Portraits', p. 59.

displayed as a series in the ‘Saule’.<sup>186</sup> Lumley possibly used portraits to present ‘a personalised visual history’ of religious and political events, probably conditioned by his Catholicism, with a monarchical series offering ‘a backdrop’ to aristocratic families’, like his, ‘competing claims to longevity’ and ‘the interlinked narrative of European politics’.<sup>187</sup> Meanwhile the public hall housed marble busts of Henry VIII and his children ‘in whose raiges his Lo<sup>p</sup> lived’ and a statue of Edward III ‘in whose tyme the most of this castle was built’, among other decoration, including busts of Edward’s sons. Lumley thus ‘marshalled Tudors and Plantagenets to promote his own family history’, and ‘provided an auspicious historical context for the Lumley dynastic display in the adjoining great chamber’, which included a pillar with Lumley’s pedigree and full-lengths of him and his ancestors.<sup>188</sup> Thus, even if Tudor monarchical images did not appear beside Lumley ones, the collection glorified Lumley by comparing his own lineage with the English monarchy’s.

Owners also associated themselves explicitly with monarchs through images’ iconography. Portraits at the Viscounts Montague’s seat at Cowdray, Sussex, in 1775 included images of Henry VIII landing at Calais in 1544, the siege of Boulogne, and Edward’s coronation. Since Sir Anthony Browne, privy councillor and master of the horse, had been involved in these events, the images emphasised and commemorated ‘a tradition of martial and diplomatic service to the Tudors’.<sup>189</sup> Browne potentially commissioned them himself, although they would still have been useful to his son, Viscount Montague, showing in Elizabeth’s reign ‘that the family continued to remember its former power, and perhaps aspired to it again’. That Montague seemingly bequeathed them to his heir<sup>190</sup> suggests that he valued them. They likely complimented his self-presentation as a loyal Catholic. Although opposing Elizabeth’s religious policies in parliament, he served as an ambassador, a joint lord lieutenant, and a

---

<sup>186</sup> S. Bracken, M. Howard, ‘Lumley Castle and its Inventories’, in Evans, *Inventory*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>187</sup> Cooper, Macleod, Zoller, ‘Portraits’, pp. 61-2.

<sup>188</sup> Bracken, Howard, ‘Inventories’, pp. 32-3; M. Evans, ‘Arms and Ancestors: The Lumley Horseman, Plantagenet Princes and Tudor Monarchs’, in Idem., *Inventory*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>189</sup> Anglo mistakenly claimed that Sir William FitzWilliam was being celebrated. See: Anglo, *Images*, p. 112.

<sup>190</sup> M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 26-9, 208; W.B. Robison, ‘Sir Anthony Browne’, *ODNB*.

commissioner at Mary Stuart's trial<sup>191</sup> - roles echoing the portraits' diplomatic and military elements. These elements, and their particular reference to France, perhaps made the portraits especially pertinent when Elizabeth visited Cowdray in 1591. Besides undermining suggestions that she oppressed Catholics, Elizabeth's visit to Sussex was particularly convenient given Spanish intervention in France's religious wars, enabling Elizabeth to 'remind Montague of the government's scrutiny and of his duty', and demonstrate her 'confidence' in his and by implication other Catholics' loyalty, thereby dispelling any ideas that a Spanish invasion could prompt an English Catholic rising. Montague meanwhile stressed his loyalty in the entertainments 'to challenge government policy' towards Catholics, ultimately unsuccessfully.<sup>192</sup> Montague's pictures arguably therefore served Elizabeth's purposes as much as his own.

Elizabeth's courtier and favourite, Christopher Hatton, likely commissioned Quentin Massys, c.1583, to produce one of the Sieve portraits of Elizabeth, wherein he himself and/or his heraldry is represented in the background. This alone emphasised his proximity to and perhaps dependence on Elizabeth, but it also celebrated his political influence. The Sieve portraits' representation of Elizabeth's virginity conveyed disapproval of her potential marriage to the duke of Anjou, which Hatton had opposed. Massys picture compared her to Aeneas, suggesting that instead of marrying she should found an empire, symbolised by a globe and imperial crown. Hatton supported this policy too, so that the picture served to 'memorialise the success of his good counsel' to Elizabeth.<sup>193</sup>

Similarly, Strong outlined how the Procession picture of Elizabeth, indicative of a 'cult' that celebrated the 'idea' of Eliza *Triumphans*, was probably commissioned after April 1601 by another Catholic, newly appointed master of the horse, Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester, to celebrate his positions as favourite and master of court ceremonial. Nevertheless, whilst Strong claimed that the

---

<sup>191</sup> E. Heale, 'Contesting Terms: Loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague's Entertainment at Cowdray, 1591', in Archer, Goldring, Knight, *Progresses*, pp. 192, 197-8.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-206.

<sup>193</sup> Doran, 'Portraits', pp. 187, 190; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 101-7.

image primarily praised Elizabeth rather than Worcester,<sup>194</sup> Anglo maintained that the latter was being ‘flattered’. Worcester, ‘basking in the glory reflected on him by his proximity to the monarch’, commissioned this to bolster his ‘self-image’, and it was unreasonable ‘to distort it into an arcane allusion to the Queen’s imperial destiny’.<sup>195</sup> Anglo’s either/or approach is, however, inappropriate, as the two are connected: associating himself with Elizabeth meant that the more glorious she appeared, the more enhanced was Worcester’s status. Montrose perhaps acknowledged this, claiming that the picture of ‘the Elizabeth cult’ was ‘the means to commemorate’ the earl’s ‘honour and worship’, with this ‘oblique displacement’ retaining Elizabeth as the portrait’s ‘nominal subject’ whilst making ‘Worcester in his relationship to the Queen’ the ‘real subject’.<sup>196</sup>

Rather than commemorating specific occasions, some portraits were commissioned for them. In 1578, Leicester’s portraits at Kenilworth seemingly promulgated the same messages as his others, depicting his ‘political and familial circle’, important continental characters, and ‘heroes from Antiquity’, and including four life-sized images of Elizabeth and Leicester which, displayed together, illustrated his ‘privileged status as favourite’. Yet, the collection was deliberately assembled for Leicester’s 1575 entertainment of Elizabeth, with the life-sized images specially commissioned, two of them by Zuccaro. The portraits and the entertainments were mutually reinforcing elements, each contextualising the other, in the festivities’ overall functions as ‘an extended marriage proposal’ and endorsement of intervention in the Netherlands. Two compositionally similar images of Elizabeth and Leicester represented him as a potential husband, an impression bolstered by other couples’ portraits on display and the entertainments. Similarly, Leicester perhaps displayed his portraits of Spanish and Dutch figures to ‘thematize’ the revolt and ‘transmit a call for English military intervention’, particularly timely given an offer of Dutch sovereignty earlier that year. Elizabeth had an input though, ensuring that the portraits did not depict her and Leicester as married, and apparently censoring excessively unsubtle entertainments. Leicester, however, subsequently updated Zuccaro’s portrait of him, donning the armour that he likely had made to star in a censored allegorical

---

<sup>194</sup> Strong, *Cult*, pp. 17-55; Idem., *Gloriana*, pp. 153-5. See also: Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 386-7, 550.

<sup>195</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 112-3.

<sup>196</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 104-5.

dramatisation of English intervention. This, the printing of the censored entertainments, and the continued, unchanged display of his collection, enabled him to 're-write history', presenting himself, as intended, as Elizabeth's prospective husband and Protestant champion.<sup>197</sup>

Goldring observed that Leicester's integration of portraiture into festivities influenced subsequent entertainments. Henry Lee commissioned the Ditchley portrait for Elizabeth's 1592 progress. It depicts Elizabeth on a map of England, standing in Oxfordshire, Lee's county; behind her is a storm, but where she faces only sun. During the entertainments Elizabeth inspected allegorical paintings, presumably including this one, being assured that they would remain at Ditchley forever. Thus it and Leicester's portraits became 'vivid, semi-permanent memorials to ephemeral events', with portraiture being 'a tool of political self-fashioning and legacy-making'.<sup>198</sup>

Bess, countess of Shrewsbury's picture collection at Hardwick Hall in 1601 should arguably also be placed in this context, potentially being designed for a political purpose in the hope of a royal visit. Portraits of Henry VIII, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth were in the High Great Chamber, along with 'a looking glass' featuring England's arms, and pictures of other prominent figures, including former officials.<sup>199</sup> These indicated Bess' loyalty to the Tudors, likely reinforced by the room's painted frieze which featured Diana in a 'tribute' to Elizabeth,<sup>200</sup> and also the royal arms.<sup>201</sup> Peacock, however, analysed Bess' 'calculated' picture displays elsewhere, which aimed to 'glorify herself and her family', and which, like Leicester and Lee, she wanted to 'remain and continue'. He suggested that as a woman Bess had to 'celebrate her own position through her relations to others', citing portraits in the withdrawing chamber of her relatives, including the Scottish royal family, to whom she was joined by her daughter's marriage to Darnley's younger brother, the earl of Lennox. Similarly, the long

---

<sup>197</sup> Goldring, 'Portraiture', pp. 163-84. Leicester also owned a cushion embroidered with ER at Kenilworth, further showing their relationship. See: E. Goldring, 'The Earl of Leicester's Household Inventory of Kenilworth Castle, c.1578', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 2 (2007), p. 52.

<sup>198</sup> Goldring, 'Portraiture', pp. 184-8. For more on the Ditchley painting's iconography, see: Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 135-140.

<sup>199</sup> L. Boynton, (ed.), 'A Hardwick Hall Inventory of 1601', *Furniture History*, 7 (1971), p. 27.

<sup>200</sup> J.M. Sutton, 'The Decorative Program at Elizabethan Theobalds: Educating an Heir and Promoting a Dynasty', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 7 (2000), pp. 54-5.

<sup>201</sup> For a picture see: R.C. Turner, *Plas Mawr* (Cardiff, 2000), p. 38.

gallery's images depicted Bess, her husband, Darnley, James VI, the earls of Lennox, Matthew and Charles, Arabella Stuart, Bess' granddaughter, 'Quene Anne', presumably James VI's wife, and every English monarch from Edward II to Elizabeth (of whom there were two) except Edward V. Also included were other prominent monarchs and domestic figures. Bess thus glorified herself through connections to British royalty,<sup>202</sup> with carpets bearing hers and her husband's arms and a cushion depicting Diana and Acteon, recalling the high great chamber, strengthening this further. The low great chamber presumably created a similar impression, with pictures of Elizabeth, Bess, her husband, Arabella, Margaret, countess of Lennox and her son Charles, Bess' son-in-law, members of Bess' former husband, William Cavendish's family, and Cecil, plus a glass with Bess' and her husband's arms, and a cushion just with Bess'.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, these displays visually represented Arabella's claim to the throne as Henry VII's descendant, perhaps intended for Elizabeth's eyes. Bess' dynastic ambitions for her granddaughter potentially motivated her to build Hardwick Hall in the 1590s as a house suitable for someone of Arabella's status.<sup>204</sup> Although Elizabeth, who had been angered by Arabella's parents' marriage, never saw this display, Sir Henry Brounker, sent in 1603 to discover if Arabella was planning to marry one of the Seymours, who also had a dynastic claim, was possibly received in the long gallery.<sup>205</sup> Presumably the decoration would not have helped.

Tittler argued that civic institutions used portraits to gain legitimacy and/or provide 'role models'. Mostly these depicted founders, benefactors, officials or 'heroes', emphasising civic virtues, but some portrayed monarchs, functioning as 'expressions of loyalty'.<sup>206</sup> Yet monarchical portraits also allowed institutions to enhance their status and appropriate royal authority, particularly when monarchs were involved in establishing an institution's power. Tittler recognised that publicly displaying Holbein's 1543 group portrait of Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons in the hall to an appropriately wide

---

<sup>202</sup> Boynton, 'Inventory', pp. 28-9; Peacock, 'Portraiture', pp. 216-7. Peacock considered Bess unusual in using her royal connections to remove 'the boundaries that normally mark differences' in portrait collections, refusing 'to subordinate kinship to sovereignty'. As seen, however, others who were not royal kin removed these 'boundaries' by displaying their pictures with monarchical ones.

<sup>203</sup> Boynton, 'Inventory', pp. 28, 30-1. One of Bess' portraits especially marked her 'intimacy with Elizabeth', depicting the queen in a dress which Bess gave her as a New Year's gift. See: Doran, 'Portraits', p. 190.

<sup>204</sup> E. Goldring, 'Elizabeth Talbot', *ODNB*; J. Osborne, *Entertaining Elizabeth I* (1989), pp. 153-4. Boynton doubted this. See: Boynton, 'Inventory', p. 3.

<sup>205</sup> Boynton, 'Inventory', p. 11; Goldring, 'Talbot'; R.K. Marshall, 'Lady Arabella Stuart', *ODNB*.

<sup>206</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, pp. 35-8, 51-2; Idem., 'Spaces', p. 180.

audience ‘legitimated the new body’, celebrated particular individuals, and confirmed ‘the royal origins of institutional authority’, thus instilling ‘pride and loyalty’.<sup>207</sup> Furthermore, beyond fulfilling the Company’s numerous purposes, the image demonstrated Henry’s power: he gives the company its charter, and is larger than the other figures, looking straight ahead. Thus ‘in their very act of appropriating royal authority and the royal image’, the Barber Surgeons ‘re-presented that image to other subjects as a display of dependence as well as privilege’.<sup>208</sup>

Similarly, in 1567, Robert Beaumont, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, bequeathed to that institution pictures of its founder, Henry VIII, and the king’s parents and children. He wanted them displayed in the master’s lodging until a new library, for which he gave money, was finished. They remained, however, in the lodging. Eworth painted the full-length of Henry VIII, whilst those of Edward and Mary were also from his studio. Brooke suggested that the Calvinist Beaumont commissioned Henry’s portrait during his mastership to celebrate the king as both Trinity’s and the Church of England’s founder.<sup>209</sup> Yet, by bequeathing Mary’s picture to be displayed with it and thus undermine any confessional meaning, Beaumont indicated his focus on Henry’s role as college founder. Indeed, the portrait’s Latin inscription referenced Trinity’s foundation, showing the college’s pride in the connection,<sup>210</sup> whilst Beaumont’s concern with Trinity’s foundation was illustrated by ‘tables’ in his great chamber of the college and Trinity’s founders.<sup>211</sup> Furthermore Henry’s full-length portrait would have dominated the display, since the others were all smaller. This emphasis through size was likely always intended: those of Edward, Mary, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York date to the 1550s or 1560s,<sup>212</sup> thus probably being commissioned together, particularly given the connection to Eworth’s studio. When displayed, they would have signalled the college’s particular gratitude to Henry and loyalty to his successors. In the master’s lodgings, where they may have enjoyed a more

---

<sup>207</sup> Tittler, ‘Spaces’, pp. 180-2.

<sup>208</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 137-8.

<sup>209</sup> Brooke, *Henry*, pp. 52-4.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>211</sup> BCI i p. 290.

<sup>212</sup> P. Gaskell, *Trinity College Library* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 47-8; *Your Paintings: Trinity College Accession Numbers*: TC Oils P 60, 61, 84, 85, 114. Elizabeth’s is lost.

limited audience,<sup>213</sup> they not only celebrated Trinity's royal roots but also perhaps connected the master specifically with royal authority.

In post-Dissolution England borough incorporation proliferated as towns sought greater authority to perform and finance the functions of extinct 'lay religious and ecclesiastical bodies'. Incorporations thus gave local officials 'legal and fiduciary powers'.<sup>214</sup> The payment for Elizabeth's picture in the Chamberlain's accounts of the Corporation of Dover in 1598, to be 'sett up in the halle',<sup>215</sup> should be placed in this context, explicitly advertising loyalty and the root of local government authority. Furthermore, the picture showed Elizabeth before a column bearing multiple virtues with Justice, seemingly dressed like Elizabeth, at the centre, thus depicting 'the Virgin Queen as Astrea-Justice',<sup>216</sup> and allowing the corporation to associate itself with virtuous and just rule. Similar motivations presumably fuelled the collector of tonnage and poundage in Milford port who decorated the new Pembroke customs house at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign with pictures of Henry VIII, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.<sup>217</sup> they emphasised the institution's royal authority and demonstrated support for the Tudors, especially Elizabeth whose picture had been acquired early and who was represented as lawful successor to the others.

Monarchical images were also valuable to institutions less reliant on monarchs as founders or benefactors. When Nicholas Hilliard wanted to renew a lease on his house rented from the Goldsmiths' Company, he offered £20 and an unspecified picture in March 1598, and in June 1600 the Privy Council informed the Company that Elizabeth wished for the renewal. Ultimately, Hilliard agreed to pay a fine and make the Company 'a faire picture in greate' of Elizabeth, 'to remayne in the howse for an ornament and remembrance aswell of their humble duties as of her princelie favour towards him and of his gratefulness to the company'. This was potentially never painted: in November

---

<sup>213</sup> Tittler, 'Spaces', p. 181.

<sup>214</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, pp. 35-7. Tittler placed local officials' need for portraits in this context. See above, p. 80.

<sup>215</sup> Strong, *Elizabeth*, p. 84.

<sup>216</sup> F.A. Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947), p. 62.

<sup>217</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 116.

1600 Hilliard delayed, claiming that winter was a ‘verie unseasonable tyme to work yt’.<sup>218</sup> Nevertheless, the incident shows the varied ways that institutions could acquire portraits, and how much the Company valued Elizabeth’s picture: its specified location was seemingly primarily intended to remind Hilliard that Elizabeth had assisted him, but it also represented the Company’s ‘duties’ to their queen, and was perhaps later repositioned to emphasise this.

Monarchical portrait ownership was therefore more complicated than historians have allowed. Loyalty was a prominent, but complicated motivation: people perceived rulers differently, and bought their pictures based on, and displayed them to reflect, loyalty to a personal conception of what a monarch represented. Monarchs could be perceived according to any combination of numerous factors, including their position as an English sovereign, their membership of the Tudor dynasty specifically, their religion, and their relationship to the owner, who might be a friend, central government official, local office-holder, or mere subject. Ownership was further complicated by the fact that these various types of loyalty frequently coexisted with more self-interested motives, which again varied according to people’s needs.

The importance of personal needs and views of monarchs in attributing meaning to rulers’ pictures was evident on occasions when the same picture likely represented different things to different owners. Anthony Gilbert’s picture of Edward illustrated his affection for his monarch despite differing religious beliefs, but it was bequeathed to an overseer, Sir Hugh Paulet,<sup>219</sup> who served on the Devon commission of the peace, fought the western rebels, and became Jersey’s governor under Edward.<sup>220</sup> Edward’s picture likely now served primarily to commemorate Paulet’s service. Similarly, the goldsmith, Thomas Green’s picture of Elizabeth represented his religiously-based affection for her, yet he was executed for treason for clipping coins, raising questions over the relationship between loyal affection and actual obedience. Green’s forfeited goods, presumably including Elizabeth’s portrait, were given to Thomas Knyvett, groom of the Privy Chamber and subsequently Warden of the

---

<sup>218</sup> E. Auerbach, ‘More Light on Nicholas Hilliard’, *BM*, 91 (1949), p. 168; *APC* XXX p. 432.

<sup>219</sup> F.W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills* (3 vols., 1901-5), iii, pp. 176-8.

<sup>220</sup> C.S.L. Davies, ‘Sir Hugh Paulet’, *ODNB*.

Tower mint, among other offices.<sup>221</sup> As such the portrait came to represent his intimacy with Elizabeth and authority in his offices. Likewise, when portraits passed from private to institutional hands, their signification evidently changed: Elizabeth's portrait likely represented Skinner's service and loyalty to Elizabeth, despite religious differences; had Cambridge University displayed it after he gave it to them,<sup>222</sup> any connection to Skinner was likely lost, the picture instead connecting queen and institution, praising the former through association with learning whilst showing the latter's affection. Lastly, whether John Vernon initially displayed his monarchical images with his own or not, they would have acquired new meanings once he had given them to the Merchant Taylor Company in 1616,<sup>223</sup> where they would signify that Company's affection for past monarchs, and perhaps its long history.

These issues also had significant implications for monarchical portraits' potential to act as effective propagandistic vehicles. Whilst the iconography of portraits was seemingly important in several cases, arguably most of these involved images commissioned by owners for their own purposes. In many other instances evidence of iconography is unavailable, but it appears that portraits were valuable not because of specific symbolic messages embedded in their content, nor because they were necessarily in any sense official, but simply because of who they depicted. Rather than necessarily accepting carefully crafted and officially sanctioned messages, owners bought and displayed portraits on the basis of their own pre-existing beliefs, investing them with meaning. In this way they appropriated monarchs' images, just as some appropriated their words,<sup>224</sup> at times to present them in ways that they likely would not have appreciated, whilst the meaning of displays, being based on perceptions of figures and their relation to each other and owners, duly changed as any or all of these factors did. Overall then, Anglo may have been correct to question monarchical portraiture's utility as propaganda, although not in his reasoning. It was seemingly not inadequate access to images or

---

<sup>221</sup> *APC IX* p. 116; E178/4807; SP12/108, fo. 49<sup>r</sup>; M. Nicholls, 'Thomas Knyvett', *ODNB*.

<sup>222</sup> See above, p. 88.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155-76.

necessarily an inability to understand complex imagery.<sup>225</sup> Rather it was the impossibility of adequately controlling and fixing meaning.

### Owning Tudor Symbols

People also articulated their attitudes to the monarchy visually using the royal arms and heraldic devices. These adorned items owned by the broader population and decorated their homes. Scholars that have noted some of the examples discussed below have often viewed them as statements of loyalty, as did some near-contemporaries: in 1658 Sir William Sanderson claimed that dining rooms should contain monarchs' pictures, 'the want whereof in former times' being rectified by displaying the royal arms. 'Few good subjects then, but conceived it expedient, to express their Love and Loyalty, by some such *Embleme*, or note of remembrance'.<sup>226</sup> The notion that portraits replaced the royal arms is evidently oversimplified,<sup>227</sup> but the idea that displaying the latter was common is significant. Again, however, examining biographical information about owners and, where possible, the manner of display, reveals that people's motives were more complicated than just loyalty, itself a multifaceted phenomenon.

Courtiers and councillors owned items featuring Tudor symbols, demonstrating their loyalty and close association with the monarchy, and enhancing their authority. In 1527 Thomas Cromwell's buttery within his hall housed a table carved with Henry's arms, whilst in 1540 his hall and parlour both featured tables of the king's arms, the latter's including the queen's too. Both rooms, among other images, featured those of Christ, the Virgin and Lucrecia, perhaps connecting the king to piety and antiquity.<sup>228</sup> In 1535, Du Valin, Francis I's servant, gave Cromwell a dozen batons from Brazil bearing Henry VIII's arms, along with a reminder that Cromwell had promised him 'redress for depredations' caused by English pirates. In 1537 Du Valin reminded Cromwell again, mentioning his

---

<sup>225</sup> See above, p. 27.

<sup>226</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 22; W. Sanderson, *Graphice* (1658), H1<sup>v</sup>-H2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>227</sup> See above, pp. 73-103.

<sup>228</sup> *LP IV ii* 3197, SP1/162, fos. 88<sup>v</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>.

gift, and asking him to ‘consider the detention of one of his vessels at Winchelsea’.<sup>229</sup> Significantly Du Valin thought that such a gift might earn him Cromwell’s good will, perhaps through flattering Cromwell as Henry’s powerful servant.

Thomas Boleyn owned fire-irons that especially emphasised his personal and political intimacy with Henry by representing the king’s marriage to his daughter: on one were Henry’s crowned arms and the initials HR; on the other was Anne’s badge, a crowned falcon standing on a tree stump with red and white roses and the initials HA.<sup>230</sup> These perhaps showed that despite being a valuable royal servant before the marriage, afterwards his influence was unavoidably intertwined with Anne’s. Thus before 1536 these fire-irons augmented his authority, but after symbolised his marginalisation.<sup>231</sup>

Possessions that permitted owners to present themselves as loyal servants exercising royal authority were seemingly considered useful by governors of strategically-vital Calais. John Bouchier, Lord Berners, twice deputy of Calais, owned nine scutcheons embroidered with the king’s and queen’s arms.<sup>232</sup> Berners’ successor, Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, also had a scutcheon with the king’s arms, which Hussee acquired for him in 1539 for St George’s day. Hussee also sent one of Lisle’s arms, advising that if both were ‘savid’, they would ‘*serue next yere*’, and Lisle would ‘not nyde to be in a karls daynger’,<sup>233</sup> suggesting that both had some ceremonial importance, and perhaps would have advertised to a wide audience Lisle’s position as Henry’s representative. Furthermore, in 1540 Lisle’s goods at Calais included cups with covers bearing a portcullis, ‘H & A crownyd’, ‘H & R, crowned’, a rose and a pomegranate, ‘a whyte Rose in a Rede’, and two others with roses. Although two of these symbolised old marriages, they still indicated Lisle’s long-standing loyal service and augmented his authority, which was presumably useful since Cromwell’s ‘clients’ in Calais ‘persistently undermined’ him. The cover featuring the Tudor rose was perhaps especially suitable: besides representing Henry, a son of Lancaster and York, it possibly also indicated Lisle’s Yorkist ancestry.

---

<sup>229</sup> *LP IX* 1062, XII ii 1262.

<sup>230</sup> *Guide to Knole* (Sevenoaks, 1947), p. 32.

<sup>231</sup> J. Hughes, ‘Thomas Boleyn’, *ODNB*.

<sup>232</sup> *LP VI* App 2, Addenda I i 834; J.P. Carley, ‘John Bouchier’, *ODNB*.

<sup>233</sup> SP1/150, fo. 136<sup>v</sup>, 3/11, fo. 86<sup>v</sup>.

Grummitt observed that Lisle's arms made no dynastic claim, and that his career demonstrated that 'the Tudors' reconciliation with the Yorkist polity did not stop' at Henry VII's marriage.<sup>234</sup> This cover thus visually represented that 'reconciliation'.

Projecting and claiming association with royal authority was likely also important to another Yorkist descendant, Henry Hastings, earl of Huntingdon and president of the Council of the North. A posthumous 1596 inventory included a counterpoint in a chamber and a cloth of tissue in the 'great standing wardrobe' both featuring Elizabeth's arms.<sup>235</sup> Neither seemingly enjoyed a wide audience, so were more likely personal tokens of Hastings' loyalty and service. Other, potentially less loyal Elizabethans, however, possessed similar items. In 1571 the duke of Norfolk owned a standard with Elizabeth's arms, three 'Annsignes' with her arms and St George's cross, and some 'Andyrons with the rose portculles and crowne',<sup>236</sup> whilst in April 1601 goods at Tichfield House, Hampshire, presumably belonging to the rebellious earl of Southampton, included a velvet purse bearing the king's arms, presumably Elizabeth's.<sup>237</sup> These items possibly still represented these individuals' service and personal association. Although Norfolk, Elizabeth's relative and a public servant since Mary's reign, was executed for treasonous intriguing with Mary Stuart, Graves maintained that 'he was not an enemy of queen or kingdom'; similarly Southampton served militarily,<sup>238</sup> and, in joining Essex's revolt, seemingly thought that he was opposing conspiratorial evil counsellors.<sup>239</sup>

Those outside court and council similarly used Tudor symbols to represent loyalty and service and potentially bolster their local authority. In 1536, the treasurer of York, Lancelot Colyns, displayed a plaque above his door featuring the arms of Henry VIII, Cromwell, and 'bisshopp bambryck', showing his support for Henry's government in an area dissatisfied with official policy and the roots of his power. Meaning was attached to this: rebels threatened to burn down Colyns' home because of

---

<sup>234</sup> LP XV 852; SP1/161, fo. 39<sup>r</sup>; D. Grummitt, 'Arthur Plantagenet', *ODNB*.

<sup>235</sup> Huntington HA Inventories Box 1, 1; C. Cross, 'Henry Hastings', *ODNB*.

<sup>236</sup> SP12/81/28, fos. 75<sup>r</sup>, 81<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>237</sup> TNA:PRO LR1/10, fo. 26<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>238</sup> M.A.R. Graves, 'Thomas Howard', *ODNB*; P. Honan, 'Henry Wriothesley', *ODNB*.

<sup>239</sup> Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 46-9.

Cromwell's arms.<sup>240</sup> Henry's arms were also placed at Brympton D'Evercy, possibly by John Sydenham II to show the family's association with the Tudors.<sup>241</sup> Certainly one John Sydenham served Henry and Cromwell from 1538 until 1542, when Sydenham II died. Whoever installed them, they would have represented Sydenham's son's local office-holding, reinforcing his authority.<sup>242</sup> Likewise, Austin Hynde, London alderman and clothworker, likely appropriated royal authority and demonstrated loyalty by owning, in August 1554, two table cloths and a towel bearing the 'kings arms', presumably Mary's, but possibly Philip's.<sup>243</sup>

A plasterwork overmantel bearing the royal arms in Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire's withdrawing chamber likely reflected William Moreton's loyal service. Although the arms have been deemed Elizabeth's, there is seemingly no date, motto or initials to explicitly make them hers, the only distinguishing feature being a griffin supporter which no Tudor seemingly used. Crucially, Gapper noted that the overmantel 'has been disrupted' by c.1559 woodwork, with the two elements probably not 'part of the same scheme',<sup>244</sup> implying that the plasterwork predated 1559, and thus probably Elizabeth's reign. One William Moreton, esquire, helped take a muster of the hundred of Northaw, Cheshire, in 1548,<sup>245</sup> and he was a Cheshire JP in 1555.<sup>246</sup> The arms perhaps advertised this local authority to guests.<sup>247</sup>

More elaborately, at Sizergh Castle, Cumbria, Walter Strickland, an MP, JP and local commissioner in the 1560s, indicated his loyalty and service to Elizabeth through a carved overmantel, dated 1569, in the best bedchamber featuring the royal arms, Tudor roses, and a scroll inscribed, 'Vivat Regina'.

---

<sup>240</sup> See below, pp. 276-8.

<sup>241</sup> R. Dunning, *Some Somerset Country Houses* (Wimborne, 1991), p. 18.

<sup>242</sup> R. Virgoe, 'John Sydenham', *HPO*.

<sup>243</sup> PROB2/257.

<sup>244</sup> Cautley, *Arms*, pp. 8-9; Gapper, 'Plasterwork', pp. 398-9; *Little Moreton Hall* ([Great Britain], 1989), p. 17.

<sup>245</sup> SP10/3, fo. 25<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> SP11/5, fo. 33<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>247</sup> Subsequently the arms likely indicated William's son, John's loyalty to Elizabeth as a Protestant monarch, being conditioned by religiously themed decoration in the long gallery, chapel and parlour. Late sixteenth century glass added in the withdrawing chamber, however, featuring the Moreton crest and initials WM, connected the arms, to either John's father or his son, William. The suggestion that the arms indicated the family's loyalty to the 'Absolute State' is, however, anachronistic. See: Gapper, 'Plasterwork', pp. 398-400; Hamling, *Decorating*, pp. 134-7; *Moreton*, pp. 5, 14-18, 20-2, 33, 41.

This room was apparently intended for guests' use, so that the overmantel thus advertised Strickland's allegiance and authority to influential people.<sup>248</sup> Such a function complimented Strickland's broader aims in remodelling his house to create a home 'commensurate with his wealth and status'. Although Hornyold-Strickland considered the overmantel 'a demonstration of loyalty to the crown at a politically difficult time for Catholic families like the Stricklands', Walter's Catholicism is questionable: in 1564 the bishop of Carlisle labelled him 'of good religion'. Nevertheless, the date is important: although Strickland's apparent responsibility for the overmantel dates it before his death in April 1569, it would have acquired new meaning after the Northern rebellion, especially with the inscription, forcefully emphasising the family's reliability throughout the upheaval. Moreover, it possibly acquired further meaning after Walter's widow's marriage in 1573 to Thomas Boynton. Whilst the date would still primarily have linked the overmantel to Strickland and/or the rebellion, it could conceivably now have also represented Boynton's service and connection to Elizabeth: a Yorkshire sheriff in the 1570s, he was knighted by Elizabeth and appointed to the Council of the North in 1577. The association was potentially emphasised in the late 1570s or early 1580s when the inlaid chamber, decorated with heraldry representing Boynton's and his wife's families, was created. This room effectively replaced the best bedchamber, which effectively became a preceding withdrawing room.<sup>249</sup> Thus guests would presumably have experienced the inlaid chamber's decoration sequentially after the withdrawing room's royal overmantel, connecting the two.

Similarly, John Spencer, a member of the Clothworkers' Company who had held London offices, installed a plasterwork ceiling in the public long gallery of Canonbury House, Islington, dated 1599 and centred on the royal arms, with accompanying heads of Roman Emperors.<sup>250</sup> This arrangement linked the English monarchy to the glorious Roman past, and commemorated Spencer's public

---

<sup>248</sup> Hamling noted that the royal arms in bedchambers of homes unlikely to receive a royal visit indicated loyalty and invoked a monarch's 'virtual presence'. See Hamling, *Decorating*, p. 164.

<sup>249</sup> I. Goodall, 'Privacy, Display and Over Extension: Walter Strickland's Rebuilding of Sizergh', *Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), pp. 198-9, 212-5, 232-4; H. Hornyold-Strickland, *Sizergh Castle* (1972), pp. 15-6, 43-4. Strickland's death roughly two weeks into 1569, Old Style, raises the possibility that it was more definitely linked to the rebellion. Prior to his wife's remarriage she did commission some furniture, although in general little was done. Goodall did not discuss the overmantel's significance.

<sup>250</sup> I.W. Archer, 'Sir John Spencer', *ODNB*; H.W. Fincham, *An Historical Account of Canonbury House*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (1926), pp. 7-8, 15.

service, even though his mayoralty in 1594-5, when disruption necessitated the Privy Council's imposition of martial law, was probably best forgotten. A statement of loyalty was perhaps occasioned by Spencer's intransigence in the face of Elizabeth's possible attempts to reconcile him with his daughter, who had married against his wishes in March 1599.<sup>251</sup> The arms perhaps showed that Spencer appreciated the unsuccessful gesture, and was an otherwise devoted subject.

Demonstrations of loyalty and service that simultaneously appropriated royal authority were sometimes used to implement policy. Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormond's plasterwork at Ormond Castle, Ireland, surviving in state rooms newly built from the 1560s, with one overmantel dated 1575, served a political purpose. The long gallery featured an overmantel with a crowned royal arms, a ceiling repeating the royal arms, portcullises, Tudor roses, Elizabeth's initials and fleurs-de-lis, and a frieze around the room containing several alternating motifs: portrait busts of Edward and Elizabeth, the royal arms, and the figures of 'EQVETAS' and 'IVSTICIA'. In this public room Ormond showed his loyalty, service and personal ties to Edward, with whom he was educated, and his cousin Elizabeth, whose favourite he was. Here he also, as a supporter of 'the English Protestant monarchy', advised Catholic Ireland's 'rebellious leaders' to embrace 'the English "imperium"', which promised the 'rule of law' and justice. Gapper emphasised that the context, with Ormond involved in gaining rebels' (potentially temporary) submissions to Elizabeth, would have emphasised the decoration's meaning.<sup>252</sup> Arguably this context, reminding viewers that display was accompanied by action, further meant that Ormond was practically commanding, in the name of the English monarchy, his opponents' 'acceptance' rather than simply 'advocating' it, although his self-presentation as Protestant royal representative was likely complicated by his difficult relations with English deputies and other Irish government members, and his 'reticence over religion' and Catholic territories.<sup>253</sup> However oversimplified, this image was enhanced by further showing his loyalty through a 1565 fresco painting of Elizabeth in the entrance hall, by including his own arms carved on a fireplace in

---

<sup>251</sup> Archer, 'Spencer'.

<sup>252</sup> J. Fenlon, 'The Decorative Plasterwork at Ormond Castle: A Unique Survival', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), pp. 67, 69-72, 75; Gapper, 'Plasterwork', pp. 374-7.

<sup>253</sup> D. Edwards, 'Thomas Butler', *ODNB*.

the long gallery, and by the state rooms' layout. The long gallery, sitting between the earl's chamber and new dining chamber, whose plasterwork featured his arms and devices,<sup>254</sup> would have been experienced and interpreted in connection with them.

Decoration was related to personal and political considerations in other ways. Royal progresses motivated royal decoration. Although William Cecil initially purchased Theobalds as an estate for Robert, after Elizabeth's 1571 visit it acquired 'a public role' as her favourite 'state guest house', marking William's 'devotion and achievement'. It was grandly rebuilt accordingly.<sup>255</sup> Theobalds' decoration, including royal imagery, fulfilled both the new role and the old, educating Robert. A loggia at Theobalds' southern entrance was 'well painted' with English monarchs' and pedigrees of Cecil and other 'antient families'. Cecil was interested in his lineage, fictionally tracing it back to the Norman Conquest. Placing this fiction beside royal reality gave 'credence' to Cecilian claims to 'ancient nobility', and simultaneously 'encouraged' Robert in a 'political career'. In 1600, the great gallery contained pictures of all fifteenth-century English monarchs, except Edward V, Roman emperors, contemporary European figures, and Knights-Commander of the Golden Fleece, plus cityscapes; a 1650 parliamentary survey added that the ceiling bore roses and fleurs-de-lis. The display indicated political power's instability, teaching Robert caution, with the fifteenth-century kings also portraying Henry VII's 'mythical destiny' in bringing peace. Sutton suggested that Cecil omitted Henry VIII's and Elizabeth's portraits so as not to 'contaminate' them in 'such mixed company', instead referencing them in the ceiling. He also suggested that a downstairs gallery containing Cecil family portraits and details of their 'exploits' in various reigns implicitly praised them 'in the guise of family history'. This and the ceiling would have instructed Robert in the 'close connections' between the crown and his family, encouraging him to continue these. Whilst Sutton suggested that 'other visitors' would have viewed the great gallery's decoration in reference to Cecil's

---

<sup>254</sup> Fenlon, 'Ormond', pp. 70-2, 75-6; Gapper, 'Plasterwork', pp. 374-8.

<sup>255</sup> M. Airs, "'Pomp or Glory": The Influence of Theobalds', in P. Croft (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power* (2002), pp. 3-8.

‘statesmanship’,<sup>256</sup> some possibly saw what Robert did: a peaceful Tudor era. Moreover Elizabeth, who visited Theobalds thirteen times, would have ‘electrified’ the great gallery’s ‘latent iconography’. Whilst this emphasised further the links between the Cecils and the Tudors,<sup>257</sup> it would also have strengthened the room’s implicit praise of her and her family.

Similarly, Hatton, Elizabeth’s favourite, built Holdenby in Northamptonshire between the late 1570s and 1583 partly to compete with other courtiers’ homes but also to entertain Elizabeth, claiming that he would never visit until she did, not realising that she never would.<sup>258</sup> The decoration, intended in part for her, unsurprisingly signified Hatton’s devotion and their close personal relationship. In 1600, one room contained three obelisks which displayed the names and arms of nobles with estates in Northamptonshire. The royal arms were also included, with Elizabeth’s motto ‘Semper Eadem’, whilst Hatton’s arms had his motto, ‘Tandem Si’, underneath.<sup>259</sup> These mottoes seemingly drew especial attention to their arms within the display, which reflected Hatton’s gratitude to and dependence on Elizabeth, whilst advertising his loyal service and privileged status to others. It potentially also augmented his authority nationally as a privy councillor and later chancellor, and more pointedly locally as an MP and holder of various offices.<sup>260</sup>

Hamling speculated that wall paintings at the Forge, in Much Hadham, Hertfordshire, were installed around 1575-80 in the hope of Elizabeth, who stayed nearby in 1578, visiting. The London mercer, Clement Newce, probably commissioned the paintings. One depicted Elizabeth’s arms, supporters, initials, the motto, ‘God Save the Queen’, yeomen of the guard with Tudor roses on their chests, and white and red roses. Another wall features the Judgement of Solomon, a symbol of ‘wise and just governance’. Newce, then, seemingly accepted propaganda’s association of Elizabeth with Solomon,

---

<sup>256</sup> Peacock observed that Waldstein, as intended, paid more attention to the great gallery, advertising ‘the historical and political milieu in which Burghley the statesman had pursued his grand designs’, than the one with Cecil portraits. See: Peacock, ‘Portraiture’, p. 216.

<sup>257</sup> Sutton, ‘Theobalds’, pp. 33-7, 43-50, 56-7. Waldstein also saw an alabaster sundial in the garden featuring the royal arms. See: Groos, *Waldstein*, p. 83.

<sup>258</sup> W.T. MacCaffrey, ‘Sir Christopher Hatton’, *ODNB*; Osborne, *Entertaining*, pp. 161-4.

<sup>259</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 113-5.

<sup>260</sup> P.W. Hasler, ‘Christopher Hatton’, *HPO*; MacCaffrey, ‘Hatton’.

representing her 'as a wise and godly Protestant ruler'. Furthermore, on the wall opposite the royal arms were Newce's arms,<sup>261</sup> visually affirming his affection for Elizabeth.

Henry VIII's and Anne Boleyn's visit to Lord Chamberlain, William Sandys' home, The Vyne, in 1535 fuelled rebuilding, but the result was more ambiguous. Sandys created royal apartments, seemingly connected by the heraldically-panelled oak gallery. Since the panelling dates to the 1520s and was seemingly always in the gallery, this room was presumably not built in 1535. The panelling has been re-hung several times to account for new doors and windows though, and Howard and Wilson suggested that a panel featuring the royal arms was above a door leading into one of the royal rooms. This panel also featured Sandys' devices,<sup>262</sup> thus advertising his loyalty and proximity to Henry: Sandys had long been a knight of the body, serving also in France and Calais. His goods, recorded in a 1541 inventory, also reflected his loyalty: a coverlet with a lion and griffin in the inner rose chamber, an altar cloth with red roses in the chapel (perhaps referencing Sandys' earlier service to Henry VII), a bedstead incorporating lions bearing the king's arms in one chamber, and a table cloth with 'roses crowns'. Yet, further decoration and goods complicated this: the 1520s panelling, besides containing more of Sandys' iconography and that of his prominent associates, included Catherine of Aragon's heraldry, whilst 1541 furnishings in the new parlour and great dining chamber featured roses and pomegranates, vestments had lions and eagles, and a cup and bed had pomegranates. This was unsurprising, as Sandys had received Catherine into England in 1501, and the new parlour furnishings were possibly linked to one of Henry's earlier visits. Yet, since the conservative Sandys was possibly unhappy about Henry's annulment and his policies more broadly, with Chapuys (incorrectly) reporting that he was conspiring against the king in 1534 and 1535,<sup>263</sup> the decoration perhaps appeared more critical:<sup>264</sup> retaining Catherine's devices when seemingly

---

<sup>261</sup> Hamling, *Decorating*, pp. 99-102.

<sup>262</sup> M. Howard, E. Wilson, *The Vyne* (2003), pp. 8, 10, 12, 31, 54, 93, 109.

<sup>263</sup> R.H. Fritze, 'William Sandys', *ODNB*; *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43-6, 51-5, 90, 93, 108-9, 142, 144, 146-8, 151-2. Sandys also showed his loyalty to Henry's earlier wife through stained glass featuring Henry, his sister, and Catherine, probably commissioned for a Basingstoke chapel in the 1520s.

<sup>264</sup> If Elizabeth saw it when she visited in 1569 and 1601, perhaps she was unimpressed. See: Howard, Wilson, *Vyne*, p. 13.

rearranging the wood panelling around the new royal apartments was presumably a conscious decision.

Decoration likely also commemorated royal visits. Elizabeth visited William More's home, Loseley Park, multiple times. Above the library mantelpiece, a carved piece of wood bears her arms, initials and the date 1570, celebrating her 1569 visit. A painting on glass has also been deemed commemorative, featuring flowers associated with Elizabeth and the inscription 'Rosa Electa', complimenting her.<sup>265</sup> Whether done before or in imitation of William Rogers' 1590s engraving of Elizabeth with orb and sceptre, featuring the same inscription, the initials ER, roses and the royal arms,<sup>266</sup> people likely connected the two. Beyond any commemorative function, such decoration would have projected and reinforced the same messages articulated by More's portraits. Perhaps he even commissioned his portrait in connection with the 1576 visit, when Elizabeth knighted him.<sup>267</sup>

Possessions of the Isle of Wight's captain, Sir Richard Worsley, of Appuldurcombe, inventoried in 1566, perhaps had a commemorative purpose: Henry VIII and Cromwell had visited in 1539 or 1540, when the latter was the Isle's captain and Worsley probably his deputy. Worsley's hall featured a cloth of the king's arms; a 'faire carpette woorke' embroidered with the king's arms was stored in the lobby, whilst certain coverlets, including one featuring roses and pomegranates, were 'stored away'. Perhaps this symbol of Henry's first marriage was politely concealed when he visited. Worsley's father had served in the royal household, so that these possessions would have celebrated his service besides symbolising Richard's, enhancing his authority. Richard probably entered Cromwell's service in 1531, being patronised by him thereafter. Besides acquiring Cromwell's captaincy after his death, he became captain of Carisbrooke Castle, and held local offices in succeeding reigns. Yet, Richard's widow's marriage to Walsingham apparently prompted the inventory. Walsingham established his household first at Appuldurcombe, then at Carisbrooke Castle, and, after Richard's sons died in 1567,

---

<sup>265</sup> Flynn, 'More', pp. 142-3; *Loseley Park* (Derby, 1982); Osborne, *Entertaining*, p. 167; Robison, 'More'.

<sup>266</sup> British Museum Number 1922,1212.2.

<sup>267</sup> See above, pp. 92-3; Robison, 'More'.

eventually won a lawsuit concerning his wife's rights to Carisbrooke Priory.<sup>268</sup> It appears likely therefore that these possessions subsequently represented his service to and personal relationship with Elizabeth.

The Manor House, Enfield's plasterwork possibly commemorated Elizabeth's visit to Henry Middlemore in 1587.<sup>269</sup> Two Elizabethan plaster ceilings possibly installed by the pre-1582 inhabitant, John Taylor, featured the Tudor rose and crowns. Since the building was part of the duchy of Lancaster and therefore leased from the crown, it was 'appropriate' for tenants to demonstrate their 'loyalty' through such decoration.<sup>270</sup> Yet, the decoration would also have symbolised the tenants' service and augmented their positions. Taylor was a receiver for the duchy of Lancaster in the area,<sup>271</sup> whilst Middlemore had served in a diplomatic capacity, and by 1588 was a groom of the Privy Chamber. Whoever installed the plasterwork, it perhaps grew irksome to Middlemore: in 1590 he summarised the 'sutes' that Elizabeth had granted him, indicating that only one benefitted him whilst most cost him money, twice because of Elizabeth's intervention.<sup>272</sup>

Evidently royal motifs were sometimes combined with owners' heraldic symbols in decorative schemes, creating powerful statements of loyalty and emphasising relationships to the crown. Lumley potentially established the Grove of Diana at Nonsuch in the mid-1570s, after his involvement in Ridolphi's conspiracy, as an 'allegorical apology' to Elizabeth. She was associated with Diana, who appeared on a fountain there. Furthermore, an arch bore an eagle, phoenix and pelican. The latter two were connected to Elizabeth, although in this context the pelican possibly referred to Lumley, who

---

<sup>268</sup> S. Adams, A. Bryson, rev. M. Leimon, 'Sir Francis Walsingham', *ODNB*; P. Hyde, 'Richard Worsley', *ODNB*; J.L. Whitehead (ed.), 'An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Sir Richard Worsley, of Appuldurcombe, AD 1566', *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 5 (1905), pp. 277-295. Henry VII's picture was in the great parlour.

<sup>269</sup> An Eakring inn where Elizabeth allegedly slept had two sets of her arms carved in stone, possibly in commemoration. See: J. Moir-Shepherd, K. Moir-Shepherd, *Royal Arms in Nottinghamshire Churches* (Chester, 1988), p. 3.

<sup>270</sup> Gapper, 'Plasterwork', pp. 430-2. Two overmantels featuring the royal arms, Tudor badges, and the letters ER were possibly 'of royal origin'. Similarly, John Hansby, Elizabeth's tenant at Tickhill Castle from 1585, perhaps commissioned a plasterwork frieze featuring a Tudor lion and dragon. See: D. Bostwick, 'Decorative Plasterwork of the Yorkshire Region, 1570-1670' (University of Sheffield Ph.D. thesis, 1993), p. 160.

<sup>271</sup> A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'John Taylor', *HPO*.

<sup>272</sup> Lansdowne Vol/64, fo. 143<sup>r-v</sup>.

also used it. An inscription, which warned against ‘trespassing upon Diana’s realm uninvited’ and transgressors’ ‘appalling destiny’, indicated that Lumley had become wise, thus avoiding Actaeon’s fate, whilst proclaiming ‘long live Diana, to the gods a care, to mortals dear, to her own a source of safety’. Visitors to Nonsuch noted the Grove, with some, like Lumley’s friend Anthony Watson, appreciating its connection to Lumley. Yet in 1592 Lumley gave Nonsuch to Elizabeth, remaining as keeper.<sup>273</sup> In a royal palace, the Grove’s political meaning was potentially obscured, with Lumley’s pelican potentially becoming Elizabeth’s instead.

Other owners connected themselves to their monarchs more explicitly. The great chamber at Lytes Cary in Charlton Mackrell, Somerset, added by John Lyte in 1533, featured a plasterwork royal arms, flanked by Tudor roses and fleurs-de-lis, on one wall, and a plaster ceiling incorporating Tudor roses and Lyte’s and his wife’s shields. Commentators have viewed the royal arms as a demonstration of loyalty,<sup>274</sup> but the Cary’s iconography more forcefully emphasised their support for the king.<sup>275</sup> As the great chamber accommodated Lyte’s ‘most honoured guests’,<sup>276</sup> its decoration advertised Lyte’s service and authority to influential people. Lyte was later commissioned to supply men for royal armies in 1544, and in 1546 was a Somerset commissioner charged with taking musters.<sup>277</sup> Nothing explicitly marked the arms as Henry VIII’s, so that they would also have emphasised Lyte’s service to Edward and Mary: he apparently fought the 1549 Western rebels,<sup>278</sup> and was a Somerset JP in 1555.<sup>279</sup>

Before the 1530s, Haddon Hall’s parlour associated the Vernons and their relations with the crown, advertising their service, enhancing their status and appropriating royal authority. A c.1500 ceiling inserted by Sir Henry Vernon, Prince Arthur’s governor and controller of his household, and local office-holder, depicted a Tudor rose and Talbot dog, signifying his marriage to Anne Talbot; the

---

<sup>273</sup> Barron, ‘Collecting’, pp. 127, 130, 144-51; W. Richardson, ‘Anthony Watson’, *ODNB*.

<sup>274</sup> O. Garnett, *Lytes Cary* (2001), p. 12; J. Penoyre, J. Penoyre, *Decorative Plasterwork in the Houses of Somerset, 1500-1700* (Taunton, 1994), pp. 14, 32, 72

<sup>275</sup> The Penoyres recognised that the wall and ceiling were part of one display, but did not discuss how the inclusion of the Carys’ symbols contributed to its meaning. See: Penoyre, Penoyre, *Plasterwork*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>276</sup> Garnett, *Cary*, p. 12.

<sup>277</sup> SP1/184, fo. 181<sup>r</sup>, 1/185, fo. 50<sup>v</sup>, 1/213, fo. 114<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>278</sup> A.D.K. Hawkyard, ‘Anthony Lyte’, *HPO*.

<sup>279</sup> SP11/5, fo. 50<sup>f</sup>.

Vernon and Dymock arms (representing Henry's daughter-in-law) were possibly added later. Arthur, who apparently spent time at Haddon, presumably saw this. Subsequently, this room seemingly became a dining room, and George Vernon updated the decoration in 1545: the royal arms were carved above the fireplace, flanked by the Vernon arms and the Prince of Wales' feathers with Edward's initials. Beneath this was the family motto, 'Drede God and Honor the Kyng', whilst other carvings included the combined arms of George and his wife, with their initials and the date 1545, arms of their family connections, sometimes combined with the Vernons, and two carved medallions, likely George and his wife.<sup>280</sup> The room thus represented the family's continued and future service, again reinforcing George's local authority as a JP and commissioner, particularly as his famed hospitality potentially meant that many saw it. In 1557 the display perhaps represented loyalty to the earlier Tudors specifically, when George refused to pay Mary £100 as a forced loan. In 1564 bishop Bentham praised George's religious outlook,<sup>281</sup> so that spiritual differences potentially motivated this opposition. Equally, the Edwardian features of an admittedly Henrician display perhaps came to represent confessional affinity.

The wife of Ralph Warren, a well-connected London merchant and local office holder, seemingly constructed a private display celebrating his royal service and influence. In 1554, her chamber featured 'a table of the kynges armes' and a painted cloth of Ralph's arms. Warren advertised his connections more publicly via table cloths and towels featuring the royal arms, 'marygolds' (one of Mary's symbols) and roses, and fleurs-de-lis and the crown. Since he initially established contact with the royal household through his 'cloth wholesaling', perhaps Warren provided similar items to the government. Regardless, he was connected in other ways: holding London offices (with Henry VIII securing his appointment as mayor in 1536), personal friends with figures like Cromwell and step-

---

<sup>280</sup> K.H. Mantell, *Haddon Hall* (Derby, 1980), pp. 12, 15-6, 19, 31; J.A. Nigota, 'Vernon Family'. The family also owned a 1460s tapestry featuring the royal arms, apparently a gift from Henry VIII. Later, plasterwork in the great chamber, presumably installed by George Vernon's son-in-law, included a Tudor rose. See: Bostwick, 'Plasterwork', pp. 159-60.

<sup>281</sup> C.J. Black, 'George Vernon', *HPO*.

father to privy councillor Sir Edward North. Despite his religious conservatism, Warren seemingly served loyally in Edward's reign.<sup>282</sup>

Plas Mawr, Conwy's decoration in the 1570s and 1580s interwove heraldic symbols of the Tudors, earlier English kings, prominent members of North Wales' society, including Robert Dudley, and the family, ancestors and associates of the builder, Robert Wynn, and his first wife, Dorothy Griffith. Besides the highly visible royal arms placed above the gatehouse entrance,<sup>283</sup> plasterwork employed these symbols in displays conditioned by different rooms' functions: royal imagery had precedence on overmantels in spaces where Wynn 'entertained his equals or betters', Wynn's own arms being 'relegated to the ceiling or frieze'. Thus the great chamber's overmantel showed a Tudor rose encircled by the garter, with the letters ER, whilst the ceiling included Tudor roses, Wynn's and his wife's initials, dated 1580, and other symbols. Similarly, the overmantel in the parlour, where guests were possibly sometimes received, displayed the royal arms with the letters ER, a Tudor rose and portcullis. The walls and ceiling featured arms and initials of Wynn and his wife, dated 1577, and heraldic badges. In other rooms, however, including the hall, where Wynn encountered his 'social inferiors',<sup>284</sup> and possibly bedchambers, Wynn imagery was more central and royal symbols 'restricted to subservient positions'. Altogether this decoration advertised Wynn's status, celebrated his and his wife's lineage, and indicated his loyal public service. Employed at court by the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Walter Stonor, and Sir Philip Hoby, with whom he served militarily in France and Scotland, Wynn was a JP in c.1573, 1575 and 1581, later becoming an MP and sheriff.<sup>285</sup> Since attaining public offices broadly coincided with decorating Plas Mawr, Wynn's displays were perhaps also designed to appropriate royal authority, as well as the local influence of people like Leicester.

---

<sup>282</sup> PROB2/256; I.W. Archer, 'Ralph Warren', *ODNB*.

<sup>283</sup> The inner doorway beyond this seemingly incorporated Tudor roses, whilst another inner doorway featured the royal arms. See: A. Baker, H. Baker, *Plas Mawr* (St Helens, 1987), plates 12-3.

<sup>284</sup> This room also served to 'impress his visitors with his wealth and status'. See: Turner, *Mawr*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>285</sup> A.H.D., 'Robert Wynn', *HPO*; Turner, *Mawr*, pp. 5-6, 8-10, 13, 17, 22, 27, 32, 34-5, 38-9; Idem., 'Robert Wynn and the Building of Plas Mawr, Conwy', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 29 (1995), pp. 177-8, 180, 185, 187-9, 192. The Bakers provided detail on the plasterwork and Wynn's and Dorothy's ancestry. See: Baker, Baker, *Mawr*, plates 3, 5, 16-20, pp. 35-41, 46-8.

Crucially, the itinerant plasterers' movement is revealed by examining the emblems used: they first worked at Plas Mawr in 1577, then went to his family home, Gwydir Castle, before returning in 1580, subsequently moving to Maenan Hall in 1582. Here they decorated Wynn's cousin, Moris Kyffin's hall,<sup>286</sup> placing a crowned royal arms on one wall with supporters, ER, and a Tudor rose and portcullis. Heraldic symbols are included, as are, subtly, Kyffin's initials. The ceiling also features heraldic devices, whilst another wall shows Kyffin's arms. Although this Tudor imagery was 'a profession of loyalty' by Kyffin, sheriff in 1579 and 1585,<sup>287</sup> who had also composed a poem addressed to Elizabeth,<sup>288</sup> it also served to demonstrate his service and elevate his status. Surviving plasterwork at Gwydir includes roses and fleurs-de-lys like those seen at Plas Mawr and Maenan Hall.<sup>289</sup> This was surely overseen either by Robert's older brother, Morys, or his nephew, John. Morys served on numerous commissions and as a sheriff, JP and MP, whilst John was a JP from c.1580, later becoming a sheriff and member of the council in the marches of Wales.<sup>290</sup> Tudor imagery thus probably again advertised their loyalty and service, whilst reinforcing their authority.

Regional studies of plasterwork have similarly uncovered distinct workshops operating among networks of family and/or friends who were influenced by their acquaintances decoration. One group worked in North Yorkshire in the later sixteenth century for patrons linked to the Council of the North or from the same 'elevated' social circles. Crucially, their enrichments included 'Tudor emblems', which apparently accompanied 'family devices' in displays. Kirklington Hall's great chamber had a plasterwork frieze featuring the Tudor lion and dragon, whilst the ceiling and frieze above the fireplace included Richmondshire JP and Council contact, Sir Christopher Wandesford's and his wife's arms and initials.<sup>291</sup> Wandesford thus associated his family with the Tudors, perhaps appropriating royal authority, although the room was seemingly concerned mainly with self-

---

<sup>286</sup> Turner, *Mawr*, p. 16.

<sup>287</sup> R. Haslam, J. Orbach, A. Voelcker, *Gwynedd* (2009), p. 468. For the plasterwork's details, see images at: [www.coflein.gov.uk](http://www.coflein.gov.uk).

<sup>288</sup> Baker, Baker, *Mawr*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>289</sup> Haslam, Orbach, Voelcker, *Gwynedd*, p. 378.

<sup>290</sup> A.H.D., 'John Wynn', 'Morris Wynn', *HPO*.

<sup>291</sup> Bostwick, 'Plasterwork', pp. 86-90.

glorification.<sup>292</sup> Although unclear if the same plasterers were responsible, exterior plasterwork on a York house featured the Tudor rose, probably Elizabeth's arms, and the bear and ragged staff. Because the latter was used elsewhere by the earl of Huntingdon and the Percys, the house has been assigned to someone either connected to Huntingdon or part of the Percy family.<sup>293</sup> The public combination here would likely have advertised the loyalty and potentially the authority of the presumably eminent figure.

Royal symbols were used by another group of plasterers around Wakefield, employed by members of the influential Savile family, whose pride and competitiveness among different branches encouraged redecorating from the 1580s, and their 'friends and social equals'. In 1584, when George Savile, wool merchant and founder of Wakefield's Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, purchased Haselden Hall, the parlour ceiling was decorated with the royal arms. Coming from one of the Savile family's 'minor' branches, he was possibly 'concerned to stress his family connections', hence the ceiling's inclusion of arms representing the Savilles and another family related to them, besides George's own device, and his and his wife's initials.<sup>294</sup> The display, evidently important since he installed it so quickly, would thus have enhanced Savile's status by associating him with more eminent family members and the crown, with his foundation of the school evidence of genuine affection for Elizabeth. Similarly in 1595 George's son, Thomas, placed a plasterwork ceiling in Horbury Hall's parlour featuring the royal arms inside a garter with the motto, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', and a fleur-de-lys.<sup>295</sup> This would have indicated Thomas's loyalty: his name apparently appears with his father's on the walls of the Wakefield school.<sup>296</sup> An overmantel at Low Farm, Ederthorpe, owned by Sir John Jackson, an assistant attorney in the north in 1597 and Sir John Savile of Bradley's son-in-law, included Elizabeth's arms surrounded by the garter with the initials ER and Savile

---

<sup>292</sup> Friezes were generally less prominent features than ceilings or overmantels. See: Penoyre, Penoyre, *Plasterwork*, p. 23.

<sup>293</sup> Bostwick, 'Plasterwork', pp. 95-6.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21, 23.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>296</sup> M.H. Peacock, *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield* (Wakefield, 1892), p. 9.

iconography.<sup>297</sup> Jackson thus associated himself and his family with Elizabeth, emphasising his status as a royal representative.

When viewed individually, these people in Wales and Yorkshire apparently used royal imagery for similar reasons to others: displaying loyalty to and emphasising their close association with the monarchy, potentially aiming to augment their authority. But the fact that some seemingly emulated associates, using the same plasterers to create displays projecting similar messages, adds a further dynamic. Bostwick and Gapper have conceptualised decorative plasterwork in general as something of a fashion trend that spread primarily in a top-down process.<sup>298</sup> This suggests that royal imagery was not only appropriate because of the important, personal messages that it could transmit, but also because it and the messages that it created were fashionable. In other words, loyalty to the crown was a powerful discourse in society.

Further evidence of royal plasterwork symbols supports this conclusion. Without necessarily linking plasterers to specific familial and friendship networks, regional studies have still shown the same plasterers working at different locations, using the same moulds. Reusing moulds crucially helped make plasterwork affordable, thus enabling widespread distribution vertically in society - many of the following examples were likely relatively humble dwellings. Bostwick suggested that families lacking their own arms might display a royal set instead to achieve 'an impressive display', and noted that the already-discussed North Yorkshire plasterers' designs, after a period of apparent unemployment in the 1590s, were again used c.1600 for a seemingly 'non-armigerous clientele', their work being 'more generally available'.<sup>299</sup> Whilst limited information about many of the owners discussed below makes ascertaining what royal symbols represented difficult, the fact that these symbols were chosen when numerous moulds were likely available shows a shared belief that demonstrating loyalty to the crown was impressive and fashionable.

---

<sup>297</sup> Bostwick, 'Plasterwork', pp. 26-8; N.M. Fuidge, 'John Jackson', *HPO*. Fuidge does not corroborate Bostwick's claim that Jackson was on the Council of the North.

<sup>298</sup> Bostwick, 'Plasterwork', pp. 260; Gapper, 'Plasterwork', chs. 4-5.

<sup>299</sup> Bostwick, 'Plasterwork', pp. 25, 87, 99.

All but two of the houses where the Wakefield plasterers worked after 1588, including Horbury Hall and Low Farm, had the royal arms cast from the same mould. Similarly, the North Yorkshire plasterers' re-emerging emblems, including a Tudor rose, appeared at 79 Saddler Street, Durham, and the likely grander Dromonby Hall, Kirkby.<sup>300</sup> Furthermore, a former mayoral home, the dissolved priory of St Nicholas, Exeter, included the same c.1580 plasterwork Tudor roses as those at Great Fulford Manor and a building on Totnes High Street. Devon plasterwork also included Elizabeth's arms on overmantels at multiple locations, one dated 1599.<sup>301</sup> While there is no indication that the same mould produced these or that they were repeated elsewhere, much evidence would have been lost, and plasterers presumably only had moulds for emblems that were in demand. This point is also pertinent for Somerset plasterwork. Although the same royal arms appeared on a late sixteenth century hall overmantel at Rowlands, Ashill, which also has Tudor roses on a parlour ceiling, and in Poundisford Park hall, c.1570, other Tudor emblems in the county were not necessarily from the same moulds. Tudor roses appeared in c.1590 plasterwork at Poundisford Lodge, Pitminster, c.1600 work at 18 Fore Street, Taunton, and the Tribunal, Glastonbury, and c.1602 work in Wayford Manor's parlour. Late sixteenth century plasterwork at Priory Cottage, Evercreech, included a Tudor rose beneath a crown with ER, whilst crowns and Tudor roses were among the devices on Meadow Gate, Fitzhead's c.1600 parlour overmantel.<sup>302</sup> Similarly, several Hertfordshire buildings had rosettes, apparently Tudor roses. Seemingly the same 'rosette-like-boss' appeared in 1586 and c.1590 plasterwork in two St Albans properties, one also including what were potentially the owner's initials and the other featuring crowned Tudor roses. C.1600 plasterwork rosettes in Hitchin properties potentially came from the same moulds, whilst Rothamsted Manor, Harpenden's dining room ceiling had rosettes, probably from the sixteenth century.<sup>303</sup>

---

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-6, 99-101. John Constable of Dromonby corresponded with Huntingdon.

<sup>301</sup> C. French, K. French, 'Devonshire Plasterwork', *Report & Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 89 (1957), pp. 127, 132. The mayor died before the ceilings were commissioned. See: A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'William Hurst', *HPO*.

<sup>302</sup> Penoyre, Penoyre, *Plasterwork*, pp. 32, 71, 74, 78, 81-2.

<sup>303</sup> M. Puloy, 'Decorative Plasterwork in Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, 8 (1980-2), pp. 148, 151, 166, 179-80.

People seemingly at society's lower levels also owned items featuring royal imagery. In 1556 the outlaw, Christopher Asheton's goods at Fifield, Berkshire, included a table with the king's arms in his parlour.<sup>304</sup> Similarly on 28 November 1558, Nicholas Brigham, an Essex esquire, owned 'the Queens Armes faier gilt in a table', likely acquired during Mary's reign,<sup>305</sup> but perhaps briefly symbolising his allegiance to Elizabeth too. Upton-upon-Severn, Worcestershire, yeoman, John Scott, was more certainly from society's lower orders. In 1557 he owned two coats of the queen's livery, which presumably featured Tudor iconography. Furthermore, displaying royal symbols was not divorced from religious concerns, with owners sometimes articulating powerful expressions of loyalty if they did not share a monarch's faith. Perhaps this applied to Scott: in his Marian will he bequeathed his soul to the Trinity, 'trusting by goddes mercye and the merites of Christes deathe and passion to have remission of my synnes', and requested no masses or prayers for his soul,<sup>306</sup> perhaps indicating a coolness towards Mary's Catholicism. Likewise, in 1612, recusant, Sir Henry James, had a 'table of the late Queen's arms' in his London home's parlour.<sup>307</sup> Had he owned this during Elizabeth's reign, it would have demonstrated his obedience despite religious differences, particularly if he had been a recusant then too.

Conversely, some decoration was motivated by allegiance to a monarch based on shared faith. This possibly applied to some examples already discussed, like Protestants Hastings and More. Similarly, if Salisbury merchant, John Abyn, acquired his 'skutching of the kings armes', presumably the English royal arms, kept in his hall in April 1559,<sup>308</sup> during Mary's reign, it possibly reflected enthusiasm for a Catholic monarch. In his December 1558 will, he bequeathed his soul to God, the Virgin, and 'the holyie company of heauen', leaving money 'to Jesus mas' at St Thomas' church,

---

<sup>304</sup> E199/37/20.

<sup>305</sup> E178/860; PROB11/42B/606.

<sup>306</sup> PROB2/271, 11/40/124.

<sup>307</sup> E178/4194. He also owned the Virgin's picture. His goods were destined to be sold, so that his table potentially acquired new meaning with a new owner. See: SP46/70, fo. 24<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>308</sup> PROB2/356.

Salisbury, and to Sir John Bentley ‘to pray for me’.<sup>309</sup> Under Elizabeth it likely just reflected loyalty to the crown, as it potentially did if owned under Edward.

Displays of royal iconography sometimes explicitly advertised religious affiliations. 1580 wall paintings in Pittleworth Manor, Hampshire’s parlour, depicted the royal arms above an inscription saying, ‘God preserue in health our noble Queene Elizabeth’. The decorative scheme also features scenes from the story of Dives and Lazarus, and accompanying inscriptions. Hamling argued that the painting, by stressing wealthy people’s responsibility to provide charity to the poor, provided ‘a reaffirmation of the Christian virtues of private almsgiving’ in the face of changing attitudes and transitions towards institutional responsibility for the poor’s welfare. Moreover it warned ‘of dire consequences’ should people neglect their ‘charitable obligations’.<sup>310</sup> Yet Hamling neglected how Elizabeth’s arms contributed to the painting’s meaning: the arms suggestively implied royal sanction to the advertised socio-religious obligations.

In 1589, Chester’s vice-chamberlain, William Glaseor’s parlour potentially projected a political and religious message. He had ‘a frame of the princes armes covered *with glasse*’, presumably Elizabeth’s, which would have emphasised his service and bolstered his local authority, particularly if the arms embroidered on a cushion in the same room were his own. But, by including the earl of Leicester’s pedigree, a map of the Low Countries, and, among other books, English and Latin bibles, Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, and Erasmus’ *Paraphrases*,<sup>311</sup> this room arguably signified Glaseor’s support for English intervention in the Low Countries, conceptualised as part of a confessional foreign policy. Glaseor potentially therefore redeployed royal imagery according to his own views, casting Elizabeth in a role that she attempted to avoid.

Archbishop Whitgift’s armorial decoration at Lambeth Palace explicitly connected royalty to religious authority, emphasising his intimacy with Elizabeth and effectively endorsing her religious settlement.

---

<sup>309</sup> PROB11/42A/459.

<sup>310</sup> Hamling, *Decorating*, pp. 132-4.

<sup>311</sup> Piccope, *Inventories*, iii, p. 133.

The former dining hall featured the royal arms between those of the bishopric and archbishopric, accompanied by Latin inscriptions, including Whitgift's motto and a description of his arms. A Latin inscription praising Elizabeth beneath the royal arms punned on Whitgift's name.<sup>312</sup> This combination of personal and royal imagery illustrated their close relationship and his loyal service, whilst also visually demonstrating the royal roots of his archiepiscopal authority. Certainly Whitgift upheld official religious policy and was chief mourner at Elizabeth's funeral, whilst she apparently stayed with him most years;<sup>313</sup> perhaps this display was for her benefit. Situated in a public space, it likely had a broad audience. Visitors apparently saw this room in sequence with the portrait collection,<sup>314</sup> enabling both displays to reinforce each other. Many of Whitgift's roughly one hundred servants would presumably have been at Lambeth to see it too, whilst his household was frequented by scholars, and 'He often feasted the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry of his Diocess and Neighbourhood'. At Christmas his hall was 'set twice or thrice over with Strangers'.<sup>315</sup>

Regardless of their own religious beliefs, the less elaborate displays of less exalted clergymen similarly showed support for official religious policy. In February 1559, Thomas Allen, parson of Stevenage, Hertfordshire, prominently displayed a cloth bearing England's arms in his hall.<sup>316</sup> Allen was apparently appointed magister at Stevenage in 1540,<sup>317</sup> presumably remaining there until his death. Had he owned and displayed the royal arms throughout that time, it could have signified his adherence to a range of religious policies. During Edward's reign, it likely symbolised his obedience to policies that he disliked. His 1558 will evidenced his conservatism: he wanted a tombstone requesting prayers for his, his family's and all Christians' souls and left money to others for the same purpose. He also founded three grammar schools, where he wanted the pupils to pray for him 'with the psalme of de profundis and other suffrages thereunto accustomed'. They were to employ chaplains

---

<sup>312</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>313</sup> W.J. Sheils, 'John Whitgift', *ODNB*.

<sup>314</sup> Groos, *Waldstein*, pp. 59-61; see above, p. 85.

<sup>315</sup> G. Paule, *The life of John Whitgift* (1699), p. 103; Sheils, 'Whitgift'. Whitgift's letters suggest that he possibly spent Christmas at Lambeth in 1595, 1598 and 1600. See: *Salisbury* V 1042, VIII 1064, X 2.

<sup>316</sup> PROB2/355.

<sup>317</sup> Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thomas Aleyn.

to say mass twice a week, praying for his and his family's souls, and organise four obits once a year for his soul.<sup>318</sup>

Perhaps the same applied to one Badcock, who had been prior of Barnwell in the 1530s, and rector of Upwell, Norfolk and vicar of St Andrew the Less, Cambridge from 1539. In the early 1560s he possessed 'the quenes armes in a frame', effectively endorsing Elizabeth's policy and perhaps previously others'. His religious beliefs are unclear: Edwardian visitors excommunicated him in 1549, admittedly only for two days, although he did own Erasmus' *Paraphrases*,<sup>319</sup> perhaps suggesting that he complied with royal injunctions.<sup>320</sup> Goods likely in the home of Durham prebend, John Rood, would similarly have reflected on his occupation, and more certainly indicated genuine support for Elizabeth's religious settlement: his widow's 1582 inventory included the royal arms and a picture of the Judgement of Solomon.<sup>321</sup> If these items were displayed together, associating Elizabeth with Solomon, they would have forcefully demonstrated John's support.

Churches were, however, the most likely places to see Tudor imagery in a religious context. Surviving evidence shows that installing royal arms in churches was common, but still understates the phenomenon. Churchwardens' accounts reveal some, but certainly not all,<sup>322</sup> whilst many have perished. Although Mary's government did not order arms' destruction, many conservatives probably did this.<sup>323</sup> Certainly Wriothsley's *Chronicle* records that royal arms were removed in the majority of the London diocese's parish churches.<sup>324</sup> Furthermore, in anti-royal Commonwealth England more were destroyed.<sup>325</sup> Historians have presented them as symbolising the Royal Supremacy, whilst some Catholics similarly identified their religious significance.<sup>326</sup> Yet, motives were seemingly more

---

<sup>318</sup> PROB11/42A/380.

<sup>319</sup> BCI i pp. 272-3.

<sup>320</sup> See above, p. 82.

<sup>321</sup> Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 58.

<sup>322</sup> See for example: P. Morgan, R.A. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in Oxfordshire Churches* (Preston Brook, 1987), p. 3.

<sup>323</sup> Cautley, *Arms*, pp. 4, 24.

<sup>324</sup> M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 292-3. Elizabeth's 1560 proclamation requesting that people not deface such symbols in churches, however, indicates that they were probably not all destroyed. See above, p. 12.

<sup>325</sup> Cautley, *Arms*, p. 4.

<sup>326</sup> See above and below, pp. 12, 273-4.

complicated than a top-down process intentionally promoting the Royal Supremacy. Besides the lack of any royal command for their installation,<sup>327</sup> a possibly Marian carved set of arms at Waltham Abbey, Essex, would indicate this,<sup>328</sup> as would examples pre-dating the Royal Supremacy.<sup>329</sup> The latter have been deemed indications of loyalty;<sup>330</sup> although the preceding discussion suggests that this is probably an oversimplification, it crucially highlights that other motives underlay arms' installation. These are unlikely to have stopped in 1534.

Some arms undoubtedly projected the crown's religious role. Under Edward, several Essex churches combined the arms with scripture, as did St Thomas' Church, Salisbury, Wiltshire in 1573/4, along with the ten commandments. More elaborately, at Wandsworth, Surrey, in 1552, money was paid to set up scripture, being, 'the Creation of the World, the Coming of Our Saviour Christ, the Beatitudes, the Ten Commandments, the twelve articles of our Belief, and the Lord's Prayer, the Judgement of the World, the King's Majesty's Arms'. More stridently, a triptych at Preston, Suffolk, with Elizabeth's arms, seemingly updated from Edward's, had scriptural verses visible when the leaves were closed 'voicing stern Puritanism'. These warned against idolatry and images,<sup>331</sup> and in so doing, not only effectively maintained that displaying the royal arms in churches was appropriate, but presented the commands as royal orders.

Nevertheless, others installed royal arms at least partly for similar reasons to those who decorated their homes with them. A set of carved stone arms inlaid into St Mary's church, Ottery St Mary's wall has an illegible Latin inscription and an English one saying, 'He that no Il will do / Do nothyng yt lang yto / Anno Domini 1571'. John Haydon, who was buried in 1588 in the church, was apparently responsible for these arms. Having attended Lincoln's Inn, Haydon worked for the corporation of

---

<sup>327</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>328</sup> R.A. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in Essex Churches* (Huntingdon, 1975), p. 3. Montague Benson admittedly considered them Elizabethan.

<sup>329</sup> See for example: British History Online: South Warnborough; Moir-Shepherd, Moir-Shepherd, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 7; C. Newham, R.A. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in Cornish Churches* ([Great Britain], 2007); R. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in the Churches of Cornwall* (Runcorn, 1982), pp. 2, 9, 12.

<sup>330</sup> Newham, Pardoe, *Cornish*.

<sup>331</sup> Cautley, *Arms*, pp. 22, 28-33; R.A. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in Churches: the Artists and Craftsmen* (Chester, 1987), p. 22. A less successful updating occurred at Lower Quinton, Gloucestershire, where the Doom painting remained visible beneath the royal arms.

Exeter and the duchy of Cornwall, became an MP in 1558, held local offices, and helped to found a local grammar school.<sup>332</sup> It is therefore possible that Haydon installed the arms as a representation of his loyal, regional service, and to generally reflect his status as an influential figure.<sup>333</sup> Interestingly, in July 1587, the Privy Council asked Sir Robert Dennis, Thomas Southcotte and Robert Carey to investigate claims made in a petition ‘exhibited in the behalf of the poore inhabitantes’ of this parish, against several men, including Haydon, accused of abusing ‘a mater of trust committed unto them for certaine land geven by one John Lawrence of the said parishe, deceased, to the use of the poore there’. Although this hint of Haydon’s unpopularity locally comes long after the arms were erected, it potentially impacted how people viewed them, if his responsibility was common knowledge. Had he been unpopular earlier, the arms perhaps represented a strategy to ingratiate himself with his neighbours.<sup>334</sup>

On occasions those performing functions connected with the church seemingly installed arms, explicitly connecting themselves to their decoration. A 1602 set of royal arms painted on wooden boards in St Martin’s church, Sandford St Martin, bears an inscription saying, ‘John Studdey, Richard Apletree, Churchmen’, the two 1601 churchwardens.<sup>335</sup> Perhaps they considered this a fitting gift to commemorate their service, which could again indicate that displaying arms was common. St Augustine’s church, Broxbourne, was possibly also given the royal arms by someone commemorating their service. A modern set painted on wood survives, but an old inscription says, ‘Ye gift of Master John Bryce, of whose pytie this chancel was ceiled, all the work paynted, decorated & restored’. Bryce was vicar from 1512 until 1540, and possibly supplied an earlier set.<sup>336</sup>

It seemingly was not only individuals that installed arms. A 1586 set painted on wood at St Wulfram’s, Grantham, including the letters ER and the words ‘Vivat Regina’, were seemingly

---

<sup>332</sup> J.J. Goring, ‘John Haydon’, *HPO*; R.A. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in Devon Churches* (Chester, 1988), p. 12; SP12/85, fo. 136<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>333</sup> The date, coinciding with the Ridolphi plot, possibly made this, intentionally or not, a pointed statement of affection for Elizabeth.

<sup>334</sup> *APC XV* pp. 157-8.

<sup>335</sup> Morgan, Pardoe, *Oxfordshire*, p. 4.

<sup>336</sup> R.A. Pardoe, *Royal Arms in the Churches of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire* (Hartford, 1974), p. 8.

displayed with the arms of Grantham,<sup>337</sup> thus connecting Elizabeth to the town, enhancing the latter's status. Given the date and inscription, it probably also appeared as a powerful declaration of loyalty at a time of assassination plots. Many other sets of Tudor arms in various media survive or else were mentioned in churchwardens' accounts,<sup>338</sup> some potentially erected for similar reasons. Regardless of why they were set up, they could certainly have been viewed as representative of the Royal Supremacy, but this should not be assumed to have been the only motive at work, particularly because governments seemingly had little say over how arms appeared.

Other institutions, like London livery companies, also displayed arms to demonstrate their support for the monarchy and glorify themselves by association. In 1548, the Butchers inserted the royal arms into their hall and parlour windows when they moved into St Nicholas Shambles parsonage, their speed suggesting that this was a priority. Similarly, the Merchant Taylors commissioned the 'Queens Arms gilt' in 1590 for £57 3s; this was presumably an impressive set. Likewise, the Waxchangers' decision in 1602 to get a 'Rich and Royal' queen's crest suggests that it was expensive, and both were therefore presumably deemed important. Such sets likely had a wide audience: halls served as administrative centres and locations for social gatherings, whilst parlours similarly functioned as meeting and occasionally dining rooms.<sup>339</sup>

Evidently Tudor imagery was used by a range of people in different circumstances. Frequently, they were employed like portraits, to demonstrate loyalty and service to a monarch, to glorify oneself and one's family, and to appropriate royal authority. Symbols were often particularly convenient for these

---

<sup>337</sup> J.S. Alexander, G.F. Bryant, *Royal Arms in Lincolnshire Churches*, (Barton on Humber, 1990), pp. 36, 46.

<sup>338</sup> For example: Cautley, *Arms*, pp. 5, 18, 21-3, 27-30, 34; S. Dobbs, *Royal Arms in the Churches of Yorkshire* (Runcorn, 1985), pp. 6, 8; Moir-Shepherd, Moir-Shepherd, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 7; Idem., *Royal Arms in Berkshire Churches* (Chester, 1991), pp. 2, 7-9; Pardoe, *Bedfordshire*, p. 7; Idem., *Cornwall*, p. 9; Idem., *Devon*, pp. 4, 6, 9, 12, 14; Idem., *Essex*, p. 3; Idem., *Royal Arms in Shropshire Churches* (Liverpool, 1977), p. 4; Idem., *Royal Arms in the Churches of Northamptonshire & Rutland* (Hartford, 1976), pp. 4-5; Idem., *Royal Arms in the Churches of the City of London* (Hartford, 1973), p. 2. The royal arms from the period 1405-1603 also survive in stained glass. See: Pardoe, *Artists*, pp. 13, 21; Idem., *Royal Arms in the Churches of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire* (Hartford, 1973), pp. 10, 13. Some unidentified, unspecified, removed or lost arms were potentially Tudor too, such as: Moir-Shepherd, Moir-Shepherd, *Berkshire*, p. 9; Idem., *Nottinghamshire*, p. 7; Pardoe, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 3; Idem., *Devon*, p. 4; Idem., *Essex*, pp. 13-4; Idem., *Royal Arms in Churches: Additions* (Hartford, 1975); Idem., *Royal Arms in the Churches of Wales* (Liverpool, 1977).

<sup>339</sup> R. Scourfield, 'The Livery Company Hall, 1536-1666' (University of London M.A., 1993), pp. 6, 9, 44-5.

purposes, since many families had their own, and could probably produce them more easily than they could acquire portraits. By their nature Tudor symbols were less specific than portraits, but were still used to make specific statements of loyalty to particular monarchs when accompanied by dates, inscriptions, mottos or initials. Again, this decoration functioned within a Reformation context, where loyalty became a more complicated concept, sometimes linked to considerations of faith.

Furthermore, the same basic issues that made portraits a problematic propagandistic medium remained, and were perhaps amplified, since Tudor symbols could be more readily employed by a wide array of craftsmen. Whilst they generally always served as a symbol of royal power, it was again owners and decorators that inserted them into specific contexts, and thus associated royal power with whatever they wanted. Yet, owners were perhaps reasonably in tune with governments, which similarly used these symbols to project their power, especially when their display emphasised dependence on the crown. Thus, although governments may not have actively stimulated widespread employment of heraldry, they may have been generally happy with the outcome. In this sense, Anglo may have been justified as seeing simple motifs as the most useful aspect of visual culture for the government: their very simplicity ensured that they successfully communicated an official message of the crown's authority and legitimacy to the nation.

## Conclusion

Governments had little control over how royal portraits and symbols were used, making it difficult to employ them reliably to convey sophisticated polemical messages. Meaning could not be fixed, but was supplied by subjects. These ideas are central to Sharpe's work, which argued that when monarchs represented themselves to the people, in whatever form, they gave them the opportunity to mould rulers in their desired image, and thus power, leaving monarchs enthralled to something approximating public opinion.<sup>340</sup> Yet, Sharpe's theoretical argument does not reflect reality. Firstly, the process of instilling meaning and appropriating authority was probably not always a conscious

---

<sup>340</sup> Sharpe, *Selling, passim*.

one, but simply a reflection of how an owner perceived their monarch. Secondly, even when people very deliberately used and even misrepresented visual imagery, they could only do so because of the widely held belief that such imagery was inherently authoritative. This remained true, so that monarchs always retained their power. Loyalty to the crown was a powerful societal discourse. All use of visual imagery, whether sincere or cynical, was predicated on this, whilst its multifaceted, vague nature potentially made it even more unifying. The widespread use of visual materials both relied on and promoted this discourse of loyalty and associated notions of authority and legitimacy. In this way, even if monarchs could not control how their materials were used, they still reaped the rewards.

## Chapter 2: The Authority of Propaganda

This chapter examines the many instances when audiences accepted visual and printed government propaganda's authority. Such essentially positive evidence unsurprisingly often represented good news for officials, highlighting propaganda's potential effectiveness. Yet, it is also clear that accepting propaganda's authority and accepting government policy more broadly were not necessarily identical, and that undoubtedly authoritative and officially legitimated ideas and information could be employed for multiple purposes.

### Accepting and Using Visual Propaganda

Evidence of people reacting positively to visual materials is seemingly rare, but royal chaplain, John Leland's Latin poetry included two verses about pictures of Henry VIII. One described Henry as 'a sun shining without a cloud', whilst another referred to one of Holbein's paintings of Henry: 'they say that the great Alexander made Apelles his one painter for his outstanding self. But the image of Henry VIII demands in its turn to be painted by the dexterity of Holbein's hand'. Another of Leland's poems 'celebrates' Holbein's picture of the two-year old Edward. Noting that 'the immortal Holbein painted this pleasing picture with rare dexterity of hand', Leland wrote that he saw 'the form of [Edward's] magnanimous father shining forth in your face', 'possibly echoing' Morison's Latin inscription on the painting that encouraged Edward to 'emulate' Henry. Crucially, Foister argued that other humanists in the 1530s considered paintings 'an opportunity for Latin praise';<sup>1</sup> perhaps other verses were also written. Certainly in Elizabeth's reign Daniel Rogers was inspired by Elizabeth's picture to praise her.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> S. Foister, 'Humanism and Art in the Early Tudor Period: John Leland's Poetic Praise of Painting', in J. Woolfson (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 131-6, 143-4.

<sup>2</sup> Huntington HM 3118, fo. 102<sup>r</sup>. I owe this reference to Tracey Sowerby.

Leland also wrote six verses about royal heraldic devices, including the Tudor rose, crown, fleur-de-lis, royal arms, portcullis, Prince of Wales' feathers, and Jane Seymour's phoenix, surviving in manuscript under the heading, 'Inscriptions of ornaments which Lucas, king's painter, portrayed', meaning Lucas Horenbout. These were possibly appended to 'some kind of visual representation' by Horenbout, and certainly a woodcut of the Prince of Wales' feathers, possibly by Horenbout, appeared with the appropriate verse on the frontispiece of Leland's *Genethliacon Illustris Eduerdi Principis Cambriae* (1543). Nevertheless, it is also possible that these poems were 'merely inspired' by these widely displayed symbols, further showing Leland's appreciation of royal imagery.<sup>3</sup>

Besides reactions to portraits and symbols, there are indications that royal iconography was deemed inherently authoritative and consequently influential. Sowerby highlighted the authority Elizabeth's portrait was considered to have by numerous operators. Elizabethan officials, including Henry Cobham and Leicester, considered it a 'prized reward' for the queen's allies, Cobham wanting to give Elizabeth's image to a Venetian apparently intent on resurrecting a London-based Venetian embassy, and the earl suggesting that a £200 picture would, for Philip of Hohenlohe, be comparable to £1000 in ready money. Furthermore, allies wanted Elizabeth's image. Henry van Holtz, who served as a mercantile agent, requested Elizabeth's picture in 1585 'in recognition of the "perpetual memory" of his service to her'. Other agents wanted similar pictures for more practical purposes. In 1595, Edward Barton, English ambassador in Istanbul, wanted Elizabeth's picture not only to show to the Sultan, but because it could 'comfort' other Englishmen there. Similarly, in April 1581, Geoffrey Fenton asked Walsingham to 'Remember her Maty to send her picture to the state heare according her *promisse*', because if the parliament was granted, 'yt wold bee to good purpose to hange by the cloath of estate, especially for the greate *presence* and assembly of the contrey that will accur'.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, pictures of Elizabeth were given to Gaelic chieftains and their wives to 'arouse their admiration and to secure their loyalty to the English crown'.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> L. Campbell, S. Foister, 'Gerard, Lucas and Susanna Horenbout', *BM*, 128 (1986), pp. 723-4, 727; Idem., 'Humanism', pp. 132-3.

<sup>4</sup> Sowerby, 'Portraiture', pp. 5-6, 15; SP63/82, fo. 39<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, p. 181.

What likely underpinned at least some of these people's faith in portraits' potency was the notion that they functioned as substitutes for the person depicted. Indeed, besides making portraits appropriate for ambassadors to carry abroad, this theory would have made the displays of monarchical images elucidated in the previous chapter, which projected specific statements about both sovereigns and owners, especially forceful. Perhaps this theory also accounts for the claims, doubted by Anglo, of the 1563 draft proclamation concerning Elizabeth's portrait. Drafted by Cecil, this claimed that subjects, 'noble and mean', had a 'natural desire' to own Elizabeth's picture, and that they were complaining about existing images' poor quality.<sup>6</sup> Although such claims were rhetorically useful in stressing popular affection for the crown, a belief in the notion of substitution might have made people keen to own Elizabeth's picture, giving the document some basis in reality.<sup>7</sup> The theory was widespread enough. In 1599, Sir Nicholas Parker informed Robert Cecil from Pendennis Castle that the area was 'much troubled *with* dangerouse Rumorspredders'. He sent a deposition made by Richard Pearne concerning the 'mutinouse rumors' spread by William Crowsyer, a husbandman whom he had imprisoned. When these two were 'talkinge of the state of the Countrye', Crowsyer said that he had heard that Elizabeth was dead, and that an army was in the field near London, 'wherein was brought forth, only her *maties* picture but her selfe in *person*, was not there'.<sup>8</sup> Crowsyer thus seemingly suggested that in Elizabeth's absence her picture was used to represent her authority to this army. Crucially, Strong highlighted the theoretical 'interchangeability' of numerous objects all 'universally regarded as emanations of royal power', so that the royal arms could 'become' monarchical 'portraits'.<sup>9</sup> This theory thus likely applied to royal arms and devices too.

Others envisioned uses, equally dependent on royal images' authority, beyond simple display. Anglo outlined how Clement Armstrong, author of 1530s treatises on socio-economic and religious issues, wanted to use Henry VIII's image as a 'talisman' and 'political propaganda'. Armstrong argued that the king had 'mystic qualities', whereby he understood 'heavenly laws' and could implement these on

---

<sup>6</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 116-7.

<sup>7</sup> Sharpe certainly accepted it at face value. See: Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 365-6.

<sup>8</sup> SP12/272, fos. 78<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 40.

earth. Henry's 'mystic significance' was 'expressed' in his 'hedde seale', and from this 'lesser seals' should be made and distributed, so that every householder received a parchment seal at Easter, carrying it with them for the year. Non-householders, lacking seals, nevertheless must 'live under the cure' of those possessing them. Armstrong thought that people received grace from the king, and that the seal represented his 'heavenly office', thus possessing 'an almost magical, talismanic value', whilst performing as 'an identity card authenticating its bearer's loyalty'.<sup>10</sup> Confused as Armstrong's ideas are, he did significantly believe that the royal image could be enormously powerful and influential. Moreover, Elizabethan officials later displayed a similarly reverential attitude to her seal, albeit without harbouring comparable designs for its use.<sup>11</sup>

Walter Raleigh's 1596 publication about his adventures in Guiana recorded his high estimation of the power of Elizabeth's image, based apparently on experience rather than theory. Raleigh allegedly gave inhabitants twenty shilling coins bearing Elizabeth's picture to wear, 'with promise that they would become her servants thencefoorth'. Coins thus became miniatures, important for their image rather than their material. Montrose noted that an English audience would have interpreted Raleigh's account as evidence that 'Protestant England had bested Catholic Spain in the struggle for the Indians' hearts and minds'. Furthermore, on another occasion, Raleigh showed Elizabeth's picture to Trinidadian chieftains, 'which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to have brought them idolatrous thereof', thus stimulating 'wonder and worship in the Queen's prospective subjects'. Montrose highlights Raleigh's self-advancing rhetorical strategies: he flattered Elizabeth, implied that New World inhabitants were pliant and thus conquerable, and showed his own loyalty, portraying himself as 'Elizabeth's apostle to the Americans, producing, disseminating, and controlling the Queen's charismatic power over others', for his own benefit as well as hers. Raleigh's desire to impress his English audience with his achievements is significant,<sup>12</sup> since it reflects the status of

---

<sup>10</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 26-8. Shagan's discussion of this 'comprehensive moral and economic surveillance system' seemingly does not view it in terms of how a royal image is used. See: E.H. Shagan, 'Clement Armstrong and the Godly Commonwealth: Radical Religion in Early Tudor England', in Marshall, Rylie, *Beginnings*, pp. 76-80.

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 280-3.

<sup>12</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 95-103.

Elizabeth's image in England as well as Guiana. The effect of his first story rested on his readers' assumptions about what wearing Elizabeth's image meant; his second story similarly relied on and aimed to exploit a shared understanding of the power of Elizabeth's image. Without such attitudes, it would have been considered implausible.

The popular display of royal portraits and symbols demonstrates that Raleigh was not the only person to use the royal image at least partly, directly and indirectly, for his own purposes. On occasions, governments would likely not have welcomed such uses.<sup>13</sup> In May 1547, Gardiner sought to use royal iconography's authority to alter official policy towards religious images. Writing to Captain Edward Vaughan of Portsmouth, where 'detestable' innovation had led to religious images being 'most contemptuously pulled downe', Gardiner emphasised that Lollards, not Luther, considered images 'against Gods lawes', and maintained that destroying images 'conteineth an enterprise to subuert religion, and the state of the worlde with it'. The nobility used images to demonstrate 'their linage', whilst 'the Pursiuant' bore the king's name 'on his brest' not in letters that few could read but in the universally recognised royal arms.<sup>14</sup> Likewise those unable to read the scripture encircling the great seal could 'rede saint Georg on horsback on the on side, & the kinge sitting in his maiestie on the other side, & readeth so much written in those images, as if he be an honest man he wil put of his cap' out of respect. Should a seal be accidentally broken one might use it as a candle, but nobody would break it especially for this purpose. Nor would they 'cal it a pece of waxe only whiles it continueth whole'.<sup>15</sup> Gardiner warned that if the hostile opinion towards religious images continued, the king's 'standards, his banners, his armes, should hardly continue in theyr dew reuerence, for feare of Lollards idolatrie, which they, gather vpon scripture beastly not only vntrulye'.<sup>16</sup> Thus, Gardiner hoped to save religious images by linking them to royal ones, warning that the benefits of reverent treatment of the latter would be lost if attacks on the former continued. Anglo showed, however, that when responding to this, Somerset focused on people's tendency to misread images, highlighting

---

<sup>13</sup> See above, pp. 73-103.

<sup>14</sup> Gardiner was possibly over-optimistic. See below, pp. 285-6.

<sup>15</sup> Again, Gardiner was potentially mistaken. See below: pp. 280-3.

<sup>16</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 17; *TAMO*, 1563, pp. 784-6.

Gardiner's incorrect claim that the Great Seal depicted St George when 'the inscription testifieth, the king's image is on both the sides'.<sup>17</sup> Somerset was thus able 'to dodge the real point at issue'.<sup>18</sup> Somerset still claimed that 'it must be provided that the kinges maiesties images, armes, & ensignes, should be honored & worshipped after the decent order & inuention of humaine lawes & ceremonies', but that images 'contrarie to gods ordinance & lawes shoulde not be made pertakers of that reuerence', as this was forbidden by God. Yet he did not say how this would be done, thus seemingly ignoring Gardiner's notion that policies regarding religious images effected attitudes to royal ones.<sup>19</sup>

Catholics continued to emphasise governments' hypocritical stances towards religious and secular imagery, arguably using the issue to ridicule officials rather than as an argument for a change of policy.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the effectiveness of such attacks was likely reflected in Protestant rebuttals, such as that in clergyman Thomas Bilson's 1585 work, *The true difference betweene Christian subiection and unchristian rebellion*.<sup>21</sup> This was framed as a dialogue between Theophilus, a Christian, and Philander, a Jesuit. Philander argued that worshipping images was permissible: 'if hee that honoureth the Image honour the person himselfe thereby represented', as several saints affirmed, 'then the worship which is done to the Image of Christ, passeth vnto Christ himselfe'. Thus if it was lawful to honour Christ, it was 'not vnlawfull to doe the like to his Image'. Philander subsequently cited Saints Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom and Ambrose too, affirming the connection between secular images and subjects, but whilst Theophilus accepted 'this similitude', he denied that this consequently meant that 'hee that worshipping the Image of Christ worshipping Christ himselfe'. Instead, he distinguished between 'the seruices of God and men', and their images. Princes should expect only 'sober reuerence due to their states', which should be given

---

<sup>17</sup> In 1565, James Calfhill quoted Gardiner's letter to Vaughan to similarly show that images could easily be misinterpreted. In response, John Martiall defended Gardiner: his learning was 'not to seeke, to knowe S. George on horse back in batayle, from kinge Henry in peace'. In mistaking Henry for Edward, Martiall seemingly reinforced his opponent's point. See: J. Calfhill, *An aunsvvere to the Treatise of the crosse* (1565), E1<sup>v</sup>; J. Martiall, *A replie to M. Calfhills blasphemous answer* (Louvain, 1566), \*\*\*\*\*1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 17-9.

<sup>19</sup> *TAMO*, 1563, pp. 786-7.

<sup>20</sup> See below, pp. 273-5.

<sup>21</sup> Anglo and Parmelee treated Bilson as an official apologist. Yet, although the work was dedicated to Elizabeth and conceived as a response to Allen's *Defence*, with a central argument convenient for the government, it is not clear that he was officially commissioned. See: Anglo, *Images*, p. 16; Parmelee, *Newes*, pp. 34-5, 75, 83-6, 112.

chiefly to their persons, and secondly to their deputies, vicegerents and messengers, yea to their ensignes, armes and recognisances, such as they shall vse or allow to represent their power or to notifie their pleasures. In which case they that honour the Princes throne, Scepter, Seale, sword, token or Image, honour not the thinges which they see, but the power that sent them.

Yet, this did not mean one could worship Christ's image. Christ had not allowed images to 'represent his person, as Princes haue', and he possessed 'a diuine honour in spirit and trueth', whereof images were not capable. Furthermore, a prince's image should be honoured when they were absent, but it was 'madnes' to do so if they were present. Since Christ was present everywhere, it was 'frensie to honour his image when hee himselfe is not absent'. Lastly, the saints did not make their points to argue in favour of worshipping Christ's image, 'but that wee shoulde adore Christ him-selfe as being the expresse image of his father', so that the honour done to Christ passes to God, just as 'reuerence giuen to the officers, armes or Images which Princes sende to set vp, vnto them selues, is accepted as rendred to their owne persons, when they can not otherwise be present in the place to receiue it but by a Substitute, or a signe that shal represent their state'. Scholars have been unimpressed by Bilson's arguments,<sup>22</sup> but at least, unlike Somerset, he attempted to justify different attitudes to religious and secular images. His response highlights not only the prevalence of the theory of substitution, but its potential difficulties for English ecclesiastical policies.

Ultimately, the apparent absence of any coherent defence of the respect accorded royal iconography seemingly did not matter to many people: it was widely considered authoritative, and consequently widely used.

### Accepting Printed Propaganda

Considerable evidence survives of positive reactions to and sincere acceptance of government print, including reports claiming that books were well received, even by potentially hostile audiences. When

---

<sup>22</sup> T. Bilson, *The true difference betweene Christian subiection and unchristian rebellion* (Oxford, 1585), Oo8<sup>f</sup>-Pp1<sup>f</sup>; Anglo, *Images*, pp. 16-7; Montrose, *Subject*, p. 74; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 39-40.

distributing the *Glasse* in conservative Oxford, including to critics like John Roper,<sup>23</sup> Croke informed Cromwell that it had done more for Henry's cause than 'al the bokes preching, techinge, or other thynges that hathe hytheto bene set forthe', changing many 'stourburne and affectionate' minds. The book's impact was so great that Croke assured Cromwell that nobody could do more 'than the Kinge hym selffe hathe done in thys boke'. The arguments that Croke 'supposyd so weghtylye to haue bene made to the contrary', when compared to those of the *Glasse* 'seme to tarye very heuy to them selffe: and by reason thereof to be dul and off none effecte'.<sup>24</sup> Thus, despite some occasionally low-brow content, the *Glasse* seemingly persuaded an academic audience. Croke's responsibility for distributing the work perhaps induced him to stress its positive impact as evidence of his own diligence, and maybe his positions within the university and royal service made people more willing to look favourably upon the book. Yet, his institutional roles presumably enabled him to reliably gauge university opinion, making his report credible. Significantly, his failure to convince everyone that this was Henry's work<sup>25</sup> suggests that some presumably liked the book because they found its arguments genuinely compelling, not because they thought that they should. Perhaps it was even more convincing to neutral audiences.

Elizabeth's government also obtained a positive response from a potentially hostile audience. Archbishop Hutton informed Cecil that, when publicly read aloud, the 1596 *Declaration* was 'receiued with great applause'.<sup>26</sup> This is unsurprising: it was an official, uncontroversially anti-Spanish pamphlet, ostensibly written by lord admiral Howard and the popular earl of Essex,<sup>27</sup> publicised in a formal setting. Yet, northern England was perhaps still considered religiously conservative, so that obtaining a positive response from York's elite was important for security and significant in highlighting popular loyalty to the crown.

---

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> *Letters*, Ellis, ii, pp. 197-9.

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 53.

<sup>26</sup> CP173/80, fo. 80<sup>r</sup>; see above, p. 55.

<sup>27</sup> P.E.J. Hammer, 'The Smiling Crocodile: the Earl of Essex and Late-Elizabethan "Popularity"', in Lake, Pincus, *Politics*, pp. 100-3.

Earlier publications concerning the Armada likewise received positive responses. The Genoese spy, Marco Antonio Messia, sent ‘two printed legends’ concerning the capture of Don Pedro de Valdez’s ship and Elizabeth’s ‘visit to the army’ from London in early September 1588 to the Spanish. These were likely ballads printed by John Wolfe,<sup>28</sup> having been entered into the Stationers’ Register by him on 10 August.<sup>29</sup> Wolfe’s involvement makes it possible that these were connected to the government.<sup>30</sup> Messia claimed that he could send ‘a multitude of such things’ about the Armada, and that ‘this is the reason these people are so enraged with the Spaniards’ – ‘their anger would certainly be justified if the above and other similar things were true’.<sup>31</sup> Publications, some potentially official, were thus apparently proving influential, encouraging anti-Spanish feeling.

Official books were often considered inherently authoritative, even by those unsympathetic to official policy. In February 1534, Thomas More wrote to Cromwell about rumours that the latter had discussed with More’s cousin, William Rastell. Apparently Cromwell thought that More had written an answer to the *Articles*, giving it to Rastell to print. More stressed that he had not arranged for any book to be printed since the *Articles* was published, maintaining that he had never considered refuting them. Having only read the book once, he did not have enough knowledge to answer it, nor did he know enough of the law and facts involved. He would thus not ‘be so childish, or so play the proud, arrogant fool’, by presuming to answer it. Crucially, More also pointed to the book’s status: since it concerned the king and ‘professeth openly that it was made by hys honorable Counsaile, and by them put in print with his Graces licens’, More trusted that Cromwell would realise how unlikely it was that he should write an answer. If a book to which he had not contributed was issued in the name of king or council, he knew his duty ‘to bere more honour to my prince, and more reuerence to his honorable Counsaile’, than to answer it, or advise anyone else to.<sup>32</sup> Thus, despite fundamentally disagreeing with government propaganda, More recognised that official books were uncontestable.

---

<sup>28</sup> T. Deloney, *A ioyful nevv ballad, declaring the happie obtaining of the great galleazo* (1588); Idem., *Tilsburie*; T.I., *Tilsburie*. It is unclear which Tilsbury ballad was meant.

<sup>29</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, II, i, pp. 495-6.

<sup>30</sup> See above, pp. 37-8.

<sup>31</sup> CSPA Simancas IV 423.

<sup>32</sup> E.F. Rogers (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 467-9.

Even rebels considered official texts inherently authoritative. When examined about the 1536 rebellion, Thomas Kendall, vicar of Louth, described how on 2 October some of the king's commissioners came, including the registrar to the bishop of Lincoln, who had 'writings for assessing of benefices'. The rebels made him burn his books, 'except the Kings writyngs at the syght whereof thai put of their cappes & bad god saue the kyng'. The suggestion that the rebels considered books worthy of respect because of their association with the king was not a rhetorical construct designed to protect the offenders, since Kendall's account implicated them elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> It was also consistent with the rebels' apparent concern with evil councillors, given their desire to have input into their choosing.<sup>34</sup>

People also demonstrated attachment to official books by their usage of them. A c.1608 miscellany features sections copied from William Barlow's printed sermon about the earl of Essex's fall. It first includes this pamphlet's final section, relating Essex's execution. Then the reader transcribed Barlow's thirteen points that contained the treasonous points to which Essex had confessed, along with the minister's concluding paragraph that called this 'the most dangerous plott that euer was hatched *with* in this lande'.<sup>35</sup> Whilst this suggests that the miscellany's compiler deemed Barlow's work authoritative and reliable, this did not prevent them transcribing another version of Essex's execution.<sup>36</sup> Thus people could seemingly regard an official work as authoritative without necessarily ignoring others.<sup>37</sup>

Evenden and Freeman highlighted the 'quasi-liturgical use' of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* 'by the godly' resulting from the Privy Council's order for its placement in churches: an Essex group read Foxe during their regular meetings, being considered an example worthy of imitation by the

---

<sup>33</sup> SP1/110, fo. 143<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> *Lyncolneshyre*, A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Barlow, *Sermon*, D8<sup>r</sup>-E1<sup>v</sup>, E3<sup>r</sup>-E7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> FSL X.d.555, fos. 9<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>. In general the miscellany concerns Somerset and the earls of Essex.

<sup>37</sup> This is consistent with how people read propaganda, and how non-government authors used it. See above, p. 72, and below, pp. 155, 193, 241.

magistrate who discharged them after their arrest for illegal assembly in 1584; Drake, who claimed that Foxe's work was the equivalent to the English of the Bible to the Spanish, used it in services aboard his ship.<sup>38</sup> Drake's prisoners captured at Guatulco in 1579 provided further insights on his reading. King notes the 'profound impression' that the woodcuts, hand-coloured in his copy, had on Drake. His reading concentrated on 'attacks on papal appropriation of political authority' and Protestant martyrdoms, thus representing his support for the Royal Supremacy. Simon de Miranda, a priest, described how Drake read the book, which 'contained many illuminated pictures of the Lutherans who had been burnt in Spain', 'for some time', and also 'spoke much evil of Supreme Pontiff', calling it 'a swindle' for a monarch to kiss the pope's feet, perhaps referring to one of the woodcuts in 'The Proud Primacie of Popes'. Drake also showed woodcuts directly to the captured harbourmaster, including a picture that he said depicted those 'martyred and burnt in Castile', and another that showed the pope's arrogance.<sup>39</sup>

Other examples probably also reflect the impact of the council's order. Grace Mildmay, Sir Walter's daughter-in-law, recommended that her children read Foxe's book and the Bible in her autobiography. Apparently she was influenced by her mother, Anne Sharington, who had given Grace Foxe's book among a select few to read. Grace also planned to compose a collection of the main points of Foxe's work to use for her 'own instruction, comfort and increase of faith'. Similarly, Margaret Hoby's diary features numerous references to hearing Foxe's work read aloud,<sup>40</sup> with Cambers suggesting that communal reading was 'a central component of religious practice in [her] household'.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, Foxe's work was also used at Eton, where Sir John Harington, Elizabeth's godson, and other 'Schollers' translated the story of Elizabeth's 'Miraculous Preservation' in Mary's reign into Latin.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Evenden, Freeman, 'Profit', p. 1302.

<sup>39</sup> King, *Martyrs*, pp. 297-8.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 289-91.

<sup>41</sup> A. Cambers, 'Readers' Marks and Religious Practice: Margaret Hoby's Marginalia', in King, *Books*, p. 217.

<sup>42</sup> King, *Martyrs*, pp. 298-300. Although Harington occasionally disagreed with Foxe's work, he employed its information on the Marian bishops' treatment of Protestant martyrs when warning Prince Henry of puritanism's dangers.

Perhaps then they detected this section's increasingly critical attitude towards Elizabeth as the text was edited and re-printed.<sup>43</sup>

Other books' use of official pamphlets also reveals their authority and importance. Patterson noted the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*' 'overemphasis' on Elizabethan Catholic plots, which showed that the editor was 'an ardent supporter' of 'anti-Catholic measures'.<sup>44</sup> Much of the content came from printing several official pamphlets, their reliability in some cases implied by the lack of any independent account of the events described: for instance, little else was said about Francis Throckmorton or William Parry. Furthermore, some pamphlets' official origins were emphasised. When describing Campion's execution, the *Chronicles* explain that in order to show that he died 'deseruedlie as a traitor', 'there was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblie a pamphlet published by authoritie'. It then prints the *Aduertisement*, evidently perceiving this anonymous work's official origins.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, to explain the reasons for English intervention in the Low Countries, the *Chronicles* printed 'a booke published by authoritie concerning that argument', the 1585 *Declaration*, claiming that it was 'in all points agreeable with the printed copie first extant'.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the pamphlet relating the earl of Northumberland's end was introduced as an account of his death and treasons 'as the same was publikelie deliuered in the Starchamber, and after published in a booke'.<sup>47</sup> Holinshed technically also printed Elizabeth's 1586 *Letter* to London's mayor thanking the people for their loyalty after the Babington Conspiracy, although rather than including it as a titled pamphlet, the two components, Elizabeth's letter and London councillor, James Dalton's speech, are re-ordered and printed with their own headings. Nevertheless, Holinshed introduces these by saying that since her letters were 'materiall ... we are in dutie bound trulie to annex them, as we had them vnder publication',<sup>48</sup> highlighting their authority. This was arguably also implied when introducing Robert

---

<sup>43</sup> Freeman, 'Providence', pp. 27-55.

<sup>44</sup> A. Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (1994), pp. 5, 70, 128.

<sup>45</sup> *Aduertisement*; R. Holinshed, *The first and second volume of Chronicles* (1587), p. 1328; see above, p. 50.

<sup>46</sup> *Declaration* (1585); Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1414-9.

<sup>47</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1404-11; *Northumberlands*.

<sup>48</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1553-4; *Maior*.

Cecil's 1586 *Letter* about Mary Stuart as a 'learnedlie penned' letter about parliamentary affairs.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the Throckmorton pamphlet's convoluted opening and the Parry pamphlet's printer's note introducing a knowledgeable gentleman's independent summary were omitted,<sup>50</sup> although the latter summary itself appeared. Although not labelled official, these were thus also less anonymous. Other changes also appeared. After describing his early life, the Parry pamphlet stressed that God protected Elizabeth; the *Chronicles* expanded on this, saying that God would 'fulfill for hir sake no lesse than good king David' what loyal subjects would pray for, being 'such vengeance and heauie measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allotted them, as is wished against the malicious wicked in the eight and fiftith psalme', which is then printed. Although the prayers at the end were omitted, a 'proper epigram' was included.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, excepting Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* and his son's and Elizabeth's 1586 letters, the pamphlets were printed with additional marginalia to shape readers' interpretation. Among these were notes in Norton's 1583 *Declaration*, by a section concerning Campion's answers to the 'Bloody Questions', citing the previously included 1581 *Aduertisement*, and in Elizabeth's 1585 *Declaration* concerning the Low Countries and the Northumberland pamphlet referencing Throckmorton's confession, also already included in that pamphlet.<sup>52</sup> Besides increasing the polemical nature of these works, therefore, the *Chronicles* made connections between them, showing how they reinforced each other. Significantly, this edition was officially censored, including 'accusations of injustice' being removed from the account of Campion's fate.<sup>53</sup> By leaving the above changes in, officials seemingly condoned them.

Non-government writers frequently employed government books, citing official publications explicitly or repeating their arguments, frequently demonstrating their acceptance of official claims. Examining how Elizabethan authors often referenced, implicitly and explicitly, the official 1585 Parry pamphlet illustrates this process, with the same elements frequently cited to repeat and reinforce the

---

<sup>49</sup> Cecil, *Leycester*; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1580-6.

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>51</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1370-5, 1382-95; Parry; Q.Z., *Discouerie*.

<sup>52</sup> Cecil, *Iustice*; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1357-68, 1406, 1416; Norton, *Declaration*. Also included was, Bongars, *Aunsvvere*, on p. 1401.

<sup>53</sup> Clegg, *Censorship*, ch. 7.

book's key messages. Such uniformity suggests official success here in conveying the pamphlet's central arguments.

Parry claimed that the Cardinal of Como sent him a letter, printed in Italian and English by the government, wherein the pope labelled Elizabeth's assassination meritorious, promising Parry earthly and heavenly rewards to perform it. The pamphlet could thus stress papal hostility to England.<sup>54</sup> Authors followed suit. The clergyman Thomas Rogers explicitly referenced the official pamphlet and Como's letter when attacking the pope in *An historical dialogue touching antichrist and poperie* (1589), a dialogue between two 'professors of the Gospell', Zelotes and Timothie. Zelotes claimed that 'monstruous and abhominable' treasons had been undertaken because of Pius V's bull, with 'one thing besides more horrible then the rest': the doctrine 'resolved-vpon, commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, Diuinitie and pollicie, that for the furtherance of the Romish superstition, it is lawfull, yea meritorious, to God & the world', for a subject to kill their sovereign. Two marginal notes referenced specific pages from 'the declar. Of Parries treasons'. The first highlighted Zelotes' phrase, 'commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, Diuinitie and pollicie', a direct quotation from Parry's letter to Elizabeth. The second marked Zelotes' words, 'that for the furtherance of the Romish superstition, it is lawfull, yea meritorious', and cited Parry's printed confession, presumably highlighting Parry's reference to his conspiracy as an 'enterprise for the aduancement of religion'. When Timothie subsequently asked if the pope sanctioned this doctrine, Zelotes replied that he did, since a cardinal wrote a letter with the pope's consent which 'commended the fact, as that which shall merit heauen', and encouraged the 'villaine' to 'perseuere' in his 'holy and honorable thoughtes', telling him that he was 'indued with a good Spirit', and promising earthly rewards from the pope and 'plenary indulgence & remission of all his sinnes' in heaven. A marginal note by this said, 'Card. de Comos letter to Parry. It is in the declaration of Parries treasons', and Rogers' summary employs similar phraseology. Timothie asked if anyone had actually attempted 'so horrible treason vpon such a

---

<sup>54</sup> Parry, B1<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>-E2<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>r-v</sup>, F3<sup>v</sup>-F4<sup>r</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>-G2<sup>r</sup>, G3<sup>r</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup>. Phillip Stubbs' pamphlet printed Como's letter in English, perhaps having heard it read aloud at the trial. Read suggested that Henry Carr potentially obtained it and then asked Stubbs to write a pamphlet. These two printed versions of the letter were not, however, 'identical', albeit not substantially different. See: Read, 'Cecil', p. 39; P. Stubbs, *The intended treason, of Doctor Parrie* (1585), A3<sup>r</sup>.

warrant’, and Zelotes mentioned ‘that parricide intended, promised, vowed, but through the almightie power of the watchman of England not brought, to passe by Parrie’. One marginal note here simply said ‘D. Parrie’, whilst another referenced two pages from Parry’s printed confession. On page 14, Parry admitted vowing and promising to kill Elizabeth, whilst on page 16 he claimed that receiving Como’s letter ‘confirmed my resolution to kill her’, convincing him ‘that it was lawfull and meritorious’.<sup>55</sup>

Later, when arguing that the pope had taken Christ’s ‘prophetical office’, Rogers referenced Como’s letter again. He claimed that popes had been given authority greater than Christ’s, leading to ‘horrible dispensations’. For instance, ‘popish preachers’ had earlier declared that killing a Lutheran was ‘gratefull to God and meritorious’. But recently, it was ‘not onely permitted as pardonal by a dispensation from the pope, but also iudged meritorious, by a cardinals letre, as wherby he should merit much in heauen’, for a subject to kill their prince. A marginal note here referenced Como’s letter, and Roger’s previous discussion.<sup>56</sup>

The clergyman George Withers also explicitly cited the government pamphlet to show that the pope sponsored Elizabeth’s assassination in *A view of the marginal notes of the popish Testament* (1588). When discussing a marginal note in Acts that described Peter fleeing his persecutors at Christ’s commandment, Withers observed that Peter did not ‘set men a worke’ to kill Herod ‘for the iniurie offered him’, but left vengeance to god. ‘Of whom then learned the pope and his adherents to set men a work to murder the Lords annointed, and to giue the murderers absolution afore hand’. A marginal note reads, ‘As appeereth in the report of the death of doctor Parrie’, meaning Como’s letter.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Parry, B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>; T. Rogers, *An historical dialogue touching antichrist and poperie* (1589), A6<sup>r</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>-D5<sup>r</sup>. On Rogers see: J. Craig, ‘Thomas Rogers’, *ODNB*.

<sup>56</sup> Parry, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>; Rogers, *Dialogue*, H5<sup>r</sup>-H6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> G. Withers, *A view of the marginal notes of the popish Testament* (1588), S4<sup>v</sup>. Withers referred to the official pamphlet, not Stubbs’ work, which appeared before Parry’s execution. See: Lock, ‘Parry’; Parry, A1<sup>r</sup>, F1<sup>r</sup>; SP12/176/2, fo. 1<sup>r</sup>. On Withers see: J. Craig, B. Usher, ‘George Withers’, *ODNB*.

Others used the government pamphlet to vilify the pope without acknowledging it, such as Thomas Bilson. His *True difference* noted that whilst Christ's church prayed for heretical, tyrannical monarchs, the pope and Jesuits encouraged subjects to kill them, as they did Parry 'with pardon, praise, and recompence both here and in heauen' - an allusion to Como's letter.<sup>58</sup> Subsequently, when debating the proper Christian response to tyranny, Philander, the Jesuit interlocutor, remarked that the heathens 'had meanes to deliuer them-selues' from tyrants, but Theophilus, the Christian, argued that this was by killing them, 'which Christians may not imitate'. Nevertheless, 'in *Cardinall Comos letter*' the pope promised Parry 'earthly and heauenly recompence' if he killed Elizabeth. 'The letter is extant, the purpose confessed, the partie executed'.<sup>59</sup> This showed that the pope and cardinals were heathens. The printed marginalia emphasised these points. Meanwhile, Bilson suggested that they were worse than heathens, since they deliberately ignored god's commandments: they not only pardoned and praised those that killed monarchs, 'but also assure them of rewarde in heauen', making it '*meritorious* to murder them' and encouraging it as a '*holy and honourable* exployte'. The words meritorious, holy and honourable came from Como's letter, which Bilson reproduced in Italian and English, with printed marginalia saying, '*Cardinal Comos letter for the murdering of her Maiestie*'. By the English translation, Bilson clarified that the letter was about killing Elizabeth, '*as PARRY himselfe confessed*'. Bilson further stressed that Cicero did not say so much to praise Brutus and Cassius '*as Como doth to incite this Traitour to murder the Queene of England*'.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly, Sir Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon's anti-Catholic work, *A watch-word to all religious, and true hearted English-men* (1598), probably obtained information from the official pamphlet. Hastings claimed that the pope had incited Parry to come to England, to be an MP, and to 'intrude himselfe' into the chief councillors' houses and Elizabeth's presence, 'hauing with her Highnes large discourses, and long conferences'. Parry had reconciled himself to the pope, coming

---

<sup>58</sup> Bilson, *Difference*, Cc5<sup>v</sup>-Cc6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> This exchange was repeated later, Theophilus claiming that '*Parries dagger*' was a '*diuerlish* meanes to dispatch princes'. See: *Ibid.*, L15<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, L13<sup>v</sup>-L14<sup>v</sup>; *Parry*, C1<sup>v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>. Bilson almost certainly took the Italian version from the government tract, although small differences between the English translations suggest that he possibly provided his own. He did not copy Stubbs' version. See: Stubbs, *Parrie*, A3<sup>r</sup>.

with the ‘bloodie purpose’ to kill Elizabeth. As assurances, he had given his word, received the sacrament and written to Rome requesting the pope’s permission and remission of his sins. He was given this by the pope’s commandment in a letter from a cardinal, ‘wherein his purpose was sayd to be honorable, the fact meritorious before God; and kinde requitals are promised to him for vndertaking the matter’. Besides containing Como’s letter, the official pamphlet described how Parry had made assurances, taken the sacrament, written to Rome, and had private conferences with Elizabeth.<sup>61</sup> Hastings’ second work, *An apologie or defence of the watch-vvord* (1600), definitely employed the official pamphlet.<sup>62</sup> Here Hastings wished that ‘the opinion conceiued of the Popes plenarie pardons’ did not lead subjects to commit treason ‘to satisfie the Popes desire’. For instance, Parry confessed to plotting Elizabeth’s death, being ‘the more strongly resolued’ by a papal pardon, of which Como’s letter assured him. This was similar to Parry’s printed statement that receiving this letter ‘confirmed my resolution to kill her’. Hastings then quoted the letter’s assurance that the pope granted Parry remission of all his sins, as requested, and promised him rewards on earth and in heaven.<sup>63</sup>

Other pro-government works discussing the pope’s connection to Parry seemingly employed the official pamphlet. James Aske’s verse account of papal efforts to depose Elizabeth, *Elizabetha triumphans* (1588), claimed that Pius V (despite not being pope at the time) caused Parry ‘With smiling face for to discharge a Dagge / At her kind heart, who saued had his life’. A marginal note explained that ‘Parry alias vp Harry was pardoned by the Queene, condemned for a violent vprore against Hare’. Aske deemed this ‘the fruite of kindnes ill bestow’d’, as Parry defied nature by seeking Elizabeth’s death, ‘Whose sacred life did saue thy dying death’. Luckily god revealed Parry’s treasons, and he was executed.<sup>64</sup> Aske potentially obtained these details from the official pamphlet, which revealed that Parry’s original name was ap Harry, and that Elizabeth had pardoned him when

---

<sup>61</sup> F. Hastings, *A watch-word to all religious, and true hearted English-men* (1598), C4<sup>r</sup>-C5<sup>r</sup>; Parry, A2<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>, E1<sup>v</sup>-E2<sup>r</sup>, E3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>r-v</sup>, F3<sup>v</sup>-F4<sup>r</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> It quotes it directly. See below, p. 148.

<sup>63</sup> This was close to Bilson’s version, suggesting that Hastings perhaps used this work too. See: Bilson, *Difference*, L14<sup>v</sup>; F. Hastings, *An apologie or defence of the watch-vvord* (1600), K4<sup>r</sup>; Parry, C1<sup>v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> J. Aske, *Elizabetha triumphans* (1588), B4<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>.

he was condemned to death for assaulting Hugh Hare.<sup>65</sup> The clergyman, James Balmford's *A position maintained by I.B. before the late Earle of Huntingdon* (1600), claimed that Parry was encouraged by Como, 'in the name of the Pope', to kill Elizabeth. Elsewhere Balmford referred explicitly to one official publication, and made points likely drawn from others, making it plausible that he obtained information from the official Parry book.<sup>66</sup> Clergyman Andrew Willet's *Catholicon* (1602) claimed that England had the most experience of 'popish seditious practises', and were most bounden to God for protecting Elizabeth. Among the many conspirators was Parry, 'suborned by Gregorie the thirteenth'. All the plotters, 'set a worke by that beast of Rome', had aimed to kill the queen, 'as is extant in our Chronicles', but merciful God had 'preserved his annointed'. Later, when offering examples of Catholics paid to commit evil deeds, Willet noted that 'Parrie was induced by the great promises of Gregorie 13. to attempt his wicked conspiracie against her Maiestie'. Again these are presumably allusions to Como's letter, which Willet mentioned specifically in a later work, whilst the reference to 'Chronicles' could be to the official pamphlet, or possibly Holinshed. Willet also listed other conspirators with Parry that were the subject of government polemics,<sup>67</sup> so may have read several of these.

The Parry pamphlet also stressed that the Jesuits, excepting perhaps William Crichton, encouraged Parry and attacked William Allen's *Modest Defence*.<sup>68</sup> Again, sympathetic authors reinforced these points by employing the pamphlet for the same purpose. Bilson grouped the pope and the Jesuits together when discussing Como's letter, but then focused solely on the Jesuits. Philander claimed that he 'will not meddle' with the issue of murdering princes: if Parry attempted it, 'he should answer it', not the Jesuits. Theophilus stressed that the pope encouraged him by promising rewards, but Philander maintained that 'these be secrets to vs'. Theophilus, however, noted that some Jesuits were 'well

---

<sup>65</sup> Neville's confession claimed that Parry discussed discharging 'dagges.' See: *Parry*, A2<sup>f</sup>, B2<sup>f</sup>, F2<sup>f</sup>-F3<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> J. Balmford, *A position maintained by I.B.* (1600), A3<sup>v</sup>, A4<sup>v</sup>, A5<sup>f</sup>-A6<sup>f</sup>, A7<sup>f</sup>; Cecil, *Iustice*, B3<sup>f</sup>, B4<sup>f</sup>-C1<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>f-v</sup>; Cosin, *Conspiracie*; *Parry*, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>; *Proclamations*, Hughes, Larkin, iii, pp. 86-93; Q.Z., *Discoverie*, A1<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>f</sup>, B3<sup>f-v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>f</sup>-C4<sup>f</sup>. He seemingly supplemented official information with external sources though. On Balmford, see: G.W. Jenkins, 'James Balmford', *ODNB*.

<sup>67</sup> Bacon, *Padua*; Cecil, *Conspiracies*; *Idem.*, *Iustice*, B3<sup>f</sup>, B4<sup>f-v</sup>, D3<sup>f-v</sup>; Cecil, *Leycester*, B1<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>f</sup>; *Parry*, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>; A. Willet, *A catholicon* (Cambridge, 1602), A8<sup>f</sup>-B1<sup>f</sup>, P5<sup>v</sup>; *Idem.*, *An antilogie or counterplea* (1603), L2<sup>v</sup>. Again though, Willet likely used other sources too. On Willet, see: A. Milton, 'Andrew Willet', *ODNB*.

<sup>68</sup> *Parry*, A2<sup>f-v</sup>, A4<sup>f</sup>, B1<sup>v</sup>, B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>f</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>-D1<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>f</sup>, E4<sup>f-v</sup>, F3<sup>v</sup>-F4<sup>f</sup>, G1<sup>f-v</sup>, G2<sup>v</sup>; see above, p. 46.

acquainted with the case & consulted in plain speach, *if it were leason to kill the Queene, as William Chreicton confesseth hee was*', referring to Crichton's letter to Francis Walsingham, printed in the government pamphlet. Philander observed that 'there you see [Crichton] answered no'. Certainly Crichton told Walsingham that although he discussed the matter with Parry, he was ignorant of his plot, and told him that assassination was not permitted. Theophilus however answered that the Jesuits thought that it was, with Parry discerning this 'out of your owne writings'. Bilson then quoted from Parry's confession printed by the government: '*DOCTOR ALLENS booke, sayth hee, was sent mee out of Fraunce: It redoubled my former conceits, euery word in it was a warrant to a prepared mynde. It taught that kinges may bee excommunicated, depriued and violently handled: It proueth that all warre cyuill or forraine vndertaken for religion is honorable*'. Again Bilson's printed marginalia underlined these points, referencing Crichton's letter, Parry's confession and the Jesuits' '*defence of Catholikes*'.<sup>69</sup>

Hastings' *Apologie* similarly claimed that Allen argued that it was 'lawfull' and 'honorable' to kill monarchs 'for religion', citing Parry's confession that Allen's doctrine 'did throughly resolute, confirme and strengthen him, in his diuellish purpose to kill the Queene', and using the same quotation from the official pamphlet as Bilson. Hastings further emphasised this by a marginal note, and concluded that Allen was evidently an arch-traitor. Turning to the Jesuits, Hastings argued that they believed that it was sometimes lawful for subjects to kill sovereigns. Although claiming that his discussion of Allen, 'by whose perswasions *Parrie* confessed that hee was animated and encouraged to kill the Queene', already proved this, he further noted that Parry was 'hartened and resolved' by the Jesuit Palmio to kill Elizabeth, emphasising this with a marginal note. In the official pamphlet, Parry confessed that he had met Palmio in Venice, and conceived of his plan when talking with him about England's Catholics, if the pope or '*some learned diuines*' allowed it. Parry asked Palmio, who '*made it cleare, commended my deuotion, comforted mee in it*', and introduced him to the nuncio

---

<sup>69</sup> Bilson, *Difference*, Ll4<sup>v</sup>, *Parry*, C2<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>-D1<sup>v</sup>. Similarly, a passage summarised by the marginal note, '*the practises of the Iesuits wherewith this land is greeued and displeased*', noted the 'resolving, directing, and encouraging' of Parry and others to kill Elizabeth. See: Bilson, *Difference*, Mm5<sup>v</sup>.

Campeggio. The short summary at the pamphlet's end emphasised this, labelling Palmio a 'bloody and treacherous ghostly father'.<sup>70</sup>

Others referenced Parry's dealings with Palmio to attack the Jesuits. The English translation of Antoine Arnauld's, *The arraignment of the whole society of Iesuits in France*, emphasised traitors' boldness in openly calling for regicide, with Allen writing a book 'expresly of it', and mentioned Parry's confession. Palmio told him that it was lawful to murder princes excommunicated by the pope, but a 'learned Priest' named Watts denied this, telling Parry that he would be 'damned if he did so'. Given the 'contrarietie of opinions', Parry went to confession with another Jesuit, Aniball a Codreto, who said that Watts was a heretic, assuring Parry that nothing was more meritorious, 'and that the Angels would carrie him into Heauen'. Arnauld's account of Parry's conference with Palmio broadly agreed with the official pamphlet, as did the point about Watts: Parry's printed confession similarly described him as a 'learned Priest' who considered assassinating Elizabeth 'vtterly vnlawfull'. Yet, Arnauld embellished Parry's printed remarks regarding Codreto. Parry only confessed that despite Watts' discouragement and his own doubts, he could not turn back, and therefore promised to kill Elizabeth if the pope allowed it, writing letters about this and taking Codreto's advice on them in confession. Despite his additions, Arnauld potentially still used the official pamphlet, which would be significant since, in France, the king's printer published his book. Official French publications would therefore have implicitly endorsed English government propaganda.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, an anonymous 1585 pamphlet mentioned Parry when complaining about seminary priests, who encouraged people, among other things, to kill Elizabeth. 'A plaine example wherof you had lately by *Throgmorton & William Parry* alias *ap harry*'. Employing Parry's alias suggests familiarity with the official pamphlet.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Philip Stubbs' *A motiue to good workes* (1593) attacked Catholics for condoning political assassination, noting that 'they suborned and hired

---

<sup>70</sup> Hastings, *Apologie*, T2<sup>r-v</sup>, V1<sup>r-v</sup>; Parry, B3<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>f</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> A. Arnauld, *The arraignment of the whole society of Iesuits in France* (1594), C4<sup>v</sup>; Parry, B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>, G1<sup>r-v</sup>. Arnauld's pamphlet possibly had official sponsorship, being sent to Cecil from abroad and printed with the royal privilege by Charles Yetsewert, who also printed the official Lopez pamphlet. See: Parmelee, *Newes*, p. 41; above, p. 52. Arnauld said something similar about Parry's dealings with Palmio, Watts and Andreto in a 1602 work. See: A. Arnauld, *Le franc discours* (1602), C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> *The life and end of Thomas Awfeeld ... and Thomas Webley* (1585), A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>f</sup>; Parry, F2<sup>f</sup>.

... desperate, graceles, and reprobate villaynes' to kill Elizabeth, including Parry, all of whom received 'condigne punishments'. Perhaps Stubbs, besides writing his own pamphlet, read the official one; he also mentioned '*Sommeruile, Arden, Throgmorton, Babington*', three of whom official pamphlets also discussed.<sup>73</sup>

The official pamphlet's emphasis on Parry's fate to demonstrate god's providential protection of Elizabeth featured in several of the above works, but was even more central in others.<sup>74</sup> George Whetstone's *The English Myrror* (1586) noted that 'although the Diuell gaue her enimies wit to begin treasons, he failed to giue them strength to effect them', as the devil lacked strength 'where God hath any thing to do', as shown by the prevention of the 'desperate treasons of *Someruile & Parry*'. Later, Whetstone more extensively discussed Elizabeth's providential survival from numerous threats, extensively employing the Parry pamphlet. He used the government's account of Parry's early life, noting several biographical details, like his father's occupation, but he neither interpreted the conspiracy like most other Protestant writers on the topic, nor contradicted the official pamphlet. He stressed that Parry, by his own confession, had first considered 'this damnable practise' because he wanted advancement and doubted that Elizabeth would provide it. Yet, 'the most infirmed eyes may see by his owne demonstration, that he made no conscience to do it' – everything he did was 'onely to acquire credite, and more liberall aduancement for his odious seruice'. Whetstone even stressed that 'many Papists' tried to dissuade him, but Parry 'sought not their opinions, to any such purpose'. All Parry wanted was 'liuing and promotion', and without this, as he told Cecil in a letter printed in the pamphlet, 'life was not fit for him'. Despite Parry's promises to kill Elizabeth, Whetstone alleged that he was 'comforted' more by Como's assurance that the pope would '*make himselfe debtour, to acknowledge your deseruings in the best manner that he can*', than the news that the Pope '*granteth vnto you his blessing, plenarie indulgence, and remission of all your sinnes*'. Parry was 'neither *whot*, nor *colde*, vnfaithfull to her Maiestie, and vntrue to the Pope'. He swore contrary oaths, accepting the Royal Supremacy in parliament after swearing on the sacrament to assassinate Elizabeth. 'He swore

---

<sup>73</sup> Cecil, *Iustice*, D3<sup>v</sup>; Cecil, *Leycester*, B1<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>; P. Stubbs, *A motiue to good workes* (1593), H4<sup>r</sup>-H5<sup>r</sup>; Q.Z., *Discouerie*.

<sup>74</sup> *Parry*, A3<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>f</sup>, F4<sup>f</sup>, G1<sup>f</sup>, H1<sup>r-v</sup>, H2<sup>v</sup>-H3<sup>v</sup>.

he neuer meant to doe it: but as there was no zeale in the first, so there is lesse credite to be giuen to the last', which contradicted numerous 'assurances of the execution of his wicked purposes, as appeareth in a booke of the whole order and triall of his horrible treasons'. In conclusion, his life showed 'that the diuell could not haue picked forth a more daungerous instrument for the Popes purpose, and by his execution as a Traitour, Gods prouidence is wonderfully glorified, the Popes inhumanitie, is proclaimed'. Rather than simply condemning Parry as just another Catholic traitor, Whetstone highlighted the contradictions so evident in the official pamphlet, similarly concluding that he was an odious individual whose word meant nothing.<sup>75</sup>

Rogers also used the official pamphlet when offering examples of failed traitors as evidence that God was against them, particularly emphasising 'the importable iudgmentes of the Lord' on conspirators' 'soules & mindes'. For example, god's influence caused Parry's 'great trouble ... at the consideration of the manifold excellencies in hir Maiesties person; and the teares which the verie sight of hir Highnes, in whom to his thinking hee saw the liuely and expresse image of king *Henry* the seauenth, did draw from his eies'. Marginal notes cited pages in the official pamphlet: Parry's confession, where he explained that 'when I looked vpon her Maiestie, and remembred her many excellencies, I was greatly troubled', and another to the account of Parry's trial, where he acknowledged his previous confession that he was 'perplexed' by Elizabeth's presence at Hampton Court, seeing in her the 'image of king Henry the seuenth' and weeping bitterly after she spoke. Zelotes claimed that these instances were caused by 'the verie iustice of God vpon his soule, stroken with the horror of a guilty conscience, and daring him for his life not so much as to touch, much lesse to dispatch so heroical a

---

<sup>75</sup> Parry, A2<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>f</sup>, F1<sup>v</sup>-F4<sup>f</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>, G3<sup>f</sup>-G4<sup>f</sup>; G. Whetstone, *The English myrror* (1586), K4<sup>v</sup>-K5<sup>v</sup>, L6<sup>r-v</sup>. Whetstone used the Parry pamphlet elsewhere. He argued that Elizabeth was not a tyrant, since '*Tyrants nourish feare*', but her enemies' 'murthering practises' did not scare her. For example, when Parry informed her that he had vowed to kill her, 'shee was so smally abashed, as the constantnesse of her countenance made him to tremble'. On another occasion, when Parry was 'fully determined to haue slaine her excellencie with his dagger, the assurednesse of her countenance ... made him to lose his resolution'. Elizabeth so little regarded 'her enimies threatens', that she 'scorned to report *Parries* suspitious words' to her councillors. Furthermore, traitors' confessions, including Parry's, showed that Elizabeth's 'clemencie stayeth all sharpe courses against such Papistes, as liue like obedient subiectes'. Here Whetstone noted Parry's confession that the queen's 'manifold vertues which shined in her Countenance, euermore made him lose his resolution to kill her'. These claims echoed elements of the official pamphlet. Whetstone also quoted from Parry's confession to illustrate that 'Papistes' were ambitious rather than grateful. See: Parry, A3<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>f</sup>; Whetstone, *Myrror*, L2<sup>f</sup>-L3<sup>f</sup>, L5<sup>f</sup>.

prince'. Timothie added that 'by miserable experience' Parry realised that it was not 'the easiest thing, as himselfe sometime phantastically did imagine, to take away the life of our gracious Queene'. Another marginal page reference to the official pamphlet here cited Edmund Neville's claim that Parry had said that 'there is not any thing more easie' than killing Elizabeth. Zelotes then noted that although Parry vowed Elizabeth's destruction, thinking that he could kill her 'at his pleasure either with dag or dagger', the queen lived, whilst Parry was 'banished out of this worlde' by the justice of man and God on his body and soul respectively. Furthermore Parry seemingly 'died in finall impenitency ... asking no man, no not God forgiuenes for his sinnes'. Timothie responded that 'as men liue so they die', and so Parry 'liued prophanely, and died like an Atheist'. Four marginal notes here referred to the official pamphlet, including three with page references. The first referred to Parry's vow to destroy Elizabeth, citing four pages. Pages 14 and 16, from Parry's confession, were cited for the same purpose as earlier;<sup>76</sup> pages 33 and 35 referenced remarks made by the vicechamberlain at Parry's trial, highlighting firstly that Parry had confessed to plotting Elizabeth's death, and made vows, and secondly Parry's claim that his 'vowes were in heauen'. The second marginal note, concerning Parry's plan to kill Elizabeth with a 'dag or dagger', referenced Neville's claim that Parry discussed using these weapons. The third marginal note, regarding Parry's temporal punishment, simply said that 'Parrie was drawen from the tower of Lond. to the pallace of Westminster and there hanged the 2. of March. 1584'. The last marginal note, relating to Parry's not requesting forgiveness at his death, referenced the pamphlet's account of his execution, which explained that Parry said that 'he was neuer gyltie of any intention to kill Queene Elizabeth', that he made no request for people to pray for him, nor prayed publicly, and that as he had long lived 'like an Atheist', so he continued until his death.<sup>77</sup>

Similarly, Rogers emphasised subjects' 'vtter detestation ... against all Popish traitors', including Parry, which was 'raised by the verie finger of Gods holie spirit'. 'The peoples minde' was illustrated by, among other things, 'the outcries which they haue made'. A marginal note here cited page 38 of

---

<sup>76</sup> See above, p. 144.

<sup>77</sup> Parry, B2<sup>r</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>r</sup>, E3<sup>r</sup>, F1<sup>r</sup>; Rogers, *Dialogue*, E1<sup>v</sup>, E3<sup>r-v</sup>.

the official pamphlet, which related how the people, when Parry was removed from the court after judgement, ‘stricken as it were at heart’ with his plan’s ‘horroure’, ‘pursued him with outcries, as, Away with the Traitor’.<sup>78</sup>

Cartographer John Norden’s *A mirror for the multitude* (1586) also stressed God’s role in revealing and punishing treason against his chosen monarch. The pope deceived Catholics with ‘false promises of pardon of their sinnes, and merite in heauen’ for their ‘bloudie practises’, encouraging them in order to ‘worke his mischief’, whilst allowing them ‘to take the due reward of *Iudas* hire, in vtter destruction’. All participants would be rewarded, ‘crowned with *Parries* perpetuall ignominie’, receiving ‘the due desertes of such rebellious rascalles’, who would end ‘with the Diuell and his Angels in perpetuall torment of the conscience’. Nevertheless, Catholics continued following the pope’s command to destroy Protestants. ‘Go on *Parry* and thy fellowes dissemble with *Iudas* kisse, keep thy selfe close in thine owne heart, dissemble the matter with crooching and kneeling, and all dissimulation’, and when he had ‘giuen the token’, he would be assisted by foreign armies. Yet, these ‘deuises’ ‘passe not the seas without the mercifull reuelations of God to his children: whose bloud yee seeke’, as god’s eyes ‘pearceh your hearts and seeth your wicked thoughts’, revealing their treasons. Norden also mentioned Parry when discussing recusancy and dissimulation. Although it was against God’s will to ‘dissemble before the worlde’, Catholics, with dispensation from the pope, ‘to put their enterpryses in practise’, did so ‘vnder coloure of some notable virtue’. A printed marginal note read, ‘*Parries* counterfait obedience’, and the text subsequently described his ‘dutifull obedience’. He showed ‘reuerent behaiour outwardlye’ and ‘goodlye tokens of dutifull affection’, whilst ‘his heart was so full fraught with the poyson of popish pardons’, that ‘lay so heauy vpon his conscience’ that before he could perform his task, ‘it brake his owne bowels, and his filthy carcas, crackt his owne cragge’, which was his ‘due revuarde’. Norden repeated this point later, claiming that fake devotion covered ‘many diuelish deuises’. A marginal note said, ‘*Parries* outvvard attendance a cloke for treason’, whilst the text said that his practises were ‘proofe of these pollicies’. Luckily God could see

---

<sup>78</sup> *Parry*, E4<sup>v</sup>; Rogers, *Dialogue*, E4<sup>f</sup>. Thomas Churchyard also pointed to Parry’s unpopularity. See: T. Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales* (1587), \*3<sup>v</sup>.

men's hearts, and 'he bewrayeth some to be traytors, that make outward show of true subiectes'. No man with a guilty conscience against God or his monarch was safe: he would 'reueale their inwarde deuises', and punish them accordingly. Lastly, when discussing dissembling Catholics, Norden observed that these were dangerous times when many showed 'great deuotion' outwardly, but within had 'a cloake of dangerous desire of enterteining the cloudy darknes of Romishe religion, & the vsurped authority therof'. Norden claimed that the main lesson which 'Romish tutors' taught their pupils was to outwardly show obedience to Elizabeth, but 'if oportunity might serue, they are dispensed with to murder her'. A marginal note indicated this theory's basis: 'Card. Comos letters to Parrie. The cheefest lesson of the romish tutors'.<sup>79</sup> Norden's familiarity with Como's letter suggests that he had read the official pamphlet, which stressed Parry's dissimulation.<sup>80</sup>

Richard Crompton's *A short declaration of the ende of traytors* (1587) also mentioned Parry when noting examples of those that had 'conspired the death of theyr soueraigne Gouvernour', considering their motives and 'what successe they haue had' to see if their 'purposes' pleased god. Parry was the 'rankest Traytor that hath been heard of in our time', who despite being 'attainted for Burglarie' and pardoned by Elizabeth, went abroad and plotted her death. On returning to England to carry it out, however, he was executed. Crompton's source for details about the burglary and pardon was probably the official pamphlet; he certainly referenced other official works.<sup>81</sup>

Parry's case was frequently used to make the same points that the government had stressed: God's providential protection of Elizabeth from the plotting of the pope and Jesuits. Drawing on the official pamphlet and promulgating its messages with such uniformity reinforced official polemic and probably also helped it spread. Not only were some of these works relatively common,<sup>82</sup> but they became sources for others. The English translation of Jean de Hainault's work, *The estate of the Church with the discourse of times* (1602), used Parry when discussing Gregory XIII: the latter had

---

<sup>79</sup> J. Norden, *A mirror for the multitude* (1586), B4<sup>r</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>; C4<sup>r-v</sup>; F7<sup>r</sup>; G5<sup>v</sup>-G6<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> *Parry*, A2<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup>, E3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>r</sup>, G2<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Cecil, *Leycester*, B1<sup>r</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>; D1<sup>r</sup>-D3<sup>v</sup>; R. Crompton, *A short declaration of the ende of traytors* (1587), B4<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>-D1<sup>r</sup>; *Northumberland*s (probably); *Parry*, F3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> For example, Bilson's work. See: BCI II 129; PLRE VI pp. 141, 238, VII pp. 13 (possibly), 46, 94, 140.

shown his hatred of Elizabeth both by force (as shown by the invasion of Ireland) and by ‘craft and deceit’ (as shown by Parry).<sup>83</sup> This is copied almost word for word from a 1600 work by Cipriano de Valera, although he also says that God saved Elizabeth from ‘all those cursed inuentions’ and justly punished the pope.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps de Valera initially obtained his information from the official pamphlet.

As these examples show, other official works were similarly used,<sup>85</sup> with authors demonstrating their acceptance of these as accurate accounts of the events that they described. Admittedly, as anti-Catholic polemicists, they were perhaps predisposed to accept what the government told them about Catholic conspiracies, but crucially they evidently expected their readers to find official material convincing too. Perhaps this was because authors so frequently cited official documents, which provided evidence that was seemingly both damning and reliable, and apparently vindicated official polemical strategies.<sup>86</sup>

### Using Printed Propaganda

Responses to government print were often more complicated than faithful acceptance. Even when recipients accepted official books and acknowledged their authority, they did not all do this for the same reasons. Whilst some reacted positively because they genuinely agreed with them, others sought to use government propaganda for their own purposes. This necessarily involved accepting its legitimacy (sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly), and to this extent the government could claim some success. Problems potentially arose, however, when the public attempted to use official

---

<sup>83</sup> J.D. Hainault, *The estate of the Church with the discourse of times* (1602), Vv1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> C.D. Valera, *Two treatises the first, of the liues of the popes ... The second, of the masse* (1600), O1<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> In earlier periods, Morison’s works ‘influenced’ other authors. See: Sowerby, *Reform*, p. 112. Some used official works quite extensively, but without privileging them over non-official works. Rogers, *Dialogue*, for example, cited numerous government works besides books like Aske’s *Elizabetha triumphans*. See: C7<sup>r-v</sup>, D3<sup>r</sup>-D6<sup>r</sup>, D7<sup>v</sup>-E1<sup>r</sup>, E2<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>v</sup>, E5<sup>v</sup>, E7<sup>r</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>, F3<sup>r-v</sup>, F4<sup>v</sup>, F5<sup>v</sup>-F6<sup>v</sup>, F7<sup>v</sup>-G2<sup>r</sup>, G5<sup>r</sup>, H5<sup>v</sup>-H6<sup>r</sup>; Cecil, *Iustice*; Idem., *Mendoza*; Cecil, *Leycester*; Charke, *Answere; Declaration* (1585); Fleetwood, *Oration*; Jewel, *Defence; Lyes; Maior*; Nicholls, *Recantation; Northumberland*; Norton, *Addition*; Idem., *Warning*; Parry; Q.Z., *Discouerie*; Rainolds, *Conference*.

<sup>86</sup> See above, pp. 42-6.

print, and its authority, in ways unanticipated by the government and potentially considered subversive.

That some non-government authors embellished the official account about Parry demonstrates their potential not just to repeat government narratives, but to create different ones for their own purposes. Writer and clergyman, William Covell, referenced Parry in *Polimanteia* (1595) when stressing hostile Spanish intentions, noting the ‘sundrie offers’ made to Englishmen, ‘feeding them with vaine hope and vncertaine promises’, to sell England’s wealth, honour and dignity to the enemy. Printed marginalia says, ‘To Parry, Babington, &c’. Covell probably knew the Parry pamphlet as he seemingly used other government works,<sup>87</sup> yet this did not mention Spain, blaming the pope instead.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, William Warner’s *Albions England* (1597) connected Parry to Mary Stuart.<sup>89</sup> Parry denied her involvement in his plot, so that if Warner used the official pamphlet, he misrepresented it.<sup>90</sup>

These particular narratives did not challenge official policy, presumably leaving the government unconcerned. Other authors, however, invoked official propaganda’s authority in more problematic ways, such as Protestant critics of Elizabeth’s religious settlement. Nonconformist clergyman William Bradshaw’s 1599 work argued that ministers should not subscribe to the three articles, which stated, among other things, that the clergy should only use the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>91</sup> When explaining ‘why faithfull Ministers should not be depriued or suspended, for peaceable omission of prescribed ceremonies’, Bradshaw noted that since ‘resolved consciences are vncompellable’, and Elizabeth permitted Bishop Heath, ‘a popish recusant (but of conscience: not of a trayterous obstinacy)’ to remain Lord Chancellor in 1558, ‘faithfull Ministers should continewe their godlie and profitable Ministerie, the omission only of *ceremonies* notwithstanding’. A marginal note shows that the

---

<sup>87</sup> Cecil, *Iustice*, C1<sup>r-v</sup> (probably); Idem., *Conspriacies* (possibly); W. Covell, *Polimanteia* (Cambridge, 1595), V4<sup>v</sup>-X1<sup>r</sup>, Aa1<sup>r</sup>, Aa4<sup>r</sup>, Cc4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> See above: p. 143.

<sup>89</sup> W. Warner, *Albions England* (1597), R4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> *Parry*, C1<sup>r</sup>; Admittedly Mary was accused at her trial of favouring Thomas Morgan, Parry’s ‘principall perswader’, whom the pamphlet incriminated. See: Lock, ‘Parry’; above, p. 61.

<sup>91</sup> V. Gregory, ‘William Bradshaw’, *ODNB*; Sheils, ‘Whitgift’.

*Execution of Iustice* provided the detail about Heath.<sup>92</sup> Bradshaw thus redeployed an argument from an official pamphlet to argue that puritan nonconformists should similarly retain their positions despite disagreeing with aspects of the religious settlement.

Another nonconformist tract, possibly by Job Throckmorton, similarly employed Cecil's work. *A petition directed to Her Most Excellent Maiestie* (1592) argued that no one writing against episcopal government should 'dye as a felon'. This was at worst 'an error in Religion', and printed marginalia emphasised that 'no man hath suffred for religion in Eng.'. It quoted Bilson, who said that Catholics were not executed 'for making the Pope chiefe pastor ouer their soules, or for giuing him an Episcopall authoritte ouer all the vvhole Church', which was heresy, but only for 'giuing him an externall dominion ouer this Realme and Prince. This is it that the Execution of Iustice doeth duely respect vvhich is farre from anie matter of faith and religion'. The pamphlet emphasised Bilson's point that Catholics were punished for treason, not religion, with a marginal note. It also asserted that this opinion was 'helde in a booke published by authoritie (to which D. *Bilson* had reference) and translated into many languages, that neuer anie papist did suffer death for his religion, since hir Highnes raigne', named as the *Execution of Iustice* in a marginal note. Since 'our state and Diuines' had attempted to dispel any 'suspition' of executing Catholics for religion, despite their heresies, 'much lesse should the Seekers of Reformation suffer death for their religion'. These 'Seekers' deserved more 'curtesie' than 'papistes', their offences being 'nothing matchable with the detestable heresies and practises' of the latter. Besides demonstrating how people could encounter official books through non-official works, this tract shows how deliberately official propaganda could be turned against the government, with the author specifying that Cecil's work was 'published by authoritie'.<sup>93</sup>

Less alarming from the government's perspective was the use of official propaganda as source material during the Archpriest controversy, when the government aided the secular priests' printing

---

<sup>92</sup> W. Bradshaw, *A trial of subscription* (Middelburg, 1599), A7<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>r-v</sup>; Cecil, *Iustice*, B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Cecil, *Iustice*; J. Throckmorton, *A petition directed to Her Most Excellent Maiestie* (1592), D4<sup>r-v</sup>.

efforts.<sup>94</sup> Both they and the Jesuits attempted to claim that the venerated Catholic martyrs were on ‘their’ side, whilst associating traitorous conspiracies (which only provoked harsher treatment of ordinary English Catholics and made government claims of executing priests for treason credible) with their opponents.<sup>95</sup> Christopher Bagshaw, a Catholic priest imprisoned in England, co-operated with the government in attacking the Jesuits,<sup>96</sup> his 1601 work using official pamphlets on Throckmorton and Parry to connect several conspiracies with Robert Persons. Bagshaw noted that when the duke of Guise wanted to know the best places to land an invasion force in England in 1583, Throckmorton was given the task by Sir Francis Englefield, Mendoza and others, Persons’ ‘especiall friends’, making it likely that he was ‘if not a practitioner for that purpose, yet one of that counsell and confederacy, or at the least acquainted with it’. The official pamphlet generally asserted that Throckmorton had contact with Englefield, and printed Throckmorton’s confession which mentioned his discussions with Mendoza over the havens. Bagshaw similarly claimed that several Jesuits were associated with Parry’s plot, offering encouragement and ‘omitting no perswasions or meanes they could vse to that effect’. When Parry doubted his plan’s legality, Persons was ‘offred him to conferre with’ to assuage his conscience, ‘being accompted one of the meetest men to resolue him in such matters’. Although Parry refused to see Persons, Bagshaw deemed this proof that Persons knew ‘*Parries* intent’, or at least was considered someone who, ‘if he talked with *Parry*, would haue animated him in that course, with all his Iesuiticall arguments and best perswasions’. Bagshaw evidently employed the official pamphlet, wherein Parry narrated his refusing to talk with Persons when wanting to discuss assassination’s legality.<sup>97</sup>

Another appellant, William Clark, employed this strategy when refuting one of Persons’ books in 1603. Clark narrated Parry’s story, obtained from ‘his examinations, araignment, and letters writ with his owne hand vpon record’. Parry was initially convinced in Venice by the Jesuit, Palmio, to kill

---

<sup>94</sup> See above: p. 37.

<sup>95</sup> T.M. McCoog, ‘Construing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1582-1602’, in Shagan, *Catholics*, pp. 106-18.

<sup>96</sup> P. Holmes, ‘Christopher Bagshaw’, *ODNB*.

<sup>97</sup> C. Bagshaw, *A sparing discouerie of our English Iesuits* (1601), H1<sup>v</sup>-H2<sup>r</sup>; *Parry*, C1<sup>r</sup>; Q.Z., *Discouerie*, A3<sup>r-v</sup>, B1<sup>r-v</sup>, C3<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>. Bagshaw used other sources too.

Elizabeth, before discussing it further with Jesuits in Lyon, proving that the Jesuits ‘medled’ in matters of state. Clark also discussed Throckmorton, saying that the ‘wholie Iesuited’ Mendoza was heavily involved, making it unlikely ‘that these things should passe without their knowledge, priuitie, and consent’. He also cited Mendoza’s words that Persons went to Rome about the matter, probably taken from Throckmorton’s confession. Similarly, Clark’s point that Thomas Morgan had told Throckmorton that Paget’s visit to England was not ‘to moue any man in this attempt’, but ‘onely to view the country’, was almost a direct quotation from the official pamphlet. Clark also argued that Englefield, who was ‘wholly at the Iesuits deuotion’, had encouraged Throckmorton, ‘as by his confession appeareth’, although this was a slight embellishment.<sup>98</sup>

Persons challenged these ideas, similarly employing government print. In an anti-appellant 1602 work he denied involvement in several conspiracies. Throckmorton’s plot, ‘yf any such were at all as he was charged with’, was not driven by Jesuits. Throckmorton became involved due to his brother Thomas, who was allied with Paget and Morgan against Allen and Persons.<sup>99</sup> Anyone doubting this should read

the pamphlet set out by the *state* at that tyme an. 1584. intituled: *A discouery of the treasons of Francis Throgmorton, &c.* where they wryte: *Item he confessed that he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throgmorton by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan his letters, (two of the principal confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scotish Queene and her confederats, &c.*

Persons also challenged accusations that he was an ‘actor’ in the 1583 invasion plot, which brought down the earl of Northumberland. These affairs were not ‘*Iesuistical*’. Rather, [http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2146/search/fulltext?ACTION=ByID&ID=DN0000998550090278&TYPE=NOTE&FILE=../session/1325338423\\_15489](http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2146/search/fulltext?ACTION=ByID&ID=DN0000998550090278&TYPE=NOTE&FILE=../session/1325338423_15489) ‘the forsaid book set forth by the heretiks against *M. Throgmorton*’ included among Francis’ confessions that one Mope who ‘dealt with the said *Earle*’ was Charles Paget, and that after Thomas Morgan brought Throckmorton ‘into dealings of state

---

<sup>98</sup> W. Clark, *A replie vnto a certaine libell* (1603), Q4<sup>r</sup>-R1<sup>v</sup>; Parry, B3<sup>v</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>; Q.Z., *Discouerie*, A3<sup>r-v</sup>, B1<sup>r-v</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Contemporaries were not always sure whose side Morgan and Paget were on. See: K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 29-30, 55.

matter' with Mary Stuart and Mendoza, Morgan and Paget sent Thomas Throckmorton to Francis to inform him about the invasion plan. A printed marginal note shows that Persons is referring to the official pamphlet against Throckmorton. Given that Throckmorton, Morgan and Paget were unconnected to the Jesuits, the latter were innocent.<sup>100</sup>

Persons also employed the official Parry pamphlet to exonerate English Jesuits: Parry's 'owne confession extant in print' cleared Persons and Allen 'from all dealing with him or consenting to his attempts'. Persons quoted the official pamphlet, giving a page number, where Parry claimed that he was prepared to assassinate Elizabeth if 'some learned diuines' would confirm its legality. 'Diuers diuines were named, D. Allen I desyred, Persons I refused', and eventually he conferred with a priest named Watts. This 'deliuered' Persons and Allen 'from all counsel and participation of this matter', and showed that Parry was 'no frende to *F. Persons*, nether to haue durst to comyt his plots to his iudgement'.<sup>101</sup> Clark, however, felt that Persons dodged the issue by claiming that no English Jesuits encouraged Parry, 'not daring, to aske the question of Iesuits in generall', because he knew that they were guilty. Persons cunningly used Parry's confession to clear himself, confidently asserting the English Jesuits' innocence to misleadingly convince people that no Jesuits were involved. Furthermore, Clark claimed that Persons' lack of involvement with Parry 'was not for want of will' but because Parry refused to speak to him, as shown by his confession 'euen as Fa: Parsons hath set it downe'. Clark further argued that Persons must have known about Parry's plans if any of the Paris-based Jesuits knew, as they all shared information.<sup>102</sup> Crucially, these arguments are similar to the official pamphlet's claims that, because no English priests and Jesuits actually warned the government about Parry, it was wise to suspect all priests to agree with the pope, 'and all English Iesuites to consent with forreyne Iesuites'.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> Persons, *Manifestation*, L1<sup>v</sup>-L2<sup>v</sup>; Q.Z., *Discouerie*, A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>. On Persons' response to the Appellants, see: V. Houliston, 'Baffling the Blatant Beast: Robert Persons' Anti-Appellant Rhetoric, 1601-1602', *Catholic Historical Review*, 90 (2004), pp. 439-455.

<sup>101</sup> Persons, *Manifestation*, L1<sup>v</sup>-L2<sup>r</sup>; *Parry*, B4<sup>r-v</sup>. Elsewhere, Persons suggested that 'examinations and arraynementes' of Parry and other conspirators be viewed to see if they accused him of involvement. See: R. Persons, *A temperate vvard-vvord* (Antwerp, 1599), I3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Clark, *Replie*, Q4<sup>v</sup>-R1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> *Parry*, G1<sup>r-v</sup>.

Although in some ways faithfully recycling official material, both sides were motivated by their own agendas; their deviations from official rhetoric reflected their self-interest and questionable sincerity. Persons claimed that heretics published the Throckmorton pamphlet,<sup>104</sup> and elsewhere challenged the government's view of Como's letter to Parry.<sup>105</sup> Clark meanwhile mistakenly placed Parry's conviction in 1584, before Throckmorton's, berating Persons for having the correct chronology.<sup>106</sup> Still, using government books for these purposes remains significant: despite disagreement over the interpretations of events, both sides implicitly accepted the veracity of much of the pamphlets' content, particularly printed confessions, and debated who was to blame for various conspiracies within this framework. The government therefore succeeded in having official works' authority accepted by a large spectrum of opinion, even if such acceptance did not necessarily signify agreement with official policy more broadly.

Redeploying official texts predated Elizabeth's reign. Under Henry VIII, official texts were recycled in ways that probably did not anger the government. Besides writing the official *Litel Treatise*,<sup>107</sup> Thomas Swinnerton referenced two official books in *A mustre of scismatyke bysshopes of Rome* (1534), not printed by Berthelet. Swinnerton said that whoever wanted to know 'the popes power', as was 'conuenient & fytynge', should 'resorte vnto the glasse of truthe, & to the booke named the determinacions of the vniuersities'. These works 'excellently' declared 'what the power of the pope is, how farre it extendeth, and what he may do'. Although both the *Determinations* and the *Glasse* discussed papal power's extent, they focused on the limitations of the pope's dispensing powers, and argued that cases should be handled by the ecclesiastical authorities in the province in which they occurred.<sup>108</sup> In contrast, Swinnerton's *Mustre* argued in favour of the Royal Supremacy,<sup>109</sup> even if the term itself is not employed. After the quotation cited above, Swinnerton asserted that in England, the

---

<sup>104</sup> Persons, *Manifestation*, L2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> R. Persons, *The vvarn-vvord to Sir Francis Hastingses wast-word* (Antwerp, 1602), HH6<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Clark, *Replie*, R1<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Swinnerton, *Treatise*.

<sup>108</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 177-8.

<sup>109</sup> R. Rex, 'Thomas Swynnerton', *ODNB*.

archbishop of Canterbury was ‘a farre better man’ than the pope, ‘both by thauthorite of scripture, the doctours of the churche, and the authorite of counsayles generall’, calling the present pope, amongst other things, ‘a false vsurper of his dignyte’.<sup>110</sup> Swinnerton thus misrepresented the *Determinations* and the *Glasse* by associating them with a policy that did not exist when either was published. He could thereby use their authority to bolster his own arguments. The government was probably happy with this: Swinnerton reinterpreted earlier works to fit with current, more radical policy.

A 1533 pamphlet employed the *Glasse* more controversially. *A boke made by Iohn Frith* answered a work by Thomas More, which itself refuted one of Frith’s earlier works. The claim that Frith wrote this second book is doubtful,<sup>111</sup> but it still defended his initial work on the sacrament, thus denying the real presence. The author complained that ‘oure prelates haue byn made lordes’, and have made people believe ‘that they maye make lawes and bynde mens consciences, to obey them: and that theyr lawes are godds lawes’, advancing their pride when they should obey kings and their laws. They made ‘articles of the fayth at their pleasure’, including that ‘they be the churche, & can not erre’. Yet, this article’s veracity was ‘nowe suffeciently knowen. For yf quene katherine be kynge henries wyffe, then they do erre, & yf she be not, then thei haue erred, to speake no more cruel lye’. It had also become ‘an article of *our* fayth’ that the pope was head of the church ‘bi goddes lawe’, whilst another article said that whatever he bound in earth was bound in heaven, so that even ‘yf he curse wrongfullye’, he ‘muste be feared & infinite suche other *which* are not *in our* crede’. Thankfully though, god had ‘geuen some light in to *our* princes herte, For he hath latelie putforth a boke called the glasse of trowth *which* proueth many of thes articles verye folishe phantasies & that euy by theyr owin doctours, and so I truste you shalbe proued in this point of the sacrament’. Though this was an article of faith, it was not an article of the creed ‘in the .xij. articles wherof are sufficient for our saluation’.<sup>112</sup> Again, this

---

<sup>110</sup> T. Swinnerton, *A mustre of scismatyke bysshopes of Rome* (1534), C1<sup>r</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>. It called Henry ‘our vndouted capitall heed vnder god’, and said that ‘the bysshope of Rome hath no more authorite than hath any other bysshop in christendome gyuen hym by the scrypture’.

<sup>111</sup> The author claimed to see More’s work ‘in prent ... vppon S. Stephyns day last paste’, but Frith apparently only saw a manuscript copy, and it was possibly not printed before his execution. See: *A boke made by Iohn Frith* (Antwerp, 1533), A3<sup>r</sup>; D. Daniell, ‘John Frith’, *ODNB*; S.B. House, ‘Sir Thomas More’, *ODNB*; STC 18090.

<sup>112</sup> *Boke*, D3<sup>r-v</sup>.

stretched the *Glasse*'s arguments, which left the pope's supremacy unchallenged, only claiming that he could err and, in those cases, should not be followed.<sup>113</sup> More problematically, the author used the *Glasse* to suggest that, since Henry had realised certain truths about the pope, he might also eventually change his mind about the sacrament. The *Glasse* did not discuss eucharistic theology, about which Henry was resolutely conservative.<sup>114</sup> The government therefore probably disliked this redeployment of official rhetoric. Evidently evangelicals could interpret this quite optimistically.

Under Mary, an official book was recycled in a different but equally problematic way: religious opponents produced several English versions of Gardiner's *De vera obedientia* (1535) in 1553, including Bonner's preface, marginalia emphasising important points, and prefaces and epilogues, embarrassing the chancellor and bishop of London by highlighting their previous support for the Royal Supremacy. That Hogarde attempted to defend Gardiner's book indicates this strategy's effectiveness,<sup>115</sup> as does Gardiner's decision, when preaching at St Paul's Cross soon after the reconciliation with Rome before Philip and Pole, to confess 'the error into which fear of the late King Henry had led him' when he agreed to 'the rejection of the Papal authority, as he set forth in his book on true obedience'. The audience apparently showed 'no overt sign of displeasure' at this, but rather 'joy and satisfaction at seeing the King and Cardinal and hearing about the reconciliation'.<sup>116</sup> Perhaps then they accepted Gardiner's explanation.

The tactic was not, however, abandoned. A 1555 exile publication pretending to be published by Cawood printed parts of Gardiner's work, Bonner's preface, and Tunstall's 1539 printed sermon.<sup>117</sup> The *Supplicacyon* warned Mary to beware of her bishops, especially Gardiner: he first swore obedience to the pope, then to Henry VIII, 'and more playnly declaryd the same by hys bocke, de vera obedientia'. As Bonner's preface showed, Gardiner wrote his work 'wyth great aduysment and

---

<sup>113</sup> *Glasse*.

<sup>114</sup> G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation* (2005), p. 238.

<sup>115</sup> Baskerville, *Bibliography*, pp. 9-10; Evenden, 'Wood', pp. 384-7, 391; Loades, 'Press', pp. 38, 47; Martin, 'Printing', p. 237.

<sup>116</sup> *CSPS XIII* 131.

<sup>117</sup> Martin, 'Printing', p. 237.

deliberacyon'. The pamphlet advised Mary to read Gardiner's book, which 'throughly confutyth' the pope's 'vsurpyd pour' with 'scuryture and reasons'. Furthermore, Gardiner proved that Henry's marriage to Catherine was unlawful, to Mary's 'great reproch'.<sup>118</sup> This section of Gardiner's book was reproduced, with one marginal note highlighting Gardiner's mutability. Furthermore, Gardiner 'pretendith such constancy' against the pope's 'vsurpid auctorite', that he said that if he ever changed his opinion, people could call him whatever they liked. He could therefore not complain that people called him 'false periurid heretike' or traitor to god and England. Now he again supported the pope, thus deserving no credence.<sup>119</sup> Bonner's complete preface was printed with marginal notes emphasising parts concerning the pope's 'pretensid supremaci' and Gardiner's 'deliberacion' in writing his work,<sup>120</sup> before the pamphlet addressed Tunstall, another 'dissembling' bishop, 'as plainlie aperith' by his book, which 'clerli confutith' the pope's 'vsurpid pouer'. The pamphlet first printed, with helpful page references, a section attacking popes for putting themselves above princes, with a marginal note emphasising that Tunstall compared the former to Lucifer. It next printed the part concerning Pole's papal legation, with more marginal notes highlighting Tunstall's negative opinion of the now archbishop and his claim that god had given England to Englishmen, emphasising that this excluded Spaniards. The pamphlet suggested that Mary read Tunstall's book, hoping that afterwards she would know to 'beware of thes thre false dissembling bisshoppes', who not only preached against papal power but 'cawsyd the same to be printid for a perpetuall memory wer as now their rune with the world to the contrarie'.<sup>121</sup> The *Supplicacyon*'s key messages were reinforced by another 1558 exile publication. This noted that the earlier work highlighted how the 'shameles byshoppes' were 'allweyse seruers off the tyme', including Gardiner, who made his book against the pope's supremacy, 'the reasons grundyd apon gods worde', and proved that Henry's marriage to Catherine was 'vnlawfull and vngodly', and Mary therefore a bastard. Likewise Bonner, 'that most wyckyd and

---

<sup>118</sup> When claiming that Thomas Martin's book against clerical marriage sought to make many 'basterds', the pamphlet similarly said that Gardiner's work showed that he tried to do the same to Mary, with Bonner's help. See: *Supplicacyon*, A7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, A5<sup>r</sup>-A6<sup>v</sup>, B7<sup>r</sup>. The pamphlet also used Gardiner's work more positively. Warning Mary not to delegate authority to 'wickid' clerics 'and so thinke to charge them and to discharge your selff', it quoted Gardiner's claim that 'god hath sett you in auctorite', and that she would ultimately be held responsible.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, A8<sup>r</sup>-B2<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>. When warning that a restoration of the papacy would lead to the reintroduction of old monetary charges, the pamphlet noted that according to Bonner's preface these were 'the rauens pray, ye so large a pray that it cam to asmych allmost as the kings reuenwes.'

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, B3<sup>r</sup>-B4<sup>v</sup>.

dyssemblyng tyrant’, confirmed this in his preface, whilst Tunstall’s sermon proved that Pole was a traitor.<sup>122</sup>

Elizabethan authors similarly referenced these Henrician works, stressing these figures’ hypocrisy and/or claiming that they supported Protestant positions. In 1583 John Prime reflected that dissimulation was now spun ‘of so fine a thread’, that it was difficult to ‘discerne who is who’. Gardiner made ‘a booke of true obedience’, and Bonner wrote the preface, and now ‘if time serued ... we should haue experience, that we want nether subtle Gardiners, nor cruel Bonars’.<sup>123</sup> In Bilson’s *True difference*, Philander maintained that no ‘learned man’ had ever considered ‘the contentes of that oth for the Princes supremacie’ true, but Theophilus referenced Gardiner’s work and Tunstall’s ‘Epistle to Cardinall Poole’,<sup>124</sup> saying that they took and willingly defended the oath. Philander protested that ‘they changed their mindes’ under Mary, but Theophilus replied that their ‘inconstancie doth not abolish the truth of their former confession’.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, when expressing doubts about recusants’ loyalty, Hastings noted that none could ‘make greater shewe of loyaltie’ to Elizabeth nor ‘serue her outwardly with greater apparence of faithfulness’ than Gardiner, Bonner and Tunstall did to Henry and Edward, ‘which they did confirme by printed bookes’, naming these. Yet Gardiner later ‘shewed him selfe in his right colours’, intending, with his accomplices, to marry Mary to Philip, betraying her, god and the realm.<sup>126</sup> Persons, however, excused Gardiner. Soon after the Break from Rome, the relatively new bishop ‘not fully instructed perhaps in that controuersie of the Supremacie’ and somewhat fearful ‘of the kings violent proceeding’, ‘stepped somewhat asyde in that booke’. Yet he soon ‘did recall himself agayn, and condemned his owne doing therin’, in his Marian sermon making a ‘humble accusation of himself for his fall, and consenting to King Henryes will in that booke’.<sup>127</sup> Hastings rejected this: Gardiner claimed to write his pro-Royal Supremacy work ‘with long and mature deliberation’, whilst Bonner’s preface advised readers to consider Gardiner’s work ‘of

---

<sup>122</sup> *The lamentacion of England*, A1<sup>v</sup>-A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> J. Prime, *A fruitefull and briefe discourse* (1583), M3<sup>r</sup>. On Prime see: J. Lock, ‘John Prime’, *ODNB*.

<sup>124</sup> C. Tunstall, *A letter written by Cutbert Tunstall* (1560).

<sup>125</sup> Bilson, *Difference*, D7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Hastings, *Watch-word*, E8<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> R. Persons, *Vvard-vvord*, F3<sup>r</sup>-F4<sup>v</sup>.

more weightie credence', since it was 'not rashlie ... but with iudgement and wisdom examined'. Hastings refuted another of Persons' points using Gardiner's book.<sup>128</sup> According to Persons, Gardiner said that after Henry stopped loving Catherine, whom 'he was bound to loue aboue all others' by god's law and man's, 'he neuer loued anie person heartilie, and constantlie'. Hastings, however, maintained that Henry's 'mutabilitie' was conversely 'because he first loued where he should not': his brother's wife, against god and nature, as Gardiner in words and 'publike writing professed to the whole world, vtterly condemning' Henry's first marriage and justifying the second. Hastings quoted Gardiner's book on Henry obeying God by divorcing Catherine, another instance of Gardiner's 'inconstancie'.<sup>129</sup>

Government works also employed this strategy. Contradicting Campion, Charke argued that England's laws did not support Catholicism. This applied not only to Henry VIII's, Edward's and Elizabeth's laws, but also those of Edward I, Richard III, and others. They made 'auncient lawes (as appeareth by a booke written onely of this argument aboue fourtie yeeres since) to abandon the Popes authoritie', and the head being removed, 'the body can not remaine'. Charke referred to the official *Treatise provynge by the kynges lawes* (1538),<sup>130</sup> but a marginal note emphasised that other 1530s works were also relevant: 'A treatise of the supremacie. Also sermons and bookes by Tunstall, Gardiner, Bonner, and other papists against the Pope'.<sup>131</sup> Likewise, when Norton discussed those who pretended to be Protestants, he noted that Gardiner 'that abused K. Henry with a false flagge of religion, when he made hys booke of true obedience', was 'of this sort', as was Bonner, when he 'made a notable preface to Gardiners booke', and Tunstall, 'and the rest that wrote against the Pope, Pole, and all papistry'.<sup>132</sup>

It was not only authors publishing books that used government works in unanticipated ways. Wilfred Holme wrote a poem about the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537, blaming it on Catholics and employing

---

<sup>128</sup> Persons, *Vvard-vword*, G1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> Hastings, *Apologie*, R4<sup>v</sup>, S3<sup>r</sup>-S4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> See above, p. 32.

<sup>131</sup> Charke, *Answere*, C5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> Norton, *Warning*, G4<sup>r</sup>.

‘blatantly evangelical rhetoric’. Crucially, Holme’s ‘evangelical interpretation’ was ‘presented *as a gloss on the king’s own words*’, as the poem elucidated the meaning of Henry’s *Answer* ‘line-by-line’, ‘twisting the most insignificant references to religion in the king’s tract into a clarion call for evangelical reform’. The poem thus tried ‘to recast the king’s own position in a decidedly evangelical light’, whilst employing Henry’s pamphlet ‘gave his own ideas legitimacy’. Interestingly, when answering the rebels’ accusations of ‘innovations’ in official policy, Henry merely said that he and his council had ‘learned from experience’ and adapted accordingly, but ‘Holme used this blanket admission as an excuse for openly advocating a wide variety of evangelical innovations’, since the king might similarly admit being wrong about these policies, as he had done about the pope.<sup>133</sup> The author of Frith’s tract was not therefore alone in his optimistic reaction to government print.

Job Throckmorton similarly interpreted official propaganda over-optimistically in an intemperate speech in the House of Commons in February 1587. Throckmorton argued that Spain, France and Scotland were lost causes, with English safety and trade depending on the Low Countries. God had directed them there, and Throckmorton believed that the cause was just: Spain was not entitled to govern the Dutch, who were no longer bound to obey Philip after he had infringed their privileges. They were entitled to choose another sovereign, and Throckmorton felt that they wanted Elizabeth. Throckmorton then observed that ‘her Majestie hath allready published to the view of the worlde certeyne causes of her honorable deseignementes in that action, sufficient in truth to satisfye any man that will bee satisfyed with reason’, meaning the 1585 *Declaration*. Among the causes given for intervention in this pamphlet, ‘there is one very notable’, ‘most worthye of a Christian prynce’: ‘shee there professeth to enter the action for Gode’s cause, to procure them safety (sayeth she), for those are the very wordes) to the honour of God, that they may serve him syncearely as Christian people according to his holy woorde. That is in playne Englishe to succour the afflicted for the cause of religion’.<sup>134</sup> Bolstering an argument in favour of accepting sovereignty of the Low Countries with a quotation, apparently from the queen, suggesting that religion drove intervention, subverted the

---

<sup>133</sup> Shagan, ‘Pilgrimage’, pp. 41-3.

<sup>134</sup> T.E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I* (3 vols., Leicester, 1981-1995), ii, pp. 285-7.

pamphlet's meaning. This emphasised that England was intervening as a last resort, with no intention of taking Dutch sovereignty. Throckmorton briefly mentioned the stated reasons for intervention, but put the emphasis elsewhere, taking a quotation out of context. The sentence quoted says that England was intervening 'only to defend them and their towns from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safety, to the honour of God, whom they desire to serve sincerely as Christian people according to his holy word, and to enjoy their ancient liberties for them and their posterity, and so consequently to preserve and continue the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours'. The next paragraph then emphasised the three main causes for intervention: ending the wars with 'a restitution of their ancient liberties & government by some christian peace', guarding England against invasion, and renewing trade between England and the Low Countries.<sup>135</sup> Throckmorton thus misrepresented government propaganda for his own purposes.

His speech had already redeployed official propaganda controversially. Throckmorton suggested that although the French were technically allies, this would not last due to their religious differences, and because France was closer to Spain than England. For a true appraisal of the French, Throckmorton recommended reading 'wretched Parrye's letter' to Elizabeth, where 'yee shall see [Henri III] notably featured out in his coulers that all the pensills of the best phisiugnomors in Fraunce are not able more lyvely to lay him fourth unto yow'. He then quoted Parry's insistence that Henri was an unreliable ally from the official pamphlet. 'I promise yow for mine owne parte I beleve yt'.<sup>136</sup> The government was unimpressed. Hatton's speech on 26 February complained that Throckmorton had insulted foreign princes, claiming that people should 'use great regard of princes in free speache'. It was 'intollerable to use ill speaches' about Henri, 'continuinge in leage and frendshippe with us'.<sup>137</sup> Throckmorton knew Parry was a convicted traitor (and thus not an official spokesperson on English foreign policy), but perhaps considered it legitimate to agree with a statement contained in a government publication; it could at least provide a plausible defence for his comments.

---

<sup>135</sup> *Declaration* (1585), C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> Hartley, *Proceedings*, ii, p. 284; *Parry* C3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> Hartley, *Proceedings*, ii, pp. 389-90. Cecil also apologised for Throckmorton's remarks about James VI to the king's agent, whilst Throckmorton wrote Cecil a 'letter of grovelling submission'. See: P. Collinson, 'Job Throckmorton', *ODNB*.

Walsham demonstrated how some ‘reformed books’ offered ‘unexpected support for the Catholic cause’. Northamptonshire recusant, Sir Thomas Tresham, was imprisoned for harbouring Campion, but in 1583 his wife told her cousin that she would not wish her husband to be free with the ‘impairment of his conscience’ which would follow if he admitted a non-existent ‘fault’. He believed that according to the example of ‘the martyrs mentioned in Mr. Fox’, whose work he owned, he should not ‘acknowledge such refusal to be a fault but a singular commendation’, and had written to the council ‘to this effect’. Similarly, a mid-1580s document discussed the pros and cons of presenting Elizabeth a petition affirming Catholic subjects’ loyalty, noting that ‘distressed’ subjects had always appealed to monarchs ‘for mercie’, as shown by ‘the Protestantes in Queen Marie’s tyme to her, as appeareth in Foxe’.<sup>138</sup> Presumably officials had not intended Foxe’s work to encourage Catholics.

People also referred to official books in examinations and confessions, when it was probably wise to respect them. Woburn’s sub-prior apologised in June 1536 for his previous views on the Royal Supremacy and the executions of Fisher and More: out of ‘blynde scrupulositie of conscience’ he had initially continued to believe in the pope’s primacy. But this was a ‘greate error’, disregarding how papal authority, ‘orygynallie entrynge’ by monarchs’ ‘benignitie’, ‘encrochyng litle and litle vsurpede iniustlye suche dominion in cristes churche’, wanting only ‘temporall lucre to worldlye welthe’. Reading books, including the *Glasse* and Tyndale’s ‘Obedience of A cristen mann’ ‘so rectifiede [his] affection’ that he now recognised the Supremacy, acknowledging the ‘manyfolde commodities’ that it offered.<sup>139</sup> The *Glasse*, although not stridently antipapal, thus apparently convinced him to accept the Supremacy, and even to internalise more explicitly antipapal propaganda. Given his previous opinions though, this was potentially not a sincere conversion.

Marian Protestants also invoked Gardiner’s *De vera obedientia* as a defence. In 1556, William Tymes reminded Bonner that he had written against the pope’s ‘vsurped power’, yet he now executed those

---

<sup>138</sup> King, *Martyrs*, pp. 288-9; Walsham, ‘Spider’, pp. 186-7; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (8 vols., 1901-13), iii, pp. 29-30, 34.

<sup>139</sup> SP1/104, fos. 227<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>.

who would not acknowledge papal authority. Bonner asked where he had written this, and Tymes replied that Gardiner wrote *De vera obedientia*, containing ‘worthy matter agaynst the Romish authority’. Bonner supplied the preface, attacking the pope’s ‘tyranny’ and his ‘pretenced’ power. Bonner was ‘somewhat abashed’, claiming that they wrote ‘because of the perilous world that then was’, ‘compelled’ by fear. Subsequently, however, they admitted their ‘faultes’, and he encouraged Tymes to do likewise. The latter, however, responded that whilst what Bonner wrote was ‘approued by the Scriptures’, his current actions were against god’s word.<sup>140</sup> Likewise, when examined in 1556, George Ambrose said that after reading *De vera obedientia* and Bonner’s preface, attacking papal authority, ‘he did mucche lesse set by their doinges then before’.<sup>141</sup> Other Protestants brought before Gardiner claimed that ‘they lerned theyr disobedience vnto the Pope’ from *De vera obedientia*, but this apparently did not work: Gardiner replied that ‘if they had bene good Scholers, they would haue folowed theyr Maister in his beste, and not in his worste doeinges’. Furthermore, ‘if they had erred through his Authority, when he was not so wel learned and grounded, they should much more repent and recant through his Authority, being nowe better lerned through longer studie, and better grounded through longer experience’.<sup>142</sup>

Elizabethans employed similar tactics. In 1595, Robert Cecil examined William Lenoard, a gentleman, about conversations concerning Mary Stuart and James VI.<sup>143</sup> Charged with speaking ‘Irreuerent’ words about Mary, Leonard said that he only asked someone what they thought of one of Buchanan’s books, who wrote ‘prodigally, that she dyd not only exuere Maiestatem regiam but matreuaalem verecundiam’. A transcript of the conversation alleges that Leonard called Mary ‘a whoor’, telling John Gibson, a Scottish preacher, that he would show him a book which proved it. Gibson, however, replied that this author was ‘a knaue’. Leonard consequently asked Gibson if he thought ‘his great Poet B was a knaue’, meaning Buchanan. Gibson said it ‘was more then he knew

---

<sup>140</sup> P. Tudor, ‘Protestant Books in London in Mary Tudor’s Reign’, *London Journal*, 15 (1990), pp. 19, 25; *TAMO*, 1570, p. 2115.

<sup>141</sup> *TAMO*, 1563, p. 1574.

<sup>142</sup> T. Stapleton, *A counterblast to M. Hornes vayne blaste* (Louvain, 1567), Zz3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> That the examination’s endorsement described it as being about words spoken against James suggests that this was the issue under consideration. See: SP12/253, fo. 98<sup>v</sup>.

that B wrote it, but if he dyd, he mowght haue ben better Implored'. Leonard added that the book had been translated 'into the Northren Tong because it mowght be knowen', suggesting that the work was Buchanan's *Detectioun*. Leonard's comments show that he considered Buchanan's works legitimate, and discussing them permissible. It is likely that this defence reflected genuine belief rather than a cynical invocation of an authoritative book: Leonard's accusers were found to be acting maliciously, and he was largely cleared of wrongdoing.<sup>144</sup>

John Heyward referenced Foxe's work when defending himself against the government in 1601. His book about Henry IV, dedicated to the earl of Essex, effectively paralleled Essex and Henry Bolingbroke, and Elizabeth and the tyrant, Richard II,<sup>145</sup> thus becoming an unacceptable critique of Elizabeth's government. When examined, Heyward denied that his book referred to the present and, concerning his sources, claimed that he had 'read in foxes booke of Actes & monumentes that king h2 never demaunded subsidie of his subiectes *which* he sett forth towards the end of the raigne of that kinge and there he found also that h2 after his death left in treasure nine hundred thousand poundes'. Asked why he put this into a history of Henry IV, Heyward claimed that it was 'lawfull for any historiographer to insert any historie of formr tyme into that historie he wright albeit no other historian of that matter have menconed the same'. Heyward thus defended himself by claiming that the information he used could be found in a semi-official publication, and thus presumably he could not be punished for citing it.<sup>146</sup>

John Daniel of Daresbury Hall, Chester, seemingly considered how to dispute a June 1601 Star Chamber conviction, utilising official propaganda in the process. In 1603 he sent his cousin 'a Copie of the Sentence in the Starre Chamber agaynst mee', saying that he did not know 'how the same may be answered saufflie', and he therefore deferred to his cousin. The sentence explained that the earl of Essex's wife had given a casket of the earl's letters to John Daniel's wife, Jane, one of the countess' gentlewomen. Daniel allegedly had a scrivener copy some of these letters, not always truthfully.

---

<sup>144</sup> SP12/253, fo. 96<sup>r-v</sup>, 108<sup>r</sup>, 121<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Hammer, 'Crocodile', pp. 95-7.

<sup>146</sup> SP12/278, fos. 20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>.

When the countess reclaimed the casket and discovered letters missing, she questioned the Daniels. John eventually confessed that he had the letters, demanding £3,000 for them. Crucially, the attorney general observed that although Essex, during his arraignment, ‘pretended’ that these letters had been ‘forged’ by his ‘adversaries’, it was now clear that Daniel had done this. ‘Therefore the imputacon that the saied Earle did endeavor to lye open others was therin most vniuste and ought to have bene imposed vpon his own servant’, Daniel. The latter, however, challenged this account through marginal annotations. He claimed that the letters were not forged, but merely copied. Essex initially accused others of forging them because he ‘had no better pretext to Color his treasons, *which* at his death had Confessed to bee false ymputacons as apareth by *master* Barlows *sermond*, *which* proveth that danyell was made an Instrment to excuse others’. Daniel made other annotations indicating that he was being victimised whilst others escaped justice, and he likely had a copy of Barlow’s sermon, given that both used the word, ‘imputation’: Barlow narrated Essex requesting forgiveness from those ‘whom he had challenged for his enimies, & had charged with such great, but false imputation’.<sup>147</sup> Official propaganda thus shielded Daniel from the queen’s attorney general. Whereas the latter believed that Essex was correct in accusing others of forging his letters but incorrect in whom he blamed, Daniel used Barlow to show that Essex had lied about anyone forging his letters: Daniel was just as innocent of the charge as those that Essex falsely accused. This document’s presence in the State Papers perhaps suggests that it was presented to officials. Such use demonstrates both a close, attentive reading of an official text, and its potential to be employed in ways that the government could not foresee. Nevertheless, Daniel’s broader trustworthiness is questionable: he was embittered by losing an important court case involving the countess of Essex, and needed money to pay off substantial debts. Perhaps the government agreed, since he stayed in the Fleet until James’ reign.<sup>148</sup>

Significantly, even when it is unclear if individuals had read government propaganda, they still showed understanding of government policy and ideas. In May 1585 Harry Morgan was examined about his brother, Thomas, who was charged by the government with complicity in Parry’s plot, and

---

<sup>147</sup> Barlow, *Sermon*, C8<sup>v</sup>; SP12/279, fos. 228<sup>r</sup>-231<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> G. Chesters, ‘John Daniel of Daresbury, 1544-1610’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 118 (1966/7), pp. 1-17.

implicated in Francis Throckmorton's doings. In general Harry denied having much involvement with Thomas, and crucially protested that 'since he hathe heard of the speaches vttered against [Thomas] by Throckmorton and Parry he dothe vtterly detest him and dislike of his opinion in Religion'. He stressed that Thomas never sent him a letter or talked to him about anything 'tending to the hurte of her *majestie* or daunger of the State'. The printed confessions of Throckmorton and Parry in the respective official pamphlets implicated Morgan in both plots.<sup>149</sup> Given that Harry apparently worked as a Cardiff customs officer in 1585,<sup>150</sup> he probably did not attend either conspirators' trial to hear their confessions in person. More likely, by Throckmorton's and Parry's 'speaches' Harry meant their printed confessions, which he perhaps read himself or learned of them from someone who did. Evidently it suited Harry to claim that he was appalled by Thomas' conspiratorial activities, and official propaganda helped him do this.

Catholic defendants suspected of seditious activities sometimes employed the frequently proclaimed official distinction between treason and religion. In 1591, former Catholic exile Thomas Wilson, alias John Fixer, was examined about his reasons for returning to England. He claimed that he wanted to help prevent a foreign invasion and encourage Catholics not to join such attempts. Nevertheless, he was adamant that he would do nothing against his conscience. Significantly, Wilson told Cecil that since he always pleaded that he persecuted nobody 'for matter of *conscience* where it is not intermedled *with* affayres of estate I could not but thinke to be if not favoud yet at the lest winked at knowing myne intention to my countrys good & the hate that I haue alwayes borne to the governement & oppression of straungers'.<sup>151</sup> John Snowden, examined the same day, similarly claimed that he wanted to live peacefully in his own country, and, given his 'good affection in matters of state', freely exercise his religion.<sup>152</sup> Neither man explicitly mentioned government propaganda, but Wilson especially appeared to reference official rhetoric.

---

<sup>149</sup> SP12/178, fos. 152<sup>r</sup>-159<sup>r</sup>; Parry, A2<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>r-v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>, G1<sup>r-v</sup>; Q.Z., *Discouerie*, A3<sup>v</sup>, A4<sup>v</sup>-B1<sup>v</sup>, B3<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> A. Plowden, 'Thomas Morgan', *ODNB*.

<sup>151</sup> SP12/238, fo. 253<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>152</sup> SP12/238, fo. 255<sup>r-v</sup>.

Francis Duckett used information potentially acquired from an official pamphlet when seemingly dealing indirectly with the government. In May 1599 he told his cousin in Carlisle the whereabouts of a priest who had escaped from the Marshalsea. 'I know *master* secretary would fayne have hym', and 'but that I know yor credyt, & fytnes to command a post I would have sent hym word my selfe'. Duckett also noted that his wife 'is so obstynate in a dayngerous course towchinge relygyon as I feare the troubles such vndewtyfull courses doe deserve'. Although his own opinions had sometimes 'bene addycted that way', 'sence I saw the trecheryes revealed of the Iesuytes by sqwyer, the traytor, in mychelmas terme last, I have abiured theyre irrelgyous & damnable courses agaynst the state'.<sup>153</sup> Edward Squier was convicted of attempting to poison Elizabeth in October 1598, and executed a month later, with the Jesuit Richard Walpole implicated.<sup>154</sup> Duckett likely learned of this plot from the official pamphlet, as Squier's trial and execution were apparently not widely attended. Edwards suggested that Duckett was a Catholic of weak faith 'who needed little in the way of effective discouragement' to honourably abandon an increasingly burdensome religion.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, he potentially cited the positive impact that official propaganda had on him to emphasise his loyalty.

Many readers evidently used propaganda for their own purposes in situations where doing so benefitted them. In some cases, this was perhaps neither welcomed by the government, nor expected. Moreover, readers mostly did so without misrepresenting government books: Job Throckmorton was the exception, not the rule. The meaning of government texts was not always stable or controllable; readers could emphasise different points when appropriating these works' authority. While many who used propaganda for their own purposes likely genuinely agreed with books' arguments, others like Persons could implicitly accept official pamphlets' authority whilst disagreeing with their broader polemical points.

But how consciously were such strategies employed? Some explicitly acknowledged that the pamphlets they used were official, but often it is unclear if people deliberately cited official books

---

<sup>153</sup> CP70/67, fo. 67<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> M.E. Williams, 'Edward Squire', *ODNB*.

<sup>155</sup> Edwards, 'Squier', p. 405.

because they knew that the government would struggle to counter arguments based on them. Certainly governments desired consistency.<sup>156</sup> To some extent though, this is unimportant. Even if people did not cite books specifically because they were official, they still employed ideas that they knew to be orthodox and legitimate, suggesting that governments were largely successful in shaping acceptable opinion and extracting compliance, even if this was only in outward behaviour. Even the ambiguous cases show that government ideas were widespread and that people knew what was and was not allowed. The frequent recycling of government arguments in non-governmental books probably help to account for official success in this respect.

These conclusions complement other studies of relations and communication between government and subjects. Sharpe similarly stressed the instability of meaning: monarchical representations were texts open to interpretation, and it was by negotiation with subjects that they were given meaning.<sup>157</sup> Shagan's work on the early English Reformation addressed another process of negotiation between the state and its people, arguing that the latter's response to religious change decisively shaped the outcome. People accepted and 'collaborated' with official policy for numerous reasons, including 'principled motives', such as religious belief and loyalty, and more cynical ones, like financial self-interest.<sup>158</sup> A similar phenomenon occurred in reactions to print: official, yet unstable, works received a variety of responses from the audience, with many accepting them (or parts of them) according to their own beliefs and needs. In this way, the government succeeded in having its ideas permeate and shape popular opinion, enhancing governmental authority. Yet such a process of negotiation prevented a completely one-sided outcome: the government's authority was potentially constrained as subjects were provided with a legitimate set of facts and policies that could be used for different purposes, some, from the government's point of view, unhelpful. These alternative purposes, resting on official print's authority, likewise had the chance to shape popular opinion and potentially redefine what passed for orthodoxy and acceptability. Still, however subversive such redeployments were, they

---

<sup>156</sup> See above, pp. 42-3.

<sup>157</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 22-6.

<sup>158</sup> E.H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003) pp. 1-60.

still signified governments' success in obtaining outward obedience and establishing the authority of their printed output.

### Chapter 3: Marginalia in Government Polemics

Marginalia in copies of official polemics can provide valuable evidence of their reception. Annotations in other works have been used effectively. Through Gabriel Harvey's marginalia Jardine and Grafton have demonstrated how he and his political contacts used Livy and other books to address contemporary problems, highlighting that 'scholarly reading' was 'goal-orientated', intended for more than just acquiring information.<sup>1</sup> Sherman conceded that many readers were potentially not as 'goal-orientated' as Harvey, but nevertheless maintains that most were 'trained' to consider the 'possible uses' that almost all books 'could be made to serve in a range of contexts'. Readers were taught to annotate books. John Brinsley's 1612 handbook for teaching people to read and write suggested marking 'difficult words, or matters of speciall obseruation'. These should be of 'vse', marked with 'little lines' or 'whatsoever letter or marke may best helpe to cal the knowledge of the thing to remembrance'. Sherman emphasised that Brinsley was advocating marginalia as mnemonic aid to ultimately enable books to serve a purpose, and stresses that this advice 'applied to the marking of texts for many purposes beyond learning Latin and to readers from all over the socio-professional spectrum'.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Cambers' analysis of Margaret Hoby's marginalia in Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay's *Fowre Books* (1600) demonstrated her attempt 'to extract information of relevance to practical religious life', seemingly aiming 'to create an independent parallel text and index'. He identified different types of annotation, suggesting that Hoby first read sections, underlining as she went, and then added marginal comments 'to make the text more accessible', possibly 'as a guide to a book without an index, or as an aide-memoire before commonplacing'. Some notes were simple 'references', brief comments providing 'a guide' and showing that the text contained more information on a topic. At other times she 'repackaged the text and provided a systematic guide to its contents', dividing paragraphs by series of brief notes or numbered lists.<sup>3</sup> Sherman also described readers' 'systems of signs' designed 'for breaking texts down into manageable sections or signalling

---

<sup>1</sup> L. Jardine, A. Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *PP*, No.129 (1990), pp. 30-78.

<sup>2</sup> W. Sherman, *Used Books* (Bristol, 2008), pp. 3-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cambers, 'Marks', pp. 211-31.

key subjects and claims at a glance'. Among Renaissance readers' symbols, Sherman stressed manicules' importance: besides 'nota', manicules 'served alongside the asterisk and the flower as the most visible technique for marking noteworthy texts'. Contemporary works' references to and use of manicules show that they were understood this way. Furthermore, Sherman argued that the connection between hands and reading during the Renaissance, and manicules' gestural and individually distinctive characteristics meant that they 'must have played an important role in the personal process of making a book meaningful'.<sup>4</sup>

These ideas about the purpose and form of marginalia help alleviate some of their potential problems as a source. Annotations are usually difficult to date. Occasionally this can be estimated if other published works are referenced, but otherwise it must be judged by more imprecise methods. Yet, since the use of manicules began to 'die out' during the eighteenth century, their presence indicates an early modern reader. Similarly, early modern readers used various other symbols and techniques, like asterisks, flowers, crosses, brackets, summaries, *nota benes*, underlining and numbering,<sup>5</sup> suggesting that many annotators of polemical works employing these were probably near-contemporaries. Furthermore, the fact that marks highlighted noteworthy sections means that even though it is sometimes unclear if annotations like underlining and brief summaries indicated readers' agreement, they are still important in showing what they considered significant. This is equally true if the reader's identity is unknown, as it often is.

This chapter examines the different ways in which people annotated propaganda, and considers the broader implications of their varied methods. It then looks more specifically at how different individuals engaged with the same books and arguments, suggesting what readers responded to or found convincing, before making some observations on owners.

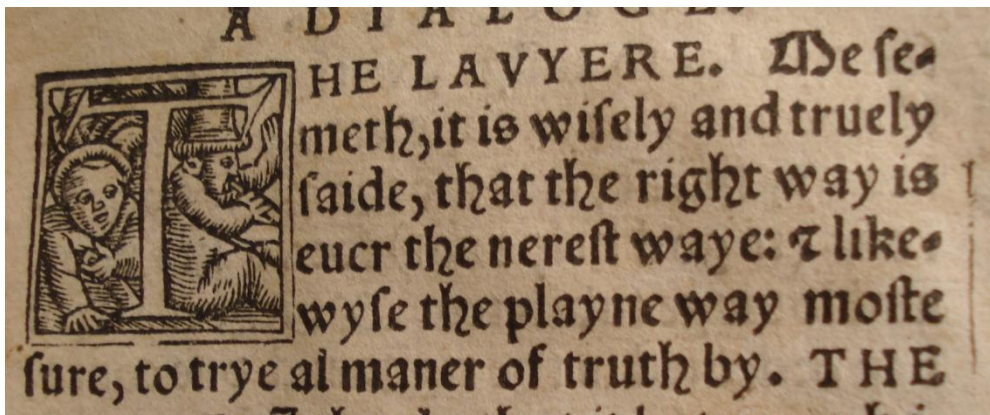
---

<sup>4</sup> Sherman, *Books*, ch. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cambers, 'Marks', pp. 224-9; *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 37.

## Methods of Annotation

Erasmus suggested that when annotating books readers should ‘methodically observe occurrences of striking words, archaic or novel diction, cleverly contrived or well adapted arguments, brilliant flashes of style, adages, example, and pithy remarks worth memorising’.<sup>6</sup> One reader of a Bodleian copy of the *Glasse* apparently took his advice, adding vertical lines in the margins that seemingly marked proverbial wisdom. After the text stated the need to acquire male heirs, a vertical line marked a proverb that said, ‘to longe abode is causer of moch daungere, we might be moche indemnyfyed and hyndered’. Similarly, a later vertical line marked the statement that ‘the right way is euer the nerest waye: & likewise the playne waye moeste sure, to trye al maner of truth by’. Lastly, a vertical line emphasised the statement that, ‘who sercheth fyndeth’ (Fig.1).<sup>7</sup>



(Fig.1. Bodleian 8° I 66(1) Linc. B1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Although authors continued to advise marking sententiae when annotating books,<sup>8</sup> propaganda was often not particularly useful for this purpose. Instead, readers frequently engaged with their polemical points, suggesting sometimes explicitly and often implicitly that they accepted them. Sherman noted

<sup>6</sup> Sherman, *Books*, pp. 27-9.

<sup>7</sup> Bodleian 8° I 66(1) Linc. A4<sup>r</sup>, B1<sup>r</sup>, B2<sup>r</sup>. Another possible line in the margin on A2<sup>v</sup> related more to the pamphlet's main concerns, marking the claim that the pamphlet was so named because 'it is plainly the same clere glasse' within which the reader could behold 'the playne truth' of Henry VIII's cause, 'which by vnmete and vnkynde handelinge hath hytherto had so ouerlonge a staye'. This latter point about unkind handling was also highlighted by a cross in another copy. See: Bodleian Tanner 186(2) A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Sherman, *Books*, pp. 44-5.

that readers occasionally offered general judgements about books.<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Harvey appraised his copy of Buchanan's *Admonition direct to the trew Lordis* (1571), considering it 'A fine Discourse of Buchanan, but bitter in his Inuectiue veine. for elegant stile, none nearer owre Ascham'. This generally positive judgement was partly based on style, but Harvey also annotated this work, along with a copy of *Salutem in Christo* (1571).<sup>10</sup> He also annotated copies of Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina* (1571) and *Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Queene of Scottes* (1571), in the latter quoting passages of James VI's *Basilikon Doron* (1603).<sup>11</sup> Harvey was evidently interested in Mary Stuart, and used Buchanan's works long after publication.

Such explicit overall judgements were rare. Nevertheless, many readers' marginalia focused on official pamphlets' significant points, marking and/or summarising them. It is possible that such readers agreed with these points, particularly when books were heavily and consistently annotated, with no negative observations made. The seemingly contemporary annotations on a Folger copy of the *Aduertisement* (1581) comprehensively signposted the key points. On the title page is a note that John Wylkinson bought four books for nine pence (Fig.2). This short book would have only cost one or two pence, so four could have been bought for nine pence in the 1580s. Wylkinson first underlined parts of the text and inserted hashtags that were then numbered in the margin to mark six key stages of the argument: one, it was proved that people 'vnder pretence of the names of Iesuites, Seminarie Priests' had entered England, two, 'authorized by the Pope', three, 'to moue the people by their secret perswasions to change their professions in the matter of Religion', and, four, 'to be reconciled to the obedience of the Pope' and withdraw 'their naturall allegeance' to Elizabeth, so that they were ready, five, to join an invasion, six, intending 'to deprive her Maiestie of her life, crowne and dignitie' (Fig.3). Next, Wylkinson wrote 'nota' in the margin by the beginning of a sentence which he also underlined, before underlining more of the sentence below. This said that Campion's supporters 'maliciously, falsly, and traiterously' maintained that the condemned's offences 'were but for their secret attempting as Iesuites by exhorting & teaching, with Shriuing, Massing, & such like actes, to

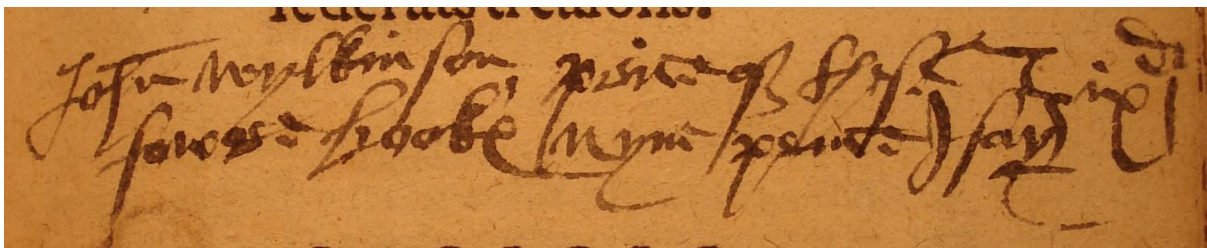
---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> BL G.5443.

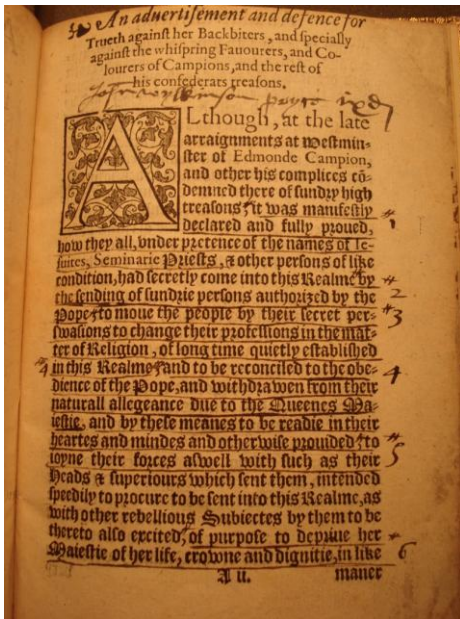
<sup>11</sup> V.F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 204-5.

moue people to change their Religion, and to yelde their obedience to the Pope as Christes vicar' (Fig.4). Wylkinson then underlined the claims that confessions and witnesses proved that 'their factes' were 'in trueth high Treasons', 'and not for factes of doctrine or Religion, nor yet for offences against any late or newe Statutes'. Wylkinson emphasised this by writing in the margin, 'Hygh Treasons against her *majesties* person not doctryne & religion' (Fig.5). He then underlined Pope Pius' name (writing 'Pius 5' in the margin), before underlining the part of the summary of the 1570 bull about encouraging English subjects to rebel (Fig.6). Finally, Wylkinson wrote 'Bull' in the margin by the beginning of the paragraph saying that the traitors were asked what they thought of the bull, and 'of Doctor Sanders, and of Bristowes traiterous writings in maintenance of the saide Bull, and allowance of the Rebellion in the North, and of Saunders trayterous actions in Irelande, and being likewise demaunded what they did thinke if the present Pope should publish the like'. Here he wrote in the margin, 'Campion asked what he thought of the Popes Bull', and below it, 'nota Rushton' (Fig.7). The latter highlighted the fact that only Edward Rishton had shown any misliking of the bull, the writings of Nicholas Sander and Richard Bristow, or the current pope hypothetically issuing another bull.<sup>12</sup> Wylkinson thus recognised, and seemingly accepted, the pamphlet's central message that Catholic priests were justifiably executed for treason, not religion.



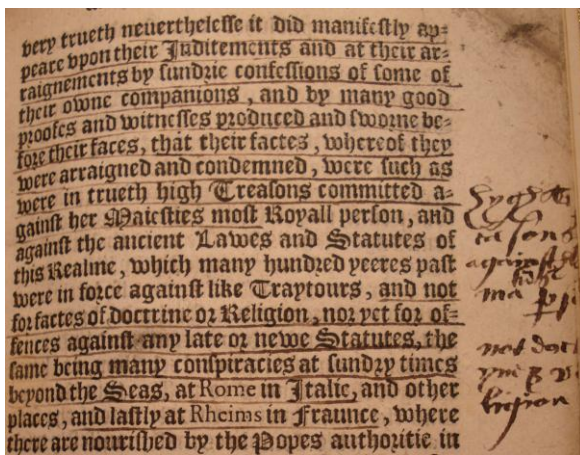
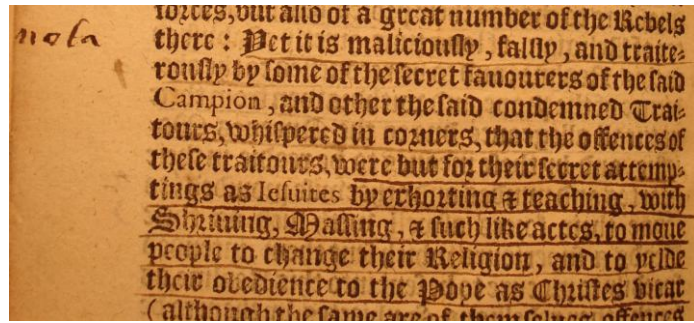
(Fig.2. FSL STC 18259 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

<sup>12</sup> FSL STC 18259 A1<sup>r</sup>, A2<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>.

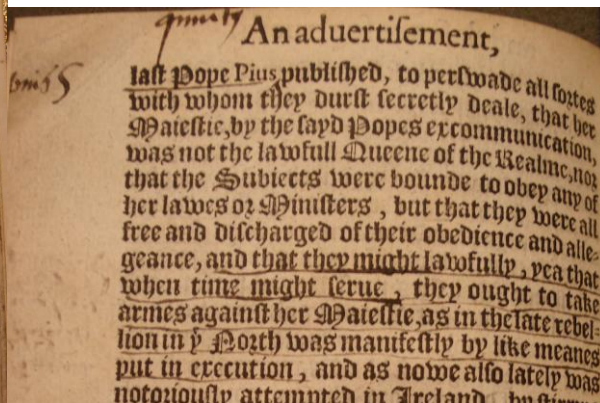


Left: (Fig.3. FSL STC 18259 A2<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

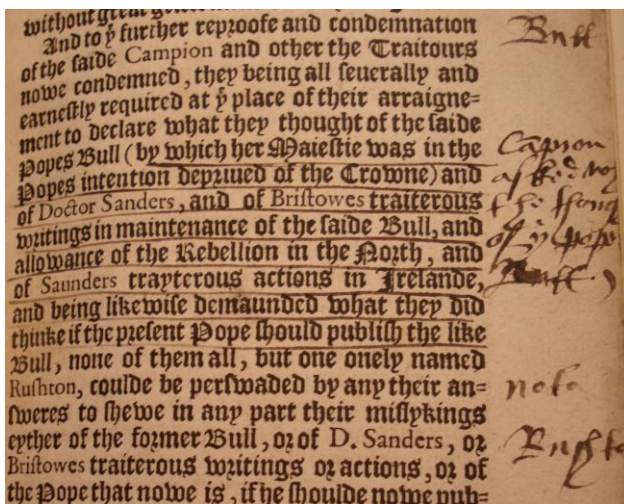
Below: (Fig.4. FSL STC 18259 A2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)



(Fig.5. FSL STC 18259 A3<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

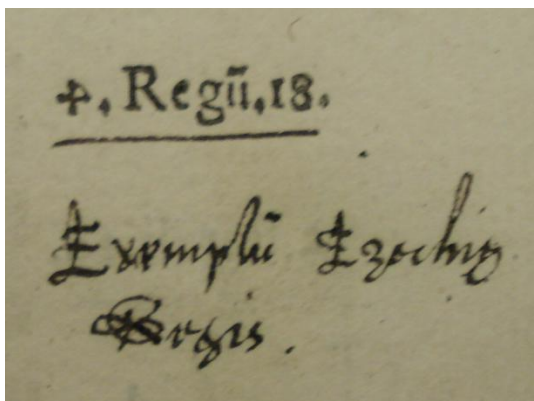


(Fig.6. FSL STC 18259 A3<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

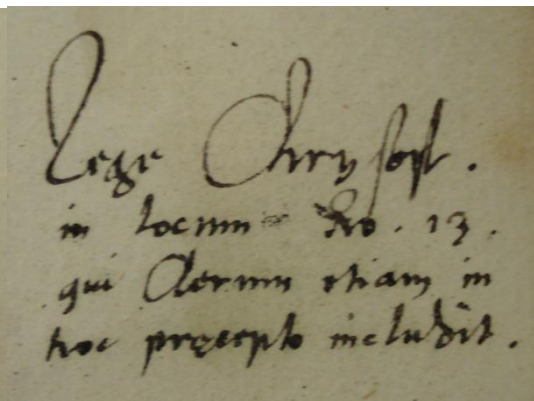


(Fig.7. FSL STC 18259 A4<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

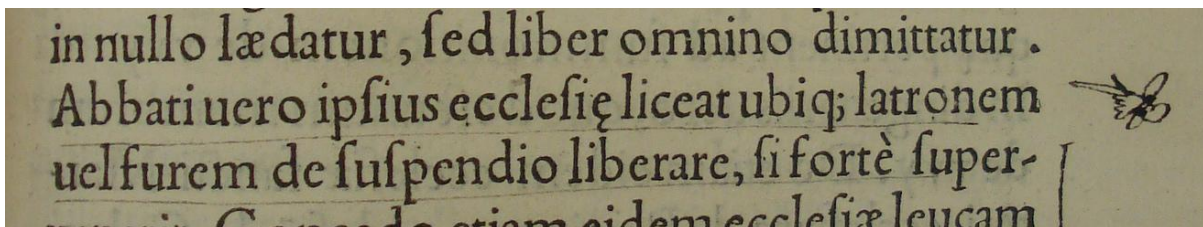
Not all readers so straightforwardly highlighted pamphlets' main points. Grafton and Jardine emphasised that the purpose of reading for action 'shaped the relationship between reader and text', so that one text could prompt 'a variety of goal-directed readings', with Harvey using different aspects of Livy at different times, to answer different questions.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Cambers suggested that even though Hoby's annotations in *Fowre Books* were conditioned by the nature of the book itself, certain themes were 'particularly prominent', indicating her interests.<sup>14</sup> Readers treated polemical works the same way, with marginalia emphasising particular sections, arguments or aspects that especially interested them, and that they potentially agreed with. A reader of a Bodleian copy of Edward Fox's *De vera differentia* consistently annotated it throughout, using marginal notes (Figs.8-9), underlining, brackets, a manicule (Fig.10), number sequences (Fig.11), and speech marks (Fig.12) to form a guide to the text. Nevertheless, their annotations most frequently related to Fox's scriptural sources, occasionally writing Biblical references in (Fig.13) and frequently underlining those already provided.<sup>15</sup> This was seemingly their primary concern.



(Fig.8. Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld. K1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph taken by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.9. Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld. L1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph taken by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

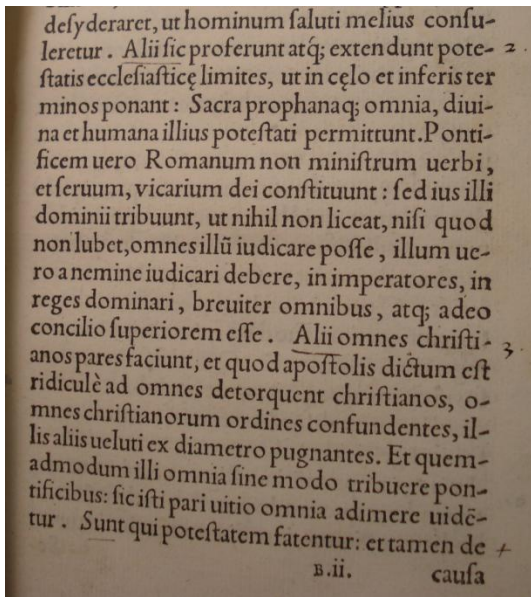


(Fig.10. Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld. N4<sup>r</sup>. Photograph taken by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

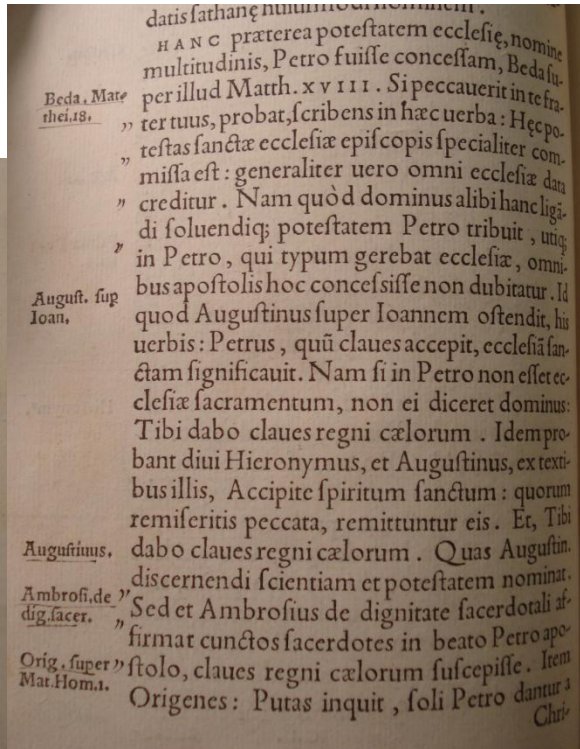
<sup>13</sup> Grafton, Jardine, 'Livy'.

<sup>14</sup> Cambers, 'Marks', p. 226.

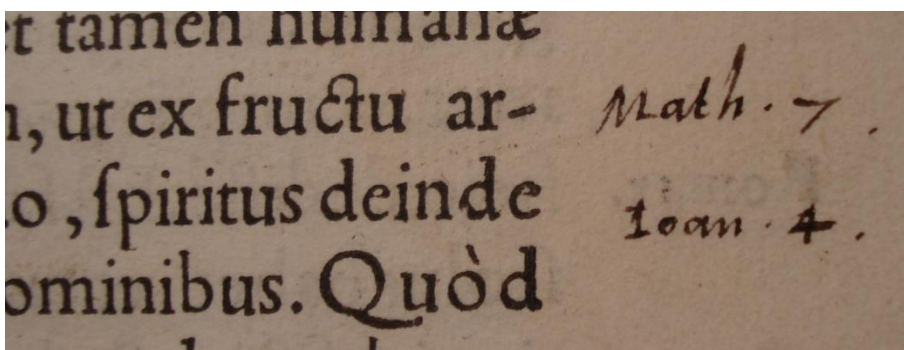
<sup>15</sup> Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld.



(Fig.11. Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld. B2<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.12. Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld. C2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph taken by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.13. Bodleian 4° P. 52 Art. Seld. B1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph taken by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

A reader's annotations in a British Library copy of Cecil's 1588 *Letter to Mendoza* about the Armada were conditioned not so much by a particular interest but by their pre-existing knowledge of the events related. The reader wrote several longer-than-usual notes to supplement and reinforce some of the pamphlet's important points. According to the allegedly English Catholic author, what did most harm to the enterprise was 'the vntimely hasty publishing' of writings telling the people that England would be conquered, Elizabeth 'destroyed', and all the nobility who opposed the invasion 'rooted out'. Such writings were plausible partly because of a new papal bull depriving Elizabeth and committing

the conquest to Philip II, who could take the crown or give it to any ruler that he and the pope wanted. Beneath this, the reader wrote, ‘Ther weer many Bulls against Q: Elizabeth one in the time of the Rebellion in the north Another at the coming of this Armada both Troian horses fraught *within with* sinons & souldiers’ (Fig.14), highlighting their anti-papalism plainly. Another note confirmed the pamphlet’s argument that English Catholics were just as eager to defend England as Protestants:

The lord Montacute an earnest recusant was him self, his sonne & his sonnes sonne in armes *with* a most worthy troop of horse for the Q: seruice against the Spaniard & told the Q: (speaking to him at a muster at *Saint James* field) vpon his honour that though the pope should come in person he would wishtand him to his vttermost power.

Finally, when the pamphlet related that in Paris Mendoza had printed, wrongly, that the Spanish fleet had won a ‘great victorie’, the reader mocked him:

Mendoza at Paris before the fight at sea crying out openly befor the victori. Victoria: After the disconfeturr of the spanish fleet durst no more come forth of his houss for very shame because the boyes & porters mokked him as he rodd through the street vpon his mule crijing to him Victoria Victoria.<sup>16</sup> (Fig.15)

TO WHICHE, OR TO WHICHE IT TOUCH A POTENTATE AS THE POPE AND HE  
 Ther weer many Bulls against Q: Elizabeth one in the time of the Rebellion in the north  
 Another at the coming of this Armada both Troian horses fraught w<sup>th</sup> in w<sup>th</sup> sinons & souldiers.

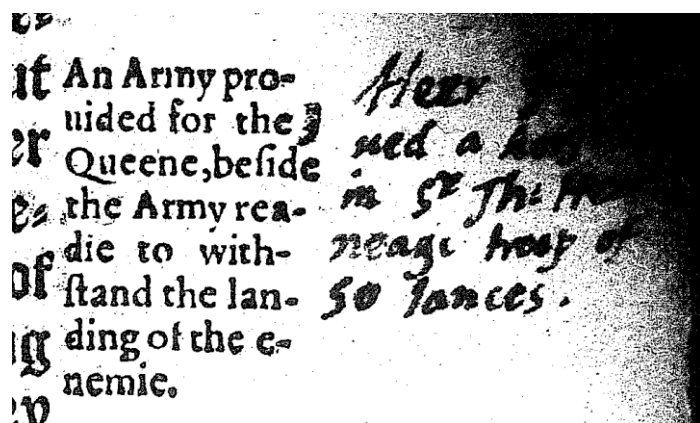
(Fig.14. © The British Library Board, 440.i.16(1) A3<sup>v</sup>)

Mendoza at Paris before the fight at sea crying out openly beforad y Victoria. Victoria: After the disconfeture of the spanish fleet durst no more come forth of his houss for very shame because the boyes & porters mokked him as he rodd through the street vpon his mule crijing to him Victoria Victoria.

(Fig.15. © The British Library Board, 440.i.16(1) B4<sup>v</sup>)

The reader’s knowledge is unsurprising, since, when responding to a printed marginal note saying, ‘An Army prouided for the Queene, beside the Army readie to withstand the landing of the enemye’, they wrote, ‘Herr I serued a horsbal in Sir Th: Henneage troop of 50 lances’ (Fig.16).

<sup>16</sup> BL 440.i.16(1) A3<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>.

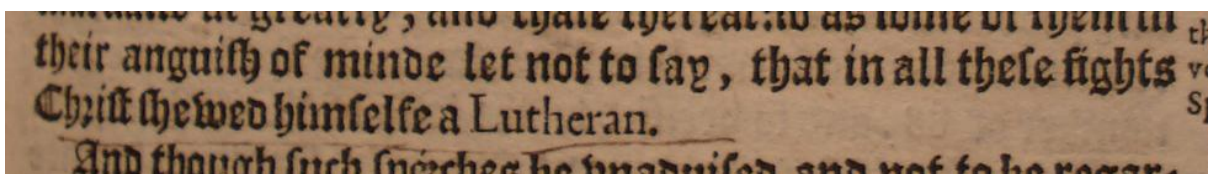


(Fig.16. © The British Library Board, 440.i.16(1) D1<sup>1</sup>)

On other occasions the reader added details and corrected factual errors. The reader added the words, ‘called Inuincible’, to a printed marginal note saying, ‘The Spanishe preparation iii. yeares in making’. They showed similar interest in this point later, underlining that the Armada was rumoured to ‘be inuincible’. When describing how tales about the Armada spurred the formation of armies, the pamphlet noted that there was ‘one Gentleman in *Kent*’ with 150 footmen, whom the reader identified as ‘*Sir. J. Leueson*’. Later, the reader wrote a note in the margin, indicating that this should be inserted into the text to give further details about Mendoza: ‘in former time he had ben heer Ambassador legger for Spayne’. Next, when the author remarked that only some ‘Hollanders & Zelanders offred their seruice’ to the English, both text and printed marginalia indicated that Justinian Nassau, admiral of Holland, had 46 warships, and had joined the English navy against the duke of Parma. In response, the reader wrote, ‘Justin Nassaw *with 35 Holland & Zeland shipps & 1200 Musquetiers kept in the D. of Parma*’. The reader subsequently added further detail to the pamphlet’s claim that Elizabeth assembled and visited an army in Essex, writing, ‘At Tilbury camp 30000’. Interest had already been shown in English forces’ size. Above, the author described how London had 10,000 men ‘daily in shew and muster’, with 30,000 more ‘in readines’. The reader wrote by this, ‘Lond: 40000’. Lastly, the reader corrected a statement made in the short pamphlet providing news on Spanish losses in Ireland. This claimed that when the ship, ‘our Ladie of Rosary’, was wrecked, ‘the Prince of Ascule’ was drowned. The latter part was crossed out, and in the margin was written, ‘the

prince of Asculy was landed at Cales when they cast anker els in this shipp he had benn drowned for in that shipp he was'.<sup>17</sup> Admittedly the reader did not annotate the book immediately, as two references were made to Emanuel van Meteren's work on the history of the Netherlands, first published in 1597, but they were still near-contemporary comments.<sup>18</sup>

The pamphlet thus triggered, and provided an occasion to record, information, revealing a knowledgeable reader. Other annotations also served as guides to the text, and simultaneously expressed the reader's sympathy for official arguments. Where the author expressed their astonishment that the enterprise was 'so suddenly ouerthrown, as by no reason could proceed of man, or of any earthly power, but only of God', the reader wrote in the margin, 'Non nobis Domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam [Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us but to your name give glory]'. The author continued that if God was responsible for the sudden change then perhaps the Catholics were in the wrong, and 'many good, and wise men', long devoted to 'the Popes authoritie', began to think that using force was 'not allowable in the sight of God'. By this section the reader wrote, 'Digitus dei hic [The finger of god is here]'. Divine interference was also alluded to later, highlighted this time through underlining. The author narrated the English fleet's victory over the Spanish, losing no ships, so that some Spanish prisoners claimed that 'in all these fightes Christ shewed himselfe a Lutheran'.<sup>19</sup> The reader also used underlining to emphasise the pamphlet's description of William Allen as 'basely borne'.<sup>20</sup>



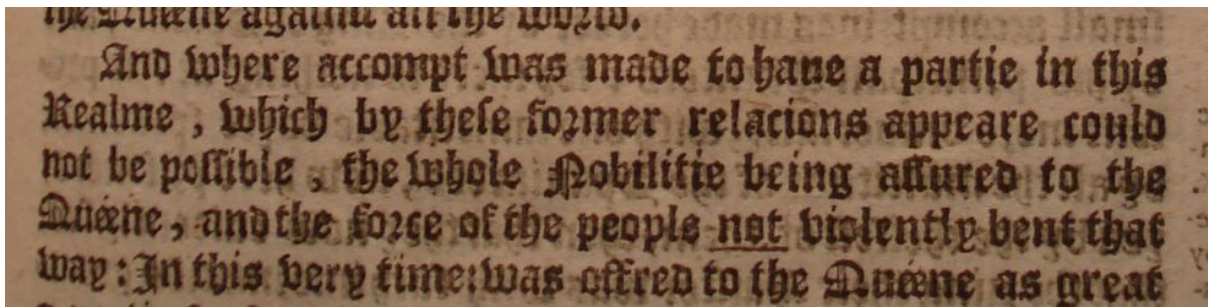
(Fig.17. FSL STC 15412 Copy 1 C2<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., A2<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>r</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r</sup>, (2) A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., C1<sup>v</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>; E. Van Meteren, *Historia Belgica nostril potissimum temporis* (Antwerp, 1600), pp. 394, 470-3.

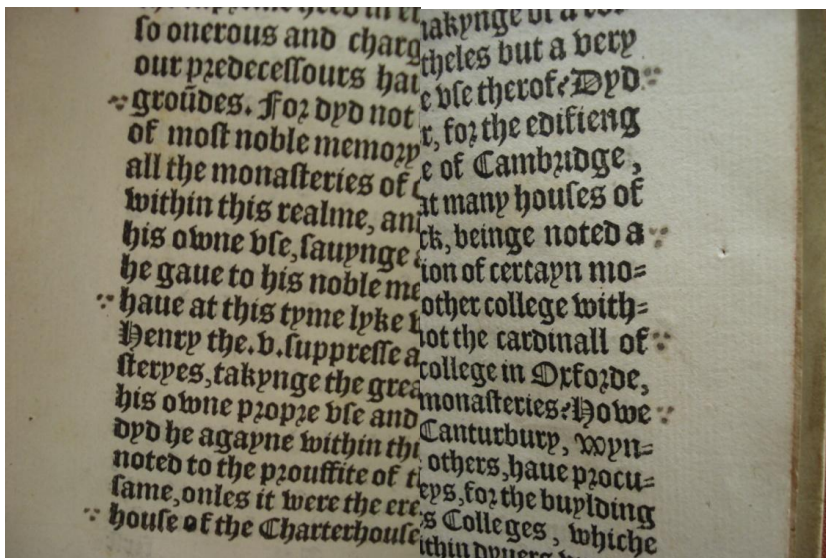
<sup>19</sup> The reader of a Folger copy also underlined this, similarly deeming it significant (Fig.17). The only other annotation they made was underlining the word 'not' to emphasise that contrary to expectations, the English people were not disposed to aid the invasion (Fig.18). See: FSL STC 15412 Copy 1 C2<sup>r</sup>, D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> BL 440.i.16(1) A3<sup>r</sup>, A4<sup>r</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>.



(Fig.18. FSL STC 15412 Copy 1 D4<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

Not all readers annotated books throughout, thus sometimes more clearly revealing specific concerns. A CUL copy of Henry VIII's *Answer* to the Yorkshire rebels has several lines marked by the same sign in the margin: three dots in a triangle. The reader focused on Henry's defence of the Dissolution of the monasteries, particularly necessary given this issue's importance in triggering the Pilgrimage of Grace.<sup>21</sup> Henry claimed to have done nothing illegal or prejudicial to the commonwealth, whilst his predecessors had done worse 'vppon moche lesse groundes'. The reader marked these precedents. Edward III suppressed certain monasteries, using them himself and giving some to noblemen, like Henry VIII, whilst Henry V suppressed monasteries, 'takyng the greate benefite of the same to his owne propre vse'. Then Henry VI, Henry VIII's 'Grandame', bishop Alcock, Cardinal Wolsey and other bishops all suppressed monasteries to establish colleges (Figs.19-20).<sup>22</sup>



Left: (Fig.19. CUL SSS.17.29(2) A2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

Right: (Fig.20. CUL SSS.17.29(2) A3<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

<sup>21</sup> C.S.L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', *PP*, No.41 (1968), pp. 64-7, 71-2.

<sup>22</sup> CUL SSS.17.29(2) A2<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>f</sup>. This is bound with the *Answer* to the Lincolnshire rebels, which has only one annotation: 'vses' is underlined and written in the margin where the pamphlet answered the rebels' complaint



(Fig.21. CUL SSS.17.29(1) A3<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

Readers focusing on specific issues did not necessarily choose those that authors considered most important. For instance, Sherman observed that a reader of *Terra Pacis* (1575) added their own manicules in very different places to printed ones.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, personal concerns of polemical works' readers occasionally led their annotations to bypass pamphlets' central messages. Limited marginalia in an incomplete CUL copy of Morison's *Inuectiue* suggest little interest in the key themes of attacking the pope and Reginald Pole,<sup>24</sup> as there are only two short horizontal marks by these sections that may be unintentional.<sup>25</sup> Certainly, though, the reader annotated other parts concerning religious change. Morison claimed that people in England 'haue longe sithens begon to knowe their duetie toward god, their obedience to their prince, the loue they ow vnto their neighbours, and yet they be styll atte the begynninge' (Fig.22). It may be significant that they did not underline the end of this sentence, suggesting that they did not share Morison's frustration, instead emphasising English subjects' good progress. Nevertheless, the reader's next annotations, employing underlining and a manicule for added significance, perhaps suggest that they shared Morison's desire for an enforcement policy. Morison hoped that as Henry 'ceaseth nat to sende his holsome and godly proclamations abroad, that so one day men shall be sent after them to se what effecte they take, what successe commeth of them, where they worke, & where they be ydle, where they haue fre passage, and where they be stopped' (Fig.23).<sup>26</sup> Whilst the reader thus potentially agreed with parts of this

---

about the act of uses, possibly intended to emphasise this particular section, but perhaps only clarifying a slightly cropped word (Fig.21). See: CUL SSS.17.29(1) A3<sup>r</sup>.

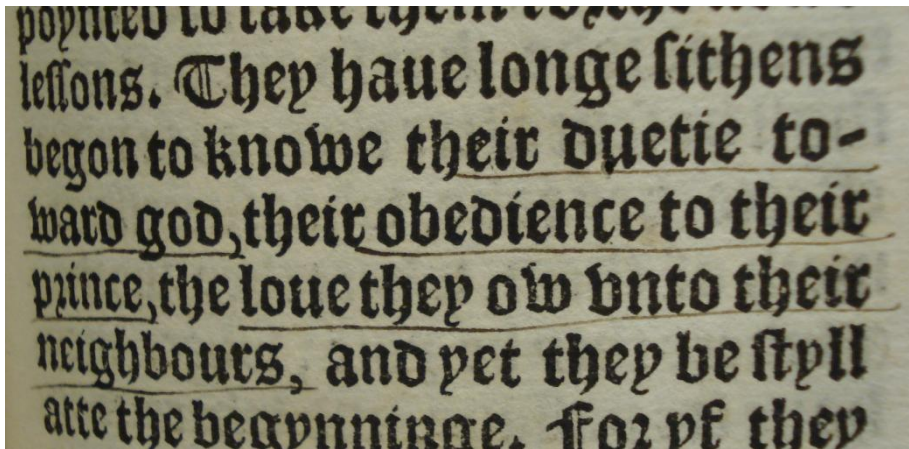
<sup>23</sup> Sherman, *Books*, pp. 36.

<sup>24</sup> Morison, *Inuectiue*.

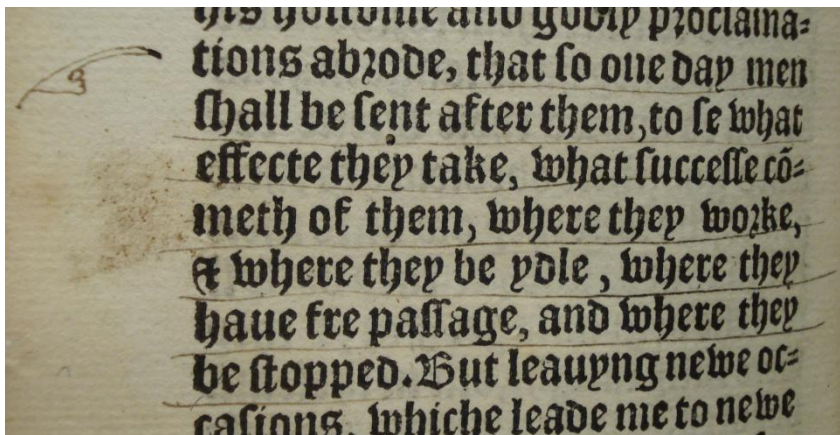
<sup>25</sup> CUL Syn.8.53.67 D1<sup>r</sup>, E5<sup>r</sup>. These possibilities relate to one section calling the pope a 'great captayn of errorrs' and insulting Pole (Fig.24), and another relating Geoffery Pole's apparently voluntary decision to confess (Fig.25).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, a1<sup>r</sup>, D6<sup>r-v</sup>. Writing on the title page may not be contemporary (Fig.26), but is not necessarily the same hand as the internal annotations, the focus of which probably makes a contemporary reader likely.

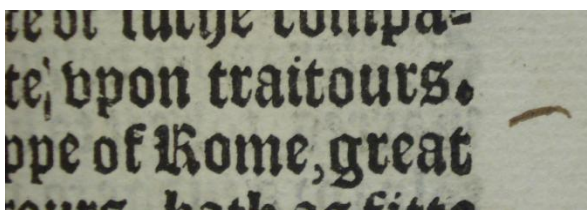
pamphlet, the government presumably did not intend for them to concentrate predominantly on the reform agenda that Morison inserted of his own accord.<sup>27</sup>



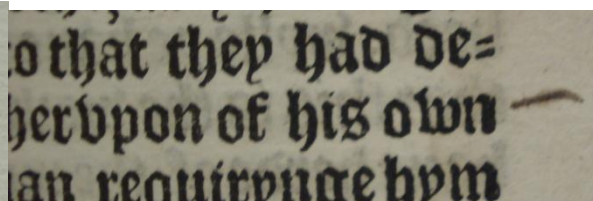
(Fig.22. CUL Syn.8.53.67 D6<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)



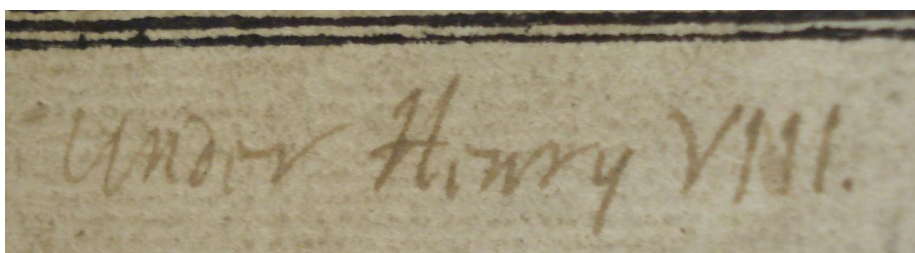
(Fig.23. CUL Syn.8.53.67 D6<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)



(Fig.24. CUL Syn.8.53.67 D1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)



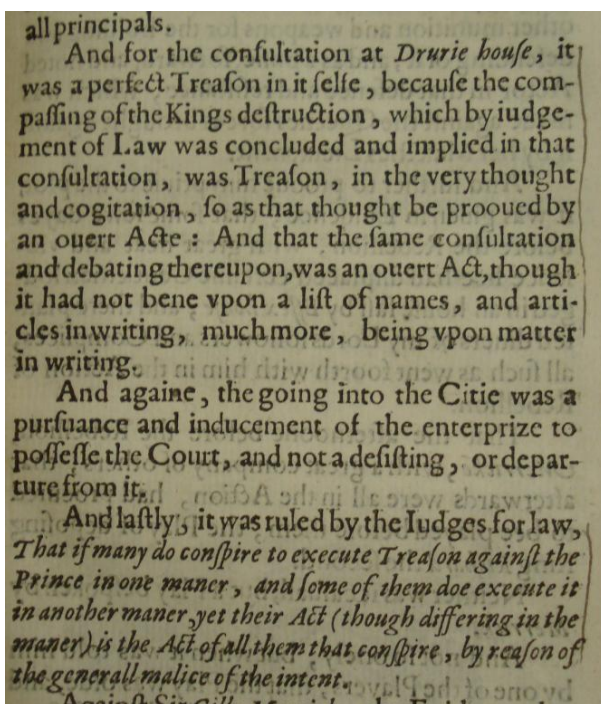
(Fig.25. CUL Syn.8.53.67 E5<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)



(Fig.26. CUL Syn.8.53.67 a1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

<sup>27</sup> Sowerby, *Reform*, pp. 106-7.

Some readers drew inappropriate conclusions from their apparent acceptance of official pamphlets' important points. A Bodleian copy of Bacon's *Declaration* of Essex's treasons includes vertical lines in the margin highlighting parts relating several conspirators' arraignment. Henry Cuff had protested that the consultation at Drury House was not treason, but the answer to this was marked: the consultation was 'a perfect Treason in it selfe', because compassing a ruler's destruction, 'which by iudgement of Law was concluded and implied in that consultation', was treason 'in the very thought and cogitation, so as that thought be prooued by an ouert Acte'. This consultation and debate was 'an ouert Act, though it had not bene vpon a list of names, and articles in writing, much more, being vpon matter in writing'. Another ruling by the judges was also marked: 'That if many do conspire to execute Treason against the Prince in one maner, and some of them doe execute it in another maner, yet their Act (though differing in the maner) is the Act of all them that conspire, by reason of the generall malice of the intent' (Fig.27). The reader seemingly considered these conclusions fair.<sup>28</sup>



(Fig.27. Bodleian Wood 586(10) K2<sup>f</sup>. Photography by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

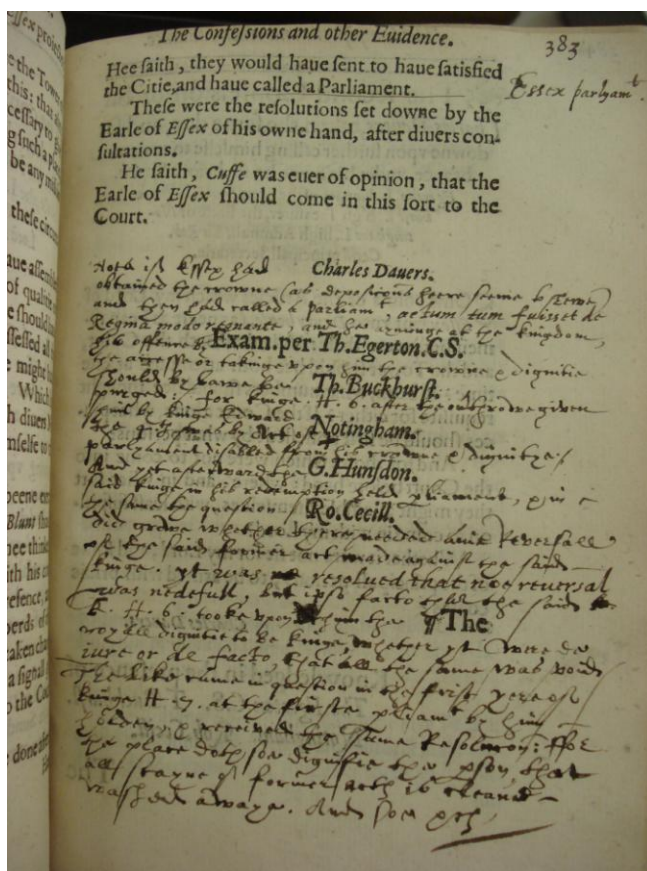
Yet, the reader also made annotations about Sir Charles Davers' first confession. Davers claimed that the plan was first to take over the court, then to send 'to haue satisfied the Citie, and haue called a

<sup>28</sup> Bodleian Wood 586(10) K2<sup>f</sup>.

Parliament'. A written marginal note provides further emphasis: 'Essex parlyament'. Beneath, the reader discussed the issue further:

Nota if Essex had obtained the crowne (as depositions heere seeme to shewe) and then had called a parliament, actum tum fuisset de Regina modo regnante [it would have been an act only of a reigning monarch], and he ayminge at the kingdom, his offence by the accesse or takinge vpon him the crowne & dignitie should by lawe be purged: for kinge H.6. after the ouerthrowe given him by Kinge Edward the 4<sup>th</sup> was by Act of parlyament disabled from his crowne & dignitie. And yet afterward the said kinge in his redemption held parliament, & in the same the question did growe whether there needed anie Reversall of the said former act made against the said kinge. Yt was resolved that noe reuersal was nedefull, but ipso facto that the said K H.6. tooke vpon hym the royall dignitie to be kinge, whether yt were de iure or de facto, that all the same was void. The like came in question in the first yere of kinge H 7 at the firste parliament by him holden, & received the same Resolucon: For the place doth soe dignifie the person, that all stayne of former acts is cleane washed away. And Dom &ch.<sup>29</sup> (Fig.28)

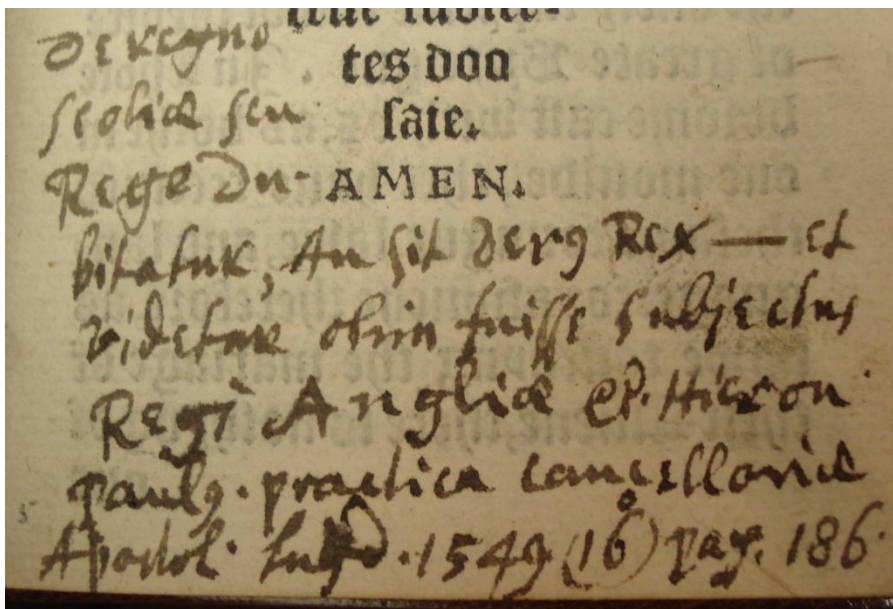
Whilst this suggests that the reader accepted the government's argument that Essex aimed to gain the crown, the idea that accomplishing this and convening parliament would have constituted recognition that he was a legitimate, de facto ruler, negating his offence, was dangerous. The reader's own knowledge and perspective thus shaped their reading of this pamphlet in a novel, unhelpful way.



(Fig.28. Bodleian Wood 586(10) N1f. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., N1f.

Readers' interpretation of books was likely also impacted by often reading them in reference to others. The reader of Cecil's *Letter to Mendoza*, discussed above, used Meteren's *Historia*,<sup>30</sup> whilst Harvey read multiple books simultaneously.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Sherman has asserted that marginalia frequently show readers of numerous genres cross-referencing.<sup>32</sup> Other official books were read in this way. Marginalia after the dedication in a Beinecke copy of Bodrigan's *Epitome* (1548) refers to a 1549 work (Fig.29),<sup>33</sup> whilst a copy of Norton's 1583 *Declaration* has 'Printed in Hollinshed p1357' written on the title page. Perhaps the additional marginal notes influenced them. Whoever wrote this perhaps also made two brief marginal notes signalling where the pamphlet discussed 'Campion' and 'Alex Brian', meaning Alexander Briant.<sup>34</sup>



(Fig.29. Beinecke Bz4 62 A5<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)

These references to other works help to date marginalia; many were potentially made reasonably soon after the official pamphlets were published, albeit not immediately. Other instances, however, show that government books were still being marked long after publication. A British Library copy of Bodrigan's *Epitome* includes a reference on the title page to Edward Ayscu's 1607 work on Anglo-

<sup>30</sup> See above, p. 187.

<sup>31</sup> Grafton, Jardine, 'Livy', pp. 45-51.

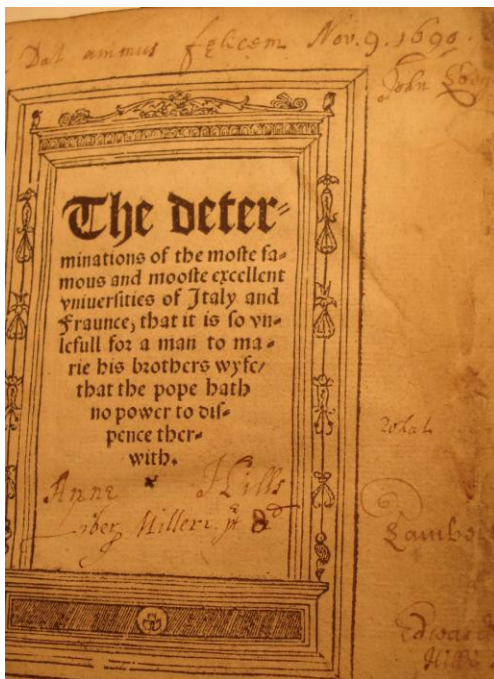
<sup>32</sup> Sherman, *Books*, p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> Beinecke Bz4 62 A5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> St John's College, Cam, Aa.6.66 A1<sup>r</sup>, A2<sup>v</sup>.

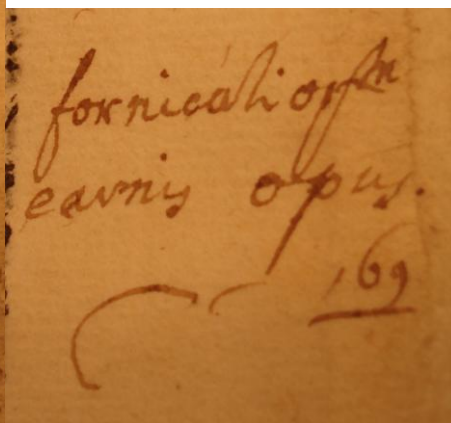
Scottish history,<sup>35</sup> perhaps indicating a reader more generally interested in this topic. Similarly, a Bodleian copy of Robert Cecil's 1586 *Letter*, about Mary Stuart, contains multiple references to a 1630 English translation of Camden's *Annales rerum Anglicarum*,<sup>36</sup> whilst a Bodleian copy of Morison's *Remedy for Sedition* (1536) references an edition of Gilbert Burnet's late seventeenth century work on the reformation.<sup>37</sup>

Dated signatures sometimes similarly show that polemics were read and used long after being issued. A CUL copy of Proctor's *Historie* (1555) is signed by Roger Twylden and dated 1634.<sup>38</sup> A Folger copy of the *Determinations* has several names written on the title page, one alongside the date 9 November 1690 that perhaps suggests that the book was given as a gift (Fig.30). The same reader also wrote one marginal note (Fig.31), indicating that the book was still used.<sup>39</sup>



Left: (Fig.30. FSL STC 14287 Copy 1 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

Below: (Fig.31. FSL STC 14287 Copy 1 D1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)



<sup>35</sup> BL G.5445 A1<sup>r</sup>; E. Ayscu, *A historie containyng the vvarres, treaties, marriages, and other occurrents betweene England and Scotland* (1607), p. 92. There is also a correction on H2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Bodleian Johnson e.385 B1<sup>r</sup>, B2<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r-v</sup>, D2<sup>v</sup>, D4<sup>r</sup>; W. Camden, *The historie of the most renowned and victorious princesse Elizabeth* (1630). Underlining and numbers also highlight a section that rejected different options for dealing with Mary. See: D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>v</sup>.

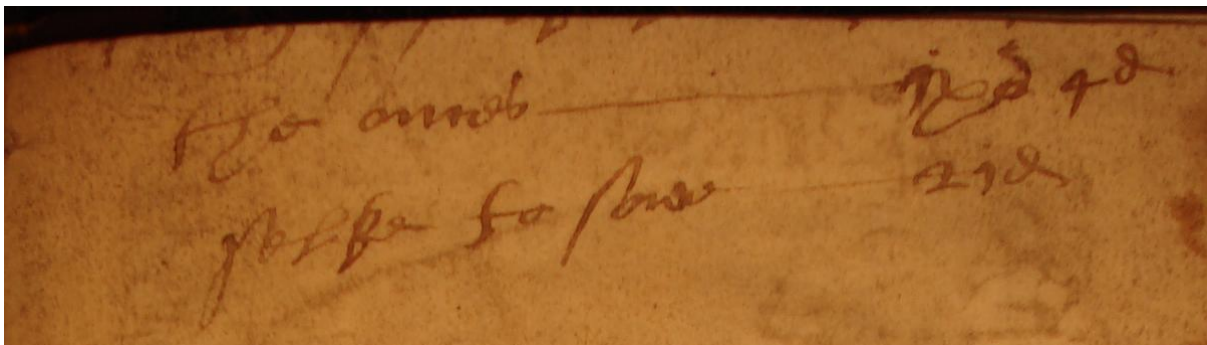
<sup>37</sup> The handwriting looks the same as a marginal note inside. Marks in a red crayon or pencil are certainly not directly contemporary either, as a similar mark appears in the 1592 work with which this is bound. See: Bodleian 4A<sup>o</sup> K 27(1) Th.BS. A1<sup>r</sup>, B1<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>r</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>, F2<sup>r</sup>, F3<sup>r-v</sup>, (2) I4<sup>v</sup>; G. Burnet, *The history of the reformation of the Church of England* (1679).

<sup>38</sup> CUL SSS.46.18 a1<sup>r</sup>. The name Thomas Horne is written at the bottom of two pages in a seemingly older hand, indicating that the book had multiple owners. See: a2<sup>r</sup>, a3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> FSL STC 14287 Copy 1 A1<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r</sup>.

Similarly, a Beinecke copy of the *Disputation* with Campion bears the date July 21 1783, written in two places.<sup>40</sup> The fact that books long continued to be marked shows their continued relevance beyond the immediate circumstances of their composition.

Like many other books, polemical pamphlets also commonly featured annotations unconnected to the text. Paper was expensive, so that blank space in printed books was used for other purposes, including practicing penmanship, doodling and making shopping lists.<sup>41</sup> Examples of people writing their name repeatedly or else other letters and words could represent ‘pen-trials’, as they practiced with hard-to-use pens, or exercises in literacy as people learned to write.<sup>42</sup> Many surviving copies have seemingly random letters, words, and doodling on them,<sup>43</sup> whilst a Folger copy of the Parry pamphlet had a set of accounts or inventory written upside down on the back (Fig.32),<sup>44</sup> and a Bodleian copy of the 1583 *Disputation* with Campion, besides marginalia throughout, had contemporary-looking writing on the back seemingly recording money owed to the reader (Fig.33).<sup>45</sup>



(Fig.32. FSL STC 19342a.2 H4<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

---

<sup>40</sup> Beinecke Mhc5 N866 T7.

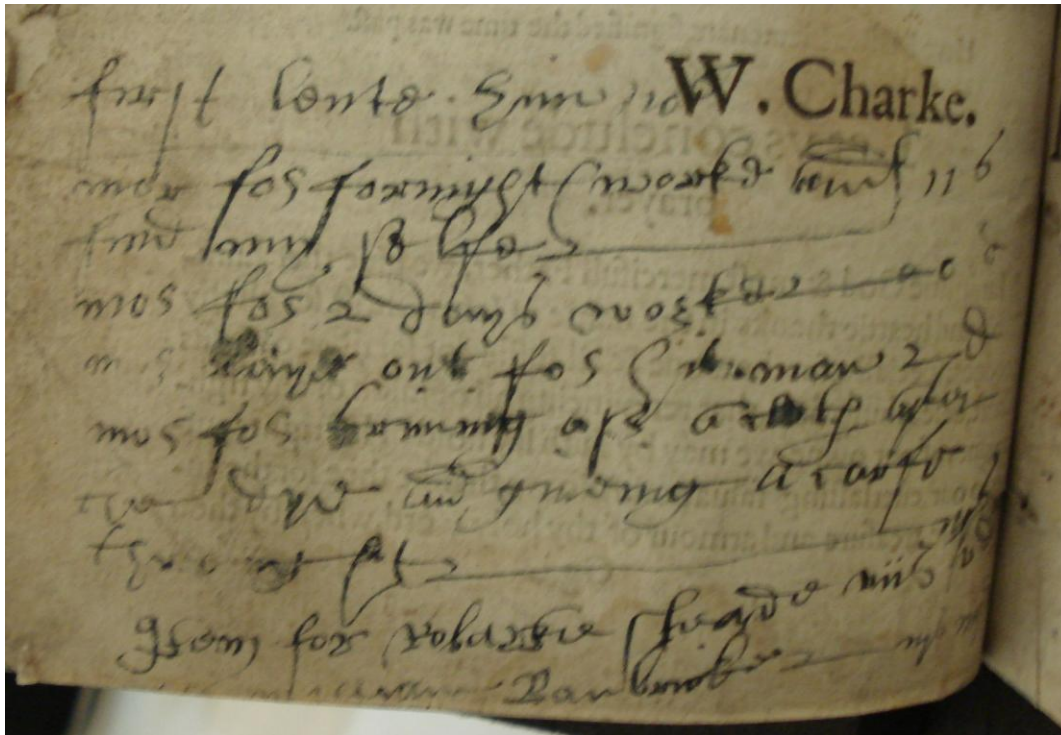
<sup>41</sup> Sherman, *Books*, pp. xiii, 7, 10, 15-6.

<sup>42</sup> J. Scott-Warren, ‘Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book’, *HLQ*, 73 (2010), pp. 366-8.

<sup>43</sup> See for example: Bodleian Mason E 14 A7<sup>v</sup>, F8<sup>v</sup>; CUL SSS.46.18; TCD Crofton 15(1).

<sup>44</sup> FSL STC 19342a.2 H4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Bodleian B 8.5 Linc. Gg1<sup>v</sup>.



(Fig.33. Bodleian B 8.5 Linc. Gg1<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

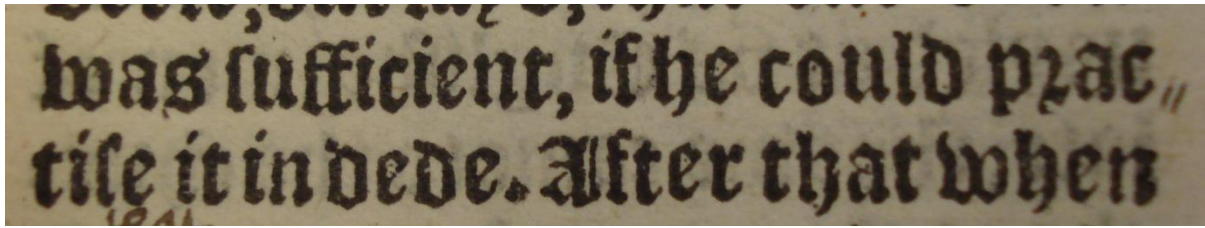
Cambers noted that several other copies of *Fowre Bookes* contained corrections, in at least one case based on the errata sheet.<sup>46</sup> Certainly many readers corrected polemical pamphlets, often alongside other content-based annotations.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes readers' annotations predominantly consisted of corrections. A Beinecke copy of Christopherson's *Exhortation* contains extensive corrections, most frequently adding punctuation to show that words broken by the end of a line continued onto the one below (Fig.34).<sup>48</sup> Readers' propensity to correct their books suggests that official efforts to ensure books' accuracy were welcomed.<sup>49</sup> Evidence of corrections and non-content related annotations is also important in maintaining a realistic view of how people engaged with propaganda, signalling its limitations.

<sup>46</sup> Cambers, 'Marks', pp. 223-4.

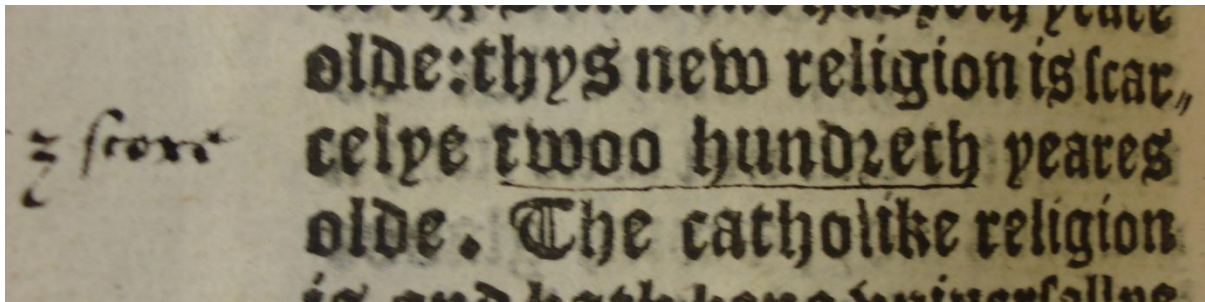
<sup>47</sup> See for example: FSL STC 3981 Copy 3 A4<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>v</sup>, F1<sup>r</sup>. This work's other marginalia is discussed below. See: pp. 230-3.

<sup>48</sup> This small addition features on over 100 pages. Other corrections were made, seemingly not based on the errata sheet, including one polemical factual correction. Where the pamphlet noted that the 'new religion is scarcely two hundreth yeares olde', the reader underlined 'two hundreth' and wrote '3 score' in the margin (Fig.35). See: Beinecke Ocm16 554c F2<sup>r</sup>, K3<sup>r</sup>, N4<sup>v</sup>, O4<sup>v</sup>, X2<sup>v</sup>, Y4<sup>r</sup>, Y8<sup>v</sup>, Aa3<sup>r</sup>, Bb8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> See above, pp. 42-3.



(Fig.34. Beinecke Ocm16 554c X4<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)



(Fig.35. Beinecke Ocm16 554c Q8<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)

Annotations in polemical works were employed in similar ways to those in many other books, with similar objectives. Marginalia were often intended to help readers use their books, by reminding them of particularly relevant or interesting parts, breaking down sections into key stages, or indicating which bits should be copied into commonplace books. This desire to re-read and employ these tracts not only explains the evidence of their longlasting relevance, but is also consistent with the way that government officials and non-government authors employed them as reference works containing useful facts.<sup>50</sup> Thus, despite many government polemics being printed to address specific events and counter oppositional discourses at specific times, sometimes offering reassurance, sometimes justification,<sup>51</sup> they were not ephemeral.

Nevertheless, considerable evidence of people reading books according to their own concerns and in relation to non-government works raises questions about how frequently propaganda pamphlets successfully conveyed their arguments and influenced readers. Cambers' analysis of Hoby's marginalia offers cause for optimism. Besides showing her 'active appropriation of the text', it demonstrated how the author and printer 'manipulated' her, as she marked passages in italics and

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-6, 142-61.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-42.

printed marginalia. Thus, as Cambers argued, any distinction between ‘active’ and ‘submissive’ reader ‘should not be overdrawn’.<sup>52</sup> Certainly some readers engaged with printed marginalia,<sup>53</sup> whilst others, either by consistently annotating pamphlets or through focusing on their own concerns, identified key points. A comparative study of marginalia in multiple copies illuminates these issues further in relation to several key pamphlets.

### The *Determinations* and Anti-Papalism

Readers annotated Latin and English editions of the *Determinations* in various ways, explicitly and implicitly suggesting that they accepted its arguments. Most clearly, a contemporary reader’s sparse marginalia in an English edition in the Bodleian showed their interest in and acceptance of several specific themes that were central to the king’s Great Matter.<sup>54</sup> This reader first commented on the University of Toulouse’s judgement, which said that a man marrying his dead brother’s wife was against the laws of God and nature, that the pope could not dispense with this, and that the law of Deuteronomy, which ‘in olde tyme’ ordered a brother ‘to mary the brothers wyfe departed without issue’, did not contradict this because the law was only ‘a shadowe of thinges to come, whiche vanisshed away, as sonne as euer the lyght and treuthe of the gossPELL apered’. By this the reader wrote, ‘her is the trwth off that law needyn for that purpos’.<sup>55</sup> The reader thus agreed with the government that Deuteronomy was no obstacle to an annulment.

Since this comment indicates the reader’s agreement with the pamphlet, subsequent annotations, although not as explicit, probably also demonstrate approval of other key arguments. Chapter one

---

<sup>52</sup> Cambers, ‘Marks’, pp. 226-7, 230.

<sup>53</sup> See above, pp. 183-4. Admittedly the reader of *De vera differentia* seemingly focused on printed marginalia because of their interest in Fox’s scriptural authorities, rather than being ‘manipulated’ by it.

<sup>54</sup> The book was seemingly bought for ‘xvid’, a conceivable price for this lengthy work. See: Bodleian 8° V 71 Th. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, B3<sup>v</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>.

described how after Adam and Eve were banished from Paradise<sup>56</sup> and the population multiplied, God perceived that men were disposed to sin, since they married whoever they wanted, ‘forbearynge no maner degree of affinitie or kynred’. Consequently God brought the flood. By this section the reader wrote, ‘*nota caussa affinities*’,<sup>57</sup> highlighting the circumstances that prompted divine limitations on who could marry whom. These mattered given that Henry and Catherine were previously connected by her marriage to Arthur.

Further annotations about this topic subsequently appeared. The pamphlet described God’s dealings with Moses regarding laws of matrimony, and the reader highlighted that Moses was to report God’s commandment that people avoid ‘the abhominable custome of the Egiptiens’, and ‘the vngracious vsages, and maners of the Cananees’.<sup>58</sup> God then described that among heathens it was lawful to marry women ‘that be most nyest of their bloud, and of their affinitie, puttynge no difference betwene them and other women. Therefore I wyll haue my people to be very farre from their maners and conditions’. The underlining here was combined with a manicule pointing to the latter sentence. The pamphlet then explained God’s alternative laws: no man should ‘come nye any woman, that is nere of his bloud, for to discouer her foulenes or shame’, listing the relatives concerned. By this the reader wrote, ‘her ar all affinites’,<sup>59</sup> implicitly indicating their agreement with the list provided. This narrow focus on affinities reflects the reader’s recognition of the issue’s centrality and probable belief that it constituted a compelling argument. Subsequently, they wrote ‘*nota bene*’ by the beginning of chapter five, which said that the pamphlet had now reviewed various authorities concerning ‘these Leuitical prohibitions’, to show that ‘a man shulde not mary his brothers wyfe’,<sup>60</sup> apparently also accepting that many sources upheld these.

---

<sup>56</sup> Something illegible was written by lines describing how God had made Adam ‘naturally to lyue in amitie’ and ‘hadde grauen now alreedy in his soule ... certayne generall vnderstandynges’, and another comment alluded to Adam’s fall. See: Ibid., B7<sup>v</sup>-B8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., B7<sup>r</sup>-B8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., B8<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>v</sup>. The reader’s written comment is unclear.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., C2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., M6<sup>r</sup>.

Other readers' approval was less explicit, but some similarly focused on specific, important aspects.<sup>61</sup> Marginalia in a Huntington copy of the Latin edition consists mainly of underlining, but also includes manicules and brief written comments in an early modern hand. The reader was particularly interested in the universities' judgements. On the title page, 'Academiarum' is partially underlined, and the universities listed in the margin.<sup>62</sup> Sections of seven of the judgements were then underlined, highlighting part of the question that they had been asked to debate. In five cases the reader specifically focused on the fact that the brother had died childless, and in three cases on the fact that the first marriage had been consummated. According to the government, these were exactly Henry's circumstances.<sup>63</sup> The universities' two main conclusions related in the book's preface were then partially underlined. Where they resolved that the laws of god and nature forbade any Christian man to marry the wife of his brother who had died childless, the reader underlined the words meaning to marry the widow of a dead brother. In the second conclusion, that the pope could not dispense with these marriages whether contracted already or to be contracted in the future, the reader underlined the word for dispense, as well as those for marriages already contracted.<sup>64</sup>

The remainder of the pamphlet is generally sparsely annotated, although most pages in chapter two were marked. This offered further examples from the gospels, councils and church doctors in support of the Levitical prohibitions on marrying a brother's wife.<sup>65</sup> The frequency of annotations can 'indicate a particular interest',<sup>66</sup> and here at least highlight the reader's recognition of other key arguments.

The reader of a Bodleian copy of the Latin version focused solely on three universities' opinions. Their underlining indicates that they likely accepted the government's arguments about the pope's

---

<sup>61</sup> Fairly consistent annotations in a Bodleian copy of the Latin version from the preface to the beginning of chapter four are probably not contemporary, being similar to, and sometimes seemingly written over, pencil markings. See: Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup> S 1 Th.Seld.

<sup>62</sup> Huntington 489015 a1<sup>r</sup>.

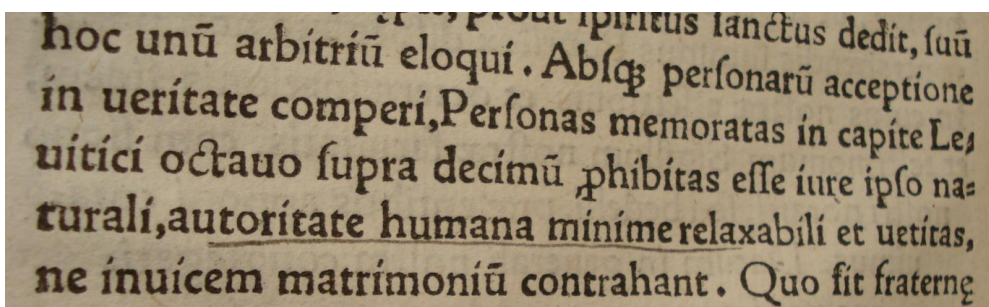
<sup>63</sup> Bernard, *Reformation*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>64</sup> Huntington 489015 a1<sup>r</sup>, a2<sup>v</sup>-a3<sup>v</sup>, a4<sup>v</sup>, b1<sup>v</sup>, b2<sup>v</sup>-b3<sup>r</sup>, b4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, A4<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>, C3<sup>r</sup>. Seemingly different manicules amongst the annotations raise the possibility that multiple people annotated this.

<sup>66</sup> Cambers, 'Marks', p. 226.

limited power. When the University of Bourges opined that the persons mentioned in chapter eight of Leviticus were forbidden to marry by the law of nature, the reader underlined part of the sentence saying that nobody had authority to relax this law (Fig.36), an obvious reference to the pope. The reader next emphasised the University of Bologna's conclusion as to whether a man could marry his brother's widow: 'constantissime testamur, et indubie affirmamus huiusmodi matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale coniugium horrendum fore, execrabile, detestandum, uiroq; christiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorsus abominabile'. This meant that they undoubtedly affirmed that such a marriage was awful, execrable and abominable to Christian men, and even to unbelievers. The reader also highlighted the phrase 'Qui tamen fere omnia potest' (Fig.37), which claimed that the pope could do almost everything, implying that they could not do other things, like dispensing with the Levitical prohibitions. Lastly, the reader underlined part of the University of Padua's conclusion: 'ueridice affirmamus matrimonium huiusmodi, tale coniugium, et tales nuptias nullas esse, imo detestabiles, atq; execrandas christiano cuilibet esse prophanas, et ut scelus abominandas, crudelissimis poenis iure nature, diuino, et humano clarissime prohibitas esse'. This meant that a marriage between a man and his brother's widow was no marriage, was detestable, and should be cursed by Christians. It was an abominable crime, prohibited by the law of nature, God and man under the cruellest punishments. The pamphlet then stated that the pope could not dispense with this, as he lacked power concerning things forbidden by god's laws. The reader then underlined a section that stressed papal power's limits: 'Nec in illa gerit uicem dei, sed solum super ea, que sunt commissa iurisdictioni hominum', meaning that on these matters he did not hold god's place, but was only in charge of things committed to man's jurisdiction.<sup>67</sup> The reader therefore seemingly trusted the universities' opinions regarding the pope's constrained authority.



(Fig.36. Bodleian 4° H 6(2) Th.Seld a4<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

<sup>67</sup> Bodleian 4° H 6 Th.Seld a4<sup>v</sup>, b1<sup>v</sup>, b2<sup>v</sup>.

... questione: censemus, iudicamus, dicimus, constantissime  
 testamur, et indubie affirmamus huiusmodi ma-  
 trimonium, tales nuptias, tale coniugium horrendum  
 fore, execrabile, detestandum, uiroque christiano, immo  
 etiam cuilibet infideli prorsus abhominabile, esseque a  
 iure naturæ, diuino, et humano diris pœnis prohibi-  
 tum. Nec posse sanctiss. Papam (Qui tamen fere om-  
 nia potest) cui collatæ sunt a Christo clauis regni celo-  
 rum: non, inquam, posse aliqua ex causa super huius-  
 ... quatenus dispensare.

(Fig.37. Bodleian 4° H 6(2)  
 Th.Seld b1<sup>v</sup>. Photograph  
 by Jonathan Harris, with  
 permission of the Bodleian  
 Library, University of  
 Oxford)

*notanda*  
 38 — to differre without judgement  
 55 — the spirit opposition of Sentences  
 90 — nota  
 97 — nota  
 105 — the argument  
 107 — manzer  
 124 — finally  
 125 — for the long  
 126 — what differre should be  
 131 —  
 150 — what differre should be  
 152 — ca. of the 6 in Resou to dybe

(Fig.38. FSL 14287 Copy  
 1. Photograph by Jonathan  
 Harris, with permission of  
 the FSL)

Other readers approached this pamphlet with a wider focus. An owner of a Folger copy of the English version prepared a one-page guide to its contents, written before the book begins and headed 'notanda' (Fig.38). This lists folio numbers with written comments next to each, identifying important official arguments.<sup>68</sup> The first entry, 'to dyssevyr *withowt* Iugement', concerns folio 38. Here the reader emphasised the government's point that even popes gave such 'godly auctoritie vnto these Leuiticall prohybicyons', that they affirmed that whoever married 'contrarie to the *commandement* of these lawes' were not 'man and wife', and that they 'may departe in soundre without any iugement or decree of the Churche'.

Folio 55 is highlighted by the entry, 'the *spiritual* exposicyon of *deuteronomii*'. Folios 54<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>v</sup> described Saint Augustine's view of the law of Deuteronomy that 'a man might mary his brothers wydowe his brother beyng dead without children'. Augustine said that Old Testament laws were 'made onely to be a shadowe of thynges that shuld folowe', so that Christians should consider 'what they sygnifye', and keep them 'spiritually not corporally'. Deuteronomy's spiritual meaning is then described: preachers were bound 'to labour in the godspell, that he stir vp sede vnto his brother departed', meaning Christ. The seed 'stirred vppe, muste haue the name of the brother, that is departed, wherfore we be called *Christians*'. Thus Christians must keep this law 'not carnally by bodily generacion, after the olde meanyng ... but spiritually, and by gostly generacion'. Sufficiently demonstrating that Deuteronomy did not contradict Leviticus was equally important for the government.<sup>69</sup>

The next two entries, referencing folios 90 and 93, both simply say 'nota'. Folio 90 argues that the 'indifferent reder' should especially consider one thing which some 'holy & approued doctours do holde also': a brother could not marry a woman 'that is but onely handefaste vnto his brother'. If he did this, the marriage 'can not stande by helpe of any dispensation', and all such marriages had to be

---

<sup>68</sup> The following discussion relates to FSL STC 14287 Copy 1. 'Personalised indexes' and contents' pages were common, again showing that books' creators 'were not providing everything individual readers needed to serve their specific purposes'. See: Sherman, *Books*, p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Murphy, 'Literature', pp. 136-41.

‘vtterly broken’, lest ‘suche bestly exemples’ were emulated. The author offered examples of people holding this view. This point was particularly pertinent in Henry’s case, since Catherine argued that her marriage to Arthur was never consummated.<sup>70</sup> Folio 93 was equally relevant, containing the conclusion to chapter four: since so many discreet authors thought it was unlawful for a man to marry his brother’s wife, ‘howe moche more vnlauffull oughte we to thynke this thyng, that a man shulde marie his brothers wydowe, with whome his brother hadde carnally a do’. Therefore everyone should greatly ‘commende this determination of these vniuersities’, which concluded that ‘to marye her, whom the brother, departed without children, hath lefte, is so forbydden by the lawe of god, and also by the lawe of Nature, that the Pope hath none auctorite nor power to dispense with suche mariages’.

An entry simply saying ‘the argument’ related to chapter six’s beginning on folio 105, which aimed to show that ‘the Leuiticall prohibitions, whereby we are forbydden to marye our brothers wyfe, ... is a lawe moral, comminge of nature’. Every saying of god that commanded honest things and forbade dishonest things, which man’s ‘naturall reason’, ‘clered by the lychte’ of god’s word, commanded either to be done or ‘eschewed’ according to the ‘teachynge of generall Iustyce or vertue’, and that had authority ‘by naturall reason onely’, despite not being ‘ordyned’ by any other law, was ‘a lawe diuine, morall, and naturall’. The Levitical prohibitions fit this definition, thus making them ‘godly, morall, and naturalle lawes’. This was crucial, as the government argued that the pope could not dispense with such laws.<sup>71</sup>

‘Manzer’ is written by folio 107. This argued that the importance of the Levitical prohibitions against marrying a brother’s wife was plain as God threatened to punish those that broke these laws. Furthermore, ‘their bastardes, that came of suche forbydden mariages’, would also be punished. In Hebrew these were called ‘Manzer’. The fact that the reader considered this significant suggests that they recognised the implication that Mary was a bastard.

---

<sup>70</sup> Bernard, *Reformation*, pp. 20-2.

<sup>71</sup> Murphy, ‘Literature’, pp. 136-41.

The entry for folio 124, saying 'finally', again concerns Leviticus. A paragraph on this folio begins with this word, arguing that since the Levitical prohibitions were 'ordyned of god', partly to control the body's 'filthy lust', with 'certaine naturall bondes assigned for maryage, & some meane or measure set for to maynteine shamfacidnes & chastitie', and partly because this would allow 'loue & charite' to spread further, no right-believing Christian would think that Christ 'in the new lawe of the gospel' annulled 'these Leuitical lawis'. Rather, they would think that these retained 'their olde auctorite', with people 'euermore bound to kepe them', even if 'they had neuer ben ordained by none other law'. The next entry, 'for thus seyth Augustyn', citing folios 125 and 126, refers to a paragraph that starts with these words. These folios also concern arguments about the Levitical laws' continued force, saying that Christ did not remove Moses' moral law, but only declared it 'more playnly then the Iues did vnderstonde it'. The specific paragraph then relates Augustine's argument that the Jews understood adultery to be 'onely the vnlefull bodely copulation with a woman', but Christ taught 'that euery vnlefull desyre to bodely pleasure is fornication & adultery'. This meant that 'PROVD folke' who considered themselves good were actually within the danger of the law. Therefore 'the lawe increaseth their syn', ordering them to do what they were 'not of power to fulfill', so that 'the iustice or goodnes, that the law doth teche vs, is fulfilled and performed by the spirite of Christ'. Since it was hard for anyone to obey the law, 'Thou shalte not desyre', Christ 'became the sacre prest'. By his sacrifice, he obtained forgiveness for people's sins, and fulfilled this law for everyone, so that something which people could not do themselves because of 'infirmite and weakenes' is 'recouered' by Christ's 'perfect goodnes'. By highlighting this section the reader seemingly demonstrated an attachment to Augustine's views, and an interest in the path to salvation.

The penultimate entry refers to folio 150, saying 'what byshoppys shuld do'. After observing that papal power was not unlimited, that popes should only be obeyed provided they did not contradict god's commandments, and that bishops had previously opposed popes, the pamphlet stated on folio 150 that if the pope, 'bi his auctorite', allowed 'incest mariages to be made', or would not dissolve them, even though they were 'abominable to god', then it was a bishop's duty 'not only to withstande the pope openly to his face', but also 'to crye vpon hym, to rebuke, reproue, beseche, exhorte hym, that the

persones, so coupled to gether, maye forsake suche maryages'. If the couple would not follow the bishop's advice, he should excommunicate them. Given this passage's particular relevance, with Cranmer ultimately annulling Henry's marriage,<sup>72</sup> this reference could suggest that the reader compiled their guide after the event.

Lastly, the reader referenced folio 152, saying 'of thes iii Resons, to dyvorse'. The pamphlet argued that regarding things forbidden by god's law, 'we must obey our conscience: and in other thinges the church', before making three points. First, the church 'can not binde any persone to synne by her commaundement'. Second, married couples forbidden by god's and nature's laws to marry were living in sin, unless they married 'by ignorance'. Third, Paul said 'HE that putteth difference betwene meate and meate, if he eate, then he is condemned, by cause that, that he dothe is not done with faith, and good conscience. For all that is not done with faith is synne'. The pamphlet then said that 'of these. iii. reasons', it followed that if Christian men's private consciences, 'lichtned with the holy gost, and knowlege of holy scripture', so moved them, 'they may without any ieopardie, yea and are bonde to make a diurse with her', whom nature and god's law forbade them to marry. This was true regardless of the common law 'commandynge the contrary'. Thus, the points deemed most important by a reader who carefully considered this pamphlet included several that were central to Henry's case and particular circumstances.<sup>73</sup>

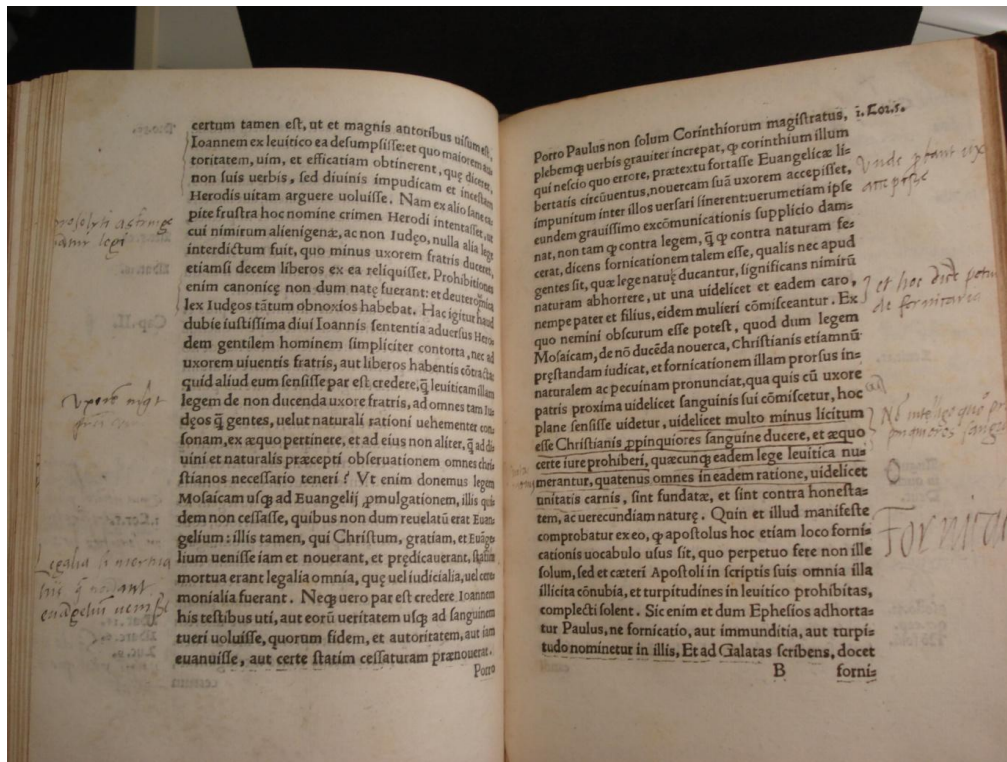
Another reader of a Bodleian copy of the Latin version equally annotated it to provide a guide to its contents, filling it with underlining, symbols, marginal notes, and sequences of numbers that suggest a thorough reading. Interestingly this reader does not annotate the universities' judgements at all, beginning instead at the end of the preface. The most heavily annotated sections are chapter two, as earlier, and chapter three, which focused on the opinions of the 'most true doctours, that expound holy scripture' regarding Leviticus. The reader was likely contemporary given their high level of

---

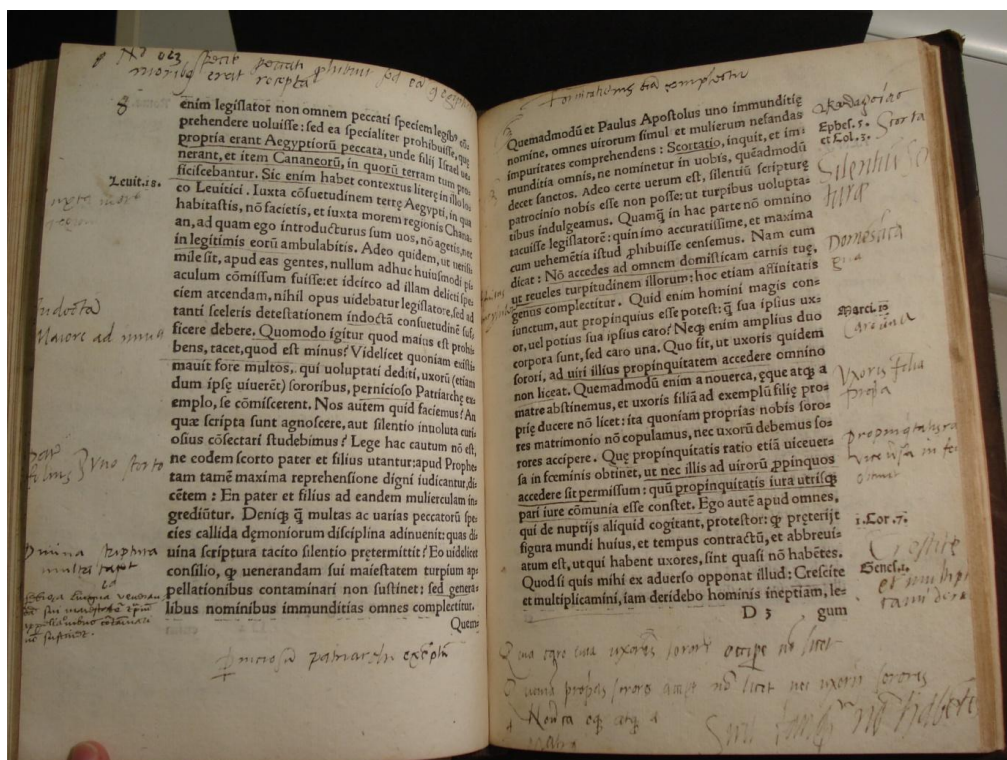
<sup>72</sup> Bernard, *Reformation*, p. 67.

<sup>73</sup> There was also a reference to folio 131. The reader drew a symbol, but the folio bears no equivalent mark. It did again argue that Leviticus should be obeyed.

engagement, use of early modern symbols and handwriting (Fig.39-40), plus they also seemingly annotated a 1533 work bound with this one, again printed by Berthelet.<sup>74</sup>



(Fig.39. Bodleian 4° W 10 Th.Seld. A4<sup>v</sup>-B1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.40. Bodleian 4° W 10 Th.Seld. D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

<sup>74</sup> Bodleian 4° W 10 Th.Seld.; R. Wakefield, *Kotser codicis R. VVakfeldi* (1533).

The evidence of interaction with the *Determinations* is thus broadly positive, suggesting that some read it diligently, engaging with the government's key arguments. This is significant, since some scholars have considered the *Determinations* a dry, tedious work.<sup>75</sup> The examples highlighting interest in the universities' opinions perhaps reflect a belief that these were especially reliable. Such trust in supposedly neutral documents would justify not only official polemical strategies in general, but also the stress that the government repeatedly laid on these judgements.<sup>76</sup>

Annotations in several other 1530s works suggest that more explicitly anti-papal propaganda was possibly equally effective. Three examples featuring relatively limited marginalia all show readers highlighting attacks on the pope. In a Trinity College, Cambridge, copy of the *Articles* the reader underlined, with lines continuing into the margin, evidence stated in the eighth article of divine approval for Henry's annulment: after remarrying 'so soone issue hadde', 'so fayre wether, with greatte plentie of corne and cattal', 'peace and amitie lately sought' by foreign rulers from Henry, and 'the pureness of ayre' without 'contagious disease'. Highlighting these points, apparently vindicating Henry, suggests that they particularly persuaded the reader, who perhaps similarly approved of Henry's annulment. Furthermore, when underlining parts of the ninth article, the reader emphasised the pamphlet's claim that according to scripture, 'there is none auctoritie ne iurisdiction graunted more to the byshoppe of Rome, than to any other, Extra prouinciam'. Unlike earlier polemical pamphlets, the *Articles* then attacked the pope personally, which offended contemporaries at foreign courts.<sup>77</sup> The reader underlined the contentions that the pope was 'bothe baste and cam to his dignitie by Simony', that he was 'supportinge the diabolike decree of his predecessour Pius', and was 'determined by a generall counsaile Vere haereticus'. The notion that this reader supported official arguments is strengthened by the fact that this pamphlet was bound with others, including three anti-clerical pamphlets from the period 1532-1537 that were quite possibly annotated by the same person.

---

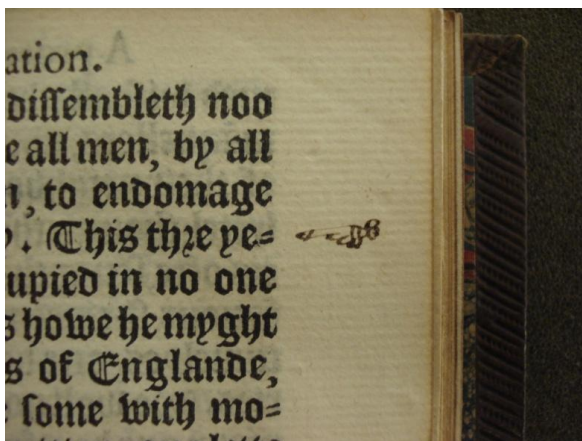
<sup>75</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 175-7; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 55-7.

<sup>76</sup> See above, pp. 42-6, and below, p. 268.

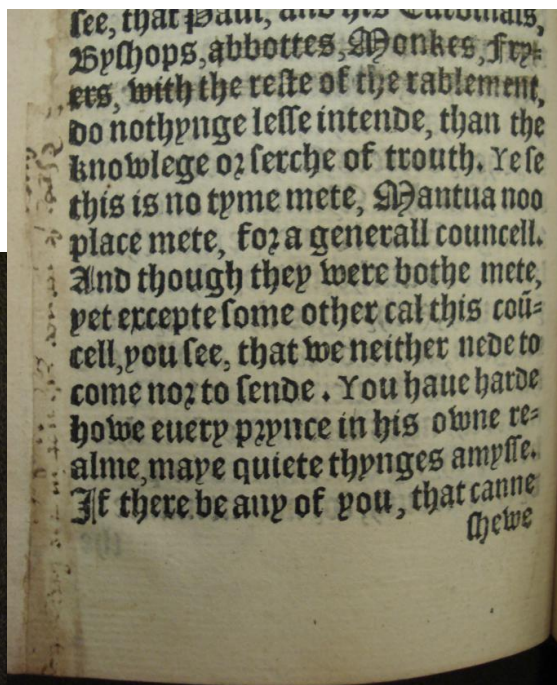
<sup>77</sup> See below, p. 251.

Among the techniques employed in at least two of them was underlining that continued into the margins, just as in the *Articles*.<sup>78</sup>

An anti-papal annotation also appears among the sparse, contemporary-looking marginalia in a Bodleian copy of Henry VIII's *Protestation*. A manicule points to the beginning of a sentence asserting that for the past three years the pope had concentrated on 'howe he myght styre vp the commens of Englande' (Fig.41). The reader perhaps considered this the pamphlet's most important point, as the only other annotation involved crossing out part of a sentence and seemingly writing in the margin that this was not included in the book's Latin version (Fig.42).<sup>79</sup>



(Fig.41. Bodleian Mason AA 137 B5<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford



(Fig.42. Bodleian Mason AA 137 C6<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Marginalia in a Bodleian copy of Morison's *Exhortation* is similarly confined to the pages narrating papal hostility to England, revealing the reader's primary interest. When Morison claimed that the

<sup>78</sup> Trinity College, Cam., C.7.21(2) B1<sup>v</sup>-B2<sup>v</sup>; St German, *Diuisiō; Enormytees vsyd by the clergy* (1532); J. Fylloll, *Agaynst the possessyons of the clergy* (1537).

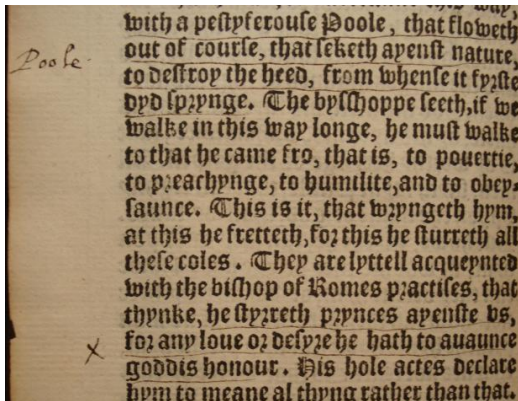
<sup>79</sup> Bodleian Mason AA 137 B5<sup>r</sup>, C6<sup>v</sup>. The sentence claimed that in summoning a general council 'Paul, and his Cardinals, Byshops, abbottes, Monkes, fryers, with the reste of the rablement' did not intend to 'serche of trowth', with the words from 'abbottes' to 'rablement' inclusive crossed out. The mutilated writing is unclear, but would suggest that the reader knew both versions of the pamphlet well.

pope saw ‘the damages that ensue to hym and his, by the commynge forth of goddis word’, and would endeavour to prevent this, the reader underlined his claim that the pope would use ‘a pestyferouse Poole, that floweth out of course, that seketh ayenst nature, to destroy the heed, from whence it fyrste dyd sprynge’. Next to this they wrote ‘Poole’ (Fig.43), showing that they understood this reference to Cardinal Pole, sent by the pope to encourage Spain and France to invade England.<sup>80</sup> The reader also underlined parts of Morison’s discussion of the pope’s self-interested motives, placing crosses and a flower in the margin for additional emphasis: the pope knew that he would return to poverty if ‘we walke in this way longe’, and people did not understand his ‘practises’ if they thought that ‘he styrreth prynces ayenste vs, for any loue or desyre he hath to auance goddis honour’. Moreover, in Rome the pope refused to allow Jews to become Christians unless they gave him their goods, citing the text that ‘excepte a man renounce all that he hath, he may not be my disciple’ (Fig.44). Morison stressed that the pope had loved the English whilst they gave him money, but now that they gave nothing, he ‘chaunged his affection, and is so farre in loue with our sowles, that he wolde with swerde seke for them in our bowels’. Morison then asked, ‘if he loued vs, wolde he seke the distruction of our lyues, we beinge in an euel belefe?’ The reader next underlined part of Morison’s argument that the English now enjoyed Christ’s protection from the pope: ‘let hym curse, vntyll his tonge fall into hell, they shall be blessed, that god blesseth’. Subsequent annotations acknowledged Morison’s emphasis on the pope’s pride in contradicting God’s commandments. Whilst God ordered subjects to obey princes, the pope ‘delyuereth all pryncis subiectes from the bondes, that god hath knyght them in, and gyueth them pardon, that leaue their duetie’. Morison then explained that god had ordained obedience to princes, without which there would be ‘vtter destruction’. The reader drew a bracket in the margin to highlight the pope’s response to this: ‘Marke howe this good Romishe vicar, supplieth his masters office, he giueth remission of sinnes, to them that offende depeste in this precepte: and curseth all them, that hate not goddes commandment’. The reader was seemingly also receptive to Morison’s point about the Turks, which again reflected the pope’s questionable priorities: ‘who wolde thynke, that goddes vyicar, coulde call prynces, that were goinge ayenste the turke, to tourney theyr force vpon christen prynces’ (Fig.45). Morison argued that in attempting to suppress truth, the pope ‘cryeth for helpe vnto

---

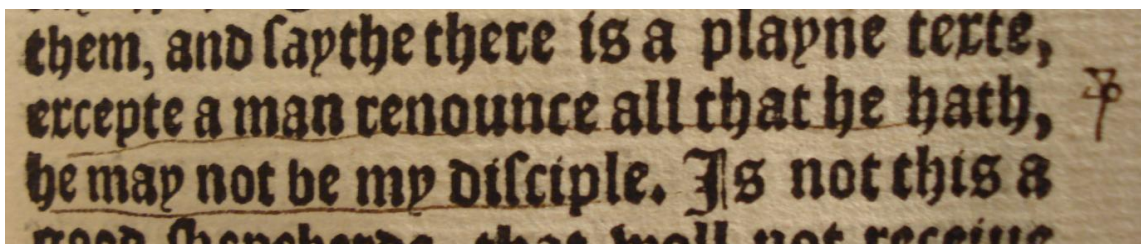
<sup>80</sup> T.F. Mayer, ‘Reginald Pole’, *ODNB*.

all prynces', but if any of them attacked England, the latter never had as good a cause to fight, and god was on their side. A vertical line in the margin marked the sentence that asked, 'shall they take payne, to come so farre, to seke theyr owne sorowe, and we not step oute of our doores, to defende our welth, our countrey, our selues?' (Fig.46)<sup>81</sup> The attacks on the pope and Pole, and the confidence that God would protect England, were important parts of the *Exhortation*,<sup>82</sup> evidently recognised by this reader.

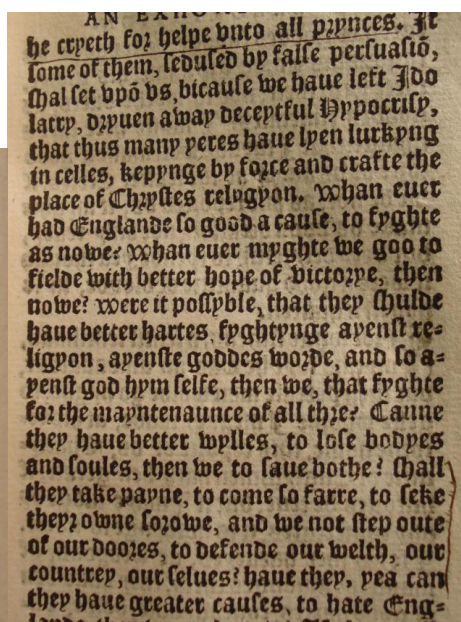
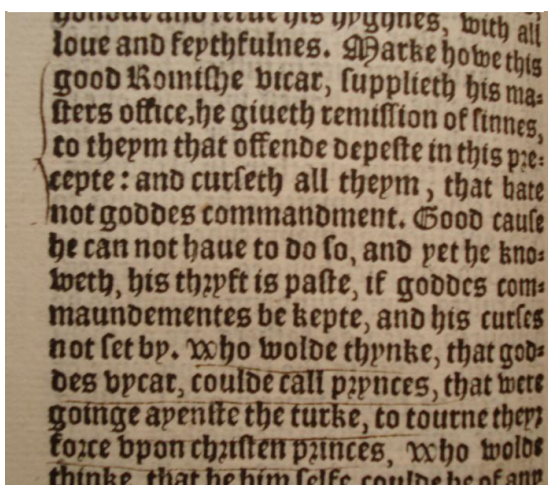


Left: (Fig.43. Bodleian 8° I 66 Linc.(3) A7v. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Below: (Fig.44. Bodleian 8° I 66 Linc.(3) A8f. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



Below: (Fig.45. Bodleian 8° I 66 Linc.(3) B2v. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.46. Bodleian 8° I 66 Linc.(3) B3f. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

<sup>81</sup> Bodleian 8° I 66 Linc.(3) A7v-B3f. There are also some apparently different letters on B4f that seemingly do not relate to the text.

<sup>82</sup> Sowerby, *Reform*, pp. 102-5.

Polemics relating to the king's Great Matter and subsequent religious changes evidently achieved some success. Readers recognised several important official arguments, quite possibly finding them convincing. Although historians have demonstrated that many opposed the Royal Supremacy,<sup>83</sup> evidence of readers' reactions is consistent with the notion that some at least viewed the papacy itself with ambivalence. Consequently, the attitudes that underlay these annotations are important for helping to explain the early English Reformation's successful implementation, and in showing that this was in some cases because of sympathy for official arguments.

### Reading Morison's *Remedy for Sedition*

Morison's anti-rebellion tract, *A Remedy for Sedition* (1536), does not survive in high numbers, but several copies have potentially contemporary marginalia.<sup>84</sup> A British Library copy contains marginalia suggesting that the reader sympathised with the pamphlet's important points about the need for order and the danger of rebellions. Several annotations related to the pamphlet's emphasis on the need for people to rule or obey according to their abilities. A vertical line in the margin highlighted Morison's claim that 'honestie canne not abyde, there where myght sytteth aboue right, where wyll is skylle, where treason standeth for reason. Whan euery man wyll rule, who shall obeye?' The reader subsequently wrote, 'Note this Exampell', in the margin by a passage describing how a clever but weak soldier was more effective than one strong but 'voyde of brayne', using this to argue that just as the wise should command the strong in battle, so should it be in government. Similarly, the reader noted Morison's praise of Henry VIII and observations on rebellions' results, writing 'Notte' firstly by Morison's claim that Henry knew 'the ende of ciuyle discorde', and 'the commodities, that come of concorde and vnitie', and secondly by Morison's assertion that the rebels would not be happy if they actually won: 'Thynke you myrthe can be within theym, that euermore shall thynke, god hateth them? the world abhorreth them?'<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> See below, pp. 267-8.

<sup>84</sup> Others have annotations that probably post-date the sixteenth century, such as ink marks in a CUL copy that are similar to pencil marks. See: CUL Syn.7.53.27; above, p. 194.

<sup>85</sup> BL G.504.A2<sup>r-v</sup>, F5<sup>f</sup>, F6<sup>f</sup>.

The reader was seemingly also receptive to Morison's remarks about England's religious and social problems. They wrote 'Notte' by Morison's observation that Christ's laws were well preached 'whan the preacher sayth as the gospel is, and doth as the gospell saith'. Morison then discussed bishops' potential influence, saying that they could set examples to others, who would follow when they 'lerned wel the fotyng of it'. But 'religion toke a great falle' when 'richesse' entered into bishops' hearts, as this led them to set a bad example. Again the reader wrote 'Note' by this in the margin. The reader also wrote 'Notte' next to Morison's assertion that poverty was paradoxically caused by England's plentiful natural resources, with the people partly to blame for their laziness and greed. Having outlined how industrious other nationalities were, Morison asked if the English would be able to live as they did if a foreign prince ruled them. 'Thynke you Daces wold not come in? ye knowe not what daces be, no dates I warrant you?' Next to this was written, 'Notte'. The reader similarly wrote 'Notte' by several of Morison's observations about English greediness. Firstly, abroad the English were called 'englishe bealyes. who can not but be sorie, to se a man bye so dere so many hurtes, as come of to moch meate?' Secondly, the English 'haue lost bothe the good thynges, that antiquitie vsed, and chaunged also the names of theym that we haue'. Lastly, wherever Morison was in London, he could truly say, 'I am nowe before a Tauerne or an ale howse'.<sup>86</sup>

The combination of annotations is significant, suggesting that the reader was supportive both of Morison's emphasis on obedience and hierarchy, and his evangelical and social reform agenda, which Morison inserted in order to prompt the more conservative Henry to further action.<sup>87</sup> Like the reader of Morison's *Inuectiue* discussed above,<sup>88</sup> this person engaged with these evangelical ideas, here considering them just as important as the more conventional denunciations of rebellion.

Two other copies contain fewer annotations. One in the Beinecke, although having many pencil marks, has only one ink cross by lines relating an anecdote: 'One told Antisthenes, The people speke

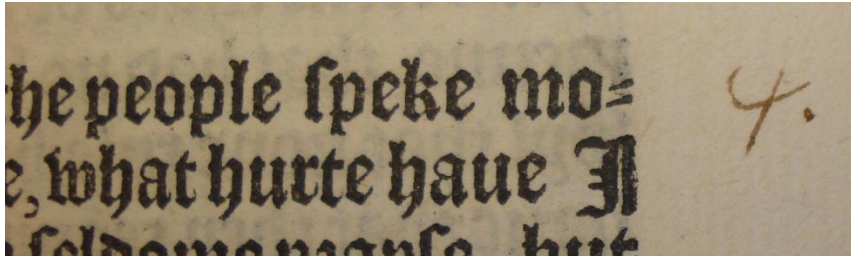
---

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., E2<sup>r</sup>, E3<sup>v</sup>, E4<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 40.

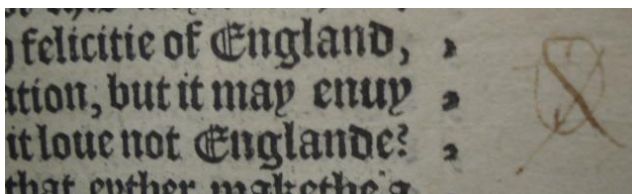
<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 189-90.

moche good of you, why saythe he, what hurt haue I done?’ (Fig.47)<sup>89</sup> Morison’s point was that the commons had poor judgement, commending only those that did evil. Highlighting this perhaps showed the reader’s taste for classical examples as well as their potential acceptance, like the above reader, of Morison’s broader argument about hierarchy’s importance.

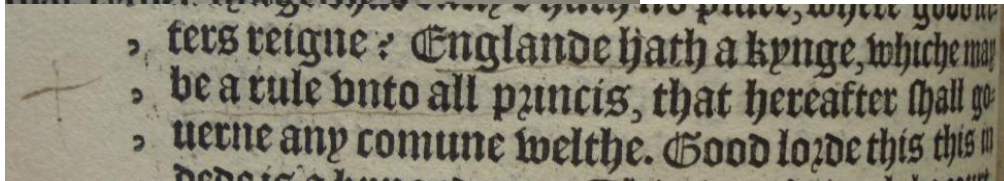


(Fig.47. Beinecke Ocm16 536R B1<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)

The reader of a CUL copy identified some of the same points as the reader of the British Library copy. They too marked sections praising Henry VIII, albeit not the same one. A cross in the margin indicated the beginning of a section that quoted Erasmus’ praise of the king, saying that other nations rejoiced at ‘the high felicitie of England’, or envied the nation’s wealth (Fig.48). Another cross then highlighted Erasmus’ remark that ‘Englande hath a kynge, whiche may be a rule vnto all princis, that hereafter shall gouerne any comune welthe’ (Fig.49). Lastly, the reader highlighted the favourable comparisons that Erasmus drew between Henry and other famous rulers, noting that England’s king had several of their qualities (Fig.50).<sup>90</sup> Thus, besides the 1534 Treason Act’s implicit suggestion that some labelled Henry tyrannical,<sup>91</sup> there were also people seemingly responsive to positive representations of the king.



Left: (Fig.48. CUL Syn.7.53.14 F3<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

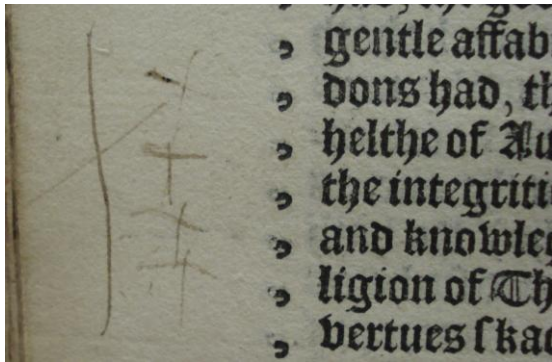


Below: (Fig.49. CUL Syn.7.53.14 F3<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

<sup>89</sup> Beinecke Ocm16 536R B1<sup>f</sup>.

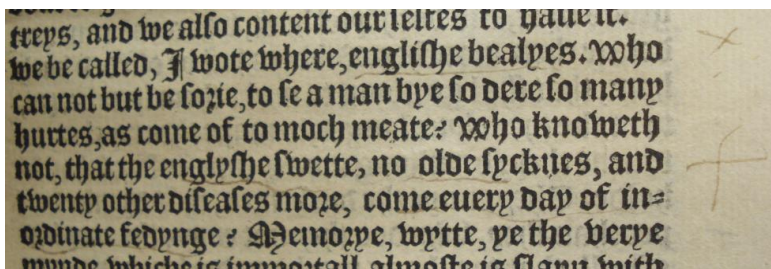
<sup>90</sup> CUL Syn.7.53.14 F3<sup>f-v</sup>, F4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> J. Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason* (1979), p. 32.

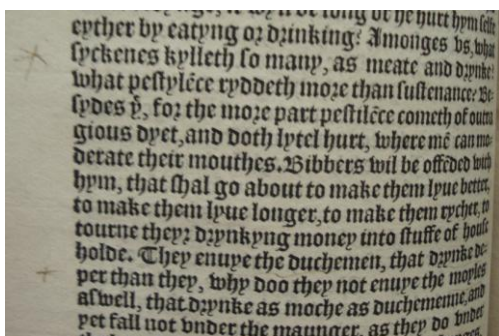


(Fig.50. CUL Syn.7.53.14 F4<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

This person also shared the reader of the British Library copy's interest in Morison's ideas about social ills, underlining the same part about the English being called 'englishe bealyes', and emphasising this with a cross. Further underlining and another cross highlighted that 'the englyshe swette, no olde sycknes', and other diseases 'come euery day of inordinate fedynge' (Fig.51). The reader also placed crosses by another section that similarly explained that the sickness of excessive eating and drinking killed more people than any other, and by the part complaining that the English 'enuye the duchemen, that drynke deper than they, why doo they not enuye the moyles aswell, that drynke as moche as duchemene, and yet fall not vnder the maunger, as they do vnder the bourde?' (Fig.52)<sup>92</sup> Crucially, this reader did not engage with any of the pamphlet's content regarding rebellion's evils, further emphasising their interest in social issues.



(Fig.51. CUL Syn.7.53.14 F1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)



(Fig.52. CUL Syn.7.53.14 F1<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

<sup>92</sup> CUL Syn.7.53.14 F1<sup>r-v</sup>.

The marginalia in surviving copies suggest that at least some readers were receptive to several of Morison's arguments: the need for order, attachment to the king, and hope for religious and social reform. Beyond demonstrating that the book's multifaceted nature was appreciated by the audience, the distinct but not necessarily mutually exclusive attitudes revealed by such annotations again help to explain the implementation of sometimes unpopular policies in the 1530s, with people acquiescing because they genuinely supported change or because they accepted their duty as subjects to obey the king, or both.

### Marking *The Execution of Iustice*

The relatively numerous copies of both editions of Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* provide valuable material for comparison. A Trinity College, Dublin, copy of the first edition has been consistently marked throughout, predominantly by underlining, which identifies several key arguments. The first markings highlight the section claiming that Elizabeth only executed Catholics who maintained Pius V's bull, which claimed 'that her Maiesti is not the lawfull Queene of England, the first and highest poynt of treason', secondly 'that al her subiects are discharged of their othes and obedience', and next that they are 'all warranted to disobey her and her laws, a third and a very large poynt of treason', whilst a fourth point of treason was 'that they would not disalow the Popes hostile proceedings in open warres against her Maiestie and the realme'. The reader thus emphasised the specific, treasonous opinions attributed to executed Catholics. The reader then highlighted Cecil's assertion that whereas the pope's supporters falsely claimed that executed Catholics died as martyrs defending Catholicism, they actually died 'as martyrs for the Pope, and traitors against their soueraigne and Queene in adhering to him'.<sup>93</sup> This again emphasised the characterisation of Catholics as traitors.

Other annotations involved highlighting sources and official documents. To prove that the 'effect' of the 1570 papal bull was 'a flat rebellion', the pamphlet quoted Nicholas Sanders' work, some of which the reader underlined. Sanders described how Pius V had sent Nicholas Morton into England to

---

<sup>93</sup> TCD P.mm.14(5) B3<sup>r-v</sup>.

denounce Elizabeth as a heretic, ‘& for *that cause, to haue fallen from al dominion & power, & that she may be had or reputed of them as an Ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obey her lawes or commandements*’. Similarly, part of the translation of the faculties granted to Persons and Campion was underlined. This document, crucial for the government, was used to show that the two Jesuits, like Sander, supported the 1570 bull and were therefore traitors. The faculties stated that the bull ‘*shall alwayes binde her and the heretikes, but the Catholiques it shall by noe meanes bind, as matters or things doe now stande or be, but hereafter, when the publique execution of that bull may be had or made*’. A cross in the margin gave this extra emphasis. The reader then underlined part of Hart’s confession, also marking it with marginal crosses. Hart claimed that English Catholics considered the papal bull ‘a lawful sentence’, with the current pope nevertheless altering the bull to help them. Originally, English subjects were commanded not to obey Elizabeth on pain of excommunication, ‘which point is perillous to the Catholiques’, as they would inevitably offend either the pope or Elizabeth. Now, the pope allowed Catholics to serve the queen without fear of excommunication ‘*till it please the Pope otherwise to determine*’.<sup>94</sup> Hart’s confession thus suggested that Catholics might only remain loyal to Elizabeth as long as the pope allowed it, raising the possibility that at any time their allegiance could shift. The reader’s underlining suggests that they recognised the precariousness of this situation.<sup>95</sup> More generally, the reader seemingly thought these Catholic texts and opinions valuable evidence.

The reader also annotated the section stressing that Mary’s execution of Protestants was fundamentally different from current English policy. Firstly, underlining emphasised the numerical disparity. Libels claiming that Catholics were killed for religion listed the deceased, which ‘*exceed not for these twentie fiue yeeres space, aboue the number of iii. score*’. Conversely, almost ‘*four hundred*’ died in Mary’s short reign. Next, the reader drew a line in the margin, emphasising the pamphlet’s assertion that under Mary over twenty of those that died were ‘*Archbishops, Bishoppes, and principall Prelates or Officers in the Church*’. Lastly, a cross in the margin marked a section, also

---

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., B4<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Norton’s 1583 *Declaration* stressed this, referring obliquely to the faculties. See: Norton, *Declaration*, A2<sup>v</sup>.

partially underlined, which stressed differences in their crimes: Mary's Protestant 'Martyrs' 'neuer at their death denied their lawfull Queene, nor maintained any of her open and forreine enemies', nor procured rebellions, nor withdrew subjects from their obedience, as these 'sworne seruants of the Pope' did.<sup>96</sup>

The pamphlet then argued that neither Christ nor the Apostles gave the pope any authority, and that scripture commanded obedience to princes. Crucially, 'Saint Chrisostome being Bishoppe of Constantinople, writeth, that euen Apostles, Prophets, Euangelists, and Monkes are comprehended'.<sup>97</sup> The denial of papal authority was an important point, appearing in a section of a pamphlet distributed abroad that appealed to foreign monarchs to understand English policy and warned of the danger to all sovereigns if the pope were allowed to depose them.<sup>98</sup> Evidently this argument resonated with domestic readers too.

The reader then marked the pamphlet's arguments based on papal history. The first bishops of Rome had followed Christ's and the Apostles' precepts, 'vntil the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory the seuenth', who first began to usurp other powers around 1074. The pamphlet compared Gregory VII, who attempted to depose Henry IV, 'a noble Emperour,' to Gregory XIII, who was presently trying to depose Elizabeth. Gregory VII had failed, and 'Henry the Emperour preuailing by Gods power, caused Gregory the pope by a Synode in Italy to be deposed', just as 'his predecessour Otho the Emperour, had deposed one Pope Iohn for many heynous crymes'. Three other popes were similarly treated by 'the Emperour Henry the third', for similar reasons. The reader lastly underlined the pamphlet's aside that the title of 'vniuersall Bishop of the worlde' was one that 'Gregorie the great aboue nine hundreth yeeres past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege'.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> TCD P.mm.14(5) C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., C3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> See above, p. 59.

<sup>99</sup> TCD P.mm.14(5) C4<sup>r-v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>.

The reader, probably contemporary given the depth of their engagement, thus identified the pamphlet's main points, being receptive to official arguments based on varied evidence, including scripture, papal history and Mary's record. Certainly authors sympathetic to the government similarly considered the faculties granted to Persons and Campion and Hart's confession important,<sup>100</sup> indicating that others trusted documents and that the government successfully conveyed their significance.

Others focused on specific parts of this pamphlet, but similarly identified important points. A reader of a Trinity College, Cambridge, copy of the second edition focused primarily on the central theme that the government punished treason, not religion. The reader first marked a piece of printed marginalia saying, 'Persons condemned, spared from execution, vpon refusall of their treasonable opinions'. Next, after the pamphlet explained that traitors, safely overseas, kept sending priests and Jesuits into England allegedly for religious reasons, ink lines marked a block of text of eighteen lines, part of which was also underlined. This block described how the aim of the priests' and Jesuits' 'secret labours' was 'manifestly proued' to be convincing people to accept papal bulls and authority 'without exception', so that in obeying him they discharged themselves of their allegiance to Elizabeth and England and were 'well warranted' to rebel 'when they shall bee thereunto called', and were 'readie secretly to ioyne with any forreine force' that might invade. Thus 'the effect of their labours is to bring the Realme not onely into a daungerous warre against the forces of strangers ... but into a warre domesticall and ciuill, wherein no blood is vsually spared, nor mercie yeilded'. This therefore outlined why the government considered priests and Jesuits traitors.<sup>101</sup>

Similar marks then highlighted another ten-line block of text explaining that although many English subjects differed in religion from the established church, and did 'not forbear to professe the same', since they also professed 'loyaltie and obedience' to Elizabeth, and were prepared to defend her against 'any forreine force', even if sent by the pope, they were not charged with treason 'for their

---

<sup>100</sup> See for example: Hastings, *Apologie*, S4<sup>v</sup>, Y4<sup>f</sup>; Whetstone, *Myrrour*, K8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> Trinity College, Cam., C.8.22(1) A4<sup>r-v</sup>.

contrary opinions in religion’, ‘nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that sauour not of treason’. Another ink line then highlights a piece of printed marginalia: ‘None charged with capital crimes, being of a contrarie religion, and professing to withstand forreyne forces’.<sup>102</sup> Tolerating Catholics who remained loyal to Elizabeth permitted the government to claim that they only punished treason.

Further annotations emphasised the same point, highlighting printed marginalia that claimed that, ‘A great number of lay persons of liueloode being of a contrary religion, neuer charged with capital crime’. Then, the reader underlined parts of the same passage marked by the reader of the Trinity College Dublin copy, which explained that Catholics had been executed for maintaining the papal bull, which was treason: ‘none at al were impeached for treason to the daunger of their life, but such as did obstinately maintaine the contentes of the Popes Bull’, which said firstly ‘that her Maiestie is not the lawful Queene’, secondly ‘that all her subjects are discharged of their othes and obedience’, and thirdly that they were ‘all warranted to disobey her and her laws’. A fourth point of treason was ‘that they would not disalowe the Popes hostile proceedings in open warres against her Maiestie in her realme of Irelande’.<sup>103</sup>

Other marginalia again stress that those executed had committed treason. After describing Sander’s activities in fomenting rebellion in Ireland and mentioning his book, wherein he maintained the papal bull, the pamphlet stated that ‘by vertue’ of this book, Nicholas Moreton was sent from Rome to procure rebellion in northern England. The reader then underlined part of the next sentence, which claimed that these examples showed ‘how this Bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Irelande’. The pamphlet then asserted again that people were justly executed for treason for maintaining this bull, sowing sedition in the process, and being charged only for conspiring against Elizabeth, and ‘for maintaining of the Popes foresaid authoritie and Bull, published to depriue her Maiestie of her crowne, and for withdrawing & reconciling of her subjects from their naturall

---

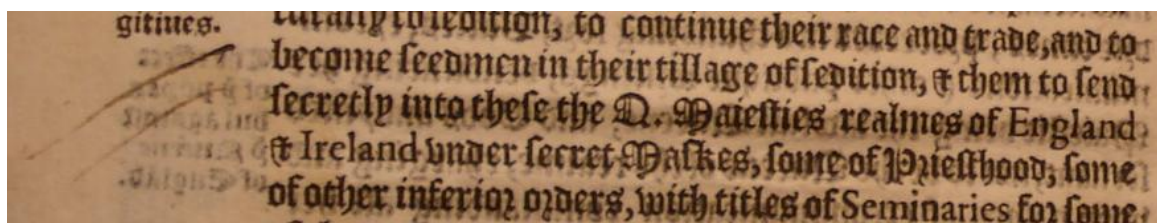
<sup>102</sup> Ibid., B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., B2<sup>v</sup>.

allegeaunce due to her Maiestie and to their countrie, and for mouing them to sedition: & for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned, although true it is, that when they were charged and conuincd of these pointes of conspiracies and treasons, they would stil in their answeres colourably pretende their actions to haue bene for religion' .<sup>104</sup>

This reader thus concentrated on the pamphlet's main message, marking sections concerning the papal bull and the argument that Catholics died for treason, not religion. Presumably they accepted this, given the lack of any negative commentary. The government's success in conveying its arguments is especially evident firstly because both this reader and the previous one marked the same passage, and secondly because the former marked and was influenced by several pieces of printed marginalia that aimed to shape readers' interpretation.

A Folger copy has fewer annotations, but these still focus on several key points, and suggest that readers sympathetic to the government sometimes fixed on the same details. Two diagonal lines in the margin highlight a section that described how seminaries had been established abroad to create 'seedmen' for the Catholics' 'tillage of sedition', sending them into England and Ireland 'vnder secret Maskes' (Fig.53). Similar lines also marked the part that referred to the pope as 'the cause of two rebellions alreadie passed in England and Ireland' (Fig.54), and the section saying that Sander's book had affirmed that Pius V's bull was lawful, and that on this basis Moreton was sent into the north (Fig.55),<sup>105</sup> the same general point identified by the reader of the Trinity College Library, Cambridge, copy.<sup>106</sup>

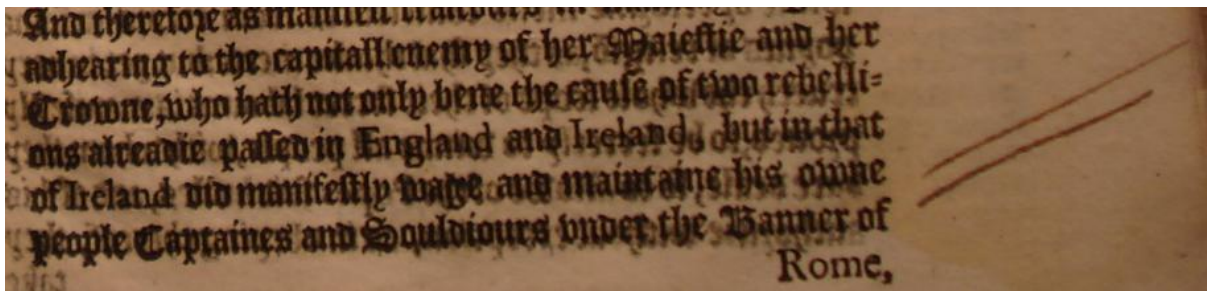


(Fig.53. FSL STC 4902 Copy 1 A3<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

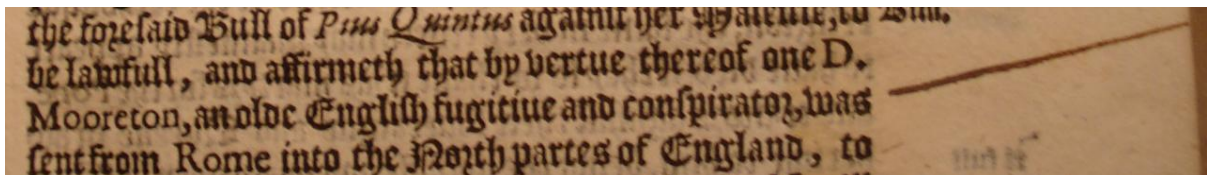
<sup>104</sup> Ibid., B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> FSL STC 4902 Copy 1 A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> See above, p. 220.



(Fig.54. FSL STC 4902 Copy 1 A4<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)



(Fig.55. FSL STC 4902 Copy 1 B3<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

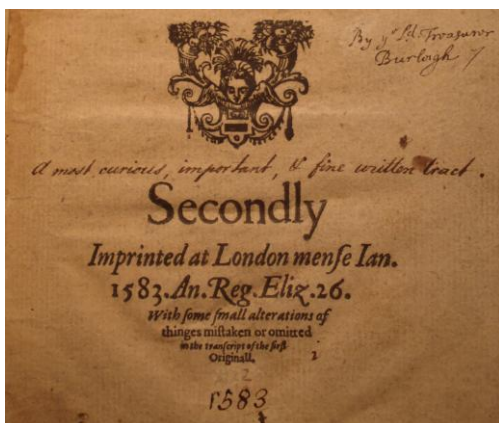
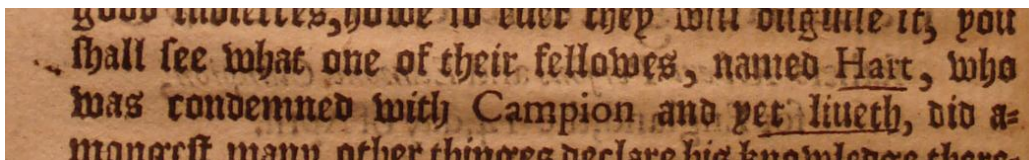
Whilst the last two readers were seemingly interested in the pamphlet's main theme, two others had more specific concerns. The reader of a CUL copy of the second edition underlined information on the deaths of several traitors in Ireland. The pamphlet mentioned 'the headles bodie of the late miserable Earle of Desmond, the Heade of the Irish rebellion, who of late, secretly wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishry in his caben, and in an Irish sort after his owne accustomed maner, his heade cut off from his bodie'. For further emphasis, the reader wrote: 'The Earle of Desmonde'. The pamphlet then discussed 'the end of his chiefe confederates', including Sanders, 'the popes Irish legat, who also wandring in the mountaines in Ireland without succour, died rauing in a phrensey. And before him, one James Fits-Morice the first Traitor of Ireland next to Stukely the rakehell, a man not vnknownen in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traytor', who was killed by 'an Irish noble yong Gentleman'. Again writing in the margin emphasises this, saying 'D. Saunders' and 'James Fitz-Morice'. Furthermore, 'a fourth man of singular note was Iohn of Desmonde, brother to the Earle, a very bloody faithles traitor, & a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to seeke some pray like a wolfe in the woods, was taken and beheaded'.<sup>107</sup>

Interestingly, this is bound with, among other pamphlets, a copy of Robert Cecil's 1586 *Letter* about

<sup>107</sup> CUL Syn 7.58.79(6) D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>. Similarly, besides several ambiguous annotations, another copy used speech marks to highlight the section noting God's punishment of the rebellious earl of Westmorland. See: St John's, Cam., Aa.6.70 A2<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>r</sup>, E1<sup>v</sup>.

Mary Stuart, which also contains limited marginalia in a similar style, again indicating a specific interest. There is underlining in the section where Elizabeth told parliament that she was ‘not vnmindeful of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great goodwils & affections taken and entrd into, vpon good con-science ... for safety of my person’. For further emphasis, the reader wrote, ‘The othe of Association’.<sup>108</sup> In both cases, the underlining and writing together provided a quick indication of where information on particular topics could be found.

A Folger copy of the second edition has a few words underlined, and possibly a mark in the margin for further emphasis. This explains that in order to show how all Catholics interpreted the papal bull, ‘you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst many other thinges declare his knowledge thereof’ (Fig.56).<sup>109</sup> Again this is similar to the reader of the Trinity College, Dublin, copy, who was interested in Hart’s confession, but this reader focused instead on the fact that Hart remained alive despite being condemned. Perhaps Hart’s fate was previously unknown, since he remained in the Tower after his reprieve,<sup>110</sup> accounting for this interest.



Above: (Fig.56. FSL STC 4903 Copy 3 C1<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

Left: (Fig.57. FSL STC 4903 Copy 3 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

<sup>108</sup> CUL Syn 7.58.79(2) C4<sup>r</sup>. For more on this volume, see below pp. 236-7.

<sup>109</sup> FSL STC 4903 Copy 3 A1<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>. This marginalia is perhaps not contemporary, as it was possibly done by someone who wrote an evidently later note on the title page. Another note here attributes authorship to Cecil (Fig.57). If contemporary, it would further demonstrate that this was common knowledge. See above, pp. 52-3.

<sup>110</sup> Murphy, ‘Hart’. The first edition did not specify that he remained alive, perhaps fuelling speculation. See: Cecil, *Iustice*, C1<sup>v</sup>.

This pamphlet was inevitably not immune to the random usages discussed above.<sup>111</sup> One Folger copy of the second edition contains writing seemingly unrelated to the pamphlet. Similar writing also appears in a copy of Norton's *Declaration* with which this is bound, bearing the date 1689, indicating this pamphlet's longevity, even if it was apparently not always used for its contents.<sup>112</sup>

Nevertheless, this survey suggests that some readers identified and probably accepted the pamphlet's central point that Catholics were justifiably executed for treason, occasionally even marking the same passages. Such apparently positive responses are consistent not only with how people annotated similarly anti-Catholic 1580s pamphlets,<sup>113</sup> but also with negative reactions to expressions of support for executed traitors which suggest widespread acceptance of this and other similar pamphlets' central premise.<sup>114</sup> Although England's religious polarisation by the 1580s might make popular approval unsurprising, the fact that this pamphlet represented the clearest statement of a government policy that opponents constantly attacked still makes it significant.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, such acceptance was probably a cause as well as an effect of religious division.

### Accepting Elizabeth's 1585 *Declaration*

Several annotated copies survive of an equally important pamphlet: Elizabeth's 1585 *Declaration* justifying English intervention in the Low Countries, which underlay subsequent diplomatic efforts.<sup>116</sup> Readers of a Trinity College, Dublin, copy identified many of the government's main points, although they did not annotate the answer to the *Nouo Auiso* at the end, illustrating where their primary interest lay. The first annotation highlighted the complaint that Philip II had recently begun employing

---

<sup>111</sup> See above, p. 195.

<sup>112</sup> FSL STC 4901 Copy 2 Aa3<sup>v</sup>, Aa4<sup>v</sup>; STC 4903 Copy 1 C3<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> See above, pp. 180-2, 184-7.

<sup>114</sup> See below, pp. 268-71.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 268-9.

<sup>116</sup> See above, p. 60.

Spaniards as governors of the Low Countries, contrary to the latter's 'ancient lawes & customes', by writing 'Spanyard' in the margin.<sup>117</sup>

Subsequent marginalia, however, is apparently in a different hand, suggesting that this pamphlet passed between several owners.<sup>118</sup> This second reader underlined part of the section explaining that England kindly warned Philip that if he did not control his governors, the Dutch 'for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their natiue countries in their former state of their liberties', would 'yeelde themselues' to another prince's sovereignty, 'as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuiledges graunted by some of the Lordes and Dukes of the countries to the people', they affirmed 'that in such cases of general iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choice of any other prince to bee their prince'. A manicule and several stars in the margin added further emphasis. The reader then underlined parts of the section giving historical examples of the Dutch submitting to a new monarch, again adding further emphasis with a marginal cross: 'by some such alterations, as the stories doe testifie, Philip the Duke of Burgundy came to his tyle'. The English, however, in order to stop the Dutch doing this, loaned them money upon request, 'onely to continue them as his subiects, and to maintaine themselues in their iust defence against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniard their oppressours'.<sup>119</sup> Again, a cross offered further emphasis. This whole section constitutes one of the pamphlet's central points: the English were well-intentioned, actively trying not to take sovereignty of the Low Countries, even though the Dutch were within their rights to seek another monarch.

Further textual interventions indicate the reader's receptiveness to official claims that Spain intended to conquer the Low Countries. The pamphlet stated that England had pursued considerate policies partly because they wanted to continue in friendship and trade with the Dutch, and because they realised how dangerous it would be for themselves if Spain 'shoulde make a conquest of those

---

<sup>117</sup> TCD Crofton 15(1) B2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> This is further suggested by two passages, thoroughly crossed out, written in different hands on the back. See: Ibid., D3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>r</sup>.

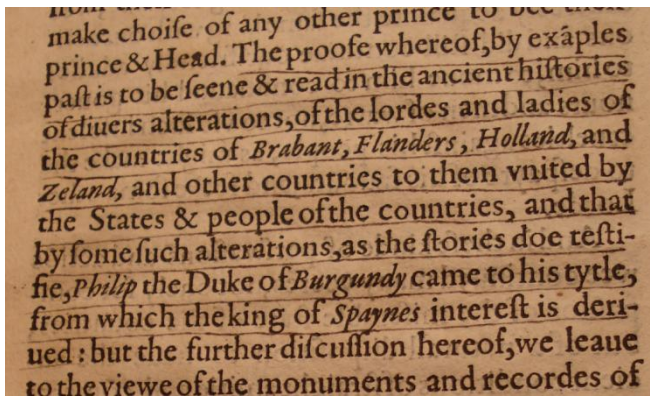
countries, as was and yet is apparantly intended'. This is further emphasised by a cross in the margin, and writing: 'Conquest &c'. The pamphlet then explained why England was now taking a tougher line against Spain, noting that the government had the support of the people, who were willing to give aid to 'preuent this present common danger to our Realme & themselues', represented by a Spanish conquest of the Low Countries. The reader accepted that Spain posed a threat to England, a major reason for intervention, as they further emphasised their underlining with a cross and by writing, 'The danger *common* to Engl. *with* the low Countries'. The reader also highlighted the discussion of a comparable example that occurred in the 1560s: the French sought to conquer Scotland, with the Guise also wanting to start a war from there 'for the conquest of our Crowne for their Neece', Mary Stuart. This was further emphasised by a marginal cross. Further underlining as the pamphlet concluded indicates that the reader emphasised and accepted the key point that England was acting to defend the Low Countries. The Dutch, 'beeing desperate of the king of Spaynes fauours', several times requested English help, but 'onely for their defence against the Spaniards and other strangers'. This is further emphasised by a cross. England decided 'to sende certaine companies of souldiers to ayde the naturall people of those countries, onely to defende them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie'. This is emphasised by a small manicule and some writing that says, 'The End of sendinge ayde'.<sup>120</sup>

Limited annotations in two more copies also focus on key points, and again show different readers sometimes concentrating on the same issues. In a Folger copy, the reader underlined the same passage marked above concerning the Low Countries' right to pick a new sovereign: 'The prooffe whereof, by examples past is to be seene & read in the ancient histories of diuers alterations, of the lordes and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them vnited by the States & people of the countries, and that by some such alterations, as the stories doe restifie, Philip the Duke of Burgundy came to his tittle, from which the king of Spaynes interest is deriued' (Fig.58). Both readers apparently found an argument based on historical precedent particularly

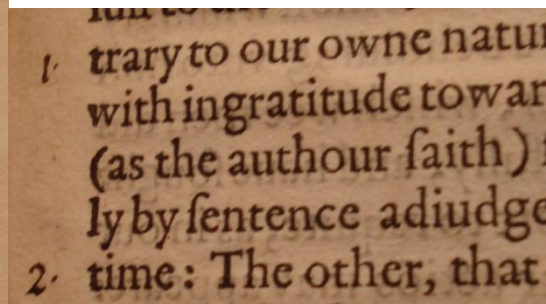
---

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., B3<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>-C3<sup>v</sup>. The reader also added punctuation at one point seemingly to make a sentence read better, showing their multiple concerns when annotating. See: B4<sup>r</sup>.

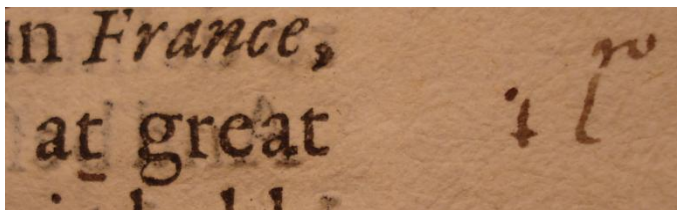
convincing, with this reader's interest in this section is especially evident from their generally sparse marginalia. Their only other obviously meaningful annotation occurs in the brief pamphlet refuting the *Nouo Auiso*. The reader wrote the numbers 1 and 2 in the margin to indicate two crimes of which Elizabeth was accused: ingratitude to Philip II, who had saved her life, and plotting to assassinate the duke of Parma (Fig.59).<sup>121</sup>



(Fig.58. FSL STC 9189 B3<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)



(Fig.59. FSL STC 9189 D1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

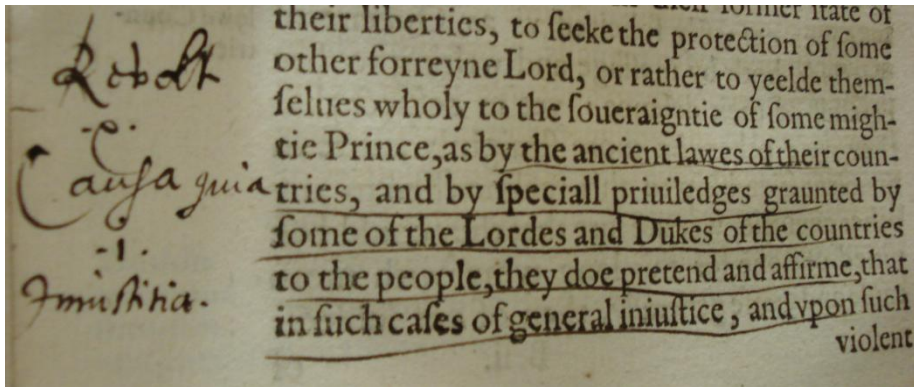


(Fig.60. FSL STC 9189 C1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

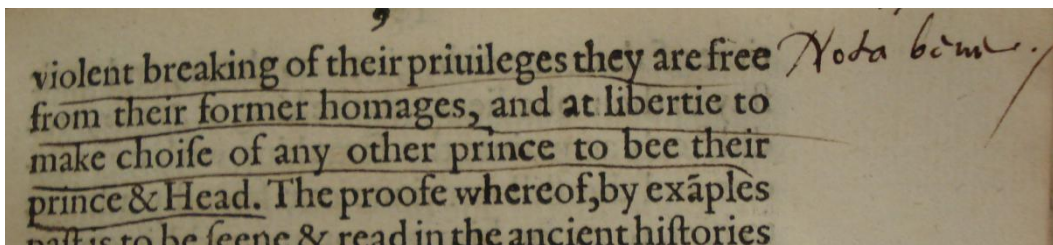
A Bodleian copy underlined the same area as those above: England had warned Philip that if his governors were not restrained, the Dutch would seek a new sovereign, ‘as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuiledges graunted by some of the Lordes and Dukes of the countries to the people, they doe pretend and affirme, that in such cases of general iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of any other prince to bee their prince & Head’. Writing by the beginning of the underlining says, ‘Revolt & Causa quia –i Iniustitia’ (Fig.61), indicating that Spanish injustice motivated the Dutch revolt, whilst writing by the part about the right to choose a new ruler says, ‘Nota bene’ (Fig.62). That this marginalia indicates the reader's agreement with these important points is likely

<sup>121</sup> FSL STC 9189 B3<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r</sup>. Obscure marks also occur (Fig.60). See: C1<sup>r-v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>.

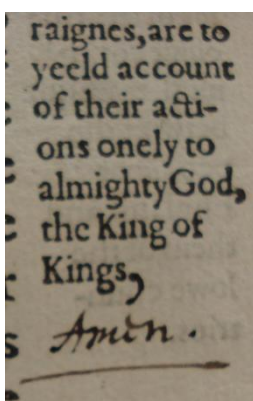
given an earlier annotation: the reader added ‘Amen’ to a piece of printed marginalia saying that sovereigns only had to account for their actions to god, suggesting an acceptance of the Royal Supremacy (Fig.63).<sup>122</sup>



(Fig.61. Bodleian Wood 615(10) B2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



Above: (Fig.62. Bodleian Wood 615(10) B3<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

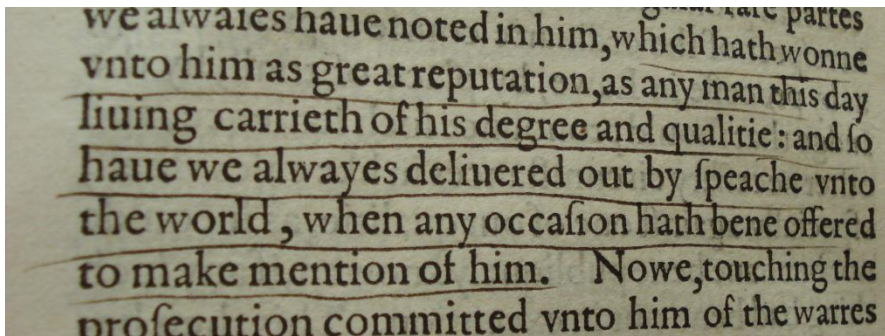


Left: (Fig.63. Bodleian Wood 615(10) A3<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

The reader also underlined part of the section in the second pamphlet defending Elizabeth from the accusation that she conspired to assassinate Parma. The latter had rare qualities, ‘which hath wonne vnto him as great reputation, as any man this day liuing carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwayes deliuered out by speache vnto the world, when any occasion hath bene offered to make mention of him’ (Fig.64). This perhaps indicated the reader’s admiration for him as a military leader, but it certainly stressed Elizabeth’s respect for him. Further underlining came where the pamphlet observed that if the accusation was true, proof would have been produced, ‘for malice

<sup>122</sup> Bodleian Wood 615(10) A3<sup>f</sup>, B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>f</sup>.

leaueth nothing vnsearched, that may nourish the venime of that humour'. This implies that the reader accepted that the rumour was false.<sup>123</sup>



(Fig.64. Bodleian Wood 615(10) D2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Most strikingly then, the section about Dutch freedom to select a new ruler is marked in all three copies. The government stressed this point not because Elizabeth wanted sovereignty but because she did not: by emphasising that she could take it if she wanted, the pamphlet reinforced the image of English benevolence. This was paramount, enabling the English to help the Dutch whilst still criticising foreign sponsorship of domestic Catholic conspiracy, which had more harmful intentions. Yet, only in the first copy did a reader acknowledge that even though the Dutch could throw off Philip's sovereignty, England acted to 'continue them as his subjects'. Conversely, the other two readers stopped at accepting Dutch rights, thus potentially believing instead that since England could adopt sovereignty, they should. Certainly many wanted this, and Job Throckmorton interpreted this pamphlet as championing this approach.<sup>124</sup> Perhaps, therefore, others did not read this pamphlet exactly as the government wanted.

### The Significance of Documents

Comparing marginalia in different pamphlets can also reveal significant patterns. Marginalia in the *Determinations* and Cecil's *Execution of Iustice* have already demonstrated that some readers annotated documents and verbatim texts,<sup>125</sup> and further evidence indicates that these interested

---

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> See above, pp. 167-8.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 198-212, 216-224.

readers. A reader of a Folger copy of Day's 1571 edition of Buchanan's *Detectioun* conveyed their agreement with his argument that Mary Stuart and the earl of Bothwell bore responsibility for Darnley's death almost entirely through engagement with the casket letters printed therein.<sup>126</sup> In one of Mary's letters to Bothwell the reader marked several parts that indicated her devotion to him in the latter's plotting. First, they underlined Mary's words, 'Ye gar me dissemble sa far that I haif borring thairat: and ye cause me do almost the office of a traitores. Remember how gif it wer not to obey you, I had rather be deid or I dyd it: my hart bleides at it', implying that she followed Bothwell's plan to murder Darnley, albeit with a 'troubled conscience'.<sup>127</sup> The reader further emphasised this by writing 'Nota' by it. Likewise, the reader wrote 'Nota' by and underlined Mary's request that Bothwell 'Aduise to with your self if ye can finde out ony mair secrete intioun by medecine: for he should take medicine and the bath at Cragmillar'. This was 'the most incriminating statement' regarding Darnley's murder in the letter,<sup>128</sup> as Buchanan had earlier outlined that this was a coded reference to poisoning him.<sup>129</sup> Mary then explained that Darnley was suspicious: he still trusted her, but not enough to 'schew any thing to me'. Still, she would 'draw it out of him, gif ye will that I auow all vnto hym', but she would 'neuir reioyce to diffame ony body that trustis in me'. The reader then marked another request with both underlining and 'Nota' written in the margin: 'Haue no euill opinioun of me for that caus, by reason ye are the oecasioun of it your selfe, because for my awin parcicular reuenge I wald not do it to him'. Again this suggested that Bothwell was in command. Next, the reader underlined Mary's order that Bothwell 'Burne this letter, for it is our dangerous, and na thing well sayd in it: for I am thinkand vpoun nathing but fascherie'. By this the reader wrote, 'Note this confession', meaning Mary's admission of the letter's treacherous contents. Mary then wrote, 'Now seyng to obey you, my deir lufe, I spare nouthor honor, conscience, hazarde, nor greitnes quhatsumeuir, take it I pray you in gude pairt', by which the reader wrote, 'A strange loue', perhaps suggesting that Mary's devotion to Bothwell was excessive. Similarly, the reader underlined Mary's request that Bothwell 'Se nat hir quhaies faynit teares should nat be fa mickle prayfit nor esteemit, as

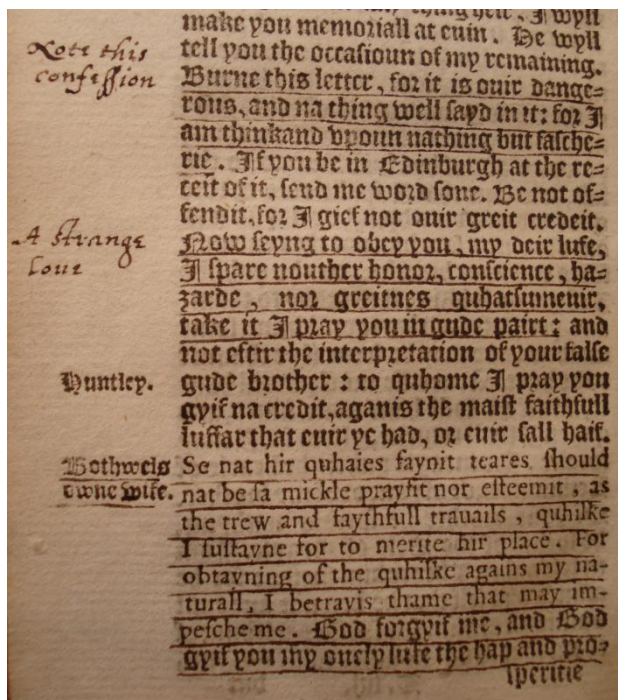
<sup>126</sup> For an argument of their authenticity, see: H. Villius, 'The Casket Letters: A Famous Case Reopened', *HJ*, 28 (1985), pp. 517-34.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

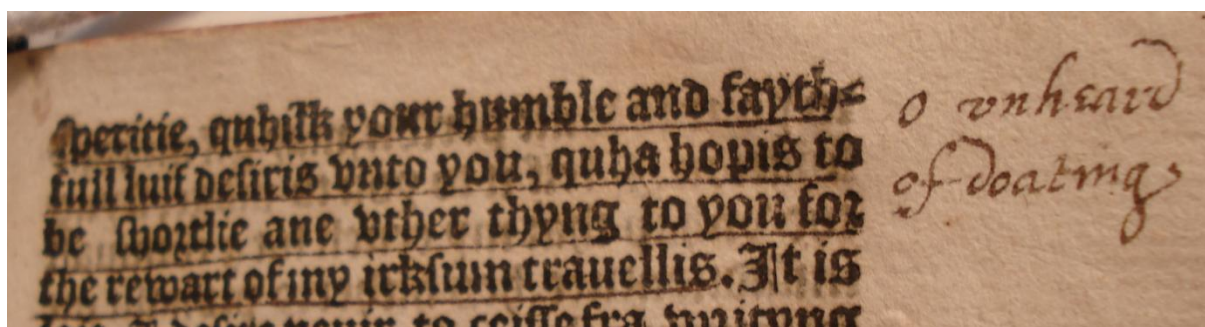
<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>129</sup> Buchanan, *Detectioun*, H3<sup>v</sup>-H4<sup>v</sup>.

the trew and faythfull trauails, quhilke I sustayne for to merite hir place. For obtayning of the quhilke  
agains my naturall, I betrayis thame that may impesche me. God forgyif me, and God gyif you my  
onely lufe the hap and prosperitie, quhilk your humble and faythfull luif desiris vnto you, quha hopes  
to be shortlie ane vther thyng to you for the rewart of my irksom trauellis' (Fig.65). This other person  
 was Bothwell's wife, the reader underlining the printed marginalia that stated this.<sup>130</sup> They also wrote  
 'O vnheard of doating' in the margin (Fig.66).<sup>131</sup> This remark's negative tone suggests the reader's  
 bad opinion of Mary and acceptance of Buchanan's characterisation.



(Fig.65. FSL STC 3981 Copy 3 T4<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

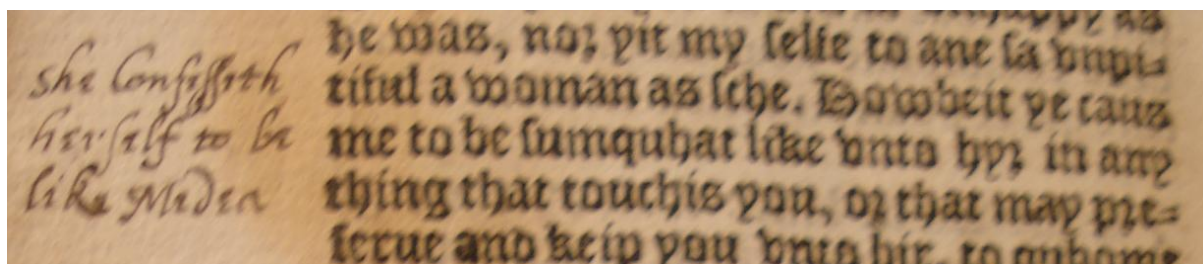


(Fig.66. FSL STC 3981 Copy 3 U1<sup>f</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

<sup>130</sup> The reader earlier showed interest in Bothwell's wife, writing 'Nota' by a section saying that she was forced to seek a divorce so that he could marry Mary. See: FSL STC 3981 Copy 3 F2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., S2<sup>f</sup>, T2<sup>v</sup>, T3<sup>v</sup>-U1<sup>f</sup>.

The reader annotated parts of another letter from Mary to Bothwell suggesting her affection for him, writing ‘Nota’ next to several points: Mary’s explanation, underlined for further emphasis, that she was sending Bothwell something ‘to testifie vnto you quhow lawlie I submit me vnder your commaundementes’; her claim that the ‘sepulture of hard stone’ that she was sending contained her hair, just as her heart was ‘caruit in one sure sepulture’ with Bothwell’s commandments, name and memory enclosed; and lastly her assurance that she forever dedicated her heart and body to Bothwell.<sup>132</sup> Two further annotations appeared in another of Mary’s letters to Bothwell. She asked that he, according to his promise, ‘discharge your hart vnto me’. Otherwise she would think that his wife ‘hes wonne aganis my will that auauntage ouer me, quhik the second loue of Iason wan’. She did not mean to compare him to ‘ane sa vnhappy as he was’, nor compare herself to ‘sa vnpitiful a woman as sche’, meaning Jason’s first wife, Medea. Yet, ‘ye caus me to be sumquhat like vnto hyr in any thing that touchis you, or that may preserue and keip you vnto hir, to quhome onely ye appertaine’. The reader here wrote, ‘She confesseth herself to be like Medea’ (Fig.67), a point made earlier in the work,<sup>133</sup> and which hostile polemicists embraced.<sup>134</sup> Again, the comment’s tone suggests the reader’s negative view of Mary. Lastly, the reader noted part of Mary’s conclusion, writing ‘Nota’ by a section that said, ‘Make gude watch if the burd eschape out of the caige or without hir mate, as the turtur I shall remayne alone for to lament the absence how schort that soeuer it be’.<sup>135</sup>



(Fig.67. FSL STC 3981 Copy 3 U3<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

Cumulatively, these textual interventions indicate the reader’s acceptance of Buchanan’s hypothesis that Mary and Bothwell jointly plotted against Darnley. The reader may not have fully accepted

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., U1<sup>v</sup>-U2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> Buchanan, *Detectioun*, G2<sup>r</sup>, K3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> Shrank, ‘Reading’, p. 528.

<sup>135</sup> FSL STC 3981 Copy 3 U3<sup>r</sup>-U4<sup>r</sup>.

Buchanan's argument that Mary was using Bothwell, since they noted her apparently genuine devotion to him, but their generally negative opinion of her is clear from their identification of several incriminating statements. The reader's concentration on the casket letters suggests that they considered these the book's most compelling part,<sup>136</sup> offering the most reliable evidence of Mary's relationship with Bothwell.

Underlining in Francis Throckmorton's submission to Elizabeth, acknowledging his guilt, represents almost the only annotation of a Bodleian copy of *A discouerie of the treasons*. The reader seemingly focused on Throckmorton's references to his wretchedness and Elizabeth's merciful nature, underlining his description of himself as 'the most miserable' English subject; the fact that his only remaining 'meane of defence' was 'submission'; his desire to receive 'some droppe of grace and mercie' from Elizabeth, of which 'most your distressed subjects haue tasted, & few bene depriued'; his admission that the 'rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loyall respect' that he should have had; his hope that Elizabeth, 'in imitation of God', would 'comiserate the lamentable estate' of Throckmorton, and 'graunt vnto me remission and forgiuenes'; his reference to his 'sorrowfull afflicted minde'; his statement that he 'desire not to liue without your fauour', and hoped that his death would bring 'increase both to your Maiestie' (Figs.68-9). The only other annotation in the pamphlet was some underlining in Throckmorton's confession, similarly concerning Elizabeth's mercy, where he hoped that his cooperation would allow him to 'craue [pardon] at her handes'.<sup>137</sup> Like the previous reader, therefore, this one was concerned principally with the actor's own voice. Since Throckmorton was tortured and rumours apparently circulated about his innocence,<sup>138</sup> printing documents wherein he confessed his guilt and requested pardon was crucial for the government, and this reader at least seemingly accepted them.

---

<sup>136</sup> The reader was seemingly also interested in the Hamiltons, with several references to them. See: *Ibid.*, C4<sup>v</sup>, K3<sup>v</sup>, K4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> Bodleian Wood 586(6) B4<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> Q.Z., *Discouerie*, a2<sup>r</sup>-A1<sup>v</sup>, A2<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup>.

Below: (Fig.68. Bodleian Wood 586(6) B4<sup>v</sup>.  
 Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission  
 of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Right: (Fig.69. Bodleian Wood 586(6) C1<sup>f</sup>.  
 Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission  
 of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

To her most excellent Maieftie, euen to her  
 owne Royall handes.

**M**ost excellent Prince, and my most gracious Soueraigne,  
 I fith to mee the most miserable of all your Maiefties  
 poore distressed subiects, being iustly condemned by the ordina-  
 rio and orderly course of your Maiefties Lawes, there resteth  
 no further meane of defence but submission: vouchsafe, most  
 excellent Prince, graciously to accept the same, which pro-  
 strate in all humilitie, I here present vnto the hands of your  
 most excellent Maieftie, beseeching the same, that as Iustice  
 hath bene deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine,  
 to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same  
 spring some droppe of grace and mercie for the great and grie-  
 uous offence whereof I rest by your Maiefties Lawes iustly  
 condemned: some part, I say, of that your accustomed gracious  
 clemencie, whereof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, &  
 few bene deprived. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of  
 vnbriyled

vnbriyled youth hath withdrawn me from that loyall respect,  
 which nature and duetic bound mee to owe vnto your Maie-  
 stie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread soueraigne, and that  
 the naturall care in me of the defence of my life mooued mee  
 lately to the vnrue and vnductifull gainesaying of some such  
 pointes as had bene before by me in most humble sort confes-  
 sed: neuertheles, I most humbly beseech your most excellent  
 Maieftie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in re-  
 spect of the happy place you holde, as also in regarde of your  
 singular wisedome and other the rare and singular vertues &  
 perfections wherewith God and nature hath plentifully in-  
 dowed you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please  
 your Maieftie to comiserate the lamentable estate of mee now  
 the most miserable of all your Maiefties subiectes, and grati-  
 ously to graunt vnto me remission and forgiuenes, that not on-  
 ly doe most humbly confesse my selfe worthe of death, but also  
 in shewe of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted minde, doe  
 not craue at your Maiefties handes the prolonging of my life,  
 if the same shall not stand with your gracious good pleasure, but  
 rather desire the trebling of the torment iustly by your Maie-  
 sties lawes imposed vpon mee, if the same may bee any satis-  
 faction to your Maieftie for the haynous cryme whereof I re-  
 mayne by your Maiefties lawes iustly condemned, or any miti-  
 gation of your Maiefties indignation worthily concerned a-  
 gainst me, that desire not to liue without your fauour, and dying  
 will wish from my heart, that my ende may bee the beginning  
 of your Maiefties securitie, and my death the preseruation of  
 your life, and the increase both to your Maieftie, and to this  
 your most flourishing common wealth, of all the most happy  
 blessings of almighty God.

Similarly, a copy of *A true report of svndry horrible conspiracies* (1594) in the Christ Church Special Collection contains annotations indicating that the reader was interested in the conspirators' confessions, and appreciated that these provided the pamphlet's information. The word 'confesseth' is underlined multiple times throughout, frequently with the name of the person making the confession written in the margin. Thus it was underlined twice each in reference to things confessed by Doctor Lopez, Stephano Ferrera de Gama, and Manuel Lews, and once in connection with things confessed by Edmund Yorke, and the names 'D: lopes', 'Ferrera', 'lewes', and 'yorke' all appear in the margin.<sup>139</sup> This likely suggests that they considered the information reliable and the pamphlet authoritative.<sup>140</sup> Indications that some readers concentrated their annotations on official documents,

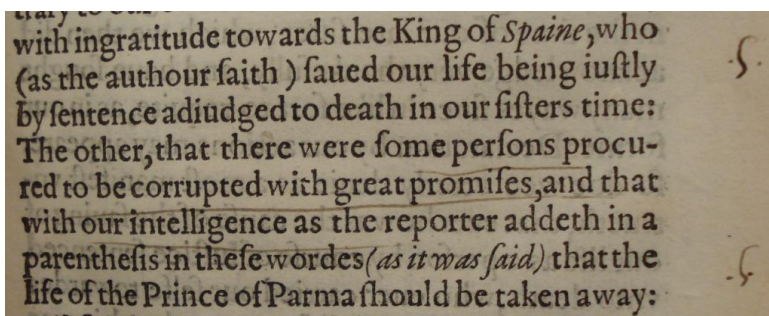
<sup>139</sup> Christ Church Special Collections Wd.6.24(16) A4<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>f</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> The reader made other annotations, including underlining, manicules and marginal notes, to provide a guide to the section relating the Lopez plot. A written marginal comment at the beginning of the section concerning Yorke's conspiracy says, 'An other conspiracy att Bruxells ageynst the Q of Ingland since the conspyracie of lopez by yorke Williams and younge Englishemen', but no other annotations appeared in this section besides those to Yorke's confession. See: *Ibid.*, B1<sup>f</sup>, B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>f</sup>.

apparently accepting them as unbiased and trustworthy, suggest that the inclusion of such material was an effective polemical strategy, justifying various governments' adoption of it.<sup>141</sup>

## Owners

Marginalia in surviving government polemics also occasionally provide evidence about these works' owners and their interests, for example the reader of the *Articles* that perhaps annotated three other 1530s anti-clerical pamphlets.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, one person apparently annotated four pamphlets, surviving in two volumes. Three of the four pamphlets are certainly official works: a CUL copy of the Throckmorton pamphlet, and Bodleian copies of the 1585 *Declaration* and the Parry pamphlet. The fourth is a Bodleian copy of *A discourse vpon the present state of France* (1588), printed by Wolfe, possibly for the government.<sup>143</sup> All are consistently marked throughout with a range of similar annotations, including underlining, summarising marginal notes, number sequences (both immediately by the text and further away, with degree marks), vertical lines in the margin, speech marks and other symbols (Figs.70-3), creating comprehensive guides to their contents and revealing a thorough reader interested in topical works, not necessarily exclusively official, linked to anti-Catholicism. There are no negative comments, suggesting the reader's potential acceptance of their arguments. The high level of engagement and the narrow time period in which the four pamphlets were published make a contemporary reader probable.<sup>144</sup>



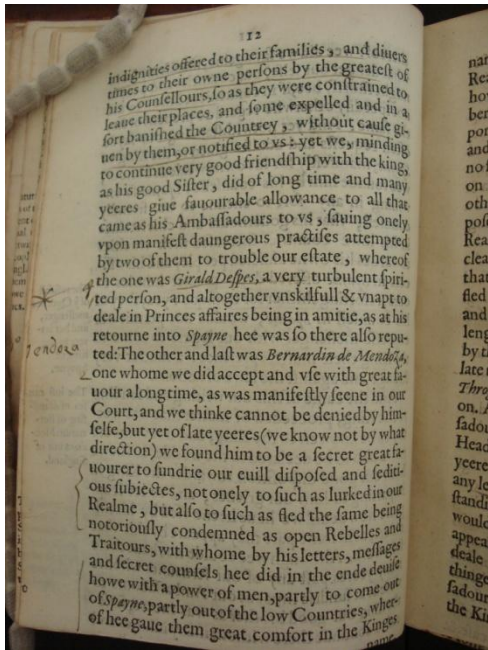
(Fig.70. Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup> B 49 Jur(1) D1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

<sup>141</sup> See above, pp. 42-6.

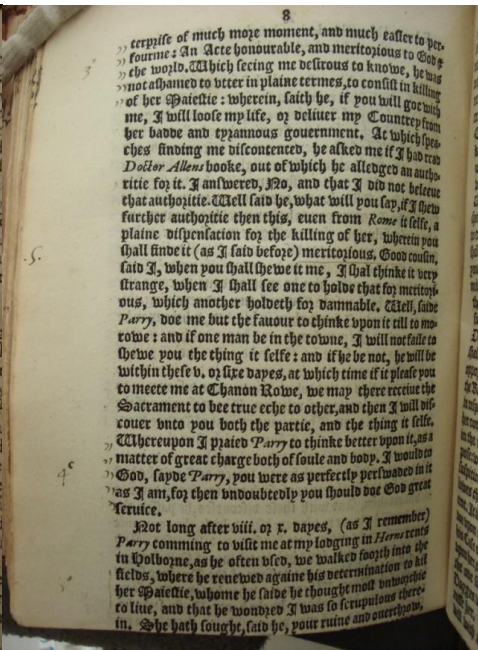
<sup>142</sup> Ibid., pp. 208-9.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., pp. 37-8.

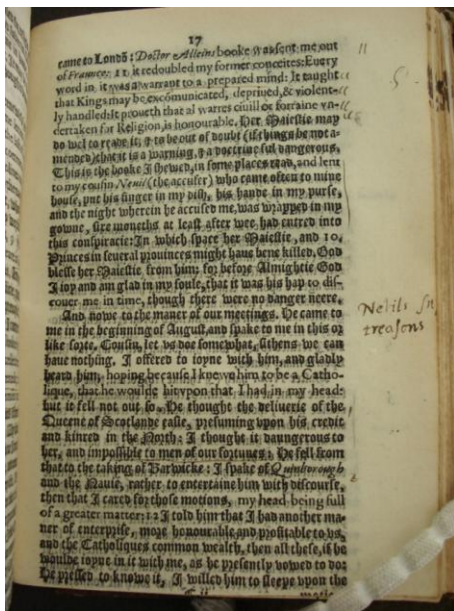
<sup>144</sup> Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup> B 49 Jur (1, 2, 8); CUL SSS.24.18. Incidentally, this reader marked the same passage in the 1585 *Declaration* as the others discussed above, including the point that Elizabeth had acted to prevent the Dutch from taking another monarch's sovereignty. See: Bodleian (1) B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>r</sup>; above, p. 229.



(Fig.71. Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup> B 49 Jur(1) B4<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.72. Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup> B 49 Jur(8) B1<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



(Fig.73. Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup> B 49 Jur(8) C2<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Signatures help to ascertain people's interests by revealing what books they owned, for example, showing Harvey's interest in works concerning Mary Stuart and Richard Stonley's acquisition of anti-Catholic works.<sup>145</sup> Likewise, a CUL copy of the 1585 *Declaration* has 'Robert Russell aedis Christi oxon:' written on the title page, probably the Robert Russell who came to Christ Church in 1573, taking a BA in 1576, an MA in 1579 and a doctorate in 1600, before becoming curate of St Thomas's,

<sup>145</sup> BL G.5443; see above, p. 71.

Oxford.<sup>146</sup> Russell was probably also responsible for marginalia in some of the ten other pamphlets with which it is bound, six of them also official, including the copies of the *Execution of Iustice* and Robert Cecil's *Letter*,<sup>147</sup> and a contents page at the front of the volume. Another of the pamphlets, Meredith Hanmer's *Greate bragge*, also says 'Robertus Russell', and features limited marginalia presumably by him addressing specific issues,<sup>148</sup> consistent with the style of annotation seen in the two pamphlets discussed earlier. Many of the title pages have key words underlined, further indicating that one person probably owned them all.<sup>149</sup> All eleven are broadly anti-Catholic 1580s works,<sup>150</sup> suggesting that Russell assembled this coherent collection, acquiring many official works without separating these from unofficial ones.

The suggestion that Russell arranged books thematically is strengthened by a Bodleian volume containing five books from the period 1551 to 1583, three of them signed, in one case again specifying that he attended Christ Church. The books in general concern religion: three, all signed, are theological,<sup>151</sup> one concerns the problem of absentee clergymen,<sup>152</sup> and another is an official Marian work about the reconciliation with Rome.<sup>153</sup> Unlike those above they are more fully annotated,<sup>154</sup> presumably by Russell, perhaps suggesting that whilst this clergyman and student was interested enough in politics to buy and read anti-Catholic books, his primary interests lay elsewhere.

Another reader owned at least two official works, indicating some interest in topical affairs. A Bodleian copy of *A Particular Declaration* has the initials 'R.B.' on the title page. A note written on the pages prior to the pamphlet identifies this person as 'Burton – author of "Anatomy of

<sup>146</sup> CUL Syn 7.58.79(1) A2<sup>r</sup>; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis* (4 vols., Oxford, 1891-2), iii, p. 1292.

<sup>147</sup> See above, pp. 222-3.

<sup>148</sup> CUL Syn 7.58.79(3) A1<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>, D4<sup>v</sup>, F4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, (1-8).

<sup>150</sup> M. Hanmer, *The greate bragge and challenge of M. Champion* (1581); Cecil, *Iustice*; Norton, *Declaration*; Q.Z., *Discouerie*; *Declaration* (1585); Cecil, *Leycester*; G.D., *Discouerie*; Cecil, *Mendoza*; *The holy bull, and crusado of Rome* (1588); M. Hurault, *A discourse vpon the present estate of France* (1588); *The recantations as they were seuerallie pronounced by VVyliam Tedder and Anthony Tyrrell* (1588). Another pamphlet was previously bound with these.

<sup>151</sup> P. Cockburn, *Oratio* (Paris, 1551); A. Kingsmill, *A viewe of man estate* (1574); A. Benedictus, *D. Benedicti Aretii* (Lausanne, 1578); A. Esposito, 'Patrick Cockburn', *ODNB*; R.H. Fritze, 'Andrew Kingsmill', *ODNB*.

<sup>152</sup> N. Grimald, *Oratio ad pontifices* (1583); M.G. Brennan, 'Nicholas Grimald', *ODNB*.

<sup>153</sup> Harchius, *Reipublicae*.

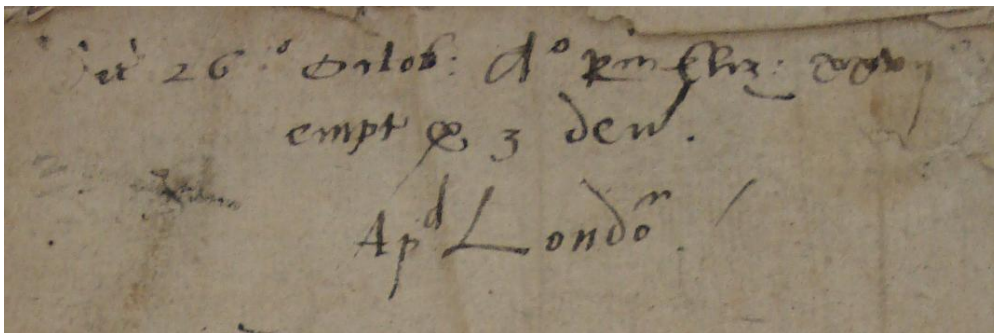
<sup>154</sup> Bodleian 8 C 154 Th.

Melancholy”<sup>155</sup> Robert Burton was a writer born in 1577 and at the University of Oxford by 1593.<sup>156</sup> He must have acquired this book several years at least after publication (like Russell’s acquisition of some of his theological works), again demonstrating polemical pamphlets’ continued relevance. Additionally, a Folger copy of Barlow’s *Sermon* (1601) bears Burton’s signature (Fig.74),<sup>157</sup> perhaps indicating his general interest in contemporary events and treason trials.



(Fig.74. FSL STC 1454 Copy 1 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the FSL)

Marginalia occasionally also provide relevant information about books’ acquisition. A Bodleian copy of the 1585 *Declaration* bears the comment ‘Die 26<sup>o</sup> Octob: Anno Regina Eliz: xxvii<sup>o</sup> empt per 3 den. Apud London’ (Fig.75).<sup>158</sup> The pamphlet was only printed that month,<sup>159</sup> so this reader bought the book promptly, perhaps indicating the eagerness with which some obtained official and/or topical publications.



(Fig.75. Bodleian Smith.news.e.7 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Conversely, a CUL copy of the 1583 *Disputation* with Campion has a Latin note on the title page saying, ‘Liber Johis Vickers ex dono Mri Rodolphi Waddington Martii 15<sup>o</sup> anno 1595’ (Fig.76). Thus

<sup>155</sup> Bodleian Vet.A1.e.164 A2<sup>r</sup>. Burton apparently bequeathed his books to the Bodleian.

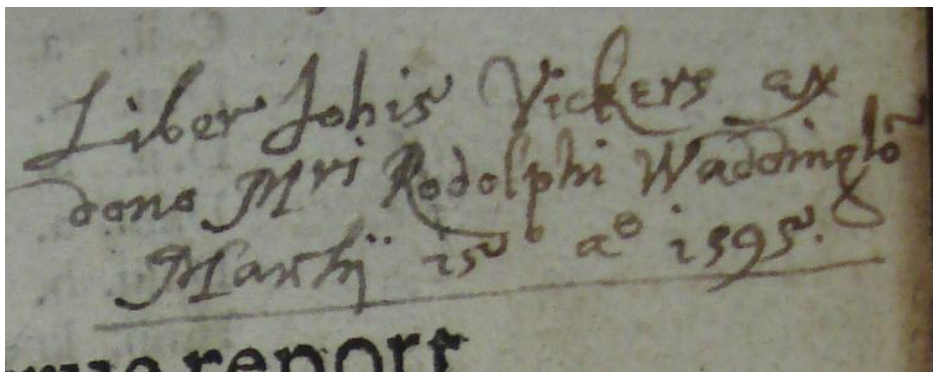
<sup>156</sup> J.B. Bamborough, ‘Robert Burton’, *ODNB*.

<sup>157</sup> FSL STC 1454 Copy 1 A1<sup>r</sup>.

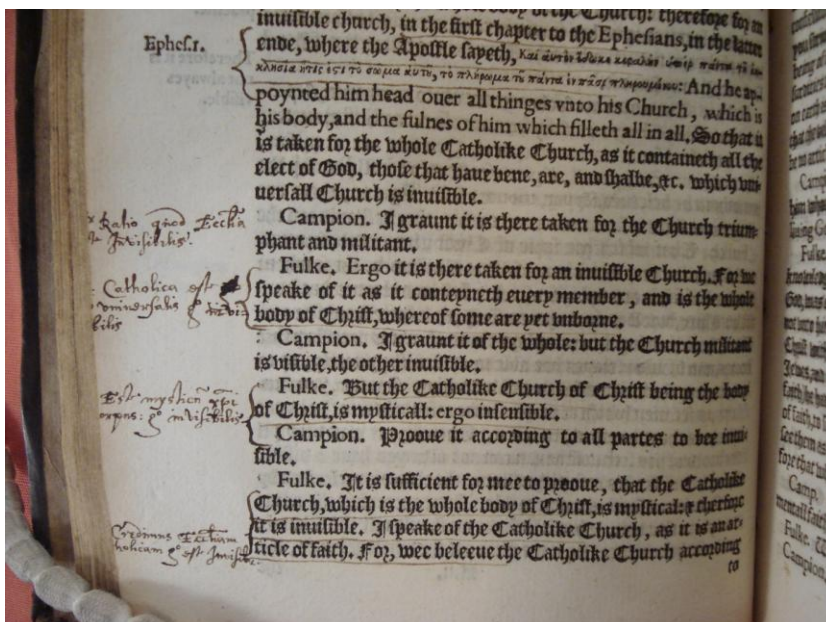
<sup>158</sup> Bodleian Smith.news.e.7 A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> Read, ‘Cecil’, p. 41.

this book was given as a gift, and evidently welcomed, even twelve years after publication, judging by the heavy annotations in the same hand, predominantly concerning theological issues (Fig.77).<sup>160</sup> Again this showed books' continued relevance, whilst also further highlighting a phenomenon, already evidenced, that was a natural consequence of this: books often had multiple owners,<sup>161</sup> sometimes evidenced by multiple signatures.<sup>162</sup> Here, besides the two mentioned in Vickers' note, another name also appears twice on the pamphlet's front and back, 'Ioh: Kennell' (Fig.78-9).<sup>163</sup> These show books' potentially wide audience. The marginalia they contained, deliberately or not, could then shape new owners' reading. For example, some of Hoby's marginalia created a guide that could 'provide a working gloss for future readers', whilst Harvey's reading was certainly communal.<sup>164</sup>



(Fig.76. CUL Peterborough.B.2.29 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)



(Fig.77. CUL Peterborough B.2.29 K2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

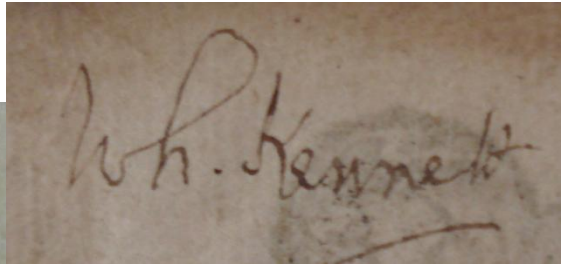
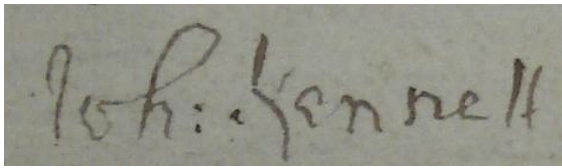
<sup>160</sup> CUL Peterborough.B.2.29.

<sup>161</sup> See above, p. 194.

<sup>162</sup> Sherman, *Books*, pp. 17-8; Scott-Warren, 'Graffiti', pp. 366-8.

<sup>163</sup> CUL Peterborough.B.2.29.

<sup>164</sup> Cambers, 'Hoby', p. 229; Jardine, Grafton, 'Livy', pp. 30-78.



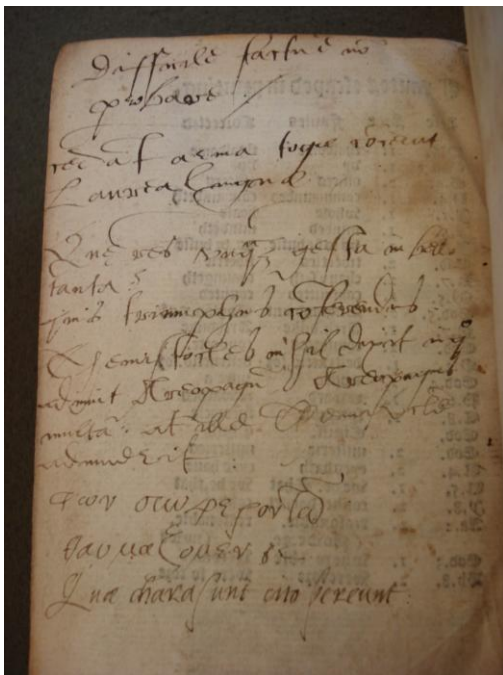
(Fig.78. CUL Peterborough.B.2.29 A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

(Fig.79. CUL Peterborough.B.2.29 Gg2<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the CUL)

More generally, marginalia and some readers' identities suggest that many owners were probably well educated, beyond an ability to read. Many of the examples discussed included readers annotating in Latin, admittedly sometimes only very briefly, using words like 'nota'.<sup>165</sup> Beyond these, a Folger copy of the *Determinations* has a cropped Latin inscription,<sup>166</sup> whilst the heavily corrected Beinecke copy of Christopherson's *Exhortation* discussed above, besides using Latin briefly in the signature, 'Liber Thom Collyns' (Fig.80), has Latin writing on the back (Fig.81).<sup>167</sup>



(Fig.80. Beinecke Ocm16 554C A1<sup>r</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)



(Fig.81. Beinecke Ocm16 554C Gg4<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Jonathan Harris, with permission of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)

<sup>165</sup> See above, pp. 180-2, 191-2, 198-9, 203-6, 227-33.

<sup>166</sup> FSL STC 14287 Copy 2 R4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Beinecke Ocm16 554C; see above, pp. 196-7.

Annotations indicated educated readers in other ways. John Vickers marked many sections written in Greek and Latin, perhaps showing that, like Hoby, italics influenced him.<sup>168</sup> Similarly, the reader that annotated copies of the 1585 *Declaration* and pamphlets about Throckmorton and Parry underlined pieces of Latin in William Crichton's letter, printed in the last of these.<sup>169</sup> The annotator of the Bodleian copy of the *Protestation* referenced its Latin translation,<sup>170</sup> whilst the person who wrote in the Bodleian copy of Bacon's *Declaration* knew Latin, plus a great deal of English history.<sup>171</sup>

Much of the information outlined about owners here reinforces other findings. Inventories and analyses of how authors employed polemical works show that people often owned and/or used multiple official books, whilst not necessarily distinguishing clearly between official and unofficial, a tendency also revealed by people cross-referencing when reading. Similarly, owners of many surviving library lists were educated people,<sup>172</sup> like many annotators. This should not be overplayed though: whilst it is probable that such people constituted a large part of the book-buying public (or at least, were most likely to acquire extensive libraries), and perhaps were most likely to actually mark their books, this thesis provides plentiful evidence of print's extensive reach, with government books, and their ideas, circulating among all levels of society.

## Conclusion

Drawing overall conclusions from the evidence of marginalia can be difficult. There is no way of knowing how many readers actually annotated their books, and how representative surviving annotations are of wider reading patterns. Certainly Sherman suggested that the practice was potentially more widespread than surviving evidence suggests. Most obviously, many books have not survived, and those that were heavily used were more likely to perish. This problem is perhaps

---

<sup>168</sup> CUL Peterborough.B.2.29; Cambers, 'Hoby', pp. 228-9.

<sup>169</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> B 49 Jur(8) D1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>170</sup> See above, p. 209.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

<sup>172</sup> See above, pp. 65-72.

particularly acute in the Edwardian and Marian period,<sup>173</sup> when little official political propaganda was produced to enable comparisons between few surviving copies of similarly themed works.<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, subsequent privileging of unmarked books probably made these more likely to survive, and even prompted efforts to clean books by erasing existing marginalia. Lastly, by 1600, taking notes in separate notebooks was becoming common.<sup>175</sup>

Nevertheless, readers did actively engage with government polemics in various ways. Whilst some read them according to their own personal concerns and in relation to other books which perhaps led to them being interpreted in unintended ways, many readers evidently identified these works' key points. At the very least, propaganda's educative function was successful, conveying official policy and making government views clear. More than this, however, marginalia explicitly suggesting agreement with polemics was not uncommon, whilst many other examples likely represent implicit approval, particularly when readers engaged heavily with books without making any negative observations. Indications of the acceptance of government arguments in turn help to explain broader developments, including the progress of the early Reformation and the polarisation of Elizabethan society. Although the apparent success of much official propaganda and absence of overtly negative commentary may indicate that only government supporters bought these works, evidence from other sources clearly demonstrates that opponents read them too.<sup>176</sup> Arguably a government book filled with hostile marginalia would have been dangerous to own. More generally, in highlighting the valuable information available from studying polemical pamphlets' marginalia, this chapter undermines previous assumptions about the lack of evidence for printed propaganda's reception.<sup>177</sup> Further analysis of such material, from the sixteenth century and beyond, is likely to similarly illuminate the success of governments' interactions with their subjects.

---

<sup>173</sup> For example, the English Short Title Catalogue lists copies of Cranmer's 1556 *Submyssyons* only in Lambeth Palace Library and the Bodleian. See: [estc.bl.uk](http://estc.bl.uk).

<sup>174</sup> See above, pp. 33-5.

<sup>175</sup> Sherman, *Books*, p. 7.

<sup>176</sup> See esp. ch. 4.

<sup>177</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 207-10.

## Chapter 4: Challenging Propaganda

Throughout the period, some people rejected the authority of official propaganda, printed and visual. Evidence of this often survives in the form of denunciations and investigations of those accused of insulting official books and images. Yet, these sources usually present conflicting conclusions about official propaganda's popularity and impact, since they provide evidence not only of people disregarding its authority, but also of others defending it and condemning negative reactions. Whilst scholars have discussed many of these instances, they have only rarely been used as evidence for the reception of propaganda,<sup>1</sup> although here as elsewhere they have predominantly been viewed negatively, paying little attention to the implicit support for the government that these cases reflect. When drawn together, and combined with other sources, they provide valuable insights into how people engaged with propaganda and related to their government.

### Challenging Print

Official printed books were challenged most directly by being refuted in kind. During Henry's reign this approach was seemingly rare. The same Antwerp press published Thomas Abell, Catherine of Aragon's chaplain's *Invicta Veritas*, an English response to the *Determinations*, another Englishman, possibly Thomas Elyot's *Non esse neque divino neque naurae iure prohibitum* against the *Gravissimae Censurae*, and *Parasceue*, a refutation of the *Glasse*.<sup>2</sup> Cochlaeus answered Morison's *Apomaxis*, which itself refuted one of his earlier anti-Henrician works.<sup>3</sup> Other publications criticised Henry's government, countering official arguments and occasionally referencing government books, but were not specific responses, such as John Fisher's 1530 Latin work about Henry's Great Matter.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Reginald Pole's *De unitate* attacked Sampson's *Oratio*'s arguments but 'contemptuously

---

<sup>1</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 208-9.

<sup>2</sup> Rex, 'Redating', pp. 25-6. Chapuys seemingly attempted to persuade Cornelius Agrippa to answer the *Gravissimae/Determinations*. See: *LP V* Appendix 13, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Sowerby, *Reform*, pp. 53-6.

<sup>4</sup> J. Fisher, *De causa matrimonii* (Alcalá de Henares, 1530). He wrote a reply to the *Gravissimae censurae*, but this may never have been printed. See: R. Rex, 'John Fisher', *ODNB*.

dismissed' Gardiner's *De vera obedientia*, as it was not conceived as a direct refutation of official works, but as a statement of Pole's position, requested by and sent to Henry, and not immediately printed.<sup>5</sup> These oppositional works represented disputes among academics, with only Abell publishing in English, rather than attempts to influence the wider English population.<sup>6</sup>

The limited amount of official Edwardian propaganda offered less scope for printed responses, but certainly Bodrigan's *Epitome* seemingly received a Scottish reply, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, printed in Paris.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, although Marian exiles seemingly targeted different segments of the English population,<sup>8</sup> there was apparently little emphasis on refuting official works since they 'almost always' published first on important issues,<sup>9</sup> and again because of limited official output. Furthermore, Theodore Beza's 1554 answer to Northumberland's recantation was in French for a foreign audience.<sup>10</sup>

In Elizabeth's reign, however, opponents, like officials, considered answering books important, believing that anything unanswered could be believed;<sup>11</sup> in itself, a tacit admission that government print carried authority and could be effective. Although some refutations of theological works echoed the debates between academics seen in earlier periods,<sup>12</sup> Persons' correspondence reveals how deliberately the Jesuits refuted official books with the intention of reaching a wide English audience. In August 1581 he informed Alfonso Agazzari, rector of the English college in Rome, that a secret English press ensured that 'the heretics' could not publish anything 'without its being almost immediately attacked most vigorously'. A response to anti-Jesuit books by William Charke and Meredith Hanmer allegedly appeared within ten days, charging them 'with so many lies that both they

---

<sup>5</sup> Mayer, 'Pole'.

<sup>6</sup> Admittedly according to Chapuys, Henry was still eager to destroy all copies of Abel's book. If it had not been forbidden, 'people might have been influenced by it'. See: *CSPS IV* ii 986.

<sup>7</sup> King, *Literature*, p. 468.

<sup>8</sup> E.J. Baskerville, 'John Ponet in Exile: a Ponet Letter to John Bale', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), pp. 443, 445-7.

<sup>9</sup> Baskerville, *Bibliography*, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> A. Pettegree, 'The Latin Polemic of the Marian Exiles', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform* (Oxford, 1991), p. 314.

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 41-2.

<sup>12</sup> Questier, *Conversion*, p. 15; Ryan, 'Controversy', pp. 142-3; Walsham, 'Spider', pp. 166-70.

and their followers were mightily ashamed'.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Persons answered Nicholls' *Recantation*, deemed 'a signal success by the heretics', 'almost within a month',<sup>14</sup> simultaneously challenging its claims and explaining the pope's and cardinals' true activities. Consequently the 'heretics' regretted providing 'the necessary occasion' for this response, which prompted 'very many people' to 'distrust their own side and attach themselves to ours'.<sup>15</sup> Persons also explained how priests distributed these books to 'reach the hands of all'. Books were brought to London, divided among priests, and 'issued at exactly the same time to all parts of the kingdom'.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, in September 1584 Persons informed fellow Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira that English books sent to England included some 'in answer to the calumnies with which the heretics assail us'.<sup>17</sup> In December, Persons told Agazzari that Allen's *Modest defence* answered *The Execution of Justice* so well that 'the heretics' regretted writing it, claiming that Leicester had reprehended Cecil for doing so, prompting Cecil to write *Leicester's Commonwealth* in revenge.<sup>18</sup> Read thought this indicative of Persons' 'imperfect' 'sources of information'.<sup>19</sup> In this and other cases Persons was probably too optimistic, but the beliefs that official books needed answering and that this could be done effectively are significant,<sup>20</sup> and probably account for other Catholic responses.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Hicks, *Letters*, pp. 83-4. Charke and Hanmer refuted this response. Ford characterises both of Hanmer's books as semi-official despite Barker not printing them. Persons answered these in 1582, drawing a further response, perhaps by Charke, printed at Cambridge in 1586 by Thomas Thomas. See: Charke, *Answer*; Idem., *Replie*; Idem., *A treatise against the Defense of the censure* (Cambridge, 1586); Hanmer, *Bragge*; Idem., *The Iesuites banner* (1581); R. Persons, *A brief censure* (Stonor Park, 1581); Idem., *A defence of the censure* (Rouen, 1582); A. Ford, 'Meredith Hanmer.', *ODNB*.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholls, *Recantation*; R. Persons, *A discouerie of I. Nicols* (Stonor Park, 1581). This also answered: Nicholls, *Oration*.

<sup>15</sup> Hicks, *Letters*, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>19</sup> Read, 'Cecil', p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> Persons' faith in print's potential was equally evident when preparing for the Armada, and Allen likewise thought it effective. See: *CSPS Simancas IV* 648; G. Mattingly, 'William Allen and Catholic Propaganda in England', in G. Berthoud (ed.), *Aspects de la Propaganda Religieuse* (Geneva, 1957), pp. 331, 333.

<sup>21</sup> For example: *A treatise of treasons* (Louvain, 1572); T. Fitzherbert, *A defence of the Catholyke cause* (Antwerp, 1602); CP142/158, fo. 159<sup>f</sup>. Some drafted and/or planned responses were seemingly unpublished, but nevertheless demonstrated a disposition to counter government print. See: *CSPS Simancas III* 426; SP15/29, fo. 55<sup>f</sup>.

More significantly for this thesis, official books were also challenged in manuscript responses written by people resident in England. On 6 July 1582, a sexton found a ‘seditious pamphlett’ on the door of the church porch of St Giles, Cripplegate.<sup>22</sup> It was passed via the minister to Dr John Hammond, who sent it to attorney general John Popham, thinking he might be able to identify the handwriting. Popham sent it to Walsingham, saying that it showed ‘what affeccyon these evill dysposed people Beare towards her Mate’. The document was entitled, ‘A Censure vpon the Answeres of *master* Bosgrave and *master* Orton sett forth in prynt’. It said that ‘a late declaration publyshed by autorytye of the answeres to certeyne articles made by the men of god lastly executed’ suggested that James Bosgrave and Henry Orton ‘made their answeres quyte opposit vnto the others’, and consequently were spared execution by Elizabeth’s ‘gratyouse favour’.<sup>23</sup> This was *A Particular Declaration* (1582).<sup>24</sup> This showed that when asked the ‘bloody questions’, most priests either took the pope’s side or were non-committal, but Bosgrave and Orton wholly supported Elizabeth.<sup>25</sup> The manuscript’s anonymous author said that, ‘beinge a catholyke and havinge redd the pamphett *over & over*’, they pondered these different answers and decided that it was ‘very vnlykly, that they who have suffered so muche for the catholyke cause, shold make so great a slypp in the protestation therof’. Therefore, although the answers ‘be sett downe in prynt and vnder the testimonie of grate men’, the author believed that Bosgrave and Orton were ‘wrongfully chardged’.<sup>26</sup>

The author then outlined their reasons. First, it was ‘not an vnwounded thinge that catholykes should be belyed in prynt’, as shown by ‘every booke’, a recent anti-Catholic proclamation, and ‘especially’ John Nicholls’ books. These were ‘prynted by autoritye’ but lied to discredit Catholics, as proved ‘by his owne confession, as *master* Kyrbye reported att hys deathe’. This referred to Luke Kirby’s claim that Nicholls had visited him and ‘denied that, which before he had affirmed in his booke’.<sup>27</sup> The

---

<sup>22</sup> Citing this case, Walsham suggested that printed books and manuscripts were left ‘in reformed places of worship, as a hint to convert and a kind of Trojan horse’. See: Walsham, ‘Preachers’, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> SP12/154, fos. 95<sup>r</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> *Particular*, A2<sup>r</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> SP12/154, fo. 97<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Allen, *Historie*, B3<sup>r</sup>. The author probably attended the execution, as it is likely that the manuscript was written before Allen’s book, which related this execution was printed and distributed.

author also complained about Anthony Munday's *The English Romayne Lyfe* (1582), which they must have read promptly, it only being entered into the Stationers' Register on 21 June.<sup>28</sup> On page sixteen, Munday discussed a priest who had a list of councillors with specific punishments allotted to each one; the author thought this so improbable that wise men would deem it 'a malytiouse imagination of hys owne brayne', but 'the matter is tollerated in prynt by the aduise and iudgment of wourshipfull and lerned men as he hym selfe sayeth'.<sup>29</sup> The author then quoted *A Particular Declaration's* preface, which said that Campion and others were 'condemned vpon there sundry wrytinges, letters and confessions and by other manifest profes fownd guyltye of highe treason', arguing that this was 'notoriously proved false in the arraignment'. It was equally shown by the government's 'practise' of offering to pardon anyone who confessed their treason. When they declared their innocence at their executions, nothing could be produced to the contrary except 'answers to certeyne articles' which did not 'conteyne matters of treason on there partes (as yt is falsly pretended in the said preface)'. Given this propensity for lying, 'yt is no marvell to see them misreport the answers of two in that number'.<sup>30</sup>

The author claimed that 'yt imboldenethe them to defame' Bosgrave and Orton, who were both in the Tower, isolated and kept from 'intelligence of there slaunders', with 'no meanes to acqyute them therof'. This was why so many were kept in the Tower: so that 'they may alwayes have some, whome they may freely infame, to colour there bloudye practises vpon them and others'. As these two were already condemned they would have no chance to clear their names except at execution, when they would be interrupted. Moreover, 'yt is a common practyse amongst them to make report of Catholykes answeres' by 'alteringe the wordes and misconstruinge the meaninge'.<sup>31</sup>

The author then argued that Bosgrave's alleged answers were false because he found little favour since being examined, remaining imprisoned. Supporting the government did have the benefit of

---

<sup>28</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, II, i, p. 413.

<sup>29</sup> A. Munday, *The English Romayne lyfe* (1582), C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> SP12/154, fo. 97<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 97<sup>r-v</sup>.

avoiding execution though; Bosgrave and Orton were ultimately banished in January 1585.<sup>32</sup> The author also argued that when ministers visited the condemned priests, Sir Owen Hopton did not let Bosgrave see them, ‘fearinge perhaps least he shold vtter to them, wherby those answeres myght be knowen not to be hys’. As for Orton, ‘after hys answeres gyven to those artycles’, at least thirty people heard him ‘detest all there heresydes & protest him selfe redde to dye for the catholyke faith’. At this time ‘the ministers came to warne hym to dye’, which they probably would not have done ‘yf those printed answeres had ben then devysed’. The author’s suggestion here that Bosgrave’s answers were forged before the ministers visited and Orton’s after is questionable, although it is curious that the two men were seemingly treated differently, regardless of whether or not their answers were genuine. The author then claimed that Hopton’s son subsequently told Orton that he was glad that he was complying. Orton was ‘much moved’ by this, ‘stoutly’ replying ‘I knowe not what yow meane’, and that ‘I was never farder of frome yor religion then I am att this present’. The author concluded that Bosgrave and Orton never made the printed answers – at least not in ‘suche wordes and suche sense as they be reported in prynt’.<sup>33</sup>

The document highlights official propaganda’s inability to influence a government opponent, who assumed that the portrayal of two Catholics siding with the government was fictitious. Conversely, the speed with which the censure reached the authorities demonstrates others’ respect for official publications and their low tolerance for such responses. Furthermore, this manuscript shows that not only Protestants and ardent Catholic polemicists read official, anti-Catholic books; so too did ordinary Catholics.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> SP12/176/1, fo. 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> SP12/154, fo. 97<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Skwarczynski considered the author ‘undoubtedly well educated and a good lawyer’. See: J. Skwarczynski, ‘Elsinore 1580: John Rogers and James Bosgrave’, *Recusant History*, 16 (1982), p. 9.

Publications explaining the popular earl of Essex's execution also prompted critical manuscript responses.<sup>35</sup> One, dated 30 May 1601, was entitled 'a letter to Mr A. Bacon concerning the Earl of Essex'. The recipient had apparently heard 'manie straunge Reportes' regarding Essex's confession which touched his honour, and therefore wanted 'to receive some satisfaction concerning the same'. The author obliged, villifying Essex's chaplain, Abdias Ashton, by suggesting that he manipulated Essex into confessing. Although accused of seeking the crown, Essex ultimately admitted his intention to be 'the setling of the succession by Act of Parliament on the K. of Scotland'.<sup>36</sup> Hunt noted that this 'reinterpretation of Essex's death' as an attempt to ensure a Protestant succession was intended both to 'salvage his reputation' and as 'a means of articulating profound but unspoken anxieties about the succession'.<sup>37</sup>

This document's origins are somewhat obscure,<sup>38</sup> and whilst offering a different interpretation to the official printed accounts, it is unclear if it was a response to them.<sup>39</sup> Yet, either this account or others like it prompted a defence by Ashton, who wrote to Anthony Wotton, another of Essex's chaplains, on 3 June 1601.<sup>40</sup> Although 'vnderhand speeches' circulated that he had persuaded Essex to an 'vnreasonable' confession, he claimed to have acted as a 'faithful Chaplyne', describing his actual dealings with Essex. Yet, historians demonstrate that Ashton also challenged the official accounts of Essex's death. To Wotton, Ashton denied knowledge of a statement that Essex had apparently written, presumably the confession that Barlow discussed in his sermon. More significantly, in another document he described why he signed some articles 'at the Counsell table', explaining how he interpreted them to mean considerably less than the government did. But the latter made considerable

---

<sup>35</sup> Numerous scholars have discussed these manuscripts. See: Gajda, *Essex*, p. 46; Hunt, 'Tuning', pp. 103-4; B. Langston, 'Essex and the Art of Dying', *HLQ*, 13 (1950), pp. 122-4; F. Levy, 'The Theatre and the Court in the 1590s', in J.A. Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 292-4.

<sup>36</sup> Bodleian MS Rawlinson D1175, fos. 100<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Hunt, 'Tuning', p. 103.

<sup>38</sup> Langston suggested that rather than being a letter to Anthony Bacon, a spy in Essex's intelligence network, it was a letter from Bacon to Henry Wotton in Florence, dating instead to 30 March since Bacon died before 30 May. See: Langston, 'Essex', p. 123.

<sup>39</sup> Barlow's sermon was entered into the Stationers' Register on 18 March; if the letter was written on 30 May then the author potentially referred to the published version. See: Arber, *Transcript*, III, p. 69.

<sup>40</sup> This probably suggests that 30 May is the correct date for the Bacon letter; otherwise Ashton took over two months to answer his critics, assuming that he was addressing this particular account.

use of them, being printed in Bacon's pamphlet and discussed by Barlow.<sup>41</sup> What has not been fully stressed, however, is how blatant Ashton's challenge was, explicitly invoking Bacon's official book and questioning how this presented these articles.<sup>42</sup> Ashton explained that the council gave him a document entitled 'in the later end of the booke, My lo confession, written and subscribed with the doctors hand'. Ashton told the council that 'the substances of this is true', and therefore signed it. Bacon's work prints a five-point document headed 'The Earle of Essex his Confession to three Ministers', with Ashton's name appearing at the end. Ashton then transcribed each point almost exactly as they appeared in Bacon's pamphlet, adding his interpretations. He justified signing these because he considered himself 'in dutye bounde to the gouernors of the land', 'not then knowinge what vse they would make of it'. Considering the close connection to Bacon's work, Ashton's statement that his justification was prompted because 'some are offended with me and mistake the articles whereto I sett my hande' indicates a more widespread negative reaction to this official pamphlet.<sup>43</sup>

Hunt correctly viewed this incident as evidence of the government's failure 'in imposing their own interpretation of events', since even 'one of their key witnesses' queried the official line. Even before this Barlow's sermon allegedly offended the audience and sparked rumours that he had displeased the authorities which the printed version failed to quench: the diarist John Manningham claimed in April 1602 that Elizabeth had ordered that Barlow not enter 'hir presence' to avoid being reminded of Essex.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, in February 1602 Barlow referenced attending Elizabeth 'at prayers' when asking for Cecil's help to obtain the deanery of St Paul's. He also suggested implicitly that Cecil owed him: he did 'daily receave most vile & contumelious returns for *that* service wherewith yor Honor principally possessed me, & for *which* all other employed therein have some wayes bene regarded, only my poore self excepted, vpon whom the least burthen did not allight'.<sup>45</sup> Pro-Essex sentiment evidently

---

<sup>41</sup> FSL V.b.214, fos. 266<sup>r</sup>-268<sup>r</sup>, 270<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>r</sup>; Bacon, *Declaration*, Q4<sup>r-v</sup>; Barlow, *Sermon*, D1<sup>r</sup>-E1<sup>v</sup>; Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 44-6; Hunt, 'Tuning', pp. 103-4; Levy, 'Theatre', pp. 292-4.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> FSL V.b.214, fos. 266<sup>r</sup>-268<sup>r</sup>; Bacon, *Declaration*, Q4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Hunt, 'Tuning', pp. 102-4; Nowak, 'Propaganda', pp. 39, 45.

<sup>45</sup> CP181/102, fo. 102<sup>r</sup>.

remained,<sup>46</sup> and Ashton's manuscripts highlight the strange dynamics that resulted: challenging the government was better than appearing disloyal to this convicted traitor. Ashton stressed that if he truly believed that any of the signed articles was false, he 'had rather a thowsande tymes acknowledge my folly and rashnes in beinge overshott in a sodaine subscripcown of which I neuer dreamed, afore it was put into my hande, then ioyne with any in layinge the least wrongfull ymputacon vppon my good lorde', to whom he would always be bound.<sup>47</sup> Ferdinando Gorges attempted to walk the same tightrope in a June 1601 document refuting accusations that he had been purposefully employed to 'practize' Essex's 'ruine'.<sup>48</sup> Arguably this evidence shows propaganda's limits: many people reacted according to their pre-conceived ideas, refusing to believe the earl guilty of treason.

Individuals also sometimes reported that government books were badly received. In December 1533, Chapuys told Charles V that the *Articles* had been distributed at court, calling it 'full of malice and venom', and without 'doctrine or foundation'.<sup>49</sup> In January, he reported the Scottish ambassador's opinion that if his king's councillors had done this, they would have justifiably been burnt alive. Chapuys stressed that Henry's 'chief purpose' in publishing the work was to 'better justify himself in the eyes of his people, and gain their favour', but 'instead of conciliating them, he has stirred up even those among his subjects who were a little contaminated by Lutheranism'.<sup>50</sup> Whilst probably well informed about court opinion,<sup>51</sup> Chapuys' negative assessment of the book's broader reception is less reliable, as he continually stressed the unpopularity of Henry's policies in order to convince Charles to invade England.<sup>52</sup> Spanish ambassadors to Elizabeth's court frequently expressed their dislike of

---

<sup>46</sup> For other indications of this see: P. Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> Series, 1 (1991), pp. 43-69; Hunt, 'Tuning', pp. 104-5.

<sup>47</sup> FSL v.b.214, fos. 267<sup>v</sup>-268<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> BL Cotton Julius F/VI, fos. 445<sup>r</sup>-452<sup>r</sup>. One charge he refuted concerned the releasing of Essex's hostages, which evidently generated debate. At the July 1601 Hertfordshire assizes, a man was acquitted of saying in March that Essex 'shett upp' three men in his house, appointing a guard. Before he returned they were released, but if Essex had had them, 'all would have bynn well quickly'. See: J.S. Cockburn (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records. Hertfordshire Indictments, Elizabeth I* (1975), p. 165.

<sup>49</sup> *CSPS* IV ii 1165.

<sup>50</sup> *CSPS* V 1. Chapuys here revealed his dislike of *Defensor Pacis* and *De vera differentia* too.

<sup>51</sup> The book generated criticism in Brussels too. See: SP1/82, fo. 117<sup>r-v</sup>; *LP* VII 199.

<sup>52</sup> Bernard, *Reformation*, pp. 212-3.

official books,<sup>53</sup> but provided less information about what English people thought. In November 1588, Mendoza told Philip that he had been informed that none of the Spanish allegedly taken prisoner had reached London, provoking ‘some suspicion’ that this news was false, even though Elizabeth had ordered its printing in Cecil’s *Copie of a letter*.<sup>54</sup> Some therefore doubted this pamphlet’s veracity, but this cannot be exaggerated: shortly after, Antonio De Vega wrote from England that the English ‘make people believe what they like’, implying the government’s success.<sup>55</sup>

Government contacts sometimes related negative responses. In May 1535, Thomas Bedyll informed Cromwell that the Charterhouse monks had returned books that he had given them ‘without any word or writyng’.<sup>56</sup> When Bedyll asked the procurator, Exmew, whether he and other senior members had ‘perused the titles of the bokes’, Exmew replied that they had, but ‘saw nothing in thaim, wherby they wer moved to alter thair opinion’. Similarly, Jasper Fylloll reported that whilst many monks had initially accepted William Marshall’s books, agreeing to read them if their president allowed it, three days later all but one returned them on their president’s instructions. Although one monk, John Rochester, was ‘so fayre entreyde to rede oon’ that he kept a book for four or five days, he ultimately burned it.<sup>57</sup> Since government representatives hand-delivered these books, their rejection was particularly pointed.

The government was seemingly successful in distributing books to the 1536 rebels, but these proved counter-productive. On 12 January 1537, Robert Aske informed Henry VIII that people in the north doubted the validity of Henry’s pardon ‘by reason of a late boke answering the furst v artacles now in print wich is a great rumir emonges them’: Henry’s *Ansvvere* to the Yorkshire rebels. Aske ultimately warned that further rebellion might occur.<sup>58</sup> Lord Darcy, writing from Templehurst a week later, similarly claimed that ‘a printed bowke’ was one thing that ‘the Comons’ made ‘gruchynges att,

---

<sup>53</sup> See for example: *CSPS* Simancas II 287, III 175, IV 356.

<sup>54</sup> *CSPS* Simancas IV 480; Cecil, *Mendoza*, C2<sup>f</sup>, E1<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> *CSPS* Simancas IV 485. De Vega, predictably given his contacts, distrusted much of the output.

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 54.

<sup>57</sup> BL Cotton Cleopatra E/IV, fos. 43<sup>v</sup>-44<sup>f</sup>, VI, fo. 259<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> SP1/114, fo. 69<sup>r-v</sup>.

& haith all gentilmen in great Joleses'.<sup>59</sup> These reports suggest that government print further exacerbated the tensions in the period before further rebellion erupted. The king's books against the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rebels were probably liable to offend, with Elton characterising them as 'a vigorous denunciation of the impudence of the commons' in rebelling, with 'a total refusal to listen to any of their complaints'.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, although not preventing rebellion, official books were considered authoritative, causing trouble because they were viewed as potentially more legitimate representations of Henry's position than his previous contradictory assurances.

Anti-rebel works were not even universally popular in the south. In 1537 Thomas Reynton, in Oxford, told Robert Hachet in Durham that 'they haue a boike in prynt vpon youe all that be notherone men that ye be all trators to the kyng'.<sup>61</sup> Reynton's other news revealed his sympathies, claiming that at home 'theis sotherone bois' confidently promised to 'bett your notherone cottes', but 'begain to weippe' when they 'shulde haue commyd heder wardes', and claimed that 'here a man may not speke on worde but he schall be hangyd vp by & by'.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore in London, Sir George Throckmorton and Sir William Essex wanted more information about the rebels' demands, both saying that they had only read one or both of the king's books answering them. Both obtained copies of rebel documents, seeing nothing improper in circulating them, but they burned their copies when they learned that the government did. They reasoned that officials would forgive them, since 'the matter is so commen', and 'theffecte off them is awnserid yn the printid boke agenst the rebelles yn lincolneschere'.<sup>63</sup> Government propaganda thus stimulated curiosity and could legitimate, rather than render unnecessary, the reading of rebel texts.

---

<sup>59</sup> SP1/114, fo. 189<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Elton, *Policy*, p. 200.

<sup>61</sup> Several governmental pamphlets fit this description. See above, p. 32.

<sup>62</sup> SP1/117, fo. 219<sup>r-v</sup>. The endorsement, 'Tho. Rayntons lre boldening the Rebelles in the North', suggests that he was in trouble for writing it.

<sup>63</sup> *LP* XI 1405; SP1/113, fos. 60<sup>r</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>. Shagan noted rebel articles' wide circulation and Throckmorton's and Essex's surprise at the official attitude, but does not discuss how this related to official propaganda. See: Shagan, 'Pilgrimage', pp. 46-8

Critics of official books were frequently denounced and investigated. In April 1535, Cranmer examined Thomas King, vicar of the chapel of St Andrew's, St Albans.<sup>64</sup> The previous Michaelmas, King allegedly confiscated a book defending the Boleyn marriage from Walter, a 'soule preest' of King's church, calling it heresy and telling Walter not to read such books, keeping it from him 'byforce' until the archdeacon made him return it. King denied this, but admitted that before the Boleyn marriage and Cranmer's consecration as archbishop, he saw Walter reading the *Glasse* in the street, when 'the lady dowageress cam ryding thesame daye to Saint Albanys'. King told Walter 'that it was more mete for hym to looke upon gospills or Apostills', but obscurely claimed that he never took 'thesame booke from hym byfore, nor kepte thesame from hym by the space of a quarter of an houre, but gentally delyuerd it vnto hym *without* any compulsion'.<sup>65</sup>

King was clearly ambivalent about the *Glasse*. His assertion that it should not be read in front of Catherine of Aragon indicates familiarity with its arguments. As some thought the pamphlet authored by Henry,<sup>66</sup> this was a powerful statement, reflecting Catherine's continued popularity.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, the other complaints made against him, and his answers, show that King rejected the *Glasse*'s arguments concerning limits on papal dispensing powers. He was accused of speaking repeatedly against Henry's 'moost weightie cause' shortly after Anne's coronation, claiming that the marriage was 'naught' and that 'lady Katherin is the true Quene'.<sup>68</sup> The previous Lent, he allegedly said that the Boleyn marriage was 'contrary bothe to godes lawe & the lawes of holy Church'. These accusations were not wholly false. King admitted calling Catherine the true queen both before and after Anne's coronation, and saying that the Boleyn marriage was 'not good because the pope dyd dispense *with* the first *pretended* mariage'. Similarly, he conceded saying during Lent that 'if the popes poore &

---

<sup>64</sup> Cranmer had seemingly already interviewed King. In March 1535, Thomas Skipworth complained to Cranmer and Cromwell about King's behaviour since the priest had returned from an examination by Cranmer. Skipworth's criticisms do not form the basis of the articles alleged in this examination, so that King was presumably denounced again. See: SP1/91, fos. 93<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> SP6/7, fo. 2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> See above, pp. 53, 162.

<sup>67</sup> T.G. Elston, 'Widow Princess or Neglected Queen? Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII, and English Public Opinion, 1533-1536', in C. Levin, R. Bucholz (eds.), *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln, 2009), pp. 16-30.

<sup>68</sup> Clark claimed that King had been Catherine's chaplain, but supplies the wrong reference. See: J.G. Clark, 'Reformation and Reaction at St Albans Abbey, 1530-58', *EHR*, 115 (2000), pp. 301-2.

auctorite be good (whiche he thought then was goode)', then the Boleyn marriage was 'not good', again because the pope dispensed with the 'first pretended matrimony'. He denied, however, saying that the Boleyn marriage contradicted 'godes lawe & the laws of holy churche'. In further response to one article, King admitted that when Thomas Skipworth asked his opinion about Cranmer's 'processe' at Dunstable concerning the annulment, he replied that he thought the law had not been followed; the 'common voice' was that Henry was already married before the sentence of the annulment was given.<sup>69</sup>

This incident also depicts the high regard with which official books could be treated, including by those who disliked them. Reading it publicly when Catherine was riding past was very pointed, whilst King stressed that he never confiscated it. Partly he was responding to the initial accusation that he had confiscated a book from Walter on another occasion, but partly it reflected his recognition that the *Glasse* was an authoritative book that he could not condemn. Nevertheless, King was not denounced for his actions regarding the *Glasse*, and his examination concerned incidents dating to the previous Michaelmas, so that he potentially enjoyed sympathy within his community. Signs that 'St Albans might become a focus for protest' began in 1533, whilst the monastery likely influenced King, who had close ties to the institution, and other clergymen in their opposition to change.<sup>70</sup> This probably worried the government: King was asked who in St Albans talked about Henry's marriage or the pope's power, and made to promise to notify Cranmer if he heard 'any communication' against the Boleyn marriage or in the pope's favour.<sup>71</sup>

The *Articles* also provided a focus for clerical criticism. In 1534, Dan Thomas Tye, a monk of St John the Baptist's, Colchester, informed Cromwell that the subprior, Dan John Francis, had declared that

---

<sup>69</sup> SP6/7, fos. 2<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>. King's examination and Skipworth's letters indicate his opposition to royal policy more generally. See: SP1/91, fos. 93<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup>. Several references to Skipworth in King's answers suggest that he may have informed on King in another letter from which these articles were drawn up. There is no evidence that Raff Rowlett reported King (contra Clark, 'Reformation', p. 304).

<sup>70</sup> Clark, 'Reformation', pp. 301-2, 315-6.

<sup>71</sup> SP6/7, fo. 4<sup>r-v</sup>. King probably went unpunished, perhaps because he claimed that since the abbot of Saint Albans had told him that papal power had been abrogated in England, he had accepted that this 'standeth well with the laws of god'. This rings somewhat hollow given what he admitted and Skipworth's subsequent letters.

‘by the occasyon of a new boke of certayne articles’, the king and council were ‘all heritikes, wheras before he sayth they wer but Sysmatykes’, and that ‘he wolld prove it vpon the payne of losyng hys tonge’. Francis could never ‘here hys grace or any of hys spoke good of’ without ‘dysdaynenusly vtteryng hys mynd’. Tye also complained to the duke of Norfolk, similarly accusing Francis of ‘seducyous & slanderus words’ against the king and council.<sup>72</sup>

This latter letter prompted an investigation, with examinations taken in April before the abbot, prior, and others. Tye gave a similar account as in his letter to Cromwell: at supper on 22 January, when discussing ‘a new boke contaynyng IX Articles’ published by the council with ‘the kynges gracious fauor and licens’, Francis, ‘vtterly reprovynge’ it, said that ‘the putters forthe therof and also the maynteyners and Concenters therto’ were all heretics, whereas before they were only schismatics, and ‘he wolde proue it vpon the payne of losyng his tonge’. Dan Thomas Clare and Dan John Islip said much the same thing, whilst Dan John Flingant affirmed that Francis spoke ‘heynus wourds’ against the king and council. A fourth witness did not hear all that was said, but remembered Tye telling Francis that ‘yt was not hys part to medyll nother to talke nother to *commyn* of no suche matters’. Francis, however, told a different story: the other monks were discussing books, including the *Articles*, and since they would ‘nott sease talking butt undiscreetly multiplied as they wold sett all at havokk’, he remembered what he had read in books by ‘saynt Thomas’ and Peter Lombard, and ‘sayd in generall’, not speaking of the king or council specifically, that all who used ‘sinister way of lyvyng’ and taught ‘nawghthy lernyng’ were schismatics, and if ‘they wold not be reformed by cristys cherche’ then they were heretics. He intended no harm, but only wanted to silence them.<sup>73</sup>

Francis’ isolation makes his version of events less convincing. Furthermore, this was apparently not a one-time incident. Tye accused Francis of saying that when the king was last abroad Anne Boleyn ‘folowyd his ars as the doge followith his masters ars’, an accusation supported by Islip and Dan John

---

<sup>72</sup> SP1/82, fo. 131<sup>r</sup>, 2/p, fo. 151<sup>r</sup>. The second letter was from a Thomas Essex. *LP* suggests that Essex and Tye are the same person, which is probably correct given similarities both in handwriting and content. See: *LP* VII pp. 686, 762.

<sup>73</sup> SP2/p, fos. 151<sup>r</sup>-153<sup>r</sup>. The examinants, including Francis, did largely agree on the discussion preceding that about the *Articles*.

Pepper. The latter also claimed that in February 1534, Francis said that he would prove that those who consented to Henry's latest marriage were heretics or he would 'lose hys hede'. Dan William Page similarly accused Francis of saying that as many as had consented to the marriage 'wer fyrste sysmatykys and now herytykys and that he wulde *proue* and laye hys hed on yt'. As the *Articles* stressed the Boleyn marriage's legality,<sup>74</sup> this again showed Francis' rejection of it, particularly given the consistency in his alleged words. Francis did not answer this final accusation but he denied insulting Anne.<sup>75</sup>

Thus, Francis evidently disliked royal policy, and the *Articles* apparently made him even more critical. Despite knowing that it was official, he accorded it no deference, although he was sensible enough to deny criticising it. But Francis was the exception, not the rule, at the monastery: Tye was so offended that he denounced Francis to two councillors,<sup>76</sup> and another three individuals corroborated his account. This was particularly significant as Colchester was apparently conservative in the 1530s,<sup>77</sup> and as Tye was likely a promoter under Mary.<sup>78</sup> Such was the *Articles*'s authority, then, that even someone who later embodied Marian Catholicism defended it.

The *Articles* seemingly provoked refutations from several clergymen. In July 1534, Friar George Browne informed Cromwell that when he visited the Grey and Black Friars in Beverley, he was told of a Grey Friar, doctor Gwynborne, who had written libels against the king, even presenting one to Henry which was 'directly Agaynste his grace'. Gwynborne's excuse was that 'he had noo knowlege', but when answering Browne's questions he admitted knowing of Anne's coronation and Elizabeth's birth. Browne therefore asked why he wrote 'soo Schamfull A Boke' against the marriage and the *Articles*. Gwynborne answered that he wrote as his conscience served him, evidently undeterred by

---

<sup>74</sup> *Articles*, A3<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> SP2/p, fos. 151<sup>r</sup>-153<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Admittedly Francis' defence hints at tensions within the community, so that personal motives perhaps motivated his denunciation. When the prior was absent Tye ignored a punishment that had been given to him, and because Francis 'rebuked hym' Tye 'increased *with* fury & malice'. See: SP2/p, fo. 153<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> M. Byford, 'The Birth of a Protestant Town: the Process of Reformation in Tudor Colchester, 1530-80', in P. Collinson, J. Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 24. Another Colchester incident is discussed below, pp. 261-2.

<sup>78</sup> *TAMO*, 1563, pp. 1685, 1707, 1784.

the book's official status. When asked if his conscience currently served him to 'for swere all this writing', he affirmed that it did, and was willing to be sworn to the supremacy, but because his writing was 'soo Spitfull' Browne refused to accept his oath until Cromwell had examined him and his writings. He feared that Gwynborne had distributed his writings, and worryingly found 'none soche lernynge' in Gwynbourne's books 'As he hath wrette in this writings'. Gwynborne was 'pourly Bokyde' and 'pourly lernyde', and the writings were 'not his style, But other dothe Consell withe him'. If Gwynborne did receive assistance, this would suggest more widespread displeasure with the *Articles*. Nevertheless, Browne deemed him a 'lunetyck' and the other friars swore oaths, with someone informing Browne about Gwynbourne, altogether suggesting another instance of one dissenter amidst an obedient majority.<sup>79</sup>

The government was equally suspicious of another clergyman who wrote against the *Articles* in 1534, making Doctor of Divinity Friar Thomas Charnock account for gathering 'auctorytys off holly fathers' concerning the pope's supremacy in England.<sup>80</sup> Charnock claimed that he had read the *Articles*, but even though it was printed 'under the name off the kyngs cownsell', he thought it 'men to be done by *these* be cause off the slendernes off the matter'. He reasoned that 'yff ytt were the kyngs wyll and hys cownsell *that this* boke sholde be prentyd', then 'ytt sholde be ratyfyde by the nexte *parlamentt*', with 'the heddys and doctors off all relygyows howsys', particularly those near London, summoned there and warned not to preach or teach against anything 'made by the acte off *parlament*'. Expecting to be called, Charnock gathered authorities, aiming to demonstrate that there should be a 'pryncypall hed in the chyrche off god under whos obediens euery crysten man owgt to lyue', and intending to exhort the king, council, the bishops, 'the comon howse' and all Christians, to 'kepe the unite' of the church 'as we haue hitherto and as crysten nacyons do'. Charnock denied composing his writing 'in reprove off the kyngs grace', or causing it to be printed abroad.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> SP1/85, fo. 35<sup>r</sup>. Although Gwynbourne's change of heart appears doubtful, there was 'no sign of further action'. See: Elton, *Policy*, p. 280.

<sup>80</sup> Charnock's confession was mentioned in Cromwell's remembrances, perhaps signifying its importance. See: *LP VII* 923 xlv.

<sup>81</sup> SP1/82, fo. 204<sup>r</sup>.

Although Elton seemingly accepted this explanation,<sup>82</sup> it appears unconvincing. If Charnock genuinely considered the book unofficial, which seems unlikely given that proclamations and statutes were comparably 'slender', then there was no reason to expect any parliamentary ratification. The idea that this would be necessary if it was official is novel, but perhaps reflected a belief that parliament's role in the break with Rome, acknowledged in official propaganda, had enhanced its status, rendering king and council unable to decide policy alone. Conversely, it is possible that he planned to publish something abroad, which he evidently could not admit given the trouble that this brought others.<sup>83</sup> Either way, his justification was no real defence: his claim that he intended to oppose any parliamentary ratification of the *Articles*, by his reasoning, constituted opposition to the will of king and council. He further demonstrated his opposition to official policy when responding to the accusation that he had said that he would die for the chance to preach at Paul's Cross against the Boleyn marriage. Charnock denied this, admitting only that he might have said (although he could not remember doing so) that he would preach about the unity of the church and taking the pope 'lauffully electe and chosyne and entryng in to hys dygnyte by cryst for the hed off the uniuersall chyrche', 'yff I sholde dy for ytt yff ytt were so *that* I myght be suffered to preche'.<sup>84</sup> Evidently Charnock opposed the changes taking place, remaining unpersuaded by official print.

Rather than being moved to refute the *Articles*, Edward, Dr John London's nephew, strove to imitate it. He told the Council in 1536 that after reading it, and perceiving the pope's 'praerogatyue powar to be renuncyd owt off thys realme', and also learning from St Augustine and St Cyprian that Christ left St Peter equal in authority with the other apostles, he 'dyd not cownte yt suffycyent to beleue thys truthe my sellffe'. Rather, he exhorted others to 'thinquysytyon off the same', and wrote, 'for my excercyse onely that therby I myghte herafter bettar *perswade* yt', 'a lytyll declamation' against the pope's authority, pardons, indulgences, 'interdictyones' and other 'iniuryose doctryns', wherein he 'declaryd hys messyngers, hys instruments and ministers thoro whome he hathe thys longe tyme iniuryosly seducyd the simple comunalte'. Yet, these activities made him 'suspecte': his study was

---

<sup>82</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 208-9.

<sup>83</sup> G.G. Gibbs, 'Thomas Abell', *ODNB*; Rex, 'Fisher'.

<sup>84</sup> SP1/82, fo. 204<sup>r</sup>.

searched and his writing given to Dr London, warden of New College, who subsequently spoke with Edward. London had been told of Edward's 'declamacyone' against the pope, 'full off manye detestable heresyys', which he 'obstinatly' defended. London warned that if Edward maintained his opinions, he would 'not onlye make alle yor fryndes sorye for yow, but alle the worlde also wyll crye owt apone yow'. Whereas Gardiner, during his visitation and since, had rejoiced that the university was free from 'thes nue facyons and heresyys', now he would hear that 'yt ys corruptyd off one off hys owne college to hys great dyscomforte', by one of London's kinsmen, to the warden's 'great schame'. Moreover, when his mother heard 'what an abhomyne heretyke sche hathe to her soone', 'sche wyll neuer eete more brede that schall dow her good' – 'hetherto ther was neuer heretyke off alle owar kyne'. London then told Edward that their 'wellernyd and holy' ancestors could 'not haue erryd this many hundryth yeres', urging him to recall 'how often in tymes paste thes ways hathe bene attemptyd and what ende the authores ther off hat *cume vnto*'. He assured Edward that 'thys worlde wyll not continue longe': Henry had currently 'conceuyd a lytyll malyce' against the pope because he would not condone the Boleyn marriage, but nevertheless would 'were harness on hys owne bake to fyghte agenste suyche heretykes as thow arte'. London threatened that if Edward did not 'make revocatyone' he would be expelled from New College.<sup>85</sup>

The *Articles* powerfully influenced Edward, whose story suggests that London implicitly challenged the work, even if he did not directly criticise it. London, however, having been told by Cromwell about 'the *complaynt* of my kinsman', informed Thomas Bedyll that this was 'vtterly vntrew'. He hoped that Cromwell would consider that since he had written in defence of the marriage and was the second person to take a corporal oath in Oxford 'to mayteyne the same', he 'wold nott be so vnwise to say to thys yong mann any wordes soundyng contrary to myn own penn and corporall oth'. London also hoped that his own credit would be preferred to his nephew's, and trusted in Cromwell's 'great wisdom'. London suggested that Edward had been 'sett onn by hym that laborith for my farme in

---

<sup>85</sup> SP6/6, fo. 21<sup>r-v</sup>. Elton placed this incident in July 1536. See: Elton, *Policy*, pp. 352-4.

hornchurche', but he still needed to find a means 'to be owt of thys suspicion *conceyved* agenst me by such vntrew surmyses', and therefore wanted to ask Cromwell to make him the king's servant.<sup>86</sup>

London's credit was indeed apparently preferred to Edward's. Elton cited this case to show how carefully Cromwell 'sorted information', suggesting that Edward may have invented London's supposed words about the temporary nature of Henry's malice against the pope and the king's determination to fight heretics like his nephew. Bedyll wrote to Cromwell backing London,<sup>87</sup> and the doctor ultimately remained in office after officials 'considered the information and rejected it'.<sup>88</sup> It certainly would have been strange for London to make those comments. Although religious conservatives like London may have hoped that Catherine of Aragon's death in January 1536 would prompt a return to the papal fold, by July this must have seemed unlikely, particularly for a monastic visitor. Nevertheless, it probably remains true that Edward was greatly influenced by the *Articles*, whilst the recognition, either by Edward or the person who encouraged him to denounce London, that the charge of opposing a loyal endorsement of official propaganda could be an effective one is significant in highlighting government print's authority.

Unidentified government books were also insulted. In 1534 Henry Fasted, a Colchester yeoman, told Cromwell that in March he had '*certyn* bokes of the kinges print', possibly including the *Glasse* and the *Articles*,<sup>89</sup> which 'the holy Fathers of the spyrytualtie' refused to read or hear, or allow others to do so. John Wayne, pastor of St James' parish, Colchester, and official to the bishop of London, was particularly guilty, openly preaching against 'thes new bokys', calling them 'naught' and telling his parishioners not to 'meddyle *with* theym'. Fasted brought Wayne these books '*which* the king & his counseyll hath Admytted', asking him to read them in case he had not done so, but Wayne maintained that they were 'naught'. Furthermore, Fasted revealed that Doctor Thystell preached at the Grey Friars in Colchester in Lent, telling people to 'beware of thes new boks for they be naught', comparing them

---

<sup>86</sup> SP1/77, fo. 107<sup>r-v</sup>. Elton argued that London defended himself against accusations of not performing his duty in his capacity as a visitor to the monasteries in another letter directly to Cromwell. See: Elton, *Policy*, p. 353.

<sup>87</sup> Bedyll seemingly forwarded letters that he received from London too. See: SP1/105, fo. 75<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 352-4.

<sup>89</sup> Byford, 'Birth', p. 24; *Ibid.*, p. 209.

to the fig tree which Christ cursed because they had leaves but no fruit. Thystell also prayed that god would send ‘him’ (presumably the king) good counsel, ‘For when the hede ys bade all the body ys the worse’.<sup>90</sup> This incident was potentially very serious: two local clergymen, one connected to John Stokesley, were allegedly preaching against books which Fasted had explicitly highlighted as official. This yeoman’s concern to promote government books does however demonstrate that they reached, and gained acceptance from, people at different levels of society.

Many were also denounced and investigated for attacking privileged books, as the population seemingly followed the examples of Cromwell and Grafton in interpreting this instrument of copyright as royal sanction.<sup>91</sup> This belief was stated explicitly in a 1534 bill of complaint made by villagers of Langham, Essex, against John Vigorouse. The villagers legitimised their grievances, and signalled the issue’s centrality, by prefacing their complaint with the assertion that the king issued books with the ‘royall *privyledge*’ ‘to thentente ... that no man shulde feare but rather be encoragede to occupye them’. Consequently the villagers have ‘bene desirous to reade & heare redde in places & tymes *conuenient soche bokes*’, in order to know god’s will and Henry’s. Because of this, however, ‘and for none other cause’, they were ‘sore vexed’ by ‘one troublesome & disquiet neytboure’, Vigorouse. Among the accusations were that he called two women reading an English primer ‘errant whores’, treating others who read privileged books in similarly ‘spitefull fassyons’ ‘*with* out any other cause geuyn of vs to hym’. The villagers listed this offence among ‘trespasses concernynge both god our prynce and also vs hys subgettes’.<sup>92</sup> Trespass cases often involved property, so such terminology conceptualised privileged books as not only an expression of Henry’s authority, but actually belonging to him in some sense. Evidently the villagers esteemed privileged books, and presented Vigorouse as a regrettable exception in his opposition.

---

<sup>90</sup> SP1/83, fo. 35<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> See above, pp. 47-8. Neville-Sington, whilst recognising this misapprehension, only mentioned the Langham villagers and Grafton mistaking the privilege for official endorsement. See: Neville-Sington, ‘Press’, pp. 592-3.

<sup>92</sup> E36/120, fos. 48<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>f</sup>. Neither Elton, *Policy*, p. 209, nor Reed, ‘Regulation’, pp. 176-7, mentioned this illustrative aspect of the bill of complaint.

Others seemingly shared the Langham villagers' view.<sup>93</sup> In 1534, an 'information' was drawn up against Henry Litherland, vicar of Newark-upon-Trent, accusing him of summoning friars to 'speke agaynst theis Bookes cum privilegio', and telling his parishioners not to read them without 'his councell or the Freres'. A Scottish friar duly called privilege books heretical, claiming that 'if they were true the holy sainte Fraunces is a devil in hell'. The attacks had some impact, causing people to murmur at the denouncer because he had these books.<sup>94</sup> In 1538 William Leveret reported Litherland to Sir John Markham for seditious preaching. Fourth of Leveret's sixteen accusations was that Litherland warned his parishioners to 'take hede' of books issued '*with the kynges priuylege*', so that they were not deceived, 'for I neuer redde them nor se them nye wyll do, for I my selfe neuer regardyd nor set by englishe bokes. In thyes maters he was very longe'. As this sounded to Markham 'to ryse' of a 'corrupte entent', and because Litherland was 'a man euer nooted of that sorte', he informed Cromwell.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, when examined in 1538 as the government investigated the Exeter Conspiracy, John Hansard mentioned that the countess of Salisbury ordered her tenants not to 'occopy' English New Testaments or any other books 'pryvelyged' by the king.<sup>96</sup>

People also complained about being victimised for embracing privileged books. In 1535 Thomas Netter told Cromwell that Ralph Robinson, parson of Brede, Sussex, had confiscated his English psalter, accusing Netter of heresy and having him placed in the stocks. When Robinson asked if 'it be come the to bere suche a boke', Netter explained that it was privileged, implying that he could not be punished because the king approved it. Robinson, however, maintained that the king 'dyd graunte many suche thynges the wyche ys lyttell regardyd and lesse shalbe'.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, in 1534 Wolfe Alarde informed the king of the malice he endured in Calais, suggesting that this was because he was

---

<sup>93</sup> According to Dan John Islip, when the Colchester monks were discussing the *Articles*, either Thomas Clare or John Flingant observed that 'yt came forth *cum priuilegio*', suggesting that they attached importance to the privilege. See above, pp. 255-7.

<sup>94</sup> SP1/82, fo. 205<sup>r</sup>. The friar admittedly claimed that the king 'neuer knew of no suche books', a belief that was not unique. In May 1538 the abbot of Woburn admitted saying that although Cromwell was 'the maintainer of these wretched heretic books that be set forth *cum privilegio regali*, neither the King nor he knows the pestilent doctrine that is in them'. The fact that such denials of official knowledge were considered necessary, however, implicitly suggests that the opposite was commonly believed. See: *LP* XIII i 981.

<sup>95</sup> SP1/130, fos. 138<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>r</sup>. Litherland was ultimately executed for treason in 1538 for continued seditious preaching and open opposition. See: *LP* XII i 537, 741, ii 142, 156.

<sup>96</sup> *LP* XIII ii 817.

<sup>97</sup> SP1/100, fo. 72<sup>r</sup>.

‘a follower of God’s true word’ and had published books ‘privileged by the King’.<sup>98</sup> Likewise in 1538, John Tracher, a Buckinghamshire yeoman, complained to Cromwell about his landlord, Robert Cheyney. Despite Tracher’s faithful tenancy of over twenty-one years, Cheyney ordered him to vacate his land, even making the owner of Tracher’s house issue a similar eviction notice. Tracher protested that this was all because he read the New Testament and ‘other newe books, sett fourth *with* the pryveleage of our souuerain lorde the kinge, for the instruction of himself in goddess laws’.<sup>99</sup> As shown by Cromwell’s attitude,<sup>100</sup> officials took such challenges seriously, believing that privileged books should be respected. In June 1534, Friar John Hilsey began pursuing two observant friars in Bristol who, among other things, ‘rayle’ at privileged books, ‘callyng them heresys & heretcyks *that* sett them forthe’. They were finally arrested in Cardiff and sent to London, where they asked for Henry’s mercy.<sup>101</sup>

The phenomenon of people both insulting and defending government books continued in Elizabeth’s reign, albeit it less frequently came to the government’s attention. In January 1572, the mayor of Norwich informed the mayor and justices of the University of Cambridge that John Edam had recently been arrested for speaking seditious words, and claimed to have heard them from a Clarehall scholar. Edam alleged that when riding to Thetford, he was joined by the scholar, who spoke against Robert Dudley. In February, Roger Kelk, vicechancellor of Cambridge, told Cecil that on receiving the letter, he and his colleagues examined and imprisoned the scholar, Jon Bonyfellow. According to him, when staying at Attleborough he met Edam, who praised Norfolk at dinner, ‘saying that he hath not hard that enye man was able to *convynce* hym’. Bonyfellow replied that he ‘had hard hym spoken agaynst in the pulput and also had a boke made agaynst the duke and the quene of Scottes’, and a copy of Norfolk’s letter of submission which was sent to Elizabeth. This book was probably *Salutem in Christo* (1571), here used by Bonyfellow as evidence of Norfolk’s guilt.<sup>102</sup> The next day, however,

---

<sup>98</sup> LP VII 585.

<sup>99</sup> SP1/136, fo. 27<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> See above, p. 47.

<sup>101</sup> SP1/85, fos. 21<sup>r</sup>, 77<sup>r</sup>, SP1/88, fo. 84<sup>r</sup>. Hilsey’s eagerness to apprehend them potentially stemmed from a fear of friars’ influence. See: R. Rex, ‘The Friars in the English Reformation’, in Marshall, Ryrie, *Beginnings*, 38-40.

<sup>102</sup> R.G., *Salutem*. Another possibility was Norton’s less current, *Discourse* (1569).

when riding to Thetford, Edam ‘demaunded’ what Bonyfellow’s opinion of Norfolk was; he replied that ‘he could not tell what to saye seing he had suche knowledge & informacion as he spake of at supper the night before’. Then Edam persuaded Bonyfellow: the letter of submission Bonyfellow had was ‘not of the dukys owne making’, and Norfolk had many enemies, particularly Leicester. Edam was effective, as Bonyfellow ‘thought it was trewe’. Then the conversation moved on to Leicester, with Bonyfellow claiming that it was not he who spoke seditiously against the earl but Edam. In addition, Edam apparently claimed that Cecil was a ‘great enemye of the dukys’, that many in Norfolk would love the queen if she would not value Leicester and Cecil so highly, and that the queen had no nobles in her council, ‘but such as pleased my lorde of Leyciter’. Bonyfellow did not want to discuss such matters, but Edam ‘bedd hym be bold, for there was none but they twoe’. Continuing, he predicted a Norfolk rising if the duke was executed, or that Norfolk would take his revenge if released.<sup>103</sup>

Thus Bonyfellow, presenting himself as a loyal subject discomfited by this conversation, admitted that Edam persuaded him from his initial trust in the anti-Norfolk book. Assuming that the book was *Salutem in Christo*, which appeared without any information on author or printer, it is possible that this potentially loyal subject’s trust in this work was undermined so easily because he considered the book unofficial, suggesting that there was a downside to the government’s plausible deniability strategy.<sup>104</sup> Whatever the reason, the incident highlights this work’s inability to convince even those who were apparently predisposed to support the government. Considering this, it is unsurprising that the book made no impression on Edam. Perhaps such evidence particularly worried the government after the *Treatise of Treasons* (1572) was published, since this defended Norfolk and Mary Stuart whilst portraying a ‘conspiracy’ orchestrated by the self-interested Cecil and Nicholas Bacon.<sup>105</sup> Not only would this have seemed plausible to people like Edam, with whose complaints the *Treatise* would have resonated, but it potentially also seduced loyal yet malleable subjects like Bonyfellow.

---

<sup>103</sup> SP12/85, fos. 83<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>. Others were in trouble for claiming that Cecil and Leicester were responsible for Norfolk’s death in January 1572 and July 1580. See: SP12/85, fos. 45<sup>r</sup>, 50<sup>r</sup>-58<sup>v</sup>, 12/140, fo. 32<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> Admittedly courtiers and opposition polemicists still thought that Cecil wrote it. See above, p. 52.

<sup>105</sup> Lake, ‘Conspiracy’, pp. 91-101.

Given the evidence of dissatisfaction with justifications of the earl of Essex's execution,<sup>106</sup> it is unsurprising that Barlow's printed sermon was insulted in 1601. In April Sir John Byron informed Robert Cecil from Newstead, Nottinghamshire, that William Farmer had brought him articles alleged against James Colly, curate of Maryfield Woodhouse and preacher of Mansfield. Considering Colly 'worthie of condign ponishment' if the accusations were true, Byron had him imprisoned and examined witnesses, sending their answers with the bearer. Farmer claimed that he had twice spoken with his neighbours, including Colly, about Essex since his execution. Colly claimed that Essex's death 'would bee reuenged ... euen by the enimies whoe loued him so well', and said that he would rather be a poor curate than Cecil, that it was better to lose one hundred Cecils than one Essex, and, possibly on another occasion, that whilst Essex was fighting Elizabeth's wars Cecil 'got away' one of his offices. Colly further claimed that the earl of Tyrone, who was rebelling in Ireland and with whom Essex, as lord lieutenant, had negotiated, to Elizabeth's chagrin, 'had iust cause to dooe as hee dyd'. Colly also told of a gentleman who would bet that before Whitsunday, 2,000 men would leave England because of Essex's execution. Seemingly in opposition to these speeches, Farmer said that 'I had sent mee' Barlow's sermon 'concerninge the sayde Earle and his Rebellion', but Colly replied that 'yt was a palltrye sermon'.<sup>107</sup> Significantly both Nottinghamshire men were familiar with the sermon within two months of it being made, but Colly dismissed it just as other prejudiced Essex supporters did. Conversely, Farmer seemingly treated it as an authoritative version of events that could not be insulted, and thus included this accusation among other very serious ones.

Insulting books co-opted by the government was also deemed worthy of denunciation. In September 1587 Thomas Massingberd accused Thomas Martin, butler of the Inner Temple, of calling Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* 'a legend of lyes'. He also accused Martin of being a 'notorious seducer of yonge gentlemen from religion to Poperie', willing to help further one Francis Eaton's marriage suit if Eaton became Catholic, and offering to introduce him to a suspected Jesuit who could instruct him. Martin and another butler, Edward Mellers, also apparently claimed that Henry VIII's marriage to 'prince

---

<sup>106</sup> See above, pp. 249-51.

<sup>107</sup> CP182/1, fos. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>.

Arthurs wief' was lawful and the annulment unlawful, 'affirming that the Cronicles *which proved* carnall knowledge by the prince *with hir* was vtterly false'. Whilst this accusation perhaps represented Massingberd's objection to another attack on potentially official publications,<sup>108</sup> more likely he disliked the implication that Elizabeth was illegitimate. The inclusion of Martin's remarks about Foxe among the other serious allegations indicates how important Massingberd considered it,<sup>109</sup> perhaps feeling that the special status that the government accorded it made such insults particularly offensive.<sup>110</sup> Conversely Martin, almost certainly a Catholic, deemed the book merely fiction, so that this incident highlights how attitudes to Foxe could reveal individuals' broader opinions and loyalties.

Besides explicitly rejecting official books, countless individuals were also denounced and investigated for seditious speech. Historians have frequently used this evidence, but not to analyse propaganda's reception. Cressy discussed the nature and official management of seditious speech in early modern England. Fox used it to examine the circulation of news and rumour, concluding that political debate and awareness were not confined to elites. For Elton it demonstrated how Cromwell discerningly enforced the Reformation, whilst Haigh employed it to demonstrate official policy's unpopularity. Shagan used examples to elucidate a process whereby religious change was negotiated between government and population, resulting in largely unwanted policies being eventually accepted. Montrose used statements of discontent and pro-Spanish sympathy to argue that numerous people may have supported an invasion, had it occurred.<sup>111</sup> Unsurprisingly, seditious words often contradicted official policies as expressed in government propaganda. The evidence of considerable effort to distribute official works (in the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth at least) and Fox's analysis of how materials constantly moved between oral and literate forms together suggest that most people

---

<sup>108</sup> Perhaps this referred to Hall's *Chronicle*, printed by Grafton, which made this point. See: Hall, *Vnion*, liii<sup>v</sup>, clxxxii<sup>v</sup>, clxxxxv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> SP12/203, fo. 97<sup>r</sup>. The fact that this is underlined in the manuscript probably suggests that the recipient of his allegations agreed.

<sup>110</sup> See above, p. 56.

<sup>111</sup> Cressy, *Talk*; Elton, *Policy*; A. Fox, 'Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *HJ*, 40, (1997), pp. 597-620; Haigh, *Reformations*; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 170-5; Shagan, *Politics*.

were probably aware of the general arguments contained in government pamphlets.<sup>112</sup> Thus seditious speeches sometimes signified implicit rejections of official books.

The 1530s witnessed ‘a flood’ of seditious speech cases, with Reformation-related policies engendering a ‘crisis of public order’.<sup>113</sup> Historians have listed many examples of people speaking against the Supremacy and break with Rome, the Dissolution of the monasteries, the Boleyn marriage, and in favour of the 1536 rebels,<sup>114</sup> all themes addressed by Henrician propaganda. Sometimes opposition was particularly pointed. Prior Richard Marshall wrote to the Newcastle black friars in 1536 to explain his sudden departure, saying that he did not support the Royal Supremacy. Among the authorities that he cited against it were many that the government used to support it, notably the judgements of universities, apart from a few ‘lately corrupt and poisoned with Luther’s heresies’.<sup>115</sup> Considering the repeated employment of favourable universities’ judgements in official polemic,<sup>116</sup> Marshall’s comments represented a powerful, if tacit, rejection of official books and arguments.

The evidence of seditious speech is particularly useful for analysing attitudes in Elizabeth’s reign because examples of people directly insulting official books are rare. Fox and Cressy identified common themes of seditious speech, including Edward’s continued existence and Elizabeth’s children by Leicester.<sup>117</sup> Some themes featured in official polemic, with some alleged speeches representing potentially clearer rejections of government arguments. In 1582, the ‘militant Catholic’ John Hamerton of Hellifield, Yorkshire, who claimed to have been ‘Bonner’s man’ in Mary’s reign, assisting with the burnings, said that Campion and other priests were unlawfully executed.<sup>118</sup> Numerous official pamphlets, however, conversely maintained that Campion was legitimately

---

<sup>112</sup> See above, pp. 7, 53-8.

<sup>113</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 48-54. Earlier in the reign there were fewer cases, although less abundant documentation is at least partly responsible. Similarly, post-Cromwell records offer fewer instances of seditious speech in the 1540s, even though this presumably remained common.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-4; Elton, *Policy*; Haigh, *Reformations*, ch. 8; Shagan, *Politics*, ch. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 18-9.

<sup>116</sup> For example: *Gravissimae; Determinations; Glasse*, A2<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>, C6<sup>v</sup>, D7<sup>v</sup>-D8<sup>r</sup>, F3<sup>v</sup>; *Articles*, A3<sup>r</sup>; Swinnerton, *Treatise*, B1<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 67-89; Fox, ‘Rumour’, pp. 614-5.

<sup>118</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, p. 84.

executed for treason.<sup>119</sup> Others contradicted this argument even more explicitly. Francis Eyerman, brought before John Popham on 12 February 1582, had told his brother, who was in prison for an offence related to his religious beliefs, that Campion and ‘the other hollie marters’ would have been spared ‘if they had agreed to attend church’. When none of them yielded, they were ‘all condemned vppon such highe treasons as they neuer imagined nor thought vppon nor were euer privie or knowing’.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, in October 1583, the Justices of Manchester sent Walsingham a record of remarks made by John Finch, a prisoner in the Fleet at Salford, Lancashire, which included that ‘Campion died for religion and not for treason’.<sup>121</sup> In June 1585, Sir Henry Neville and William Knollys informed the Council about the ‘traitorous speches’ of a priest, Gregory Gunnes alias Stone, overheard in Henley. He said that Campion ‘was the only man in all England’, and asked one Evan Arden not to call Campion a traitor, as one day ‘there shalbe an offeringe where Campion did suffer’.<sup>122</sup> These offenders shared Hamerton’s religion,<sup>123</sup> altogether suggesting that the official line did not persuade committed Catholics. Eyerman was so well acquainted with Campion’s case that he must have known the government’s justification: he knew about the conference in the Tower, and he confessed before Popham that in his letter he meant ‘that Sludd & Monday had deuised those matters against *master* Campion & the rest’.<sup>124</sup> Charles Sledd and Anthony Munday were witnesses at Campion’s trial.<sup>125</sup> Popham evidently asked Eyerman about his views on Campion to prompt this clarification, revealing official concern about such views.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> For example: *Aduertisement; Particular; Cecil, Iustice; Norton, Declaration; Nowell, Conference*.

<sup>120</sup> SP12/152, fos. 75<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> SP12/163, fos. 3<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> SP12/179, fos. 9<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>. A less explicit example is William Forrest’s admission in 1584 that he had called Campion ‘a good man’. See: SP12/173/1, fos. 47<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> Finch, potentially a priest, allegedly admitted being a ‘papist’, explicitly denying neither this nor the statement about Campion. Having become a priest in Mary’s reign, Gunnes abandoned his benefice seven years previously ‘for his Conscience’. Eyerman’s letter leaves no doubt. See: SP12/152, fos. 75<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>, 12/163, fos. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>, 12/179, fo. 11<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> SP12/152, fos. 75<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> M.A.R. Graves, ‘Edmund Campion’, *ODNB*.

<sup>126</sup> In other cases, other offences were probably more worrying. Gunnes was accused of denying the supremacy and labelling Elizabeth a heretic. Although he denied discussing politics and religion with Arden, he was asked specifically if he considered the queen a heretic; there were no questions about Campion. See: SP12/179, fos. 11<sup>r-v</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>.

These cases also show that many disliked pro-Campion views. Two people affirmed Finch's words about Campion, which seemingly motivated the denunciation, since these remarks were made only on the previous day.<sup>127</sup> Likewise, in Gunnes' case examinations were taken the day after his alleged conversation with Arden, and the deposition of Richard Davison, who overheard it, was signed by Arden and another eavesdropper.<sup>128</sup> Similarly it is significant that Hamerton's comments about Campion, which were specifically characterised as traitorous, were included among an extensive list of serious accusations, including rejecting the Royal Supremacy, calling followers of the established religion heretics and harbouring 'suspected' people.<sup>129</sup>

Some seemingly deemed it illegal to contradict the official line regarding other convicted traitors. In May 1585, Harry Norton was accused of calling William Parry as good and wise as any in England, and saying, after he had apparently attended Parry's execution, that he 'dyed a good & very godly man and that he was agood Christian', and 'dyed *without* cause'. Norton apparently also showed a reluctance to be sworn to the Supremacy, read seditious books, and refused to attend the service appointed by the royal injunctions,<sup>130</sup> probably suggesting another Catholic disillusioned with official policy. More strikingly, commending Parry formed the entire basis of accusations sent to Walsingham by John Ayscoughe in March 1586 against Thomas Cank, a butcher. Two witnesses similarly claimed that after one John Bartrupe sang a song about Parry, Cank said that it was a pity that he was executed as he did not deserve it and 'did not the facte'. According to one witness, someone present told Cank that 'it was founde there was Cause' for Parry's death. A third witness only remembered Cank saying that Parry 'died wrongfully'. Cank, however, said that after Bartrupe's song he only said that Parry was wise and 'well thought of, and that it was a pittye that he had noe better grace'.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps this

---

<sup>127</sup> SP12/163, fos. 3<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>. Finch's alleged statement, presumably made earlier, that 'yf wee hade the vpper hande' of Protestants, 'they shoulde die', seemingly did not prompt an immediate denunciation.

<sup>128</sup> SP12/179, fos. 9<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r-v</sup>. Davison claimed to have stumbled upon this conversation, but Neville and Knollys suggested that Arden deliberately engineered the situation, having become suspicious of Gunnes on first meeting him because of his 'speeches'. The fact that Gunnes arrived in Henley that day and described himself as 'vagrant' perhaps also aroused suspicion. See: A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men* (1985).

<sup>129</sup> SP15/27/1, fo. 141<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> SP12/178, fo. 177<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> SP12/187, fos. 53<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>. Ayscoughe claimed that Cank was 'a suspected papist', even though he attended church. Perhaps the cause of this suspicion was that he was 'a single man and a wanderer from shire to shire', who had only been in the Isle of Shepye since Christmas. See: Beier, *Masterless*, pp. 51-2, ch. 5.

was a genuine misunderstanding, but it demonstrates that many had strong opinions about Parry a year after his death.

Cressy and Montrose noted numerous instances of pro-Spanish talk,<sup>132</sup> but other statements were particularly pertinent in light of official arguments. In 1587, Thomas Massingberd also accused Thomas Martin of calling Francis Drake ‘a theefe’, and Edward Mellers of saying that Elizabeth ‘was the first that brake the league’ with Philip by sending Drake to rob him. He also claimed that when some discussed ‘hir *maties* gracious relief to hir highnes afflicted poore neighbours in flanders’, Martin asked if Elizabeth’s subjects rebelled, and another monarch maintained them, ‘whether this were well donne yea or no’, and that Martin publicly extolled Philip ‘& all his *proceedinges*’, calling him just, valiant and wise. Apparently both Martin and Mellers ‘openly reioyced’ at news of English losses in Flanders, ‘skoffinge at *master* Norris & others’. Such views clearly contradicted the 1585 *Declaration*, which blamed Phillip, not Elizabeth, for the deterioration in Anglo-Spanish relations, and stressed that intervention was defensive. Knowledge of this pamphlet perhaps underlay Massingberd’s complaints. It was published only two years earlier, and the reference to people talking of ‘hir *maties* gracious relief to hir highnes afflicted poore neighbours in flanders’ is reminiscent of the pamphlet’s title, which referred to people ‘afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries’. Significantly, criticism of intervention in the Low Countries was deemed just as seditious as their other offences.<sup>133</sup>

Official books were read, discussed and accepted by people at all levels of society. This impression is reinforced by the evidence of seditious speech: among the same broad range of people, the same issues were commonly discussed and, in the case of William Parry, sung about, with frequent denunciations showing that official ideas were widely enough known and accepted for unorthodox

---

<sup>132</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 86, 88-9; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 171-5. See also: SP12/198, fos. 75<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>; J.S. Cockburn (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records. Sussex indictments, Elizabeth I* (1975), p. 344; Idem., *Hertfordshire*, pp. 121, 124.

<sup>133</sup> SP12/203, fo. 97<sup>r</sup>; *Declaration* (1585); see above, pp. 266-7. Others implicitly challenged this pamphlet. In September 1589, articles drawn up against Thomas Wrenforde and his wife, apparently recusants and opponents of official policy, included that she had said that Philip ‘hath good cause to mak warr’ against Elizabeth. See: SP12/226, fos. 115<sup>r</sup>-116<sup>v</sup>.

opinions to be recognised and their purveyors denounced. Therefore, the wide circulation of government arguments in different forms further undermines concerns about the effectiveness of printed propaganda in a predominantly illiterate society.<sup>134</sup>

### Challenging Visual Propaganda

Royal symbols, including arms and monarchical images, had considerable authority, commonly being viewed as substitutes for the monarchs themselves, with reverence given to them therefore being seen as reverence given to a ruler.<sup>135</sup> Yet as Freedberg suggested, this theory raised the possibility that by attacking images, iconoclasts were ‘assailing the very men and women they represented’. The Byzantine emperor was ‘present in his image’, so that ‘one could imagine no more effective act for diminishing his living power’ than by destroying it.<sup>136</sup> Aston similarly suggested that ‘the damage to the seen is a way of hurting the unseen’, as ‘one attacks the physical object to destroy the spiritual being that resides in it – or the system of belief to which it belongs’.<sup>137</sup> Scholars have viewed sixteenth century attacks on monarchical symbols in these terms, as virtual denunciations of royal authority which relied upon the notion that such symbols possessed some kind of power.<sup>138</sup>

This corollary of the theory that images were substitutes for the people depicted was appreciated by contemporaries. In Bilson’s *True difference*, when the Jesuit, Philander, argued that as honouring secular images honoured the ruler represented, worshipping religious images should be permissible, he quoted several saints. Chrysostome said, ‘*hee which hurteth the Emperours Image, defaceth the Imperiall dignitie it selfe*’, whilst Ambrose claimed that ‘*he that despiseth the Emperours Image, doeth the iniurie to the Emperour whose Image hee did spit at*’. Crucially, Theophilus accepted ‘this similitude’, even whilst denying Philander’s broader argument. Furthermore, when earlier answering Philander’s assertion that if monarchical images could be ‘reuerenced’ without idolatry, then ‘much

---

<sup>134</sup> See above, pp. 6-7.

<sup>135</sup> See above, pp. 135-6.

<sup>136</sup> D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (1989), p. 392.

<sup>137</sup> Aston, *Iconoclasts*, p. 4.

<sup>138</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 176-85; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 40-1.

more the image of God', Theophilus replied that 'the images of Princes may not wel be despited or abused, least it be taken as a signe of a malicious hart against the Prince'.<sup>139</sup>

Bilson was attempting to answer Catholics who highlighted contrasting government attitudes to religious and secular images to accuse officials of hypocrisy and idolatry. As scholars have indicated, the contrast was most evident when royal arms decorated churches. When examining Cranmer in Mary's reign, Thomas Martin told him that his 'proceedinges' agreed with 'the deuils language'. 'Cast thy self downward, said he: and so taught you to cast all thinges downward. Down wyth the Sacrament, downe wyth Masse, downe with the aultars, downe wyth the armes of CHRIST, and vp wyth a Lyon and a dog'.<sup>140</sup> Similarly, Nicholas Harpsfield described how in Edwardian churches images of Christ, the Virgin and saints were destroyed, intending to persuade people that praying to saints, praying for the dead, and worshiping 'Christ's body in the blessed sacrament' were idolatry. Then, 'in the place where Christ's precious body was reposed over the altar, and instead of Christ his crucifix, the arms of a mortal King set up on high with a dogg and a lyon, which a man might well call the abomination of desolation standing in the temple that Daniell speaketh of'.<sup>141</sup> Nicholas Sander's *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani*, which was influenced by Harpsfield's work, made a similar argument about Edward's reforms: images of Christ, the Virgin and 'prophets' were 'utterly destroyed', 'showing against whom war was declared'. In place of Christ's cross, they erected the royal arms. 'It was like a declaration on their part that they were worshippers, not of our Lord, whose image they had contemptuously thrown aside, but of an earthly king, whose armorial bearings they had substituted for it'.<sup>142</sup> In answering Jewel, Harding asked, 'is it the Word of God setteth up a dog and dragon in the place of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God and St John the Evangelist, which were wont to stand on either side of Christ crucified?'.<sup>143</sup> William Allen's *Admonition* (1588) likewise attacked this practice: Elizabeth 'impiouslie spoiled all sanctified places of their holye

---

<sup>139</sup> Bilson, *Difference*, Oo4<sup>v</sup>, Oo8<sup>r-v</sup>; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 39-40; see above, pp. 135-6.

<sup>140</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 19; Cautley, *Arms*, p. 17; TAMO, 1570, p. 2092.

<sup>141</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 19; N. Harpsfield, *A Treatise on the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon* (1878), p. 282.

<sup>142</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 15; T.S. Freeman, 'Nicholas Harpsfield', *ODNB*; Montrose, *Subject*, p. 74; N. Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (1877), p. 172.

<sup>143</sup> Cautley, *Arms*, p. 17.

Images, Relikes, memories, and monuments of Christe our Saviour, and of his blessed mother and Saintes, her owne detestable cognisaunce and other prophane portraitures and paintings exalted in their places'. Whilst Montrose observed that Allen's book was 'inciting a domestic rebellion',<sup>144</sup> he does not fully stress the cardinal's apparent belief that this point about images would resonate with the English public.

Presumably it was opinions like these that necessitated the 1560 proclamation prohibiting royal and other images' destruction in churches. Previously, the 1559 injunctions ordered pictures and 'monuments' of 'idolatry, and superstition' to be removed from churches; clearly officials realised that this could inadvertently harm 'the dynastic and genealogical symbols of monarchical, aristocratic, and gentry authority', threatening 'the established socio-political hierarchy'. The proclamation therefore stressed that royal and noble images were erected 'for the only memory of them to their posterity ... and not for any religious honour', thus asserting their legitimacy.<sup>145</sup>

Catholic critics sometimes emphasised the contrast in official attitudes to religious and secular images and reinforced their accusations of idolatry by discussing the implications of attacking royal symbols. When answering Jewel, Sander noted that it was 'a contumelie don to Christ, if his Image be broken', and any prince would be aggrieved to hear that their image had been broken. 'Thinke you, that such contumelie may be freely done to *Christe*, as no Prince would take at your handes? Breake (M. Jewel) if you dare the Image of the *Queenes Maiestie*. or the *Armes* of the realme'; remove any symbols belonging to knights of worshipped orders. 'If they take it wel, then Christ may perhaps be content to see his owne Image destroyed'. If, however, nobles considered themselves 'vtterly dishonored' if their images or arms were 'contemptuously throwen doune: what vilanie, what impietie, what blasphemie is it, to thinke Christ to be of lesse Nobilitie, then these are, some of whom may be damned for euer to hellfire?'<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, p. 74.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73-4.

<sup>146</sup> Anglo, *Images*, p. 19; *Ibid.*, p. 176; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 38-9; N. Sander, *A treatise of the images of Christ and his saints* (Louvain, 1567), P4<sup>v</sup>-P5<sup>v</sup>.

Nor were such strategies confined to polemicists, but were voiced by clergymen as early as religious images were attacked. In June 1538 Thomas Coveley, vicar of Tyseherst, was accused of making ‘an exampell’ using a Henrician groat, telling his parishioners to ‘looke upon the superscrypcyon on the on syd & on the other syyd the kyngs’, and asking, ‘how darst thou spett a pon that fassce thou darst not do yt But thou wyllt spett upon the ymage’, which was like spitting upon god. Similarly in July 1538 Justice Godfrey Foljambe informed Cromwell that when the bishop of Chester and the chancellor of Lichfield visited Chesterfield, William Ludelam, a hermit of St Thomas’ chapel there, stated that ‘yf a man wyll plucke downe or teare the kynges armes, he shalbe hanged Drawen and quarteryd, what shall he do then that doeth plucke downe Churches and Images beyng but a mortall man as we be’. Both were seemingly religious conservatives who disliked official policy. Coveley was also accused of disobeying royal injunctions, suggesting several times that the religious changes were temporary, repeatedly attacking those possessing an English new testament, complaining that his parishioners did not fast in Lent, and saying that England contained ‘a hundryd thowssand worsse people now’ than a year earlier. Ludelam apparently claimed that the pope was ‘put oute of hys aughtortye’ because he would not permit the Boleyn marriage. Their attacks on official policy, along with Sander’s, assumed that it was widely accepted that nobody would dare to denigrate royal images, thus highlighting the authority that such symbols possessed. This was also indicated by the fact that Coveley was seemingly denounced for his offences by his parishioners who evidently disliked his attacks on official policy and the king’s authority,<sup>147</sup> whilst seven Chesterfield witnesses confirmed Ludelam’s speeches when examined, despite his denials.<sup>148</sup>

The authority of royal images and perceived connection to monarchs themselves were of course what motivated some to attack those images, and what obliged the government to take such incidents seriously. Montrose and Hackett have observed, however, that it is unclear how exactly either officials or vandals conceptualised these acts: were they ‘expressions simply of opposition’, or did they betray

---

<sup>147</sup> SP1/133, fos. 50<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>r</sup>. Admittedly, the bishop of Chichester, to whom a list of articles was sent by two justices, was mostly annoyed that Coveley had deviated from the *Bishops’ Book*. Coveley was made to publicly acknowledge his ‘lewd demeaner’ in preaching contrary to it.

<sup>148</sup> SP1/134, fos. 128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>r</sup>. Ludelam also claimed that he was at Rome with Dr Carne and Dr Bennet, Henry’s messengers ‘in hys matter’.

a ‘superstitious belief’ that harming these images could literally harm rulers?<sup>149</sup> Bilson argued that attacking a monarchical image indicated a ‘malicious hart against the Prince’,<sup>150</sup> whilst Ludelam suggested that destroying the king’s arms meant a traitor’s death. Although there was apparently no specific law making such vandalism treason,<sup>151</sup> compassing, imagining and intending a ruler’s ‘bodily harm’ was treason, with no distinction between ‘thought’ and ‘deed’, so that such acts could be deemed treasonous due to the totemic association between ruler and symbol. Even when arguing that actions like piercing images of Elizabeth with pig’s bristles ‘never can or doo take effect’, the witchcraft-sceptic Reginald Scot maintained that those responsible should ‘be punished with all extremitie: because therein is manifested a traiterous heart to the Queen’.<sup>152</sup> Certainly treason indictments did occasionally reference such cases.<sup>153</sup> Ultimately Montrose suggested that ‘precise distinctions’ between ‘impulsive outbursts’ and ‘premeditated acts of imitative magic’ ‘were probably not operative in the minds of either the perpetrators or the authorities’, and that Elizabethan officials interpreted cases tactically, according to ‘circumstances and agendas’. Even if not considered ‘an outright indication of treasonous intent’, ‘any less-than-reverential demeanor toward the royal image’ would be deemed ‘a serious breach of decorum’. These attitudes to abuses of royal imagery were endemic in society, not just limited to officials of Elizabeth’s ‘politically insecure regime’ as Montrose implied.<sup>154</sup>

The equation of royal arms with monarchical portraits, and their consequent partaking of the same inherent power,<sup>155</sup> ensured that their abuse, however tame, was viewed equally suspiciously. In May 1537, William Blithman, Durham county’s Augmentations’ receiver,<sup>156</sup> informed Cromwell that he had been told that he was required to repeat accusations that he had made against the treasurer of York, Lancelot Colyns, ‘at mye last beyng at London’, and reminded Cromwell of what they were.

---

<sup>149</sup> H. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 212; Montrose, *Subject*, p. 184.

<sup>150</sup> See above, pp. 272-3.

<sup>151</sup> Bellamy, *Treason*, chs. 1-2.

<sup>152</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 176-7.

<sup>153</sup> See below, pp. 278-80.

<sup>154</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 184-5.

<sup>155</sup> See above, p. 132.

<sup>156</sup> J.A. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1971), p. 55.

He had said that in York, Colyns ‘receyved the *commans with procession* at the churche doore *with* all the minestors’, which had been ‘opynelye brutyd’. Now, however, people ‘qualefy’, saying that they met them at the door but without procession, although Blithman maintained that ‘bye the *common fame* the belles were solemplye rongen’. Blithman had also said that Colyns ‘pullyd down the kinges armes standinge above hys hall doore, whiche ys evidente and notoriowse, I se theym mye selfe *within* this fowr dayes in settinge vppe agayn’. Blithman thus viewed the removal of the king’s arms as part of Colyns’ disobedience, comparable to welcoming the rebels in York. Although he admitted the possibility that the latter accusation had been exaggerated, he was consistent over the arms’ removal.<sup>157</sup>

In April 1537, before this letter had been written but presumably in response to Blithman’s initial conversation with Cromwell, Colyns was examined about his role in the Northern rebellion, maintaining throughout that he was forced to help. He corroborated part of Blithman’s report, admitting that when Aske arrived in York, at evensong Colyns received him at the cathedral church door and ‘brought hym *with* procession to the high aultar wher he made his oblation’. Concerning the arms’ removal, Colyns explained that a servant came from Sir George Lawson to say that ‘certayn gentlemen’ threatened to burn down his house because he had Cromwell’s arms above his door. Colyns followed the steward of his house’s advice to remove these, so a table painted with the arms of the king, ‘bisshopp bambryck’ and Cromwell was removed out of fear, ‘and for nowe other cause’.<sup>158</sup>

Colyns thus presented himself as a loyal subject acting under duress. This is plausible, given the possible coercion of many gentry in the Lincolnshire revolt.<sup>159</sup> Colyns stressed that when he learned that Sir Francis Bigod had ‘styrred the comens’ at the time of the second rebellion, he acted to prevent this, with some success. Moreover, whilst Blithman had complained to Cromwell that Colyns’ removed the king’s arms, the treasurer maintained that he only removed them because they were on

---

<sup>157</sup> SP1/120, fo. 175<sup>r</sup>. Blithman was seemingly an eager informant, apparently also divulging information about one Bowes.

<sup>158</sup> SP1/118, fos. 267<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> S.J. Gunn, ‘Peers, Commons and Gentry in the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536’, *PP*, No.123 (1989), pp. 52-79.

the same plaque as Cromwell's, and it was these that the rebels disliked: engaging with this visual symbol representing Cromwell was another form of protest, signifying a rejection of his authority, and was consistent with Colyns' claims that Aske and others 'wolde rayle vpon the lorde privey seall' at dinner,<sup>160</sup> with the rebels' articles, which attacked Cromwell rather than the king,<sup>161</sup> and with their respectful attitude to the royal arms as shown by their dealings with the Lancaster Herald.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, Colyns could only remove these arms because he had them originally, and they were seemingly set up again afterwards, thus having been preserved in the meantime.<sup>163</sup>

The removal of the royal arms during a March 1591 riot in Borne, Sussex, similarly troubled the government. The Privy Council ordered Nicholas Parker, Doctor Drury, Richard Shelley and Anthony Sherley to examine the 'great riot commytted by vij<sup>xx</sup> persons and more ... begone against the Clerck of the Market', during which the constable and others were hurt and 'her Majesty's armes torne and pulled downe'. The Council requested that the recipients carefully examine 'the truthe of this misorder', and 'certify unto their Lordships' the examinations of the abettors, so that the offenders could receive just punishment.<sup>164</sup> Montrose suggested that the riot was likely prompted by widespread dearth, providing an unusual example of the 'socio-economic' roots of 'anti-Elizabethan iconoclasm'.<sup>165</sup>

Other instances of destruction were more alarming, with the connection between image and real-life monarch being central to the interpretation of the act by the vandals and/or the government. The evangelical prophet William Hacket attempted an unsuccessful coup in London in July 1591, resulting in his execution. When examined, Hacket confessed to defacing the queen's arms at Ralph Kay's house in Knighttrider Street, London, claiming that 'hee was mooued thereunto inwardly by the spirit,

---

<sup>160</sup> SP1/118, fos. 269<sup>r</sup>-270<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> A. Fletcher, D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (1997), p. 131.

<sup>162</sup> LP XI 826.

<sup>163</sup> Personal reasons perhaps influenced Blithman's unflattering report of Colyns, who had removed goods from his house, although Colyns maintained that he was trying to preserve them, and that Blithman subsequently thanked him. See: SP1/118, fos. 268<sup>v</sup>-269<sup>r</sup>, 1/120, fo. 175<sup>r</sup>. During the Lincolnshire rebellion, the Augmentations' receiver for Lincolnshire, had his house ransacked too. See: Gunn, 'Revolt', p. 60.

<sup>164</sup> APC XXI, p. 4.

<sup>165</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, p. 176.

to take away her whole power of her authoritie’, and that he would have done worse, had his hostess not interrupted him. ‘She was very angrie therewith: for he was not sorie, neither is sorie ... for doing the acte, because hee was commaunded by God to doe it, and durst doe none otherwise’. Hacket also confessed that he was ‘likewise moued to put out the Lyons and the Dragons eyes in the armes’, because ‘he did knowe, that Lyons and Dragons did afflict Gods people’. Freedberg argued that eyes were commonly destroyed because these were ‘the most obvious indications of the vitality of the represented figure’, so removing them removed ‘signs of life’.<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, Hacket ‘did also rase out the crosse, that was pictured on the toppe of the Crowne’. Kay and his wife also deposed that they found Elizabeth’s picture ‘pricked with some bodkin or yron instrument in the very place, representing her royall heart’. They blamed Hacket, claiming that he admitted doing it but said ‘hee had greater matters to answere then that’, so they ‘neede not make such adoe for it’. Yet, in his examinations Hacket either denied this or said that he did not remember it. Answering this way about ‘that action which seemed most odiouslie traitorous’, Hacket showed his craftiness when facing questions of ‘capitall danger’.<sup>167</sup>

The Kays were clearly offended by Hacket’s destruction. Furthermore, they claimed that when Coppinger, one of Hacket’s accomplices, learned about the destructive acts, he initially ‘seemed to mislike with it, saying, that if he were such a fellowe, he had done with him’. Admittedly, he also said that ‘you must beare with him: for some great men haue also borne with him’, and the official pamphlet referred to him excusing Hacket’s defacing of the arms, and confirming in his examination that god had commanded Hacket to deface them.<sup>168</sup>

The inclusion of these offences in Hacket’s indictments for treason shows that officials were even more perturbed. He was charged with saying that he was moved by the spirit to deface the arms in Kaye’s house to remove Elizabeth’s power, and was not sorry for it. The second indictment, charging

---

<sup>166</sup> Freedberg, *Images*, pp. 415-6. Hacket’s justification does not substantiate Montrose’s claim that he was ‘making a violent if futile gesture of resistance to surveillance by the state’. See: Montrose, *Subject*, p. 178.

<sup>167</sup> Cosin, *Conspiracie*, K1<sup>v</sup>, M3<sup>f</sup>. Similarly, he apparently answered ‘knauishly’ when asked about defacing the royal arms’ supporters.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, K2<sup>r-v</sup>, M2<sup>f</sup>.

him with the destructive acts themselves, linked these explicitly with his intent of overthrowing the government and killing Elizabeth. It described how Hacket ‘intented, imagined, went about, and compassed’ Elizabeth’s deprivation and death, ‘and to the intent hee might fulfill and bring to passe those his aforesayde trayterous purposes’, he defaced the royal arms ‘with this intent, trayterously to take away, put downe, and ouerthrowe the power of authoritie of the sayde Queene’. ‘For further accomplishing and effecting of his said traiterous purposes, imaginations, compassing, and intents’, Hacket also vandalised a picture of Elizabeth, traitorously thrusting ‘an yron Instrument into that part of the sayde picture, that did represent the Brest and Hart of the Q. Maiestie’. Richard Cosin, author of the official pamphlet, made his view of this clear when he followed his account of the Kay’s description of this with a loyal declaration: ‘this Noble heart, which thereby hee so trayterously despited, God of his infinite mercy long blesse and continue still most happie and heartie in his loue and feare, within her Maiesties sacred breast, maugre all such execrable fierie spirits and hell houndes in earth, and all the damned deuils in hell’.<sup>169</sup>

Montrose suggested that when the government interpreted Hacket’s coup as a puritan conspiracy aiming to overthrow the state, his vandalism became ‘far more than a gesture of hostility toward the established church or the person of the monarch’, and instead ‘epitomised an assault upon the entire existing socio-political fabric and its metaphysical basis in the divinely created cosmic order’. Certainly the government used this coup to discredit puritans, but it is unclear that this produced this view of Hacket’s vandalism. Certainly, however, as Walsham highlighted, Hacket’s judges did believe that his actions were ‘more than merely symbolic’, constituting an attempt to physically harm Elizabeth.<sup>170</sup>

The government equally viewed a more obscure case of abusing Elizabeth’s image as constituting an attack on her. In October 1601, William Waad reminded Robert Cecil that his cousin, Leveson, brother to Sir John Leveson, had told the Lord Admiral and Cecil about a chest belonging to one of

---

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., K1<sup>v</sup>-K2<sup>r</sup>, K3<sup>v</sup>-K4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>170</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 178-9; A. Walsham, ‘“Frantick Hacket”: Prophecy, Sorcery, Insanity, and the Elizabethan Puritan Movement’, *HJ*, 41 (1998), pp. 43, 51-2

Leveson's servants in France, Thomas Harrison, who had been imprisoned in the Gatehouse at Westminster. Waad had been ordered to search the chest when it arrived in London, and had found a little box, which Leveson advised against opening: he had opened it when the chest first arrived at the custom house, and 'fell on sneeing very extraordinarily'. Nevertheless Waad opened it, finding 'her *Maties* Picture in metuall and a kinde of Mercury sublimatt *which* had eaten in the mettall'. He consulted an apothecary, who found it to be 'a very stronge poyson'. 'Lying *with* the Picture' the poison had corroded the metal. Waad was concerned: 'I can not conceaue he can haue a good meaning that will place the Picture of her *Maties* Sacred person *with* such poyson as hath indaingered the Pothecarys man, that did but put it to his tongue'.<sup>171</sup> The following day, Waad and Lancelot Brown examined Harrison. Asked what the picture in the box was and of what metal it was made, Harrison answered that it was a picture of a woman, but he did not know who, and that 'the mettall is of mercury congeled *with* vinyger and verdygresse', made by 'master Hyllyard' eight or nine years earlier. He then told that 'the *other* temperatuar in the Box is mercury Christilyned or alcolysated', which he made himself. Harrison added that the metal picture made by Hilliard would '*with* aqua fortas' dissolve again into 'Quycsilver'. The picture was made around the time that Hilliard made models for the great seal, in Hatton's time. The examiners asked why Harrison put the picture in a box '*with* the *other* mixtuar'; Harrison answered that he only did this 'a little before he went over' because 'they were bothe of one substance'. He was asked specifically if the picture was of Elizabeth, and conceded that he thought that Hilliard made it 'emongest the moddels that he mad for the seale for the *Queens* pictuar'. When asked if he saw Hilliard make it, he admitted that he did not, 'but hyllyard tellinge him how he dyd congeal the same', Harrison asked him for a piece, 'and so hyllyard Gave him that Pictuar, and after he saw the sd hyllyard make the mettall'. Lastly, Harrison claimed that the 'mixtuar' in the box was 'made of Quycsilver sublymed, from the feces of vitryoll salniter, and sinaber'.<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> CP88/86, fo. 86<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> CP88/89, fos. 89<sup>r</sup>-90<sup>r</sup>.

Government officials therefore believed that Harrison's treatment of this image potentially signified his opposition or represented an attempt to harm Elizabeth by proxy. This probably explains the initial questions that they asked about Harrison's contact with a French bishop. Harrison claimed that when in France with 'master Secretary Herbert' he became acquainted with the bishop of Boulogne. Harrison was 'greatly Beholding' to him, staying at his house in Paris. Harrison was also asked how he acquired 'a Fayr Challis *with* a Cover and a Pax very curyvsly wrought', explaining that he had bought them as a present for the bishop, but the latter 'vpon some vnkindnes sent it to him again'.<sup>173</sup> Presumably they were attempting to determine if he had any Catholic sympathies that might engender a dislike of Elizabeth.<sup>174</sup> Several historians share the government's view. Strong considered it a form of witchcraft,<sup>175</sup> whilst Montrose deemed it a demonstration of a Catholic recusant's 'resistance to the royal supremacy', with Harrison 'compounding his apparent treason with sacrilege' by abusing a model of the seal, 'an unusually potent royal image' given its practical use and iconography.<sup>176</sup> Yet, Harrison was very possibly innocent. He claimed that he was primarily interested in the metal, with Hilliard happening to give him a piece of it bearing Elizabeth's picture, and said that the bishop 'dyd make muche of him' because Harrison had told him 'certein secrettes in Alcemye'.<sup>177</sup> Furthermore, Montrose's characterisation of him as a Catholic recusant is seemingly unsubstantiated, whilst if Harrison acquired this when it was made, eight or nine years earlier, it would be strange if he waited so long to deliberately destroy it, assuming it was true that he only recently placed it in the chest.

If Harrison was telling the truth, this incident highlights, as Hackett noted, his 'indifference to images'. He viewed the piece of metal bearing Elizabeth's image as precisely that: 'a certain kind of chemical substance to be categorised with other samples of such substance'.<sup>178</sup> This demonstrates the

---

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 89<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>174</sup> Waad likely thought in such terms, being 'known as one of the most zealous persecutors of Catholics', and frequently employed to uncover 'treasonous plots' and examine recusants. Harrison's answers therefore made him look 'like a suspicious customer'. See: Hackett, *Virgin*, p. 212.

<sup>175</sup> Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 40-1.

<sup>176</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 177, 179-81.

<sup>177</sup> CP88/89, fo. 89<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>178</sup> Hackett, *Virgin*, pp. 212-3. Perhaps Hilliard thought similarly, since he was apparently prepared to give this away.

occasionally limited authority of such objects.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, Waad's contrasting view, elucidated by Hackett and Montrose, remains significant: he felt that Elizabeth's image transformed the metal into something deserving of reverence, regarding Harrison's mistreatment as sacrilege.<sup>180</sup> Harrison's initial claim that the picture was an unidentified woman probably represents his recognition that others might view his actions in these terms.

The defacing of Elizabeth's image by a former minister who became a priest in Rheims was considered to represent a desire if not an actual attempt to harm the queen. Executed in March 1589 after being arrested entering England, Robert Dalby was declared guilty at his trial because he 'professed himself to be a priest', but 'among other things objected against him' was that he had 'nearly rubbed off' Elizabeth's image on a sixpence found in his purse. The judges claimed that Dalby 'would do the same to the Queen herself if he could'.<sup>181</sup> In Montrose's view this showed how 'suspect attitudes toward the royal image served as collateral evidence that might reinforce a prejudgment of treason'.<sup>182</sup>

Crucially, Montrose observed that besides vandalism of 'authorised royal icons', there were cases of 'unauthorised representations being made to order for defacement' for the same purposes.<sup>183</sup> Officials were no less perturbed. The Irish rebel, Brian O'Rourke, was indicted for treason for, amongst other things, his abuse of 'a woman's picture' which he declared was of Elizabeth, although one report claimed that it was 'an image of a tall woman' that he had found and inscribed 'QUEEN ELIZABETH'. Elizabeth's government also encountered pierced wax images apparently intended to harm her,<sup>184</sup> whilst some during Henry's reign perhaps targeted Edward.<sup>185</sup> English contacts abroad

---

<sup>179</sup> He thus contradicted Gardiner's ideas about images on seals. See above, p. 134.

<sup>180</sup> Hackett, *Virgin*, pp.212-3; Montrose, *Subject*, p. 181.

<sup>181</sup> J.H. Pollen (ed.), *Acts of English Martyrs, Hitherto Unpublished* (1891), pp. 329-30.

<sup>182</sup> Montrose, *Subject*, p. 184.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7, 181-4; Strong, *Gloriana*, pp. 40-1.

<sup>185</sup> *LP XIII* i 41, ii 1200.

also reported attacks on monarchical images and the circulation of derogatory pictures.<sup>186</sup> As with the ownership of portraits then, officiality was not an overriding concern.<sup>187</sup>

The association of royal symbols with the monarchs they represented also permitted more sophisticated criticisms to be made. In 1582 the royal arms displayed in St Mary's church, Bury St Edmunds, was adorned with a Biblical quotation in order to attack Elizabeth's religious policy (Fig.82). Initially, the intention was to write a text from Revelation 2 about the Laodicean Church: 'I knowe thie workes that thou art neither colde nor hott I woulde thou wereste colde or hot. Therefore because thou art luke warme and neither colde nor hote it will come to passe I will spewe the out of my mouthe'. Instead, another quote from Revelation 2 was used, which was 'an even less flattering characterisation of the Church at Thyatira': 'I knowe thy workes and thie love and seruyce and faithe and thy pacience and thie workes and that they are more at the laste then at the firste'. MacCulloch noted that 'there could have been nothing more calculated to infuriate the Queen than a double insult both to her religious settlement and to her coat armour'. Cecil took the case seriously, observing that the Bury bookbinder Thomas Gibson 'caused the first *sentence* to be put vpp', and that he 'hath published browns printed books', indicating his Puritan sympathies. Cecil also seemingly wanted to identify others involved, writing 'The Minister' and 'The paynters nam' on the document.<sup>188</sup> As Lord Chief Justice Wray informed Cecil in July 1583, Gibson was convicted at the Bury assizes of dispersing 'Brownes bookes & harrisons bookes', and for 'the poseye he gave to be paynted about her *maties* Armes'. It had been proved that Gibson confessed openly at the Lenten assizes that 'he knewe the armes should be sett ther before he gave the posey', and that 'the armes was pouncyd and drawn before he gave the poseye to be paynted and that he did see them'. Gibson had 'rebuked one or two that would not suffer that posey to be paynted sainge yt mighte be paynted ther well enoughe',<sup>189</sup>

---

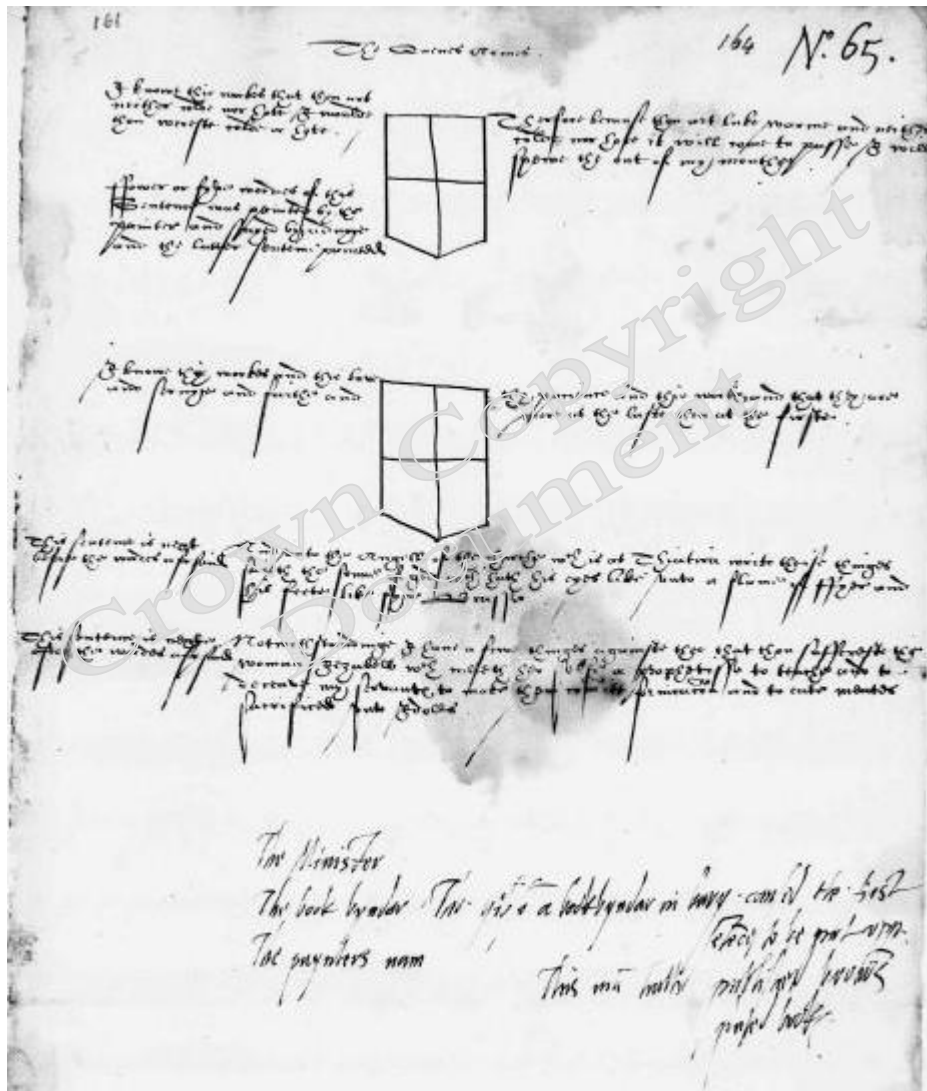
<sup>186</sup> For example: *LP* VI 518; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 136-8; Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 41.

<sup>187</sup> See above, p. 102.

<sup>188</sup> Lansdowne Vol/36, fo. 164<sup>r</sup>; D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors* (Oxford, 1986), p. 204. Conversely, MacCulloch mistakenly argued that the initial intent was to use the quote about the church at Thyatira, but that this was replaced by the one about the Laodicean church.

<sup>189</sup> Lansdowne Vol/38, fo. 162<sup>r-v</sup>; MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p. 206. Two others convicted for dispersing the same books were executed, but Gibson was spared for 'diuers causes', particularly that 'he condemneth the errors in the bookes'.

suggesting that some deemed his plan inappropriate. For Gibson, the royal arms in the church represented Elizabeth's supremacy, therefore providing an ideal site to challenge her lacklustre performance in this role.



(Fig.82. Lansdowne Vol/36, fo. 164r. Crown Copyright document.)

In several cases, encounters with royal imagery led people to voice their disapproval of monarchs. In March 1534, Chester Herald informed Cromwell of an incident that had occurred that day at Thorguston Abbey, Nottingham. Sir William Dragley, priest and prebendary of Southwell, had grabbed the scutcheon on the herald's chest, asking what it was. He answered that it was the king's arms. 'Marie said he I love it the wors'. The herald asked him to watch what he said, but Dragley maintained that he 'loue hym not for he takyth *our* goods from vs & makyth vs to go to the plow'. The herald replied that he had been 'at the ploghe thys day my selfe', but 'ye ned not for no nessesete

for ye haue innowghe yf ye can be content but I fere *that* ye wyll Rathyr payr then mend so mych haue *you* sayd now the kyngs grace coveyts no manys goods wrongfully'. Dragley backtracked, saying 'I thynk no harme god saue the kyng', but the herald was not pacified: 'what so euer *you* thynk *yor* sayng is noght'. Dragley told the herald to 'be content', warning that if he reported his speech, he would deny it. The herald replied that as one of the king's heralds he had to report anything prejudicial to the king or council. He assured Cromwell that he would always be willing 'to jostyfy my sayngs as a trew horald shold'.<sup>190</sup> Although Dragley seemingly escaped punishment, since he retained his prebend at his death in 1538, this was probably because the Treason Act was not yet operating.<sup>191</sup>

Similarly, Shagan cited the case of William Breyar to highlight the debate stimulated by the 1536 rebellions. Breyar deposed in October 1536 that when in Dent, three people asked him whose livery he wore. He answered that it was the king's, prompting a smith to say, 'thy master ys a theyff' because he pulled down all the churches. Another man told the smith to 'beware what thow say by the kyng for if thow say so thow wyll be hangyd'. People then said '*with* oon voyce' that it was not the king's 'deade' but Cromwell's, and if they had Cromwell they would 'Crum' him 'that he was *neuer* so Crumdeed', and if Henry was there they would 'new Crowne hym'. The situation then deteriorated, with eight people attacking Breyar with staves, forcing him to flee.<sup>192</sup>

In suggesting that the royal arms may not have been immediately recognisable to everyone, these two examples demonstrate a potential limitation of royal imagery.<sup>193</sup> A second limitation was that even when recognised, the royal arms did not always command compliance. It only prompted Dragley and the smith to criticise the king for his policies. Nevertheless, these incidents provide further support for the notion that the royal arms were considered a substitute for the king, particularly in Dragley's case,

---

<sup>190</sup> SP1/82, fos. 232<sup>v</sup>-233<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>191</sup> Elton, *Policy*, pp. 132-3.

<sup>192</sup> Shagan, 'Pilgrimage', p. 49; SP1/109, fo. 37<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript is mutilated, obscuring further details.

<sup>193</sup> This contradicts Gardiner's optimistic assertion about the arms' universality. See above, p. 134.

who explicitly stated that he disliked the arms because they were the king's. As such, they formed the focus of discussions of policy, including expressions of anxieties about the regime's actions.

Portraits similarly prompted criticism. In late December 1586, Alice Lake, wife of the vicar of Ringwood, Southampton, was examined about words uttered by Edward Eaton. Lake claimed that Eaton came to her house on Boxing Day morning, claiming to have a message from the bishop of Salisbury for the vicar. As he was out, Lake saw him instead, discovering that this was 'but a surmised matter'. Nevertheless she offered Eaton dinner. He refused since he had already dined, so Lake gave him three pence instead. Eaton then asked for some dinner, but Lake replied that 'yo told me yo had already dyned', and since he had her 'benevolence' he could now leave. Eaton then looked at Elizabeth's picture hanging in the hall and said, 'yonder is the picture of Quenes *matie* whose daies shall not be longe and then all misters and ministers wyfes shall Rue for it and then here wilbe better howses kepte ere it be longe'. A servant, Agnes Biston, confirmed these words, whilst another examinant, Robert Dudman, gave a similar account. Even Eaton's account was similar, although he portrayed it differently. He claimed that he visited the vicarage hoping for 'some reliefe', but finding no fire in the vicarage hall he remarked that 'here is a cold howse kepte, for a Lyuinge worth vii<sup>xx</sup> or viii<sup>xx</sup>ll by the yere'. He then saw Elizabeth's picture and said, 'god *preserue* her *matie* otherwise it wilbe hard *with* this vicar and suche others of the ministerie as doe kepe suche hard and straight howses'.<sup>194</sup>

Thus while three witnesses, at least one of whom must have denounced Eaton very promptly,<sup>195</sup> suggested that he sinisterly implied Elizabeth's imminent demise upon seeing her picture, Eaton claimed that it prompted a loyal response from him. The evidence of witnesses favours Lake's story,<sup>196</sup> but even if Eaton told the truth, although he denied the main accusation of commenting on Elizabeth's life expectancy, he still admitted the same implicit criticism suggested by Lake: that

---

<sup>194</sup> SP12/195, fos. 126<sup>r</sup>-127<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid. These examinations were taken within two days of the incident, and Lake's ownership of Elizabeth's picture suggests a loyal subject likely to be offended by Eaton's alleged remarks.

<sup>196</sup> Hostility to Eaton as someone new to the area could feasibly have motivated the denunciation. See: Ibid., fo. 127<sup>r</sup>; Beier, *Masterless*, ch. 5.

Elizabeth protected miserly clergymen who would therefore be in trouble when she died. Thus, at best the portrait occasioned a positive response from Eaton that was little more than a platitude, and did not prevent him criticising her rule.

Coins also prompted the expression of negative views about Elizabeth. In May 1599, the sailor Edmund Saunders was examined before Viscount Howard of Bindon, the mayor of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis and others. He claimed that when aboard a ship near Bourdeaux, William Larking showed Henry Carey a Spanish sixpence, asking him if he liked it. Carey said that ‘it was the Kinge of Spaines quoyne, and he did honor it *with* his harte’. Larking then showed Carey one of Elizabeth’s coins, ‘affirminge it was the best quoyne in the worlde’ and observing that it bore Elizabeth’s image. He asked Carey if he liked it, who replied that ‘yf he had her there he coulde finde in his harte to bee her hangman, and to hange her att the yeardearme’. Larking told him not to say things like that ‘for theye woulde be daungerous’, and Carey replied that ‘when he came into Englande he woulde be better advised’. Saunders, Larking and Robert Rapson, also present, promptly told the master of the ship. Larking and Rapson confirmed the story, the former even claiming to have ‘reprehended’ Carey for his remarks about Elizabeth, threatening to throw him overboard if he spoke ‘any more suche speeches’, ‘for he coulde not indure to heare them’. Evidently Carey’s audience considered his speeches offensive, whilst the official interrogatories suggest that the authorities also took the matter seriously, wanting to know how often Carey made his ‘disloyall or vnreverent speeches’ against Elizabeth, and if he had ever tried to persuade anyone to withdraw their allegiance from her. Interestingly, they also asked why the coins were shown to Carey. Larking said he did this because Carey ‘had byne longe ovt of Englande and vsed many popishe ceremonyes in his presence after his cominge aborde there shipp’.<sup>197</sup> This suggests that he used coins as a test of allegiance: Catholic sympathies were apparently straightforwardly equated with allegiance to Spain, whilst loyal subjects were presumably expected to share his enthusiasm for an English coin and similarly praise Elizabeth.

---

<sup>197</sup> CP70/9, fos. 9<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>. Other witnesses also heard Carey make similar comments on different occasions.

Occasionally, the iconography of royal imagery was challenged. Referring to a silver shilling issued in 1554, the anti-Spanish *Lamentacion of England* (1558) complained that Philip was ‘permitted in our english coine to ioine our english armes with the armes of spain, and his fisnamy with the quenes, the croune of England being made ouer both ther heds in the midst, and yet apon nether of them both, and the supscription about the same coines was with the name of philipe and Mary as apperith’.<sup>198</sup> Worse still, Philip ‘vsurpid ferther’ ‘in his own priuate coine’, which joined the Spanish and English arms and bore ‘his pictur alone, with themperiall crone of England apon his head’, omitting Mary’s name and image. He thus used ‘both the name and armes of England with out the quenes, hauing this supscription about his coine Philip R. anglie, francie, neapolis princep. hispaine’. This showed ‘what he doth intend’, and that ‘he sought not in mariage the quenes person, but the welthy and rich land off England’.<sup>199</sup> *A supplicacyon to the quenes maiestie* (1555) had earlier made a similar point, citing ‘the quoynid mony going abrode currant’ as evidence of worrying efforts to give Philip ‘as mich auctorite, as yf he were king of England’.<sup>200</sup> More succinctly, in 1555 Anne Hooper, the bishop’s widow, sent Bullinger the coin, ‘on which are the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel’,<sup>201</sup> the biblical Baal-worshipping married couple.

Sharpe noted that the *Lamentation* also considered an engraved portrait of Mary, apparently by Frans Hogenberg, to be a ‘provocative production’, invoking the Latin inscription portraying Mary as ‘God’s chosen agent to fight his enemies and, as Justice, to bridle and order the British people’, when arguing that there was a concerted effort to ‘geue away’ England to Spain. As soon as Mary was married, her ‘pretentyd’ pregnancy was widely publicised, and parliament summoned because they would be ‘more willing’ to give the English crown to Philip, ‘to thentent that he with his proud spainierd might bridle this brithanishe nacion, according as it is sett out in print about the fisnamy or

---

<sup>198</sup> The inscription surrounding Mary and Philip described them both as rulers of England and Spain, whilst that around the arms read, ‘Posuimus deum adiutorem nostrum [We have made God our helper]’. See: Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 280-3, 531.

<sup>199</sup> *Lamentacion*, A6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> *Supplicacyon*, C8<sup>r</sup>. Montrose noted that Mary’s coinage justified fears that her marriage would cause ‘an erosion of English sovereignty’, but he gave no evidence of people explicitly invoking it. See: Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 46-7.

<sup>201</sup> C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978), p. 118; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 60, 267.

pictur of the quenes in the words. Illa ego, cui superare suos Deus optimus hostes Iustitiaque, dedit gentem frenare Britannam [She to whom I the most excellent God allow to triumph over her enemies to rule the British people with righteous governance]'. Sharpe suggested that this interpretation was 'not inappropriate', with Mary generally presenting herself as the wife of a Habsburg and restorer of Catholicism,<sup>202</sup> but it is significant that the inscription in itself does not concern Spain. It thus appears that Mary's ties to Spain and images reinforcing this, such as on her silver shilling, conditioned how even neutral iconographic schemes were interpreted.

A variety of people engaged with royal imagery in various circumstances, reinforcing earlier conclusions about how widespread such symbols were.<sup>203</sup> Different media were important in this regard, with historians' assertions that coins' commonplace nature reduced their importance as a communicative vehicle undermined.<sup>204</sup> Indeed, the Marian exiles probably referenced them precisely because their audience would know about them. Nevertheless, there are only a few examples demonstrating explicit engagement either with the iconography of monarchical symbols, like the Marian exiles, or with polemical messages produced by the manner of their display, like Catholic attacks on royal arms in churches and the Biblical verses around the arms at Bury St Edmunds. More commonly, monarchical symbols were viewed as representations of royal authority that were used to challenge this or triggered anti-monarchical discourses; more complex meanings were seemingly not usually attributed to the symbols themselves. As with the ownership of such symbols, this suggests that they had only limited effectiveness as polemical vehicles.<sup>205</sup> They remained useful as projections of royal power that drew loyal responses as much as negative ones, but the reactions and discussions that they prompted were usually shaped by people's perceptions of a monarch in general, rather than connected to particular messages represented visually.

---

<sup>202</sup> *Lamentacion*, A4<sup>v</sup>-A5<sup>r</sup>; Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 271, 530.

<sup>203</sup> See above, ch. 2.

<sup>204</sup> Anglo, *Images*, pp. 118-9; Montrose, *Subject*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>205</sup> See above, pp. 102-3, 128.

## The Reigns of Edward and Mary

Whilst people during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I insulted official books and images, there is scant evidence of this occurring in the reigns of Edward and Mary. Cressy did admittedly show that both governments encountered the problem of seditious speech, although few of his examples for either reign indicate what the words themselves were. In Edward's reign, some spoke against the king, Somerset and Northumberland, and he noted that local officials, apparently in Norwich, threatened to imprison those 'whose "treasonable words" commended the "commotion time" of 1549.<sup>206</sup> Similarly, a report concerning prisoners in the Tower from October 1549 mentioned a clerk of Plaitford, Hampshire, committed for allegedly saying, 'God sped the westorne men well for yf they do not well I know not how we shall doo'.<sup>207</sup> In Mary's reign, numerous people spoke against her, and some against the restoration of Catholicism and the Spanish marriage.<sup>208</sup> Overall though this period offers markedly less evidence of people challenging propaganda than the reigns before and after. The idea that this is because the population readily accepted government propaganda in this period is untenable. The contrasting policies of the two monarchs mean that people would not have been equally receptive to both Edwardian and Marian polemics. Nor is it likely that people simply prioritised obedience to the monarch over dislike of policy, firstly because many were willing both before and after this period to criticise their rulers' policies, and secondly because both reigns witnessed serious rebellions.<sup>209</sup>

It is probable that the haphazard survival of records has contributed to the dearth of material: the state papers for the mid-Tudor period have not survived to the same extent as in the 1530s and Elizabeth's reign. Nevertheless, other factors may be important. Edward's reign opened with the repeal of the 1534 Treason Act, so that although officials were still intent on punishing loose talk, variously defined as seditious or treasonous, this was less rigorous than before. In Mary's reign, although

---

<sup>206</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 54-7, 290.

<sup>207</sup> SP10/9, fo. 92<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>208</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 57-60.

<sup>209</sup> Fletcher, MacCulloch, *Rebellions*, chs. 5-7.

repressive legislation was enacted to deal with sedition after an initial comparable relaxation of treason laws,<sup>210</sup> in practice the government focused more on heresy.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, many committed Protestants went into exile. Their pamphlets provide almost the only evidence cited above for this period, indicating that they were the most likely to challenge government propaganda.<sup>212</sup>

In the case of print, the nature of both governments' output may help explain the apparent lack of attacks on official books. Both focused more on theological works that probably appealed more to an elite audience, with neither producing much secular propaganda.<sup>213</sup> Much of that produced by Edward's government, focusing on Scotland, was uncontroversial in view of the historically acrimonious relations between the two countries, and thus unlikely to elicit objections in England. In Mary's reign, one suspects that books like Christopherson's *Exhortation*, running to over 450 pages, would have proved too tedious for many, despite addressing a theme which stimulated considerable debate during Henry's reign.<sup>214</sup> Altogether, the absence of evidence of people discussing books and the limited evidence of them challenging their ideas could signal the inability of the few official books that were published to have any real impact on the population.

## Conclusion

Government propaganda in the sixteenth century was not universally accepted, with books and images being challenged in a variety of ways in the Henrician and Elizabethan periods. In the former, most of the critics were clergymen, which is unsurprising considering the nature of 1530s printed propaganda and the policies that it attempted to justify. In Elizabeth's reign, at least by the 1580s, most clergymen supported the official anti-Catholic policy that much political propaganda addressed. This content in turn meant that the opponents were frequently Catholics, although visual propaganda also drew negative responses from those at the other end of the religious spectrum who were disillusioned with

---

<sup>210</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 54-5, 57-8.

<sup>211</sup> Duffy, *Fires*, chs. 4-6.

<sup>212</sup> See above, pp. 289-90.

<sup>213</sup> See above, pp. 33-5.

<sup>214</sup> Christopherson, *Exhortation*; see above, pp. 252-3.

ecclesiastical policy.<sup>215</sup> Whilst some committed opponents among the Henrician clergy were possibly won over by official propaganda,<sup>216</sup> it is less clear that the same could be said for staunch Catholics in Elizabeth's reign. Perhaps the rapidly evolving religious and political situation in the 1530s, producing confusion, instability and fluid religious identities,<sup>217</sup> allowed for propaganda-inspired changes of heart in a way that the more rigid religious identities of the 1580s did not. Crucially, however, this inability to win over committed Catholics is not indicative of the failure of Elizabethan propaganda. Indeed, the government never intended to persuade them, merely to persuade everyone else. In this, the evidence of popular denunciation shows they largely succeeded.

Government propaganda enjoyed considerable success throughout the period. Often people denounced those who explicitly attacked government propaganda, demonstrating their belief that this was inherently authoritative, and showing how it could be useful in obtaining obedience. The discussions prompted by engagement with both printed and visual materials also demonstrate considerable awareness of government arguments. This represented an improvement since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when political awareness and knowledge was limited,<sup>218</sup> and shows that propaganda largely fulfilled its educative function. This in turn ensured that many were denounced for seditious speeches that contradicted official arguments even when they did not explicitly attack official propaganda.

Such attitudes help to explain the progress of the early Reformation, as government propaganda helped to obtain acceptance of largely unwanted policies. Sometimes this must have been achieved in spite of the influence of conservative clergymen over their congregations, suggesting propaganda's utility and success. Admittedly, Shagan noted that some conformed and collaborated out of self-

---

<sup>215</sup> Some of these, including clergymen, probably objected to the government's theological anti-puritan books too, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>216</sup> See above, p. 169.

<sup>217</sup> Marshall, Ryrie, 'Introduction', pp. 1-13.

<sup>218</sup> C.S.L. Davies, 'Information, Disinformation and Political Knowledge under Henry VII and early Henry VIII', *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), pp. 228-253.

interest,<sup>219</sup> but, crucially, even when people merely pretended loyalty to propaganda as a cover for less sincere motives, they implicitly acknowledged that this was a powerful, widely accepted discourse.

---

<sup>219</sup> Shagan, *Politics*, pp. 54-5.

## Conclusion

Perhaps the most obvious question regarding the reception of government propaganda is whether or not it worked. The numerous sources analysed reveal that on some occasions people straightforwardly accepted official printed polemic and visual imagery, regarding them as authoritative and therefore loyally according them respect. Of course, many cases of people rejecting government propaganda have also been highlighted, but these often reinforce the impression that it was widely held in high regard: refuting or criticising books and attacking visual symbols constituted a tacit admission that these were influential vehicles. Furthermore, knowledge of many incidents comes from offenders being denounced, highlighting popular intolerance of such actions and therefore positive attitudes towards government propaganda. These materials' authority was crucially also visible when people sought to use government propaganda for their own purposes, relying on its legitimacy, and popular awareness of this, when constructing displays of portraits and visual symbols to project personal, convenient meanings, or deploying printed books' arguments and information in novel, advantageous ways. This phenomenon is unsurprising: Sharpe emphasised the instability of meaning and the role that recipients played in constructing this, acknowledging that this could sometimes be a strength. For example, many groups attempted to appropriate Elizabeth's image to further their own agendas, so that ultimately 'her authority ... was strengthened by an image of responsiveness to the concerns and wishes of her people'.<sup>1</sup> The potential for people to see and read what they wanted to see and read, with similar monarchical images being displayed to project different meanings and readers picking out different arguments from the same books, enabled a wide variety of people to construe official propaganda, and by extension government policy, in ways that pleased them. People like the poet Wilfred Holme and Job Throckmorton could potentially sincerely believe that monarchs shared their views when their positions actually differed dramatically. Propaganda's unstable meanings thus help to explain why many people were content to support official policy.

---

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 21-6, 320.

Acknowledging the authority that government propaganda was considered to have and its ability to be accepted by a broad audience is particularly important for understanding England's Reformation. Reactions to Henrician propaganda that reveal loyalism, directly and indirectly, to have been a powerful force potentially help to explain the so-called 'compliance conundrum': Henry's successful implementation of apparently unpopular, unwanted policies. Undoubtedly some were driven by self-interest to accept religious changes or denounce those who would not,<sup>2</sup> but insincere pretences of loyalty were still significant in showing how Henry's government succeeded in defining perceptions of loyalty and securing outward obedience, whilst the fact that evidence comes from an array of sources, not all of which were necessarily public, like marginalia, makes it unwise to be overly sceptical of people's apparently genuine motivations. Furthermore, responses to official Elizabethan propaganda suggest that loyalty remained pervasive later in the century, which was crucial given aggressive challenges to Elizabeth's religious settlement from both Protestants and Catholics.

Nevertheless, despite propaganda's value in helping to secure popular support, Sharpe discerned a problem with making representations to the people: these were part of the process whereby authority and legitimacy were constructed and negotiated, with sovereignty inevitably becoming demystified and democratised, and the masses gaining something akin to power through the 'gradual enthralment of the monarchy to its subjects'.<sup>3</sup> Crucially, despite this argument's theoretical soundness, evidence of how people received propaganda suggests that they did not actually see themselves as constructing monarchical authority. Rather, those who redeployed propaganda depended upon this authority to reinforce their own. Whilst some misrepresented official propaganda and thus the monarchy, this was not the same thing as gaining power over the monarchy.

Official propaganda did, however, create some genuine problems. Contrary to elite beliefs that matters of state were no business of the commons,<sup>4</sup> evidence of popular denunciations in particular highlights how frequently the masses discussed polemics and politics more generally. Indeed, Sharpe

---

<sup>2</sup> Shagan, *Politics*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>3</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 481.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 63.

argued that in the 1530s ‘the representational state’ unintentionally prompted such ‘critical discussion of politics’, believing that this constituted the emergence of a public sphere.<sup>5</sup> Although Pincus, Lake and Questier’s arguments about the creation of an Elizabethan ‘post-Reformation public sphere’ and new mode of politics appear doubtful given that the aims of government printed propaganda, explaining policy and answering critics, remained broadly constant throughout the period, with certain strategies, like attempting to direct monarchs’ policies, pre-dating c.1570,<sup>6</sup> it does not follow that Sharpe is correct. Grounding his concept of the public sphere on popular discussion of politics and pointing to proclamations against rumours as proof that Henry and his children ‘discerned’ this makes assigning its emergence to a particular point in time a somewhat arbitrary exercise that depends entirely on highly contestable qualitative judgements.<sup>7</sup> Seditious speeches were punished throughout the fifteenth century, and are indicative of popular debate. This may have been less well informed, perhaps because propaganda was previously issued on a smaller scale, but unlike Davies, who followed Habermas in considering ‘critical discussion’ important to a public sphere,<sup>8</sup> Sharpe focused on a broad public political discussion ‘that should not be subordinated to notions of a superior bourgeois “rationality”’.<sup>9</sup> A lack of sophistication should not therefore matter.

Ultimately, the sizable differences in historians’ definitions of the public sphere, and consequent danger of using similar terminology to discuss different things, make employing the term problematic. The key point for these purposes is that subjects did not respond passively, as governments probably intended. Instead, propaganda likely did stimulate, although not create, popular discussion, involving

---

<sup>5</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>6</sup> Lake, “Popularity”, pp. 59-94; Lake, Pincus, ‘Rethinking’, pp. 1-30; Lake, Questier, ‘Campion’, pp. 587-627; see above, pp. 39-42. Some of the other defining characteristics of this concept were similarly not new in Elizabeth’s reign. 1530s propaganda involved numerous media, and, being often based on appeals to ‘true religion’ or national and monarchical security, was arguably legitimated ‘in terms of some general public interest’, social, religious or political. The use of arguments based on scripture and historical precedent were similarly also ‘cast in terms of generally knowable principles or criteria or truth or interest’. Lake’s own work arguably undermined the claim that these attempts to influence depended more on ‘the cogency of the message’ and ‘the closeness of the fit between that message and the general criteria of truth’ than on ‘the personal authority, institutional standing or political connections’ of those propagating them: his description of the rhetorical strategies employed by the anonymous *Salutem in Christo* to make the unknown author appear well-informed and thus reliable suggests that the ‘cogency of the message’ was linked to the ‘personal authority’ and ‘political connections’ of the narrator, not distinct from it.

<sup>7</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>8</sup> Cressy, *Talk*, pp. 43-7; Davies, ‘Information’, pp. 228-52.

<sup>9</sup> Sharpe, *Selling*, p. 31.

the masses' unwanted intrusion into matters of state and often their voicing of potentially damaging opinions.

Furthermore, whilst the potential for propaganda to be interpreted differently by a range of people was a potential strength, this arguably occurred more by accident than design. The care with which officials crafted polemical messages suggests that they wanted to make specific points; they probably therefore found the appropriation and twisting of propaganda irritating. Some of this was likely done deliberately, but perhaps more worryingly, the potential for people to accidentally misrepresent propaganda by sub-consciously interpreting it according to their own pre-existing beliefs raises the important question of how far official polemical materials could ever change people's minds. Whilst there is some evidence of this, it is seemingly rare, despite the efforts of Henry's government to engage opponents with official materials. Perhaps there was little reason to record changes of heart, or perhaps these simply did not occur with great frequency.

These observations thus suggest that in several important ways government propaganda fell short of success: a potential inability to actively change people's opinions, as well as a liability to be misunderstood, deliberately or sincerely, that similarly ensured that it could not inculcate specific messages, all the while accidentally inviting the masses to discuss politics. Yet, popular debate at least showed that propaganda largely achieved its educative function, given reasonable awareness of official ideas, whilst the redeployment of government arguments in new ways symbolised an acceptance of monarchical authority, and highlighted loyalty to the crown's status as a valuable societal discourse. As for changing minds, this was not always propaganda's goal. After Elizabeth's religious settlement, her reign featured no shifts in policy comparable to those of the 1530s that would have forced the majority of the population to fundamentally alter their worldview. Elizabethan propaganda consequently focused on keeping people onside, perhaps not an easy task but arguably simpler than that facing Henry's government: convincing people to change long held beliefs. Evidence of success in this regard may be thin, but many viewed official propaganda as authoritative and thus complied on this basis, allowing the government to secure a reasonable level of obedience.

Ultimately, this is perhaps the crucial point. Propaganda's fundamental purpose was to help the government control the population. This rested far more on outward conformity than inner belief, and the former was evident in reactions of all kinds to propaganda, sincere and self-interested. There were evidently limits, visible by several large-scale rebellions throughout the period. But even then the fact that propaganda was considered part of the answer to these problems is significant in revealing official estimates of its utility. Given the importance of compliance in sixteenth-century government, the ability of propaganda to help the crown promote its authority and obtain obedience, even in sometimes unpredictable and uncontrollable ways, made it extremely useful.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Manuscript

#### HATFIELD

##### Hatfield House

Cecil Papers, 13, 28-9, 32-3, 43, 53, 70, 86, 88, 137, 142, 144, 153, 173, 181-2.

#### LONDON

##### British Library

Cotton Cleopatra EV, E/IV, E/VI.

Cotton Julius F/VI.

Harley 6148.

Lansdowne Vol/20, 36, 38, 43, 45,64, 75, 77.

Stowe 166 EP I.

Yelverton 48027.

##### National Art Library

86.ZZ.130.

##### Public Record Office (The National Archives)

E36 Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Miscellaneous Books.

E101 King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various.

E154 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer and Treasury of the Receipt: Inventories of Goods and Chattels.

E178 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Special Commissions of Inquiry.

E199 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Sheriffs' Accounts, Petitions, etc.

LR1 Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue and predecessors: Enrolment Books.

PROB2 Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Other Probate Jurisdictions: Inventories compiled before 1661.

PROB11 Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers.

SP1 State Papers, Henry VIII: General Series.

SP2 State Papers, Henry VIII: Folios.

SP3 Lisle Papers.

SP6 Theological Tracts Henry VIII.

SP10 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Edward VI.

SP11 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Mary I.

SP12 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I.

SP15 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Edward VI-James I: Addenda.

SP 46 State Papers Domestic: Supplementary.

SP63 State Paper Office: State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth I to George III.

SP70 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth I.

SP77 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Flanders.

SP78 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, France.

SP83 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland and Flanders.

SP84 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland.

SP99 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Venice.

NORWICH  
Norfolk Record Office

DN/INV 1B, 2, 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 31.

OXFORD  
Bodleian Library

Rawlinson D1175.

SAN MARINO, CA.  
The Huntington Library

HA Inventories Box 1.  
HM 102.  
HM 3118.

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
Folger Shakespeare Library

G.b.4.  
K.b.1.  
L.b.184.  
L.b.420.  
L.b.550.  
V.a.334.  
V.a.459, iii.  
V.b.127.  
V.b.214.  
X.d.555.

YORK  
Borthwick Institute for Archives

Chancery Court inventories.  
Dean and Chapter Court inventories.  
Prerogative Court inventories.

Primary Sources: Original Early Printed Books

CAMBRIDGE  
Cambridge University Library

Peterborough.B.2.29.  
SSS.17.29.  
SSS.24.18.  
SSS.46.18.  
Syn.7.53.14.  
Syn.7.53.27.  
Syn.7.58.79.  
Syn.7.60.131.  
Syn.8.53.67.

St John's College, Cambridge

Aa.6.66.

Aa.6.70.

Trinity College, Cambridge

C.7.21.

C.8.22.

CAMBRIDGE, MA.

Harvard University Library

STC 5207 (seen as Huntington 411580).

DUBLIN

Trinity College, Dublin

Crofton 15.

P.mm.14.

LONDON

British Library

440.i.16.

599.b.5.

697.a.17.

C.194.a.851.

G.504.

G.5443.

G.5445.

G.5927.

NEW HAVEN

Beinecke

Bz4 62.

Ocm16 536R.

Ocm16 554C.

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

4<sup>0</sup> B 49 Jur.

4<sup>0</sup> H 6 Th.Seld.

4<sup>0</sup> P. 52 Art.Seld.

4<sup>0</sup> S 1 Th.Seld.

4<sup>0</sup> W 10 Th.Seld.

4A<sup>0</sup> K 27 Th.BS.

8 C 154 Th.

8<sup>0</sup> I 66 Linc.

8<sup>0</sup> V 71 Th.

B 8.5 Linc.

Douce C 404.

Johnson e.385.  
Mason AA 137.  
Mason E 14.  
Smith.news.e.7.  
Tanner 186.  
Vet. A1 e.74.  
Vet.A1.e.164.  
Wood 586.  
Wood 615.

Christ Church Special Collections

Wd.6.24.

SAN MARINO, CA.  
The Huntington Library

489015.

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
Folger Shakespeare Library

230- 169q.  
STC 1454 Copy 1.  
STC 3981 Copy 3.  
STC 4901 Copy 2.  
STC 4902 Copies 1, 3, 4.  
STC 4903 Copies 1, 3.  
STC 5207.  
STC 6166 Copy 1.  
STC 9189.  
STC 14287 Copy 1, 2.  
STC 15412 Copy 1.  
STC 18259.  
STC 19342a.2.

Primary Sources: Printed

*Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J.R. Dasent (46 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1890-1964).  
*An advertisement and defence for trueth against her backbiters and specially against the whispring fauourers, and colourers of Campions, and the rest of his confederats treasons* (London, 1581; STC 153.7).  
Alesius, A., *A treatise concernynge generall councilles, the byshoppes of Rome, and the clergy* (London, 1538; STC 24237).  
Allen, W., *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of XII. reuerend priests, executed vvithin these tvveluemonethes for confession and defence of the Catholike faith But vnder the false pretence of treason* (Rheims, 1582; STC 369.5).  
*A true, sincere and modest defence, of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad against a false, seditious and slanderous libel intituled; The exectuion of iustice in England. VVherein is declared, hovv vniustlie the Protestants doe charge Catholiques vvith treason* (Rouen, 1584; STC 373).  
*Ambassades de mm. de Noailles en Angleterre*, ed. A. de Vertot d'Anbeuf, C. Villaret (5 vols., Leyden, 1763).

- Ansvvere made by the kynges hyghnes to the petitions of the rebelles in Yorkeshire* (London, 1536; STC 13077).
- Ansvvere to the petitions of the traytours and rebelles in Lyncolneshyre* (London, 1536; STC 13077.5).
- E. Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.* (5 vols., London: Stationers Company, 1875-94).
- Aretius, B., *D. Benedicti Aretii ... Sermones tres de cœna Domini* (Lausanne, 1578).
- Arnauld, A., *The arrainment of the whole society of Iesuits in France, holden in the honourable court of Parliament in Paris, the 12. and 13. of Iuly. 1594 wherein is laied open to the world, that, howsoever this new sect pretendeth matter of religion, yet their whole trauales, endeouours, and bent, is but to set vp the kingdome of Spaine, and to make him the onely monarch of all the west* (London, 1594; STC 779.5).
- Le franc discours A discourse, presented of late to the French King, in aunswer of sundry requests made vnto him, for the restoring of the Iesuits into Fraunce, as well by theyr friends abroad, & at home, as by themselues in diuers petitionarie bookes* (London, 1602; STC 780).
- Articles deuised by the holle consent of the kynges moste honourable counsayle, his gracis licence opteined therto, not only to exhorte, but also to enfourme his louynge subiectis of the trouthe* (London, 1533, 1534, STC 9177-8).
- Aske, J., *Elizabetha triumphans Conteyning the dammed practizes, that the diuelish popes of Rome haue vsed euer sithence her Highnesse first comming to the Crowne, by mouing her wicked and traiterous subjects to rebellion and conspiracies, thereby to bereaue her Maiestie both of her lawfull seate, and happy life* (London, 1588; STC 847).
- Ayscu, E., *A historie contayning the vvarres, treaties, marriages, and other occurrents betweene England and Scotland from King William the Conqueror, vntill the happy vnion of them both in our gracious King Iames* (London, 1607; STC 1014).
- Bacon, F., *A letter vwritten out of England to an English gentleman remaining at Padua containing a true report of a strange conspiracie, contriued betweene Edward Squire, lately executed for the same treason as actor, and Richard Walpoole a Iesuite, as deuiser and suborner against the person of the Queenes Maiestie* (London, 1599; STC 10017-.5).
- A declaration of the practises & treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his complices, against her Maiestie and her kingdoms and of the proceedings as well at the arraignments & conuictions of the said late Earle, and his adherents, as after* (London, 1601; STC 1133).
- Bagshaw, C., *A sparing discouerie of our English Iesuits, and of Fa. Parsons proceedings vnder pretence of promoting the Catholike faith in England for a caueat to all true Catholiks our very louing brethren and friends, how they embrace such very vncatholike, though Iesuiticall deseignments* (London, 1601; STC 25126).
- Balmford, J., *A position maintained by I.B. before the late Earle of Huntingdon: viz. Priests are executed not for religion, but for treason* (London, 1600; STC 1334.5).
- Barlow, W., *A dialoge describing the originall ground of these Lutheran faccions, and many of their abuses* (London, 1553; STC 1462).
- Barlow, W., *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse, on the first Sunday in Lent: Martij 1. 1600 With a short discourse of the late Earle of Essex his confession, and penitence, before and at the time of his death* (London, 1601; STC 1454).
- Beecheno, F. R. (ed.), 'The Sucklings' House at Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 20 (1921), pp. 158-77.
- Bilson, T., *The true difference betweene Christian subiection and unchristian rebellion wherein the princes lawfull power to commaund for trueth, and indepriuable right to beare the sword are defended against the Popes censures and the Iesuits sophismes vttered in their apologie and defence of English Catholikes* (Oxford, 1585; STC 3071).
- Bodrigan, N., *An epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the souereigntie of Scotlande continued vpon the auncient writers of both nacions, from the beginning* (London, 1548; STC 3196).

- A boke made by Iohn Frith prisoner in the tower of London answeringe vnto M mores lettur which he wrote agenst the first litle treatyse that Iohn Frith made concerninge the sacramente of the body and bloude of christ* (Antwerp, 1533; STC 11381).
- Bongars, J., *An aunsvere to the excommunication lately denounced and published by Sixtus Quintus, Pope of Rome so called against the two Christian princes, Henry king of Nauarre, and Henry Prince of Conde, made by the saide princes, and sent to Rome* (London, 1585; STC 13105).
- Boynton, L., Thornton, P. (eds.), 'A Hardwick Hall Inventory of 1601', *Furniture History*, 7 (1971), pp. 1-40.
- Bradshaw, W., *A triall of subscription by way of a preface vnto certaine subscribers; and, reasons for lesse rigour against non-subscribers* (Middelburg, 1599; STC 24273).
- Brooks, J., *A sermon very notable, fructefull, and godlie made at Paules crosse the. xii. daie of Nouembre, in the first yere of the gracious reigne of our Souereigne ladie Quene Marie her moste excellente highnesse* (London, 1553, 1554; STC 3838-9.3).
- Buchanan, G., *De Maria Scotorum Regina totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione, foedo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena & tragica planè historia* (London, 1571; STC 3978).  
*Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes thouchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretended mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis graces actioun and authoritie* (London, 1571; STC 3981).  
*Ane admonition direct to the trew Lordis mantenaris of the Kingis graces authoritie* (London, 1571; STC 3967-8).
- Burnet, G., *The history of the reformation of the Church of England. of the prograss made in it during the reign of K. Henry the VIII* (London, 1679).
- Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas*, ed. M.A.S. Hume (4 vols., London: printed for H. M. Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892-9).
- Calendar of Letters, Dispatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between Spain and England*, ed. P. de Gayangos (13 vols., London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862-1954).
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, ed. R. Brown (38 vols., London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864-1947).
- Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. J. Stevenson (23 vols., London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1863-1950).
- Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath: Preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire* (5 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1904-80).
- Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury ... Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* (24 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1883-1976).
- Calphill, J., *An aunsvere to the Treatise of the crosse wherin ye shal see by the plaine and vndoubted word of God, the vanities of men disproued: by the true and godly fathers of the Church, the dreames and dotages of other controlled: and by lavvfull counsels, conspiracies ouerthrowen* (London, 1565; STC 4368).
- Camden, W., *The historie of the most renowned and victorious princesse Elizabeth, late Queene of England Contayning all the important and remarkeable passages of state both at home and abroad, during her long and prosperous raigne* (London, 1630; STC 4500).
- Cecil, R., *The copie of a letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of Leycester, Lieutenant generall of all her Maiesties forces in the vnitied Prouinces of the lowe Countreys written before, but deliuered at his returne from thence* (London, 1586; STC 6052-3).
- Cecil, W., *The execution of iustice in England for maintenaunce of publike and Christian peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the realme, without any persecution of them for questions of religion, as is falsely reported and published by the fautors and fosterers of their treasons* (London, 1583, 1584; STC 4902-7).

- The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza ambassadour in France for the King of Spaine declaring the state of England, contrary to the opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his partizans Spaniardes and others* (London, 1588; STC 15412-4.6).
- A true report of sundry horrible conspiracies of late time detected to haue (by barbarous murders) taken away the life of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie whom Almighty God hath miraculously conserued against the trecheries of her rebelles, and the violences of her most puissant enemies* (London, 1594; STC 7603, 7580).
- Charke, W., *An answere to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroad by a Iesuite with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect* (London, 1580, 1581; STC 5005-6).
- A replie to a censure written against the two answers to a Iesuites seditious pamphlet* (London, 1581; STC 5007).
- A treatise against the Defense of the censure, giuen upon the bookes of W.Charke and Meredith Hanmer, by an unknowne popish traytor in maintenance of the seditious challenge of Edmond Campion* (Cambridge, 1586; STC 5009).
- Cheke, J., *The hurt of sedicion howe greueous it is to a commune welth* (London, 1549; STC 5109-10).
- Christopherson, J., *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion wherein are set forth the causes, that commonlye moue men to rebellion, and that no cause is there, that ought to moue any man there vnto* (London, 1554; STC 5207).
- Churchyard, T., *The vvorthines of VVales* (London, 1587; STC 5261).
- Clark, W., *A replie vnto a certaine libell, latelie set fourth by Fa: Parsons, in the name of vnited priests, intituled, A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit, of certaine in England, calling themselues seculer priestes* (London, 1603; STC 4321).
- Clarke, T., *The recantation of Thomas Clarke (sometime a Seminarie Priest of the English Colledge in Rhemes; and nowe by the great mercy of God conuerted vnto the profession of the gospell of Iesus Christ) made at Paules Crosse, after the sermon made by Master Buckeridge preacher, the first of Iuly, 1593* (London, 1594; STC 5366).
- Cockburn, J. S. (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records. Hertfordshire Indictments, Elizabeth I* (London: H.M.S.O., 1975).
- Calendar of Assize Records. Sussex indictments, Elizabeth I* (London: H.M.S.O., 1975).
- Cockburn, P., *Oratio ... de vtilitate, et excellentia verbi Dei* (Paris, 1551).
- A copie of a letter lately sent by a gentleman, student in the lawes of the realme, to a frende of his concernyng. D. Story* (London, 1571; STC 23296).
- The copie of a letter written by one in London to his frend concernyng the credit of the late published detection of the doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland* (London, 1572; STC 17565).
- Cosin, R., *Conspiracie, for pretended reformation viz. presbyteriall discipline. A treatise discovering the late designments and courses held for aduancement thereof, by William Hacket yeoman, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington Gent.* (London, 1592; STC 5823).
- Costin, W. C. (ed.), 'The Inventory of John English, B.C.L., Fellow of St. John's College', *Oxoniensia*, 11, 12 (1948 for 1946-7), pp. 102-31.
- Covell, W., *Polimanteia, or, The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to iudge of the fall of a commonwealth, against the friuolous and foolish coniectures of this age* (Cambridge; London, 1595; STC 5883).
- Cranmer, T., *All the submyssyons, and recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archebyshop of Canterburie truely set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreable to the originalles, wrytten and subscribed with his owne hande* (London, 1556; STC 5990).
- Crompton, R., *A short declaration of the ende of traytors, and false conspirators against the state & of the duetie of subiectes to theyr soueraigne gouernour* (London, 1587; STC 6055).
- Crossley, E. W. (ed.) 'A Templenewsam Inventory, 1565', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 25 (1920), pp. 94-100.
- D., G., *A briefe discoverie of Doctor Allens seditious drifts contriued in a pamphlet written by him, concerning the yeelding vp of the towne of Deuenter, (in Ouerrissel) vnto the king of Spain, by Sir William Stanley* (London, 1588; STC 6166).

- A declaration conteyning the iust causes and consyderations of this present warre with the Scottis wherin alsoo appereth the trewe & right title the Kinges Most Royall Maiesty hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande* (London, 1542; STC 9179-.3).
- A declaration of the causes moouing the Queene of England to giue aide to the defence of the people afflicted and oppressed in the lowe countries* (London, 1585; STC 9189-3).
- A declaration of the causes mouing the Queenes Maiestie of England, to prepare and send a nauy to the seas, for the defence of her realmes against the King of Spaines forces to bee published by the generals of the saide nauy, to the intent that it shall appeare to the world, that her maiestie armeth her nauy onely to defend her selfe, and to offend her enemies, and not to offend any other, that shall forbear to strengthen her enemy, but to vse them with all lawfull fauours* (London, 1596; STC 9203-8).
- A declaration of the causes, which mooued the chiefe commanders of the nauie of her most excellent Maiestie the Queene of England, in their voyage and expedition for Portingal, to take and arrest in the mouth of the riuer of Lisbone, certaine shippes of corne and other prouisions of warre bound for the said citie prepared for the seruices of the King of Spaine, in the ports and prouinces within and about the Sownde, the 30. day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1589. and of her Maiesties raigne the one and thirtie* (London, 1589; STC 9196-8).
- A declaration of the iust causes moouing Her Maiestie to send a nauie, and armie to the seas, and toward Spaine* (London, 1597; STC 9208.2-.5).
- A declaration of the Quene's Maiestie: Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of England, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendor of the fayth, &c. Conteyning the causes which have constrayned her to arme certeine of her subiectes, for defence both of her owne estate, and of the moste Christian kyng, Charles the nynth, her good brother, and his subiectes* (London, 1562; STC 9187-.3).
- Deloney, T., *A ioyful nevv ballad, declaring the happie obtaining of the great galleazo, wherein Don Pietro de Valdez was the chiefe through the mightie power and prouidence of God, being a speciall token of his gracious and fatherly goodnes towards vs, to the great encouragement of all those that willingly fight in the defence of his gospel and our good Queene of England* (London, 1588; STC 6557).
- The Queenes visiting of the campe at Tilsburie with her entertainment there* (London, 1588; STC 6565).
- The determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent vniuersities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so vnlefull for a man to marie his brothers wyfe, that the pope hath no power to dispence therewith* (London, 1531, STC 14287).
- Dudley, J., *The saying of Iohn late Duke of Northumberlande vppon the scaffold, at the tyme of his execution The. xxii. of Auguste* (London, 1553; STC 7283).
- Enormytees vsyd by the clergy* (1532; STC 10421.5).
- An epistle of the moste myghty [and] redouted Prince Henry the .viii. by the grace of God Kyng of England and of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande, defender of the faithe, and supreme heed of the churche of England, nexte vnder Christe, writen to the Emperours maiestie, to all Christen princes, and to all those that trewly and syncerely professe Christes religion* (London, 1538; STC 13081.3).
- Evans, J. (ed.), 'Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth', *Archaeologia*, 36 (1855), pp. 284-310.
- Fehrenbach, R. J., Leedham-Green, E. S. (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: a Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists* (7 vols., Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies; Marlborough: Adam Matthew, 1992).
- Fisher, J., *De causa matrimonii ... regis Angliæ liber* (Alcalá de Henares, 1530).
- Fitzherbert, T., *A defence of the Catholyke cause contayning a treatise in confutation of sundry vntruthes and slanders, published by the heretykes, as wel in infamous lybels as otherwyse, against all english Catholyks in general, & some in particular, not only concerning matter of state, but also matter of religion* (Antwerp, 1602; STC 11016).
- Fleetwood, W., *The effect of the declaration made in the Guildhall by M. Recorder of London, concerning the late attemptes of the Quenes Maiesties euill, seditious, and disobedient subiectes* (London, 1571; STC 11036).

- Fox, E., *Opus eximium, de vera differentia regiae potestatis et ecclesiasticae et quae sit ipsa veritas ac virtus vtriusque* (London, 1534, 1538, STC 11218-9).
- Fylloll, J., *Agaynst the possessyons of the clergye* (London, 1537; STC 11489).
- G., R., *Salutem in Christo* (London, 1571; STC 11504-6).
- Gardiner, S., *Stephani VVinton. Episcopi de vera obedientia oratio* (London, 1535, STC 11584).
- Gerrard, P., *A godly inuectiue in the defence of the Gospell against such as murmure and woorke what thei can that the Bible shoulde not haue free passage, veray necessary to be red of euery faythfull Christian* (London, 1547; STC 11797).
- A glasse of the truthe* (London, 1532, STC 11918-9.5).
- Goldring, E., 'The Earl of Leicester's Household Inventory of Kenilworth Castle, c.1578', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 2 (2007), pp. 37-59.
- Grange, E. L., Hudson, J. C. (eds.), *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, 1 (1888).
- Grimald, N., *Oratio ad pontifices* (London, 1583; STC 12371).
- Groos, G. W. (ed.), *The Diary of Baron Waldstein, a Traveller in Elizabethan England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981).
- Grauissimae, atque exactissimae illustrissimarum totius Italiae, et Galliae academiarum censurae efficacissimis etiam quorundam doctissimorum uirorum argumentationibus explicatae, de ueritate illius propositionis; uidelicet quod ducere relictam fratris mortui sine liberis, ita sit de iure diuino et naturali prohibitum: ut nullus pontifex super huiusmodi matrimonijs contractis, siue contrahendis dispensare possit* (London, 1530, STC 14286).
- Gwynneth, J., *A briefe declaration of the notable victory given of God to our Soueraygne Ladye Quene Marye made in the church of Luton the 23 July in the first yere of her gracious reign* (London, 1553; STC 12556.7).
- Hainault, J. D., *The estate of the Church, with the discourse of times, from the apostles vntill this present* (London, 1602; STC 6036).
- Hall, E., *The vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke beeyng long in continual discension for the croune of this noble realme with all the actes done in bothe the tymes of the princes, bothe of the one linage and of the other, beginnyng at the tyme of kyng Henry the fowerth, the first aucthor of this deuision, and so successiuey proceadyng to the reigne of the high and prudent prince kyng Henry the eight, the vndubitate flower and very heire of both the sayd linages* (London, 1548, 1550; STC 12721-3a).
- Hanmer, M., *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite commonlye called Edmund Campion, latelye arriued in Englande, contayninge nyne articles here seuerallye laide downe, directed by him to the lordes of the Counsaile* (London, 1581; STC 12745).  
*The Iesuites banner Displaying their original and successe: their vow and othe: their hypocrisie and superstition: their doctrine and positions: with a confutation of a late pamphlet secretly imprinted and entituled: A briefe censure vpon two bookes written in answeare to M. Campions offer of disputation* (London, 1581; STC 12746).
- Harchies, J. D., *Pro instauratione reipublicae angl proque; illustrissimi domini Reginaldi Poli. sanctae Romanae ecclesiae tituli sanctae mariae in cosmedim, diaconi cardinalis, sedis apostolicae legati a latere* (London, 1554; STC 12753).
- Harding, T., *A confutation of a booke intituled An apologie of the Church of England* (1565, Antwerp; STC 12762).
- Harpsfield, N., *A Treatise on the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon* (London: printed for the Camden Society, 1878).
- Harrison, B. A. (ed.), *A Tudor Journal: the Diary of a Priest in the Tower, 1580-1585* (London: St Pauls, 2000).
- Harrison, J., *An exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme them selves to the honorable, expedient, and godly vnion, betwene the twoo realmes of Englande and Scotlande* (London, 1547; STC 12857).
- Hartley, T. E. (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I* (3 vols., Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981-1995).
- Hastings, F., *A watch-word to all religious, and true hearted English-men* (London, 1598; STC 12927).

- An apologie or defence of the watch-vvord, against the virulent and seditious ward-vvord published by an English-Spaniard, lurking vnder the title of N.D.* (London, 1600; STC 12928).
- Hentzner, P., *Travels in England during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London; New York: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1889).
- Hicks, L. (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J.* (London: Privately printed for the Society by J. Whitehead & Son, Leeds, 1942).
- Histoire veritable de la conspiration de Guillaume Parry* (La Rochelle, 1585).
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (8 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1901-13).
- Hogarde, M., *The assault of the sacrament of the altar* (London, 1554; STC 13556).  
*A treatise declaring howe Christ by peruerse preaching was banished out of this realme: and howe it hath pleased God to bryng Christ home againe by Mary our moost gracious queen* (London, 1554; STC 13560.6).  
*A treatise entituled the path waye to the towre of perfection* (London, 1554; STC 13561).  
*A mirrour of loue, which such light doth giue, that all men may learne, how to loue and liue* (London, 1555; STC 13559).  
*The displaying of the Protestantes and sondry their practises, with a description of diuers their abuses of late frequented within their malignaunte churche* (London, 1556; STC 13557-8).
- Holinshed, R., *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (London, 1587; STC 13569).  
*The holy bull, and crusado of Rome first published by the holy father Gregory the xiii. and afterwards renewed and ratified by Sixtus the fift : for all those which desire full pardon and indulgence of their sinnes* (London, 1588; STC 12354).
- Humphrey, L., *Iesuitismi pars prima* (London, 1582; STC 13961-5).
- Hurault, M., *A discourse vpon the present estate of France together with a copie of the kings letters patents, declaring his mind after his departure out of Paris* (1588; STC 14004).
- I., T., *A ioyful song of the royall receiuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into her highnesse campe at Tilsburie in Essex* (London, 1588; STC 14067).
- Ingatestone Hall in 1600: An Inventory* (Chelmsford, 1954).  
 'Inventory for Probate of the Goods of Robert, Earl of Leicester, 1588', *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), pp. 28-48.
- Jardine, D., *Criminal Trials* (2 vols., London, C. Knight, 1832-5).
- Jewel, J., *Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae* (London, 1562; STC 14581).  
*An apologie, or aunswer in defence of the Church of England concerninge the state of religion vsed in the same* (London, 1562, 1564; STC 14590-1).  
*A replie vnto M. Hardinges answeare by perusinge whereof the discrete, and diligent reader may easily see, the weake, and vnstable groundes of the Romaine religion, whiche of late hath bene accompted Catholique* (London, 1565, 1566; STC 14606-7).  
*A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande conteininge an answeare to a certaine booke lately set foorth by M. Hardinge, and entituled, A confutation of &c* (London, 1567, 1570, 1571; STC 14600.5-2).
- Kelton, A., *A chronycle with a genealogie declaryng that the Brittons and Welshemen are linealiye dyscended from Brute* (London, 1547; STC 14918).
- Kingsmill, A., *A vieve of mans estate wherein the great mercie of God in mans free iustification by Christ, is very comfortably declared* (London, 1574; STC 15003).
- The lamentacion of England* (Germany, 1558; STC 10015).
- The life and end of Thomas Awfeeld a seminary preest and Thomas Webley a dyers seruant in London beeing both traitours who were condemned as fellons for bringing seditious books into this realme and dispersing of the same, among their fauourers* (London, 1585; STC 997).
- Leedham-Green, E. S. (ed.), *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

- Leedham-Green, E. S., Rhodes, D. E., Stubbings, F. H. (eds.), *Garrett Godfrey's Accounts, c.1527-1533* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1992).
- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. Brewer, J. S. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1862-1932).
- List and Analysis of State Papers: Foreign Series: Elizabeth I; Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. R. B. Wernham (7 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1964-2000).
- The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland* (4 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1888-1905).
- Marshall, G., *A compendious treatise in metre declaring the firste originall of sacrifice, and of the buylding of aultares and churches, and of the firste receauinge of the Christen fayth here in Englande* (London, 1554; STC 17469).
- Marsilius of Padua, *The defence of peace* (London, 1535; STC 17817).
- Martial, J., *A replie to M. Calfhills blasphemous answer made against the Treatise of the crosse* (Louvain, 1566; STC 17497).
- Matthew, S., *A sermon made in the cathedrall churche of Saynt Paule at London, the XXVII. day of June, Anno. 1535* (London, 1535; STC 17656).
- A message sent by the kynges Maiestie, to certain of his people, assembled in Deuonshire* (London, 1549; STC 7506).
- Morison, R., *A Lamentation in which is shewed what ruyne cometh of seditious rebellyon* (London, 1536; STC 18113.3).
- A Remedy for Sedition* (London, 1536; STC 18113.7).
- A comfortable consolation wherin the people may se, howe far greater cause they have to be glad for the ioyful byrth of prince Edwarde, than sory for the dethe of queen Iane* (London, 1537; STC 18109.5).
- Apomaxis Calumniarum, convitiourumque, quibus Ioannes Coclęus,....Henrii octavi, famam impetere,.....studuit* (London, 1537; STC 18109).
- An invective against the great and detestable vice, treason* (London, 1539; STC 18111-3).
- An exhortation to stirre all Englyshe men to the defence of theyr countreye* (London, 1539; STC 18110.5).
- Mornay, P. D., *An aduertisement from a French gentleman, touching the intention and meaning which those of the house of Guise haue in their late leuying of forces and armes in the realme of France written as an answere to a certaine declaration published in the name of the Cardinal of Burbon* (London, 1585; STC 5010).
- A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man sette furthe by the kynges maiestie of Englande &c* (London, 1543; STC 5168).
- Nicholls, J., *A declaration of the recantation of Iohn Nichols (for the space almost of two yeees the Popes scholer in the English Seminarie or Colledge at Rome) which desireth to be reconciled and receiued as a member into the true Church of Christ in England* (London, 1581; STC 18533-.5).
- Iohn Niccols pilgrimage whrein is displaid the liues of the proude popes, ambitious cardinals, lecherous bishops, fat bellied monkes, and hypocriticall Iesuites* (London, 1581; STC 18534).
- The oration and sermon made at Rome by commaundement of the foure cardinalles, and the Dominican inquisitour, vpon paine of death* (London, 1581; STC 18535-6a).
- Nichols, J. G. (ed.), *The Unton Inventories, Relating to Wadley and Faringdon, Co. Berks. in the Years 1596 and 1620, from the Originals in the Possession of Earl Ferrers* (London: Printed for the Berkshire Ashmolean Society, by John Bowyer Nichols and Son, Parliament Street, 1841).
- Norden, J., *A mirror for the multitude, or Glasse Wherein maie be seene, the violence, the error, the weaknesse, and rash consent, of the multitude, and the daungerous resolution of such, as without regard of the truth, endeaour to sinne and ioyne themselues with the multitude* (London, 1586; STC 18613).
- Norton, T., *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolke and the Queene of Scottes* (London, 1569; STC 13869-70).

- To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes of the northe contreye, drawne into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland* (London, 1569; STC 18679.5-82).
- A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes, and specially the parteners of the late rebellion* (London, 1569, 1570; STC 18685.3-6).
- An addition declaratorie to the bulles, with a searching of the maze* (London, 1570; STC 18678a-.5).
- All such treatises as haue been lately published by Thomas Norton the titles whereof appeare in the next side* (London, 1570; STC 18677).
- A bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding & other by reconcilment and assoyling of English Papistes, to vndermyne faith and alleageance to the Quene* (London, 1570; STC 18677.5-8).
- A disclosing of the great bull and certain calues that he hath gotten, and specially the monster bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate* (London, 1570; STC 18679).
- A declaration of the fauourable dealing of her Maiesties commissioners appointed for the examination of certain traitours and of tortures vniustly reported to be done vpon them for matters of religion* (London, 1583; STC 4901).
- Nowell, A., *A true report of the disputation or rather priuate conference had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion Iesuite, the last of August. 1581* (London, 1583; STC 18744-.5).
- Oratio pia, & erudita pro statu illustrissimorum principum Philippi & Mariae regis et reginae Angliae Francia etc. ut deus eos hi multos annos conferuet, & illustrissimam reginam faciat pulchra prole letam matrem* (London, 1554; STC 19836).
- Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, ed. H. Ellis, 3<sup>rd</sup> series (4 vols., London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, publisher in ordinary to her Majesty, 1846).
- A packe of Spanish lyes sent abroad in the vworld* (London, 1588; STC 23011).
- A particular declaration or testimony, of the vndutifull and traiterous affection borne against her Maiestie by Edmond Campion Iesuite, and other condemned priestes witnessed by their owne confessions* (London, 1582; STC 4536).
- Patten, W., *The expedicion into Scotlande of the most woorthely fortunate prince Edward, Duke of Soomerset* (London, 1548; STC 19476.5).
- Paule, G., *The life of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the times of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I* (London, 1699).
- Persons, R., *A brief censure vppon two bookes written in answere to M. Edmonde Campions offer of disputation* (Stonor Park, 1581; STC 19393).
- A discouerie of I. Nicols minister, misreported a Iesuite, latelye recanted in the Tower of London* (Stonor Park, 1581; STC 19402).
- A defence of the censure, gyuen vpon tvvo bookes of william Charke and Meredith Hanmer mynsters, whiche they wrote against M. Edmond Campian preest, of the Societie of Iesus, and against his offer of disputation* (Rouen, 1582; STC 19401).
- A temperate vvard-vvord, to the turbulent and seditious VVach-word of Sir Francis Hastingses knight vvho indeuoreth to slaunder the vvhole Catholique cause, & all professors therof, both at home and abrode* (Antwerp, 1599; STC 19415).
- A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certayne in England calling themselues secular priestes VVho set forth dayly most infamous and contumelious libels against worthy men of their owne religion, and diuers of them their lawful superiors, of which libels sundry are heer examined and refuted* (Antwerp, 1602; STC 19411).
- The vvarn-vvord to Sir Francis Hastingses wast-word conteyning the issue of three former treateses, the Watch-word, the Ward-word and the Wast-word (intituled by Sir Francis, an Apologie or defence of his Watch-word) togeather with certaine admonitions & warnings to thesaid knight and his followers* (Antwerp, 1602; STC 19418).
- Piccope, G. J. (ed.), *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories from the Ecclesiastical Court, Chester* (3 vols.: Chetham Society, 1857-61).
- Platter, T., *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599* (London: J. Cape, 1937).
- Pollen, J. H. (ed.), *Acts of English Martyrs, Hitherto Unpublished* (London: Burns and Oates, 1891).
- A prayer for victorie and peace* (London, 1548; STC 16503).

- Prime, J., *A fruitfull and briefe discourse in two booke: the one of nature, the other of grace with conuenient aunswer to the enemies of grace, vpon incident occasions offered by the late Rhemish notes in their new translation of the new Testament, & others* (London, 1583; STC 20370).
- Proctor, J., *The historie of Wyates rebellion with the order and maner of resisting the same* (London, 1554, 1555; STC 20407-8).
- A protestation made for the most mighty and moste redoubted kynge of Englande. and his hole counsell and clergie wherin is declared, that neyther his hyghenes, nor his prelates, neyther any other prynce, or prelate, is bounde to come or sende, to the pretended counsell, that Paule byshoppe of Rome, first by a bul indicted at Mantua, a citie in Italy, [and] nowe a late by an other bull, hath proroged to a place, no man can telle where* (London, 1537, 1538; STC 13090-13090.3).
- ‘The Queen’s Commissioners’ Inventory of the Goods at Leicester House, 1590’, *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), pp. 48-51.
- The recantations as they were seuerallie pronounced by VVylliam Tedder and Anthony Tyrrell: (sometime two seminarie priests of the English Colledge in Rome, and nowe by the great mercie of almightie God conuerted, vnto the profession of the Gospell of Iesus Christ) at Paulus Crosse, the day and yeere as is mentioned in their seuerall tytles of theyr recantations* (London, 1588; STC 23859).
- Roberts, R. J. (ed.), ‘John Rastell’s Inventory of 1538’, *Library*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 1 (1979), pp. 34-42.
- Roberts, R. J., Watson, A. G. (eds.), *John Dee’s Library Catalogue* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).
- Rogers, E. F., (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).
- Rogers, T., *An historical dialogue touching antichrist and poperie, drawen and published for the common benefit and comfort of our church in these dangerous daies, & against the desperate attemptes of the vowed aduersaries of Iesus Christ, his gospell, and this flourishing state* (London, 1589; STC 21237).
- Rye, W. B. (ed.), *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I: Comprising Translations of the Journals of the Two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and 1610, with Extracts from the Travels of Foreign Princes and Others* (London: J. R. Smith, 1865).
- St German, C., *Here after foloweth a lytell treatise called the newe addicions* (London, 1531; STC 21563-4).
- A treatise concernynge the diuision betwene the spiritualltie and temporalitie* (London, 1532; STC 21587.3-7).
- Salem and Bizance* (London, 1533; STC 21584).
- The addicions of Salem and Byzance* (London, 1534; STC 21585).
- Sampson, R., *Richardi Sampsonis, regii sacelliae decani oratio, qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes potissimum anglos, regiae dignitati cum primis ut obediant quia uerbum dei principit episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo iure diuino, in eos quicque potestatis habet, postquam ita iubet rex, ut illi non obediant* (London, 1535; STC 21681).
- Sander, N., *A treatise of the images of Christ and his saints: and that it is vnlauffull to breake them, and lauffull to honour them* (Louvain, 1567; STC 21696).
- Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (London: Burns & Oates, 1877).
- Sanderson, W., *Graphice. The use of the pen and pensil* (London, 1658).
- Sandys, W. (ed.), ‘Copy of the Inventory of Archbishop Parker’s Goods at the Time of his Death’, *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), pp. 1-30.
- Selwyn, D. G. (ed.), *The Library of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1996).
- Seymour, E., *An epistle or exhortacion, to vnitie [and] peace, sent from the Lorde Protector, [and] others the kynges moste honorable counsaill of England: to the nobilitie, gentlemen, and commons, and al others the inhabitauntes of the realme of Scotlande* (London, 1548; STC 22268-9).
- Shaw, W. A. (ed.), *Three Inventories, of the Years 1542, 1547 and 1549-50, of Pictures in the Collections of Henry VIII & Edward VI* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1937).

- Shirley, E. (ed.), 'An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K.G., Earl of Northampton Taken on his Death in 1614', *Archaeologia*, 42 (1869), pp. 347-78.
- Smith, R., *A godly and faythfull retractation made and published at Paules crosse in London, the yeare of oure lorde God 1547. the 15. daye of May, by mayster Richard Smyth Doctor of diuinitye, and reader of the Kynges maiestyes lecture in Oxford* (London, 1547; STC 22822).  
*A playne declaration made at Oxforde the 24. daye of July, by mayster Richarde Smyth, Doctor of diuinite, vpon hys Retractation made [and] published at Paules crosse in London, in the yeare of our lorde God, D.D.xlvii. the xv. daye of May* (London, 1547; STC 22824).  
*The seconde parte of the booke called a boucklier of the catholyke fayeth conteyninge seuen chapters* (London, 1555; STC 22817).
- Stapleton, T., *A counterblast to M. Hornes vayne blaste against M. Fekenham* (Louvain, 1567; STC 23231).
- Starkey, T., *A preface to the Kynges hyghnes* (London, 1536, STC 23236).
- Strype, J., *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (4 vols., London, 1725-31).
- Stubbes, P., *The intended treason, of Doctor Parrie: and his complices, against the Queenes moste excellent Maiestie* (London, 1585; STC 23396).  
*A motiue to good workes Or rather, to true Christianitie indeede* (London, 1593; STC 23397).  
*A supplicacyon of the quenes maiestie* (Strasbourg, 1555; STC 17562).
- Swinnerton, T., *A litel treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistis in corners* (London, 1534, STC 23551.5).  
*A mustre of scismatyke bysshopes of Rome otherwyse naming them selues popes, moche necessarye to be redde of al the kynges true subiectes* (London, 1534; STC 23552).
- Thoms, W. J., 'Pictures of the Great Earl of Leicester', *Notes and Queries*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 2 (1862), pp. 201-2, 224-6.
- Throckmorton, J., *A petition directed to Her Most Excellent Maiestie* (London, 1592; STC 1522a).  
*A treatise of treasons against Q. Elizabeth, and the croune of England* (Louvain, 1572; STC 7601).  
*A treatise prouynge by the kynges lawes, that the byshops of Rome, had neuer ryght to any supremitie within this realme* (London, 1538; STC 24248).  
*A treatise vtherin Christe and his techynges, are compared with the pope and his doinges* (London, 1534, STC 14575).  
*A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons, practised by William Parry the traitor, against the Queenes Maiestie* (London, 1585; STC 19342-a.5).  
*A true and summarie reporte of the declaration of some part of the Earle of Northumberlands treasons deliuered publiquelye in the Court at the Starrechamber by the Lord Chauncellour and others of her Maiesties most Honourable priuie Counsell, and Counsell learned, by her Maiesties special commandement* (London, 1585; STC 19617-.5).  
*The true copie of a letter from the Queenes Maiestie, to the Lord Maior of London, and his brethren conteyning a most gracious acceptation of the great ioy which her subiectes tooke vpon the apprehension of diuers persons, detected of a most wicked conspiracie, read openly in a great assemblie of the commons in the guildhall of that citie, the 22.day of August. 1586* (London, 1586; STC 7577).
- Tudor Royal Proclamations*, eds. Hughes, P. L., Larkin, J. F. (3 vols., London: Yale University Press, 1964-69).
- Tunstall, C., *A sermon of Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme made vpon Palme sondaye laste past* (London, 1539; STC 24322-a).  
*A letter written by Cutbert Tunstall late Byshop of Duresme, and Iohn Stokesley sometime Byshop of London sente vnto Reginalde Pole, Cardinall, then beyng at Rome, and late byshop of Canterbury* (London, 1560; STC 24321).
- Valera, C. D., *Two treatises the first, of the liues of the popes, and their doctrine. The second, of the masse* (London, 1600; STC 24581).
- Van Meteren, E., *Historia Belgica nostril potissimum temporis* (Antwerp, 1600).
- Von Bülow, G., (ed.), 'Journey through England and Scotland made by Liupold von Wedel in the years 1584 and 1585', *TRHS*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 9 (1895), pp. 223-70.

- Von Bülow, G., Powell, W. (eds.), 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania through England in the Year 1602', *TRHS*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 6 (1892), pp. 1-67.
- Wakefield, R., *Kotser codicis R. VVakfeldi, quo praeter ecclesiae sacrosanctae decretum, probatur coniugium cum fratria carnaliter cognita, illicitum omnin, inhibitum, interdictumque effatum naturae iure, rum iure diuino, legeque euangelica atque consuetudine catholica ecclesiae orthodoxe* (London, 1533; STC 24943).
- Wanklyn, M. (ed.), *Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry, 1537-1786* (Worcestershire Historical Society, 1998).
- Warner, W., *Albions England a continued historie of the same kingdome, from the originals of the first inhabitants thereof: and most the chiefe alterations and accidents there hapning: vnto, and in, the happie raigne of our now most gracious soueraigne Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1597; STC 25082a).
- Weaver, F. W. (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills* (3 vols., London: 1901-5).
- Whetstone, G., *The English myrror A regard wherein al estates may behold the conquests of enuy: containing ruine of common weales, murther of princes, cause of heresies, and in all ages, spoile of deuine and humane blessings, vnto which is adioyned, enuy conquered by vertues* (London, 1586; STC 25336).
- Whitaker, W., *Ad Rationes decem Edmundi Campiani Iesuitae, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanae Ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei, responsio Guilielmi Whitakeri, Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigensi professoris Regij* (London, 1581; STC 25358-9).
- Whitehead, J. L. (ed.), 'An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Sir Richard Worsley, of Appuldurcombe, AD 1566', *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 5 (1905), pp. 279-95.
- William of Ockham, *Disputatio inter clericum et militem super potestate prelati ecclesiae atq[ue] principibus terrarum commissa sub forma dialogi* (London, 1531; STC 12510-.5)  
*A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporall* (London, 1533; STC 12511-a).
- Willet, A., *A catholicon, that is, A generall preservative or remedie against the pseudocatholike religion gathered out of the catholike epistle of S. Jude, briefly expounded, and aptly, according to the time, applied to more then halfe an hundreth of popish errorrs, and as many corruptions of manners* (London, 1602; STC 25673).  
*An antilogie or counterplea to An apologicall (he should haue said) apologeticall epistle published by a fauorite of the Romane separation, and (as is supposed) one of the Ignatian faction wherein two hundred vntruths and slaunders are discouered, and many politicke obiections of the Romaines answered* (London, 1603; STC 25672).
- Withers, G., *A view of the marginal notes of the popish Testament, translated into English by the English fugitiue papists resiant at Rhemes in France* (London, 1588; STC 25889).
- Z., Q., *A Discouerie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the realme, by Francis Throckmorton who was for the same arraigned and condemned in Guyld Hall, in the citie of London, the one and twentie day of May last past* (London, 1584; STC 24050-1.5).

## Reference Works

- Alexander, J., Bryant, G. F., *Royal Arms in Lincolnshire Churches* (Barton on Humber: Workers' Educational Association, Barton on Humber Branch, 1990).
- Auerbach, E., *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House* (London: Constable, 1971).
- Baker, A., Baker, H., *Plas Mawr, Conway, N. Wales* (St Helens: G. and M. Drought, 1987).
- Dobbs, S., *Royal Arms in the Churches of Yorkshire* (Runcorn: Rosemary Pardoe, 1985).
- Dunning, R. W., *Some Somerset Country Houses* (Wimborne: Dovecote, 1991).
- Fincham, H. W., *An Historical Account of Canonbury House*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: J. Swain & Son, 1926).

- Foster, J., *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of their Degrees: Being the Matriculation Register of the University* (4 vols., Oxford; London: Parker, 1891-2).
- Garnett, O., *Lytes Cary* (London: National Trust, 2001).
- Goodison, J. W., *Catalogue of Cambridge Portraits* (Cambridge: University Press, 1955).
- Guide to Knole: its State Rooms, Pictures and Antiquities: with a Short Account of the Possessors and Park of Knole* (Sevenoaks: Caxton and Holmesdale Press, 1947).
- Haslam, R., Orbach, J., Voelcker, A., *Gwynedd: Anglesey, Caernarvonshire and Merioneth* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Hearn, K. (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England* (London: Tate Gallery, 1995).
- Hornoyld-Strickland, H., *Sizergh Castle, Westmorland* (National Trust, 1972).
- Howard, M., Wilson, E., *The Vyne: a Tudor House Revealed* (London: National Trust, 2003).
- Little Moreton Hall: Cheshire* ([Great Britain]: The National Trust, 1989).
- Loseley Park: Near Guildford, Surrey: Official Guide* (Derby: English Life, 1982).
- Mantell, K. H., *Haddon Hall* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1980).
- Moir-Shepherd, J., Moir-Shepherd, K., *Royal Arms in Berkshire Churches* (Chester: Rosemary Pardoe, 1991).
- Royal Arms in Nottinghamshire Churches* (Chester: Rosemary Pardoe, 1988).
- Morgan, P., Pardoe, R. A., *Royal arms in Oxfordshire Churches* (Preston Brook: Rosemary Pardoe, 1987).
- Newham, C., Pardoe, R., *Royal Arms in Cornish Churches* ([Great Britain]: DAE Publishing, 2007).
- Pardoe, R. A., *Royal Arms in Churches: Additions* (Hartford: Rosemary Pardoe, 1975).
- Royal Arms in Churches: the Artists and Craftsmen* (Chester: Rosemary Pardoe, 1987).
- Royal Arms in Devon Churches* (Chester: R. Pardoe, 1988).
- Royal Arms in Essex Churches* (Huntingdon: Rosemary Pardoe, 1975).
- Royal Arms in Shropshire Churches* (Liverpool: Rosemary Pardoe, 1977).
- Royal Arms in the Churches of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire* (Hartford: Rosemary Pardoe, 1974).
- Royal Arms in the Churches of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire* (Hartford: Rosemary Pardoe, 1973).
- Royal Arms in the Churches of the City of London* (Hartford: Rosemary Pardoe, 1973).
- Royal Arms in the Churches of Cornwall* (Runcorn: Rosemary Pardoe, 1982).
- Royal Arms in the Churches of Northamptonshire & Rutland* (Hartford: Rosemary Pardoe, 1976).
- Royal Arms in the Churches of Wales* (Liverpool: Rosemary Pardoe, 1977).
- Some Notes on Royal Arms in Merseyside Churches* (Liverpool, 1978).
- Pollard, A. W., Redgrave, G. R., *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, rev. K. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91).
- Strong, R. C., *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).
- Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols., London: H.M.S.O., 1969).
- Turner, R. C., *Plas Mawr: Elizabethan house* (Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 2000).

### Secondary Sources

- Airs, M., “‘Pomp or Glory’: The Influence of Theobalds”, in Croft, P. (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: the Early Cecils* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), 3-19.
- Aleci, L. K., ‘Images of Identity: Italian Portrait Collections of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, in Mann, N., Syson, L. (eds.), *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 67-79.
- Allan, A., ‘Royal Propaganda and the Proclamations of Edward IV’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), pp. 146-54.
- Anglo, S., *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992).

- Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- Arnold, J., 'The "Pictur" of Elizabeth I when Princess', *BM*, 123 (1981), 303-4.
- Aston, M., *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Auerbach, E., 'More Light on Nicholas Hilliard', *BM*, 91 (1949), pp. 166-8.
- Barron, K., 'The Collecting and Patronage of John, Lord Lumley (c.1535-1609)', in Chaney, E. (ed.), *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 125-58.
- Baskerville, E. J., *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic published in English between 1553 and 1558* (Philadelphia; American Philosophical Society, 1979).
- 'John Ponet in Exile: a Ponet Letter to John Bale', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), pp. 442-7.
- Baumer, F. L. V., *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966).
- Beier, A. L., *Masterless Men: the Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985).
- Bellamy, J., *The Tudor Law of Treason: an Introduction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).
- Bernard, G. W., *The King's Reformation* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005).
- Block, J., 'Thomas Cromwell's Patronage of Preaching', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8:1 (1977), pp. 37-50.
- Bracken, S., Howard, M., 'Lumley Castle and its Inventories', in Evans, M. (ed.), *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: Facsimile and Commentary on the Manuscript in the Possession of the Earls of Scarbrough* ([England]: Roxburghe Club, 2010), 29-33.
- Bradshaw, C., 'David or Josiah? Old Testament Kings as Exemplars in Edwardian Religious Polemic', in Gordon, B. (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2 vols., Aldershot, 1996), ii, 77-90.
- Brooke, X., Crombie, D., *Henry VIII Revealed: Holbein's Portrait and its Legacy* (London: Paul Holberton, 2003).
- Bryson, A., 'Order and Disorder: John Proctor's *History of Wyatt's Rebellion* (1554)', in Pincombe, M. J., Shrank, C. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 323-36.
- Byford, M., 'The Birth of a Protestant Town: the Process of Reformation in Tudor Colchester, 1530-1580', in Collinson, P., Craig, J. (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 23-47.
- Cambers, A., 'Reading, the Godly and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), pp. 796-825.
- 'Readers' Marks and Religious Practice: Margaret Hoby's Marginalia', in King, J. N. (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 211-31.
- Campbell, L., Foister, S., 'Gerard, Lucas and Susanna Horenbout', *BM*, 128 (1986), pp. 719-27.
- Cautley, H. M., *Royal Arms and Commandments in our Churches* (Ipswich: N. Adlard & co., ltd, 1934).
- Challis, C. E., *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978).
- Chesters, G., 'John Daniel of Daresbury, 1544-1610', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 118 (1966/7), pp. 1-17.
- Clark, J. G., 'Reformation and reaction at St Albans Abbey, 1530-58', *EHR*, 115 (2000), pp. 297-328.
- Clegg, C. S., *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Collinson, P., 'Andrew Perne and his Times', in McKitterick, D. (ed.), *Andrew Perne: Quatercentenary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1991); 1-34.
- Cooper, J. P. D., *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the West Country* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003).

- Cooper, T., 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in Hamling, T., Richardson, C. (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 157-78.  
*Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2012).
- Cooper, T., Macleod, C., Zoller, M., 'The Portraits', in Evans, M. (ed.), *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: Facsimile and Commentary on the Manuscript in the Possession of the Earls of Scarbrough* ([England]: Roxburghe Club, 2010), 59-70.  
'A List of Portraits in The Lumley Inventory', in Evans, M. (ed.), *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: Facsimile and Commentary on the Manuscript in the Possession of the Earls of Scarbrough* ([England]: Roxburghe Club, 2010), 157-64.
- Craig, J., 'Forming a Protestant Consciousness? Erasmus' *Paraphrases* in English Parishes, 1547-1666', in Pabel, H. M., Vessey, M. (eds.), *Holy Scripture Speaks: the Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 313-58.
- Cressy, D., *Literacy & the Social Order: Reading & Writing in Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).  
*Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Croft, P., 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 1 (1991), pp. 43-69.
- Davies, C. S. L., 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', *PP*, No.41 (1968), pp. 39-64.  
'Information, Disinformation and Political Knowledge under Henry VII and early Henry VIII', *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), 228-252.
- Dillon, A., *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).
- Doran, S., 'Virginité, Divinité and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in Idem., Freeman, T. S. (eds.), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 171-99.
- Duffy, E., *Fires of Faith: Catholics England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Edwards, F., 'Sir Robert Cecil, Edward Squier and the Poisoned Pommel', *Recusant History*, 25 (2001), pp. 377-414.
- Elston, T. G., 'Widow Princess or Neglected Queen? Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII, and English Public Opinion, 1533-1536', in Levin, C., Bucholz, R. (eds.), *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 16-30.
- Elton, G. R., *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).  
*Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Commonweal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).
- Evans, M., 'Arms and Ancestors: The Lumley Horseman, Plantagenet Princes and Tudor Monarchs', in Idem. (ed.), *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: Facsimile and Commentary on the Manuscript in the Possession of the Earls of Scarbrough* ([England]: Roxburghe Club, 2010), 39-42.
- Evenden, E., 'The Michael Wood Mystery: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35 (2004), pp. 383-94.  
*Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
- Evenden, E., Freeman, T. S., 'Print, Profit and Propaganda: the Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', *EHR*, 119 (2004), pp. 1288-1307.  
*Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: the Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

- Fenlon, J., 'The Decorative Plasterwork at Ormond Castle: A Unique Survival', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), pp. 67-81.
- Fletcher, A., MacCulloch, D., *Tudor Rebellions*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (London: Longman, 1997).
- Flynn, D., 'William More of Loseley and Early Elizabethan Anti-Catholicism', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 91 (2004), pp. 137-50.
- Foister, S., 'Painting and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *BM*, 123 (1981), pp. 273-82.
- 'Tudor Collections and Collectors', *History Today*, 35 (1985), pp. 20-6.
- 'Humanism and Art in the Early Tudor Period: John Leland's Poetic Praise of Painting', in Woolfson, J., (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 129-50.
- Holbein & England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004).
- Fox, A., 'Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *HJ*, 40 (1997), pp. 597-620.
- Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
- Freedberg, D., *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- Freeman, T. S., 'Providence and Prescription: the Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', in Doran, S., Freeman, T. S. (eds.), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 27-55.
- French, C., French, K., 'Devonshire Plasterwork', *Report & Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 89 (1957), pp. 124-44.
- Gajda, A., *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Gaskell, P., *Trinity College Library: the First 150 Years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- Gibbons, K., *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2011).
- Gibson, R., 'The National Portrait Gallery's Set of Kings and Queens at Montacute House', *National Trust Year Book: Studies in Art History and Nature Conservation Relating to Properties in the Care of the National Trust* (1975-6), pp.81-7.
- Giry-Deloison, C., 'France and Elizabethan England', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 14 (2004), pp. 223-42.
- Gleason, M. R., Jordan, W. K., 'The Saying of John late duke of Northumberland upon the Scaffold, 1553', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 23 (1975), pp.139-79, 324-55.
- Goldring, E., 'An Important Early Picture Collection: The Earl of Pembroke's 1561/62 Inventory and the Provenance of Holbein's "Christina of Denmark"', *BM*, 144 (2002), pp. 157-60.
- 'Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester for Kenilworth Castle', *BM*, 147 (2005), pp. 654-660.
- 'Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progresses: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575', in Archer, J. E., Goldring, E., Knight, S. (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 163-88.
- Goodall, I. H., 'Privacy, Display and Over Extension: Walter Strickland's Rebuilding of Sizergh', *Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), pp. 197-245.
- Grafton, A., Jardine, L., "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *PP*, No.129 (1990), pp. 30-78.
- Graves, M. A. R., *Thomas Norton: the Parliament Man* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).
- Green, D., *The Double Life of Doctor Lopez: Spies, Shakespeare and the Plot to Poison Elizabeth I* (London: Century, 2003).
- Grosvenor, B., 'The Identity of "the Famous Paynter Steven": not Steven van der Meulen but Steven van Herwijck', *British Art Journal*, 9 (2009), pp. 12-17.
- Gunn, S. J., 'Peers, Commons and Gentry in the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536', *PP*, No.123 (1989), pp. 52-79.
- Hackett, H., *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

- Haigh, C., *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Hamling, T., *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010).
- Hammer, P. E. J., 'The Smiling Crocodile: the Earl of Essex and Late-Elizabethan "Popularity"', in Lake, P., Pincus, S. C. A. (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 95-115.
- Heale, E., 'Contesting Terms: Loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague's Entertainment at Cowdray, 1591', in Archer, J. E., Goldring, E., Knight, S. (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 189-206.
- Hicks, L., 'The Strange Case of Dr. William Parry: the Career of an Agent-Provocateur', *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review*, 37 (1948), pp. 343-62.  
*An Elizabethan Problem: Some Aspects of the Careers of Two Exile-Adventurers* (London: Burns & Oates, 1964).
- Houliston, V., 'Baffling the Blatant Beast: Robert Persons' Anti-Appellant Rhetoric, 1601-1602', *Catholic Historical Review*, 90 (2004), 439-55.
- Howard, M., 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses 1480-1640', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), pp. 14-29.
- Hunt, A., 'Tuning the Pulpits: the Religious Context of the Essex Revolt', in Ferrell, L. A., McCullough, P. E. (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 86-114.
- James, S. E., *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons, and Painters* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
- Jenkins, G., 'Ways and Means in Elizabethan Propaganda', *History*, 26 (1941), pp. 105-14.
- King, J. N., 'Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda and Protector Somerset', *HLQ*, 40 (1976), pp. 1-10.  
*English Reformation Literature: the Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1982).  
*Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).  
*Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Lake, P., "'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabeth I' Revisited (by its Victims) as a Conspiracy', Coward, B., Swann, J (eds.), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: from the Waldensians to the French Revolution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 87-111.  
'The Politics of "Popularity" and the Public Sphere: the "Monarchical Republic" of Elizabeth I Defends Itself', in Idem., Pincus, S. C. A. (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 59-94.
- Lake, P., Pincus, S. C. A., 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', in Idem. (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 1-30.
- Lake, P., Questier, M., 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), pp. 587-627.
- Langston, B., 'Essex and the Art of Dying', *HLQ*, 13 (1950), pp. 109-129.
- Levy, F., 'The Theatre and the Court in the 1590s', in Guy, J. A. (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with the Folger Institute, Washington DC, 1995), 274-300.
- Loach, J., 'Pamphlets and Politics, 1553-8', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), pp. 31-44.  
'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press', *EHR*, 101 (1986), pp. 135-48.
- Loades, D. M., 'The Press under the Early Tudors: a Study in Censorship and Sedition', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964), pp. 29-50.
- Lockwood, S., 'Marsilius of Padua and the Case for the Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 1 (1991), pp. 89-119.
- Lush, D., Woolfson, J., 'Lambert Barnard in Chichester Cathedral: Ecclesiastical Politics and the Tudor Royal Image', *Antiquaries Journal*, 87 (2007), pp. 259-80.

- MacCulloch, D., *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986).
- Thomas Cranmer* (London: Yale University Press, 1996).
- Marshall, P., Ryrie, A., 'Introduction: Protestantisms and their Beginnings', in Idem. (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-13.
- Martin, J. W., 'The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing', *HLQ*, 44 (1981), pp. 231-47.
- 'Miles Hogarde: Artisan and Aspiring Author in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34 (1981), pp. 359-83.
- Mattingly, G., 'William Allen and Catholic Propaganda in England', in Berthoud, G. (ed.), *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1957), 325-39.
- McCoog, T. M., 'Construing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1582-1602', in Shagan, E. H., (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 106-18.
- McGrath, P., 'The Bloody Questions Reconsidered', *Recusant History*, 20 (1991), pp. 305-19.
- McKitterick, D., 'Andrew Perne and his Books', in Idem. (ed.), *Andrew Perne: Quatercentenary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1991); 35-69.
- Mears, N., 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), pp. 4-25
- Montrose, L. A., *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 2006).
- Murphy, V., 'The Literature and Propaganda of Henry VIII's First Divorce', in MacCulloch, D. (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (Basingstoke, London: Macmillan, 1995), 135-58.
- Neville-Sington, P., 'Press, Politics and Religion', in Hellinga, L., Trapp, J. B., (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. 3: 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 576-607.
- Nowack, T. S., 'Propaganda and the Pulpit: Robert Cecil, William Barlow and the Essex and Gunpowder Plots', in Keller, K. S., Schiffhorst, G. J. (eds.), *The Witness of Times: Manifestations of Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1993), 34-52, 264-7.
- Orlin, L. C., 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory', in Turner, H. S. (ed.), *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England* (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), 51-83.
- Osborne, J., *Entertaining Elizabeth I: the Progresses and Great Houses of her Time* (London: Bishopsgate, 1989).
- Parmelee, L. F., *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester; Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 1996).
- Patterson, A. M., *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- Peacock, J., 'The Politics of Portraiture', in Lake, P., Sharpe, K. M. (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 199-228, 357-60.
- Peacock, M. H., *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield, Founded A.D. 1591* (Wakefield: W. H. Milnes, the Radcliffe Printing Works, 1892).
- Penoyre, J., Penoyre, J., *Decorative Plasterwork in the Houses of Somerset 1500-1700: a Regional Survey* (Taunton: Somerset County Council, 1994).
- Pettegree, A., 'The Latin Polemic of the Marian Exiles', in James, K. (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: the Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400-1643* (Oxford: Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1991).
- 'Printing and the Reformation: the English Exception', in Marshall, P., Ryrie, A. (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157-79.
- 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 18 (2008), pp. 101-128.

- Puloy, M., 'Decorative Plasterwork in Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, 8 (1980-2), pp. 144-99.
- Questier, M. C., *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).  
 'Elizabeth and the Catholics', in Shagan, E. H. (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 69-94.  
*Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage, and Religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Read, C., 'William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations', in Bindoff, S. T., Hurstfield, J., Williams, C. H. (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays presented to Sir John Neale* (London: Athlone Press, 1961), 21-55.
- Reed, A. W., 'The Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (1917-19), pp. 157-84.
- Rex, R., 'The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s', *TRHS*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser., 39 (1989), pp. 85-106.  
 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *HJ*, 39 (1996), pp. 863-94.  
 'The Friars in the English Reformation', in Marshall, P., Ryrie, A. (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 38-59.  
 'Redating Henry VIII's "A Glasse of the Truthe"', *The Library*, 7<sup>th</sup> ser., 4 (2003), pp. 16-27.
- Rowlands, J., *Holbein: the Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985).
- Ryan, L. V., 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy (1563-1583)', *Church History*, 22 (1953), pp. 142-154.
- Ryrie, A., *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Schmitt, A., 'Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Social Networks and Religious Allegiances at Lord Petre's Dinner Table, 1606-1619', *Recusant History*, 29 (2009), pp. 341-54.
- Scott-Warren, J., 'Books in the Bedchamber: Religion, Accounting and the Library of Richard Stonley', in King, J. N. (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 232-52.  
 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *HLQ*, 73 (2010), pp. 363-81.
- Shagan, E. H., 'Rumour and Popular Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII', in Harris, T. (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 30-66.  
 'Clement Armstrong and the Godly Commonwealth: Radical Religion in Early Tudor England', in Marshall, P., Ryrie, A. (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 60-83.  
*Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).  
 'The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Public Sphere', in Lake, P., Pincus, S. C. A. (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 31-58.
- Sharpe, K. M., *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (London: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Sherman, W. H., *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia; Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
- Shrank, C., "'This Fatall Medea," "This Clytemnestra": Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots', *HLQ*, 73 (2010), pp. 523-41.
- Skwarczynski, P., 'Elsinore 1580: John Rogers and John Bosgrave', *Recusant History*, 16 (1982), pp. 1-16.
- Sowerby, T. A., "'All our books do be sent into other countreys and translated" Henrician Polemic in its International Context', *EHR*, 121 (2006), pp. 1271-99.  
*Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison, c. 1513-1556* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).  
 "'A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith": Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *EHR*, forthcoming.
- Stern, V. F., *Gabriel Harvey: his Life, Marginalia, and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

- Streckfuss, C., 'England's Reconciliation with Rome: a News Event in Early Modern Europe', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), pp. 62-73.
- '"Spes Maxima Nostra": European Propaganda and the Spanish Match', in Hunt, A., Whitelock, A. (eds.), *Tudor Queenship: the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 145-58.
- Strong, R. C., *Holbein and Henry VIII* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).
- The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).
- Gloriana: the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987).
- Sutton, J. M., 'The Decorative Program at Elizabethan Theobalds: Educating an Heir and Promoting a Dynasty', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 7 (2000), pp. 33-64.
- Thomas, K. V., 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Baumann, G. (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
- Thornton, T., 'Propaganda, Political Communication and the Problem of English Responses to the Introduction of Printing', in Idem, B. Taithe (eds.), *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 41-60.
- Thurley, S., *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993).
- Tittler, R., 'Faces and Spaces: Displaying the Civic Portrait in Early Modern England', in Hamling, T., Richardson, C. (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 179-90.
- Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Tudor, P., 'Protestant Books in London in Mary Tudor's Reign', *London Journal*, 15 (1990), pp. 19-28.
- Turner, R. C., 'Robert Wynn and the Building of Plas Mawr, Conwy', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 29 (1995), pp. 177-209.
- Underwood, W., 'Thomas Cromwell and William Marshall's Protestant Books', *HJ*, 47:3 (2004), pp. 517-39.
- Villius, H., 'The Casket Letters: a Famous Case Reopened', *HJ*, 28 (1985), pp. 517-34.
- Walsham, A., '"Frantick Hacket": Prophecy, Sorcery, Insanity, and the Elizabethan Puritan Movement', *HJ*, 41 (1998), pp. 27-66.
- '"Domme Preachers"? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *PP*, No. 168 (2000), pp. 72-123.
- 'The Spider and the Bee: the Perils of Printing for Refutation in Tudor England', in King, J. N. (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 163-90.
- Whitehead, B. T., *Braggs and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994).
- Woodfield, D. B., *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973).
- Yates, F. A., 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947), pp. 27-82.
- Youngs, J. A., *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971).

### Unpublished Theses

- Bostwick, D., 'Decorative Plasterwork of the Yorkshire Region, 1570-1670' (University of Sheffield Ph.D. thesis, 1993).
- Gapper, C., 'Plasterers and Plasterwork in City, Court and Country, c.1530-c.1640', (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1998).
- Scourfield, R., 'The Livery Company Hall, 1536-1666' (University of London M.A. thesis, 1993).

Took, P. M., 'Government and the Printing Trade, 1540-1560' (King's College, London Ph.D. thesis, 1978).

### Online Resources

BBC: [www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk).

Bibliography of British and Irish History: [ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:4295/bbih/introduction.cfm?](http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:4295/bbih/introduction.cfm?)

British History Online: [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk).

British Museum: [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online).

The Cecil Papers: [cecilpapers.chadwyck.com/](http://cecilpapers.chadwyck.com/).

Clergy of the Church of England Database: [www,theclergydatabase.org.uk](http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk).

Compton Verney: [www.comptonverney.org.uk](http://www.comptonverney.org.uk).

Early English Books Online: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>.

English Short Title Catalogue: [estc.bl.uk](http://estc.bl.uk).

HPO: [www.histparl.ac.uk](http://www.histparl.ac.uk).

The Holinshed Project: [www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/](http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/).

Making Art in Tudor Britain: <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain.php>.

Medieval and Early Modern Sources Online: [ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:4149/index.php](http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:4149/index.php).

National Maritime Museum: <http://www1.rmg.co.uk>.

National Trust Collections: [www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk](http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk).

ODNB: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>.

Philadelphia Museum of Art: [www.philamuseum.org](http://www.philamuseum.org).

PLRE Online: [plre.folger.edu](http://plre.folger.edu).

Royal Collection Trust: <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk>.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales: [www.coflein.gov.uk](http://www.coflein.gov.uk).

State Papers Online: <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/start.do?p=SPOL&u=oxford&authCount=1>.

TAMO: [www.johnfoxe.org](http://www.johnfoxe.org).

Universal Short Title Catalogue: [www.ustc.ac.uk/](http://www.ustc.ac.uk/).

Victoria and Albert Museum: <http://www.vam.ac.uk>.

Your Paintings: [www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/).

### Lectures

Lake, P., 'Bad Queen Bess? Libellous Politics and Secret Histories in an Age of Confessional Conflict', *Ford Lectures* (2011).