"Flowers of Fathers": Resistance and Consolation in a Catholic Manuscript Compilation, Bodleian MSS. Eng. th. b. 1–2

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Huntington Library Quarterly, Volume 84, Number 2, Summer 2021, pp. 307-351 (Article)

Published by University of Pennsylvania Press
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.1353/hlq.2021.0026*

"Flowers of Fathers": Resistance and Consolation in a Catholic Manuscript Compilation, Bodleian MSS. Eng. th. b. 1–2

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ABSTRACT This essay reintroduces to scholars Bodleian MSS. Eng. th. b. 1–2, a substantial and enigmatic two-volume manuscript work bearing witness to the English Catholic community, its identity, its preoccupations, and the ways in which these found expression. The essay makes new arguments for the circumstances of the work's compilation and gives an account of its contents in order to facilitate further research into this important source. The manuscript's compiler sought to console and to educate his readership in the traditions and doctrines of the Catholic faith, but he also wrote to stir them to resistance against persecution. A rich example of lay authorship, the manuscript served as a vehicle for views that could not be expressed publicly, and it spoke for a community that identified itself as persecuted. **KEYWORDS:** laity; persecution of Catholics; recusancy; manuscript circulation; English Catholicism

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD, is a leviathanic manuscript work of two folio volumes, each repaired and rebound uniformly in calf. Its contents might be termed "encyclopedic," indexing the traditions and doctrines of the Catholic Church alongside a host of miscellaneous material, though it is not exhaustive and not finished, and its creator is not known.[1] Its miscellaneous nature and unfinished state

1. Previous commentators on the manuscript have also used the term *encyclopedia*: Gerard Kilroy has called it "a Catholic encyclopedia"; *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot, U.K., 2005), 14. Phebe Jensen has described it as having been "constructed as an encyclopedia of English Catholic belief"; *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge, 2008), 72. The volumes are referred to as a "work" or a "manuscript" throughout this essay, for the sake of consistency, accepting that these are imperfect shorthands. References to "Catholics" or the "Catholic Church" pertain to those people who held fast to the Church headed by the pope in Rome and who prayed to the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints for intercession. These individuals referred to their Church in a number of ways, including the "True Church" and the "Holy Mother Church," or simply "The Church," and such

should not suggest haphazardness but rather a deliberate way of organizing knowledge that was ubiquitous in early modern textual and intellectual culture.[2] It was compiled in the first decade of the seventeenth century following the accession of James I and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. A self-styled devout English Catholic "temporall man" assembled it in order to defend his faith and his coreligionists against the assaults of Protestant heresy, and to console his Catholic readers and encourage their continued resistance.[3] The kind of resistance envisaged here does not imply violent acts. The fantastically small number of would-be regicides in Elizabethan and Jacobean England did not have a monopoly on Catholic dissent. Instead, Catholics whose conscience motivated them to break the law—through recusancy or hearing Mass, for example—defied the spirit and the letter of government legislation. They directly opposed the equation of Catholicism with treason and the erosion of the traditions and practices that they believed were matters of conscience alone. Within the particular context of a regime that bound up religious observance with political obedience, everyday acts could constitute resistance, and the compilation of this manuscript is one such act.

Perhaps because its size and range make it seem a forbidding source, the work has not yet received the substantial scholarly attention it deserves, and consequently its witness to the English Catholic community and the ways in which Catholic culture and identity found expression have not been fully recognized.[4] Uncertainty about its

terms, where capitalized, should be taken as synonymous with the Roman Catholic Church unless otherwise indicated.

2. See Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford, 2019), 12.

3. Bodleian MS. Eng. th. b. 1, fol. 3r, Bodleian Library, Oxford. All subsequent references to the two manuscript volumes take the shortened form of "b. 1" or "b. 2" followed by the folio numbers. Folio numbers are given as they appear in pencil in the top right-hand corner of each folio (recto). See note 133 for an explanation of a numbering error in b. 2.

4. The term *English Catholic community* pays due homage to John Bossy's seminal study, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London, 1975). A notable exception is Kilroy's pioneering *Memory and Transcription*, chaps. 1 and 5, which provided the first scholarly treatment of the manuscript. I am grateful to Professor Kilroy for his generosity and interest in my work. See also Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge, 1999); Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007); Clive Holmes, "Witchcraft and Possession at the Accession of James I: The Publication of Samuel Harsnett's *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*," in *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, ed. John Newton and Jo Bath (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 69–90; Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*; Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (Oxford, 2014); Emilie K. M. Murphy, "*Adoramus te Christe*: Music and Post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety," in *Religion and the Household*, ed. John Doran, Charlotte Methuen, and Alexandra Walsham, Studies in Church History 50 (Woodbridge, U.K., 2014), 240–53; and Emilie K. M. Murphy, "Musical Self-Fashioning and the 'Theatre of Death' in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean England," *Renaissance Studies* 30 (2016): 410–29. I am grateful to Dr. Holmes for giving me a copy of his article, and to Professor Kilroy, Dr. Murphy, and Professor Shell for discussions about the manuscript.

authorship, preventing an ascription of the compilation to a prominent member of the Catholic gentry, has perhaps meant that it has not been used substantially in the studies of important Catholic families that are otherwise so valuable to those who seek to better understand post-Reformation English society, culture, and politics.[5] This essay redresses the balance. As the first substantial work dedicated solely to this manuscript, it makes a new argument for authorship and dating, and it draws attention to some of the manuscript's most pertinent content in relation to prominent avenues in historical and literary research.

Bibliographical Considerations

In order to reintroduce this important source to the scholarly community and to make way for further interpretive research, this essay establishes the manuscript's provenance, form, contents, and composition. It builds on the foundations established by the manuscript's first commentators but then reappraises the less-certain facets of its history in the light of a focused study.[6] The first part of this essay therefore steps back to discuss the necessary bibliographical and biographical considerations in turn so that the interpretation can proceed on firmer ground.

Provenance

The Bodleian Library purchased the work at auction on February 20, 1969, from the Brudenell family of Deene Park, Northamptonshire, and it has therefore been called the "Brudenell Manuscript," though it is not the only manuscript owned, or once owned, by the family.[7] It is clear that the Brudenells owned the volumes in 1653 and that they were still in their possession and in use in around 1678.[8] The pastedowns of the second volume contain a document pertaining to the recusancy of Mary Brudenell (1561–1606) between 1603 and 1606. A receipt found in the back matter of the same volume locates the manuscript at Deene on February 3, [16]78, because it refers to

5. See, for example, Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden, a Recusant Family* (Newport, U.K., 1953); *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation*, ed. Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (Farnham, U.K., 2009); and Peter Marshall, *Faith and Identity in a Warwickshire Family: The Throckmortons and the Reformation* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 2010). Michael Questier cites the manuscript as the principal source for the respective speeches of the first and second Viscounts Montague in the 1559 and 1604 Parliaments; *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 2006), 237n130.

6. This research emerged from the author's doctoral thesis: Katie McKeogh, "Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) and Early Modern Catholic Culture and Identity, 1580–1610" (DPhil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), esp. chap. 6.

7. Hofmann and Freeman, *English Historical Manuscripts before 1700* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), no. 70. The volumes were sold at Sotheby's on February 20, 1969, lot 254. I am grateful to Ted Hofmann and H. R. Woudhuysen for finding and sending me a copy of the catalogue.

8. Mary Clapinson and T. D. Rogers, *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Acquisitions 1916–1975*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991), 2:721, no. 46532.

sums paid for trips to Desborough and Oundle (thirteen and eight miles from Deene, respectively). The receipt is addressed to Mr. Thomas Dunbar at Deene, though biographical details for him are uncertain. Another Dunbar, Ann, wrote a letter to her husband found with the receipt. Whether she was the wife of Thomas is likely but not confirmed. A third Dunbar, Mary (1610–1685), daughter of Sir Thomas and Mary Brudenell, had married Sir John Constable, second Viscount Dunbar (d. ca. 1668) in 1638, though no relatives called Ann or Thomas who were alive in 1678 can be found in extant documentation.[9]

The volumes are a substantial endeavor embodying a unique example of manuscript publication. Their contents set down for posterity the central doctrines and traditions of the Catholic Church as received through the New Testament, the early Church, and Catholic divines. Glosses on verses from scripture are copied from the Rheims New Testament, often quoting the Church fathers.[10] An array of contemporary material illustrating the ways in which the central tenets of the Catholic faith had been practiced by recent believers complement this body of theology and ecclesiology. Select examples of counterarguments made by Protestants are also included under headings like "heretical hatred" in order to demonstrate their wrongheadedness. The manuscript was intended to prove consolatory to its anonymous dedicatee but was also to stir him or her to persevere in adhering to the Church, though the temporal penalties of doing so were great. To this end, the compiler included several lists of names memorializing Catholics who had suffered martyrdom and other forms of persecution.[11] The work is also a vehicle for resistance in textual form, standing against anti-Catholic legislation and reclaiming Catholicism as the religion of the English. The compiler's determination to shield his identity is, in the light of this, an understandable act of self-preservation.

Due to the particular context of their creation and the editorial decisions taken by their compiler, the volumes might be read as a manifesto for English Catholicism after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in November 1605 and the upheavals that followed. Amid frustrated hopes for Catholic toleration under the new king, the expectation of continued persecution loomed large. With the end of temporal suffering now indeterminate, this period of persecution was redefined. Historians have long recognized the period's prevailing millenarianism, attributing it to trends in radical

9. Two of the children of Sir Thomas Brudenell and Mary Tresham married children of Sir Henry Constable, first Viscount Dunbar (1588–1645) of Burton Constable, Yorkshire. Brudenell's son and heir, Robert, second Earl of Cardigan (1607–1703), married Mary Constable in 1632, but the marriage was cut short by her death in 1638. The couple lost two young sons named Thomas in 1636 and 1638. Mary's brother John Constable, second Viscount Dunbar (1615–1668), married Mary Brudenell in 1638. Joan Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene*, 2nd ed. (London, 1954), 161–62, 484; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*), s.v. "Constable, Henry, first Viscount Dunbar," by Jack Binns, last modified September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6104.

10. See, for example, b. 1, fol. 11r.

11. b. 2, fols. 103r–37r (martyrs), 395r–413r (victims of persecution).

reformed theology and Puritanism in particular, but in this manuscript is evidence that it was a feature of Catholic thought, too.[12] Instead of turning the reader's thoughts to the restoration of Catholicism, the compiler characterizes the age as the precursor to the Second Coming, when Christ and his angels will bring his followers to joyful resurrection and eternal fulfillment. Such a promise was intended to diminish the effects of earthly suffering and to focus the reader's attention on the rewards of paradise.

Form

The work consists of 1,755 folio leaves—of which 190 pages are blank—across two volumes. Each volume measures 17 ¼ by 11 ¼ inches (44 by 29 cm), but neither retains its original binding.[13] There are remnants of horizontal annotations on some of the pages, giving headings to aid with the location of material, but some of these are missing where the leaves have been trimmed for binding (fig. 1). The main body of the text is within ruled compartments in a continuous secretary hand, with an italic hand for marginal notes and some names and quotations possibly belonging to the same scribe (fig. 2). There are two occasional annotating hands that differ from the main one(s), but their contribution is sporadic and restricted to occasional minor interventions. The appearance of the writing on the page makes it unlikely that the books were bought ready-bound because lines of text do not slope greatly or show changes in spacing toward the inner gutter, but this is by no means uniform throughout the volumes, and there are instances of sloping lines and text (fig. 3). Plausibly, individual gatherings were sewn together before the text was added, but the volumes have been rebound too tightly to ascertain the size of the gatherings themselves without causing damage. The fore edges of the leaves have been painted red, and the work contains several illuminations and images pasted in or copied from earlier works, and ruled compartments, all of which contribute to the work's obvious resemblance to late medieval manuscripts—a link to the pre-Reformation Church and a subtle claim to authority (figs. 4 and 5). Rubrication is extensive, though not always consistent, and some miniatures and historiated initials have been pasted in (figs. 5 and 6).[14]

12. See, for example, Kenneth Gibson, "Apocalyptic and Millenarian Prophecy in Early Stuart Europe: Philip Ziegler, Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil and the Fifth Monarchy," in *Prophecy: The Power of Inspired Language in History 1300–2000*, ed. Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (Stroud, U.K., 1997), 71–84; Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford, 1979); and C. G. Casey-Stoakes, "English Catholic Eschatology, 1558–1603" (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017).

13. Hofmann and Freeman, *English Historical Manuscripts before 1700*, no. 70. The catalogue describes a contemporary binding in a poor state of repair; it was rebound by the Bodleian Library. The number of folios given takes into account misnumbering in the second volume and corrects for this (see note 133). Other accounts take the total number of folios from the terminal folio numbers in each volume, giving a total of 1,795 pages.

14. Clapinson and Rogers, *Summary Catalogue*, 2:721–22, nos. 46532–33. See, for example, b. 1, fol. 41r (colored initial); and b. 2, fol. 649r (historiated initial).

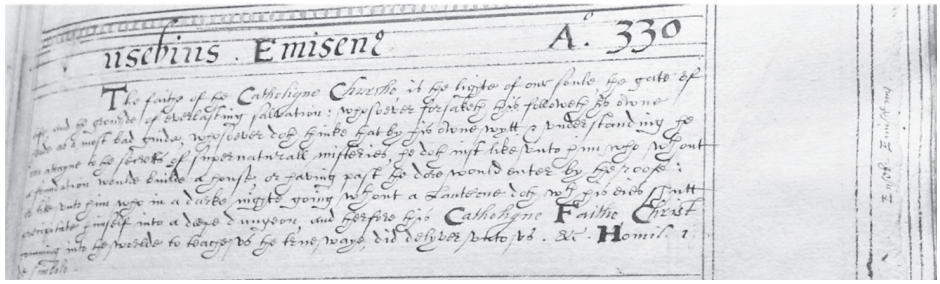

FIGURE 1. Bodleian MS Eng. th. b. 1, fol. 135r, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The marginal note reads, "Euseb. Emissenus."

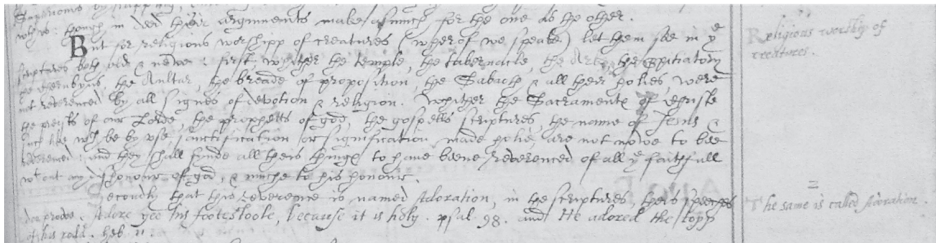

FIGURE 2. b. 1, fol. 27r.

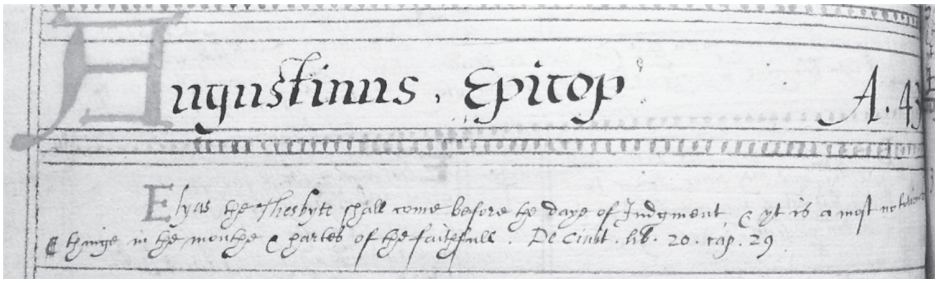

FIGURE 3. b. 1, fol. 463v.

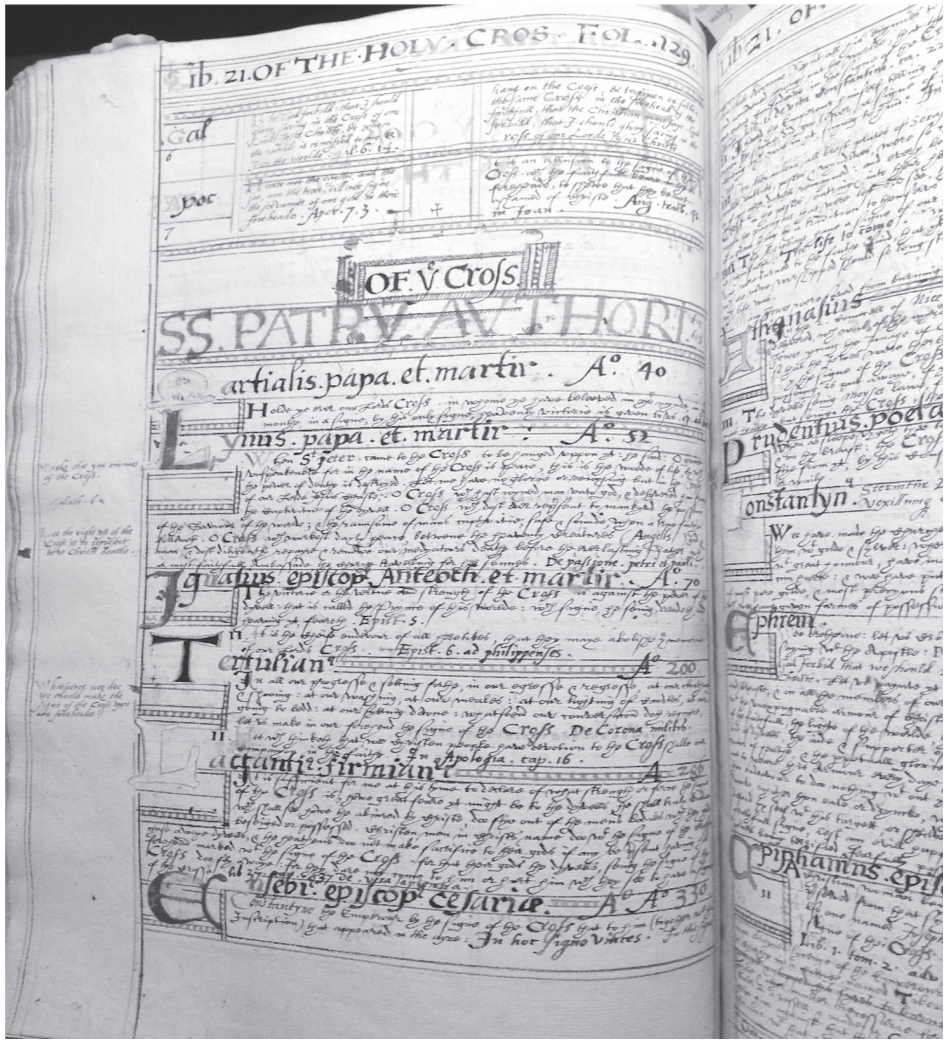

FIGURE 4. b. 1, fol. 289v.

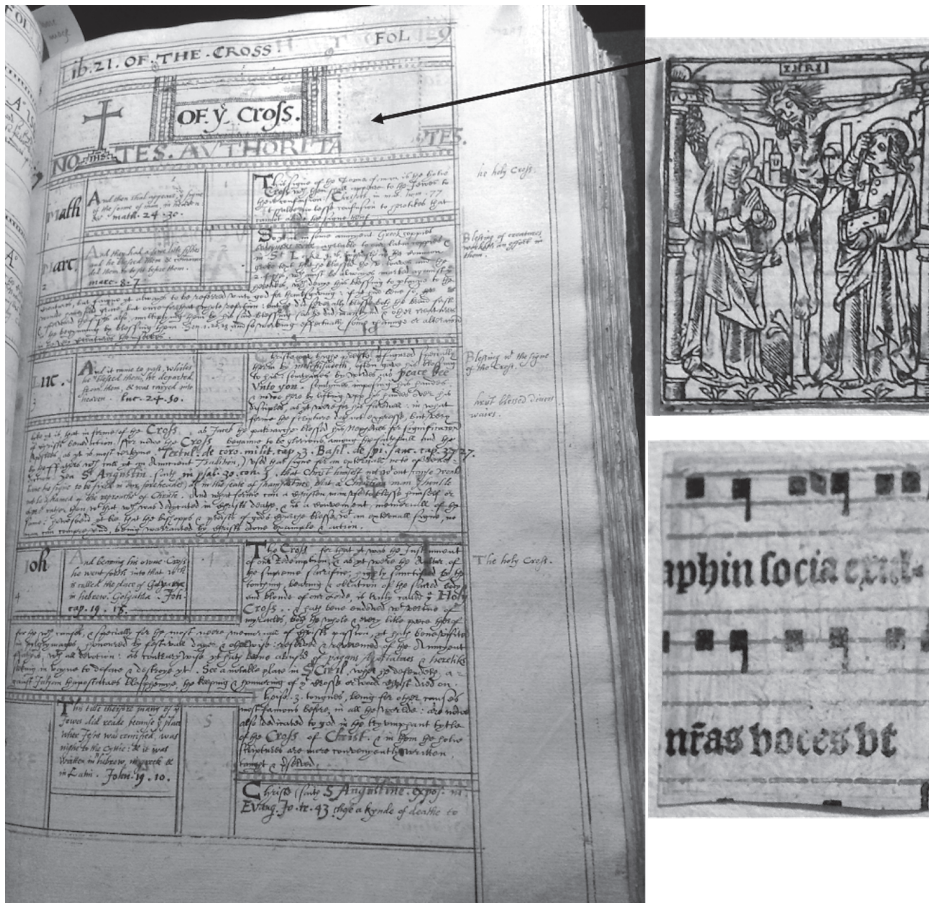

FIGURE 5. b. 1, fol. 289r, showing loose image front and back.

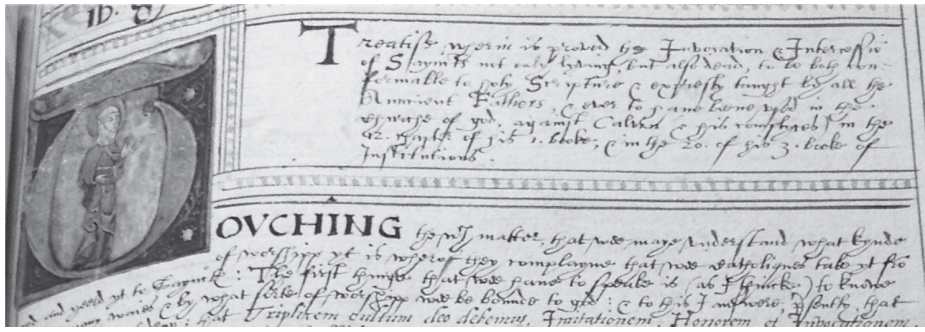

FIGURE 6. b. 2, fol. 649r.

The manuscript is unfinished, though the compiler's prefatory material suggests that he had a complete text in mind. What is left undone, too, suggests accident rather than design. Absent initials, incomplete dates and names, and faint outlines of initials where larger figures had been planned all suggest time constraints.[15] The hand is probably not authorial. Slips in biographical accuracy and unfinished rubrication suggest a scribe unfamiliar with the content and accustomed to completing the decoration in stages. The hand is consistent, crossings out are rare, and the overall presentation is unelaborate but generally well executed, indicating a trained scribal hand, though there are slips in spacing where titles and letters have had to be crammed in.[16] Images pasted in include a crucifixion scene, which has come loose and now reveals a portion of a plainchant melody (the Preface to the Blessed Virgin Mary from the Propers of the Mass) on the reverse (see fig. 5). The compiler pasted in an engraved armorial bookplate of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605), but there are several blank spaces with remnants of paste where images have fallen out, including one below Tresham's bookplate (fig. 7).[17]

Contents: Overview and "Of the Holie Eucharist"

The volumes index material explicating Catholic doctrines and traditions in the form of ninety-three "books" in alphabetical order, from "Of absolution" to "Of zeale," including, for example, "Of baptisme," "Of ceremonies," and "Of pennance."[18] The compiler adheres to the same five-part structure in each of the books, explaining

15. For example, b. 1, fols. 3r, 155r, 269v; b. 2, fols. 403r, 413r.

16. For an introduction to the literature on scribal culture, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993); R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, introduction by David McKitterick (New Castle, Del., 1994); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996); and Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998).

17. b. 1, fol. 289r; b. 2, fol. 823r; *ODNB*, s.v. "Tresham, Sir Thomas," by Julian Lock, last modified May 2009, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27712. The bookplate features the Tresham coat of arms in twenty-five quarterings with the motto "Fecit mihi magna qui potens est," words from the Magnificat (Luke 1:49), and the date "1585 Jun. 29." See *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, comp. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (hereafter STC), 2nd ed., rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London, 1976–91), no. 3368.5. STC lists an additional example, pasted into a work held in the British Library (hereafter BL): Pietro Bizari, *Persicarum rerum historia in XII. libros descripta, totius gentis initia, mores, instituta, et rerum domi forisque gestarum veram atque dilucidam enarrationem continens* (Antwerp, 1583), BL General Reference Collection 9087.k.6, page vi, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100120839752.0x000001#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=13. I am grateful to H. R. Woudhuysen for advice on this matter. One of Tresham's binding stamps uses these arms without his name and motto; see "Tresham, Thomas (1543–1605)," in John Morris, *British Armorial Bindings*, continued and edited by Philip Oldfield, accessed July 20, 2019, https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/stamp-owners/TRE006.

18. To give the reader a sense of the scope of the volumes, a list of their contents is provided as an appendix to this essay.

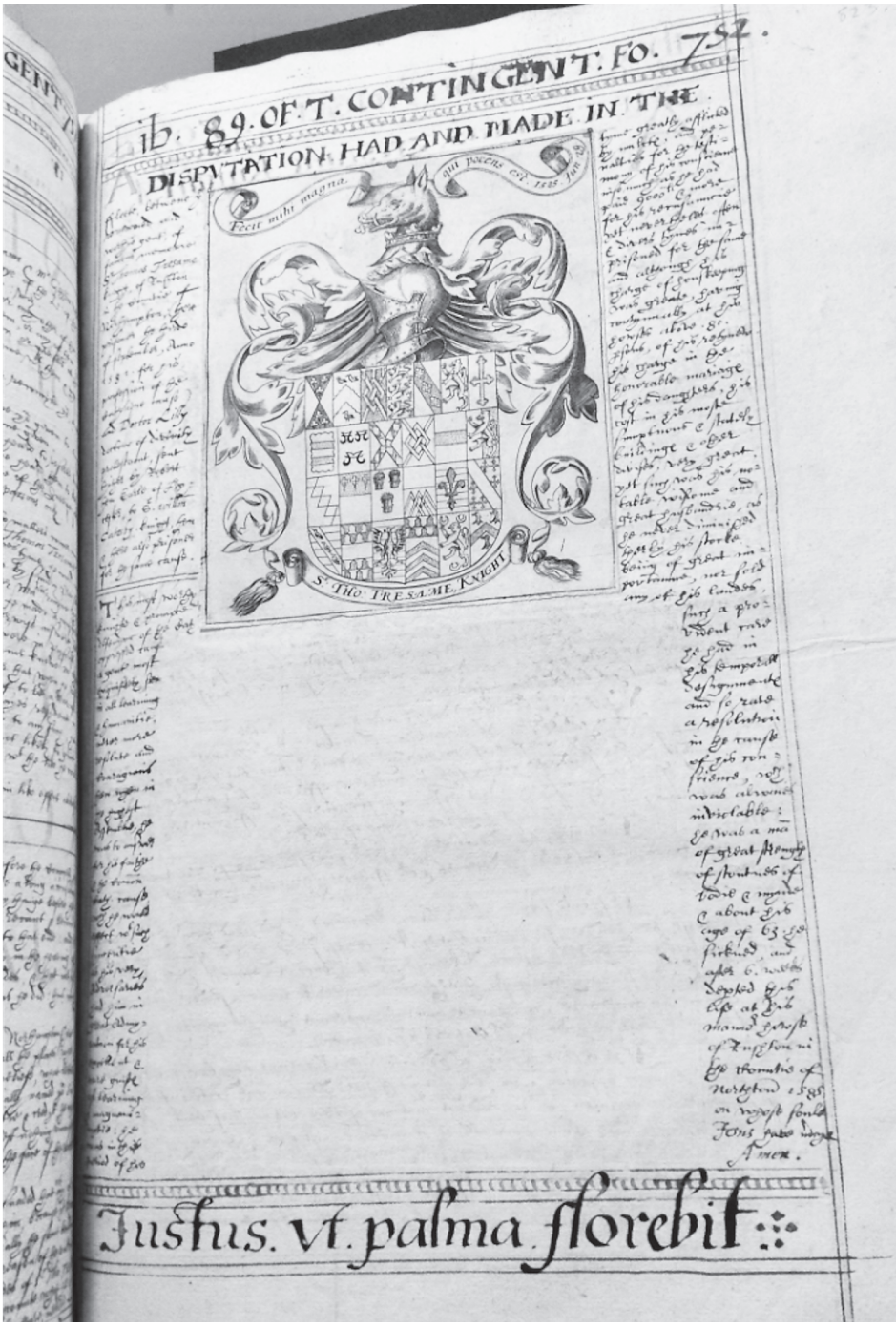

FIGURE 7. b. 2, fol. 823r.

that he had called for his defense five "squadrons": New Testament verses; glosses on them from the "most learned devynes of the Colledge Rheimes"; Church councils; Church fathers and theologians; and even the quotation of Protestants, "a methode very neccessarie for theis tymes."[19] Though he took his marginal glosses from the Rheims New Testament, he made his own translations of scripture from the Vulgate. This implies a dim view of the not uncontroversial decision to publish a vernacular translation of the Bible, but it also attests to the recognition that lay comprehension was uppermost.[20] The decision to give the verses in translation directs us to the purpose of compilation: to provide what we might crudely term a "resource" for lay domestic readers whose Latin may have been imperfect or who preferred to read in their native tongue. The accumulation of such a wealth of theological and pastoral material in this way could conceivably have benefited a layperson wishing to engage in serious theological study, or even an itinerant missionary priest compiling sermons without access to an institutional library. The thematic organization of the work would have suited a reader seeking particular subjects, but one looking up specific scriptural passages would likely have found it harder to navigate.

The length of each of the ninety-three books varies widely. The shortest covers only a page, whereas the longest, "Of the holie Eucharist," was intended to run to 150 folios (of which eleven were ruled and titled but bear no text).[21] The Eucharist was the fulcrum of ritual life for all Christians, and its theology had always been the subject of considerable deliberation and conflict; on this question, theological debate could have tangible and significant import for ordinary believers. The central doctrinal issue rested on whether Christ became truly present in the consecrated bread and wine (transubstantiation) or whether his presence was purely symbolic.[22] The resulting liturgical differences were consequential. What the faithful believed was happening at key moments in the rite and what the liturgy should look, sound, and even smell like, wrought division. The English Catholics who participated in illicit hearings of the Mass and the clergy who enacted the rites risked their lives, reputations, and property to do so, motivated by the promises of eternal salvation and its hellish inverse. The Eucharist also held a self-evident preeminence for English Catholics living under persecution: it kept believers in literal and metaphorical communion with their Church, and it was requisite for salvation, yet it was also a forbidden act. Secluded domestic masses also deprived Catholics of literal and spiritual

19. b. 1, fol. 9r–v.

20. See Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000); and Alexandra Walsham, "Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible," *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2003): 141–66.

21. b. 1, fols. 313r–463v.

22. Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, Conn., 2017), 162; see also Arnold Hunt, "The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, no. 161 (1998): 39–83.

communion with their local community, and this social ostracism contributed to a heightened sense of persecution.[23]

That the work's compiler should have given such weight to the book "Of the holie Eucharist" is therefore unsurprising, and it seems appropriate to spend some time discussing it here, an exercise that will also demonstrate how the structure of each book operates. To the first "squadron," scripture, the compiler devoted some twenty-six pages, with 119 quotations and glosses.[24] These are principally from the Gospels, with additions at the end of the section from the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline epistles.[25] These passages focus on the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine, upheld by Catholics and denied by Protestants in various ways: the words "THIS IS" and "MY BODY" figure prominently in large majuscules (fig. 8).[26] A page of quotations from six medieval rabbinical scholars offers witness to the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Old Testament. The eleventh-century scholar Rabbi Moses Hardasan, for example, had written, "And ther shalbe a Conversion of breade into his bodie" in his commentary on the thirty-sixth psalm.[27] The second "squadron," Church councils, offered up further evidential support for the doctrine, and the most recent, the Council of Trent (1545–63), condemned detractors of sacramental reservation: "If any man shall saye, that it is not lawfull to reserve the holy Sacram^{t} but that straight waye after the consecration it is of necessitie to bee distributed to them that be present: & that it is not lawfull reverently to carye yt to them that be sicke. Accursed be hee."[28] The longest section within this book, running to over one hundred pages, is that containing the words of Church fathers and other divines.[29] The length of these excerpts and paraphrases ranges from one line—for Felix, "papa et martir. A. 275"—to 101 quotations over nine pages for St. Augustine.[30] These authorities include early popes and bishops, doctors of the Church, medieval priests and monks, early martyrs, and thinkers such as the poet Prudentius, in no particular order. Recent contributors to the Catholic cause also feature in this section: Thomas Watson, Thomas Heskyns, Thomas Stapleton, William Allen, and Robert Bellarmine.[31] These are short entries of a couple of lines each, with the exception of a series of twenty-four paragraphs of excerpts and paraphrases from

23. See John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200–1700," *Past & Present*, no. 100 (1983): 29–61.

24. b. 1, fols. 313r–39r. The numbering of the quotations is incomplete, finishing with number 116 at the foot of fol. 337v.

25. b. 1, fols. 323v–39r.

26. b. 1, fol. 327v.

27. More commonly written as Moshe Ha-Darshan in the modern era; b. 1, fol. 341r.

28. b. 1, fol. 343r.

29. b. 1, fols. 343v–443v, of which fols. 429r, 431r–35v are ruled and titled but blank.

30. b. 1, fols. 349r, 381v–89r.

31. b. 1, fols. 421r, 425r, 435v, 427r.

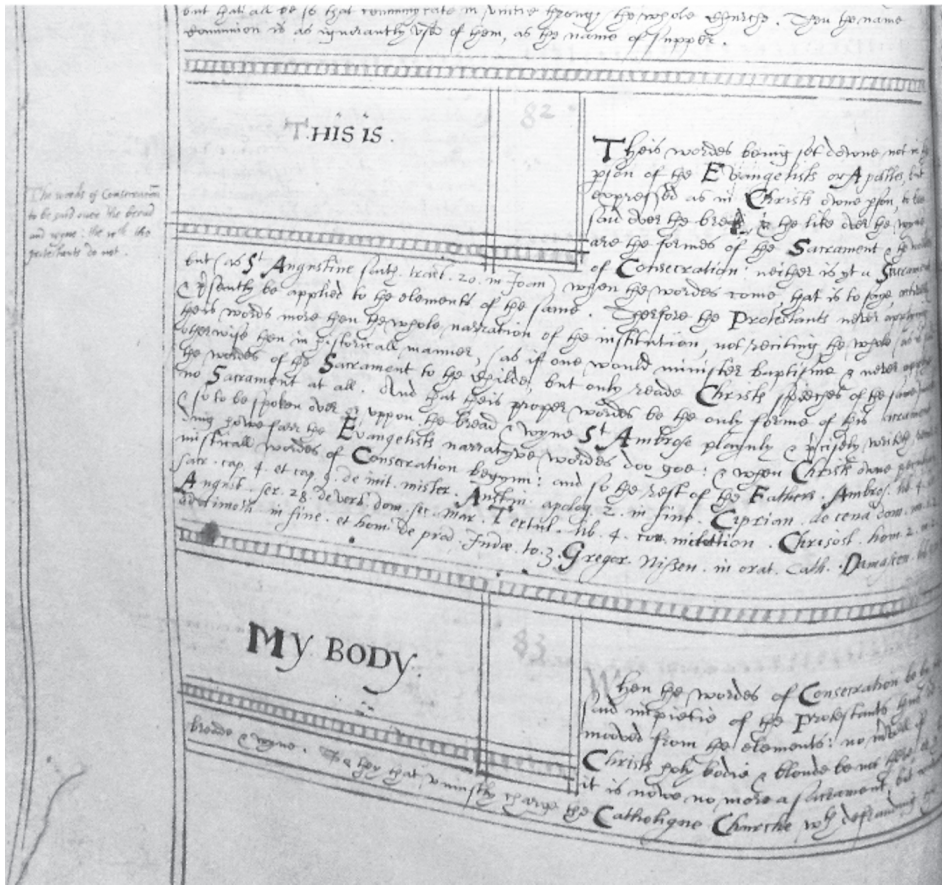

FIGURE 8. b. 1, fol. 327v.

a sermon on the real presence by Watson, which runs to four pages.[32] A marginal introduction describes Watson as "one of singuler wit and great learning, depriued of his lyuing by Q. Eliz: for the Catholique cause, and committed to prison wher at wisbeche, he died. Anno. [blank] after he had sufferd imp*ris*onm^t^. [blank] yeares."[33] A curious inclusion, even more so for its positioning in the center of a blank page after a run of four blank but ruled and titled pages, is a four-line Eucharistic quatrain

32. b. 1, fols. 421r–25r; Thomas Watson, *Twoo notable Sermons . . . before the Quenes highnes, concernynge the reall presence of Christes body and bloude in the blessed Sacrament: & also the Masse* (London, 1554): STC 25115.3. The compiler copied out three sections of the first of these sermons, preached before Queen Mary I at Lent in 1554: sigs. C7v, E8r, I5v, K1r, P4v, and P7r.

33. b. 1, fol. 421r. See *ODNB*, s.v. "Watson, Thomas," by Kenneth Carleton, last modified January 2011, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28865.

that circulated widely in variant forms during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries:

> God was the worde and spake yt.
> He blessed the breade and brake yt.
> And as the worde did make yt.
> So I beeleeve and take yt.[34]

The poem was widely attributed (likely wrongly) to Elizabeth I in its mid-seventeenth-century incarnations, and the compiler of this manuscript gave it no title or attribution. It has not been possible to find an exact match for the text in any of the attested sources and there is little space to divert to it here, but the fact that a deliberately ambiguous distillation of Eucharistic theology in a first-person verse has been included in this manuscript is intriguing.[35]

Contents: Contemporary Material

In order to focus on the significant insight this work offers into late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English Catholicism, the following analysis concentrates on the collection of contemporary material in the manuscript, rather than its extensive doctrinal and historical content.[36] Contemporary material is chiefly to be found in the book "Of things contingent," whose organization departs from the structure of the other books within the manuscript. It contains, in this order: a summary of the examination of William, third Baron Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, and Mr. Edward Griffin by Sir Walter Mildmay; an account of a disputation in the Fleet between Tresham and Doctor Edmund Lilly of Balliol College, Oxford, with the text written on either side of Tresham's bookplate; a fuller account of the disputation; and a letter from Tresham to Lilly afterward. Landmark parliamentary speeches relevant to the relationship between the government and English Catholics follow: the speech of the first Viscount Montagu in the 1559 Parliament; the speech of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montagu (1574–1629), his grandson and heir, in the 1604 Parliament; the speech of John Feckenham in the 1559 Parliament; and the sermon

34. b. 1, fol. 437r. Steven W. May, "'Tongue-tied Our Queen?': Queen Elizabeth's Voice in the Seventeenth Century," in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Elizabeth H. Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison, N.J., 2010), 48–67; Eve Houghton, "'The Word that Spake it': (Mis) Quoting Elizabeth I's Eucharist Verse" (unpublished), shared privately by the author.

35. Peter Beal, "Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603)," Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700, comp. Beal, accessed March 20, 2019, https://celm-ms.org.uk/authors/elizabethqueen.html, ElQ 27–32.

36. It is hoped that this essay will provide a foundation for research by scholars concerned with doctrinal matters.

given by John White at the funeral of Mary I.[37] Curiously, the manuscript is the main source for the text of the speech given by the first Viscount Montagu. The speech, opposing the introduction of statutes that pressed Catholics to conform and lamenting the attendant erosion of Catholic worship, is one of the landmarks of the reign. T. E. Hartley, in his foundational *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, took the text of Montagu's speech from the manuscript, a decade before the publication of the relevant Bodleian *Summary Catalogue*. How has it come to be that this relatively unknown manuscript should be our main source for such an important speech?[38]

The book "Of things contingent" begins with a tract by Stephen Gardiner entitled *A Discovery of ceirteyne vanities and lewde phantasies against the Catholique Churche our Mother: w[hi]ch are not prooved by the professours thereof*. Four letters of Stephen Gardiner follow, of which two have been until lately unknown to modern scholars, according to claims made in a recent publication.[39] Further documents included in this book include questions posed on the Eucharist by an unknown person; an anonymous account of a miracle at Darlington; a letter from the priest-spy Anthony Tyrrell to Elizabeth I; an account of events at the house of the Spanish ambassador on August 17, 1606, in which Catholics evaded capture; a response to the pamphlet *Romish Positions*; and an indulgence granted by Pope Boniface IX.[40] Also of interest elsewhere in the manuscript is an account of the heavenly appearance of the face of the Jesuit martyr Henry Garnet in a blood-soaked piece of straw collected from his execution and an account of the exorcism of Sara Cheney at the Hackney

37. b. 2, fols. 821r–97v. See *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, vol. 3, *The University of Oxford*, ed. H. E. Salter and Mary D. Lobel (London, 1954), 82–95; *ODNB*, s.v. "Mildmay, Sir Walter (1520/21–1589)," by L. L. Ford, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18696; *ODNB*, s.v. "Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528–1592)," by J. G. Elzinga, last updated May 2009, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3667; *ODNB*, s.v. "Feckenham [Howman], John (*c.* 1510–1584)," by C. S. Knighton, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9246; and *ODNB*, s.v. "White, John (1509/10-1560)," by Kenneth Carleton, last updated September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29250.

38. *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, vol. 1, *1558–1581*, ed. T. E. Hartley (Leicester, U.K., 1981), 7–11; see also Timothy J. McCann, "The Parliamentary Speech of Viscount Montague against the Act of Supremacy, 1559," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 108 (1970): 50–57, https://doi.org/10.5284/1085753. For the Brownes and their speeches, see Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 117–23.

39. Spencer J. Weinreich, "Two Unpublished Letters of Stephen Gardiner, August–September 1547 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. Th. b. 2)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67 (2016): 819–33 at 819–20.

40. *ODNB*, s.v. "Gardiner, Stephen," by C. D. C. Armstrong, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10364; *ODNB*, s.v. "Tyrrell, Anthony," by Peter Holmes, last updated September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27950; *ODNB*, s.v. "Garnett, Henry," by Thomas M. McCoog, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10389. *Romish Positions* refers to Thomas Morton, *An Exact Discoverie of Romish Doctrine in the Case of Conspiracie and Rebellion by pregnant obseruations* (London, 1605): STC 18184, which has the running title "Romish positions and practises for Rebellion."

residence of her master Lord Vaux.[41] Such examples were supposed to confirm Catholic readers in their beliefs, to prove their authenticity to detractors, and to stun nonbelievers into the sorts of internal deliberations that might precipitate conversion.

An important and problematic question concerns the provenance of this contemporary matter. The compiler assembled his content, he tells us, from multiple and varied sources in the tradition of *loci communes*: "yet presuming wt reverence I have borowed from others that wch I dare to communicate for a publique benefytt, the theft being neither sacriligious nor synfull, but holie & vertuous."[42] Yet the compiler imagined that, unlike a personal commonplace book, his work would have wider significance, that it would have "publique benefytt." Religious orthodoxy was not only a matter of private conscience but also of wider societal import. The compiler does not give provenance details for his contemporary material, although he does give textual references after many of the authoritative theological quotations. Thomas White's funeral sermon for Queen Mary is interrupted by a boxed italic note apparently written by someone present at the funeral: "Here he [White] made his praier for the spiritualtie, temporaltie, and soules in purgatorie because it was the prayer I did not write it, wch afterward I did repent, for there were notable thinges therein."[43] The reader is to understand, then, that the text of the sermon (but not other parts of the funeral service) has been taken down in full by an eyewitness, but whether compiler and eyewitness are the same person is unclear. Moreover, it is not the only first-person narrative transcribed by the compiler.

In the account of a miracle at Darlington, a Catholic woman and her new baby are safely brought through a long and difficult labor by a mysterious "well favoured tall woman" who appears and disappears without trace, all to the astonishment of the eighty-four "ernest protestan[t]" gentlewomen standing by.[44] The narrative is related in the first person from the perspective of the Catholic mother and brought to satisfactory completion; the final paragraph contains further testimony by the "husband vnto this foresaid woman," writing "11 years the 7 of July next cominge."[45] The

41. b. 2, fol. 135r–v (Garnet); b. 1, fols. 485r–91r (exorcism). Kilroy (*Memory and Transcription*) discusses the martyrdom and exorcism accounts in this manuscript, 21–22, 25–35. For Garnet's straw, see John Gerard, *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, ed. John Morris (London, 1871), 297; Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. in 8 (London, 1877–83), 4:127–28, 199–201; Robert Pricket, *The Iesuits miracles, or new Popish Wonders. Containing the Straw, the Crowne, and the Wondrous Child, with the confutation of them and their follies* (STC 20340; London, 1607). For the exorcism, see McKeogh, "Sir Thomas Tresham," 263–68; Holmes, "Witchcraft and Possession," 69–90; and Frank Walsh Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham* (Newark, Del., 1993).

42. b. 1, fol. 3r.

43. b. 2, fol. 855r.

44. b. 2, fol. 887r.

45. b. 2, fol. 887v.

attendee of Mary's funeral, the mother in labor, the father, and the compiler cannot all be the same person.

Anthony Maria Browne gave his speech on June 28, 1604, "before the LL. in the Parlyament house" during the first Parliament of James VI and I. The title calls the text a "coppie of the L. Vicount Mountacute his speache made for releasement of the punishmen*tes* and afflictions of Catholikes . . . & syncerely (as neere as coulde bee) wrytten out as yt was by him delyvered: vppon occasion wherof he was ymedyately after Comytted prysoner in the Fleete."[46] There is no clue as to who heard and copied the text. Other speeches for the cause of English Catholicism included by the compiler—those by the first Viscount Montague and Abbott John Feckenham in the 1559 Parliament—lack such methodological titles but are likewise presented as full texts of the speakers' words.[47]

The manuscript's cloud of witnesses is populated by attendees of official events—a royal funeral, parliamentary sessions—and the beholders of miracles. Perhaps the oddest inclusion is that of a long letter from the priest-spy Anthony Tyrrell to Elizabeth I dated 1587.[48] Tyrrell was, variously, a seminary priest educated at the English College at Rome and sent to mission in England in 1580; a Catholic prisoner turned government spy; and an apostate. He died a Catholic, having fled to the Continent after the Gunpowder Plot, but had in the intervening years made several recantations, conversions, and reconversions, serving as a Church of England priest from 1589. After this time he married, but his lascivious behavior in London brothels left him much in debt. He spent some of his imprisonments befriending and hearing the confessions of other Catholics, before passing on information to his jailers. He was, then, an unlikely candidate for inclusion among the ranks of exemplary Catholics whose steadfast defenses of their Catholicism grace the pages surrounding his own letter. In his missive, Tyrrell gives reasons for his reconversion to Catholicism, and he seeks to acquit himself and those Catholics against whom he has previously given evidence of the charge of disloyalty. He does so unconvincingly, retracting all previous statements against other Catholics as wicked untruths. He refers to his possession of letters from Justice Young commissioning him, with Elizabeth's support, to spy on his coreligionists, explaining why he will not continue to do so, and assuring the queen of his certainty that she would not truly wish him to so mislead her subjects.[49] The presentation of the highly unsuitable Tyrrell as an exemplary Catholic is questionable; how the compiler had sight of a copy of Tyrrell's letter is also puzzling. A copy in the State Papers is dated February 20, 1586, while the compiler's text has "1587" added, probably after the main text was copied, the discrepancy likely arising

46. b. 2, fol. 845r.
47. b. 2, fols. 839v–43r (Viscount Montague), 847r–49v (Feckenham).
48. b. 2, fols. 889r–95r.
49. b. 2, fol. 893r.

from new- and old-style dating.[50] It seems that the compiler was unaware of some of the wider context of Tyrrell's letter. If the argument for the dates of compilation below is correct, Tyrrell had renounced the Catholic faith, taken priest's orders in the Church of England, married, and fled overseas by the time his letter was copied into the manuscript, and it is difficult to understand the compiler's reasons for including the writing of such a problematic character. Yet it is also possible that the compiler meant the letter to stand on its own as a rehearsal of arguments against persecution and as a narrative of some of the sufferings of English Catholics during Elizabeth's reign, irrespective of the activities of its author.

Tyrrell was reported to have been involved in the recording of a series of exorcisms associated with the missionary priest William Weston in a compilation known as the *Book of Miracles*, now lost. Owing to Bishop Samuel Harsnett's possession of a copy of this text, which circulated widely in Catholic circles, and his habit of copying out large swaths of it, we know that the work contained an account of the exorcism of Sara Cheney. An account of the same event has also been copied into the manuscript, as noted above. There are four possible circumstances under which this account might have come to be included: first, if the compiler himself witnessed the exorcism; second, if Lord Vaux, in whose house Cheney (his wife's servant) was exorcised, provided the account; third, if the compiler received both Tyrrell's letter and an account of the exorcism (which Tyrrell is known to have witnessed) from Tyrrell himself, or from a fellow missionary priest close to him; fourth, if the account came to the compiler through some alternative channel of Catholic manuscript circulation, perhaps via a London prison. The manuscript contains other material about Lord Vaux and his kinsman Sir Thomas Tresham, as discussed below.

Tresham was given prominence in the book "Of things contingent," wherein the compiler devoted fourteen pages out of seventy-six to material by or about him.[51] It is highly likely that Tresham was known to the compiler, but there is as yet no positive evidence that the non-Tresham material within the manuscript originated in Tresham's papers.[52] A small number of documents in the manuscript, specifically those that pertain to Tresham, with one exception, are also present among the Tresham Papers. The exception is the first document in the book "Of things contingent," an account of the examination of Vaux, Tresham, and Mr. Edward Griffin by Sir Walter Mildmay.[53] The Tresham Papers contain Tresham's preparatory notes for his defense in Star Chamber in November 1581, but this account is of an earlier examination. The first account of the disputation between Tresham and Lilly is a brief

50. BL, Lansdowne MS 51, fols. 154r–58v.

51. b. 2, fols. 821v–35v contain Tresham material. Of the seventy-six folios in this book, seven pages are blank.

52. "The Tresham Papers," BL, Add. MSS 39828–38.

53. b. 2, fol. 821v. The examination reported in the manuscript took place in either August or November 1581.

introduction to the fuller account that follows, giving contextual biographical information, including a poignant valedictory to Tresham:

> This most worthy knighte & prompte defendour of the Cath oppressed caus a gent most exquisitely seen in all learning & humanitie; never more resolute and Couragious then when in the highest Assemblie, he was to answer for his faithe & the Co*m*mon Cath. cause, wch he would effect wt such synceritie as his very Adversaries had him in great Admyration for his excellent & rare guift*es* of learning & magnanimytie: he was in the period of his tyme greatly afflicted by mulct*es*, and penalties for the testimony of his conscience insomuch as he had paid 9000li & more for his recusancie yet never theles often & divers tymes imprisoned for the same and although his charge of houskeeping was greate, having contynually at his howse above .80. p*er*sons, of his retynew his charge in the honorable mariag*es* of his daughters, his cost in his moste sumptuous & stately building*es* & other divises, very great, yet such was his notable wisdome and great husbandrie, as he never diminished therby his stocke being of great importaunce, nor sold any of his landes, such a provident care he had in his temporall designment*es* and so rare a resolution in the cause of his conscience, wch was alwaies inviolable: he was a ma*n* of great strength of stoutnes of bodie & mynde & about his age of 63. he sickned, and after 6. weeks dep*ar*ted this life at his Manno^{r} howse of Rushton in the Countie of North*amp*ton 1585 on whose soule Jesus have m*er*cye Amen.[54]

In large italic letters across the bottom of the page the scribe has written, "Justus. vt. palma. florebit [The just shall flourish like the palm tree]." The text quoted above was originally written on either side of something pasted in (likely an image) but now lost; Tresham's bookplate is pasted in above it (see fig. 7).[55]

The following two documents exist with minor textual variants in both the manuscript and the Tresham Papers: the full account of the disputation between Tresham and Dr. Edmund Lilly in the Fleet Prison on the real presence and the letter from Tresham to Lilly on the same matter (mentioned above).[56] In the Tresham Papers, the account includes draft notes in Tresham's hand and a neater transcript

54. This date of death is wrong by some twenty years; Tresham died in 1605. It is a remote possibility that "1605" was misread as "1585." Another entry in the manuscript gives the correct year, supporting the argument for the involvement of a scribe unfamiliar with the contents.

55. b. 2, fol. 823r. The edges of the bookplate show minute evidence of writing, perhaps an ownership inscription.

56. b. 2, fols. 823v–29v.

copied out by his steward, George Levens.[57] The textual variants are not sufficient to argue with any certainty whether or not the documents in the Tresham Papers were the compiler's source. The title and preamble with which the account begins contain the same factual information in all texts, but the account in the Bodleian manuscript includes some contextual information about those involved. It is clear, though, that the compiler was close enough to Tresham or to his kin to record the date of his death with affection and precision. Tresham's bookplate is most likely to have come to the compiler through Tresham's library, which was by this stage in the possession of Thomas Brudenell, Tresham's son-in-law, at Deene, where the manuscript ended up.

Dating

The Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* dates the composition of the manuscript to between 1605 and 1608, but there is good reason to adjust these dates.[58] Watermark evidence suggests that the paper used was from Narbonne and made between 1604 and 1611. The watermark is a bunch of grapes with the name "P. QVEMET" at the top, allowing for confident identification.[59] Internal evidence—namely, references to contemporary events and the dates ascribed to works quoted—dates the contents as late as 1609, and a reference to Robert Persons, SJ, as still living gives a terminus ad quem of April 1610.[60] Eyewitness accounts date from 1585 to 1606, and the contributions titled "*auctor huius operis*" [author of this work] or variations thereof are from 1600 to 1608.[61] Adopting the interpretation that the work was compiled soon after the death of Sir Thomas Tresham on September 11, 1605, this essay offers a tentative start date of late 1605.[62] In order to take into account the time required to produce a work of this size, this analysis will work within the largest possible window: late 1605 to early 1610.

Authorship

The first commentators on the manuscript took the compiler's efforts to conceal the identity of his patron and the subversive nature of his work as evidence that his name, "Thomas Jollet," was a pseudonym, though other scholars have cast doubt upon

57. BL, Add. MS 39828, fols. 50r–51v (draft), 46r–48v (transcript). Levens's hand, though similar, is not a close match to that of the compiler.

58. Clapinson and Rogers, *Summary Catalogue*, 2:721, no. 46532. This dating is taken up in Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*, 13. Hofmann and Freeman give the compilation dates as 1600–1608, *English Historical Manuscripts before 1700,* no. 70.

59. C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1907), 655, no. 13216.

60. b. 1, fol. 581r (Theophilus Higg[o]ns, 1609), fol. 569r.

61. Hofmann and Freeman, *English Historical Manuscripts before 1700*, no. 70. Contributions by the compiler are found in b. 1, fols. 83r ("Author huius collectionis"), 159v ("Author. huius collectionis"), 229v ("Author huius operis A. 1601"), 543v ("Author.Huius.Operis.Tho."), 579v ("Aucthor A. 1600"), and b. 2, fols. 49r ("Author huius operis. A. 1600"), 197v ("Author A°1608"), 431r ("Auctor"), and 493r ("Aucthor").

62. b. 1, fol. 571v.

this.[63] A meticulous description of the manuscript was included in the sale catalogue in 1969 and its purchaser, the Bodleian Library, subsequently prepared an entry for its *Summary Catalogue*. An article in *Essex Recusant* announced the manuscript's entry onto the market and predicted the wonderful possibilities for research.[64] Gerard Kilroy was first to answer the call in detail, and his analysis follows the dating of the Bodleian catalogue.[65] Following Kilroy's exposition of the work, a handful of scholars have made partial use of it as a repository of relevant contemporary observations and documents. Phebe Jensen discusses the manuscript as an example of English Catholic commitment "to preserving the celebration of the Roman ecclesiastical calendar," calling it an "encyclopedia of English Catholic belief" that also "indicates the importance of holy-day celebrations" and "record[s] controversy over the calendar."[66]

Kilroy's study of Catholic memorial literature is enriched by the inclusion of newly explored sources such as the manuscript under discussion here, and in particular by a new edition of material relevant to Edmund Campion. The book relates its manuscript subjects to the literary culture alive among recusants. Kilroy departs from earlier descriptions of the manuscript, arguing that "Thomas Jollet" was evidently a pseudonym. He conjectures that Sir Thomas Tresham was the author of the manuscript's content and that his daughter Mary Brudenell had transcribed the material in its current form after her father's death. The fact that the manuscript pays great attention to Tresham lent itself to Kilroy's theory that it was compiled in his memory; the author's references to himself as "Thomas" corroborate the conclusion that this was indeed his given name. Kilroy makes much of the connection between the provenance of the papers of the Tresham family—found in a wall cavity in 1828 and thought to have been bundled away following the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot—and the exhortation, in the manuscript's "epistle dedicatorie," to "gather theise fflowers of ffathers . . . to bynde them upp together with the string of secrecie, & for a tyme

63. For "Jollet" as pseudonym, see Clapinson and Rogers, *Summary Catalogue*, 2:721, no. 46532. Kilroy argues for "Jollet" as pseudonymous and Tresham as the author; *Memory and Transcription*, 13–15. Hofmann and Freeman have "Jollet" as the author and describe his work as an "autograph manuscript," *English Historical Manuscripts before 1700,* no. 70. Childs and Murphy both suggest that "Jollet" may be the author's real name; Childs, *God's Traitors*, 378n5, and Murphy, "*Adoramus te Christe*," 244–46. Shell refers to "Thomas Jollet's theological manuscript"; *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination*, 12. Jensen (*Religion and Revelry*) does not mention the compiler.

64. J. G. O'Leary, "A Recusant Manuscript of Great Importance," *Essex Recusant* 10 (1968): 17–20.

65. Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*.

66. Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, 72. Jensen conflates the manuscript's provenance with that of the Tresham Papers, suggesting that it was "found preserved in the wall of Sir Thomas Tresham's house." For the Tresham Papers and their provenance, see Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. 3, *The Manuscripts of T. B. Clarke-Thornhill* (hereafter HMC, *Report*), ed. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill and S. C. Lomas (London, 1904), v.

to burye and intombe them in their sepulchre."[67] The identification of Mary Brudenell as scribe fits the chronology as well as the provenance of the manuscript: Mary had married Thomas Brudenell, heir to Deene Park, Northamptonshire, in the summer of 1605; her father died in September of that year; the manuscript remained at Deene until its sale in the twentieth century. Moreover, a document in the pastedowns of the second volume concerns the recusancy of a Mary Brudenell of Deene. This tempting explanation is undermined by the fact that the Mary of this document is not Thomas Brudenell's wife but his aunt. The document covers the period 1603 to 1606, up until the death of Mary Brudenell (1561–1606), wife of John Brudenell, and therefore begins two years before the marriage of Thomas Brudenell and Mary Tresham. It was only on the death of his uncle John that Thomas Brudenell inherited Deene.

In November 1605 the Gunpowder Plot was discovered. Though Sir Thomas Tresham had died two months earlier, his son Francis had been brought into the conspiracy by his plotting cousins, who had need of his inheritance. Francis died in his prison cell in the Tower of London on December 23 that year, but his head was duly severed from his body and displayed—ghoulishly accomplishing the traitor's execution that he had escaped so narrowly.[68] Some of the central Midlands contingent of the plotters, Francis included, had together engaged in violent political resistance before, in the failed coup of the second Earl of Essex in 1601, though the Gunpowder Plot was a drastic escalation.[69] Scholars have argued persuasively that it was Francis who wrote to his brother-in-law William Parker, Lord Morley and Mounteagle, to warn him of looming danger and thus to spare his life, but the plot was frustrated when Parker informed the king of the contents of the letter, as was incumbent upon him.[70] It is thought that the Tresham Papers were hidden in the wake of the arrests and executions that followed, when Midlands houses were being searched for individuals and materials pertinent to the plot. In the absence of his will, we do not know whether Sir Thomas Tresham wished for his papers to be buried after his death. If they were indeed hidden away in anticipation of government searches, as is likely, it was after Tresham's death and without his knowledge. Such a move was prudent but unoriginal.

Kilroy is right to draw attention to the importance of secrecy and concealment to English Catholics at this time. There were grave risks associated with religious practice, and adherents to the faith were forced to weigh political obedience, family status, personal wealth and freedom, even their lives, against their commitment to

67. b. 1, fol. 3r, quoted in Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*, 13.

68. *ODNB*, s.v. "Tresham, Francis," by Mark Nicholls, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27708.

69. See Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012), esp. 54–56.

70. See George Blacker Morgan, *The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteagle in 1605* (London, 1916); Mark Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester, 1991), 22–23, 214.

customs, traditions, and sacraments that they deemed essential to their salvation. Many decided that earthly peril must be endured to safeguard against eternal torment. Recusant families like the Treshams had to exercise caution in their interactions with others, especially those committed to paper. Catholics participated in a tradition of manuscript circulation, passing between each other in relative secrecy material that ill-disposed readers would consider seditious.[71] In the light of this, it should be considered that the concealment of letters, books, papers, and other examples of Catholic material culture was neither unique to Tresham nor to the author of the manuscript under discussion here, but rather ubiquitous to English Catholics, and indeed to all authors and readers of potentially dangerous material. The concealment of the Tresham Papers and of this manuscript affirms a general point: that hiding illicit materials, persons, and activities is a universal human impulse. Their concealment is not, however, convincing evidence that they were compiled by (or for) the same person.

Paleography

In considering authorship, Kilroy and other commentators have rightly drawn attention to the compiler's efforts to maintain his and his dedicatee's anonymity in the main text through the judicious use of blank spaces in place of identifying information. They have not given enough weight to the assertions of authorship made in two near-contemporary inscriptions. I argue here that while the compiler did indeed intend to remain anonymous, two slightly later inscriptions by an owner (or owners) of the volume reveal him to be "Thomas Jollet." The first inscription is found at the back of the second volume, outside the main body of the manuscript, in a neat and deliberate italic hand, tightly spaced enough to be almost cramped.

71. See, for example, Nancy Pollard Brown, "Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700,* vol. 1, ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (1989): 120–43. See also Alison Shell, "The Writing on the Wall?: John Ingram's Verse and the Dissemination of Catholic Prison Writing," *British Catholic History* 33 (2016): 58–70. Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton quote from the interrogation of Thomas Dodwell, associated with the circulation of Catholic books in and out of London prisons, the interrogator reporting that the Marshalsea prisoners "hide their books in such secret places that when any search is … they can find nothing"; Havens and Patton, "Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England," in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*, ed. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (Leiden, 2017), 165–88 at 177. Manuscript circulation was not, of course, unique to Catholics, and it belongs at the center of the understanding of how texts were encountered in this period; Woudhuysen's *Sir Philip Sidney* is the seminal study. Alison Shell describes the censorship of Catholic books and attendant processes of searching and destruction in "Catholic Texts and Anti-Catholic Prejudice in the 17th-Century Book Trade," in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600–1910*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, U.K., 1992), 33–58, esp. 35. See also David Scott Kastan, "Naughty Printed Books," in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. James Simpson and Brian Cummings (Oxford, 2010), 287–302.

It reads: "*Scriptor qualis erat si quis de nomine quærat [/] Cunctis noscatur Thomas Iollet sic nominatur* [What sort of man the writer was, if someone should seek his name [/] let all know that he is called thus: Thomas Jollet]" (fig. 9).[72] An internal rhyme scheme—"erat . . . quærat [/] noscatur . . . nominatur"—is a stylistic idiosyncrasy, a rhetorical flourish equivalent to the curlicues beneath the text. This is the only explicit evidence that Thomas Jollet was the author. There is no reason to disbelieve it; the owner of the volume would have been in a good position to know and may not have shared the compiler's desire for anonymity. Let all know, it says, and what reason is there to doubt this near-contemporary witness? In the presence of positive near-contemporary evidence for authorship, the burden of proof rests on those who would not accept it to supply convincing grounds on which to disbelieve it. Evidence, properly contextualized and weighed in the balance, trumps its absence.

The second revealing inscription (fig. 10) is one of confident ownership at the beginning of the first volume:

> This and its second tome
> doe belong to me—S.D.V.
> aprill the, 27. ano, Domini 1653.[73]

This inscription bears a stylistic resemblance to the other one. It rhymes—"V . . . domini . . . 1653"—and is also in a near-contemporary italic hand that slants forward minutely, but it is not as polished as the Jollet inscription. It has a rough quality, is larger, and features wider spacing between letters, words, and lines. Efforts to thicken the stem of the initial majuscule *T* with multiple strokes are evident. Detailed comparison of letterforms in the two hands is rendered difficult by such a small sample of text, but it is possible that the hands belonged to the same owner, demonstrating respectively formal and less formal handwriting.

How do you solve a problem like "Thomas Jollet," of a work with a seemingly anonymous compiler *and* a statement of authorship? A possible solution is that the identity of the compiler, "Thomas Jollet," was revealed while an early owner of the manuscript was recording his or her ownership almost half a century after it was compiled. If this is the case, it could hardly have been "Jollet's" intention. While moments

72. b. 2, fol. 949r.

73. b. 1, front flyleaf. "S. D. V." is a motto, conceivably "si Dieu veult (if God wills [it])." *Fairbairn's Crests* lists "si Dieu veult" as the motto used by the Preston family; *Fairbairn's Crests of the Leading Families in Great Britain and Ireland and Their Kindred in Other Lands*, comp. James Fairbairn, rev. Laurence Butters, ed. Joseph MacLaren, 2 vols. in 1 (New York, 1911), 587. A link between the armigerous Prestons who used this motto and the Thomas Preston who died in Yorkshire in 1610 and may have entered into a bond with Sir Henry Constable, first Viscount Dunbar, deserves investigation. See *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604–1629*, s.v. "PRESTON, Thomas (–d.1610), of Henderskelf, Yorks.," by Alan Davidson, last updated 2010, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research/members/members-1604-1629.

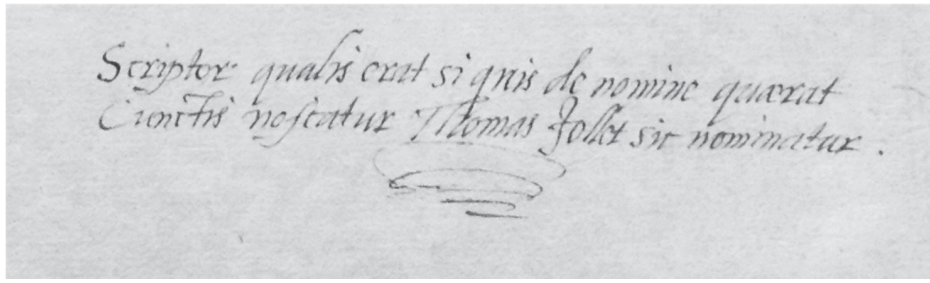

FIGURE 9. b. 2, fol. 949r (back flyleaf).

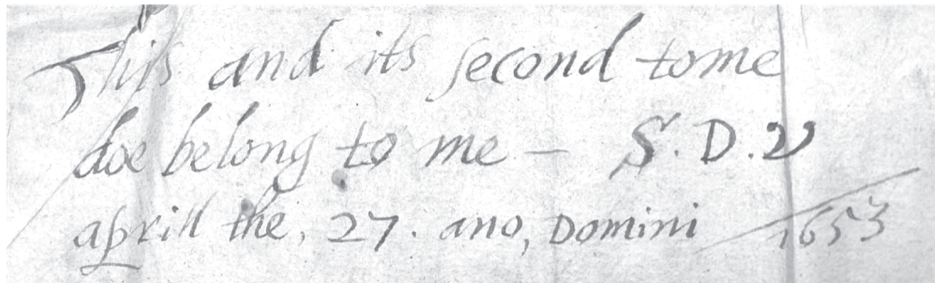

FIGURE 10. b. 1 (front flyleaf).

of self-reference pepper the work, they also uphold his anonymity. In the same way, references to the identity and position of the work's unknown dedicatee in its prefatory epistles "dedicatorie" and "to the reader" demonstrate the same caution, using blank spaces in place of identifying information.

Internal evidence is used here to piece together small glimpses of "Jollet" himself. Authorial contributions are introduced in the same style as those of other authorities, with a title or first name (Thomas) and a date at most, but not a surname. A four-part motet by "Thomas Jollett" in the book "Of martirs" does not mention authorship of the wider work.[74] The book "Of convercion" casts light on "Jollet's" own circumstances. In a section where he answers Protestant claims to embody the true church under the headings "*positio*" and "*oppositio*," he writes twice that he does not have access to his books and that this has shaped what he has to say. This appears to apply only to this short section of the manuscript, however, where he omits to quote his sources and refers to the vehicle for his opinions as "so narrowe a leafe": a claim to brevity that cannot be made for the rest of the work. He argues that being deprived of access to the Church fathers has served only to prove the worthlessness of the

74. b. 2, fols. 135v–37r.

Protestant cause, and that if his detractors want a fair debate, then they will have to set him at liberty:

> And although reasons are like vnto peeces of *Arras* wch being crumppled together have no evidence of beautie or proportion: in wch regarde I might refuse to bring them forthe in so narrowe a leafe; where I cannot be suffered to haue helpe of my bookes to vnfolde them: yet because this very interdicting of the *Auncyent ffathers of the Churche* to haue accesse vnto mee, is a playne conviction that they are guiltie to the rottenness of their cause, & have the ffathers in iealouise: I will therfore send forth my reasons bounde & vnordered as they are after their pursuyte, that if they offer to make a stande & to strike: they shall wth their stroakes but vnloose their bandes & of necessitie giue mee occasion to enlarge my meaninge & bestreight their cause the more.[75]

The meaning of "bounde & vnordered" is obscure. This may refer to the vehicle for the reasons, suggesting *disordered* papers tied together (the sense here seems not to be that "Jollet" is sending papers bound in book form). Or it may mean that the opinions and, by extension, the holder of those opinions, are restrained, but this makes the pairing with "vnordered" confusing; is "Jollet" really saying that the reasons are unsolicited, that he has not been "ordered" to send them? Another possibility is that "vnordered" might refer to military orders, in line with the surrounding vocabulary of battle.[76] One interpretation of "Jollet's" separation from his books is that he wrote this section of the manuscript while in prison, and it is a remote possibility that he compiled the whole work while without liberty and only later managed to "obtayne so muche favoure, as to haue the vse of [his] books."[77] Nevertheless, this must remain conjecture. We learn from this section that "Jollet" was a convert and that he "defended openly in Cambridge, 10 poynts of Catholique oppinion"—perhaps Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem*—"before I was a Catholique," though there is no record of a "Jollet" having attended the university.[78]

Having established that the name "Thomas Jollet" is unlikely to be pseudonymous, it makes sense to move tentatively toward identification. Though no obvious candidates present themselves from the ranks of lay Catholics already known to

75. b. 1, fol. 237r (quotation). It is likely that "bookes" refers to printed books.
76. I owe this suggestion to Sara K. Austin.
77. b. 1, fol. 293v.
78. b. 1, fol. 293r. Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* ([Henley-on-Thames], [1581]): STC 4536.5; Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: An Annotated Catalogue*, vol. 1, *Works in Languages Other than English* (Aldershot, U.K., 1989), 135.1 (hereafter ARCR[1]). Reference is also made to vol. 2, *Works in English, with Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume I* (Aldershot, U.K., 1994), below (hereafter ARCR[2]).

scholars, the consultation of official records of Catholics yields some results. A possible, though highly provisional candidate, one "Thomas Jollett" of Edmonton, appears in the Middlesex Sessions Records under the Process Register of Indictments, Gaol Delivery Record and General Sessions of the Peace for recusancy between June 1608 and March 1619. More shockingly, his wife, Helen, was delated in Michaelmas 1619 for scandalously taking the body of her recusant husband and burying it—ineffectively, with a leg protruding out of the earth—at Hornsey cemetery. Jollett's social status was seemingly fluid. He was described as a yeoman in 1608 and 1609, but as a gentleman between 1615 and 1619, excepting 1618, when he was listed as a yeoman again.[79] Jollett of Edmonton was active during the years of the manuscript's compilation, and was notorious as a determined recusant. Yet nothing else is known of his life: of how he moved between the ranks of yeoman and gentleman; of how he might be connected to Deene Park, Northamptonshire; of how he might have known, or known of, Sir Thomas Tresham; or of whether he came across any of the missionary priests whose efforts are recorded in this manuscript. If new evidence should come to light, it may be possible to confirm Jollett of Edmonton as the compiler, or to exclude him entirely. The unanswered questions are problematic, but they are doors waiting to be opened, not blocked up forever. In the absence of this evidence, he will be treated, conjecturally, as a potential candidate for identification as the same "Thomas Jollet" whose authorship was recorded, against his wishes, by an early owner of the manuscript. This is a very cautious suggestion, but it has been established here that, in the search for a compiler, scholars are more likely to be looking for a man by this name than for someone else writing pseudonymously.

Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605)

Material within the manuscript pertains to Sir Thomas Tresham and his Catholic kin, particularly William Vaux (1535–1595), third Baron Vaux. As has been established, the presence of Tresham throughout the manuscript has led some modern commentators to suppose that Tresham had a hand in the early stages of its conception, but the preceding argument has cast doubt on this. Tresham and Vaux were neighbors and brothers-in-law, and the families shared a long association. Tresham was born to Catholic parents who died during his childhood. He was raised in the similarly observant household of the Throckmortons of Coughton Court as the ward of Sir Robert Throckmorton, whose daughter, Muriel, Tresham later married. Tresham likely practiced some degree of conformity between 1559 and 1580, at which point an encounter with the Jesuit missionary priest Robert Persons guided him to

79. *Middlesex County Records*, vol. 2, *1603–25*, ed. John Cordy Jeaffreson (London, 1887), 115, 131, 134, 144, 147, 211–12, 236, British History Online, accessed August 5, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-county-records/vol2. Variant spellings include Jollett/Jallet/Jellett/Jelly/Gillett/Gyllett/Gyllott. Examples of literary production by non-elite individuals are rare, but for another example from the yeomanry, see Steven W. May and Arthur F. Marotti, *Ink, Stink Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2014).

recusancy—the principled refusal to attend the services of the Church of England as required by statute. Tresham's recusancy was unwavering, halted only by his death on September 11, 1605. For modern scholars, Tresham and Vaux are prominent figures in the story of Catholics' relationship with the Elizabethan government. In 1581 they were questioned as harborers of the soon-to-be Jesuit protomartyr Edmund Campion, who was said to have given up their names under torture, and were subsequently tried in Star Chamber for refusing to swear an oath to the charge. Thereafter, they spent about two years as close prisoners in the Fleet, and Tresham's defense and involvement in Catholic petitions earned him a reputation as a spokesperson for English Catholics who claimed that the practice of their faith did not compromise their fidelity to queen and country. After his release from the Fleet in March 1583, Tresham suffered nine further periods of imprisonment prior to his death. Trinitarian doctrine had a particular resonance with Tresham, and he heard it in his name: "Tres-am." Tresham's stone testaments to his considerable devotion to the Catholic faith under persecution include two buildings, both begun in the 1590s: the Triangular Lodge and Lyveden New Bield.[80] He was also a prolific bibliophile with a particular commitment to supporting Catholic scholarship and education on English soil. Tresham cultivated an impressive library of almost 2,000 books and bought a large number of books (124) to donate to the new library of St. John's College, Oxford—the alma mater of Edmund Campion, among other leading lights of the Catholic colleges founded on the Continent.[81] When Thomas Brudenell married Tresham's daughter Mary in mid-1605, he also took on Tresham's library, perhaps as part of the marriage settlement. Writing shortly after Tresham's death, Brudenell described his grief: "I have gotten a wife, but have lost her father, for Sir Tho. Tresham died a month past. Our loss is great, either public or private in my judgement."[82] It is Brudenell's house, Deene Park, and his descendants, who received and retained the manuscript until its sale in the twentieth century.[83] If the manuscript was compiled in memoriam, why

80. See McKeogh, "Sir Thomas Tresham," 14–18; chap. 4 (on Tresham's buildings, including one at Rothwell not mentioned here, and a reredos from 1577); Peter Davidson, "Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England," in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley, and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame, Ind., 2007), 19–51.

81. See Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*; Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*; *ODNB*, s.v. "Campion, Edmund [St. Edmund Campion]," by Michael A. R. Graves, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4539; *ODNB*, s.v. "Tresham, Sir Thomas"; *ODNB*, s.v. "Vaux, William, third Baron Vaux," by John J. LaRocca, last updated September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28165; and Sandeep Kaushik, "Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State," *Midland History* 21 (1996): 37–72. See also McKeogh, "Sir Thomas Tresham," chap. 5.

82. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable, the Marquess of Salisbury: Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, vol. 17, *1605*, ed. M. S. Giuseppi (London, 1938), 463, quoted in Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene*, 104.

83. See Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene*; and Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell*, intro. John Martin Robinson (London, 2006).

was Tresham, now safe from the government's penalties, not hymned in the prefatory material, the "epistle dedicatorie" and "epistle to the reader"?

The inclusion of long pieces of text by and about Tresham and Vaux—and Tresham in particular—is striking. As noted above, "Jollet" copied a first-person account of the exorcism of Sara Cheney at Lord Vaux's residence into the manuscript, but there is no suggestion that he himself was the eyewitness.[84] "Jollet" also quoted Tresham as an authority on scripture:

> In hoc et ipse studeo sine offendiculo, conscientiam habere ad deum, et ad homines semper. that is to saye: In this booke (to wytt the newe testament) so I studye w^{t}hout any offence, having my conscience to god & men. In his imprisomment at Bugden. 9. July. 1588.[85]

The quotation is positioned halfway down an otherwise blank page, awarding it considerable prominence, and "Jollet" gives Tresham's state as "prisoner," rather than as "knight," as he is elsewhere described. That he should give precedence to Tresham, a layman whose only education appears to have come from a very brief spell at Christ Church, Oxford, and then at the Inns of Court, conveys a personal confidence in Tresham's theological learning as well as his religious conviction, while emphasizing an endearing humility that casts a shadow over Tresham's jailers.[86] A reference to Tresham in a list "of those that have suffred any detriment in bodie landes or goodes" also conveys "Jollet's" respect for him and suggests that he knew him well enough to attempt to record the date of his death precisely, even though one of his references was erroneous. While other names have been embellished with basic, often incomplete, biographical detail, Tresham is given a more detailed and effusive description than anyone else: "the myrror of wisdome, learning & stoute resolution, after many yeres induraunce & often inprysonments: died at his house at Rushton the 19. of September: 1605." Tresham receives a similarly personal tribute in the book "Of fathers and doctors and men of famous memorie," which includes an incomplete table of names and short biographies over eleven pages:

I am enormously grateful to Nicolas Barker for sharing his insights into the library, and to Robert and Charlotte Brudenell for granting me access to it.

84. b. 2, fols. 485r–91r. The exorcism is not the subject of this essay, but it receives some attention in Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*, and especially in Holmes, "Witchcraft and Possession."

85. b. 2, fol. 695v. "Bugden," or Buckden, was the residence of the bishop of Lincoln. Tresham, like other Catholic gentlemen, was imprisoned as a precautionary response to the threat of a Spanish invasion, realized in the 1588 Armada.

86. Writing to Tobie Matthew, bishop of Durham, on January 15, 1603, Tresham referred to time spent together at Christ Church, Oxford, in their youth: HMC, *Report*, 115–16; Tresham was at the Middle Temple from 1568 to 1570: *ODNB*, s.v. "Tresham, Sir Thomas."

> THOMAS TRESAM*US*. Knight. a man of rare wisdome and learning, having paid for his Recusancy (as it is said) 9000li. & suffred much: a man most remarkable, and stoute in defense of the Cath. cause: England lost her Jewell when he died at his Mannor of Rushton the xi. of september. 1605.[87]

Use

Uncertainty about what happened to the manuscript between its compilation in the first decade of the seventeenth century and its inscription in 1653 leaves the important question of its first use answerable only with caution. With the occasional glimpses of non-authorial annotation by two different hands (hereafter "Hand A" and "Hand B") bearing no obvious resemblance to the ownership inscription, it is not possible to know who first read it, but the internal evidence of the annotations themselves gives grounds to place Hand A in the early 1620s. Because Hands A and B use different scripts—secretary and italic respectively—it is possible that they belong to the same reader (fig. 11). These volumes were not designed to be portable; they are weighty tomes, to be carried one at a time and consulted at a desk. Their circulation therefore had practical limitations, the compiler's instructions about concealment notwithstanding. It is likely that they remained at Deene Park, to be consulted by a small number of sympathetic members of the household and their intimate friends, and perhaps itinerant clergy. The compiler intended his work to be pressed into such service: the generous margins afford space for annotation, and the layout of the music included in the manuscript demands performance.

Marginalia

The annotations are both utilitarian and scholarly. Either the scribe or a reader entered marginal headings at right angles to the text, positioned at the edges of the leaves (as they are now) leaving room for further notes in order to aid the easy location of relevant material, though many are only partially legible because the leaves have been trimmed for binding. Where they are legible, these record the authorities cited, but there is insufficient text present to compare the hand with any of the other hands (see fig. 1).

The annotations of Hands A and B illustrate critical reading and are mostly to be found in "Of Antichrist." This book follows the work's characteristic five-part structure. Its first section glosses New Testament verses with marginal notes from the Rheims version and uses the Acts of the Apostles to characterize Protestant heretics—particularly Calvinists—as the forerunners of Antichrist, countering anti-Catholic slurs that it was the papacy who had long harbored these agents of evil. The owner(s) of Hands A and B acted as critical readers and editors, sometimes affirming

87. b. 2, fol. 413v; b. 1, fol. 571v. September 11 is correct, but we can forgive "Jollet" the eight days.

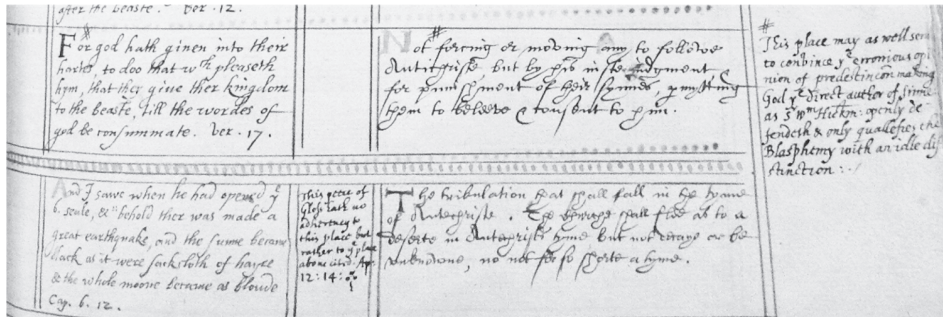

FIGURE 11. b. 1, fol. 37r. Hands A (lower middle) and B (upper right).

"Jollet's" arguments, sometimes questioning the suitability of his selected verses and annotating to refine his argument. Next to "Jollet's" marginal heading "The caluenists place Antichrist in the See of Rome in [S]t Paules dayes," Hand B wrote, "no but Beza only speakes so ambiguously as by an extreeme inference such a foolish errour maybe gathered but he cannot directly be in iustice charged wth ye opinion." Below, the same hand continued approvingly one of "Jollet's" glosses with a comment, marking the relevant section of the text with "//." To the gloss "Therefore if all the rest be Antechristes, let Beza boldly saie that St Peter // was so also," the reader added, "Which would end ye co*n*trou*er*sie if any one sectary would affirme."[88] The same hand appears two folios later. Below "Jollet's" marginal heading "All heretiks are Antichrists, the forerunners of the great Antichriste," Hand B wrote, "This place seemeth probablest for the construc*i*on of Rome to Antichrists seat because it is here sayd there shalbe many Antechrists." On the same page, annotating Revelation 17:17 and its gloss "Not forcing or moving any to followe Antichriste, but by his iuste iudgment, for punishment of their synnes, p*er*mytting them to beleeve & consent to him," Hand A wrote in the margin, "This place may as well seru[e] to convince ye erronious opinion of predestin*aci*on making God ye direct author of sinne as Sr Wm Hickm*an* openly defendeth & only quallefies the Blasphemy with an idle distinction," indicating his reference to both verse and gloss with the mark "#." It is this annotation that offers a possible date for Hand A. Sir William Hickman (ca. 1549–1625) of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, was knighted in 1603.[89] The poet and polemicist George Wither

88. b. 1, fol. 33r.

89. Revelation 17:17 reads, "For god hath giuen into their hartes, to doo that wch pleaseth hym, that they giue ther kingdom to the beaste, till the wordes of god be consummate," b. 1, fol. 37r. Sir William Hickman (ca. 1549–1625) was knighted by James in April 1603. Though there is no evidence of public disputation, it is likely that the reader meant this Hickman rather than his grandson (1629–1682) of the same name; St. Olave Jewry, City of London, Register of Baptisms, 1538/9–1629/30, Marriages, 1538/9–1632/3, 1637/8, and Burials 1538–1629/30, P69 /OLA2/A/001/MS04399, London Metropolitan Archives. See *Collins's Peerage of England*, vol. 6, ed. Egerton Brydges (London, 1812), 612.

owned a tract written by William Griffith entitled "Sundry paradoxical, if not heterodoxical, tenets, concerning universal predestination, &c. held and asserted by William Hickman of Gainsburgh, June 10, 1621."[90] It is therefore likely that the reference to Hickman by a reader of the manuscript was entered sometime after June 1621. On the same page, in the blank box that separates Revelation 6:12 from the gloss "The tribulation that shall fall in the tyme of Antechriste. The Churche shall flee as to a deserte in Antechrists tyme but not decaye or be vnknowne, no not for so shorte a tyme," Hand B inserted a stern correction: "This peece of Gloss hath no adherency to this place but rather to ye place aboue cited. Ap. 12: 14," using a trefoil mark to refer to the verse in question further up the same page.[91]

The annotations in the book "Of Antichrist" represent the most substantial intervention by contemporary readers. One further annotation, by Hand B, appears in the book "Of oathes." Here, the reader provided fine-tuning in Latin within the box (rather than in the margin) containing "Jollet's" gloss on Matthew 14:9 ("A wicked & rashe oathe more wickedly fulfilled, because an vnlawfull oathe byndeth no man"): "nemo obligatr ad peccatu*m* Juramentu*m* non est vinculum iniquitatis Grat 4.22" (no one is obliged toward sin: an oath is not a bond of iniquity).[92] It is a slightly jumbled paraphrase of the complicated rulings on oaths from the post-Tridentine revision of Canon Law, the *Corpus iuris canonici* (1582).[93]

These annotations make an important point about the manuscript's reception. The work's impressive range and size do not necessarily make it an authoritative work of theology. "Jollet" made mistakes. Moreover, early modern readers viewed texts as interactive, as the wealth of scholarship devoted to marginalia attests.[94] This reader wanted to improve the arguments contained in the manuscript, to extend their implications and to refine their scriptural basis. Such interventions were a product of both personal utility and an outward-looking desire to advance the cause of Catholic knowledge. As recent work has made clear, early modern Catholics were concerned

90. *The British Bibliographer*, vol. 1, ed. Egerton Brydges (London, 1810), 425; *ODNB*, s.v. "Wither, George," by Michelle O'Callaghan, last modified May 2014, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29804.

91. b. 1, fol. 37r. Revelation 6:12 reads, "And I sawe when he had opened ye 6. seale, & behold ther was made a great earthquake, and the sunne became black as it were sackcloth of hayre & the whole moone became as bloude." Trefoil marks were common; the fact that Sir Thomas Tresham's coat of arms was comprised of nine trefoils—as convenient puns on the "Tres" of his name and of the Holy Trinity—is probably coincidental.

92. b. 2, fol. 285r.

93. On oaths in this period, see Jonathan Michael Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2012); and John Kerrigan, *Shakespeare's Binding Language* (Oxford, 2016), chaps. 14–15.

94. See, for examples of a large literature, Robert Darnton, "First Steps toward a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23 (1986): 5–30; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past & Present,* no. 129 (1990): 30–78; and William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008).

with record-keeping and compiling materials to support present and future resistance to Protestant defamation, continuing a tradition of memorialization that had begun with the early Church.[95] In England, this tradition also supported the hope that the Catholic Church would be restored. That the marginalia on the subject of the Antichrist are contained within one book in one volume and restricted to two pages could suggest that the alphabetical structure served as a practical index and that this reader was interested in the Antichrist on the day, or days, when he or she consulted the manuscript and made the annotations.[96] The contribution was utilitarian and personal, both for this annotator and for the future readers envisaged. We cannot know whether the annotations were made during the process of compilation, but if "Jollet's" comment about his concealment of the work during its creation is to be believed, it is unlikely.[97]

Music

The readers who annotated the books "Of Antichrist" and "Of oathes" left marks of their engagement with "Jollet's" New Testament sources and his arguments. The manuscript served as a work of interactive reference. "Jollet's" inclusion of two pieces of music within accounts of contemporary martyrdom is the most compelling evidence for the use of the manuscript in a domestic, devotional setting, as Emilie Murphy has argued.[98] A four-part setting of *Adoramus te, Christe*, apparently by "Jollet" himself, is set out on the page as "table music," with the upper two melodies facing the lower two so that the singers could easily read from the same page, standing or sitting around a table. The signature "Thomas Jollett" appears twice, first toward the head of the page embellished with curlicues and with the note "4 voc." (for four voices), and second at the end of the Tenor part. Murphy has demonstrated that "Jollet's" decision to follow the table-music arrangement privileged its practical function: just as the text of the manuscript was supposed to be read, the music was there to be sung.[99] The

95. Liesbeth Corens, "Dislocation and Record-Keeping: The Counter Archives of the Catholic Diaspora," in "The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe," ed. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, supplement, *Past & Present*, no. 230 (2016): 269–87.

96. It has been assumed that the reader was male, though a female reader is a possibility.

97. b. 1, fol. 3r: "I was the rather moved [. . .] to bynde them vpp together wth the string of secrecie, & for a tyme to burye & intombe them in their sepulcher."

98. b. 2, fols. 115v ("Haec dies"), 135v–37r ("Adoramus te, Christe"); Murphy, "*Adoramus te Christe*," 246–47.

99. b. 2, fols. 135v–37r. These are typical locations for a composer's signature, rather than that of a copyist. The first signature comes at the end of a line of music continued from the verso of the previous page. This line has not been cancelled, even though the notation on the facing page has been—the scribe began copying the music but found it too cramped, crossed it through, and began again under a ruled line of decorative dots. Murphy, "*Adoramus te Christe*," 246–47. A definition of *table-book* can be found in *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Table-book," by John Morehen, Richard Rastall, and Emilie K. M. Murphy, last updated July 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27341.

text was a clear evocation of Christ's passion. Its position in the manuscript, in the book "Of martirs," as part of an account of the martyrdom of Henry Garnet, is significant. Garnet was condemned to die a traitor in March 1606 and was hanged, drawn, and quartered on May 3 for his complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, though he maintained his innocence.[100] He argued that although he had not known of the plot, he had suspected some disquiet among Robert Catesby and his associates, and had even written to the superiors to ask them formally to prohibit actions by English Catholics against the English state and the king.[101] In "Jollet's" account of Garnet's martyrdom, the Jesuit addressed the people from the scaffold and situated his death in the context of Christ's crucifixion. For Garnet, there was a clear sense of divine providence in the day appointed for his martyrdom, the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross:

> This daye is the Invention of the Holy Cross vnder the protection wherof it hath pleased god that I should here ende all the Crosses of this life, a great and holy daye, and w^{t} much devotion obserued in the Romayne Churche, and I am much bounden to god, that I am brought hither to suffer vppon so good a daye.[102]

For Garnet, the text expressed his affinity as a martyr with Christ's sacrifice as commemorated in the moment of transubstantiation at the Mass. That "Jollet" should have chosen to set the text with a clear thematic relationship to the Mass speaks to the significance of this central doctrine for the English Catholic community, whose faith demanded attendance but whose country prohibited it. Missionary priests like Garnet celebrated the Mass in homes and private chapels, and in so doing brought Catholics like "Jollet" into communion with their Church. The inclusion of the music therefore evoked that moment when Garnet, as a priest, addressed the people for the last time—a moment that, as Alison Shell has observed, could "blur the distinction not only between audience and congregation, but between earth and heaven"—and ministered to them.[103] It commemorated not only Garnet's death as a martyr but also his life as a priest: both were precious jewels to the community of which "Jollet" was a part.[104] Yet "Jollet's" music was also a personal parting gift. Whereas in the liturgy an antiphon is a single line of chant as opposed to polyphony, "Jollet" chose to set the text in four parts to reflect Garnet's own musical talent, one of his "sup*er*excellent guiftes" praised

100. *ODNB*, s.v. "Garnett, Henry."

101. Gerard, *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, 71–76. These claims must be read with caution as evidence of Garnet's actual involvement in the plot, but they can be read as authentic as far as Garnet's defense and the views of most Catholics at the time are concerned.

102. b. 2, fol. 135r.

103. Shell, *Oral Culture*, 122, quoted in Murphy, "*Adoramus te Christe*," 241.

104. Murphy also observes that the music had a memorial function; "*Adoramus te Christe*," 249.

by "Jollet" in the paragraph before.[105] "Jollet's" memorialization of Garnet records a significant moment in the course of the relationship between the Protestant state and its Catholic subjects, and justifiably memorializes an important figure.[106]

Purpose

Compiling in "Jollet's" period both communicated and created knowledge. By copying quotations and documents, ordering them under themes within an alphabetical superstructure, "Jollet" was doing more than recording the insights of others. Within the tradition of early modern compiling, he was engaging in "a process of regrouping and reordering and, as such, also . . . a means of organizing knowledge, and thus ultimately . . . a way of producing new knowledge and advancing learning."[107] "Jollet" wrote for both consolation and resistance, two seemingly distinct purposes, intertwined by justification in the eyes of a community that identified itself as persecuted. Just as the Catholic Church, with unity in doctrine and tradition as her armor, had always fought the so-called enemies of truth who sought to assail the faithful, so too would "Jollet" combine theological authority with memorialization to stir up his reader to persevere. The epistle "to the reader" advertises these multifaceted purposes: "Jollet" set such violent language as "the heade of heresies is & euer hath beene crushed" alongside explicitly pastoral metaphors such as his being "moved . . . to gather theise fflowers of ffathers in the gardeine of unitie." On his paper battlefield, "Jollet" argued that Catholics were duty-bound both to eschew heretical company and to "induce men to abandone the companye of such carelesse companyons" as heretics and those who switched faiths for personal benefit.[108] It is perhaps due to "Jollet's" conviction that his age was the immediate precursor to the Second Coming that he implied disdain for religious toleration as insufficient, too concessionary to heretics, and too dangerous, both for society and the individual. "Jollet" exhorted his reader with the advice of St. Paul to "flye and avoide them, as St John the Evangelist did that notorious heretike Cerinthus, calling him the first begotten sonne of Satan, & as heretiks doo, delighted to dwell in darknes." Though the image bears rhetorical force, the association of heresy with civil rebellion was commonplace for both Protestant and Catholic writers.[109]

105. b. 2, fol. 135v.

106. See Murphy, "*Adoramus te Christe*."

107. Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, 23.

108. b. 1, fols. 7r–9v.

109. b. 1, fol. 7v. An example of the Catholic use of this idea is William Allen, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics*, ed. Robert M. Kingdon (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), 142, quoted in J. H. M. Salmon, "Catholic Resistance Theory, Ultramontanism, and the Royalist Response, 1580–1620," in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, ed. J. H. Burns with Mark Goldie (Cambridge, 1991), 219–53 at 242.

The Manuscript and Contemporary Religious Politics

Compiling a list of "Jollet's" contemporary authorities provides invaluable insight into lay reception of religious polemic. There is an important distinction to be made here between anti-Protestant writing and the particular works in which clerical disputes played out. It has already been established that "Jollet" was acutely concerned with recent history, so it is not surprising that Henrician, Elizabethan, and some early Jacobean works appear among his authorities. Accordingly, Thomas More (d. 1535) and Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536) sit alongside Thomas Heskyns (d. 1565), Edmund Campion (d. 1581), Thomas Stapleton (d. 1598), and Robert Persons (d. 1610), representing three generations of Catholic apologists. But what is most surprising about "Jollet's" recourse to these authors is their relative scarcity in contrast to the scriptural and early Church authorities, who account for a far greater proportion of the references. These earlier touchstone works were also supported by acceptability. They were not illicit texts, an advantage of the fact that Protestants and Catholics were claiming support from and adherence to the same body of traditional source material. The interpretation of scripture and early Church texts was a key battleground for defining the primitive Church.[110] It must be emphasized that within each "book" of the Bodleian manuscript, the five parts are by no means of equal size, and the first section of scripture and glosses is generally the longest. The three most numerously cited contemporary writers—Robert Bellarmine, Thomas Stapleton, and Robert Persons—are quoted only fourteen, twelve, and nine times, respectively, across the two volumes.[111]

110. For the reception of Patristic authors in the Reformation, see *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists,* ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997); and Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (New York and Oxford, 2011).

111. Works quoted by "Jollet" are listed below. Where possible, the editions used have been cited following consultation of digitized copies and comparison with the page numbers in "Jollet's" more precise references. Bibliographic numbers from STC, ARCR(1), ARCR(2), and the *Universal Short Title* Catalogue (hereafter USTC), last accessed April 19, 2020, www.ustc.ac.uk, follow each work as appropriate. Robert Bellarmine, *Dichiarazione piu copiosa della dottrina Cristiana*, in the English translation by Richard Hadock, *An ample declaration of the Christian doctrine* (Douai [London], 1605): STC 1835.5, ARCR(2) 362; *Disputationes Roberti bellarmini politiani, societatis Jesu, de controversiis Christianae fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos, tribus tomis comprehensae* (Ingolstadt, 1586): USTC 640032, col. 158, "De verbi Dei interpretation" and col. 1374, "De notis ecclesiae," last modified September 23, 2015, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0009/bsb00096083/images; Robert Persons, *A Defence of the Censure, gyven uppon two bookes of William Charke and Meredith Hanmer mynysters, whiche they wrote against M. Edmond Campian preest* (Rouen, 1582): STC 19401, ARCR(2) 624; *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion*, 3 vols. (St. Omer, 1603–4): STC 19416, ARCR(2) 638; *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution* (Rouen, 1582): STC 19353, ARCR(2) 616; Thomas Stapleton, *A Returne of Untruthes upon M. Jewelles replie* (Antwerp, 1566): STC 23234, ARCR(2) 732; "in prefat ad let[t]er contr. H[o]rnem" (b. 1, fol. 425r); "contra protestantes" (b. 1, fol. 425r); "Jo. Colvill ad Scotos" (b. 2, fol. 437r), John Colville, *The Parænese or Admonition of Io. Colville* (Paris, 1602): STC 5589, ARCR(2) 150.

The fourth source made worthy of mention by its prominence is the canons of the Council of Trent (1563), to which "Jollet" had recourse eight times. Though we cannot always know which editions "Jollet" read (his references tended to be obscure), some key works and authors are clear, particularly Edmund Campion and Robert Southwell.[112] The selection of authorities may have been due to practical considerations rather than personal fondness, motivated by access to books rather than by editorial preference. Indeed, the sheer weight of the material collected within the manuscript suggests that "Jollet" did not feel compelled to edit his content.

Though in the language of the opening epistles "Jollet" claimed that his work was not dangerous and expressed hope that it would not be censored, he recognized that it would "haue many bitter & foreceable enimyes, more ready to suppresse all good endeavors by open hostilitie or by pryvate affliction, then to suffer truthe to have any favourable tolleration."[113] He therefore asked its recipient to conceal his "fflowers of ffathers . . . to bynde them upp together w*i*th the string of secrecie, & for a tyme to burye & intombe them in their sepulchre, till some joyfull daye cause their happie Resurrection, that then w*i*t*h* free egresse they maye passe uncontrolled."[114] But even if the manuscript was not strictly controversial in the theological sense, it was politically explosive: it was written in express defense of the Catholic Church as the true Church and condemned Protestant sects—sects, not a Church—as the continuation of heresy, the manifestation of Satan and his evil on earth. Protestant ministers and defenders were described repeatedly as the forerunners of the Antichrist, and their inevitable defeat and eternal damnation were predicted with triumph. The Jesuits, seminary priests, and laypeople who were executed for treasonous activity between 1601 and 1606 were hailed as martyrs, and their holy lives and noble deaths were presented as ideals for English Catholics. The pope, spiritual and political enemy of the English throne, was defended, and the historical continuity of his office was celebrated as an apparently incontrovertible temporal link between Christ and his apostles and the contemporary "Holy Mother Church," and upheld by the inclusion of a list of popes from St. Peter to Paul V. "Jollet" gave extensive proof of Peter's primacy and, by extension, the ultimate jurisdiction of Pope Paul V. Two quotations, from Ireneus and Augustine, affirmed that the papal succession had confounded all heretics, and glosses on New Testament verses asserted that God had instituted the see of Rome in order to enshrine Christian truth.[115]

"Jollet's" manuscript was not uncomplicated even from the Catholic perspective. Writing anonymously in manuscript, in England, and as a layman, "Jollet" was able to quote Erasmus despite the papal denunciation of his writings in 1558, and he

112. Campion, *Rationes Decem*; Robert Southwell, *An epistle of comfort to the reverend priestes, & to the honorable, worshipful, & other of the laye sort restrayned in durance for the Catholicke fayth* ([London, 1587]): STC 22946, ARCR(2) 714.

113. b. 1, fol. 3v.

114. b. 1, fol. 3r.

115. b. 2, fols. 341r and 329v.

seemingly found no disjuncture between humanist and Catholic authorities.[116] On occasion "Jollet" equipped his reader with rhetorical tools to debate points of doctrine with heretics, for example through the inclusion of "Catholique solutions vnto some hereticall and vayne obiections against the Real presence."[117] This polemical substance was interconfessional, not intra-Catholic. The universal terms in which "Jollet" understood the Church, as "a societie of men lynked together in the profession of one faith in the vse of the same sacramentes vnder the goverment of lawfull pastours," underpinned this.[118] His refusal to provide commentary on internal Catholic politics, however pressing, was likely a product of strongly held beliefs about the charity of religious brotherhood, the centrality of the sacraments above all else, and deep reverence for the office of priest as ordained by God and overseen by the descendants of St. Peter.

The employment of familiar arguments concerning religious orthodoxy and the perils of allowing heresy to prosper is characteristic of the manuscript. For "Jollet" as for other polemicists, opposing confessional groups were essentially in competition for status as the "true Churche of Christe" during the period of reformation, though "The Churche of Christ never needed reformation in doctrine."[119] Both sides claimed fidelity to the early Church in order to claim authenticity. "Jollet" rehearsed the most ubiquitous arguments against Protestantism: that it did not represent a universal church because it was sectarian; that its ministers were the forerunners of the Antichrist; and that, unlike Catholicism, the faith had not been planted as the Scriptures described: "yt is not *Holy* not *One*, not a *Citty on a hyll*. yt is not *Catholike*, yt beganne not at *Hierusalem* but in Saxonye."[120] Similarly, he defended those central tenets of his Church that Protestants decried: the primacy of the pope and his descent from St. Peter; the integrity of the sacraments, and the power of the clergy to absolve sins.[121]

These arguments were plainly controversial in the English context, but "Jollet" was not styling himself as a theologian, much less a polemicist. "Jollet" eschewed this sphere, preferring to restate old truths rather than wading into new debates within the Catholic Church about the applicability of certain doctrines. These arguments were also rooted solely in the religious context and did not relate to the relationship between Church and state, or so their proponents insisted. Such claims to political disinterest (however disingenuous) were common in apologetic works, but they belong to a consideration of religion and politics. Contemporary moments of discord over the Oath of Allegiance, recusancy, and the Gunpowder Plot, falling

116. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism*, 257.
117. b. 1, fols. 447r–49v.
118. b. 1, fol. 159v, entitled, "author huius collectionis."
119. b. 2, fol. 237r.
120. b. 1, fol. 237r–v.
121. b. 2, fols. 327r–73v and 433r–51v (papal primacy and the descent from Saint Peter), fols. 237r and 597r–605v (integrity of the sacraments); b. 1, fol. 11r, and b. 2, fol. 507r (absolution).

unhappily between Church and state jurisdictions, had prompted vicious wrangling both within and without the Church. Discussion of church attendance is absent from the manuscript, but in compelling his reader to shun the company of heretics, "Jollet" tacitly indicated his preference for recusancy.

Following the Gunpowder Plot, the Oath of Allegiance (1606) was a landmark moment in the relationship between English Catholics and the state. Why, given its prominence during the years of the manuscript's composition, does the Oath does not feature within it, even in the short book "Of oathes?" Michael Questier has used the Oath of Allegiance to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy among revisionist historians that the essentially moderate Jacobean government was undermined in its attempts to enforce anti-Catholic statutory measures (including the Oath) by administrative incompetence.[122] It was, he argued, a far more potent weapon than historians have acknowledged because it was deliberately and predictably divisive; it "broke up the political unity of all the major clerical groupings; it divided not just cleric from cleric but also clerics from laity."[123] To eschew the subject allowed "Jollet" to rise above the divisions that crept among and between clerical orders and other lay Catholics. During the years of compilation, five priests were executed: Henry Garnet, SJ (1606), Robert Drury (1607), George Gervais (1608), Matthew Flathers (1608), and Thomas Garnet, SJ (1608). As was customary after 1606, they were tendered the Oath with a promise of reprieve but refused to swear. With the exception of Henry Garnet, who is hymned prominently elsewhere, their deaths are recorded in a list in the book "Of martirs," and the Oath is not mentioned; but refusal to swear was not the charge for which they were indicted.[124]

"Jollet" condemned the swearing of oaths in general terms in his book "Of oathes": "If thou be put to an oathe to accuse Catholiques for serving god as they ought to doo . . . thou oughtest first to refuse such unlawfull oaths." It could be read as referring to the Oath of Allegiance in nonspecific terms, but it could also refer to any oath at any time.[125] "Jollet" used other voices to make this uncompromising rejection for him, choosing to walk the relatively neutral path of biblical quotation (even if using the Rheims translation was a partisan act), but these verses and glosses from the Rheims New Testament were nonetheless politically volatile.[126]

122. Michael Questier, "Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance," *Historical Journal* 40 (1997): 311–29 at 312.

123. Questier, "Loyalty, Religion and State Power," 317.

124. b. 2, fol. 129r.

125. For the Oath of Allegiance controversy, see Questier, "Loyalty, Religion and State Power," and Peter Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry* (London, 1981).

126. There is a large literature on oaths in this period. See David Martin Jones, *Conscience and Allegiance in Seventeenth-Century England: The Political Significance of Oaths and Engagements* (Rochester, N.Y., 1999); Kerrigan, *Shakespeare's Binding Language*; and Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation*. See also Elliot Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I* (Cambridge, 1975); and *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge, 1988).

Despite not making explicit reference to the Oath of Allegiance, "Jollet" rejected stridently the royal ecclesiastical supremacy. In the book "Of princes," he copied the glosses provided by the Rheims translation on the three instructions from each of the Synoptic Gospels to "Render therfore the thinges that are Caesars, to Caesar: & the thinges that are gods to god." He restated the dangers of submitting to the heretical demands of a prince who has seized power over ecclesiastical matters outside his jurisdiction and reminded his reader that "ther is no power but of god." One gloss holds a particularly chilling warning to Protestant princes: "remember that thou art mortall, feare the daye of iudgment, intermeddle not w^{t} ecclesiasticall matters, neither doo thou commaund us in this kynde."[127] A clearer rejection of oaths came in the form of a tract by John Feckenham, entitled *The declaracion of such scruples & stories of Conscience touching the oathe of Supremacie*, which "Jollet" copied out in full.[128]

As with the Oath of Allegiance controversy, "Jollet" delicately avoided the messy subject of the Gunpowder Plot, but pertinent material is nonetheless contained within the manuscript. As we have already seen, Henry Garnet, SJ, executed for alleged complicity in the plot, was memorialized in the book "Of martirs." The category alone placed "Jollet," unsurprisingly, in support of Garnet the martyr, and thus in opposition to the government that had executed Garnet the traitor. There is no mention of the plot that precipitated Garnet's death, but "Jollet" copied the letter Garnet wrote to the Privy Council declaring his innocence, which promised that "we will in prayer, example actions, exhortation & whatsoever he will improve uppon us, seeke w^{t}h all o*u*^{r} endeavour to p*re*serve & increase the temporall and eu*er*lasting felicitie of him his Roiall Queene & issue."[129] In his account of Garnet's execution, the moment of his martyrdom, "Jollet" quoted the goading to which official figures subjected the Jesuit alongside Garnet's final assertion of his innocence, a narrative technique designed to juxtapose the peaceful holiness of the martyr against the cruelty of the ungodly, like those who mocked Christ. Garnet was not the only example of a figure vilified by the Protestant state being afforded devoted memorialization by "Jollet." Mary, Queen of Scots, whose complicity in plots against Queen Elizabeth signed her death warrant, is listed twice as a martyr, and other English Catholics thought to have been associated with earlier conspiracies are mentioned in a list of "those who died in banishment," one of several lists commemorating the sufferings of the faithful.[130]

127. b. 2, fol. 539r–v: Matthew 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25; Romans 13:1.

128. The tract was delivered to Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, presumably in manuscript, and was printed in Horne's rebuttal: *An answear made by Rob. Bishoppe of Wynchester, to a booke entituled. The declaration of suche scruples, and staies of conscience, touchinge the Othe of the Supremacy, as M. Iohn Fekenham, by wrytinge did deliver unto the L. Bishop of Winchester* (London, 1566): STC 13818. Horne's preface states that Feckenham delivered his tract on January 12, 1566. See Knighton, "Feckenham [Howman], John."

129. b. 2, fols. 131v–33r at 131v.

130. b. 2, fols. 123v and 403r (Mary, Queen of Scots); fol. 399v (Thomas, Lord Paget, Charles Arundel, Francis Englefield, and Thomas Throckmorton). See Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge, U.K., 2011), 23, 26, 59, 71;

The compilation of the manuscript was begun in the immediate aftermath of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, while arrests, trials, and executions were taking place. This was an important moment for the English Catholic community, whose hopes for toleration had recently been crushed and whose protestations of loyalty had been rendered null and void by the drastic actions of a small group of radicals. Myriad anti-Catholic publications, legislation, and prayers of thanksgiving for the king's safe delivery from popish infamy followed, and the decade after 1605 has been seen as a period of crisis for religious coexistence.[131] The political context of the work's compilation must therefore not be overlooked. Its call for perseverance was plain to see for both hostile and sympathetic readers, and its exhaustive compilation of Catholic doctrine, traditions, and worthy examples can be read as a sort of manifesto for Catholicism after the Gunpowder Plot. The absence of direct engagement with contemporary intra-Catholic politics undermines the approach of pamphlet wars devoted to the airing of specific issues, and asserts an irenic quest for unity, in stark contrast to the divisive qualities of Protestant sects. It suited "Jollet's" rhetorical purpose, for example, to avoid mention of the Archpriest Controversy and to cite works by both secular and Jesuit priests.[132] Like many writers, he made use of quotations that supported his claims and omitted anything that would detract from the overall picture of unity that helped to define his Church as true.

Conclusion

The manuscript compilation of "Thomas Jollet," whoever he was, is a unique and vivid source with enormous potential for further research. For reasons of space, only a small portion of its riches has been elucidated here. It has much to teach scholars about the Catholicism of the English laity. Its illumination of their selective engagement with confessional polemic should temper the reception of the controversial tracts and treatises that proliferated from Continental presses. A unique and enigmatic compilation of this sort described English Catholicism in its own words and

ODNB, s.v. "Paget, Thomas," by Peter Holmes, last updated May 2009, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21118; *ODNB*, s.v. "Englefield, Sir Francis," by A. J. Loomie, last updated January 2013, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8811; *ODNB*, s.v. "Throckmorton family," by Jan Broadway, last updated January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/72341.

131. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–25*, ed. Paul Hughes and James Larkin (Oxford, 1973), 124–26, 129–31, 131–33, 142–45, 147–48. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination*, 142; Charles Prior, *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited* (Farnham, U.K., 2011), 247.

132. The Archpriest Controversy refers to the divisions between secular and Jesuit priests over decisions about the governance of the English mission, which intensified after the death of Cardinal William Allen in 1594. See Thomas M. McCoog, "Construing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1582–1602," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester, 2009), 95–127, esp. 100–101; Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1977); and *ODNB*, s.v. "Blackwell, George," by Paul Arblaster, last updated January 2012, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2541.

on its own terms, and could console a reader burdened with persecution as well as galvanizing informed perseverance in illicit religious practice. Polemical works relevant to the particular situation of English Catholics were interwoven with scriptural and patristic material—the foundations of the faith—and paid homage to the efforts of their contemporary authors as well as proving the heterodoxy of Protestantism.

Assuming that the sentiments of the compiler were somewhat representative, English Catholics prized unity above all else. The evidence of the manuscript under discussion here is that this was even more urgent after the Gunpowder Plot and Oath of Allegiance. The work takes seriously the act of recording the traditions and doctrines of the Catholic faith as well as the steadfastness of coreligionists past and present. It is therefore backward- and forward-looking, serving a Church construed as eternal and universal. Its compiler sought to contribute to the survival of the faith and the faithful on English soil, through memorialization, consolation, and perseverance. In the face of the systematic legal and cultural erosion of English Catholicism, a substantial work that undermined anti-Catholic rhetoric, countered the claims of the state, and encouraged others to flout the letter and spirit of the law, may be seen as an act of serious disobedience, even of resistance.

Manuscript publication by lay authors such as "Thomas Jollet" was a crucial vehicle for English Catholic resistance, reclaiming spiritual inheritance, informing religious practice, and remembering individual piety. In this way, the manuscript, though littered with small inaccuracies and blank spaces, and without explicit reference to affairs of state, undermined the efforts of the Elizabethan and Jacobean regimes to rewrite English religion and recast its Catholic faithful as criminals.

The author wishes to thank Susan Brigden, Peter Davidson, Alexandra Gajda, Jane Stevenson, and Henry Woudhuysen for their assistance with the evolution of this research, in addition to the journal's anonymous reviewers. Both Gerard Kilroy and Victor Houliston shared their insights and engaged in fruitful conversations that strengthened the piece. Receptive seminar audiences in Oxford and Cambridge, and conferences at York and Kraków, also offered valuable observations.

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Appendix: Contents of Bodleian MSS. Eng. th. b. 1–2[133]

b. 1

fol. 3r–v	The epistle dedicatorie
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fols. 11r–19r	Of absolution
fols. 19v–23v	Of almes
fols. 25r–29r	Of adoration
fol. [30]r–v	Of allelvia & amen
fols. 31r–43r	Of Antichrist
fols. 43r–53r	Of apostls
fols. 53v–73r	Of baptisme
fols. 73v–93v	Of bishops
fols. 95r–105v	Of cannonicall howres
fols. 107r–35v	Of Catholique faithe
(fol. 123r–v	Of charitie)
fols. 137r–39v	Of ceremonies
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fols. 159r–87v	Of churches & monasteries
fols. 189r–97r	Of ye comandm*en*tes
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fols. 209r–17v	Of confirmation
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fols. 307r–9v	Of devotion
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fols. 465r–77v	Of excomvnication
fols. 479r–91v	Of exorcisms
fols. 493r–99v	Of extreeme vnction
fols. 501r–31v	Of faith
fols. 533r–47v	Of fasting

133. Titles in the manuscript are in majuscules, with considerable variation in spelling and wording. For ease of use, this appendix capitalizes only the initial letter and any proper nouns, replicating the form of the titles as they appear at their first use in the text, only using running titles where these are the only titles. Significant subsections, such as "the conversion of England," are indicated. Folio numbers are given as they appear in pencil in the top right-hand corner of each folio (recto). Due to a numbering error in b. 2, fol. 735r became fol. 775r, and this numbering continues for the remainder of the volume. Corrections to these are given in square brackets.

fols. 549r–59v	Of festivitie
fols. 561r–91v	Of the fathers
fols. 593r–615v	Of freewill
fols. 617r–19v	Of the gospel
fols. 621r–23v	Of grace
fols. 625r–43r	Of God χρε IHS
fols. 643r–49v	Of heaven
fols. 651r–57r	Of hell
fols. 657v–821r	Of heretiks
fols. 821v–35v	Of h[allowed] things

b. 2

fol. 9r–v	Of h[allowed] things [blank]
fols. 11r–15r	Of hope
fols. 15v–29v	Of hvmilitie
fols. 31r–33v	Of jesvites
fols. 35r–51v	Of images
fols. 53r–63v	Of ivstification
fols. 65r–87v	Of ovr b. lady
fols. 89r–139v	Of martirs
fols. 141r–59v	Of the mass
fols. 161r–83v	Of matrimonie
fols. 185r–205v	Of merit
fols. 207r–21v	Of miracles
fols. 223r–61r	Of monkes
fols. 261v–75r	Of mvsicke
fols. 275v–83v	Of nvnnes
fol. 285r–v	Of oathes
fols. 287r–97v	Of order
fols. 299r–301v	Of pardons
fols. 303r–25v	Of pennance
fols. 327r–73v	Of S. Peter
fols. 375r–425v	Of persesecvtion [*sic*][134]
fols. 427r–31v	Of pilgrimage
fols. 433r–47v	Of the Pope
fols. 449r–51v	Of povertie evangelical
fols. 453r–69v	Of praier
fols. 471r–93v	Of praier for the dead
fols. 495r–505v	Of predestination

134. The scribe corrects this error elsewhere.

fols. 507r–37v	Of preistes
fols. 539r–53v	Of princes
fols. 555r–69v	Of pvrgatorie
fols. 571r–85v	Of reliqves
fols. 587r–95v	Of Rome
fols. 597r–607v	Of sacraments
fols. 609r–59v	Of sainctes
fols. 661r–69r	Of salvation
fols. 669v–71v	Of satisfaction [blank]
fols. 673r–675r	Of scandal
fols. 675v–711v	Of scriptvre
fols. 713r–775v [713r–735v]	Of scismatikes
fols. 777r–791v [737r–751v]	Of sinne
fols. 793r–819v [753r–779v]	Of traditioon
fols. 821r–897v [781r–857v]	Of things contingent
fols. 899r–915v [859r–875v]	Of virginitie
fols. 917r–929v [877r–889v]	Of vowes
fols. 931r–v [891r–v]	Of vsvrie
fols. 933r–943v [893r–903v]	Of workes
fols. 945r–947v [905r–907v]	Of zeale

Items included in the back of the second volume are pages, not folios, and were numbered as such. They are:

pp. 951–54 [911–14]	Latin quotations from Scripture (in an entirely different secretary hand to the rest of the volume)
pp. 955–56 [915–16]	A receipt addressed to Thomas Dunbar at Deene, dated February 3, [16]78, from Joseph Staler, including seal. Place names mentioned are in northeast Northamptonshire.
pp. 957–58 [917–18]	The top half is a letter in a female hand from Ann Dunbar to her husband. Also, in a different hand, some lines from "T. B." warning readers not to forsake their teachers when they see them in affliction and advising constancy and perseverance to Christians in times of persecution. Doodles: two sketches of owls.
pp. 959–60 [919–20]	A printed news sheet: *The Impartial Protestant Mercury* from Tuesday, July 19, to Friday, July 22, 1681.