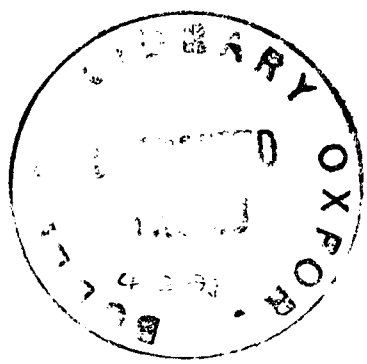
Rhetoric in recusant writing, published 1580-1603.



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Submitted for D.Phil.
Trinity 1992.

ABSTRACT

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Catholic writers traditionally approach the laity through the sacraments rather than the Word. Nonetheless, three devotional genres - meditation, hagiography and catechism - recognize that effective written appeals to a reader can be made using rhetoric. This thesis analyses such rhetoric, in recusant devotional texts published by secret presses between 1580 and 1603.

Most detailed examinations of Catholic works think of rhetoric as emasculating the virile yet chaste prose of a 'shining band of martyrs'. This thesis proposes that the rules of rhetoric are used to empower the reader of these works by crafting a new character in him.

Meditations act as deliberative orations, swaying the reader's will. They use amplificatio and memoria to produce matter and to dwell on it. Late sixteenth-century translations of continental meditation manuals by Granada, Scupoli, Estella and Loarte provide a theory of meditation for the English works studied: rosary texts by John Bucke, Thomas Worthington and Henry Garnet; several anonymous collections of meditations and prayers; contemplations on Scriptural stories by Robert Southwell, I.C., C.N. and Robert Chambers.

In the second section, saints' lives are read as rhetorical examples which support this deliberative discourse, rather than as blazons, innocent of intent on the reader. Hagiographies by Worthington, Robert Persons, William Allen and Thoms Alfield reflect images of what a martyr or saint should do, not what he did.

The last chapters show how catechisms recreate these idealized images in the reader by acting as dramatic scripts for him. Repetition through rhetoric dissolves the element of theatre, allowing the reader to absorb these rules for life. Once again, Elizabethan translations of foreign catechisms by Granada, Bellarmine and Canisius are used to illuminate English catechisms by Persons, Southwell and Lawrence Vaux.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is mulish. It will not contribute to the battle of annexing Elizabethan recusant texts as the logical, coherent successors of Thomas More or the dramatic, intense predecessors of his great grand-nephew, John Donne.1 It refuses to leap over such recusant devotional works or to use them to expose less openly purposive works of literature, such as poetry. It even draws back from comparing recusant aims and methods with those of the Protestant religious writers of the period. What it does instead is attempt to produce a recusant theory of rhetoric. It does this by studying the effect on 'practice' - the style of Catholic devotional texts in English which were printed between 1580 and 1603 by secret presses - of 'theory', in the rhetoric manuals which were used in the education of recusant writers.

The works reviewed are all those produced through secret presses between 1580 and 1603 which were written by British recusant authors. I am unusually fortunate in working on an homogeneous and traceable population of texts: A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers's 'Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England 1558-1640' provides a convenient control for these.2 It is difficult

to distinguish, in the Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland... 1475-1640, authors who were active on the Catholic mission to reclaim the faith in Britain. Thus, the thesis only covers those non-secret press devotions whose authors have published through the secret presses as well.3 Sixteenth-century translations of Continental authors, and works by British authors in languages other than English, are used only as background material. This is because the thrust of the literary aspect of the Catholic Church's mission to England was to provide vernacular texts. Indeed, many of the letters of the Prefect of the mission, William Allen, describe the proper preparation of priests for the mission in terms of using English. In the Catholic college at Douay which he set up, while Latin was used both in and out of the classroom, students regularly used to

> preach in English, in order to acquire greater power and grace in the use of the vulgar tongue, a thing on which the heretics plume themselves exceedingly, and by which they do great injury to the simple folk.4

Such devotional manuals were important because the laity were without free access to a priest. In brief, there were two major acts passed in England between 1580 and 1603 which enforced this dependence. While statutory measures had been taken early in the reign to encourage recusants to take the Oath of Supremacy and attend Established Church services, it was only with the revival of danger from a

Catholic European enterprise against England that strong penalties were laid down. The 1581 'Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience' made it treason to reconcile or be reconciled to Rome. Moreover, the fine for refusing to attend Anglican Church services was increased to 20 pounds per person, for each month of recusancy. In 1585 a further act declared that any ordained priest (excluding Marian priests) was guilty of treason if he came to Britain.

Thus, without priests, the Catholic Church was forced to function rather through the Word than the sacraments - an unfamiliar process. By 1580 there were fewer than one hundred priests working secretly in Britain, apart from the ageing Marian priests who were allowed to remain by law. In The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, J. Bossy calculates that the Catholic population numbered about 40,000 in 1600, on the basis of the number of families a priest could visit in a monthly circuit. He uses records from colleges and seminaries to suggest that there were around 300 priests operating in England and Wales at this point, so the priest would serve an average of 130 people a month.5 It is likely that there was an inverse relationship between the number of missioners (which increased steadily during the period) and the number of recusants (which declined, as those who were in the Church under Mary died). Thus, there would have been an

increasing probability that one had access to a priest, rather than having to use a book to guide devotion. Nevertheless, to this potential audience for recusant texts must be added those who fail Bossy's test for Catholicism (habitual recourse to a priest) but who were still in sympathy with the devotional methods of the Church. Moreover, Bossy's figure assumes that all priests were equally accessible, whereas in fact, many were confined to serving one family or patron.

The thesis starts at 1580; the beginning of the Jesuit mission. Nearly two-thirds of all the authors studied here were Jesuit, or had studied at the English Catholic colleges, which had close connections with Jesuit educational methods. As Helen White notes, members of the order had certain advantages in missionizing. 'The first was their deliberate and calculated worldliness... the second was their understanding of the resources of the new age, particularly of the consequences of the invention of printing for the art of propaganda.'6 Surprisingly, although a large proportion of the attacks directed against Catholics were against the Society of Jesus in particular, and the majority of texts studied in this thesis are from members of that order, there were never more than around ten Jesuits working in Britain at any one time before the end of the century.7

Past criticism of Catholic texts has tended to concentrate either on polemic or on meditation, in response to the work of Louis Martz discussed below. I use the term 'devotional' in a wider sense than does Martz, to cover not only meditation but also hagiography and catechism. Distinctions are hard to make between the genres, since recusant authors themselves mix all three in each text. At the most learned end of the scale, Robert Persons's Christian Directorie Guiding Men to their Salvation encompasses meditations on the events of the Passion, disquisitions on articles of the faith, hearty reasons for resolving to be Catholic and moving 'examples of true resolution' who were persecuted by past heretics and pagans.8 Even at the more humble end, however, A Manuall, or Meditation, and most necessary Prayers gives both concise meditations on Bible events and 'a Memoriall of Instructions right requisite'.9 Thus, some rather specious divisions have had to be made for the purposes of argument. Meditations are assumed to be those which appeal primarily to the will rather than the intellect, catechisms the reverse (though there is an element of the didactic in all recusant texts). Hagiographies come close to being polemic at times, since they often resent the state's definition of the executed man as traitor and not martyr. However, they are, at least, a recognizable group of texts. As the thesis deals with over seventy such works, more detailed

descriptions of them and their authors will be given on their own, in the second chapter.

Accordingly, this examination is in three parts. The first looks at the relationship between meditation texts and deliberative rhetoric, using some of the foreign meditations which were translated in the period to establish a theory of meditation. These initial chapters concentrate on the way in which the reader's will is influenced by the rhetorical techniques of inventio and memoria used by the English texts. The second section looks at hagiographies and catechisms. Saints' lives are given as rhetorical examples, to prove and then to clarify the faith. They are held up for imitation in the catechisms. However, the link one would expect between the demonstrative causa and descriptions of saints' lives cannot be found. Instead, it appears that an emphasis on artificial and inartificial proof, as defined in the rhetoric manuals, joins recusant catechism and hagiography. The third section looks at catechisms as a means to 'produce' a saint by rules. Repetition induced by rhetoric dissolves the element of theatricality and a submissive reading technique allows the absorption of these rules, so that the reader crafts his own character through them. A short appendix traces the rhetoric textbooks which recusant writers encountered as students in Britain and at the Catholic colleges.* The thesis works towards the conclusion

* This examination has been restricted to rhetoric within the texts, and has, in general, excluded explanation in terms of history or politics.

that far from being innocently and solely concerned with their subject - the faith, the saints, prayer or meditation - recusant texts speak with one wily eye on the audience. These works are, in fact, deeply rhetorical.

There is a caveat. As the Rhetorica ad Herennium caustically says,

> any one at all who has heard more than a little about the art, especially in the field of style, will be able to discern all the passages composed in accordance with the rules; but the ability to compose them only the trained man will possess.10

The study tries to be aware of the danger in using a theory of composition, rhetoric, for analytical purposes. This misuse of the theory of rhetoric, however productive for literary criticism, can be punished by blindness towards the value of its rules of composition. The enormous degree of quantification and description which suffuses each rhetoric manual is frequently decried by twentieth-century critics as springing from a deadening, even hubristic, wish to cover every situation by a pre-determined response.

It is true that all the rhetorics say eloquence cannot be wholly taught, that it is better absorbed by listening to the speeches of others. For them, ironically, literary criticism is a means to teach rhetoric. However, this does not engender disrespect for method in these manuals: 'rules are helpful', says Quintilian, 'so long as they indicate the direct road and do not restrict us absolutely

to the ruts made by others'.11 By laying down scripts for different types of speech, orator and audience, rhetoric manuals encapsulate a series of minute dramas. Practising a role in such scenes makes the rhetor's mind flexible and ready, not stolid as an accountant's with taxonomic regulations. This thesis follows the lead of the textbooks: it celebrates, not deprecates, the self-conscious use of the rules of rhetoric in Catholic texts.

Existing criticism on recusant writing.

For Bossy, past historical studies have been handicapped by

> martyrology [which] pointed the subject, historiographically speaking, up a cul-de-sac; a lack of contact with universities left too much scope for imitation of Hilaire Belloc and too little for influences which might have enlarged an over-clerical conception of the community and its history.12

Thus, while reviewing ten years of the journal Recusant History, the editors, A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, austerely enjoin

> the Catholic historian [to] submit the view which, moved by feelings of loyalty to his Church, he would prefer to see vindicated, to the same objective scrutiny as every other, and if the facts warrant its rejection, he must reject it.

In 1976, the same editors realized that their warning had been heeded. Indeed, they were now forced to caution against over-enthusiastic historical ecumenism, dissolving

facts or attitudes about the struggle between the two faiths which could be embarrassing.13

On the other hand, literary analysis on sixteenth-century recusant work remains unconcernedly partisan. A.C. Southern's Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582 could be said to view recusant authors as literary 'martyrs' of the Reformation. This prominent study begins by complaining that 'since in the religious division of the kingdom the Catholics were of the weaker side', their prose has been largely ignored by scholars.14 This description of Southern's work may sound harsh. As Allison and Rogers said in their review of the book, Southern had to open up this field of research:

> he had to go in search of the books in which he was interested, compile a bibliography of them, examine their printing, analyse their contents, and place them in their political and doctrinal setting.15

However, Southern aimed not only at providing bibliographical materials for further study, but also at giving some idea of the importance of the prose style of these texts. He believed that they displayed a rhetoric based on invention alone. The very success of his thorough bibliographical work has ensured that his book is often the first to be referred to in discussions of these Catholic writers, so his comments on their style are absorbed.

Southern's wistful tone is taken up by other Catholic critics; successive numbers of Recusant History suggest that

> the domestic writers have been studied and duly praised. The exile writers... have been virtually unnoticed. Eclipsed for reasons that had nothing to do with their literary merit, sixteenth-century English Catholic authors gradually faded out of the national consciousness.16

This simmering resentment can reduce literary analysis to hagiography. Faced with a piece of prose he dislikes, Southern says hastily that its purpose is 'first and last, to lead souls to Heaven... [It is] beside the point to call attention to the methods employed by the two writers to give force and vividness to their message'.17 There is uncritical reverence for texts coming from J.J. Dwyer's 'shining band of young recusants... altogether fitted to embody the Spenserian dream of chivalry', the priests and martyrs of the English mission.18

It is true that little has been written about the literary aspects of British Counter-Reformation works, either in themselves or as influences on other writing. The discussion about Catholic prose has centred on continental texts: versions of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises and Augustinian meditation. There has been a struggle over the extent to which seventeenth-century poetry in Britain can be seen as an inheritor either of the Protestant or this continental meditative tradition. This train of thought

was started by Louis Martz's The Poetry of Meditation of 1954, which suggested that work by Southwell, Donne and Herbert owes much to continental Catholic spirituality. (Given that Southern was engaged in exploring a native recusant prose tradition, it is startling to find Martz abducting Southern's work to prove that 'the channels of communication between England and the Catholic Continent were ample to carry the meditation methods of the Counter Reformation into England'). Martz uses an Ignatian model of meditation. This he describes as a three-stage process, starting with the meditator remembering the facts of a Scriptural event or theological point before applying each of his senses to imagine the scene. He then moves into the scene himself, understanding its significance. Finally, during a colloquy with God, he wills to apply this meaning to his own life. Martz believes that the first stage, the famous technique of 'composition of place', lies behind the 'vividly dramatized, firmly established, graphically imaged openings' of metaphysical poetry. He also sees parallels between the aim and techniques of meditation and poetic self-scrutiny. In effect, Martz substitutes for the 'school of Donne' the influence of meditative habits of thought.

It is when he demonstrates binary vision that the battlelines join. Martz sees problems in Puritan meditation, which would make this meditative influence

specifically Catholic. 'It was the doctrine of the "real presence" that made possible that delicate sense of "presence" which characterizes Catholic meditation on the life of Christ', one which is impossible to retain in a Puritan mode of meditation. In Martz's view, Puritan meditations such as those of Arthur Dent, Joseph Hall and Richard Baxter function as handbooks which show the evidence of grace but which are unable to produce it.19

This suggestion gets a frosty response from patriotic Protestants, who wish to claim indigenous influences for so valued a group as the metaphysical poets. Barbara Lewalski's Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric sternly insists that 'the major seventeenth-century religious lyrists owe more to contemporary, English, and Protestant influences than to Counter Reformation, continental, and medieval Catholic resources'. She proposes two origins to this Protestant poetic: the Bible, as 'source and model for the presentation of sacred truth' and also a 'painstaking analysis of the personal religious life', in seeking out Scriptural history within one's own soul.20 Her claim cannot quench Martz's insight, that Protestant meditation texts functioned as measuring rods rather than tools to work with. However, it does give some poetic meaning to these meditations, justifying lyric self-contemplation and

apotheosizing a parochial salvation of one soul into being a Scriptural anti-type.

Lewalski criticizes Martz for failing to deal with the developing native Protestant meditation genre she demonstrates. However, she relegates her own work on the well-established native Catholic meditation genre to repeating, with approval, Richard Rogers's self-congratulatory preface in Seven Treatises, Containing Such Direction as is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures of 1603.

> Offering his own massive work as a Protestant counterpart to the two Jesuit manuals, Parsons' Christian Directory and Gaspar Loarte's Exercise of a Christian Life, [Rogers] denounced their mechanical methods of meditation and devotion as a 'ridiculous tying men to a daily taske of reading some part of the storie of Christs passion, and saying certaine prayers throughout the weeke'.21

Only in the 'Afterword' does she recommend further exploration of a 'Tridentine aesthetic' based on 'the senses, the liturgy and the lives of Christ, the Virgin and various saints'.

The debate between Martz and Lewalski has centred on the effect of major continental Church texts, such as the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola. Other critics are equally neglectful of domestic Catholic texts produced during this period. Helen White concludes, in her study of early seventeenth-century devotional prose,

that while 'the works of the Recusant exiles deserve some attention for their own very high degree of interest as well as for their influence on the home [devotional] literature', she makes no effort 'to do them the justice they deserve, because, for the most part, they remain outside the main stream of the development of English literature'.22 Lily Campbell's analysis of divine poetry and drama of the period confines itself to Protestant devotional texts, even when analysing Robert Southwell's poetry.23 Isabel MacCaffrey, commenting on the ideas of Martz, mingles Augustinian and Ignatian meditation to construct a 'meditative paradigm'. She calls this a journey towards a paradise within, through recognition of the divine image within man by a discipline which uses the three powers of the mind: the memory, the understanding and the will.24 Once again, such a model is produced with a view to applying it to English poetry in the seventeenth century; there is no consideration of native Catholic prose. Pierre Janelle simply puts Persons's Directorie into the Ignatian tradition and forbears to analyse the work itself in detail.25 J.R. Roberts's Critical Anthology of English Recusant Devotional Prose, 1558-1603 follows the excellent example of descriptive bibliography given by Southern but choses to consider recusant texts historically, as part of the main

mission effort, rather than examining their style and structure.26

Why is this? Setting aside the suggestions of literary 'martyrdom', the same few critics who have lamented the invisibility of Elizabethan recusant prose to modern critical consideration must also bear some responsibility for the shade in which these texts lurk. They have made grandiloquent claims for this literature. In 1913, J.S. Phillimore stated that where Thomas More left the language, 'there it remained until Dryden definitely civilized it'. He expanded on his opinion in a letter to Southern in 1921: 'the main stream of scholarship and culture was in the Catholic exiles... the commonsense unaffected English Prose that reappeared in Dryden was the English Catholic tradition revived'.27 Southern claims to be echoing a 1920 lecture given by R.W. Chambers, who examined the 'plain and open style' of Thomas More and suggested that these works carried the English language through the dangers of Euphuism, of rhetorical flourish.28 In 1950, Southern endorsed the view of Phillimore that 'what passed for traditional in English prose of the Elizabethan epoch must be regarded in the nature of a sport... If we wish to trace correctly the history of that prose tradition we must fix our attention on the prose of the Catholic

exiles'.29 Twenty years on, and very little more cautiously, J.X. Evans considers

> that the prose of the Tudor recusants is often comparable in skill and sophistication to the prose we associate with Dryden and the great stylists of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, these remarkably well-written books appeared at a time when England had little reason to boast about its prose.30

Such claims are risible. Even in their own terms they are unsupported by any detailed analysis of the style of the recusant writers. Moreover, viewing English prose as a relay baton, passed between members of a Great British team of 'canonized' authors, is problematic.

More damagingly, the bulk of Catholic critics have unwittingly discouraged a wider study of recusant prose by finding it full of what Southern calls 'a simple and straightforward exposition of their themes, such as would appeal to the unlearned... [that is] good sense in plain language'.31 Once again, this emphasis is not new: the Tatler was one of the first to praise a recusant, 'Parsons the Jesuit', for being 'clear and intelligible' and 'simple'.32 Southwell has been the main recipient of this type of praise and anxiety. He commands more critical attention than most recusant writers of the period, so comments about him can be taken as indicative of reactions towards

other recusant work. Fear that discovering a rhetorical bias in the texts may subvert the 'purity' of his work is based on two reasons. Catholic critics nurse an almost Ramist insistence that rhetoric means schemes and tropes. For instance, in Southwell's poetry W.R. Maurer sees a 'burdensome need to sugar-coat the sermon to make it more palatable for the weak and fickle reader, [which] all but stifles originality'.33 Similarly, Janelle concludes a strong description of the integrated nature of the literary and spiritual aspects of the mission by returning to lament the 'crust of conceits and oratory' which he feels overlies Southwell's prose meditation, Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares. Such a view of rhetoric ignores a longstanding recognition of the rhetorical nature of invention and judgement demonstrated by critics, such as Brian Vickers and Walter Ong, who were writing in the 1960s and '70s.

The second basis for their fear of rhetoric is the degree of artifice it uses. Rhetoric moves away from that chaste and virile morality (what Barthes has called that 'castrating ethic of "purity"') with which Catholic critics would like to credit recusant writers.34 It is no accident that Jerome confesses he has been a follower of Cicero rather than Christ, in a letter which extolls virginity!35 Brian Oxley notes

that critics 'have tended to deprecate the mannerism or artifice of [Southwell's] work as somehow detracting from his sanctity'.36 C.S. Lewis is one of the very few to discuss Allen's writing. His terms of praise pick out Allen's dignified, 'virile' style, which goes to the heart of a subject.37 Janelle complains that he sees in Southwell's Saint Peters complaint (a far less euphuistic text than Marie Magdalen) 'the conscious effort of the literary craftsman... to please his readers [which] diverts him from the true channel of his poetic inspiration'.38 To be fair, this anxiety about rhetoric is not confined to the twentieth-century observer. Luis de Granada, a leading Spanish preacher of the mid-sixteenth century whose works were frequently translated into English, believed that the Christian style should be 'like unto water, the which when it is good, it hath no maner of tast at all'.39 'No manner of taste', 'clear', 'good sense in plain language' - with such a forbiddingly austere press, it seems very clear why so there are many historical and bibliographical studies of these texts and so few literary ones.

As yet, there is no extended description of Catholic manuals of rhetoric to match with the penetration of Deborah Shuger's analysis of Protestant manuals, in

Sacred Rhetoric. The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance. Shuger does, however, manage to touch on what she calls Tridentine rhetorics. She describes them as 'rhetorics in the Classical sense' in their 'willingness to accept the legitimacy of deliberate rhetoric'. She distinguishes them from Protestant manuals by their concentration on 'the subject matter, structure, and style of sacred discourse' rather than the life of the preacher. In this thesis, one of the most widely-read of these Tridentine rhetorics is used for commentary on the classical texts used in the schools and colleges which the recusant writers attended. The De arte rhetorica of 1562 by the Jesuit Cyprian Soarez was used by millions of Renaissance schoolboys in the quarter-century studied here. It follows the pattern of the Tridentine rhetorics described by Shuger, where the discussion of the traditional five parts of rhetoric (inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria and pronuntiatio) is supplemented by a section on amplification. These rhetorics encourage a greater emotional expressiveness than that which Shuger finds in the De partitione oratoria or the Rhetorica ad Herennium.40

Shuger's central theme is that 'there are no studies of a sacred grand style in the English Renaissance

because, even according to its practitioners, it was not supposed to exist'.41 This cannot be held true for the Catholic texts, which are not wilfully innocent in the face of verbal fecundity. Catholic authors are willing to answer the famous Augustinian question underlying De doctrina Christiana:

> should [the wicked], influencing and urging the minds of their listeners to error by their eloquence, terrify, sadden, gladden, and passionately encourage them, while [the good], indifferent and cold in behalf of truth, sleep on?42

This has been recognized by a very few more recent articles than the work discussed above, published largely in Recusant History. They have traced rhetorical 'architecture' in the ars moriendi and the poetry of Southwell and William Alabaster.

J.X. Evans succinctly describes the literary training which recusant writers and translators received in the universities at home and the Catholic colleges abroad. He points out a number of rhetorical schemes within treatises on the preparation in life for death, by Thomas Stapleton, John Fisher, Southwell and Persons. Brian Oxley concentrates on cryptic aspects of the English and Latin poetry of Southwell and discusses the fear of artifice (including the use of rhetoric) which many critics display about Southwell's verse. David Crane suggests that in Southwell's verse, 'the

disciplining of one's will to virtue and of one's mind... to subtly-measured words are properly aspects of the same activity'.43 R.V. Caro looks in detail at Thomas Wright's The Passions of the Mind, written in 1598. Wright devotes time to describing how the passions can be aroused by the use of language. Caro shows how these strategies are employed in the sonnets of William Alabaster, who was converted by Wright in 1597.44 However, this occasional analysis is confined to small numbers of works and cannot spend long in discussing tensions between Catholic practice and rhetorical theory. The work of these critics has not yet been followed up on an extensive scale, including a more technical analysis of the rhetoric in recusant works.

Of course, as these critics have realized, these Catholic texts cannot avoid using rhetoric, for two reasons. To a great extent books had to take the place of the priest, in consoling, admonishing and teaching the beleaguered group. The works met a diverse audience which required persuasion to read. The second reason for the use of rhetoric lies in the education which the writers received.

In the first place, the texts faced a double audience. The term 'recusant' originally covered all those who

refused to attend Anglican services. During the latter part of the sixteenth century it was confined to describing Catholics, while 'church-papist' was the derogatory name given by both sides to those people who maintained they were Catholic but attended Anglican services often enough to avoid being cited for recusancy. Texts addressed to these groups had to work on a political level. They had to reassure and even flatter recusant readers into feeling they were part of a separate, viable political group. At the same time, authors had to infuse into the texts a note of reproach against the infamous church-papists, encouraging them back to prison and scaffold. In the latter years of the century and especially after the publication of the 1570 Bull, Regnans in excelsis, even the compliance of the recusant audience could not be guaranteed. Thus, the works took on a strenuous number of roles, challenging 'the doctrinal innovations of the new religion, the political manoeuvres of the government, and demotic accusations of disloyalty and superstition'.45 •

Moreover, at the level of devotion they had to function as what J.R. Roberts calls 'dumb preachers'.46 They were used to develop a reader's faith away from heterodoxy, linking him with the body of the Church in the form of prayers he used. They

provided inspiration, devotional formats and even a time schedule for prayer: all the discipline which the Church normally would normally channel through a priest. Thus, Luis de Granada describes his Memoriall of a Christian Life in sacerdotal terms:

> it may serve thee for a preacher, to exhort thee unto good life... for an confessionall, to instructe thee, how thou oughtest to confesse thy sinnes, and to make due preparation, when thou intendest to communicate.

He gives examples of people whose life has been changed by such reading.47 Reading encourages a mode of solitary prayer, but concentration on the Word and on solitary prayer are features which are traditionally aligned with Protestant modes of worship. Both demand sensitive writing since the effect of an audience which read, rather than listened to, the preacher's words had to be taken into account. The reader can control the pace of reception and his ability to criticize the material is enhanced, as Quintilian points out. The texts were forced into a rhetorical realization of the audience's point of view.

There was a second group to be satisfied: many Protestants were reading the recusant texts also. Enjoyment of the fierce controversy between the two faiths certainly made up one element of interest - in Against Ierome Osorius, Christ appears from the grave equipped with a pen (see overleaf).



Christ rising - with a pen in his hands. Titlepage to W. Haddon and J. Foxe, Against Ierome Osorius (London, 1581).

However, this would appear more in the purchase, say, of polemical works on the English succession or of dogmatic works on the Sacraments, rather than the acquisition of devotional works. Recusant prefaces to devotional texts also address themselves to an audience of 'Catholikes, protestants, and demi-Catholikes'. The rhetoric of such texts had to be sufficiently flexible to coax a Protestant audience to carry on reading, presenting an opportunity for the recusants to appeal to the tolerant reader. A superb Allen adopts a tone of reconciliation on such occasions:

> our pen (God willing) shalbe so tempered herein, that it shal displease no reasonable reader, nor surelie skarce them (if it may be) against whom in our inculpable defence we are forced to write.48

There could be no assumption of a small, close-knit and submissive audience such as Catholic preachers had hitherto enjoyed, one which would take kindly to Southwell's admonitions about

> reading good bookes, hearing sermons, and such like godly exercises, not lightly runing over them, thinking it enough to have red or heard good things, but pawsing upon such thinges as move my affection, & printing them well in my mind & memory.49

An entertaining or at least attentive tone, acknowledging the reader, was a necessity to tempt this second audience to peruse, let alone possess, tracts which were enough to imprison them if found by the authorities.

Catholic authors realized that providing such pleasure and conciliation was important. A letter from Persons to the General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, insists that any confessors sent on the mission must be well versed in 'polite letters'.50 Anthony Copley says Jesuit authors in particular succeeded so well in adapting their work to English taste that it passed 'currant & applauded not onelie amongst the vulgar, but (which is a shame) amongst the upper sort of Catholickes'.51 Bacon passed on Southwell's Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie, written in 1591, to his brother Anthony, with the comment that it was well written and worth copying for the art, though the argument was bad.52 This realization bore more fruit than literary praise, as can be seen from the responsa scholarum of the English College at Rome. When Persons became Rector of the College in 1597, he introduced a system of questioning each applicant for a student's place about the latter's family, upbringing, education, state of health, religious history and intentions. I have looked at all the responses from 1597 and 1603 which survive, translated in A. Kenny's edition for the Catholic Record Society. Twelve of these fifty-seven responses mention recusant books as the determining factor in their conversion. Moreover, many students did not bother to answer fully the question relating

to what brought them to Rome, so the proportion of men converted by these books may well have been much higher.53

This heterogeneous readership meant authors had to find a style which allowed them to ignore the destruction of the assumed coherent - and physically present - audience. They had lost the advantage of sound: 'that viva vox word of mouth [which] hath incomparably more force, then the dead pen, whether it be to edifie, or to destroy', says Richard Bristow.54 Gregory Martin argues in the same way that

> men can not lightly learne the Christian religion by reading Scriptures, but by hearing, and by the preference of their teachers, which may instruct them... as cleerly & breefely by letters they could not doe.55

Moreover, they had lost the compulsion to listen which any speaker can lay on his audience, let alone one which is commanded to listen by divine precept. Standard Protestant works on composing devotional prose, such as Hyperius's Pathway to the Pulpet (translated by John Ludham in 1577), could assume an exalted and energetic role for the preacher, who 'chargeth, commaundeth, sharply rebuketh, threateneth, pronounceth, as one in place of authoritie'. The Catholic preacher had to revert to the ignominious position of the rhetor, who, as Hyperius says, 'supposeth none of these thinges to bee lawfull unto

him, but rather he is compelled nowe and then fowly to flatter and fawne uppon the Judges'.56

The second reason one would expect to find a thorough use of rhetoric in the Catholic texts lies in the education of recusant students, both before and while at the colleges at Douai or Rheims, Rome, Seville and Valladolid. This was fundamentally rhetorical, as Appendix I shows. Allen's realization that Marian priests had to be replaced inspired him to set up seminaries at Douai in 1568 (located at Rheims between 1578 and 1593), followed by those of Persons at Valladolid and Seville in 1589 and 1592, and to oversee the creation of an English College in 1579 from a former hospice for English pilgrims at Rome. A product of this education, Persons can muse on his work in a self-consciously literary way, quoting Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian and Cicero, while Southwell is praised as 'our Second-Ciceronian' by his publisher.57 These are not incidental reflections on the recusant writers' work. Spontaneous writing without due preparation of <u>res</u> and <u>verba</u> was inconceivable. As Walter Ong noted, 'Tudor exuberance of language and expression was not accidental, but programmed'.58

This study is confined to the late sixteenth century, and it cannot conclude on a third possible reason for noting rhetoric in the texts: Martz's insight that 'methods of meditation are in themselves adaptations of ancient principles of logic and rheoric'.59 The question is whether hagiography, catechism and meditation are themselves rhetorical genres, rather than simply genres which are developed rhetorically in this period. I would suggest that the two former types of writing are pieces of information and display, which do not aim to persuade. If elements of rhetoric - self-persuasion, a constant contextualization in order to put the reader's view first, a belief in the efficacy of form - are found in these recusant texts, they will have been something self-consciously added by the writers. The technique of meditation is more difficult to decide about, since its aim is to persuade. This thesis can do no more than point out similarities in the recusant texts between the two techniques.

In conclusion, it has been suggested that critical distaste for recognizing rhetoric within these texts has helped produce a paucity of literary comment on them. This reluctance is based on a concept of rhetoric as rule-based, asiatic and emasculating. A few more recent critics have shown that there are rhetorical elements in recusant texts.

This seems reasonable, since the texts faced a sensitive double audience and their writers were trained in rhetoric. Three types of sixteenth-century devotional texts, meditation, hagiography and catechism, will be examined to produce a recusant theory of rhetoric. The next chapter describes the population of texts from which this theory will be drawn.

1 The terms 'recusant' and 'Catholic' will be used without distinction.
2 Allison, A.F. and Rogers, D.M., 'A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England' ['Catalogue'], RH iii (1956).
3 A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland... 1475-1640, ed. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, rev. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer (London, 1986).
4 Cardinal William Allen, letter to Dr. Vendeville, 16/9/78, quoted Southern, A.C., Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582 [Prose] (London, 1950), 232; ed. Knox, T.F., First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay (London, 1878), xl.
5 Bossy, J., The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 [Community] (London, 1975), 279, 191.
6 White, H.C., The Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs [Saints] (Madison, 1963), 203-204.
7 Clancy, T.H., Papist Pamphleteers (Chicago, 1964), 10.
8 Persons, R., A Christian Directorie Guiding Men to their Salvation [Directorie] (Louvain, 1598), chp. 2. Initially issued as The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution ([Rouen], 1582).
9 A Manuall, or Meditation, and most necessary Prayers [Manuall, or Meditation] ([1580-81; England, 1596]).
10 Rhetorica ad Herennium [ad Herennium], trans. H. Caplan (London, 1954), IV iv.
11 Quintilian, Institutio oratoria [Institutio], trans. H.E. Butler (London, 1920), II xiii 16.
12 Bossy, Community, 3.
13 Allison, A.F. and Rogers, D.M., 'Ten Years of Recusant History', RH vi (1961), 10; 'Twenty-five Years of Recusant History', RH xiii (1976), 155.

14 Southern, Prose, ix.
15 Allison, A.F. and Rogers, D.M., 'Review of A.C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582', Library 5th Series vi (1951), 48.
16 Evans, J.X., 'The Art of Rhetoric... in Tudor Recusant Prose' ['Rhetoric'], RH x (1970), 247.
17 Southern, Prose, 205.
18 Dwyer, J.J., 'Robert Southwell', The Month xvi (N.S.) (1956), 14.
19 Martz, L., The Poetry of Meditation [Meditation] (1954; New Haven, 1962), 6, 31, 164.
20 Lewalski, B., Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric [Protestant Poetics] (Princeton, 1979), ix, 13.
21 Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, 149; Rogers, R., Seven Treatises, Containing Such Direction as is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures (London, 1603), A6 v.
22 White, H.C., English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640 (Madison, 1931), 19.
23 Campbell, L.B., Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959).
24 MacCaffrey, I., 'The Meditative Paradigm', English Literary History xxxii (1965), 392 ff.
25 Janelle, P., 'English Devotional Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', English Studies Today ii (N.S.) (1961), 160-162.
26 Roberts, J.R., A Critical Anthology of English Recusant Devotional Prose, 1558-1603 [Anthology] (Pittsburgh, 1966).
27 Phillimore, J.S., 'Blessed Thomas More and the Arrest of Humanism in England', Dublin Review cliii (1913), 7; Southern, Prose, 5.
28 Southern, Prose, 4; Chambers, R.W., On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School (London, 1932), clxxi.
29 Southern, Prose, 5.
30 Evans, 'Rhetoric', 248.
31 Southern, Prose, xii.
32 The Tatler (London, 1709-11), ed. D.F. Bond (Oxford, 1987), iii 195.
33 Maurer, W.R., 'Spee, Southwell and the Poetry of Meditation', Comparative Literature xv (1963), 16.
34 Barthes, R., 'The Old Rhetoric: an aide-memoire', The Semiotic Challenge, trans. R. Howard (Oxford, 1988), 29.
35 Jerome, Letter 22 to Eustochium, The Letters of St. Jerome, trans. C.C. Mierow (London, 1963), 166.
36 Oxley, B., '"Simples are by compounds farre exceld": Southwell's Longer Latin Poems and "St Peters Complaint"' ['Southwell'], RH xvii (1985), 330.
37 Lewis, C.S., English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1954), 441.
38 Janelle, R., Robert Southwell the Writer. A study in religious inspiration [Southwell] (London, 1935), 205.

39 Luis de Granada, A Memoriall of a Christian Life [Memoriall], trans. R. Hopkins (Rouen, 1586), 569. A translation of the Memorial de la vida cristiana.
40 Shuger, D., Sacred Rhetoric. The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance [Rhetoric] (Princeton, 1988), 76-80.
41 Shuger, Rhetoric, 3.
42 Augustine, Christian Instruction [De doctrina Christiana] [DDC], trans. J.J. Gavigan (New York, 1947), 169.
43 Crane, D., 'Catholicism and Rhetoric in Southwell, Crashaw, Dryden and Pope', RH xv (1980), 240.
44 Oxley, 'Southwell'; Evans 'Rhetoric'; Caro, R.V., 'William Alabaster: Rhetor, Meditator, Devotional Poet'['Alabaster'], RH xix (1988).
45 Evans, 'Rhetoric', 247.
46 Roberts, Anthology, 5.
47 Luis, Memoriall, 19 (second signature series).
48 Allen, W., A True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques [Defence] ([Rouen, 1584]), *2 v.
49 Southwell, R., A Short Rule of Good Life [Short Rule] ([England, 1596-97]), C6 r.
50 Persons, letter to Acquaviva, 21/10/81. CRS xxxix (1942), 114.
51 Copley, A., An Answere to... a Iesuited Gentleman ([London], 1601), P1 r.
52 Southwell, R., An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie [Supplication] ([London], 1595 [1600-01]), ed. R.C. Bald (Cambridge, 1953), xii. This is Southwell's mild and loyal answer to Cecil's charges of treachery in the November 1591 Proclamation, which enjoined further vigilance against the entry of priests.
53 CRS liv (1962). The responses concerned are listed below. The numbers attached are those given by Kenny. I have expanded the title of the books where they are recognizable. The dates given are those of the first edition.

341 William Alabaster: 'Catholic book of Rainolds's [probably William Rainolds's Refutation of Sundry Reprehensions, 1583].
346 Robert Walker: Persons's Directorie, 1582.
354 Henry Chaderton: Bristow's Briefe Treatise... [of] Motives, 1574.
355 Alexander Bradshawe: Persons's Briefe Censure Uppon Two Bookes... in Answere to... Campion, 1581.
357 Thomas Newman: Campion's Rationes decem, 1581.
358 Edward Cottington: 'Bellarmine on Purgatory'.
360 John Faulkner: 'Catholic books'.
366 Henry Lanman: 'Rastell and Harding against Jewell' [between them, Rastell and Harding wrote fourteen books against Jewel's Paul's Cross sermon and his Apologia. See AR, 69 ff., 133 ff.].
372 Charles Yelverton: De contemptu mundi.

393 John Jackson: 'Office of the B.V.M. and a Jesus Psalter' [possibly the Manual of Prayers, 1583].
396 Henry Clyffe: 'many Catholic books'.
398 John Grosse: Lawrence Vaux, A Catechisme, 1568.

54 Bristow, R., A Briefe Treatise of Divers Plaine and sure waies to finde out the truth [Briefe Treatise] (1574; Antwerp [England], 1599), T8 v.
55 The New Testament of Iesus Christ [NT], trans. G. Martin (Rheims, 1582), 3H2 r.
56 Hyperius, A., The Practise of preaching, Otherwise Called The Pathway to the Pulpet [Pathway], trans. J. Ludham (London, 1577), Gii v.
57 Persons, R., A Treatise of Three Conversion of England [Conversions] ([St. Omers], 1603-4), ii 517; Southwell, R., Triumphs over Death [Triumphs] (London, 1596), ed. J.W. Trotman (London, 1914), xii.
58 Ong, W.J., Rhetoric, Romance and Technology (New York, 1971), 63.
59 Martz, Meditation, 38.

Chapter 2: Producing recusant devotional texts.

This chapter starts by describing the texts used in the thesis, before turning to the circumstances of their production. Problems of bringing recusant texts to scholarly notice have been compounded because the books were hard to consult, issued as they were through secret presses and in small quantities. Southern was one of the first to clarify what texts were printed by whom and where, during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. His brief description of the content of these polemical and devotional texts, published between 1559 and 1582, is an excellent introduction to the range of recusant prose. Southern's example was followed by J.R. Roberts's Anthology of English recusant devotional prose printed throughout the reign. Finally, Scolar Press facsimiles of many recusant texts followed on from the publication of the Allison and Rogers's 'Catalogue' in 1956, and scarcity is no longer a problem. I have used the 'Catalogue' to define the boundaries of the recusant text population.

Meditations, hagiographies and catechisms.

Turning first to meditations, the first thirteen years after the beginning of the Jesuit mission saw few new works

on prayer being produced. Of about fourteen such works from the English secret presses, half were reprints. Most of these were simply translations of influential Spanish and Italian devotions, especially those by Luis de Granada, Lorenzo Scupoli, Gaspare Loarte and Diego de Estella. The Dominican preacher and university lecturer, Luis de Granada, produced two meditation texts which were translated into English. Of Prayer, and Meditation (first translated in 1582) is in three parts, giving matter for reflection and then advice on how to meditate (including fighting hindrances to prayer), before linking prayer to works of fasting and alms. These meditations are based on doctrinal points and on Passional events. The work was extremely popular in Britain, receiving four secret press editions as well as an unprecedented number of Protestant adaptations for the licenced press.1 Luis also produced an abridgement of Of Prayer, translated as A Spiritual Doctrine, Conteining A Rule To live wel in 1599. This includes additional material on the importance of vocal prayer and appends many new prayers to be read after meditation.2 The Theatine friar, Lorenzo Scupoli, produced a set of meditations against living in the world. The Spiritual Conflict, which Janelle sees as one of the most influential devotions of Elizabeth's reign, appeared in three editions in English from 1598 onwards.3 It is an ascetic text, urging the reader to use force against himself in fashioning of himself a creature who is pleasing

to God. The Contempte of the World and the Vanity thereof by the Franciscan Diego de Estella is almost as forbidding as Scupoli's meditations.4 It is a quiet series of statements on the differences between the divine and human perspectives. Finally, as the introduction has shown, the works of Gaspare Loarte were given the same degree of importance as those of Persons by Protestant writers such as Richard Rogers. His Exercise of a Christian Life, first translated into English in 1579, gives detailed, formal advice on meditation techniques, before listing matter on which to meditate each day of the week. Loarte concludes by pondering on likely temptations at special points in life, suggesting that an awareness of how sin operates is helpful in defeating it.5 His Meditations, of the Life and Passion of... Iesus Christ further explore the variety of views from which an event can be considered: in historical terms, with compassion, with admiration, with compunction. The meditations are once again on the Passion and on elements of the faith.6 Loarte's concentration on discursive meditation which uses the senses would have been informed by his Jesuit training.

Against this array of popular continental writing, which was repeatedly reissued, there were only a handful of indigenous manuals, three of which were reprinted within the decade. When Persons began to translate Loarte's Exercise as a valuable spiritual resource for the English

recusants, he realized that a more ambitious text was needed, to address those who had not made a final election to the Christian life. The result was the Christian Directorie, expanded from a catechism addressed to the faithful on how to live well, to an explanation of why one can believe in God and thus why one should live well. The Christian Directorie was republished six times by the secret presses and was also popular with non-Catholics. In 1584 it was put into a form which was suitable for Protestant use by Edward Bunny as A Booke of Christian exercise, being given over thirty editions by the licenced press. The Directorie is a wide-ranging text, starting by 'proving' God exists. Evidence for this includes the affections initiated by the meditations which Persons gives. He goes on to deduce a duty to serve God in the way exemplified by his stories of saints, as they followed the faith which is laid out by Persons in the Creed and expanded on in the catechism. The Manual of Prayers was highly popular, running to twenty-six editions after the first in 1583. It contains a short prayer for almost every occasion in daily life and also includes the Jesus Psalter, brief meditations on the Passion and the Golden Litany.7 A Manuall, or Meditation, and most necessary Prayers was printed three times, the first in 1581. Like the Manual of Prayers, it gives prayers for specific situations, but it also contains a short catechism and points to meditate on for each day of the week. Thus, two out of the four texts

by British writers were collections of prayers, not new devotional writing. Finally, John Bucke's Instructions for the use of the beades, conteining many matters of meditacion, published only once in 1589, runs through the logic of worship: why one loves God, why one uses the beads, why be grateful, why think often on the Passion. Bucke includes a pull-out illustration of doctrinal points connected with the rosary at the back of the work, to gaze on while saying the rosary.8

It was only after 1592 that English meditations began to be produced in any quantity. Of around thirty meditation texts from the secret presses during the final period of Elizabeth's reign, over half had never been printed before. Moreover, the majority of these new texts were by English writers. These were all printed only once.

The first group of these new texts are those dealing with the rosary, all by English rather than continental authors. As in Bucke's work, these rosary texts provide a framework for prayer only and are anxious not to expand on it affectively. A Methode, to meditate on the Psalter, or great Rosarie of 1598 has a long preface explaining the attitude which the meditator should adopt, before he reads its short and factual lists of points on each decade.9 Thomas Worthington's, The Rosarie of our Ladie of 1600 follows the same format, going through a method of

remembering each decade of the rosary. It gives a brief description of the gospel facts, in point form, then verses and a picture to gaze on as the rosary is recited.10 The single English text of this period to be reprinted was by Henry Garnet. In The Societie of the Rosary of 1593-94, Garnet describes how to become and act as a member of the sodality, in spite of the political conditions. His tone is legalistic and the meditations on the mysteries of the rosary are simply terse lists of events.11

The theme of meditation on female Scriptural figures is continued in three texts which explore a reaction to the events of the Passion. C.N.'s Our Ladie Hath A New Sonne of 1595 describes the mute communication between the crucified Christ and his mother, urging the reader to examine his conscience for signs of compunction at this heart-rending moment.12 I.C.'s Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion, issued in 1603, is designed less to raise compunction than to keep the reader's attention on sacred matters. It is a long verse narrative asking Mary for the reason why she repented of her past life and describing how she feels at the moment of the Crucifixion, in which her sins have participated.13 Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares of 1591, by Robert Southwell, is the only non secret-press text to be examined in the category of meditation.14 Like I.C., Southwell amplifies the passionate guilt of the

Magdalen before asking the reader to emulate her as she redirects it into longing for Christ.

Secret-press verse meditations on occasional topics show a degree of passion which is normally reserved for secular subjects.15 The printer, Richard Verstegan, produced a collection of Odes. In Imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes in 1601, which as well as including translations of the penitential psalms, relate the facts of the rosary in verse, pun on the names of the Virgin, celebrate the female saints of the Church and complain of church disunity. His avowed aim is to use secular arts to good purpose. Robert Chambers also tries to use a secular format to entice the reader's interest. In Palestina of 1600, Chambers produces an allegory of a wicked Enchanter and a handsome young Prince to explain the Fall.16 Although never published by the secret presses, the poetry of the converts William Alabaster and Henry Constable is used by the thesis to illuminate meditation texts.

There are a few miscellaneous devotional texts. Thomas a Kempis's Imitatio Christi, in the William Whytford translation was republished in 1585 as The Folowing of Christ.17 A Breefe Collection Concerning the Love of God of 1603 follows the same format as the Manual of Prayers and Manuall, or Meditation, printed in the decade before 1592.18 Breefe Collection is a highly schematized group

of meditations and prayers, giving reasons why we should love God rather than affectively describing his goodness. In 1599, Verstegan was able to get papal privilege to produce the first English translation of the post-Tridentine Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis. This contains the penitential and gradual psalms, the litany of the saints, the office for the dead and the hours of the Virgin Mary, in The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie.19 Most importantly, permission was granted for an English translation to be made of the Bible. A heavily annotated New Testament of Iesus Christ appeared from Rheims in 1582 and the Old Testament (The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English) from Douay in 1609-10, both translated by Gregory Martin.20

Although the English texts were rarely reprinted, even after 1603, it is possible to see in this quantity of new work a resurgence of interest in producing English works which aimed at contributing to the faith's survival in Britain. An average of four books of all types of recusant work was published each year between 1583 and 1593, while for the following decade, the count almost doubles. Devotional works kept pace with this trend.

The increase bears some correlation with the political periods of resistance and compromise charted by Peter Holmes and Alan Dures. What Holmes calls 'enthusiastic

non-resistance' is advocated by recusant polemical texts, until about 1583.21 The leaders of the mission passed on their instructions not to 'mix themselves in the affairs of States, nor... recount news about political matters in their letters... refrain from talk against the Queen and not allow it in others'.22 Thus, in Campion's 'Bragge' and Persons's Confessio fidei there is an almost defiant stress on not reacting to the persecution.23 Such non-resistance was made possible by the good sense of Gregory XIII, who suspended the operation of the 1570 Bull for Catholics under the circumstances, thereby allowing them to maintain their temporal obedience to the Queen. The following decade, however, saw an idea of resistance developing amongst recusants. The possibility of armed invasion by European Catholic powers gave impetus to government persecution of the recusants and, in turn, to an attack on such action by Catholic polemical writers. Holmes perceives a dawning realization after 1593 that Catholics would have to look to Elizabeth's successor for toleration. In his view, this recognition, coming at the same time as Spain's withdrawal from her North European commitments and the conversion of Henry of Navarre in 1593, returned Catholics' thoughts to non-resistance.

It is possible that, in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, recusant writers moved towards relying on texts rather than political resistance to keep the faith alight

into the next reign. Meditation, as a solitary prayer form which called little attention to itself, must have become particularly useful following the 1591 Proclamation, which further inhibited the availability of priests. There may also have been a greater supply of writers towards the end of the decade, owing to the better-regulated education system for recusants overseas. Missioners from the colleges were coming forward in increasing numbers during the last ten years of the century.

However, although the need for secret publication of devotional texts to fulfill a sacerdotal role was created by the political situation, Catholic authors rarely mention the persecution explicitly. Manuals of prayer and meditation pass over the opportunity of praying for peace, for the souls of the martyrs or for the conversion of England. The Manual of Prayers continues to give preparations for communion and confession as though the sacraments, necessarily obtained through a priest, are freely available. Describing how a priest created the 'Crown' of Mary from a new Rosary combination, Worthington casually mentions that this was done in the Tower but says no more of the circumstances.24 Perhaps the most open discussion of these is in Garnet's arrangements for getting members of the Society of the Rosary registered: tearing out ledger pages as soon as the names had been written, to preserve anonymity.

Unlike the meditations, there is no particular pattern which would parallel the years of resistance to the publication in English of martyrdoms. Even the harsh conditions which Catholics suffered are rarely mentioned in these hagiographies. There are only three recusant texts to be published first in English which concentrate on Elizabethan martyrs. Thomas Alfield's eyewitness report of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and preiste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan preistes appeared in 1582. It was plagiarized by William Allen as part of his breathless recounting of a dozen martyrdoms up to 1582, in The Glorious Martyrdom of XII. Reverend Priests. Thomas Worthington displays the constancy of the martyrs of 1600-01, in A Relation of Sixtene Martyrs.25 All three authors begin by accusing the government of intransigence over religious tolerance and of turning martyrdoms into political executions. They concentrate on the end of each martyr, giving his last speech, final letters and a brief summary of the career which has culminated in such glory. None of these texts were printed more than once in English; they were snap responses to recent martyrdoms.

Such texts are in the minority. Overwhelmingly, recusant authors ignore Elizabethan saints and honour those of the ancient Church. In A Treatise of Three Conversions of England, of 1603-04, Persons answers Foxe's Acts and

Monuments by tracing the Christian missions to Britain which have been initiated by Rome, proving that she has always been a Catholic country. The Anglican Church is an intruder which cannot benefit from Christ's promise to protect his Church. One way Persons shows this is by contrasting the mighty saints of the early (Roman) Church with the psuedo-martyrs of the Anglican Church. Opposing Catholic to 'Foxian' saints in the last two volumes of Conversions, Persons calendars only one Catholic saint after 1500 (Francis de Paul, canonized in 1507). Conversely, the majority of Protestant saints he lists from Foxe are martyred after 1500. Gregory Martin's Treatyse of Christian Peregrination of 1583 gives statements about martyrdom and dulia only from the Church fathers, when he justifies pilgrimage as honouring the physical residue of past events in the Church's life.26 In 1593, in A Treatise of Christian Renunciation, Henry Garnet repeated sonorous exhortations to martyrdom from Jerome and Augustine and Chrysostom.27 This text is a collection of sayings from the fathers and saints on how to renounce all temporal objects of affection. Ostensibly a devotional text, it is really aimed at stiffening resistence in recusants to Government religious policies and in particular, to enforced presence at the Anglican service. Both Martin and Garnet exemplify their loci from the early Church period rather than from the lives of sixteenth-century saints.

The meditation texts display the same lacuna as the hagiographies. The Directorie displays examples of true Christian resolution taken from the actions of early rather than latter-day saints. Only martyrs of the early Church are extolled in Richard Verstegan's lines on the 'Triumphe of Feminyne Saintes' in the Odes. The Manual of Prayers has a section 'contayninge Christian Catholicke prayers to Saintes & citizens of the glorie of heaven'.28 These work their way down the celestial hierarchy, from Our Lady through to the angels, then John the Baptist, the apostles, the martyrs and finally, the virgins. At no time do any of these prayers move into intercession about the present troubles, nor do they ask the help of any recent martyr.

It is hard to see why modern saints are so largely excluded from English devotional texts, considering that the twentieth-century Catholic martyrology includes a conservative figure of nearly two hundred Britons executed between 1580 and 1603.29 Perhaps the enormous excitement generated by the rediscovery of the Roman catacombs in 1578 simply threw contemporary saints into the shade. Perhaps also, Trent's restriction on informal canonization by popular acclaim made writers chary of anticipating the decision of the Church. Prior to the Council, while formal canonization could only be given in Rome an informal cultus could also grow up. However, in 1563 the twenty-fifth session of the Council discussed 'the invocation,

veneration and relics of saints, and... sacred images'. It stated that new miracles and relics could only be venerated after the approval of the bishop. Recusant writers took heed of this. Even while he enthusiastically rootles amongst the relics of the catacombs in the Roma sancta, written around 1581, Martin points out to the reader the caution which Trent requires.30 When Persons deals with canonization in Conversions, he emphasizes that the decision is taken by indifferent men, who cannot be 'carryed away eyther with passion, or deceyved by ignorance' because 'great and long search is made about the matter first, and many hundred persons examined; many records also are sought out, of the life and actions of the person, of his vertues and miracles'.31 There were, in fact, no canonizations between 1523 and 1588, when the Congregation of Rites took over canonization procedures at the request of Sixtus V. Not that such prudence meant that the exhortatory potential of hagiography was ignored. Gregory XIII for instance, made preaching on the lives of the saints and the history of the Church the main task of the influential lay congregation set up by Philip Neri.

Apart from new canonization, the Church had become more cautious in appraisal of the accuracy of records on past saints. Gregory brought together a commission, which included Caesar Baronius, to consolidate and make more accurate the many local adaptations of Usuard's martyrology

of the late ninth century. This commission produced an official Roman martyrology in 1584, standardizing names, dates and events. It was republished under Sixtus in 1586, with full annotation by Baronius. The Bollandists showed a similar determination to purge the canon of apocryphal detail. Leribert Rosweyde's Fastes des saints, published in 1607, outlines the scientific way in which saints' lives within the new Acta sanctorum would be examined, gathering and annotating all available information on each saint. Each volume of the Acta would have an index and table of reference, making it more of a textbook and less a day-by-day devotional manual. In this atmosphere, casual sanctification of contemporaries may have seemed impious or impolitic.

Such reserve does not operate in the Latin works which celebrate contemporary British martyrs. There are three main texts by Britons. Persons's De persecutione Anglicana libellus (first printed in 1581) purporting to be an outraged letter to John Gerard, defines the persecution of the Catholics in Britain as religious and not political. Wistfully sighing 'it is (I suppose) skant woorthe the laboure, to put [the executions] downe here in writing', in the Latin text Persons energetically marries gory engravings of the suffering of the martyrs to vivid description.32 Verstegan produced the Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum, essentially a manual of pictures

of martyrdom which were designed to stir repulsion in the viewer.33 About half of Verstegan's text and pictures are about the executions of Catholics under Henry and Elizabeth, the other sections depict Huguenot and Genevan persecutions. The third text, the Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia, was edited by John Gibbons in 1583 as his contribution to the mission. (Gibbons was honest in admitting to his superiors that he did not feel he had the strength to resist torture, should he be captured). The first edition brings together Latin and English texts published elsewhere, including Campion's Rationes decem, De persecutione, XII. Reverend Priests and an answer to William Cecil's The Execution of Iustice.34 All three texts were frequently reprinted in other languages, including French, Italian and Spanish.

I use these hagiographies to provide background material only (from the English translations detailed in the notes), as they were not written to further the three aims espoused by the English works. They intend neither to prove the efficacy of the Catholic faith, nor to request toleration for a Catholicism which could produce godly and mild-mannered martyrs, nor to promote fervour in the home audience.

These foreign language works serve several other purposes. Recruits to the mission were encouraged by the relation of

such martyrdoms, at the English colleges abroad (chapter seven looks at the theatricality involved in this). The texts were also advertisements to European Catholic countries of the efforts made in Britain to keep the faith alive.35 Financing the English mission, as well as providing it with well-educated priests and laity by maintaining English schools abroad, was costly. In particular, Rome and Spain needed to be assured that their money could not be better spent on conversions in the New World, or on reinforcing their power in the Old. In the Historia missionis Anglicanae societatis Jesu of 1660, Henry More details Allen's complaint to Gregory about 'the poor distribution of labour involved in sending people who could do good work in their own country to the other ends of the earth'; the same complaint was made about other resources.36 Persons sends De persecutione to Provincials, to help a public collection for the support of the college at Rheims 'that all may realize that they are bound to grudge neither any kind of effort nor even money on behalf of God's honour'.37 A second reason for the production of these works is suggested by A.G. Petti: that the Theatrum was written to stir Catholic princes to avenge the murder of the faithful. He sees a specifically political motive in these texts - a warning not to allow a heretic to rule - and suggests that English martyrologies were used in attempts to exclude Henry of Navarre from the throne of France.38 William Cecil highlighted this political aspect

as the prime purpose of the Catholic texts. In The Execution of Iustice of 1583 he warns other princes that if they admit the authority of the Pope in Britain by succouring the 'martyrs', they will have to admit the same about their own rule.39 Petti's suggestion is valuable in reminding us of the international character of the Counter-Reformation. British priests were concerned with the success of the Church on all fronts and not just at home.

A far greater number of catechisms than saints' lives are published in this period. Catechisms are divided between books intended for beginners in the faith and more detailed 'rules for life', or applications of basic catechisms to moral situations in casuistic fashion. The former type is epitomized by the 1568 Catechisme or Christian Doctrine necessarie for Children and ignorante people of Lawrence Vaux.40 Vaux runs through the three theological virtues by linking them to articles of the Creed and commandments of the Church, then recites common prayers and explains the rite of the Mass. His catechism was popular, being printed at least eight times up to the end of the sixteenth century.

The only other such question-and-answer catechisms of the period are translations of those by Bellarmine and Canisius. The English version of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's Shorte Catechisme... illustrated with the

Images was not so well known as Vaux's, though similar in intention. Its importance lies in being the first response to Trent's request that the post-conciliar catechism produced for teachers, the Catechismus Romanus of 1566 (itself borrowing heavily from Canisius's Summa doctrinae christianae of 1555) should also be adapted for use by pupils. The Shorte Catechism received only two English editions before 1640, even though it makes a particular effort to attract the reader. Plates dramatize the moral predicaments of man, giving an exciting feeling that the reader is there at the very moment of election to good or evil (see the illustrations following pages 138 and 234). The typeface changes as if it was a tone of voice: loud and large when it proclaims the commandments and daintily italic when it describes the Virgin Mary, it is a silent lesson in delivery. As does Vaux, the preface emphasizes that the catechism is to be learned by heart.41 More popular was the translation of Bellarmine's catechism for teachers, An Ample Declaration of the Christian doctrine, which went into seven editions.42 Once again, each clause of the Creed is used to extend outwards to a bare-bones description of the faith. This work is more sedate than the Shorte Catechism, however. The emphasis is on attaining knowledge of an objective and unchanging faith, rather than making this faith personal. Its cool didacticism is matched by A Summe of Christian Doctrine, translated by Henry Garnet from the catechism by Peter

Canisius and published between 1592 and 1596. Starting, rather forbiddingly, with a quotation from 1 Cor.14.38 ('if a man know not, he shall not be known'), the questions are formal and do not urge the reader to apply what he is learning or to visualize the moral problems discussed.43 It is obvious that much effort was put into producing these catechisms as a means of passing on the faith uncorrupted, despite the lack of priests. They were sufficiently important for writers of the stature of Verstegan and Garnet to spend time translating Bellarmine and Canisius into English.44

The British writers come to the fore again, when they develop these question-and-answer catechisms into directories to apply dogma to common situations in life. This extension was foreshadowed by the appearance of casuist manuals written for use by confessors and taught twice-weekly to students at the English colleges. Southwell's Short Rule of Good Life starts by analysing the reasons why one should believe that there is a God and what one should infer from this about the way to live. In using this method, the Short Rule is a smaller version of the first book of Persons's Directorie, and Southwell's printer refers to this as a work which should be read before the Short Rule. Southwell's catechism ran through five editions between 1597 and 1622. Luis de Granada's Memoriall Of a Christian Life of 1586, his most frequently

reprinted text after Of Prayer, uses the same extension of logic. Reasoning first about the existence of God and then about the way he must be served because he exists, these texts share with the simple catechisms an appeal to the intellect to apprehend the faith and its duties.

Not that all such rules for life are so intellectually strenuous as those of Persons, Southwell and Luis. When the English writer T.H.D. produces a text on the practical knowledge of virtue and the speculative knowledge of evil, he may appeal to Aristotle's distinctions between the two. However, the Nine Rockes To Be Avoided, of those which sayle towards the Port of Perfection are simple prohibitions against 'evagation of the mind', 'proprietie of wil, judgement or counsayle' and bitterness of heart.45 Similarly, the translation of Alphonso de Madrid's Breefe Methode or Way Teachinge all sortes of Christian People, how to serve God in a most perfect manner rejects those texts which deal with 'heaven, hell, Iudgment, death, sinne, vertue, and the rest: Perswading to good lyfe & terrifyinge from evill'. His work will simply show the reader how to employ all his powers to serve God.46

Publishing the texts.

By 1624, John Gee was pointing with disgust to 'the swarmes of [recusant] bookes, which you may heare humming up and downe in every corner both of City and Countrey... They have Printing-presses and Book-sellers almost in every corner'.47 According to Allison and Rogers's 'Catalogue', nearly two hundred editions of recusant texts from 1580 to 1603 are still in existence, a minimum average of eight editions a year. Using the Short-Title Catalogue, H.S. Bennett assumes that about half of all works produced in a year were religious, suggesting also that licenced presses were producing just under two hundred editions a year.48 The magnitude of the Catholic secret press production - about a tenth of the thriving licit market for devotional texts - indicates the energy put into maintaining it.

There were two ways in which the Church could publish such texts: through a secret press in Britain or by using a continental press and then exporting the books to Britain. The latter method was less dangerous and expensive than the former, where capital costs were incurred more frequently than under normal trade conditions. These included the replacement of confiscated presses (done with Thackwell's press), removal and resetting (as in the perambulations of

the 'Greenhouse Street' press) and the training of new staff (necessary in the renovation of the Arundel press). Revenue costs would also be higher. Paper could only be bought in small lots, not in bulk. Persons writes that 'everthing had to be brought from London... there were rumours, too... that owing to an incautious purchase of paper we should certainly be taken'.49 Printer and assistants had to be housed and fed.

Allen described to Agazzari, the Rector of the English College in Rome, the costs of publishing for the English mission. In the year to Christmas 1581 they spent 1,600 crowns on printing English texts. Earlier in the letter, he calculates that he could maintain a student at the college at Rheims for one crown a month.50 In other words, one year's printing costs could have supported 135 students for a year. This may account for Gee's observation that 'retail' prices of secret-press works were up to four times higher than equivalent publications from the licenced presses.51 In criticizing the Rheims New Testament, William Fulke made a similar gibe, though he linked the cost of Catholic books not to avarice but to censorship:

> who so seeth what unnecessary charge you have put your selves unto, in printing this your translation in so large a volume: may easily perceive you set it not foorth for poore mens profite.52

Persons laments that the texts he has ready cannot be printed until sufficient money has been collected. His letters to Aquaviva are full of appeals for funds to pursue this most important aspect of the mission. While the Rheims New Testament, for instance, was printed in 1582, ~~but~~ publication of the Old Testament translation had to be deferred until 1609 for reasons of expense.53 This may be why, between the years 1580 and 1603, devotional texts amounted to only about a third of all those produced by the British Catholic secret presses. While it was recognized that works on prayer were needed to 'win souls', writing talent and cash were absorbed in the struggle to win political sympathy as a more quantifiable and immediate target. Polemical texts required quick, up-to-date production, while it was possible merely to reprint meditation and catechetical texts of an earlier period or of foreign production, without them appearing dated.

A minor advantage of using a British secret press was that it let the author oversee the production of his text. Many continentally-printed editions end by requesting the pious reader to overlook errors caused by printing in a language unfamiliar to the compositor. The major advantage was speed, the assurance that 'the heretics should not be able to publish anything without its being almost immediately

attacked most vigorously'.54 For instance, in 1581 the pursuivant William Fleetwood was amazed to find on his doorstep a printed copy of Robert Persons's Breefe Censure against two books written about Campion's 'Bragge', only ten days after one of them had been published!55 Effective import of texts on the other hand took longer, as consignments had to be kept small.

Distribution of the printed work was hazardous and had to be done piecemeal also. Persons describes the system to Agazzari:

> all the books are brought together to London without any being issued, and, after being distributed into the hands of the priests in parcels of a hundred or fifty, are issued at exactly the same time to all parts of the kingdom... there are plenty of young men of birth ready to introduce these books by night into the dwellings of the heretics, into workshops as well as palaces.56

This was no idle boast. Campion's Rationes decem, addressed to the universities and giving the reasons why one should become a Catholic, was distributed by copies laid on the seats of St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford at Commencement.57

However, the Church was not the only publisher of recusants' writing. George Wither's description of the 'meere stationer' explains why this is:

> for, what sect or profession soever his customer is of, he will furnish him with Bookes tending to his

> opinions... a Tolleration he would hold well with all, soe he might have but the sole printing of the Masse-booke or our Ladyes Psalter.58

As F.S. Siebert has shown, printers 'were forced from economic necessity to work on prohibited books in which there was always a large profit'.59 Although the Stationers' Company was intended by the government to act as a mechanism for the suppression of politically 'disorderly books', there was some tension between this responsibility and the Company's trade privilege of granting exclusive licence to print particular copy text. As W.W. Greg said,

> permission to print a certain work may mean either of two quite different things... permission, on the part of the author or of some person in possession or control of the copy, to put that copy into print. Or... a guarantee, on the part of a censor... that the publication of the copy is not contrary to public policy.60

There is a trade-off occuring between the government's definition of the Stationers' Company as a means of censorship and the trade's self-definition of the Company's powers as upholding a closed-shop agreement. Certain printers had no qualms about printing Catholic material which, because of its illicit status, could be sold for high prices and without question about the ownership of the copy.

My pedestrian review of recusant texts published between 1580 and 1603 can do little more than give the impression that dividing them between meditations, catechisms and

hagiographies is reasonable (remaining secret-press texts are mainly disputes about politics and theology). At this point, only two statements can be made about these devotional texts, beyond the fact that they share illicit printing. Thirdly, Recusant authors give space on the mission to Continental authors. Effectively, all the resources of the Church are mobilized.

Moreover, the divide between polemic and devotional material seems absolute. The texts appear to confirm this impression: the Manual of Prayers states that 'particular works of devotion... are presently more necessary, than farther to treate of any controversie'.61 This echoes Persons's

> albeit in these our troblesome and quarelous times, [books of controversy] be necessary for defence of our faith against so manie seditious innouations, as now daily ar attempted: yet help they litle oftentimes to good life, but rather doe fil the heades and hartes of men with a spirit of contradiction and contention, which for the most part doe hinder deuotion.62

Printed English hagiographies on present-day martyrs are scarce, the writers preferring to praise early Church saints. There are a great number of manuscript hagiographies of the contemporary saints, but the Church did not call on these for the public image it wished to present. One would not expect catechisms to concern themselves with anything other than the regulations of the faith, but it is noticeable that

even those catechisms which approach the realm of casuistry, or 'rules for life', do not attempt to comment on the political situation. For the devotional texts, there should be no open protest. Instead, Garnet says, prayers through the 'rainbow' Virgin Mary will be shot like arrows from a bow, to pierce the heart of the Almighty and stop the flood of heresy.63

C.S. Lewis links this divide to sanctity: 'the saintly and heroic Jesuit Robert Southwell... modestly but firmly refused to take any notice, as a poet, of the period in which he was living'.64 Yet this is precisely the attitude against which Ignatius fought - mental claustration was of no use to the mission! I would suggest that the publication of devotional books had as much to do with reproving opposing faiths as saving souls. The translator's epistle at the start of Luis's Memoriall of a Christian Life touches on the damage done by the 'newe Heretical licentious doctrine of iustification by onelie faith'; his translation is designed to correct this.65 A similar reason for neglecting to deal with politics is given by Richard Hopkins in the translator's dedicatory epistle to Luis's Of Prayer. Hopkins sees a progression in sin, people becoming 'first dissolute in their lives, and after dowtefull in their faithe'.66 Thomas Harding

persuaded him to produce the translation as a way of reclaiming schismatics, since

> we have nowe verie greate neede of extraordinarie spirituall helpes to strengthen our weake mindes, to withstand so manie deceitfull temptations of the enemie of mankinde, in this so corrupte and daungerous age.67

By linking a 'good life' and a strong Catholic faith, these books complemented the openly political works.

1 Luis de Granada, Of Prayer, and Meditation [Of Prayer], trans. Richard Hopkins (Paris, 1582). This text was first published as De la oracion y meditacion (Salamanca, 1554) and enlarged in 1556 with a third book as the Guia de pecadores (the Sinner's Guide). It was the latter version which Hopkins used to produce the recusant translation. The Guia de pecadores was placed on the Index in 1559 because of suspicion that it might favour the alumbrados' methods of prayer. It was revised by Luis and reissued in the same year, though Luis's biographer, J.A. Moore, minimizes the extent of any change. 'He clarified a few passages to remove any language suggesting the "sterile quietism" of which it had been accused.'[Moore, J.A., Fray Luis de Granada (Boston, 1977), 32-34].

2 Luis de Granada, A Spiritual Doctrine, Conteining A Rule To live wel [Spiritual Doctrine], trans. Richard Gibbons (Louvain, 1599), from the Compendio de la doctrina espiritual.

3 Scupoli, L., The Spiritual Conflict [Conflict], trans. [John Gerard] (1598; [Douay, 1603-10]). This was a translation of Il Combattimento Spirituale (Venice, 1589).

4 Estella, D. de, The Contempte of the World [Contempte], trans. G[eorge] C[otton] ([Rouen], 1584). This translation of De la Vanidad del Mundo (Toledo, 1562) received three English editions before 1640.

5 Loarte, G., The Exercise of a Christian Life [Exercise], trans. I.S. [Stephen Brinkley] (1579; [Rouen, 1584]). The Exercise is a translation of Loarte's Exercitium vitae christianae (Barcelona, 1569) and was translated into English four times before 1640.

6 Loarte, G., Meditations, of the Life and Passion of... Iesus Christ [Meditations], trans. anon ([England, 1596-98]). This text is a translation of Loarte's Meditationes

de Passione Domini (Bolognia, 1576) and was first published in English as The Godlie Garden of Gethsemani in 1576.
7 A Manual of Prayers Newly Gathered Out of Many and divers famous authours [Manual of Prayers], collected by G[eorge] F[linton] ([Rouen], 1583).
8 Bucke, J., Instructions for the use of the beades [Beades] (Louvain, 1589).
9 A Methode, to meditate on the Psalter, or great Rosarie [Methode] (Antwerp [England], 1598).
10 Worthington, T., The Rosarie of our Ladie [Rosarie] (Antwerp, 1600).
11 Garnet, H., The Societie of the Rosary [Rosary] ([England, 1596-97]), first issued in 1593-94.
12 N., C., Our Ladie Hath A New Sonne [Our Ladie] (Douay [England], 1595).
13 C., I., Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion [Magdalen] ([England, 1603]).
14 Southwell, R., Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares [Magdalen] (1591; London, 1594).
15 Verstegan, R., Odes. In Imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes [Odes] ([Antwerp], 1601).
16 Chambers, R., Palestina (Florence [England], 1600).
17 a Kempis, T., The Folowing of Christ, Translated Out of Latin into Englishe [Folowing] ([Rouen], 1585). I follow the Allison and Rogers's suggestion about the translator of this text.
18 A Breefe Collection Concerning the Love of God [Breefe Collection] (Douay, 1603).
19 The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie [Primer], trans. R. Verstegan (Antwerp, 1599); Blom, J.M., The Post-Tridentine English Primer (CRS Monographs 3, 1982), 14, 17.
20 The New Testament of Iesus Christ [NT] (Rheims, 1582) and The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English [Douay Old Testment] (Douay, 1609-10), both translated by G. Martin according to Allison and Rogers.
21 Holmes, P., Resistance and Compromise. The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics [Resistance] (Cambridge, 1982).
22 CRS xxxix (1942), 321.
23 These described the purpose of the mission, and were composed by Persons and Campion before they separated in July 1580. The manuscripts were given to Thomas Pounde, a lay recusant, to keep until one of the two men was taken by pursuivants, when they were to be used to frustrate any traitorous interpretation which the authorities might put on their activities. Pounde was so delighted with the tone of Campion's apologia that he leaked the document before either Jesuit was captured. The term 'Bragge' was given to it by Meredith Hanmer's rejoinder to Campion, in The Great Bragge... of M. Champion a Iesuite of 1581 [Southern, Prose, 150; CRS xxxix (1942), 35].
24 Worthington, Rosarie, *4 r.

25 Alfield, T., A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion [Campion] ([England, 1582]); Allen, W., A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII. Reverend Priests [XII. Priests] ([Rheims], 1582); Worthington, T., A Relation of Sixtene Martyrs [Martyrs] (Douay, 1601). I have followed A.C. Southern's attribution of Campion to Alfield, though the poems prefacing the text have also been variously assigned to Henry Walpole, Richard Verstegan and Stephen Vallenger.
26 Martin, G., A Treatyse of Christian Peregrination [Peregrination] ([Paris], 1583).
27 Garnet, H., [A] Treatis[e of Chri]stia[n Renunciation] [Renunciation] ([England, 1593]).
28 Manual of Prayers, Q2 r (first signature series).
29 Clancy, Papist Pamphleteers, 136.
30 Martin, G., Roma Sancta, ed. G.B. Parks (Rome, 1969), 47.
31 Persons, Conversions, iii 367-368 (first signature series).
32 Persons, R., An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholickes in Englande, trans. G.T. (Douay [Rouen], 1582), 76. The quotation is given from this translation of De persecutione Anglicana libellus (1581; Rome, 1582) by G.T. in 1582, but there are no engravings in the translation. The Latin original was also translated into French, German and Italian.
33 Verstegan, R., Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum (Antwerp, 1587). This work ran through several French and Latin editions but was never translated into English. The illustration facing page 199 is taken from the French edition, the Theatre des Cruautez des Heretiques de nostre temps (Antwerp, 1588).
34 Gibbons, J., Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia (1583; Trier, 1588), ed. D.M. Rogers (Farnborough, 1970). The introduction to this edition notes that later editions were supplemented by eyewitness accounts of executions which were published nowhere else.
35 Holmes, Resistance, 47 ff.
36 More, H., The English Jesuits, trans. F. Edwards (London, 1981), 35. This is a translation of the Historia missionis Anglicanae societatis Jesu (St. Omers, 1660).
37 CRS xxxix (1942), 344. Instructions to various Provincials about the collection to be raised for Rheims in 1582.
38 Petti, A.G., 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the Later Elizabethan Period.' RH v (1959), 65; 'A Study of the Life and Writings of Richard Verstegan, (c. 1550-1640).' (Diss: University of London, 1957), 90.
39 Cecil, W., The Execution of Iustice (London, 1583), Civ v, Dii r.
40 Vaux, L., Catechisme or Christian Doctrine [Catechisme] (1568; [Rouen, 1583]), intro. T.G. Law (Manchester, 1885).

41 Bellarmine, R., A Shorte Catechisme of Cardinall Bellarmine illustrated with the Images [Shorte Catechism] (Npp, 1614), 4. A translation of the Dottrina cristiana breve (Rome, 1597) by [R. Gibbons].
42 Bellarmine, R., An Ample Declaration of the Christian doctrine [Ample Declaration] (Rouen, [England, 1602-05]). Translated by Richard Haydock from the Dichiarazione piu copiosa della dottrina cristiana (Rome, 1598).
43 Canisius, P., A Summe of Christian Doctrine [Summe], trans. [H. Garnet] ([London, 1592-96]) from the Summa doctrina Christianae (Vienna, 1555).
44 Garnet translated Peter Canisius's Summe of Christian Doctrine into English. Verstegan translated Peter of Lucca's A Dialogue of Dying Well (Antwerp, 1603) from French.
45 D., T.H., Nine Rockes To Be Avoided [Nine Rockes] (Douay [England], 1600), B3 r, B1 r, A8 r.
46 Alphonso de Madrid, A Breefe Methode... how to serve God [Breefe Method], trans. I.M. ([London, 1602-05]), A2 v.
47 Gee, J., The Foot out of the Snare [Snare] (London, 1624), D3 r.
48 Bennett, H.S., English Books & Readers 1558-1603 (Cambridge, 1965), 271, 112.
49 CRS xxxix (1942), xxxii.
50 Allen, letter to Agazzari, 15/1/82. CRS ix (1911), 41.
51 Gee, Snare, N2 r ff.
52 Fulke, W., The Text of the New Testament... by the Papists... Whereunto is added the Translation... used in the Church of England (London, 1589), A1 r.
53 Southern, Prose, 231; Douay Old Testament, i +2 r.
54 Persons, letter to Agazzari, 8/81. CRS xxxix 84.
55 Southern, Prose, 156.
56 Persons, letter to Agazzari, 8/81. CRS xxxix 85.
57 CRS xxxix (1942), xxxviii.
58 quoted by Arber, E., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D. (London, 1875-1894), iv 18; Wither, G., Schollers Purgatory (London, 1625), 123.
59 Siebert, F.S., Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776 (Urbana, 1952), 40.
60 Greg, W.W., 'Licensers for the press, etc. to 1640. A Biographical Index Based Mainly on Arber's Transcript', Oxford Bibliographical Society N.S. x (1962) 1.
61 Manual of Prayers, ++4 v-5 r.
62 Persons, Directorie, a2 v.
63 Garnet, Rosary, A3 r-v.
64 Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, 544.
65 Luis, Memoriall, 12 (first signature series).
66 Luis, Of Prayer, aiii v.
67 Luis, Of Prayer, avi r-v.

Chapter 3: Meditation as deliberative rhetoric.

Initially, this chapter looks at the effects of rhetoric in English prayer and meditation texts which appeared between 1580 and 1603. Sixteenth-century translations of continental meditations by Luis, Loarte, Scupoli and Estella are examined to provide a theory of meditation based on reason. English works are then distinguished from these, since they admit the passions in meditation. The chapter goes on to suggest that while the reader's use of reason is controlled by recusant texts because of the harm which interpretative liberty can do, employing rhetoric to arouse the affections also causes some unease because of the possibility of 'deceit'. The chapter following this one looks in detail at the meditations' operation of rhetorical techniques of deliberative inventio and memoria, to see if this unease is justified.

The influence of Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, published in their final form only in 1599, has not been examined in this section. The first annotation of the Exercises explains how the exercitant is looking for a sense of proportion, getting 'the soul ready and able to rid itself of all irregular attachments, so that, once rid of them, it may look for and discover how God wills it to regulate its life to secure its salvation'. The person

making the exercises is given the basic facts of the story, to expand on himself. Thus, 'any discovery he makes which sheds light on the story, or brings it home to him more, will give him greater delight and more benefit of soul'.1 'First place is given to the interiorization of the subjects that have been meditated upon'.2 Ignatius looks for spiritual comfort and distress; it is a sign that the retreatant is not performing the meditation properly if these are not felt. Such interior motions are described by the Exercises and the spiritual director is warned to check their origin, deciding whether they appear to be leading the soul away from or towards its creator throughout the whole train of thought. That the Exercises had reached English recusants is evident by their inclusion in Canisius's condensed version as a 'selling point' in the Manuall, or Meditation although they were not published in English themselves until 1736.3 However, although germane to the whole topic of meditation studying the influence of such major Church texts would go far beyond the confines of this thesis. I have confined my comments on foreign manuals to those actually published in English between 1580 and 1603.

Meditation theory in continental texts.

It would be possible to draw a theory of meditation solely from the English texts written after 1592. However, given the number of translations of meditative texts, and also their precedence in time, it seems wise to establish what attitudes towards meditation interested recusant authors in these continental texts and also where the original English works differ from them. This section looks at the way the translations view meditation, then uses domestic and foreign texts to describe its techniques.

Luis de Granada's advice on meditation is based on his concept of prayer as

> a petition we make unto almightie God, for such thinges as are apperteining to our salvation. Howbeit praier is also taken in an other more large sence; to wit: for everie lifting up of our hart unto God.4

He goes on to specify the peculiar quality of meditation amongst other methods of prayer in his larger sense. This quality is consideration, without which the tenets of the faith are like some

> letter closed up, and sealed: in which althowgh there come notable important newes of verie great sorowe, or ioye: yet it moveth us not at all, neither to the one, nor to the other, no more than if we had receyved no letter at all.5

Consideration centres on what Scupoli calls 'a continuall exercise of a profound consideration of things as they are in themselves, and not as they appeare to be'.6 Scupoli

is full of practical advice about escaping from the world in one's heart. He is suspicious of the human will, seeing meditation as a method of cleansing the motives directing it. Hence, he gives a degree of importance to consideration, which allows the meditator to query his motives.

Scupoli's 'profound consideration' is essentially an exercise in geometry, recognizing the different perspectives which exist between human and divine concerns. Persons remarks in exasperation:

> truelie, nothing in reason can be lesse tollerable in the presence of Gods Maiestie, then wheras he hath published a law unto us with so greate charge to beare it in mynde, to ponder in hart, to studdie and meditate upon it both day & night, at home and abrode, at our uprysinge and at our downe lyinge; to make it our cogitation, our discourse, our talke, our exercise, our rumination, and our delight: that we should not withstanding so contemne the same, as to make it, no part of our thought, but rather to flee the knowlegde [sic] thereof.7

A 'true knowlege of the bountie, and greatnes of God, and of our owne littlenesse' can be distinguished in the treatment of the two principal subjects in recusant meditation: the Incarnation, where tension between Christ's manhood and Godhead is manifest, and the Four Last Things.8 In particular, the Nativity and the Passion are seen as points in Christ's life which show the dramatic contrast inherent in the hypostasis. For instance,

Loarte's woodcut and verses on the Nativity are prominent in the introduction to his Exercise of a Christian Life:

> Behould, O thanklesse wretch, behould,
> Howe, to repaire thy fall,
> The God, that rules the rouling [s]kies,
> Lieth borne in brutish Stall.9

In a similar vein, Estella's prefatory verses on the Nativity contrast the magnificence of Christ's kingdom with the humble manger.10 Indeed, the theme of The Contempte of the World is to urge wisdom in discerning the relative values of the world and the prospect of eternal life. When moving from meditations on the Passion to those on the faith, these meditations provide an equally strong contrast between the mysteries dwelt on and man's comprehension of them. Luis's series of erotema addressed to the dying man starts with a demand how he could 'finde in his harte to make a God of his belly, that woulde consider that he shall become there wormes meate?'11

The authors believe that adopting this 'true perspective' entails acting on it. They feel it would be unreasonable, indecorous, not to do this. Once again appealing to a sense of proportion, Estella declares primly that 'it is a monstrous thinge for a man to have his tongue larger then his hande'.12 This attitude is justified by reference to Scripture. In the first Catholic translation of the New Testament for the laity, Martin expounds at length the 'Catholic Epistle' of St. James: St. Paul's solafidianism

included works as an integral part of faith (though one must join Martin in including fervour in devotion as 'work', rather than limiting this term to acts of social justice).

The question of what human means will move this re-perception to deeds is not asked by the continental texts. Luis says airily that 'almightie God wil move him that moveth himselfe, and helpe him that helpeth him selfe'.13 Luis compares consideration to an appetite of the flesh, which will draw the soul to good as naturally as an appetite does the body to food. It must be lack of thought, of consideration, which causes

> manie Christians, which are verie whole and sownd in matters of faith, [to] be yet in there lives verie licentious and dissolute [for they]... beleve generallie, and as it were in a fardel or grosse somme, all such thinges as the Catholike Church beleveth.14

The only mechanism which the foreign texts give for moving from reflection to James's good deeds is Luis's idea that consideration aids understanding and so the operation of other virtues. It allows the reader to call to mind the tenets of faith when attacked by sin; it illuminates the sources of hope in the Gospels; it indicates that God is the proper recipient of love or charity since 'each good thinge is amiable in it selfe, and... everie thinge doth naturallie love his owne proper weale'. Not least,

consideration aids the four cardinal virtues as it cleans the soul, governs the passions, seeks for truth and ignores the present for the things to come.15 For the continental texts meditation gives the clarity to see things in proportion, rather than the excitement to see things with feeling. Effectively, the reader is not wheedled into action by this technique.

The continental manuals' inspecificity about how action is to be achieved can make Catholic meditation sound like the Protestant 'conversion experience'. Lewalski characterizes this experience as a movement from election and justification through to glorification. Most importantly, it is

> wholly of God's causation; the Christian will be aware of the effects within himself, and some theologians assign him duties in preparing his heart to receive the call, but neither the preparation of the heart nor the effectual calling is achieved by his own efforts.16

The distinction lies in that Catholic meditations are about the meditator moving his own will and not about him reflecting on a divine other's action on himself. The two opinions sound similar, however, because the foreign authors do not examine problems caused by the corruption of the will. They ignore the degree of volition in sin and the effort available to man in acting on his knowledge of the good. The second section of this chapter shows that the English texts have appreciated this omission, relying

on arousing the passion to provide a mechanism for acting on consideration.

In two of the four continental authors a reliance on the understanding to rouse the will turns into a positive distrust of the affections. Estella employs Pauline imagery about the manly way to pray, disparaging the use of the natural senses in prayer.

> It is the propertie of litle children when they looke in their bookes, to marke which be the goodliest gay letters in all their bookes, and nothing to regard further the matter that is written in them.

He concludes that consideration is 'the worke of our understanding'.17 Scupoli's eponymous conflict is between the 'two Wills which are in man': reason (the superior) and sense (the inferior). Reason is poised between the divine will and the inferior will, each calling it into service. This model of the soul does not see the senses as part of an individual. Both the divine and sensual are shown as existing outside the boundary 'man', leaving reason as the defining element within. The passions are more likely to be evil than neutral, so the individual must resist their sudden motions, coming from outside. Scupoli fears that, even in meditation, many turn to spiritual exercises which please them rather than to those which tame their affections. They turn to gratifying the passions rather than to obeying the reason.18 Scupoli and Estella

see the senses as 'sinks' for the impressions of the world. They inhibit the true perception of God.

> There is nothing in thyne understanding, but that was before in thy senses: and when thyne understandinge cometh to drinke at the cesterne of thy senses, the worlde playeth Iacobs part, and sticketh there downe certayne whyte populer tree wandes, of faire pleasant delightes to beguyle thee withal, and to infecte thereby thyne understanding.19

In chapter six, such a suspicion of the visible will be contrasted not only with the English meditations but also with the hagiographies, when they celebrate the palpable nature of the Church and the faith.

These two books on contempt for the world are extreme in distrusting the parentage of the affections but they are not alone in seeing one of the manifestations of the passions, 'spiritual refreshment', as irrelevant. Even the most liberal of authors feels that God alone should decide whether readers exult in experiencing

> in them selves the trueth of those wordes of the profett, where he saith: <u>They that trust in our lord, shall change their strength: they shall take winges, as it were, of an Eagle</u>.20

Against positive searching for spiritual refreshment, Estella warns solemnly that

> many commit spirituall adulterie, in appointing with them selves to make sensible devotion, the uttermost end... Thou must not desire thyne owne consolation, although it be spirituall, but onlie the service of God.21

The understanding, Scupoli suggests, should be used to vet the fruits of devotional exercises since 'sensible

devotion' can come from Nature or the devil as well as from grace.

> If there folow not in thee amendment of life, thou art to doubt lest it be of the divell, or els of nature and so much the more, by how much it shalbe accompanied with greater taste of sweetnesse.22

Other continental manuals do not go so far as to suspect this 'sweetnesse' of devilry, though they do warn against being faint-willed when encountering dryness in prayer. Aridity is a temptation to stop the exercise and should be resisted. It is either the mark of God's favour if he allows the reader to exercise his devotion in suffering aridity, or (more austerely) the result of a lack of faith or preparation.23

The question of 'how' to meditate elicits a similar emphasis on external form over feeling, in both English and continental texts. My description will focus on the latter and use recusant meditations for confirmation. In a detailed recipe given by Loarte in Meditations, of the Life and Passion of our Lord meditation is seen as an exercise of the will recommended by the Church. As Garnet says, it uses 'those meanes, by which God determined to gyve thee that thing which thou desirest', that is, formal devotions.24 No doubt the popularity of Loarte's text was bolstered by the sense which it gives to a reader that meditation is not a contemplative gift but a craft to be worked on.

In starting the meditator is to shut out external distractions conscientiously, not just ignoring but settling them.25 For the majority of authors the attitude in which one stands or kneels to pray affects devotion and cannot be left to the whim of the reader. A Breefe Collection Concerning the Love of God towards Mankinde is characteristically military in urging the reader to pray 'reverently standing upright, with your handes ioyned before your breste, & lifted upp'.26 The Manual of Prayers gives precise instructions on how to get up in the mornings: rising, making the sign of the Cross, kneeling.27 Such behaviour physically reinforces an apprehension of the suitor-nature of a relationship with God. In fact, at times the model meditator sounds like an orator persuading a recalcitrant audience, altering his delivery to suit the divine auditor!

> Heere then I present mieself as a poore, and hungrie little whelp before thy riche table; heere I stand beholding thee in the face... Heere I stand changing a thowsand formes, and figures in my hart, and this to bend downe thy hart, that thou take compassion of me.28

When the reader has composed himself, Loarte suggests he examines his conscience and expunges worldly thoughts. A short period follows of slow and attentive reading from the meditation manual. Loarte emphasizes that this reading, which is his first manner of 'meditation' (the 'historicall

or literall'), is the basis for all others, 'knowing wel the letter and historie of that mysterie which thou purposest to have in minde'.29 In giving the Scriptural facts themselves, the manuals can control what is read. However scrupulous they are in directing the reader to outside authorities, there are still signs that the manuals prefer such reading to be limited in scope. During a colloquy between God and St. Catherine of Siena in the Manual Of Prayers, a rule of perfection is set down to render unnecessary 'wholle volumes of scriptures and manifold exhortations'.30 Clear reading instructions are given to the laity:

> it must not be donne in hast, nor (as the fashion is) for curiositie onlie, to reade three or fower leaves in one place, & so in an other: but it mnst [sic] be donne wich such serious attention, as appertaineth to so great a busynes, which (in trueth) is the weightiest that possiblie under heaven may be taken in hand.31

The reader is to go through the points a few at a time, pausing where he finds sweetness; he can always return and finish off the points another time.32 This is a relaxed attitude to the treasures of meditation. They are there to be tapped whenever the reader has time, rather than hastily gathered in before their efficacy seeps away.

The passivity - watching the scenes of the meditation rather than questioning them - can be compared to Protestant meditations, exemplified by Donne's Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions of 1624. Here, the scene is

applied to the meditator's own spiritual history. Donne's meditations start with himself and reach outwards to God. They are solitary meditations: there are no other human figures in the scene apart from Donne and an all but inaccessible God. Nor is his concept of God 'dramatic'; Donne listens to nothing, not even to such gruff and monosyllabic asides as are characteristic of Herbert's Creator. Lewalski suggests such 'anti-typing' underlies all Protestant meditation.

During the reflection which follows the reading the question of what a reader is to do or to experience during it is never confronted. Certain dispositions of soul are to be explored. The meditator should look at events from different angles: with compassion, compunction, a desire to imitate Christ, thanks, admiration, joy, hope and love.33 Certain products can be expected: merit which is common to all works done in charity, the spiritual good requested and a refection of the soul.34 However, consideration itself appears to be about creating an empty period of time when what has been reád revolves in the mind, so advice turns on what the reader must not do to violate this space. He should not

> fixe his imagination overmuch upon the thinges whereupon he meditateth. For besides that it wearieth the head, a man maye also falle into some deceite by reason of this vehemente apprehension, in perswadinge him selfe that he seeth the thinges reallie in verie deede.35

A meditator is not to strain his will, wresting out tears in an access of sensibility.

Pride of the flesh, of the senses, is not the only danger to be avoided in meditation. There is also

> the pride of the understanding being more dangerous then that of the will; for hee that is prowd of wil, wil somtimes obay be cause he houldeth an other mans opinion to be better: But he that doth assuredlie beleeve his owne opinion to be best, by whom can he be cured?36

Thus, he is not to speculate on the mysteries which are presented, raising arguments and comparisons. He should 'eschewe... the superfluous speculation of the understandinge, and endevour to use this matter rather with affections, and feelinges of the will, than with discources, and speculations of the understandinge'.37 The insolence of questioning is often referred to. The creature may not argue with his maker, 'no more then the chamber pot may chalenge the Potter why he was not made a drinking pot'.38 Queries do not indicate interest, they spread heresy, says the preface to the Manual of Prayers. Both British and continental texts encourage a managed passivity, where the reader stands silently before the scene as though present. At the same time, the reason scrupulously monitors its own actions to pre-empt curiosity. Inevitably, part of the subject of the meditation becomes the reader's mind rather than the scene in front of him.

By denying conscious activity the manuals become time-based. Loarte suggests a minimum period of one or two hours at a time to be spent in meditation, a 'rain' rather than a 'dew'. The soul is exposed to God for a minimum period to allow him to deal with his creature directly, like dough exposed to heat. A later section will suggest that rhetorical amplification is used to impede the progress of meditation and prolong the reader's consideration of events.

There are other implications to this refusal to question, however. Annotating 1 Paul Cor., Martin says that 'praiers are not made to teache, make learned, or increase knowledge'. As long as they are correctly recited, the Catholic has done his duty 'whether he understand the wordes of his praier or not'.39 What Martin means is not that the laity's comprehension of the faith is irrelevant: he acknowledges that an intermediary such as a preacher should use words and images to describe it. However, Martin denies that the formal parts of prayer - the Scriptures, the mass, set prayers - need be understood. Other authors feel the same way. The congregation's verbal responses to the mass in the 1599 Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie are not translated from Latin. Only their actions are outlined in English to ensure that the readers do and say the right thing, regardless of whether

they understand what is being said. The responses to 'Our Ladies Litanies' in The Societie of the Rosary are 'worthy to be said even of those which understand them not: in the honour of the Blessed Virgin'.40 (This became a topos of the hagiographies, where many priests refused to pray in English rather than Latin on the scaffold). The informal parts of devotion are subordinated to the formal in the Manual of Prayers, which declares that private devotions should never take the place of ordained public prayer.41

C.N. points out the importance of John's link between 'word' and God in Our Lady Hath A New Sonne, since 'when others write of Christ as a man, he began his Gospell, with insearchable misteries of his Godhead'.42 When it comes to retaining the Vulgate, Martin says that each word from God is of such importance that it must be left as he gave it. Such words should not be translated into the decaying language of the present: if we keep to the old words, we will keep to the old faith. From Martin's point of view, it may be regrettable if the laity have insufficient Latin to let them ponder on God's word without help but it is wrong to run the risk of misrepresenting this word in an attempt to translate it. Martin leaves certain words untranslated lest he miss their exact sense. He might misrepresent the 'mira profunditas' over which Augustine exclaims.43 The anonymous translator of Campion's Rationes decem says that for the most part he has translated freely

and with 'pathos'. However, he must follow Augustine in not doing this 'where the Subiect of the Translation is the sacred Writt of God, in the translating whereof a literal playnesse is the best Eloquence; since this Subiect cannot brooke, either adding to, or taking from'.44 In part, this fear is of inkhornism which could warp the understanding of prized texts from the past. As Abraham Fraunce remarks, words are as temporary and fragile as leaves so one must keep to 'that phrase whiche is most usuall'.45

There was also a feeling that if texts remained in Latin there was some check on the quality of people reading them and on the production of too many new interpretations. Whatever its view of 'the art of propaganda', the Church was aware of the danger of easy access to printed matter by the laity as never before. Session four of Trent insisted that no-one was to oppose their own interpretation of Scriptures against that of the Church. In 1557 the Index librorum prohibitorum was set up and the Congregation Of The Faith was enlisted in 1571 to oversee the workings of the Index. In two casuist manuals which have survived from college classes of the last decade of the century, some detailed thought is given to when it is right to read a heretical work.46 There is a constant tension between the need to use texts in the mission and distrust of the consequent freedoms the laity may be able to take with the faith: a struggle over interpretative liberty.

There may have been some reason for this anxiety. Since the first Jesuits on the mission were instructed rather to converse with gentlemen than with persons of the lower class, many of the texts produced are addressed to the unlearned.47 There are frequent references to the cost of books and how the size of each volume has been pared down to suit the reader's pocket.48 Anthony Copley insinuated that personal targeting of the powerful, leaving the poor untended, was prompted by covetousness.49 In fact the technique of 'trickledown' had been used by the Jesuits with great success in other mission fields. So the first audience the texts had to face was simple, unlearned and anxious that its traditional beliefs be reinforced. Full translation could let an ignorant and presumptuous member of the laity become 'teacher, controller and judge of the Doctors, Church and Scripture', as Martin fulminates.

David Crane has compared translations of the Imitatio Christi by a Protestant, Thomas Rogers, in 1580 and a Catholic, Anthony Hoskins, in 1613. He concludes that the latter shows a greater fidelity to the original text, suggesting that this is because the wording of the Imitatio Christi is treasured as a Catholic work.50 Perhaps another reason for closeness to the original is that Catholic translators tried to attain transparency as they concentrated on subject rather than reader. Thus, in many

catechisms common Latin prayers are given not with translations but with paraphrases. In Jacobus Ledisma's catechism of 1597, The Christian Doctrine, the Salve Regina is given in full. After it, the Master asks the Disciple what they have just said. Rather than translating the prayer, the Disciple simply replies 'other praises of the same Virgin, demaunding withall her holy favour and helpe'.51 Although the text is too precious to be given in English, a temporary sense can be transmitted which can be revised if erroneous.

The Rheims New Testatment is heavily annotated to reduce the danger of individual exegesis consequent on the production of a vernacular text:

> we have also set forth reasonable large ANNOTATIONS, thereby to shew the studious reader in most places perteining to the controversies of this time, both the heretical corruptions and false deductions, & also the Apostolike tradition.52

The Protestant William Fulke's Defense of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures gloats that the Catholics have had to translate the New Testament and notes that it is

> pestred with so many annotations, both false and unduetifull, by which, under colour of the authoritie of holie Scriptures, they seeke to infecte the mindes of the credulous readers.53

Fulke is accusing Martin of reversing the use of the ethos of the Bible, so that the annotations, for Martin, are the real text and the Scriptures a set of authorities which are

used to decorate them. Yet Persons's attack on Sir Francis Hastings, in A Temperate Ward-word of 1599, loftily pities the reader without annotations and guidance from the Church: 'if the same reader by ignorance did take out of the true woords a fals sence; then sucked he poyson in steed of wholesom doctrine'. He cites William Hackett's case with barely concealed triumph; the perfect example of bad reading habits!54

Such an attitude to translation can be contrasted with the vigorous and uninhibited way in which secular translators of the sixteenth century believed that they were enriching the nation with the knowledge and literature of other countries. The two traditions of translation clashed, to produce Martin's complaint that 'some wilful people do mutter, that the Scriptures are made for all men, and that it is of envie that the Priestes do keepe the holy booke from them'. He immediately denies this suggestion: 'no, no, the church doth it to keepe them from blind ignorant presumption, and... falsi nominis scientiam [or] knowledge falsely so called: and not to embarrê them from the true knowledge'.55 Yet no matter how tender of the text, the recusant translators appear to fail to recognize that Scriptures do teach through the understanding. Do we meet, once again, a scrupulous care for the subject rather than the audience? Is it a failure of charity, as Peter Martyr's Common Places expostulates? Fearing to translate

raises the question of whether 'everie good land that hath a bauke or bunch, be left unmanured... Was this Christs & his Apostles maner of teaching?'56 Certainly, the ownership of the Scriptures is being handed to those who are verbally competent. This is a sort of reverse censorship: rather than the reader censoring the text, the text censors the reader. The recantation by Lawrence Caddy, reported by Allen, makes this technique clear when it congratulates Aristotle for using

> hard and difficult termes in Philosophie to drive awaie from the reading of his bookes those that were simple and unlearned... lest they should diminish and abase the reverend maiestie of philosophie by their foolish and doting expositions.57

Martin's preface to the New Testament, dealing with reasons for the use of a Latin rite, gives an explanation why there is a division between the understanding necessary for the ritual and the informal parts of devotion. Most of Martin's reasons are political, founded on the recognition that having a single language for the litany and Scripture keeps unity in the Church. However, one reason refers to the effect of participating in a rite which is unintelligible: the efficacy of any sacrament is not dependent on the congregation's understanding. 'Sacrament' here is extended by Martin to include public prayers, where he sees words themselves having a 'sacramental' value. He follows Jerome in seeing in the start of the Apocalypse 'as many sacraments or mysteries as wordes'. In this model,

communication does not need to be participative. The circumstance, the form, of being at prayer is of itself meritous and sufficient, since prayer is not regarded here as communicative.

Such an attitude is justified when speaking of ritual prayer. However, meditation differs from this, in that at its core lies interpretative liberty in 'tasting' the scenes. Meditation sketches wait to be filled in by the reader's imagination. Of course the material used is traditional and traditionally explained, yet the reader must still be able to attend to the points which mean most to him alone. Ignatius's second annotation tells the spiritual director that he is not to describe everything for the meditator but leave him to sketch scenes himself. Luis remarks comfortably that it is not necessary

> everie tyme we go to meditation, to consider all the principall poyntes, that are there particularlie noted: but it shall suffise to take two, or three of them, moe, or lesse, according as the devotion, and tyme, that everie one hath, shall require.58

Tension between the writers' inclination to control the meditator's response and the freedom implicit in this method of prayer is epitomized by Loarte's Meditations. This has both terse meditations - barely more than a recital of the facts of each event in the Passion - and long and autocratic prayers, dictating to the reader's imagination and telling him what to pull out from each

scene. In effect, these prayers act in the same way as do the annotations to the New Testament.

Unlike the Protestant meditations, for recusants it is only in the prayer which follows reflection on the scene that imaginary participation is viewed as relevant to the meditator's life. The meditator returns to apply his meditation to his own life, in prayer. Most of the prayers retailed in the manuals are long, highly patterned and for reading rather than memorizing or using as ejaculations, so that a reader's response during his prayer can be supervised. Indeed, the Manuall, or Meditation believes that reading is so necessary to meditation that without godly books people are unable to pursue godly exercises.59 Yet prayer is not to be confined to the meditation. The meditator determines to keep the devotional feelings engendered in the exercise throughout the day.60 Ejaculatory prayer at later hours ensures that the heat of devotion will not be lost (see the arrow piercing the heart of the Paraclete, in the illustration following page 138).

Devotional reading about the events of the meditation is always to be subordinated to such prayer.

> As S. Augustine saieth: It is very good both to read, and to praie, if we can doe both the one, and the other: but in case we cannot performe them both, then praier is better then readinge: But because in praier there is some times labour, and in readinge a facilitie, therefore our miserable harte doth oftentimes refuse the labour

> of praier, and runneth to the delighte of readinge.61

The Methode, to meditate on the... Rosarie sees a reluctance to pray as the result of prayer's origin. In reading, God speaks and the reader is receptive. The Manual of Prayers gives a list of invocations which may not be omitted from private devotions because they were given not by men but by the 'holy spirit of God, the Author and delyverer of all trueth'.62 In prayer, man speaks to God. The effort to communicate must come from the meditator, so lapsing into silence is a sign of laziness.63 This contrasts with the Protestant tradition of giving the Lord 'space' to speak, within the person praying. When George Herbert's verse trails away into groans it fails as poetry but succeeds as prayer: the Paraclete has taken over as Advocate. Thus, Scripture is more often used in Protestant prayers of the period, 'the fruit of a tradition so pervasive as to constitute almost a language rather than a source', as Helen White has noted, a language which can replace human utterance.64

However, when the Catholic meditator lapses into silence he is refusing to wrestle with his will to do something which tires him or bores him. The Catholic texts have arrogated to themselves mastery over the

Word, in devotion. Shugar has concluded the same of Tridentine rhetorics:

> they pursue a... deep-seated relationship between theology and language relevant to the demands of popular preaching. Their sacramental orientation, which perceives sensible signs as reflections of invisible realities, separates them from most of their Protestant contemporaries, for whom artistic language masked rather than revealed the power of the Spirit.65

Language is not seen by the recusant texts as a post-lapsarian necessity, a reduction in the purity of pre-linguistic communication. No Catholic text, continental or English, denies that it is possible to be so enraptured by devotion that language is irrelevant, a human invention distracting from God's word. Mainly however, they see the high points of religious sensation as capable of being expressed. As Luis says,

> it is the propertie of devoute sentences (beinge saiede with an earnest minde and attention) to wounde the harte, and to lifte it up unto almightie God: the which devout sentences are so much the more behovefull and necessarie for us, by how much we finde our spirite to be more colde, and distracted.66

This is also Augustine's declaration in the prologue to De doctrina Christiana, that God accepts the tribute of the human voice even when praising the ineffable. 'Human nature would have been lowered in dignity if God had seemed unwilling to transmit His word to men through human means.'67

Loarte does allow 'sighes and grones', but only when the meditator cannot think of words and has to use these in their place. Mutterings are not a sign of God talking to us!68 The texts will only fade into silence as a sort of occupatio, calling attention to the godly magnificence beyond human description. Cheerfully splitting up the Trinity, Chambers's Palestina says that it can praise the Son of God but not God himself: the Emperor of Heaven is 'ineffable' and 'incomparable'. The sole fulmination against noise (and that in a continental text alone) is directed against communication with the outside world and not against the inner voice speaking out.

> As the pot that is covered will sooner be hoat, & cause the liquor that is in it the sooner to boyle, then that which is uncovered, by reason of keepinge in the vapors, so if thou doest keepe thy mouth shut up close by silence, thou shalt the sooner wax warme and fervent in devotion and gods service.69

Thus, at the height of a meditation the Manual of Prayers is able to breathe out its devotion in words:

> O derely-beloved, derely-beloved, derely-beloved: O the most derely-beloved of all derely-beloved: O my onely beloved. O my freshe and flourishinge spouse: O my mellifluous and hony-sweete spouse: O the swetenesse of my harte...70

During the very moment of conversion within I.C.'s Marie Magdalen, she has a whole 'parlament' of senses discussing her soul's fate: Memory brings forward others who have been saved, Contrition will beg for her, Strong Opinion

believes she will be helped, Free Will entertains the idea.71

Differences between Catholic and Protestant opinions of expressing devotion may stem from more than Shugar's 'sacramental orientation'. In Direccions for Speech and Style, John Hoskyns said that misrepresenting an object by careless delivery does not merely defeat the purpose of communication but injures 'the right proporcion & Coherence of things in themselves soe wrongfully expressed'.72 This restates Ascham's 'ye know not what hurt ye do to learning that care not for words but for matter and so make a divorce betwixt the tonge and the heart'.73 These ideas must apply to a conditional truth, which can be marred by expression since its meaning is dependent on re-construction by a receiver. However, an absolute truth, the nature of God, cannot be dependent on the cognitive architecture brought to bear upon it. Moreover, Catholic texts do not suggest they can even begin to encompass God's praise, so they are far from the immodesty of declaring they cannot try - a suggestion implying that one has. In The Rosarie of our Ladie, Worthington justifies verbal praise of Mary as necessary, however inadequate it is to capture the subject. Human utterance cannot match divine but it still has a place:

> shal we therfore be silent and say nothing at al therof?... No, in no wise can we be so excused; but so much the more we are bound to reioice, and as we

> can (seing we can not as we would) utter forth the praises of the mother of mercie.74

In summary, the recusant meditation theory centres on consideration. This turns out to be a reasoned apprehension of the majesty of God and the littleness of man. The process of meditation is of formal steps which employ a memory of reading about the Incarnation and the faith, so that the reader stands passively before a scene from Scripture or doctrine, assenting to it in reason. A final act of prayer completes the exercise, by seeing the relevance of the scene to the meditator's life and this should issue in good works. Two themes have emerged in this examination. The free use of the understanding in devotional texts is controlled by the authors for pious reasons. Also, the heights of human devotion are seen as amenable to expression. Both themes will be taken up again in the concluding chapter.

The following section suggests that while using the techniques described above, the English meditation texts are more aware of their audience. Unlike the continental texts, they refuse to suppress the passions aroused by free meditation on the texts and, to some extent, uphold the idea of interpretative liberty.

Rhetorical aspects of the English meditations.

Most continental authors talk to a knowledgeable audience which is predisposed to listen. Estella's translator presents his meditations in a 'kendall coate' rather than a 'purple Roabe' to the sisters of St. Bridget's, since he has no need to persuade them to meditate.75 Loarte writes meditations for his fraternity's use, even though he says there are many such works available.76 Luis acknowledges that although the laity will use his text, it will be religious who spend most time over it.77

However, the English texts mainly address the layman. In the absence of a priest, meditation will probably not be done as a supererogatory act by motivated people. It will be performed as a duty instead of those religious duties which demand a priest; a devoted audience will be far less likely. It is rare that the texts will follow Martin in openly admitting that the reader's response must be taken into account:

> upon special consideration of the present time, state, and condition of our countrie, unto which, divers thinges are either necessarie, or profitable and medicinable now, that otherwise in the peace of the Church were neither much requisite, nor perchance wholy tolerable,

but the English authors tacitly admit it by recognizing that most meditation will be done amidst the distractions of a working day.78 They try hard to gain the interest of

their readers. Bucke, for example, obligingly arranges his work to this end:

> and of what good trade, occupacion or qualiiie [sic] so ever you are, whiles you goe about your necessarie businesse in your vocation, or whiles you are travaling by the waye: or in tillinge or plowinge the grownd that hit may bring great increase, you may not withstanding, some-tyme among... repeat or thinke upon the Pater noster and Aue Mary... and of the verses, or of some of them set downe in the table folowinge.79

This corresponds to what Bossy calls the 'domestication of the mass', a necessary move by the recusant community to re-site devotional practices away from public and into private areas.

Other means of persuasion are used. The readers of the Directorie are flattered with the assumption that they can choose, they have control in making an election to good or evil. To take another example, while Persons must include conciliatory chapters on the magnificence of the rewards waiting for the virtuous, Luis's translator merely regrets that the descriptions of hell will make some sinful laymen uncomfortable. Some texts rely on an ostentatious modesty to coax to them the reader's favour: Breefe Collection coyly calls itself 'a widdow's mite' of prayers; Loarte's translator refers to his work as a red rose to nestle in his friends' bosoms.80 English meditations have heeded Ascham's astute comment, that 'more papists be made by your merry books of Italy than by your earnest books of Louvain', and have provided the persuasion of pleasure.81

Meditation texts could not rely solely on the majesty and rectitude of their subject to grasp the attention of readers, but if a sceptic like Augustine could be tempted to Church by ambrosial rhetoric, why not the church-papist and the Protestant? In rhetorical terms, the English writers are following Cicero's suggestion that 'the prudent and cautious speaker is controlled by the reception given by his audience - what it rejects has to be modified'.82 The idea was emphasized in the rhetoric handbooks. As the ad Herennium warns, even if 'the matter is true, all [persuasive conventions] must none the less be observed... for often the truth cannot gain credence otherwise'.83

If the meditation texts function rhetorically they function as deliberative orations, initially aimed at persuading the reader to value virtue and to will to seek it. It is the persuasion that instruction is no longer enough which urges Persons to compose the Directorie.

> A breefe Cathechisme instructeth a man sufficiently in his faith; but al the bookes and sermons that we can read and heare, can not persuade the least part of men to performe so much in life, as by their vocation is required.84

As Luis notes, 'men do sinne, not so much for want of understanding, as for wante of will' so the texts use the 'erected wit' of rhetorical persuasiveness to correct the 'infected will'.85 Such recognition was common. Here is Sidney using it to justify the pleasure of poetry:

> that moving is of a higher degree than teaching, it may by this appear, that it is well nigh both the cause and effect of teaching. For who will be taught, if he be not moved with desire to be taught? And what so much good doth that teaching bring forth... as that it moveth one to do that which it doth teach?86

Movere, the third element of the orator's duties to teach, to delight and to move, is defined by the meditations as Sidney has done and less narrowly than rhetorical manuals would have it, being not just emotion which is aroused but movement also, issuing both in prayer and good works. Like the continental texts, British authors praise the ability to move us to 'welldoing and not wellknowing only'. Thus, the Manual of Prayer is built about Tobit 12: 'Prayer, is good, with Fastyng and Almes'.87 As the 1585 translation of Thomas a Kempis sagely remarks 'at the daye of iudgement it shall not be asked of us, what we have read, but what we have done'.88

So since, in Quintilian's words, 'when our audience find it a pleasure to listen, their attention and their readiness to believe what they hear are both alike increased', the English texts start to make their matter carry weight not only by logic but also by pleasure in the style.89 They are prepared to involve the affections in a positive way, using rhetorical techniques to sway the will through the senses and emotion. These are no longer 'sinks' for impressions; indeed, the Manual of Prayers suggests a

reader devoutly rejoices in the use of his senses by remembering who bestowed them.90

In the preface to Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares, Robert Southwell examines the use of the passions at length. They are the 'sequels of our nature' and given us for good: 'there is no passion but hath a serviceable use either in the pursuite of good, or avoydance of evill'.91 He urges the reader to use them to sway a rebellious will - using a sort of deliberative rhetoric on himself. Southwell lists the affections to show they can even be the genesis of virtues: love is 'the infancie of true charitie', hatred and anger are necessary to give warmth and a cutting edge against faults, audacity is the armour of strength, 'breaking the ice to the hardest exploites'. For Southwell, 'well used' means discreetly used, since 'excesse in vertue [is] vice'. The exception to this is in prayer. The holy saints had perfect passions because they were 'commaunded by such a love as could never exceede, because the thing loved was of infinite perfection'.92 Puttenham makes the same point: 'we cannot exhibit overmuch praise, nor belye him any wayes, unlesse it be... by scarsitie of praise'.93 Thus, texts describing the Passion or Nativity were free to invoke in the reader as much feeling as they could. It is interesting that the increasing emphasis on the passions in devotional texts parallels the extension of the word 'devotion' in English

from a purely religious use to one of intense secular love, in this period. 'Meditation' on the other hand, in the sense of thinking deeply, had been in use in both secular and religious contexts since the fourteenth century.

It is not just style which can be amended to suit the reader. Factual or textual accuracy is disregarded. A frequently used and profitable topos is what 'probably' happened, even though the Scriptures do not state it. For example, many texts describe Christ meeting the Virgin before he met the Magdalen after the Resurrection. The commonplace claim to be sweetening sour truths by amending them for ignorant minds, 'excusing' John Harington's translation of Orlando Furioso, is used sincerely by the English meditations rather than as a topos to deflect moral criticism.94

In the Arte... of Rhethoryke, Leonard Cox points out that in deliberative speeches there is no need to repeat the facts; everyone knows these and is waiting to see how they are manipulated to support the interpretation which an orator offers.95 Meditations are based on Catholic commonplaces from Scripture and dogma. This material is so well known through Catholic catechisms and annotations that the prefabricated blocks can easily be built up into a reader's private imaginative construction. In other words,

the written meditations act as 'copia' books for devotion rather than instruction books about the events.

On the surface, the reader has been elevated in status by the English writers, from someone who is instructed to someone who must be won over. But is this emancipation genuine? Influential Protestant critics of the period thought not. Samuel Harsnet accused papists of actively appealing to fools and women and not to the mature men of a community. John Gee said sardonically of the mass that 'as it is in Latin to the Vulgar, so it is Greek to the Priest... Saint Paul... surely intended, that in the Church there should be at least one who should be of an higher forme than an idiote'.96 I would have to agree with these critics. The writers assume a paternal tone when they discuss the translation of Scripture or the interpretion of events in the meditations:

> Heretikes and ill men that follow their owne spirit and know nothing, but their private fantasie, and not the sense of the holy Church and Doctors, must needes abuse them [selves] to their damnation.97

The same assumption that it holds a monopoly on truth appears in rhetoric, a theory of composition which declares that it makes

> use of vices to serve its ends, since it speaks the thing that is not and excites the passions... For judges are not always enlightened and often have to be tricked to prevent them falling into error.98

Rhetoric does not cause this superior attitude in the recusant texts, but rhetoric does provide a convenient mode for its expression.

Any use of rhetoric can be seen as fraudulent, however pious the situation, since it aims to move the will through pleasure aroused by expression. Obviously, recusant writers cannot espouse barefaced deceit, no matter how pragmatic the rhetoric handbooks can be about it. This is made clear by Cyprian Soarez, the sixteenth-century Catholic lecturer on rhetoric who was selected as a standard author for study by the Ratio studiorum of 1599. De arte rhetorica was first published in 1562 and since the late 1570s had been widely in use in Jesuit schools and colleges. It is a compendium of the rules of rhetoric, drawn mainly from Cicero and Quintilian though including some reference to Horace, Aristotle and Virgil. Soarez fulminates against the pragmatism of Cicero and Quintilian.

> Eloquence will recover its marvelous beauty, if there is a pruning of the vanity of errors into which it has fallen through the fault of men ignorant of God's laws...
> Let it be understood that it is wicked to envelop an audience in darkness so that they do not perceive the truth, or by speaking, to corrupt their decisions and their way of thinking, which was done time and again by Greek and Roman orators.99

Soarez does not condemn rhetoric itself; indeed, it is of a 'divine and heavenly beauty' which can be used to help inadequate language express something of the glory of God. However, he omits to deal with whether a deliberate

decoration of the truth which the writer is trying to convey can be seen as obscuring the vision of the audience, weighting this truth in a direction which the writer endorses. Decisions made by an audience which has been persuaded by the use of rhetoric have been made corruptly, in Soarez's terms, although they may be right themselves.

Soarez's initial annexation of the definition of rhetoric, taking the 'art of speaking well' to mean clothing virtuous thoughts in carefully chosen words, is eccentric and does not wholly satisfy even himself. He warns that 'if we were to teach the ability to speak to people who lack... virtues, we would certainly not be training orators but would be providing mad-men with weapons'.100 Quintilian also tries to buttress rhetoric against the latter criticism. He starts by denying the title to the evil man:

> I affirm that no man can be an orator unless he is a good man. For it is impossible to regard those men as gifted with intelligence who on being offered the choice between the two paths of virtue and of vice choose the latter.

Quintilian goes on to add further reasons why evil men cannot excel at oratory. Without the peace of mind consequent on virtue there is insufficient time to study oratory in depth. None but a good man is able to speak of the praiseworthy and honourable, since the wicked man cannot understand what they are. In praising virtue his tongue falters, since it means speaking against his real thoughts.101 But Soarez and Quintilian plead too much to

seem at ease on this point. At heart, they acknowledge that rhetoric is an art that can deceive and that, like the passions, its moral value depends on the uses to which it is put. Quintilian starts and ends his work with an ineffectual protest: 'no one can be a true orator unless he is also a good man and, even if he could be, I would not have it so'.102

Both Cicero and Quintilian suggest of rhetoric that in 'every free nation... this one art has always flourished above the rest... what achievement [is] so mighty and glorious as that the impulses of the crowd, the consciences of the judges, the austerity of the Senate, should suffer transformation through the eloquence of one man?' The statement seems to contradict itself. How can a nation be said to be free, if advantage of the uneloquent is taken by the oratorically self-conscious? Again, there is 'no more excellent thing than the power, by means of oratory, to get a hold on assemblies of men, win their good will, direct their inclinations wherever the speaker wishes'.103 This power denies free decision to the audience and it is this denial of free will which can be laid at the door of the recusant meditations, rather than the more theatrical charge of deceit. The Church characterizes man as a creature of free will, voluntarily able to choose or not to choose some good.104 Meditation concentrates on moulding the will; it is written from a superior attitude. It

suggests that the meditator is able to choose freely and then denies him the opportunity to do so.

Soarez is alone in his unease about rhetoric. Catholic meditations simply concentrate on the practical good which comes out of persuasion. There is a Pauline willingness, on the part of the British authors at least, to be all things to all men - provided these poses have the right effect on the motivation of the reader. As Fraunce puts it,

> orators, as referring all to perswasion and victory, omit orderly distributions; obscure thinges purposely; amplifie; digresse; flatter; insinuate; alter; chaunge; and turne all upside downe... that with forcible thinges in the beginning, the auditors may bee woonne.105

While Herbert demurs over whether he may use the 'quaint words, and trim invention' of poetry, for a Southwell or a Verstegan the issue is far simpler.106 They will re-use to good purpose, with cheery bluffness, arts dedicated to secular purposes.

> The vaine conceits of loves delight
> I leave to Ovids arte,
> Of warres and bloody broyles to wryte
> Is fit for Virgils parte.

Still using 'verse and voyce', the subject changes:

> But unto our eternal king
> My verse and voyce I frame
> And of his saintes I meane to sing
> In them to praise his name.107

Not that the reader is allowed to lust after the garlic and onions of secular art. Verstegan primly tells him that it would be unseemly to write about things unconnected with God. This is blackmail. The inference is that it would be unseemly for a reader not to want to read religious texts rather than about 'warres' and 'loves delight'!

All this sounds very far from the 'managed passivity' which has been described as being at the centre of meditation. How can the meditator recollect himself, if he is anxiously compiling devotional matter and arranging it affectively? The answer lies in a sense of time. In the reading, he is wholly employed in absorbing the historical facts of the meditation and establishing a imaginative impression of the physical scene. Only then comes the pause for consideration, when the reality of what has been pictured is felt. The aids to construction, the text and the imagination, are put away. The picture becomes part of memory, suggesting that it comes from reality rather than being self-constructed. Paradoxically, by insisting that not only their work but also the meditator's must be consumed and discarded, the authors have conferred existence on it.

To sum up, the latter half of the chapter has noted a move by the British texts to rhetorize meditation. This presents them with the problem of whether they are prepared

to let the reader control the text, since they must write for his pleasure before they can write for his good. A third element - conscious deceit - supplements the two tensions previously outlined, of allowing interpretative liberty and querying the possibility of communication. The chapter has mentioned the material used in the meditations, which the next chapter will examine as rhetorical invention or copia in the English meditations. The role that memory has to play in allowing the reader to absorb invention's products will then be described.

1 Loyola, I., The Spiritual Exercises Of Saint Ignatius, trans. T. Corbishley (1963; Wheathampstead, 1973), 12.
2 NCE. 'Spiritual Exercises', xiii 580.
3 Manuall, or Meditation, A4 r. The adaptation in this text is suitable for independent use. The Exercises themselves were designed as a manual for spiritual directors to use with those making the exercises and so may have been considered inappropriate for the circumstances of the mission, where priests were scarce. [Roberts, Anthology, 27].
4 Luis, Of Prayer, Aiii r.
5 Luis, Of Prayer, Bii v.
6 Scupoli, Conflict, B3 v.
7 Persons, Directorie, A4 r-v.
8 Scupoli, Conflict, A7 v.
9 Loarte, Exercise, ++iii r.
10 Estella, Contempte, A1 v.
11 Luis, Of Prayer, [A]aii r.
12 Estella, Contempte, D4 r.
13 Luis, Of Prayer, Bvi v.
14 Luis, Of Prayer, Aviii r, Aiv r.
15 Luis, Of Prayer, Bv v ff.
16 Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, 16.
17 Estella, Contempte, D9 r, T9 v.
18 Scupoli, Conflict, B10 v, B12 v.
19 Estella, Contempte. I12 r.
20 Luis, Of Prayer, Cii r, quoting Psalm 102.
21 Estella, Contempte, S11 v.

22 Scupoli, Conflict. F11 v.
23 Loarte, Meditations, Ki r.
24 Estella, Contempte, Z8 r.
25 Loarte, Meditations, Iiv r.
26 Breefe Collection, A9 v.
27 Manual of Prayers, A2 v ff (first signature series).
28 Luis, Spiritual Doctrine, M6 r-v.
29 Loarte, Meditations, Bii r.
30 Manual of Prayers, E2 v (third signature series).
31 Persons, Directorie, B2 r.
32 Loarte, Meditations, Kiii r.
33 Loarte, Meditations, Bii r-Bv v.
34 Luis, Of Prayer, biv v.
35 Luis, Of Prayer, Nnv v.
36 Scupoli, Conflict, B6 v-B7 r.
37 Luis, Of Prayer, Oovi r.
38 NT, 3Eiv r.
39 NT, 3Miv r.
40 Garnet, Rosary, M11 r.
41 Manual of Prayers, ++5 r.
42 C.N., Our Ladie, F3 r.
43 NT, ciii v.
44 Campian Englished. Or A Translation of the Ten Reasons, in which Edmund Campian... insisted in his Challenge [Campian Englished] ([?Rouen], 1632), 27.
45 Fraunce, A., The Lawiers Logike [Logike] (London, 1588), ++2r.
46 CRS lxvii (1981) 49. The answer is never if done for curiosity's sake, otherwise only when read to stop the Church being brought into scandal. Even then, it is necessary (except in cases of urgency) to request permission from your confessor. The concept of browsing does not exist in these manuals.
47 Instructions to Persons and Campion, 14/4/80. CRS xxxix (1942), 320.
48 For example, the preface of the Manuall, or Meditation boasts that it is a collection of prayers and instructions which saves buying too many books.
49 Copley, A., Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Iesuited Kinseman ([London], 1602), C2 v.
50 Crane, D., 'Studies in Recusant Prose: the English Translations of the Imitatio Christi in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.' (Diss: University of Oxford, 1968), 102.
51 Ledisma, J., The Christian Doctrine, trans anon. ([England], 1597), B2 r.
52 NT, bii v.
53 Fulke, W., A Defense of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures (London, 1583), dedicatory epistle.
54 Persons, R., A Temperate Ward-word, to... Francis Hastinges [Ward-word] ([Antwerp], 1599), B3 v.
55 NT, aiv r.

56 Martyr, P., The Common Places of... Peter Martyr [Common Places] ([London, 1583]), Aii v-Aiii r.
57 Allen, W., A True Report of... Iohn Nicols [Nicols] (Rheims, 1583), D2 r.
58 Luis, Of Prayer, Dviii v-Ei r.
59 Manuall, or Meditation, A2 r.
60 Loarte, Meditations, Kv r.
61 Luis, Of Prayer, NNiiii r.
62 Manual of Prayers, a3 r. These are those prayers taken straight from Scripture.
63 Methode, B4 r.
64 White, H.C., The Tudor Books of Private Devotion (Madison, 1951), 49.
65 Shugar, Rhetoric, 79.
66 Luis, Of Prayer, Nni v.
67 Augustine, DDC, 23.
68 Loarte, Exercise, L5 r.
69 Estella, Contempte, V7 v.
70 Manual of Prayers, B5 v (first signature series).
71 I.C., Magdalen, B3 v-B4 r.
72 Hoskyns, J., Direccions For Speech and Style, in The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns 1566-1638, ed. L.B. Osborn (New Haven, 1937), 116.
73 Ascham, R., The Schoolmaster (London, 1570), ed. L.V. Ryan (New York, 1967), 115.
74 Worthington, Rosarie, E2 r.
75 Estella, Contempte, A4 r.
76 Loarte, Meditations, [Avii r].
77 Luis, Of Prayer, Di v.
78 NT, aii r.
79 Bucke, Beades, Fii v-Fiii r.
80 Breefe Collection, A2 r; Loarte, Meditations, [Aii v].
81 Ascham, The Schoolmaster, 68.
82 Cicero, De partitione oratoria [De partitione], trans. H. Rackham (London, 1942), iv 15.
83 ad Herennium, I ix.
84 Persons, Directorie, a3 v.
85 Luis, Of Prayer, Ci v.
86 Sidney, P., 'A Defence of Poetry' ['Defence']. Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney (London, 1595), ed. K. Duncan-Jones and J. van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), 91.
87 Manual of Prayers, titlepage.
88 a Kempis, Folowing, Biv v.
89 Quintilian, Institutio, VIII iii 5.
90 Manual of Prayers, A2 r (first signature series).
91 Southwell, Magdalen, A2 v, A4 r.
92 Southwell, Magdalen, A3 r-A4 v.
93 Puttenham, 'Arte of English Poesie' (London, 1589), ed. Smith, G., Elizabethan Critical Essays [Essays] (Oxford, 1904), ii 30.
94 Harington, J., 'Orlando Furioso' (London, 1591), Smith, Essays, ii 220.

95 Cox, L., The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke (London, c.1530), ed. F.I. Carpenter (Chicago, 1899), 68.
96 Harsnet, S., A Declaration of egregious Popish impostures in casting out of Devils [Imposture] (London, 1603), D2 v; Gee, Snare, C2 v. Gee describes his escape from Catholicism and waspishly retails scandalous aspects of Church practice.
97 NT, bi v.
98 Quintilian, Institutio, II xvii 26-28.
99 Soarez, C., De arte rhetorica [Rhetorica] (1562; Venice, 1568), trans. L.J. Flynn (Diss: University of Florida, 1955), 113-114. The Rhetorica went through fourteen editions between 1557 and 1675 [Murphy, J.J., Renaissance Rhetoric. A Short-Title Catalogue (London, 1981)].
100 Soarez, Rhetorica, 120.
101 Quintilian, Institutio, XII i 3-13.
102 Quintilian, Institutio, I ii 3.
103 Cicero, De oratore, trans. H. Rackham and E. Sutton (London, 1942), 1 viii 30-31.
104 NCE. 'Free will', vi 89.
105 Fraunce, Logike, Hhiii r.
106 Herbert, G., 'Jordan 2', The Works of George Herbert, ed. F.E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), 102.
107 Verstegan, 'Preface', Odes, A2 v.

Chapter 4: Inventio and memoria in English meditations.

This chapter starts by describing modes of rhetorical invention and suggesting that amplification grew out of the conflation of these under the status system. It moves on to replace Martz's view that invention was fundamental to meditation with the idea that meditation is based on amplification. Finally, it examines meditations where amplification occurs in the memory rather than on the pages of recusant texts.

Rhetorical invention.

One of the most clear summaries of rhetorical invention, Richard Lanham's Handlist of Rhetorical Terms, gives methods of discovering matter for speech which can be grouped into three. The first set of techniques deals with different kinds of proof and the way in which certainty is acquired, through induction or deduction from these. The sorts of facts to be considered in any type of case are listed by the manuals, in these methods. The second class of techniques involves looking at areas of knowledge from which topics can be drawn. These topics can be special, in that they depend on the speaker knowing the area concerned; such topics are effectively the same as the proof described

above. They can also be common, that is, questions which can be asked of every item (for example, about its species, genus, causes and effects). Any topic found in this way can, in its turn, be formally interrogated to produce further matter. The most common list of topics appealed to are those of Aristotle and Cicero, divided into general or particular arguments which aim to encompass all that can be said about a subject. Finally, the third group of methods to invent matter are commonplaces. These are not questions but statements, ready-made arguments or descriptions a speaker could memorize for possible use on future occasions.1

Thus, inventio is drawn from facts, from questions and from ready-prepared statements. These three types can best be differentiated in practice: proof comprises specific questions demanded in this particular type of case or that; questions are those asked in all types of case and of all items; commonplaces are statements that can be made in all cases. For example: 'is there a dagger here?' 'Is this murder?' 'Murder is wrong!' Of course, the speaker can apply all these methods to the same situation.

It is the last two groups of methods - invention by query and by commonplace - which have an impact on the way meditations are composed. Walter Ong, rather than Lanham, examines the relationship between the dissimilar

techniques. He does not deal with the first of the three methods of invention (lists of proof which one would expect to find in any particular case), so examination of inventio by proof will be deferred until truth in hagiography is analysed in chapter five. However, he does suggest that the concept of places to be visited in the mind for arguments was extended to what was regularly contained in these loci.2 Ong uses a schoolbook popular in the early sixteenth-century by Peter of Spain, the Summulae logicales, to exemplify this. 'In contrast to his tightly organized treatises on the properties of terms, Peter of Spain's treatise V, 'On Places' (De locis), is the usual loose agglomerate of topics or headings', acting as a 'register of the live front of ideas or motions which at a given era served as effective suggesting-apparatuses'.3 So on one side, there is the clear but unsuggestive invention related to logic and the properties of terms. On the other, Ong sees a 'loose collection' of commonsense topics. These were reified into eloquent expressions of received wisdom, in notebooks as frivolous as the Palladis tamia or as weighty as the Common Places of..: Peter Martyr. This should not give the impression of it being a Protestant technique: the Jesuit Constitutions (governing the Society of Jesus and composed by Ignatius himself) contain detailed descriptions of how to use a commonplace notebook.4 Ignatius recommends that they are compiled at the time of

each lecture and later indexed and given 'search headings' by the side of each topic.

In summary, Ong sees a move, in the terms used by Jardine and Grafton, from humanism to the humanities or from ideas to the way they were stored. However, he does not take account of the rhetoric manuals' recognition that both logic and past experience were necessary to stir an audience. Rhetorical invention requires both. Rather than depending on a spatial epistemology, as Ong does, it could be said that because of this recognition these two methods of inventio - places for argument and commonplaces within these places - were already combined within the extension of status into inventio, in the classical textbooks. The following description of status and inventio uses the ad Herennium, Cicero's works on the theory of rhetoric, Quintilian and Soarez.

Compiled as a schoolbook, the Rhetorica ad Herennium contains one of the clearest descriptions of invention. Having sorted the aim of a speech into wanting an audience to admire, decide or judge, it goes on to analyse the provision of material necessary for each. Status is the recognition of 'that point which the orator sees to be the most important for him to make and on which the judge sees that he must fix all his attention'.5 It answers three questions: whether something is, how is it described and

what it is; that is to say, questions of reality (conjectural points), definition (legal points) and quality (juridical points). The latter, juridical questions usually concentrate on the morality of the issue. The ad Herennium gives a list of topics to be considered for each of the conjectural, legal and juridical questions, when compiling material for each genus causa. These lists do not so much rigorously interrogate each case as cover all aspects of it. They are loose collections of what it would be sensible to think about. Status, officially confined to producing material for judicial cases, is used even when the ad Herennium proposes to deal with the invention of material for deliberative and demonstrative orations.

To take one status question in detail, in conjectural issues the following would be discussed: the probability that the crime has been committed by the accused, in view of his motive and manner of life; whether anyone else could have committed the deed; a review of the circumstances of the crime; reasoning about why one would think the accused did it; a description of whether his life altered after the event. The list of issues discussed by the conjectural question ends with confirmatory proof. This includes appeals to the judges for pity and also hard evidence, such as 'decisions of previous courts, rumours, evidence extracted by torture, documents, oaths, and witnesses'.6 There are no other definitions of invention

in the ad Herennium, beyond those given under the status questions.

There are three different descriptions of invention in another major handbook, Cicero's De partitione oratoria. These depend on De Partitione's view of the orator, the structure of the speech, and its matter. When summarizing the functions of the orator it sees invention as the creation of plausible matter drawn from two areas, from outside and from inside the case (this parallels the distinction it makes between inartificial proof and artificial proof). Extrinsic matter is collected 'without a system' by appeal to confirmatory proof (a process which the ad Herennium confined to being a subsection of the conjectural question under the status system). Intrinsic evidence, which is 'inherent in the actual facts of the case', must be hunted out by attempting to consider all aspects of the case. Here, Cicero appeals to the logical 'processes' contained in his Topica. He concedes that not all matter which is produced through this process will be relevant to the case, unlike the commonsense creation of the ad Herennium research, which is always relevant.7 Moreover, the translator of the Topica, H.M. Hubbell, feels that while the text professes to be a recomposition from memory of Aristotle's Topics, the majority of the means of argument displayed by Cicero are from Aristotle's Rhetoric rather than the dialectical text. Thus, De partitione is

far from being rigorous in producing matter.8 Nonetheless, one must also acknowledge that Cicero's aim is simply to get matter for speech in an orderly fashion. Going through species, similarities, differences, corollaries or antecedents does just that.

When De partitione turns from the functions of the orator to the structure of the speech, invention is considered by status in the way the ad Herennium understands it in all but name.9 Conjectural cases, for instance, look at the probable and essential characteristics of the persons, places, actions, times and occurrences involved in the case. The advice given to do this does not refer to Cicero's first definition of invention to use confirmatory proof, but rather, once again, to list topics which it would be sensible to think about.

Finally, Cicero deals with the question at issue. He produces further lists of points suitable for each type of causa, demonstrative, deliberative and judicial. He then remarks that the latter can be divided into fact, definition and quality, that is, by status (though the points he lists to be queried are not the same as those on the structure of the speech).10 He does not suggest a system to collect these points. Thus De partitione presents three procedures to be operated in order to invent matter, with no indication of which is to be subsumed under

which. De oratore does not help, merely mentioning in passing that the orator should be gathering the topics of:

> connected terms, and general heads with their sub-divisions, and resemblances and differences, and opposites, and corresponding and concurrent circumstances, and so-called antecedents, and contradictories, and... shall track down the causes of things, and the effects proceeding from causes, and investigate things of relatively greater, equal or lesser significance.11

Coming to the Institutio oratoria, it is just as hard to distinguish exactly how Quintilian sees invention. Is it the taxonomic, thorough system of the Topica, which may find some irrelevant matter but gives great confidence in a full coverage of all angles of an issue? Or the commonsense, loose collection of ideas which are likely to bear on the case, since they are recollected on the basis of past experience? True to his catholic quality it turns out to be both. For Quintilian, the discussion of status turns on conjecture, definition and quality.12 Invention, on the other hand, is divided into searching for artificial and inartificial proof.13 He gives some of the characteristics of status: it is always about things or persons, always to be inferred from opposites or consequents and can be aligned in a ladder of credibility - being necessary, credible or merely not impossible.14 However, unlike the definitions in the ad Herennium and the De partitione, Quintilian lists topics under invention rather than status. These are entered under the methods of

handling artificial proof; of indications, arguments and examples.15 For instance, arguments can be drawn from things and persons. For the latter, one would try to answer questions on birth, race, age, career. In other words, a commonsense collection of ideas is being put together. Under actions (a subsection of 'things') Quintilian agrees that it is possible to look at the three status questions but concludes that it is more practical to go through topics which resemble those of Cicero in their intention to cover all aspects: definition by genus and species, difference and property and so on.16 This should replace learning special places for each type of case. Quintilian keeps wearily repeating that it is impossible to learn all the special places for each case. So only in the case of argument about 'things' is any system applied, and even then, the status questions are rejected as impractical, leaving only the Topica queries.

Soarez's De arte rhetorica defines invention as finding arguments, argumentation as the unfolding of these. Arguments are held in six extrinsic places (the inartificial proofs) and sixteen intrinsic places (of the Topica). He sees status as the point at issue to which these intrinsic and extrinsic arguments can be applied, in order to exhaust each of the three status questions. The clarity of Soarez's work, designed as a basic teaching handbook for beginners to rhetoric, is a result of its

attempt to summarize the teaching of the classical manuals. However, in ignoring the looser collections of queries or of obvious things to say which had been accumulated under status in De partitione, the ad Herennium and the Institutio oratoria, the De arte rhetorica repudiates the value of the orator's experience in dealing with past cases.

The way arguments are 'demanded' from the circumstances being examined has an effect on what facts are elicited. These looser topics may not be logically certain to find the 'essence' of an event; they may not help to treat the peculiar force and nature of the subject itself by definition and partition, nor may they help to borrow from something foreign to the topic. However, they are emotionally able; they are commonplaces to be visited for material which the writers know has been effective in stirring past readers. Of course, stirring the reader to belief is the primary duty of the orator - the rhetorical treatises agree that invention is more than simply analysing debatable propositions for their truth. It is about creating conviction in the audience over doubtful matter.17

Amplificatio.

In seeing inventio and memoria as the principal faculties of rhetoric employed in meditation, Martz did not distinguish between invention and amplification. So far, this chapter has assumed that inventio has been concerned with providing just a sufficient number of statements about each topic to be plausible. It will now show that amplification, or a multiplication of statements, rather than invention is the most appropriate rhetorical device for gaining matter for meditations.

Amplification is described by Quintilian as 'wealth of thought or luxuriance of language'. It adds to inventio the methods of tractatio or the clear handling of arguments. There are four of these: augmentation or gradatio, comparison, reasoning and accumulation. These may appear to be schemes of thought as well as word but all are confined by Quintilian under the general heading of style: amplification is to concentrate on the effect on the audience, adding nothing to logical proof or new information but much to emotional persuasion. Indeed, the ad Herennium specifically links amplification with 'the principle of using Commonplaces to stir the hearers'.18 So variety and an impression of fecundity are joined with the use of common notions as key elements in amplification.

Both quality and quantity are maximized: style is impressive and weighty, arguments are many.

Soarez concurs with this view: amplification is a 'weightier kind of assertion which gains credence in the course of speaking by arousing the emotions' and not the reason.19 This weight is gained by using a variety of topics and by picking things considered important by nature or custom. Soarez links it to the Ciceronian topics he has recommended; logic is not to be abandoned but used as a bone-structure for the impressive 'flesh' of amplification. However, too much explanation (and thus, use of open logic) is to be avoided as it distracts from the effect. Topics, whether garnered through a logical process or from an associational 'node', are to be used with discretion and mostly hidden from the reader.20 It would seem that for Soarez, part of amplification's effect depends on a sprezzatura of speech, letting the author pour out words and ideas with a seemingly artless grace, an unsought-for fecundity. This stress on amplification marks off the sixteenth-century rhetorical handbook from its classical predecessor. As Shugar noted this about the Tridentine rhetorics, sections on amplification are included as well as the traditional five parts of rhetoric. Soarez, indeed, sees amplification of words and matter as the principal part of rhetoric.

Ong has suggested that Elizabethan rhetoricians encouraged this copia by a kind of oversight, when rhetoric modulated from an art of public speaking to an art of writing, leaving stranded oral tags and repetitions for the sake of the audience. This judgement ignores a Renaissance confidence in the emotional efficacy of amplification, as well as debiting proponents of a meticulous art with a considerable lack of self-awareness![21]

I would suggest that the Renaissance handbooks have merely noted the inclusion ~~of~~ by invention, through the status system, of both logical exposition of topic and informal association of places and have systematized this as copia of thought, that is, amplification. In De copia as merely one of eleven methods of amplifying matter - digression, epithets, metaphors and so on - Erasmus includes Cicero's doctrines on 'proofs and arguments'. Amplification here has swallowed invention! When there is no perceived need to cover a subject itself fully, then the extent to which it is explored will depend on the degree to which the audience has been persuaded. The eleven methods provide a mechanism to keep on creating credible material until this has been reached.

In other words, it would seem that the sixteenth-century manuals have equated amplification of matter with invention because of the degree of 'presentation' which runs through

them both. When the handbooks talk of 'invention' they see it as discovering what is already there. Invention entails referring to loci which have accumulated other men's perceptions, before re-presenting the topics there. In this sense, the five-fold division of rhetoric seems redundant. Like elocutio, inventio depends not on discovery of new material but on presentation of matter already in front of the orator. Just so, amplification is made by repeated presentations of the same matter in varying ways for emotional weight. It is a truly rhetorical scheme, since the res is absolutely given and finite while the presentation or verba depends wholly on the will of the orator. The degree to which he is constrained to concertina a topic in and out has its origin in the emotions it provokes in the audience, not in any need to explain by logic.

How does this fit into devotional prose? In his life of Waller, Samuel Johnson declares that

> the essence of poetry is invention; such invention as, by producing something unexpected, surprises and delights. The topicks of devotion are few, and being few are universally known... All that pious verse can do is to help the memory and delight the ear... it supplies nothing to the mind.22

Johnson is joined by Lewalski, who thinks seventeenth-century Protestant preaching handbooks saw invention in terms of interpretation rather than creation of matter, on a subject which cannot be added to.23 These two

commentators ignore the great charm of religious writing, that it makes the faith personal. While God does not change, man's view of him can alter by time and by person. This means that meditations can split fact and meaning; while the res is fixed, amplification by quantity and quality can take place. Thus, the Catholic devotional texts show no fear of blasphemy in urging the reader to illuminate the text. Martin, quoting Augustine, even gives amplification Biblical approval:

> [Revelations] also repeateth the same things in divers sortes, that seeming to speake of sundry matters, in deede is found but to utter the same things divers waies.24

There is no possibility of an amplification which becomes hypocritical inflation - the Keynesian trap of too much attention chasing too little meaning - because of the overarching nature of the Deity: 'we cannot exhibit overmuch praise, nor belye him any wayes'.

Erasmus uses the same metaphor for amplification as Luis uses for consideration. Erasmus suggests that

> the first way of enriching what one has to say on any subject is to take something that can be expressed in brief and general terms, and expand it and separate it into its constituent parts. This is just like displaying some object for sale first of all through a grill or inside a wrapping, and then unwrapping it and opening it out and displaying it fully to the gaze.25

Luis says that

> it is consideration that openeth that which is locked, and unfoldeth that which is folded together, and maketh that cleare unto us, which is otherwise darke, and obscure.26

To Patricia Parker in her study of rhetorics of property, Erasmus's metaphor suggests that amplification is a way of increasing but also of controlling invention. She inverts the term, to show how amplification limits matter by numbering and accounting for it.27 The taxonomic aspect of all rhetoric reduces the actual material, even while it gives an impression of infinite copia. This may be why Erasmus links copia and brevity, since both require a large range of words from which to choose and both demand a clear idea of what needs to be said beforehand.28 Erasmus and Parker recognize the presentational aspect of amplification - displaying what is there, not creating more.

In the meditations, authors take a single gesture or a few brief words from the Scriptures or the fathers and expand on them. With matter already established as part of the faith, amplification can give the charm of variety to a statement that needs emphasizing, since, as Peacham reminds us, it is a matter of weight and not just length:

> amplification is a certaine affirmation very great and weighty, which by large and plentifule speech moveth the mindes of the hearers, and causeth them to beleeve that which is said.29

For example, in Southwell's Marie Magdalen most paragraphs begin or end with a single Scriptural quotation which is amplified in the body of the paragraph. The tag provides the seed of the paragraph. It also stops Southwell's imagination ballooning away from the original concept of

the work. Moreover, while the complete Scriptural event becomes the organizing principal, these tags from the start of each paragraph are the element of dispositio, and amplification is the 'meat' on this.

Both continental and English meditations use the two methods of amplification studied above, that is, the loose collection of topics and the tight, logical exposition of a subject. As the third chapter noted, both divide devotional material into two: the Passion (including incidents of Christ's life as types of the events surrounding the Passion) and aspects of the faith, especially the sacraments of Penance and Communion and the Four Last Things. In Of Prayer, Luis seems to suggest that the two methods of invention are linked to the two subject matters:

> this meditation is sometimes upon thinges that maie be figured with the imagination: as are all the pointes of the lyfe and passion of our Saviour Christ. And some times againe this meditation is upon thinges that doe rather appertaine to the understandinge, than to the imagination: as when we think upon the benefites of almightie God, or upon his goodnes, and mercie.30

All texts have elements of both the Scriptural and the dogmatic. It is not possible to classify whole works as one or the other, one can only pick out the type in individual meditations.

The last sections have examined two methods of invention, the logical and the associational. These are exploited to

present rather than examine facts, through the conflation of invention and amplification in sixteenth-century rhetoric handbooks. Amplification as invention has seemed the most appropriate technique for writing meditations. The following section concentrates on this amplification, first in meditations based on Scriptural events and then on those which ponder on aspects of the faith.

Turning first to associational meditations, one can see the Church's commonplaces of faith being used as key notions round which a store of knowledge or description accumulates. These meditations are interested in an emotional association of ideas rather than a reasoned exposition of the topic. This method asks each reader to illuminate a different set of facts with the memories of devotional texts which they have read in the past. As in the precepts of Erasmus and Ascham, the reader choses his own places rather than relying on the collection of another. This principle increases the emotional intensity and efficacy of the selection and also means the reader need be no literary expert to select his places, since there is no correct collection.

The disadvantage of this method of dealing with a subject is that statements about the topic become anecdotal. Topics are examined in ways which accord with past knowledge. There is no effort to search for new ideas, one

simply has to exemplify those already known. W.S. Howell has remarked on the confidence in the stability and depth of man's knowledge which this type of invention denotes. His comments, made about rhetoric manuals of the period, could apply equally well to the meditations.31 He sees a society at home with its wisdom, stressing organization rather than examination of the truth. Take the reading plan of Erasmus:

> having made up your mind to cover the whole field of literature in your reading (and anyone who wishes to be thought educated must do this at least once in his life), first provide yourself with a full list of subjects. This will consist partly of the main types and subdivisions of vice and virtue, partly of the things of most prominence in human affairs.32

The plan is replete with a lofty confidence: the truth will be fixed in value and position, ready to be dwelt on when the reader has time. This notion of places gives a fixed value to wisdom, which can be discovered through a process rather than an intuition. Their use is like that of Shandy's Auxiliary Verbs - the who, what, whys - which set

> the soul a going by herself upon the materials as they are brought her; and by the versability of this great engine, round which they are twisted, to open new tracks of enquiry, and make every idea engender millions... The force of this engine, added my father, is incredible, in opening a child's head.33

At the bottom of the scale, Ascham demotes commonplaces to being 'necessary to induce a man into an orderly general knowledge, how to refer orderly all that he readeth ad certa rerum capita and not wander in study'. For him, they

are not even valuable prompts to knowledge but mere aids to dispositio.34

What are these devotional commonplaces? In one of the most popular Protestant manuals on preaching, the Pathway to the Pulpet translated in 1577, Hyperius goes through the 'divine places' specific to preaching. These are the theological virtues and vices. For example, to 'the order of Love perteine these places: of the amendement of lyfe, of the integritie of maners, of chastitie, of modestie, of avoyding of offences, of kyndnes and lyberalytie'.35 Hyperius suggests that examples to illuminate such places are most easily gained from the Scriptures. However, recusant authors reverse this process by employing associational places in the Passion or Nativity elements of the texts. While in the Protestant texts the places of divinity are the cohering principle and Scriptural events are used as exemplary, in the recusant meditations the Scriptures organize the text and commonplaces expand on it. Two such loci are particularly prominent in recusant texts: the image of Christ as lover and the use of a silent, passive figure in the scene to draw in the reader.

The Christ of C.N.'s Our Ladie

> longed so much to enioy the pleasure of [the Virgin's breasts], that being a most mighty King, hee became in manner a begger, and having given to every thing their beeing, made him selfe almost nothing, feeling neyther

> want of wine, nor of any thing else, when hee founde himselfe sucking at them.36

This portrait is unusual in its intensity but C.N. is not alone in seeing Christ's sexuality as an important 'place' to search for affecting matter. Southwell suggests that the persecuted recusants imagine what they would suffer for a temporal paramour. Then they should think of Christ, languishing for love as he offers us his 'corporall seemlynesse', 'white and ruddie a choise peece out of thousands', 'the glorye, maiestye, and beautye of his Godhed'.37 As Joan Grundy has remarked, Henry Constable's 'Spirituall Sonnettes' contain a sympathy with the lover's experience, used to express the aspirations of the soul. The Trinity is composed of the breath of the Father and the Son, 'as lovers syghes, which meete, become one wynde'; the Magdalen's 'sowle uncloth'd, shall rest from labors past: /and clasped in the armes of God, inioye/ by sweete coniunction, everlastyng ioye'.38

The figure of Christ in meditations appears to change gender before and after the Resurrection. Before, he is seen as feminine, a sweet Saviour, tender and white against the brutal black figures of his tormentors. After the Resurrection he is filled with power, a manly figure bursting out of the tomb. The emotional 'weight' of this change lies partly in the drama of contrast but also partly in the sense of responsibility which the reader bears during the Crucifixion scenes. With Christ powerless, the

only active elements to attract our attention are men doing wrong.

> Call to minde how gently thy Saviour (when they butcherly hurled him on the Crosse) stretched foorth his armes which they afterwarde nayled on the Crosse, with huge great nailes, and how mildly he looked on those that put him to so vile and cruell a death.39

Helen Gardner sees divine poetry take over secular forms, including the Anglo-Saxon figure of Christ as a hero stripping himself for the fight and the medieval figure of Christ as a chivalric lover. This happens in the recusant meditations. Romantically allegorizing the Incarnation, Chambers has a young Prince who loves his Father's adopted daughter enough to give up his life to save the Lady from the spell of the evil Enchanter. The Prince is infinitely desirable for he is infinitely like his Father, in whose presence 'both the rarest maiestie seemeth base; and the richest Monarch a beggar'.40 Echoing Marlowe's lyric, Verstegan's 'Our Blessed Ladies Lullaby' puts Christ into the feminine role, receiving the Virgin's entreaties: 'Live stil with mee, and bee my love,/ And death wil mee refraine'.41

Since presentation of the figure of Christ shifts from male to female, it would seem that it is the theological roles which are gendered, regardless of the sex of the person filling them. What Elaine Beilin sees as virtues which texts of the period looked for in a woman - humility,

mildness, patience, obedience - are those which are credited to Christ in the meditations for the reader to emulate.42 Such 'sexed' imagery complements the traditional depiction of the soul as female. Beilin picks out the way 'conventional hierarchical distinctions between male and female aptly reflect traditional theological distinctions between God and the sinning mortal'.43 For instance, in a secret-press poem lamenting the loss of Britian to Catholicism, the Holy Churches Complaint of 1598-1601, Christ is pictured as bridegroom to the Church. At the same time, the heretic Church is seen as a female disrupter of traditional family relationships: the 'stepdame Heresie', 'harlot Heresie', a woman producing a 'bastards broode'.44

Most texts have a silent woman in the central role, either as mediator in the rosary texts or protagonist in the Magdalen and Nativity texts. Occasionally, there will be a quiescent male figure such as St. Peter or St. John. The figures are passive, seen as weeping or pondering at the foot of the Cross.45 Of course, this is true of the women in the Gospels themselves. However, unlike these recusant texts, women in the Scriptures do not often have central roles, so the choice of a patient, silent female figure to focus our attention seems deliberate. These characters' lack of words and gestures makes them profoundly anti-

rhetorical figures. Authors are forbidding the sins of Eve, loquacity and curiosity.

The meditations provide action around rather than through the women by continually refocusing on them. C.N. gives the impression that the participants in a scene are as frozen as if they were in an emblem, waiting the authorial touch to bring them to life. He nudges everyone, even Christ:

> Oh John! what did you when you invited Christ unto your mariage and his mother? you promised them a feast, & were not able to give them to drinke... But (O most loving LORD) who is able to feaste thee without thee?46

And C.N. rushes straight on to answer the questions himself as author, rather than allowing his characters to reply alone. This is precisely what Ignatius warned against, urging the spiritual director to withdraw himself, to allow the meditator to speak to God directly. In I.C.'s Marie Magdalen, Christ transforms Mary's life without ever being introduced directly into the text. The nearest the reader gets to hearing of him is by Mary questioning herself about her image of Christ. In other words, her conscience speaks to her: 'what hast thou which I did not bestowe?'47 When Christ actually dies, it seems quite irrelevant to the reader because Mary is busy with her own thoughts.

> By that time this her sad complaint was done,
> He that gives life had vanquish'de death by dying,
> And Ioseph comes t'interr this Holy one,
> Which in this weeper breedes newe cause of crying.48

The scene which should have had at least one actor - Christ, if not Mary also - has none, since Mary's weeping is produced by circumstances outside her control and Christ is certainly not the centre of attention.

Chambers's Mary lets 'neither word nor deede slippe her without a deepe meditation, conferring every thing together which she heard him speake or see him do'.49 She doesn't act, only reacts. Metaphors describing Mary Magdalen and the Virgin used in Palestina, Our Ladie and the Magdalens of Southwell and I.C. are drawn from long-enduring, natural and insensible features: fountains, rocks, slabs. The passivity is assumed to spread to the reader, so that the spiritual director guides his gaze. In A Breefe Collection, the writer intrusively tells the reader exactly where to turn his head.

> Behoulde here with the ghostlie Eye of thy Soule Christs pitious paynful Passion... Behould then that good Lord... aboute him standing wicked men voyde of al reason, sore scourging his moste blessed bodie... Looke then aside, upon his blessed Mother, see what sorowe she maketh... Turne then again to thy Lord and see how rudelie they unbynde him.50

They may be no orators themselves but the figures are used as an outlet for questions the reader may have. This method is especially useful for non-rosary texts, as it excuses the review of a scene many times over from different perspectives. In Southwell's Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares, Mary raises questions about Christ which

intensify her despair. She is not allowed to solve the problems herself nor to act on them. Her questions are firmly answered by the author. The effect of providing her with no interlocutor other than the narrator (since even the angel's replies to her are mediated through Southwell) is to deny her a dramatic life. Her passions are created by Southwell to be soothed by Southwell.

> Thou [Mary] wilt say that though hee forbad thee to weepe for him, yet hee left thee free, to weepe for thy selfe... But I answere thee again, that because he is one with thee... Yea but (sayst thou)... 51

This effect is, typically, amplified by Thomas Nashe in Christs Teares Over Ierusalem of 1593, where Christ's words to the daughters of Jerusalem are extended by Nashe - 'the more to penetrate and inforce, let us suppose Christ in a continued Oration thus pleading with them' - for forty pages before Nashe breaks off the oration: 'heere doe I confine our Saviours collachrimate Oration, and putting off his borrowed person, restore him to the tryumphancie of his Passion'.52 In Palestina, Chambers lyrically questions the infant Jesus.

> Tell us sweete babe, who arte an eternall worde, although nowe too young to speake, tell us what caused thee to descende from thine unspeakeable dignitie.

It is Chambers himself who confronts the reader with the catechism-style answer. Christ gets no chance to speak.

> For the sinne which slew mankind being infinit, in respect that the partie offended was infinitelie more excellent then the offender, it required a satisfaction infinitely good, which man was not able to make... wherefore it was necessarye either that God, who is onely infinite... 53

With the topos of a passive spectator, authors can provide a lightning-conductor for a reader's misgivings. At the same time, they reprove such lack of faith: each figure provides a role-model of someone meditating deeply as they stand before the scene without enquiry, enacting Loarte's advice.54

Analysing C.N.'s Our Ladie will show how the writers include such associational nodes and what feelings they expect to arouse. Christ's words from the Cross which establish a parent/child relationship between Mary and John start a comparison of Rachel whose name means 'sheep', with Mary who bore a 'lamb'. C.N. explains that both sons were more virtuous than their relations, both were sold to their enemies by a Judas, both had younger brothers who were difficult to deliver. C.N. has created a younger brother for Christ on the strength of this comparison: John the Beloved. A new son demands a conception and a marriage, so C.N. provides the marriage feast of Cana and explains how it would be fitting (and therefore, probable) that this was John's wedding feast. The powerful and loving figure of Christ is at the feast to validate the state of matrimony. It is the bridegroom who is put into the static, virginal position, as C.N. explains that John gives up his wife at this feast in order to follow Christ!

At the second event described, the Passion, Mary and John mourn at the foot of the Cross. C.N. addresses questions to them but never allows them to answer. Why doesn't John die for Christ especially as Peter has failed to do so? Why is he mourning the Crucifixion when it is the only means by which he can be given life? Does he think he will offend Christ by protestation against his death? The questions are in the present tense and serve to immobilize the figures still further, as the narrator goes round each of them and presents different aspects of their positions. So in C.N.'s meditation the original slight connection between John and Mary has been amplified to allow other notions to be hung from it. These allow the author to circle the events of Cana and Calvary, arousing devotion.

Two features of this group of meditations suggest the strength of the idea of loci. The first is the publication of Henry Garnet's Treatise of Christian Renunciation of 1593, as much a commonplace notebook as Palladis tamia. Its titlepage says that it is 'compiled of ex[act s]entences & as it were diverse homelies of Ancient Fathers: wherin is shewed how farre it is lawfull or necessary for the love of Christ to forsake Father, Mother, wife and children, and all other worldly creatures'. Each chapter provides a set of arguments by the fathers in favour of this Christian renunciation, against those of spouses, parents and others. Rather than digesting them

and producing sentences of his own, Garnet has compiled a commonplace book which,

> although both ye searching and translating of these places have cost me no lesse labour, than if I had undertaken a wholl worke of my owne: yet this treatise shall be reade with exceeding more fruite than if it had proceded from my owne invention.55

This is because he sees the sentences as being genuine Catholic pronouncements. After all,

> in no parte of this Treatise except onely in this preface in the conclusion and in some parte of the third chapter thou must thinke that I speake (gentle Reader) but imagin that the Saintes of God do speake unto thee.56

It may be on devotional topics, but Garnet's book is as much a quarry for material for argument as Richard Bristow's Demaundes to bee Proponed of Catholickes to the Heretickes of 1576 (republished in 1596-97). This is a list of questions about their faith which the fervent and, under the circumstances, heroic Catholic should propose to unbelievers.

The second feature is the use of indices in the meditations, to guide the reader to the right devotion for his spiritual need. For instance, the Directorie gives a 'Breefe Methode How to Use the Former treatises, chapters, & considerations to divers purposes, according to the divers qualitie of the person, time, state, place, or neede when they ar to be used'. So if the reader feels 'heavie, lumpish, & [s]louthful' he is to read the first portion of

chapter one, on inconsideration and the last chapter of part two, on negligence.57 If he is a young person who procrastinates over making an election to good, he is to read the sections on the danger of delays and the sudden nature of death (see the illustration overleaf). It is a type of spiritual home-medicine, a cure-all for each evil mood. While Persons's list of sinful occasions are spiritual, the Manual of Prayers gives a list of physical occasions to respond to with prayer: 'accommodated & prescibed to certayne houres or times bothe for the day and night'. There are prayers before rest, then as the reader sits on the bed, then as he throws back the blankets and finally as he settles himself to sleep.58 These indices give the impression that all areas of life have been covered by the manuals, suggesting that the reader is self-sufficient and has no need to consult further authorities.

When we turn to the logical meditations, the examination of the subject is guided by a sense of proportion. God's majesty is charted against unregenerate nature. In his examination of Southwell's unpublished meditations, Janelle links the 'martial' character of the Ignatian Exercises with the logic which Southwell uses to argue his own contumacious spirit into submission. These devotions 'are lists of incentiva, tabulated arguments, in numbered paragraphs'.59 Jesuit superiors encouraged the use of diagrams to chart the elimination of sin (a practice



'Finall Impenitence.' G6 v in R. Bellarmine, A Shorte Catechisme... with the Images (npp, 1614).

continued even in Thomas Corbishley's 1963 edition of the Exercises). Without intention, Abraham Fraunce gives an example of such a logical diagram, based on 'proportion':

God	Created man.	so the	Cause procreant with the effect.
	Preserveth man.	affection	Cause conservant with the effect.
	Is not man.	is of	Disparats among themselves.
	Is not like man.	the	Unlikes among themselves.60

The logical meditations are full of questions which prompt the reader to make the comparison for himself and so to acknowledge the folly of offending God. Rather than using the organic growth of associational methods of invention, prefaces to the logical meditations ask you before you start to 'consider with your selfe wherefore you come, wheraboute you goe, and what busines, you now take in hande'.61 They ask the reader to do the same thing once inside a meditation: 'a man [should] consider who he was that suffered: what he suffered: by whom he suffered: and for whom he suffered...'62 In fact, in Bucke's hands the word 'meditation' almost loses its emotional connotation. In his section on seven short matters of meditation, the word is used in the sense of 'think often' rather than 'take to heart'. Later he uses it as 'following Christ' in the most general way.63

I am a little shy of suggesting that the topics are 'processed' through the predicaments in the way that, say,

Joseph Hall's Arte of Divine Meditation of 1606, does. Hall reassures us that we are all born logicians and therefore capable of meditation. His divine places include an orderly consideration of the material and formal causes of each topic. No Catholic meditation is so openly precise. However, this habit of mind is used by them to search logically for matter when producing the doctrinal meditations. This is a sense of fixing an event within co-ordinates, contextualizing it. For instance, after the associational places dealing with the theological places under faith, hope and love, the Pathway to the Pulpet briefly considers those which it calls the 'philosophical' places, recommending we learn them from books of logic:

> for by them we easely learne, what every thinge is, howe many partes or formes be therof, what the causes, what the effectes or duties, what thinges bee of alyaunce, what Contrary thereunto, as those that playnly appere to be destinate to the explication of these questions.64

Thus, Fraunce sees rules of logic as teasing out the different 'affections' belonging to each word. In other words, objects or words can be defined by the situations one sees them in, their company. Amplification by logical argument now becomes not an attempt to define and narrow a topic by difference, but to extend its field by context.

As Luis suggested, Catholic meditations tend to choose doctrinal rather than Scriptural topics to meditate on in this way. The rosary meditations neatly illustrate this

division. The Joyful and Sorrowful mysteries are about Scriptural events, whereas the Glorious mysteries revolve about a number of theological points on the status of the Virgin. In the Methode's standard ten points for each decade, the physical scenes of the Glorious mysteries - for example, the Assumption - are effectively ignored in favour of their doctrinal import. In contrast, half of the ten points for the other mysteries are given over to describing the people and places. A similar difficulty in making mental 'pictures' for the doctrinal points is exemplified when Bucke illustrates every decade of the rosary, except for the last four Glorious mysteries.

Although they may be difficult to depict, the affective purpose of the logical meditations is never neglected. When I.C.'s Magdalen lists the wounds of Christ on the Cross as she sorrows at its foot, she links each sin of hers with an individual wound. In the Manuall, or Meditation a week's devotions are centred on Christ's virtues with events from his life as examples. The reader is told to consider each virtue against his lack of them and recall this to mind throughout the day.65

In the foreign texts, these two methods of invention correspond to a shift in the authorial point of view. In associational scenes, anticipated arguments of the reader are anonymously solved through authorial replies to a

figure. However, the logical meditations bring a 'me and you' division to their explanations. The writers become emotionally disengaged from the devotion and start to instruct the reader from a superior and distant position. Luis describes the Passion as though he is looking on with the reader but the Day of Judgement as though he were exempt. Suddenly, the tone becomes exhortatory. Sunday morning's meditation on the Resurrection describes events as we look on; Monday evening's meditation over the page urges the reader "out there" to 'attende to the knowledge of thy selfe'.66 It is noticeable that the English authors do not separate themselves from their audience in this way; one more instance, perhaps, of their desire to please.

The two types of meditation parallel a divided readership noted by certain rhetorics, where the distinction between emotional and logical appeal is rather seen as one of audience than material. Hyperius attributes two audiences to the preacher.

> No man doubteth but that there bee two maner of wayes of interpreting the scriptures used of skilfull divines... one is apt for the assembles of learned men... This other is altogether applied to instruct the confused multitude.

The former manner, according to Hyperius, sticks fast to the text being interpreted 'as one shut up in a streight prison, pinfolde & enclosure'; the latter suits matter to the time, place and persons.67 Howell concurs with Hyperius, concluding of Renaissance logic that it

> concerned itself chiefly with the statements made by men in their efforts to achieve a valid verbalization of reality... [founding] itself upon scholarly and scientific discourse and was in fact the theory of communication in the world of learning... Rhetoric was then regarded as the theory behind the statements intended for the populace.68

In the context of the meditations, Howell and Hyperius could be applied to suggest that 'emotive' devotional texts should be less strenuous and more immediately attractive than those which are logical. Joseph Hall concurs with this. For him, the most strenuous part of a meditation is that involving the understanding. Where the imagination and affections are concerned, the meditation will be sweet and easy.69

Reversing this however, most recusant authors regard the logical method as an easier devotion to practise than imaginative prayer, recommending the former for religious novices and beginners in the art.70 These meditations are also for when the mind 'is either weary, or not willing to be pricked forward by the other [types] that are more vehement in exhortation'.71 Martin in the Roma sancta praises the students who can meditate for up to two hours a day, or even more if strong enough to bear it,

> bycause this Meditation or mental prayer (which is nothing els but occupyng of the minde and al the wittes wholy in silence and inward contemplation of the [bliss of heaven and contempt of the world]) is very painful,as al great and deepe studie is.72

This may be because in logical meditations the points made are so clearly structured that the reader is reassured about the path to follow in each meditation. As before this reassurance is taxonomic, a feeling that all parts of the subject have been named, described, captured. Such meditations demand less imaginative participation, though more reasoned effort.

Certainly, the idea of involvement is paramount in recusant meditations. A reader is not to drop into prayer but vigorously prepare for it, as a 'method' or a system of communicating with God. The titlepage of Breefe Collection declares that it is 'a devote Meditation to procure Contrition, and excite Devotion'. Since to procure meant not only to obtain a good by self-conscious action but also to gratify a lust and suborn a witness, such self-management of emotions is not disguised under any affectation of innocence or spontaneity. There is no sign that these authors thought their readers felt queasy over being met with such designs on their religious sensibilities.

Unease over the production of emotion by religious texts repeats the charges made against rhetoric which were examined in the previous chapter, that it induces the reader to agree with the writer on the basis of emotion rather than reason. The rhetorical author is deceitful in

trying to persuade another without necessarily agreeing with the argument himself - a sort of barristers' ethics. Recusant writers however, are only uneasy about the effectiveness of this sort of persuasion. Southwell knows that 'none can expresse a passion that he feeleth not, neither dooth the pen deliver but what it coppieth out of the mind' (a religious 'Look in thy heart and write').73 Hyperius too insists that the preacher must feel what he says before he is able to pass on his conviction: 'before all thinges it is very necessary that hee which speaketh, doe conceyve such lyke affections in his mynde, and rayse them upp in himselfe'.74 So the deceit becomes internalized. It becomes a matter of persuading oneself, in order to persuade others.

Or does it? Some writers believe that action actually produces the sincere feeling and not the other way round. In rhetorical terms, Cicero states that

> the power of those reflections and commonplaces, discussed and handled in a speech, is great enough to dispense with all make-believe and trickery: for the very quality of the diction, employed to stir the feelings of others, stirs the speaker himself even more deeply than any of the hearers.75

Luis avers that 'vehement actes of charitie do increase charitie',

> for like as by writinge well, and with an earnest care and diligence, a man atteineth to be a good writer; by paintinge, a painter: and by the exercise of singinge, a musition: euen so likewise by lovinge, he maie become a lover.76

Or, as Estella says,

> as love doth transforme the lover into the thinge that is beloved, so as that lover is brought thereby into the possession of an other thing, and is not maister of hym selfe.77

Soarez, notwithstanding his dislike of deceit, maintains there can be no pretence in the orator coming under the same emotions as those he has used to stir his audience, for the very quality of style he has used to influence others will necessarily operate on himself.78

The English texts also acknowledge that action operates on feeling. In Southwell's Short Rule this link has the effect of promoting control of one's demeanour. One should be free

> from all shew of inward disquietnes or unordred passion; which thoughe I cannot choose but sometime feele, yet it is good as much as I may to conceale it; because outward signes do feed the inward distemper.79

Though he would be horrified to be ranked with papists, this is what Ascham says in the Schoolmaster: 'of corrupted manners spring perverted judgments'.80 The concept is similar to that which justifies the use of the passions to arouse fervour; natural relationships between the mind's faculties are employed rather than suppressed. In this sense, sincerity during the meditation is not in question. Only before the meditation starts could the reader, as a meditator or writer of his own self-persuasive scenes, be said to be intent on deceiving himself for pious purposes.

So deceit - or pragmatism about the truth - occurs in devotional texts when they persuade the reader to manipulate his initial feelings. He imagines how he would like to feel about certain events and then tries hard to project himself to that pitch of emotion. Freedom from suspicion that such activity is deceitful because motivated is guaranteed, because this particular action cannot be wrong; it has been sanctioned by the Church. Thus, advice not to wrest out tears is given more in a spirit of prudence than strict honesty. Intemperate emotions wear out quickly and are not so strong and clear. As Luis says briskly, 'the ioyce of an orange... commeth not out so pure, when it is squised with over much mayne force'.81

Such self-creation becomes a sort of fine-tuning. One of the main topics of the Manual of Prayers is of avoiding excess, but praying for a sense of proportion could turn the meditator into a gourmet of mood and perception. We have already considered the way in which meditations tend to turn the mind from the subject of faith to a self-scrutiny. This is the impression given by the use of indices. Whether of place or mood, there is a certain connoisseur quality to suiting the behaviour to the occasion. Of course, this is a rhetorical pose. The reader is performing, before the highly critical audience of his own conscience, a private liturgy suitable for each

point in the day or each spiritual complexion. This point will be taken up again when catechisms are considered as manuals for fashioning a Christian.

As well as a rhetorical assault on oneself, the manuals conceive of prayer as a rhetoric with designs on God. This is fruitless: prayer is not meant to sway the will of God but enlighten the supplicant of God's intentions and join his will with them. However, the heresy of 'persuading' God is implied by the care for form manifested by the recusant writers. Prayer appears in them as a calculated disposal of the reader, in a manner most likely to get God's ear. Meditations address an attentive heavenly audience, elbows reclining on bouffant pillows of cloud, which listens and nods appreciatively at any particularly telling points. Anxious to engage a reader in meditation, writers urge him to use a vocabulary of patron and client, for instance as Garnet does, when speaking of Mary.82 When Vaux is explaining why the Ave Maria is said, he suggests flattering the Virgin to cause her to look favourably upon the reader when he makes his petition:

> who so ever hath anye suite, or request that he would gladly obtaine of a Prince, Magistrate, or his Superiour: he will use often wordes that will please and delighte the minde of him that his suite is to, that thereby his mind may be moved with affection, and made attentive to heare the Suiter, and graunte all his requeste... [and] what can more move the blessed virgin to pray to God for us, then the Angelical salutation?83

Advice on using persuasive methods to move the reader's will is sensible; trying to use them on the wrong audience, on the Deity, is not. Such advice is powerful because a prayerful mood is one which corrects the vision, exchanging an aggressive promotion of the reader's own points for an eager reception of those by other people. It involves humility and a sense of reverence. A suggestion of 'ought' will be taken up quickly, even if that suggestion is wrong. The cost of seeing prayer as rhetoric now becomes apparent. A division is opened up between the creature and the creator, where the meditator seems to be placed in a position of authority as he persuades his creator to listen.

This section has not dealt with the effects of Ramus's reform of rhetoric. In describing Alabaster's poetry, Caro thinks that 'invention and memory - the very parts of rhetoric which had contributed to the development of meditation techniques - were excised by Ramus from rhetorical training in the interest of methodizing the arts of discourse'.84 While Caro does not substantiate his historical claim about meditation, it is true that these two officia oratoris are the principal parts of rhetoric used in the sixteenth-century English meditations. Nonetheless, Ramus's division of logic and rhetoric was for educational reasons: he did not support the idea of two separate types of discourse. Rather than the brave attempt

to 're-rhetorize the passions' with which Caro credits recusant work of the period, one should only note that the texts are simply combining into one operation what was taught in two. The effects of Ramus's reforms on the British meditations of the period appear to me to be negligible.

While copia and emotional weight are increased in the devotions by the use of amplification, this section has raised some doubt about the honesty of employing it. No such moral slur exists in the use of another part of rhetoric, memory, in the meditations. The next section proposes that rhetorical memory techniques are used to replicate the effects of amplification, in those texts where amplification is in the mind rather than on the page. It looks in particular at the rosary texts, where repetition becomes a sort of mental amplificatio.

Memory.

Classical rhetorics describe a twofold process of memory, based on an imaginative organization of space. Initially, images are created in order to call to mind facts or situations to be remembered. The creation of these images is one of purely associational invention. They do not have to express anything to other people nor even be displayed

to them. They come from a private library of pictures which has been built up by the reminiscencer. After their creation images are projected onto imaginary or real places, around which one can walk in memory. This prompts the recall, in order, of the images and their associated facts. This process corresponds to that of rhetorical invention and disposition, using places to order matter and inventing images to refer to it. Umberto Eco has called the system semiotic, where an image signifies a fact to be remembered and a syntax of loci holds the images.85

In meditation the memory arts are used to keep in mind the elements of devotion which are to be dwelt on. Meditations are pictures, either created by words or by a physical image. Loarte recommends setting before you

> the figure or the Image... of the misterye which you are to meditate, the which, when you have first beholden, it shal helpe to keepe you more collected and attentive, For the memory of the Picture shall remayne as it were imprinted in your minde.86

As the image becomes imprinted in one's memory, the physical text's usefulness decays.

In general, the four texts printed between 1580 and 1603 on how to say the rosary conform to Loarte's recommendations about using a picture in meditation. These mental or paper pictures become richer in associations over time, with each reuse. In three of the rosary texts - Bucke's Instructions

for the use of the beades, the anonymous A Methode, to meditate on the... Rosarie, and Worthington's The Rosarie of our Ladie - the layout of the page makes it clear we are to read the instructions on the recto of the page, before turning to gaze at the picture on the verso of the preceding page while reciting the rosary. For instance, the Methode has on C5 v, two verses and a picture of the Annunciation and on C6 r, the preparation and instructions for reading about this mystery. C9 r is left blank, since the previous mystery finished on C8 v and to have printed on C9 r would have made it impossible to glance at the picture when directed to do so by the text.

Worthington specifies that one is to say the rosary after reading. The instructions given are: prepare by ejaculatory prayer often repeated; read the verses over the picture as verbal aids to recollection, to be used in the same way as the picture, then 'meditate'. The author is not using the term in the sense of dwelling upon his text. He gives three or four crisp doctrinal points, leaving recitation of facts to the verses over the picture. The reader is then instructed to give thanks and make request for some gift of grace. Only then is he told to 'begin your beades'. At this point, he turns back to the picture to endow it with the ideas he has received in the reading. Should he need reminding of these, the verses are there. At each future repetition of the decade the need to

refer to the text will grow less. And, as it does so, the affective nature of the meditation will grow. Because of the minimum time-limit imposed by having to go through the entire decade, a meditator cannot simply 'tick-off' in his mind the points raised by the picture. Instead the image is intended to become increasingly sodden with feeling, moving him away from the terse style of the actual meditation points made.

In Bucke's work, the same thing happens. Each of the mysteries is given a picture, with instructions to recite the Pater Noster beneath it. Then follows a small piece of connecting narrative or doctrinal explanation. Finally come ten facts to be remembered about the event. In this case, the number of facts has been chosen to help remember how many prayers to say. Bucke claims that the pictures are there to help concentration in the initial reading rather than to use as aids to recall. Yet the verses he appends to each picture in the 'Table' at the back of the book are allusive only. It seems unlikely that the pictures did not help the person praying to remember the fuller explanations and descriptions within the main text. Thomas Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique wistfully sees the pictures of saints in this way, though he says somewhat hurriedly that however useful to the memory, such use of images is forbidden by God.87

The architectural metaphor present in the memory manuals of 'places' is not forgotten by the rosary texts. Worthington shows several events occuring simultaneously to the same person, in different architectural niches of one picture. For instance, the second Sorrowful mystery shows Christ tied to a pillar in the foreground, being scourged. The pillar itself helps support two rooms behind the scene, in one of which Christ is being condemned by Caiaphas, while in the other, Peter listens to a cock crowing. Bucke's 'Table' is not meant to be looked at as one coherent picture but to be circled. The eyes stop at each small roundel (see also the illustration following page 199). This method resembles that of an Elizabethan romance, starting stories then cutting them off midway with the next story. It denies an overall picture but allows the memory of the last story or scene to comment on the one being looked at in the present.

Physically extending the mnemotechnic of building, English seminaries of the time employed pictures as stations on which to meditate. For instance, Persons describes how students at Valladolid set up emblems around the hall to welcome Philip II when he visited the college.88 This practice, promoting academic competition among students, was demanded on special feast days by the Ratio studiorum. In a mnemonic context, the places - college or church walls

- have words to be remembered placed on them, rather than words being placed on imaginary walls.

Recall depends on repetition of prayers, which is one of the main features of the rosary texts. The fourth text, Garnet's Societie of the Rosary, deals clumsily with the effect of reiteration, merely noting that it stirs up 'affections'. The only other statement he makes about it is against Cicero's belief that it is superstitious. Garnet says that one can never have too much of a good thing.89 This analysis is not much more perceptive than the Methode's statement that the pattern for prayers in the rosary is there to reveal facts about the number of persons in the Trinity, the five wounds and so on. The Methode ends by scoring smug linguistic points: 'we cannot pray but with number, except wee will pray but once in our lives', since we have to use the same words over and again.90 Worthington glides over the point, simply saying it is a custom sanctioned by the primitive Church and used in the Bible.

Given that they trouble to make these statements, the rosary texts do seem to feel that they should deal with the emotional effects of repeating prayers. None, however, effectively defends the practice from being seen as idle or superstitious: after all, repetition could suggest an efficacy in the words themselves, rather than in a change

in a reader's understanding caused by the original statement. However, their attitude can be teased out of their practice.

The difference between Cicero's understanding of repetition and that of the meditation texts lies in a sense of time. The meditations recognize a weariness in prayer which lies not in ennui but in exhaustion, the sense of having done too much of the same thing rather than being unfulfilled or bored.91 Facing the traditional childhood fear of boredom in heaven, Chambers insists that the angels are given perpetually refreshed appetites for praise.92 The texts are anxious to maximize the profitable use of time, reclaiming it for God by saying the rosary. The theme of maximization and references to an 'accompt' keep appearing. Bucke says that we are 'lent, not given to life: And for that we must render an accompt... of each moment of time spent here... ' Verstegan's St. Peter sues for grace with this image:

> Love is my debt, for love and mercy due,
> And gratitude the intrest thereon rising,
> The obligation standes in heavens view,
> And was set downe by equities devising,
> The date it beares is endlesse to avail,
> My soule the pawne to forfait yf I fail.93

Persons spends the first of the three volumes projected for the Directorie in explaining why meditative prayer is so 'profitable'. He compares neglect of the great enterprise of guiding oneself to heaven, to

> a foolish marchant, that for quietnes sake would never looke into his accompt-bookes whether he were behind hand or before; and as that ship-master were greatlie to be laughed at, that for avoiding of care, would sitt downe and make good cheere and let the shippe goe wheter she would.94

Apart from pictures, whether pasted in the book or created in the mind, the other mnemonic used by the rosary texts is verse. All use four-line stanzas for each mystery to point a fact or an application. The Methode also gives two summary poems, one on the Passion and one on the Four Last Things, stating that the meditations for the week are 'contained shortly in verse, for the better remembring of them'.95 These have Biblical references in the margins to allow readers to expand on the facts for themselves but the summary poems are merely aide-memoires.

There is one use of the mnemotechnic which is completely a-metaphoric. This is when the body of Christ becomes a memory place for the meditations. Ideas to be recollected are placed on each of Christ's members. Loarte goes through every limb and wound of Christ on the Cross, pointing out the link between each one and a particular type of sin.96 Rather than the suggestive conflation of sign and signified of the memory image, there are direct links, one-to-one, between a virtue and a scene, a vice and a tortured limb. Christ himself has become a collection of memorable relics. The Primer's section on meditation starts with a picture of nothing but the Sacred Wounds

ascending to Heaven, without the body around them! Bucke's titlepage woodcut depicts a rosary where the Pater Noster beads are the Sacred Heart, hands and feet. Prayers on each of the wounds see them as extraordinary relics, efficacious in synecdoche when prayed to and not just through, as with saints' relics. The effect is similar to Thomas Elyot's description of swearing: Christ is chopped into 'numbles'.97 The hypostasis falls apart in such texts: the Son becomes inanimate and we address the Father over his head.

Interestingly, Francis Yates speculates that there may have been a revival of interest in the art of memory in the Catholic Low Countries at this point, on the basis of an oration made in Louvain in favour of Simonides's art in 1560, published the following year in Brussels.98 Also, and unusually for sixteenth-century manuals, Soarez gives a full-length description of the art. There may be a moral point to this interest. Yates describes the Ciceronian division of the virtue of prudence into three parts in the De inventione. Memory recalls what has happened, intelligence ascertains what a thing is and foresight sees that something will occur before it happens.99 Puttenham concurs:

> there is nothing in man of all the potential parts of his mind (reason and will except) more noble or more necessary to the active life then memory; because it maketh most to a sound iudgement and perfect worldly wisedome, examining and comparing the times past with

> the present, and, by them both considering the time to come, concludeth with a stedfast resolution what is the best course to be taken in all his actions and advices in this world.100

Although Quintilian deals with memory purely as an art to be used for speech and not as a virtue, the ad Herennium distinguishes it as necessary for the right rather than the merely praiseworthy, since wisdom depends on distingushing good from bad, which in turn depends on a well-stocked memory. The value of memory therefore, seems to lie in the sense of proportion consequent on comparison between different circumstances, some past, some present. By developing a sense of proportion between the divine and human perspectives through remembering past scenes, meditation parallels the virtue gained by the use of memory.

In turning to texts which are not based on the rosary,, the benefit of repetition is lost. Time spent on an exercise by the reader will now depend on the length of the text. The author himself will have to go through the images which he wants the reader to dwell on, in great detail. Most of these meditations are deliberately lengthy, so the reader has to spend as much time on them as the author does. One example of this impeding technique is the number of questions addressed to the silent figures in each meditation scene, such as Southwell's constant requests for self-analysis from his silent Magdalen. It is interesting that Patricia Parker sees partition, the denial of any

closure, as fundamental to amplification. She suggests that the dilation of a text is paralleled by commentators on rhetoric with the inability of woman to keep silent and formally chaste. In the context of the meditations, a degree of amplification was required to keep a text open until it had affected the meditator and the silence of recollection could fall.

Meditations in these texts have to be more intrusive in their guidance than the rosary text: 'behould then that good Lord... Looke then aside, upon his blessed Mother... Turne then again to thy Lord...'101 Philip Howard emphasizes this in the death-bed scene of the Foure-fould Meditation, of the foure last things, where we draw the very last breath with the sufferer before journeying with his soul:

> The houre is come, thy debt thou now must pay,
> And yeeld to death, when life thou most doest need:
> Thy breath is stopt, in twinkling of an eye,
> Thy body dead, in ugly forme doth lye.102

Effectively, the rosary texts can provide meditations with images and without words, so that the majority of the meditation takes place within the reader's mind. However, the non-rosary texts must make the pictures for the reader, since they are based on word pictures and the invention comes from within rather than outside the text. Thus, the non-rosary texts' use of memoria is less marked than that

of the rosary texts. They have to depend more on invention to keep the reader's attention.

In summary, the last two chapters have proposed that the texts see meditation as deliberative rhetoric against oneself, and that they give techniques which can create such rhetoric. This chapter showed how the logical mode of invention became conflated with another, the commonplace, by means of the status system. Through this, amplification was equated with invention in the sixteenth-century manuals and in the recusant meditations. The two types of amplification have been married to the two subjects of the meditations, the faith and the Incarnation. Finally, meditations where amplification occurs in the memory rather than on the page have been identified.

The next three chapters move on to examine English hagiographies and catechisms published between 1580 and 1603. Rather than acting as demonstrative orations or the simple relation of facts, these texts join meditations in using deliberative techniques which aim to sway the will of the reader. The images of saints which are presented are there to be emulated, and the catechisms are there to recreate these images within the reader.

1 Lanham, R., A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms (1968; Berkeley, 1969), 106-112.
2 I will be using the terms loci and topoi without distinction.
3 Ong, W.J., Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 63.
4 The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, trans. G.E. Ganss (St. Louis, 1970), part iv, chp 6, declaration 8 (page 194).
5 Quintilian, Institutio, III vi 9.
6 Quintilian, Institutio, V i 2.
7 Cicero, De partitione, iii 8.
8 Cicero, Topica, trans. H.M. Hubbell (London, 1949), 377.
9 Cicero, De partitione, ix 33.
10 Cicero, De partitione, xx 70, xxix 101.
11 Cicero, De oratore, II xxxix 166.
12 Quintilian, Institutio, III vi 66.
13 Quintilian, Institutio, V i 1.
14 Quintilian, Institutio, V viii 4-6.
15 Quintilian, Institutio, V x 23.
16 Quintilian, Institutio, V x 94.
17 ad Herennium, I ii.
18 ad Herennium, II xxx.
19 Soarez, Rhetorica, 169.
20 Soarez, Rhetorica, 257.
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35 Hyperius, Pathway, Cii v.
36 C.N., Our Ladie, B3 v-B4 r.

37 Southwell, R., An Epistle of Comfort, to the Reverend Priestes... & other of the Laye sort (Paris [England, 1587-88]), E4 r.
38 Constable, H., The Poems of Henry Constable, ed. J. Grundy ['Spirituall Sonnettes'] (Liverpool, 1960), 183, 192.
39 Manuall, or Meditation, C5 v.
40 Chambers, Palestina, ++4 r.
41 Verstegan, 'Our Blessed Ladies Lullaby', Odes, D4 r.
42 Manuall, or Meditation, A8 r ff.
43 Beilin, E., Redeeming Eve. Women Writers of the English Renaissance [Eve] (Princeton, 1987), xix, 70.
44 Holy Churches Complaint, for her childrens disobedience [London, 1598-1601].
45 There may, perhaps, be a link between the opinion of De oratore that laughter depends on deformity and disproportion, and the number of weeping Marys and complaining St. Peters, whose passions were infinitely in proportion, according to the preface of Southwell's Magdalen.
46 C.N., Our Ladie, B2 v.
47 I.C., Magdalen, B3 r.
48 I.C., Magdalen, C4 r.
49 Chambers, Palestina, Aa2 v.
50 Breefe Collection, C1 v-C2 r.
51 Southwell, Magdalen, C6 v.
52 Nashe, T., 'Christs Teares Over Ierusalem' (London, 1593). The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R.B. McKerrow (1904; London, 1910), ii 21, 60.
53 Chambers, Palestina, O1 r, O4 v. My underlining.
54 Loarte, Meditations, Iviii r.
55 Garnet, Renunciation, titlepage, A6 r.
56 Garnet, Renunciation, B3 v. The names of authorities give support to a cause, regardless of whether they help to clarify what is said; they are there to frank the text with their personal weight. Garnet's use of 'genuine' also implies that a redaction of the saints' words through himself could lead to misrepresentation. Presumably since he is writing the text he is not worried about deceiving himself, but about a perceived tendency to distortion by words.
57 Persons, Directorie, Yy8 v.
58 Manual of Prayers, A1 r, C3 v-C6 v (first signature series).
59 Janelle, Southwell, 95.
60 Fraunce, Logike, Civ v.
61 Breefe Collection, A10 r.
62 Bucke, Beades, Di v.
63 Bucke, Beades, Ciii v, [D]iii v.
64 Hyperius, Pathway, Jii r.
65 Manuall, or Meditation, A8 r ff.
66 Luis, Of Prayer, Rviii r, Si r.
67 Hyperius, Pathway, Bi r.
68 Howell, Logic, 3.

69 Hall, J., The Arte of Divine Meditation (1606; London, 1607), 149.
70 Luis, Of Prayer, Mmvi r.
71 Persons, Directorie, Zz3 v.
72 Martin, Roma sancta, 165.
73 Southwell, Magdalen, A5 r.
74 Hyperius, Pathway, Giii r.
75 Cicero, De oratore, II xlvi 191.
76 Luis, Of Prayer, Bvii r.
77 Estella, Contempte, E7 v.
78 Soarez, Rhetorica. 261.
79 Southwell, Short Rule, B6 r.
80 Ascham, Schoolmaster, 68.
81 Luis, Memoriall, 447.
82 Garnet, Rosary, A6 r.
83 Vaux, Catechisme, 23-25.
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86 Loarte, Meditations, [Avii v].
87 Wilson, T., Arte of Rhetorique (London, 1553), intro. R.H. Bowers (Gainesville, 1962), Ffiv v.
88 Persons, R., A Relation of the King of Spaines Receiving in Valliodolid [Valliodolid] ([Antwerp], 1592), [B]5 v. This text describes the brilliance of learning fostered in the English college and the support which his Majesty gave to the foundation.
89 Garnet, Rosary, L3 v.
90 Methode, B3 v.
91 Luis, Of Prayer, Ppv r.
92 Chambers, Palestina, A3 r.
93 Verstegan, 'Saint Peeters Comfort', Odes, F4 v.
94 Persons, Directorie, A5 v.
95 Methode, G2 r.
96 Loarte, Exercise, Y1 r ff.
97 Elyot, T., The Boke Named The Governour (London, 1531), ed. H.H. Croft (London, 1880), ii 253.
98 Yates, F., The Art of Memory [Memory] (London, 1966), 300, footnote.
99 Yates, Memory, 20.
100 Puttenham, 'Arte of English Poesie.' Smith, Essays, ii 40-41. My underlining.
101 Breefe Collection, C1 v-C2 r.
102 Howard, P., A Foure-Fould Meditation, of the foure last things (London, 1606), B4 v.

Chapter 5: Hagiography and catechism: producing a saint.

De partitione celebrates epideictic rhetoric: 'there is no class of oratory capable of producing more copious rhetoric or of doing more service to the state, nor any in which the speaker is more occupied in recognizing the virtues and vices'. In De oratore however, this exalted role for demonstrative techniques dwindles to one of support for the deliberative and judicial causae, being just one of the many techniques which an orator can use to illuminate his subject.1 Evidently, Cicero's mature consideration of rhetoric led him to believe that display alone would be insufficient to move the listener to serve the state. Recusant hagiographies follow De oratore when they praise their subject, that is, deliberately and with action in mind. Thus, A Treatise of Three Conversions of England of 1603-04 does not indulge in naive praise of the recusant martyrs; instead, Persons remarks grimly that

> my end & scope in writing this treatise... is not indeed so much (if I shall confess the truth) to delight, as to moove and proffit thee (good reader...).2

These saints' lives have more in common with the proofs and rules for virtuous living offered in catechisms than the wonder-tale panegyrics of the Golden Legend. Catechisms and 'rules for life' are used to provide a sound basis of

faith and then to clarify its expression in the reader's life. Similarly, saints' lives are manipulated as rhetorical examples, initially to prove the truth of the faith and then to illuminate its expression.

This chapter looks at martyrs as examples to prove the faith, before the following chapter studies the way they clarify its application in daily life. It suggests that there is no parallel in these texts between the purpose of demonstrative rhetoric and that of hagiography. In a third chapter, catechisms are examined to see how their rules create the sort of saints modelled by the hagiographies. To encourage such imitation there must be a positive concept of the use of rules and roles, leading to the idea of a rhetorical self.

Examples as inartificial proof of the faith.

It is difficult to fix on a coherent description of what an example does, in rhetorical terms. It is a figure of embellishment, that is, a clarification of points already proved. It also appears in a more structural role, both as part of inartificial proof in suborning authorities to the orator's cause (a play on ethos) and also as an element of induction used in artificial proof. Hagiographies rely on inartificial proof.

The rhetoric manuals agree that inartificial proofs are those adapted by the orator and whose production lies outside the art of speaking. Quintilian splits them into two classes. 'Indications' are simply physical and necessary signs of a fact: smoke must come from a fire, a pregnant woman cannot be a virgin. The second class is of such items as decisions of previous courts, oaths, the statements of a witness, rumours and evidence extracted by torture. Quintilian does not analyse the difference between indications and the other portion of inartificial proof, being eager to hurry on to how such evidence is used.

To our ears, there is a scientific, dependable sound to inartificial proof and especially to indications. This does not match the value given it by rhetoric manuals. They see it merely as providing useful topics in support of, but not construction of, the main argument. It is true that Quintilian values it enough to warn that 'though in themselves [these proofs] involve no art, all the powers of eloquence are as a rule required to disparage or refute them' because of their powerful impression of impartiality.3 However, his section on inartificial proof goes on to point out the rhetorical nature of those inartificial proofs which are not physical indications. Rumours, precedents, oaths and testimony are all statements

by men. They depend on speech and hence on ethos, which is why Thomas Blundeville in 1599 referred all such proofs to the 'place of Authority'.4 The manuals put examples into this category of inartificial proof. Reference to precedents or witnesses is an appeal to examples which have a direct bearing on the case.

Like all categories in rhetoric, that of witness can be subdivided further into those of witness and authority. The distinction between them is one of application rather than quality. Both are forms of inartificial proof, gained from outside the case rather than through the skill of the orator. Both are dependent for their effect on ethos. Aristotle divides them simply by time.

> Witnesses are of two kinds, ancient and recent; of the latter some share the risk of the trial, others are outside it. By ancient I mean the poets and men of repute whose judgements are known to all.5

Those who 'share some risk' are those who are giving evidence directly related to the trial and run the risk of being thought perjurous. The others, both recent and ancient, are those whose comments and decisions have been made on issues which are unrelated to the trial but which can be applied as obiter dicta or precedent.

All witnesses, whether by themselves or as authorities, carry conviction primarily by belief in the truth of the character they present and not solely by the probability of

their evidence. The use of witnesses parallels in synecdoche Quintilian's consideration of the three things which make up a speech (the material, the orator and the audience), being the comments made by the witness, the degree of truth with which we credit them and their relevance to us. Examples provide a meeting point for the two former elements, combining proof by analogy and proof by ethos. Aristotle sees the possession of goodwill, good sense and virtue as necessary to persuade by ethos. This trinity deals again with the audience's attitude to the speaker, with the method of unfolding the subject and with the orator's self, all as part of dealing with 'self' within the proof of the witness's ethos - a potentially endless regression.

The latter two qualities of good sense and virtue encompass both active virtue (courage, self-control, magnificence, liberality, gentleness) and also passive virtue (practical and speculative wisdom). Aristotle describes the elements making up these two qualities when dealing with deliberative rhetoric, giving the impression of a speaker concerned solely with his topic, wise and impartial. However, his description of goodwill is reserved for the second book of the Rhetoric which dissects the passions. Goodwill he sees as more outgoing than virtue or good sense. It aims to engage the audience by manipulating

their affections, rather than offering the topic or the speaker's own qualities for their reasoned approbation.

Quintilian splits an appeal to an audience in terms of the affections raised. The one appeal

> is called pathos by the Greeks and is rightly and correctly expressed in Latin by adfectus [emotion]: the other is called ethos... rendered by mores [morals].6

Quintilian goes on to use this distinction to develop Aristotle's ethos of good sense, good will and virtue in terms of violence of emotion. Pathos, for Quintilian, describes the arousal of disturbing and violent emotions in the audience, and ethos the production of calming and gentle sensations, also in the audience. In other words, what Aristotle sees as a personal appeal to the audience through the gentle, reasonable qualities of good sense and moral virtue (that is, subject and self), Quintilian labels ethos. What Aristotle sees as a personal appeal being made through concentration on the passions of the audience, Quintilian calls pathos. The difference lies in the site of this appeal. For Aristotle, is pathos in the audience and ethos in the speaker, for Quintilian, both are within the audience. This suggests a coalescence of speaker and audience, where the persuader becomes the persuaded.

Quintilian agrees with Aristotle that both pathos and ethos are more effective in persuading the listener than using

rational judgement.7 Ethos is psuedo-rational, an emotional appeal in the guise of sober truth. The speaker stresses the good ethos of his witnesses and authorities, because the value of such testimony lies in believing them to be men of good sense and virtue, giving directly applicable advice which is coming from outside the discourse of the case. They are guest speakers, introduced by the main orator.

The recusant hagiographies handle the saints as witnesses. Martin starts his defence of pilgrimage, A Treatyse of Christian Peregrination, by flattering the reader into agreeing with the fathers and bishops of the ancient Church:

> doubtest thou Reader, whether ever anye such thinge hath bene done or no?... But thou art a reasonable man, thou wilte beleeve those that in thyne own iudgemente are, worthye of credit, if they tell it thee. To omit S. Ambrose, Chrisostome, Hierome, and others... let S. Austen suffice.8

The sense of magnificent dispassion required by ethos is given by stressing the antiquity of these reverend witnesses. This is especially the case when relating traditions of the Church rather than statements by one man. As Quintilian says,

> they form a sort of testimony, which is rendered all the more impressive by the fact that it was not given to suit special cases, but was the utterance or action of minds swayed neither by prejudice or influence, simply because it seemed the most honourable or honest thing to say or do.9

It lies behind Garnet's compiling of 'exact sentences and as it were diverse homilies of Ancient Fathers' in A Treatise of Christian Renunciation. Debate with present-day divines is renounced in Demaundes to bee Proponed of Catholickes to the Heretickes. Instead, Bristow tells us to ask the heretic debators 'whether they will be contente to trie this controversie of Religion, which is betwene us by the Religion of those ancient Martyrs, and others then in persecution'.10 Triumphantly, Persons points out that after Jewel's challenge at Paul's Cross in 1560, offering to be converted to Catholicism if any commonplaces of the fathers could be shown to support Rome, Louvain writers could shower him with 'Fathers, Doctors, Councells and historyes'.11

The ethos of the authorities is more important than accurate reporting of what they say. This meant both sides were alert to the possibilities in manipulating quotation. Martin claims that 'heretikes alleage scriptures, as here the Devil doeth, in the false sense: the Churche useth them, as Christ doeth, in the true sense'.12 Peter Martyr's quotation of the fathers is described by an indignant Persons in Conversions:

> eyther the wordes next going before, or immediatly following, or both (making wholly against them) are purposely left out, and others put in or mistranslated.13

Conversions purports to trace the history of ideas from the ancient church to the present day. Instead, it lists doctors of the Church who have supported similar-sounding concepts, though Persons never actually examines the doctrines in detail. In other words, he uses the ethos of the doctors but not their reasoning. For instance, cataloguing the heresies of Patrick Hamilton, 'that a man hath no freewill at all... that the holy Patriarcks were in heaven before Christs passion... that no Pope after Saint Peter had power to loose or bynd synnes', Persons does not pause to comment on the fearful consequences of these opinions. He simply says that Hamilton says nothing 'either against the reall presence or the masse, that might tend to Zwinglianisme or Calvinisme... so as Maister Patricke could not be of Fox his religion, whatsoever religion he was of'.14 In the same way, Thomas Wright transparently stuffs his margins with authorities, without dealing with their ideas. He assures the reader that though he has been unable to consult these authorities in writing A Treatise, Shewing the possibilitie... of the reall presence of 1596, 'a little reading would quickly have filled the margines'.15

Examples can be used within logical terms of reference and not for display: they are mechanisms which are the least capable of promoting belief, in a chain of proof running from syllogism through to enthymeme and induction down to

example. Soarez sees them as 'incomplete induction, or, what comes to the same thing, rhetorical induction'.16 He picks out enthymemes and examples as peculiarly 'rhetorical' means of moving the decision-making faculties. These methods make up a sort of gradatio in validity, moving downwards in the credibility conferred on an argument from syllogism to example but moving in the opposite direction in terms of emotional effect. This, of course, is reminiscent of the effects of amplification.

To create this, Quintilian argues that

> since an argument is a process of reasoning which provides proof and enables one thing to be inferred from another and confirms facts which are uncertain by reference to facts which are certain, there must needs be something in every case which requires no proof.

Examples, therefore, should be drawn from commonly accepted notions when used for argument by analogy. For instance, Quintilian mentions belief in the gods' existence as one of these foundations and in recusant texts the faith acts as a source for examples.17 To be commonly accepted, these notions depend on gross numbers of people espousing them.

The necessity for establishing this general agreement drives hagiographies to expand on the uniformity of their martyrs' faith. In A Briefe Historie of... XII. Reverend Priests, Allen, for example, conflates the answers of eleven Catholics condemned in November 1581 into a circular argument (one which Luis de Granada recommends in

repudiating the devil when tempted to despair). 'What do you believe?' 'I believe what the Catholic Church believes.' 'What does the Catholic Church believe?' 'What I believe.' One of Persons's major concerns in Conversions is to show there can be no martyrs in the Established Church, because of the fissiparous doctrine held by those executed for this Church. The first book of Conversions describes nine sects which Persons claims to have traced among the Protestant martyrs, proving they cannot be martyrs since they have no community of belief. The deaths of Foxe's saints are redundant. They prove nothing, for 'yt is not the punishment, but the cause that maketh a martyr' and 'heretiks... dyinge for defence of their particular opinions, dy not for Christ, but for the founders of their Sects'.18 The Rheims New Testament supports this:

> heretikes and other malefactours sometime suffer willingly and stoutly: but they are not blessed, because they suffer not for iustice. For (sayth S. Aug.) they can not suffer for iustice, that have devided the Churche.19

The statement is unchallenged in William Fulke's parallel Bible, pejoratively comparing the Catholic translation with Protestant versions. It can therefore be taken as the recognized position for both Churches.

Uniformity of belief is matched by sheer numbers of martyrs, to give sufficient grounds for affirming the truth of the faith. Henry Garnet, translating Canisius's

catechism, adds a list of all the doctors cited in the text so that the reader can be impressed not merely with the quality but also with the 'multitude of witnesses of [the Church's] sincerity'.20 The number of Catholic saints and martyrs in heaven is Campion's tenth reason for remaining in the Church, says Campian Englished.21 Conversions proudly produces statistical comparisons between the 3704 Catholics who died for their 'faith' (with the implied question of whether so many would die in error) and the mere 456 Protestants listed by Foxe as dying for their 'opinions'. A similar heaping of saints occurs in Verstegan's 'Triumphe of feminyne Saintes' in his Odes. Initially, each woman is dignified by a short stanza on her station in life before she is decorously martyred. Several pages on, stanzas gallop into couplets:

> With tearing hookes and iron combes,
> Was Tatiana torn.
> Cointha trayled along the streetes,
> Her flesh from bones was worne.

By the end of the poem there are absurd joblots: 'Six that were called Candida', 'Seven of the name of Julia'!22

•

What sort of witness are the recusant authors promoting? There is an impulse to claim the persons of great 'descent, education, wealth, kinds of power, titles to fame, citizenship, friendships, and the like' lauded in the ad Herennium.23 Puttenham provides some show of reason why

the noblity should be picked out as authorities or examples:

> for who passeth to follow the steps and maner of life of a craftes man, shepheard or sailer, though he were his father or dearest friend? yea how almost is it possible that such maner of men should be of any vertue other then their profession requireth?24

Different estates do not merely provide more striking examples the higher one climbs, but the degree of virtue each practises is different. Luis de Granada's translator, Richard Hopkins, believes that those who are given power on earth are given it because they have the virtue to use it properly.25 Either this idea (or sheer snobbery) causes a complacent Persons to recommend the reader to agree with the Catholic cause,

> when he shall have seene and pondered with some attention, how many great and wealthy grounds, both of Scriptures, Fathers, Councells, Antiquity, Continuance, Consent of Nations, Miracles, Sanctity, Wisdome, Learning and other such motives, which these articles have for arguments of their infallible truth: and on the other side shall see a company of ignorant and unlearned people, artificers, craftesmen, spinsters, and other poore weomen.26

In his Defence of English Catholiques, William Allen gives a shopping list of quality Catholic martyrs ranged against the pretended saints: 'fourtene noble and most worthie Bishops... two worthie English Prelates... a doosen of famous learned Deanes... fourtene Archdeacons', all the way down to the 'laici inferioris ordinis plurimi' of the Concertatio.27 He caps all this in XII. Priests by reversing the direction of martyrs witnessing for God:

> we therfor for their cleering and our owne in that case, and al the Catholikes in the realme, cal God and his holy Angels to witnes, that these men of God were most iniuriously, and wilfully murdered.28

Allen continues the Defence by gloating about

> how exceding few you gayne or get from us; whilest we in the meane space (through Gods great grace) receive hundrethes of your Ministers, a nomber of your best wits, manie delicate yong gentlemen, and divers heires of al ages, voluntarily fleeing from your damnable condition.29

He is echoed sourly in a 1581 letter from the Privy Council to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford: 'most of the seminary priests which at this time disturb the Church have been heretofore scholars of [your] university'.30 This is true. As Appendix 1 shows, nearly two-thirds of the writers in this thesis studied at either Oxford or Cambridge and Bossy calculates that more than one hundred fellows and senior members left Oxford in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. Moreover, about half of those who did go over to the Catholic colleges were sons of the gentry (natural enough when the costs of travelling and being maintained there are taken into account).31

It may have been this idea of status which gave impetus to the image of Catholic priests, and Jesuits in particular, as dangerously highliving, well-dressed, attractive and monied individuals. Persons tells Agazzari wryly that 'there is tremendous talk here of Jesuits, and more fables

perhaps are told about them than were told of old about monsters.'32 As Gee says,

> if, about Bloomesbury or Holborne, thou meet a good smug Fellow in a gold-laced suit, a cloke lined thorow with velvet, one that hath good store of coin in his purse, Rings on his fingers, a Watch in his pocket... a Stiletto by his side... then take heed of a Iesuite... This man has vowed poverty. Feare not to trust him with thy wife: he hath vowed also chastity.33

This picture is confirmed by the characters of Jesuits drawn by Thomas Overbury, John Earle and William Vaughan: they are ladies men, powerful, treacherous, military, Machiavellian. It is a picture far from the monkish ignorance and fustiness which Ascham paints of the typical Catholic, 'in our forefathers' time, when papistry as a standing pool covered and overflowed all England, [and] few books were read in our tongue'.34 At any rate, the topos of good breeding was sufficiently established in debate for the 1591 Proclamation to go out of its way to suggest that seminarians, led by traitors 'base of birth', were 'a multitude of dissolute yong men, who have partly for lacke of living, partely for crimes committed, become Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors'.35 There was acrimonious crossfire over the 'base birth' of both Persons and Cecil, after Persons answered the Proclamation.

Recusant martyrs are portrayed as noble but also as frail. The authors take advantage of Quintilian's advice that willing witnesses should seem unable or reluctant to oppose

others and should be upheld solely by the justice of their cause.36 Southwell's poem 'I dye without desert' gives this impression of his martyr (possibly Philip Howard): 'Men pitty may, but helpe me god alone', an 'orphane Childe enwrapt in swathing bands', 'relinquisht Lamb in solitarye wood/ With dying bleat'.37 Rather than appearing seditious or bold, purveyors of liberation theology, the martyrs are seen to conform. Allen's XII. Reverend Priests and Worthington's A Relation of Sixtene Martyrs carefully state that each of the martyrs prayed for the Queen before their execution.

Conversely, when dealing with Protestant martyrs in Conversions Persons cites Augustine on the arrogance of choosing one's own doctrines and the pertinacity displayed by heretic pseudo-martyrs in holding on to them. His psuedo-martyrs, especially the women, are characterized as 'wilful', full of 'intollerable pryde, presumption, and obstinacy in heresie'.38 Unity amongst them is provided solely by aggression towards the Catholic Church. Against this indignation is recusant approval of the silent and meek women of the meditations, who prefigure the conformable and innocent figures of the martyrdoms.

The idea of ethos is fundamental to the recusant catechisms also. Pity the poor Protestant reading his first catechism: its very form runs counter to that of his

faith. The deductive nature of catechism is antithetical to the direct revelation provided by Scripture. Moreover, the concept of an inner spiritual knowledge of each man which was espoused by the free churches does not reconcile to the public and communal knowledge offered by catechetical forms. Alexander Nowell's popular Catechisme or First Instruction and Learning of Christian Religion, translated from Latin in 1570, attempts to mitigate the strain of using a form which moves away from the Scriptures. He ties each of his statements into biblical texts, trying to deflect a development away from biblical literalism. In addition to this, he appeals to reasons beyond the 'bare and naked affirmations' he makes in the catechism, so that the reader understands and not just recites the answers. Thus, Nowell's preface proudly notes that the catechism does not teach the scholar, who is already able to answer on all questions of faith. Instead,

> the maister opposeth the scholar to see how he hath profited, & the scholar rendereth to the maister to geve accompt of his memory and diligence.39

The internal truth should be uncovered and not revealed from the outside. Thus, the Catechisme shifts uneasily between being a schoolbook to learn Latin, and a courtesy manual, and an aid to discovering the grounds for faith which one already possesses.

Against this one should set the confidence in its rules and subjects, which breathes through every Catholic catechism.

The form of the recusant catechism does not war with its contents. These texts believe that revelation comes from outside the soul and that such knowledge can be known by man. This puts the reader into an interpretative rather than a perceptive or inventive role.

Recusant catechisms are comfortable topics to write about. They are without anxiety, since they know they have both a subject and an author. Of the three variables in a persuasive piece of writing - the attitude of the speaker, the subject itself and the attitude of the listener - only the latter can be modified in a Catholic text. Not that this firm subject is the Scriptures. These are accepted as textual, diachronically compiled and in need of interpretation. Rather, the subject of recusant catechisms, the faith, is founded on a two-tier approach to knowledge and ordered by God's ethos. 'Faith is grounded upon a more certaine foundation, then is humaine science, to wit upon the credit and authority of God himself', and, one must constantly consider 'the Maiestie of allmightie God, who will be beleeved at his wooŕd, without being asked for proofe or reason for the same', says Conversions.40 Paradoxically, Catholics have the confidence to write catechisms which retail facts, solely because their subject is rhetorical.

The subjugation of the understanding is demonstrated on the very title-page of the Rheims New Testament: 'a man must show himself meekminded, lest by stubborn contentions he become incapable and unapt to be taught'. For T.H.D. the seventh rock on which the ship of grace founders is that of immoderate study and questioning for curiosity's sake alone.41 Silent, passive figures of meditations are models of such meekness, they are quiet and do not presume to form opinions. Martin praises the Virgin

> though litle be spoken of her concerning such matters in the Scriptures, because she was a woman, and not admitted to teach or dispute in publike of high mysteries: yet she knew al these mysteries, and wisely noted and contemplated of al those things... about Christ.42

One of the articles of Jewel's Challenge contended that the Catholic Church supported ignorance as 'the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience'. Thomas Harding counters this:

> of the Service in the vulgare tonge, the people will frame lewde and perverse meanings of their owne lewde senses: So of the Latine Service, they will make no constructions either of false doctrine, or of evill life.43

Persons certainly sees the proofs offered in his Directorie as a concession to the laity. His preface puts the work in the context of 'bookes of controversies' of these 'troblesome and quarelous times'. Calling philosophers the patriarchs of heretics, he is prepared to start by flattery with a show of reason but end by asking the reader to

'captivate his understanding to the obedience of Christ, which is to beleeve such things as Christ by his Church proposeth unto him'.44 The second edition of 1585, published to correct Protestant ammendments by Edmund Bunny, has newly written chapters against divisions in the Church and heretical opinions. These were included to defeat a certain objectivity and relativism which Persons perceived to be starting up in men's minds as a consequence of debate. He repeatedly links the religious troubles with a developing degree of scepticism. People 'hearing such contrariety, contention and fight of words... come at length to beleeve little or nothing'.45 Allen takes this on.

> Religion to worldly men specially to many Athiests now a daies whom men cal, honestly politikes: seemeth not material any farther then as it pertaineth to the preservation or destruction of the civil state.46

Richard Broughton reuses Persons's first title for the Directorie and also Persons's aspirations, in the Resolution of Religion of 1603. He claims to resolve everything into 'that first and infallible veritie', though Broughton shifts Persons's concept of resolution away from self-determination and towards the idea of reducing issues to first principles. Following the Directorie, Southwell's Short Rule marshalls 'foundations' and then rules, leading on to a final exhortation. Bristow's Briefe Treatise... to finde out the truth of 1574 boasts that

> by reading this treatise, yea or any part almost thereof, [he shall] learne all truth, and that not only that is in this day in question, but also that eyther hath bin, or may be in question betweene the Christians.47

According the readers a degree of ratiocination means the writers can dignify them without seriously examining the faith. Since he considers these will be consulted frequently, Luis separates out rules for behaviour in his Memoriall but thinks the first volume of reasoning on the faith will be discarded after the first reading.48 Alphonso de Madrid's A Breefe Methode or Way Teachinge all sortes of Christian people is highly unusual in demanding that the understanding be integral to worship. It is 'beastly' for a man to serve God 'without regardinge by his understandinge & reason, whether there be any other manner, wherby he may be able, to serve God more excellently'.49

Worries about disputation are expressed a number of times, even in Persons's plainly polemical works. The Warn-word to Sir Francis Hastinges of 1602 rebuts the idea, promulgated by Hastings's Wastword and Wardword, that Catholics promote folly and treason. Answering the charge that Catholics rely on faith alone and refuse to allow people to make up their own minds, Persons says that

> it is to be considered, that all men have not alwayes such variety of books, as to see all controverses discussed therin, & yf they had, yet have not all such leasure or learning to read or discuss all, nor capacity or understanding to discerne or iudge: so as if their everlasting understanding must depend of

> reading over all controversyes, and making resolution upon the same, it must needs be impossible to many thousands both men and women in our countrey at this day to be saved.50

The first book of the Directorie digests this unavailable learning, listing means to prove the nature and existence of God by using moral and natural philosophy and appealing to history to show how others have been persuaded of the truth. Persons addresses all markets, referring to proofs from the three philosophies, to cabbalism, Hermes Trismegistus and comparative religion. The very style of the Bible is offered as proof of its veracity: the facts of the Nativity are guaranteed to be true, because humble shepherds would be quite unable to make up such a story. The Directorie sports a spurious air of 'getting down to basics' and 'knowing where we stand on an issue'.

The models for disputation which are actually offered are whose where truth is demonstrated rather than enquired into, that is, taught rather than researched. A good proportion of each of Persons's works attempt to persuade readers by reason. He explains in the general preface to Conversions how although matters of importance are matters of faith yet God does not go against reason. It is

> an obedience founded in all reason of probability, inducement and credibility... [which] (together with the help of our pious affection, and assistance of Gods grace) be much more sure firme and ummoveable, than that, which is gotten by humaine knowledge.

This is the distinction made by Augustine in De civitate Dei: the human mind is so darkened by sin that it can no

longer perceive the reasonableness of the divine truth, except through faith.51 The Catholic Church does allow a degree of rational debate, Persons protests. 'Disputation is a good meanes and profitable instrument, to examine and try out truth' and he is able to give many examples of how the Fathers used it. Both sides are represented in a disputation on a question before the Church finally determines on a matter. Despite all this, Persons concludes of disputation that

> as it is a fitt meanes to styrre up mans understandinge to attend the truth, by layinge forth the difficultyes on both sides; so is yt not alwayes sufficient to resolve his iudgement, for that yt moveth more doubts then he can aunswere or dissolve.52

This he exemplified when drawing up (though never publishing) a manifesto of how the country would be run under a Catholic adminstration. This Memorial included plans for disputations with recalcitrant Protestants, so that the one truth would eventually appear to them clearly. Clancy has concluded by this that Persons

> did not think that this government-sponsored religious unity would be a source of suffering for any man of good will. All those who really desired to know the truth would be amenable to reason. That left only 'wilfull Apostates or malicious persecutors',

and those, of course, you burnt.53 Eventually he considers disputation to be a dangerous technique, since it is better to believe something which is wrong than nothing at all. The sectaries

> do depend only upon probability, and persuasibility of speach, or wryting one against another, by which (as Tully saith) nothinge is so incredible, that may not be made probable.

Thus, Persons sees Academic scepticism as one of the most unsafe opinions from which Augustine was delivered. It is heretics who are able to say what they do not believe in, but not what they do.

> Hereticall doctrine is negative for the most part, & their instruction to the simple people is to jest, scoffe, doubt or deny. Which are points that are easily learned, & pleasing to the corrupted humour of mans sinfull state and condition.54

In all this, the 'rules' texts should be distinguished from basic catechisms produced for beginners in the faith. Catechisms stress, to the same audience which they perceive exists for tales of saints, miracles, images and relics, that learning is unimportant in developing faith. Bellarmine, Vaux and Martin piously murmur 'the books of the unlearned' about these aids. Vaux and Bellarmine group together young children getting to know the words of prayers or the gestures of the mass with 'unlearned people', making no concessions to the maturity and curiosity of the latter. Such catechisms are the brief, clear and plausible statements of fact recommended by the ad Herennium. While Persons, Luis and Southwell provide tables of contents and indices for the reader to organize his own programme of research, Bellarmine and Vaux do not, and the reader can only approach the text in the order they give.

Thus, reason has been found irrelevant to faith in both catechisms and hagiographies. As Persons says,

> faith is grounded upon a more certaine foundation, then is humaine science, to wit upon the credit and authority of God himselfe.55

The catechisms point out that the efficacy of the sacraments, the central conduit of grace which the Church offers, does not depend on the understanding, 'the infant, innocent, idiote and unlearned, taking no lesse fruite of Baptisme and al other divine offices... then the learnedst Clerke in the Realme'.56 This rhetorical suspicion of the understanding is summed up in the advice of Quintilian's to avoid clear definition, which 'may serve to fetter the person who has got to reply in chains of his own making, or may force him to silence, or even to reluctant confession of a point which tells against himself'.57 Proof is not something which is embraced as necessary by the rhetorician. It is something which is weighed up for the advantageous impression of factual honesty that it gives the auditor, as against the possibility of getting caught out. We have returned to ethos once more.

The hagiographical authors go to great lengths to give the appearance of veracity to their statements. In A true report of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Alfield uses martyria, confirmation by one's own testimony, in repeating an idle conversation about the sun's motion from east to

west, held between some gentlemen who were standing in front of him at Campion's execution. Alfield asks them to support him by telling their friends that this was what they had said, so people will know he was really there to hear it.58 The ingenuity of such a technique provokes conviction, even in those who did not hear the conversation. Martyria, however, is a dangerous figure if good ethos is not established. Persons mocks Francis Hastings for using it: if Hastings has said it, it is that much more likely to be false.

> Who are yow (Sir) that we should yeld unto yow this Pythagoricall authoritie of ipse dixit? graunting all things upon your owne assertion without further proofes.59

When direct-speech reporting is not possible, the proceedings of the trial and death are set out in letters. This rhetorical appeal to documentary evidence (like the ethos of witnesses, a portion of inartificial proof) tries to suggest the letters are authentic statements from both sides of the struggle. The epistolary technique was familiar to those on the mission, since the use of letters was encouraged by the Jesuit Constitutions as a way of solving the problem of isolation amongst missioners and of promoting interest in mission work. A minimum of one letter each month was expected by the provincial from each mission station. Allen prints letters by almost all the martyrs, many written in expectation of death, and works to

make us aware that these are genuine. For instance, he gives an incomplete last letter by Sherwin to his friend, which Allen says wants 'iii or iiii of the latter lines' as though he had the travel-stained document before him and would not edit it, in scrupulous fear of misrepresenting the martyr's own words. Allen uses the method with great success in The Late Apprehension and Imprisonnement of Iohn Nicols, Minister, at Roan of 1583. 'In setting it downe, no one title is altered, not the very incongruities of his speach amended.'60 In this work Allen gives a few lines of explanatory text of where such and such a person was, while writing each document. The bulk of the text is of letters and reports by others, in the controversy over why Nicols was imprisoned by the Catholics. After many of the letters Allen prints the seal of the notary who copied them, representing each document as a true copy.

A side effect of using the epistolary form is to create the impression of a firm and interested circle of addressees already in discussion, before the new reader comes in to overhear what is being said. This world is stable, not predicated on the reader's attention. In a sense, the letter form alienates the writer from his own text, making it easier for the reader to believe in its objectivity. In Conversions the debates before the King of France between the Bishop of Evreux and the Lord Plessis Mornay highlight what constitutes fair quotation and extrapolation from

texts, as the Bishop strives to prove Plessis Mornay has misquoted the fathers in his description of the true Church. Persons reports much of this trial of places in the letters exchanged between the two men, giving a sense of their debate's reality and immediacy. Henry himself calls attention to the good which the publication of letters can do, in turning a private, scholarly dispute into an issue and so into a means of converting people. He does this by his letter, reported on by Persons in a text on conversion![61]

This technique is not confined to letters. Writers refer to other recusant texts, creating the impression of a circle of other speakers confirming what is being said in the present work. The Short Rule praises the Christian Directorie, which in its turn praises Loarte's Exercise. Conversions suggests one should read Bristow's Motives and the Directorie. Campian Englished mentions Martin, and so on.

One of the most impressive features of Allen's texts is his use of gnomic printing to distinguish direct and reported speech by different characters, and to point up sententiae. In Nicols, he prints documents in bold or light plain text and varies the point size of each document, while his own commentary is in bold or light italic. These then appear to be a set of letters and reports from a miscellany of

pens and not a single document that has been written or heavily edited by Allen. This printing technique is picked up by Persons in the debates in Conversions and in his De persecutione Anglicana libellus, which prints martyrs' letters as holy relics of their spirits.

There are several layers of conviction being manipulated here. Does the reader believe that the facts of the execution are reported correctly? This is the impression which Alfield's martyria or Allen's printing techniques intend to convey. Does the reader believe that the martyr was sincere in his faith? This is dependent on an actual execution; martyrdoms of the will cannot be used to prove this. If the martyr lied, deliberately, at the point of death and beyond the possibility of absolution, he would damn himself eternally - an unlikely thing to do, given that he was dying because he believed in salvation and damnation. Finally but most importantly, does the reader believe what the martyr is saying?

With this question, we move back into the realm of definition, martyr or suicide, that is, the realm of texts. Single events become topoi, around which different definitions of their significance are marshalled, by both Catholic and Protestant. While Cecil says Alexander Briant was not starved and wilfully refused to write for food, Persons says Briant was forced to lap condensation from the

walls. Campion was humiliatingly silenced in the disputes in the Tower, pace Anthony Munday, or won the disputes so convincingly that they could not be published, according to Allen. Mirror-images to the poems in Alfield appear in Munday's breefe aunswer made unto two seditious Pamphlets of 1582. Alfield's Campion, whose

> ... lowly minde possest a learned place,
> and sugred speach a rare and vertuous wil

is anwered by one with

> A climing minde, reiecting wisedomes call,
> A sugred tongue, to shrowde a vicious will.62

Conversions inverts Foxe's Acts: Persons produces a mirror-image text of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, reprinting the calendars of both Churches and sardonically commenting on the testimony of each Anglican martyr.

Thus, the most bitter denunciations of Elizabeth's actions come not in response to the fact of execution but to the way it is defined as treason. Cecil made government policy clear in the title of his first defensive pamphlet, The Execution of Iustice... Against Certaine Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the Traytors and Enemies of the Realme, Without Any Persecution of Them for Questions of Religion of 1583. Against this definition, Alfied says martydoms are 'misconstred, how truth is made treason, religion rebellion'.63 In 1591, Southwell ended his Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie by saying that this charge added most to the misery of the recusants.64 Allen, in A

True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques, declares

> how uniustlie the Protestants doe charge Catholiques with treason; how untrulie they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfullie they seeke to abuse strangers about the cause, greatnes, and maner of their sufferinges.65

Redefinition was described, particularly by recusant texts meant for an overseas audience, as Machiavellian. The question of whether he was a traitor was pressed on each martyr by his executioners, immediately before his death. Given that the customary acknowledgement of treachery would spare their families further harassment, the fact that all the martyrs denied plotting against the Queen highlights an appreciation on both sides that the cause makes the martyr and the definition, the convert.

Definitions proffered by the government of its own actions were not merely negative or reactive but positive, creating an image. Allen's preface to XII. Priests felt that one of their reasons to colour the facts lay in the government's need to maintain their self-definition as just and reasonable. This is evident in Cecil's pamphlet for the home audience, A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners of 1583, which deals with the same topics as The Execution of Iustice but finds it necessary to admit that the rack has been used. Even then Cecil says, in a tone of mild reproof towards unreasonable cavilers, the warders 'whose office and act it is to handle

the racke, were ever... specially charged, to use it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be'.66

In other words, the fact of martyrdom very quickly becomes irrelevant, as texts move away from discussing the saint himself and begin to take on the shape and aims of the opposing side's books. Thus, the martydoms are quickly textualized by both sides. H.E. Rollins, for instance, lists five hostile ballads produced about Campion, up to 1603. A Discovery of E. Campion, Anthony Munday's pamphlet describing the deaths of Campion, Sherwin and Briant, was entered in the Stationers' Register within two days of the execution in 1581. Allen criticizes the government for printing up a sort of programme to the execution before the day, containing details of the three men's examinations. On the Catholic side also, while Alfield notes the presence of many people who were there to witness the passage of such virtue, he says firmly that he went solely to write about the event.67 Persons notes that

> endless is the number of books, dialogues, discourses, poems, witticisms, that are made and published, sometimes in print, sometimes in manuscript, in praise of these martyrs and in condemnation of their adversaries.68

George Birkhead, the Superior of the English secular clergy, equates the importance of books and men on the mission. In 1584 he told Agazzari that the recent increase of fervour in Britain could be put down to three things:

> the holy deaths last year of so many martyrs... the careful and constant zeal for preaching in our priests, and especially the great variety of books... which have been written since your fathers first came to England.69

John Gibbons's offer to the mission, of writing the Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia rather than going himself, was gratefully accepted by his superiors.

Indeed, the martyrs themselves become 'books' testifying to Christ's power. Campion's rhetorical skill is established by Alfield before he begins to say anything at all about the martyr's devotion or constancy. This emphasis was picked up by the 1632 translator of Rationes decem, who spends the first three pages of his introduction in an excited gradatio which lists Campion's success in debate, his decorous words, swelling metaphors, frequencies and diminutives, his interrogations, shortness and sublimity, his transitions, graduations and vehemency - before remarking rather flatly that 'besides all this artificiall furniture of Speach, there is found a wonderfull Christian fervour in his words'!70 Alfield's concluding verses see the reader's own conscience and then London itself as pages on which Campion wrote out his faith:

> his vertues nowe are written in the skyes,
> and often read with holy inward eyes...
> the streets, the stones, the steps you haled them by,
> proclaime the cause for which these martirs dy.71

The martyr becomes as uncomfortably omnipresent as Nancy's eyes to Sikes. Campian Englished says that Dr. Case of Oxford, on seeing the martyrs' heads on poles, felt that

'their dead bodies preach to this day'.72 In the Short Rule, Southwell notes,

> all creatures must be as it were bookes to me to read therein the love, presence, providence and fatherly care, that God hath over me.73

William Alabaster takes up this theme in 'The Sponge':

> My tongue shall be my pen, mine eyes shall rain
> Tears for my ink...
> When I have done, do thou, Jesu divine,
> Take up the tart sponge of thy Passion
> And blot it forth; then be thy spirit the quill,
> Thy blood the ink, and with compassion
> Write thus upon my soul: thy Jesu still.74

An article by Ronald Corthell, unique in applying new historicism to recusant texts, sees loyalty to the supreme other being redefined as disloyalty to the absolute authority of government. He suggests that 'an estranged or divided subject, a representation potentially productive of a discourse of interiority or conscience' is produced by the double allegiance owed by Catholics to Church and State, since it sets the concept of a transcendent individual against one which is produced historically.75 A degree of dialogue between the two is in the recusant texts.

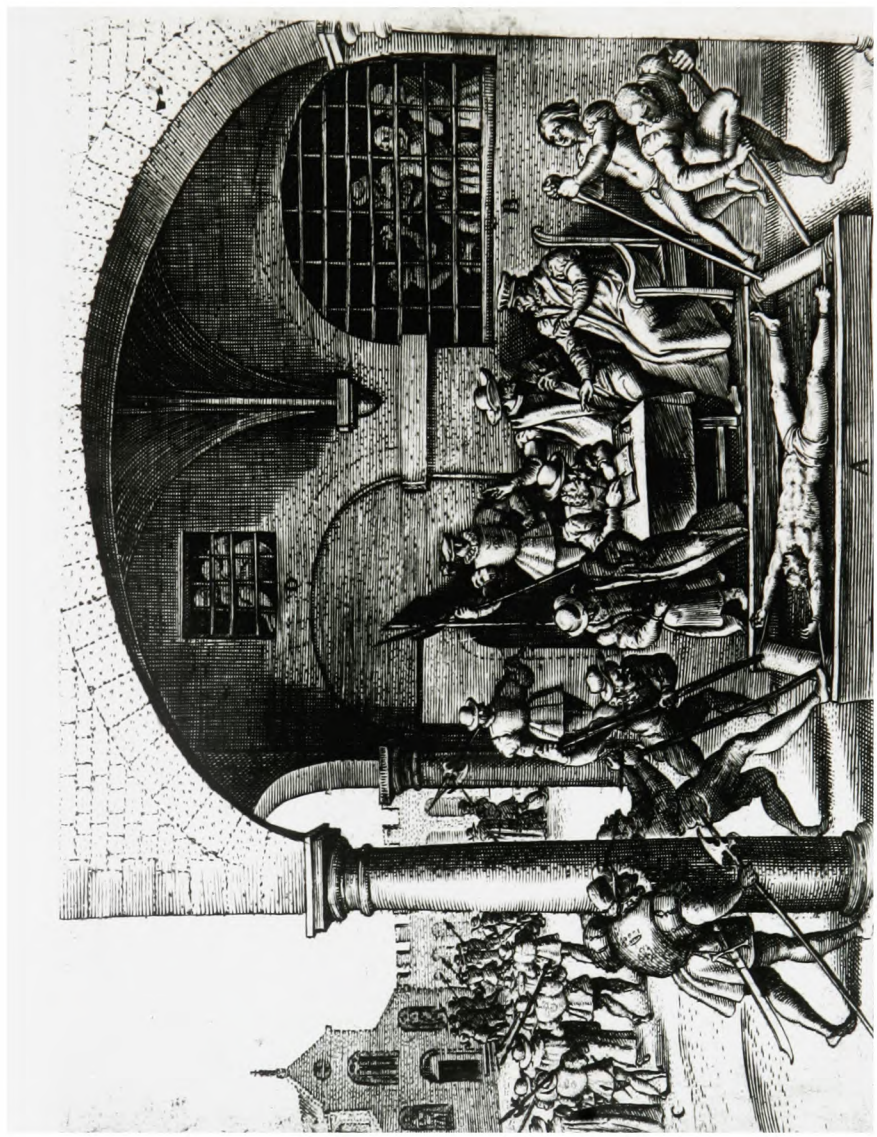
This textualization of the martyrs suggests the next portion of inartificial proof demonstrated in the hagiographies: relics and miracles. Using a more modern 'forensic' concept of proof, the martyrs' relics and images are seen as physical evidence or rhetorical 'indications'

of the truth of faith. The martyrs were aware of their immediate conversion after death into relics by the crowd, and literary remains by the authors. When Rigby prepares for execution he throws his neckerchief into the crowd, 'wherupon some said: that wil be taken up for a Relique'.76 This may have contributed to the clinical way in which the executions and tortures are presented, the authors often losing a sense of the person involved (see the diagramatic labelling of the illustration on the following page). The recusant Thomas Pounde's phrases rip up his martyrs:

> And some by them were lykwyse drawen in twaine
> some picemeell hewen some stripped of their skin
> some boyled, some broylde, & some with bodkines slaine,
> & some hoot oyle, & ledd were dipped in...77

The possibility of future miracles was not barred. Augustine gives it sanction, saying that 'the bodies of the dead are not to be contemned and cast away, [and] chiefly of the righteous and faithful, which the Holy Ghost used as organs and instruments unto all good works'.78 However, while the function of proving God's power and his agreement with the intentions of the intecessor was credited to miracles, sixteenth-century theologians followed Augustine in feeling that

> to alleage later myracles was not necessary, because at the beginning they were requisite til faith was planted, [and] afterwarde they were not to be loked for.79



'Persecutions contre les Catholicques, parles protestans Machiavellistes en Angleterre'. Note the careful numbering of each torture. Ki r in R. Verstegan, Theatre des Cruautez des Hereticques (Paris, 1588).

About relating miracles, Martin explains that to tell of 'wicked spirits cast out, the blind to see, the lame to go, the dead to rise agayne' is valuable in two ways. These events indicate where the true faith lies, since such deeds could only be performed by a member of the true Church. In the case of miracles performed through the intercession of the martyrs single actions can be used as proof, since one miracle is as useful to prove the supernatural as a million. More prudently, Martin says miracles are also helpful to rouse devotion even if they cannot be proved:

> he honoreth undoutedly the principall it selfe in heaven [ie. the saint who has been invoked], howsoever he be deceaved agaynst his will in mistaking some earthly monumente or remembrance therof.80

Samuel Harsnet describes the purpose of 'popish impostures' or exorcisms by several priests in 1585-86 in a similar way. Although Harsnet may have exaggerated descriptions of the exorcisms themselves, the comment by a fellow priest to Anthony Tyrell when he expressed dissatisfaction about the affair could have come from Martin himself:

> such Catholiques, as have beene present at such fits, have receaved it for a truth, that the parties are possessed. And although I for my part will not make it an article of my Creede, yet I thinke that godlie credulitie doth much good, for the furthering of the Catholique cause.81

Echoing Harington's comment, that if Orlando Furioso was able to bring 'an honest and serious consideration' into his mind then it was no 'toy', Martin praises those with the grace to reap great devotion from small things like relics.82 So, although made wary by Trent's injunctions of

labelling incidents as miracles, Allen describes how Cuthbert Mayne's chamber is mysteriously illuminated, and Worthington, how John Rigby's chains fall from him without aid. Worthington cautiously prompts the reader to decide himself on the significance of the event:

> most men that saw it, or have heard of it, undoubtedly thinck it to be miraculous. What the Iudges with the rest of the bench, and others in authoritie thinck of it, is hard to iudge.83

Relics can even act without consent, they are involuntarily powerful, though the catechisms of Vaux and Bellarmine warn that latria and dulia are not to be confused, as the relic acts as the duct for God's mercies and not as a producer of miracles. In the Roma sancta, an unpublished eulogy of his stay at Rome of 1581, Martin details Gregory's care in sending out only a little of the dust filed from the chains which bound St. Paul, since to send the whole of Paul's head as requested would be far too dangerous. Donne mocks this mechanical aspect in Ignatius His Conclave. The Gregorian calendar has disturbed the heavens so much, Ss. Stephen and John can scarcely perform their miracles now they are being appealed to on the wrong day.84

Relics and texts are both substantial residues of great events, efficacious in consumption. Such indications of the saints (textual or physical) are meant to be retained

in the memory. Martin makes this a material process of absorption. It was right

> to love sacred monuments, to be desirous to see them, to goe farre and neere unto them, to touch, to kisse, to licke them, to weepe in the place, to conceave such a lyvely imagination of thinges done there by Christ or his Saynts, and withall such a sensible feeling of heavenly devotion, that it was a payne to remove from thence.85

The Manual of Prayers reverses the direction of absorption: addressing the 'moste bountifull harte', the sacred blood, the 'venerable woundes', it requires the reader to cry 'drowne me in them, hyde me in them: write and prynte them deepely in my harte'.86 In the Roma sancta relics are startling images to 'reneweth our memorie, eftsones fraile and forgetfull'.87 Images of saints are traditionally furnished with a memorable iconographic representation of the saint's particular virtue or suffering; St. Joseph has his carpentry tools, St. Catherine her wheel. This recalls how the meditation texts use striking pictures to impress the message behind the image on the reader. When the recusant authors provide detailed scenes of bloody last ends they are not just appealing for pity but providing an enduring, though unmoving, image of the struggle.

It is possible to go on pilgrimage in one's imagination, as the meditation texts enjoin. Martin's eulogy of Rome, 'a verie shambles of martyrizing Christians' is satirized by Anthony Munday's description in The English Romane Lyfe of how the students at the English college would bring home

bones they had found on walks around the city, 'and thus (saving your reverence) increaseth the genealogy of the holy relics in Rome'.88 However, Munday has not grasped the insubstantial nature of Martin's relics. These bones are symbols of a past glory of Christianity which is being repeated in the present day. Their antique provenance is irrelevant, only their ability to provoke devotion is important.

Indeed, extending the 'place and image' mnemotechnic the Short Rule recommends we bring the virtues to mind and bridle evil thoughts by creating a 'paradise' in each room of our house.

> I must in everye roome of the house where I dwell imagin in some decent place therof a throne or chair of estate, and dedicate the same & the whole roome to some Saint, that whensoever I enter into it, I enter as it were into a chappel or church that is devoted to such a Sainte.

Southwell's emphasis, in this 'spiritual recreation', is on memory. Saints are not to be switched around rooms or we will get hazy on which saint is where. We can build up the number in each room slowly, 'as the roome will minister conveniency to frame their places for the better conceiving and remembring of them'. It will be helpful for recall to match the saint and the virtue needed in each room, putting saints of spare diet in the dining room, for example. Like Campion's appearances, this vision becomes claustrophobic: 'not only in the house, but also in the walkes, gardens and

orchardes about the house may I do the same'. Even members of the family are to represent saints.89 Aspects of the physical world wither into being signs of the virtues of God's elect, as the creator speaks metanomically through creation to us.

This chapter has emphasized that beneath the seemingly impartial nature of inartificial proof lies the rhetorical and the pathetic. Even catechisms appear to rely on ethos rather than proofs or reasons: the form of disputation becomes mere show. A factual presentation of martyrs as witnesses is dissolved under deliberative pressure, showing their dependence on ethos. Not only have these authorities been hieratically moulded, but the least susceptible elements of inartificial proof - physical indications or relics - have been softened into digestible fragments for the memory. The following chapter extends this view of hagiography as exemplary and deals with the use of saints' lives as examples to illuminate the faith.

1 Cicero, De partitione, xx 69; De oratore, II xi 47.
2 Persons, Conversions, i 2*8 v.
3 Quintilian, Institutio, V i 2, V ix 1.
4 Blundeville, T., The Art of Logike (London, 1599), L2 r.
5 Aristotle, The 'Art' of Rhetoric [Rhetoric] (London, 1982), I xv 13.
6 Quintilian, Institutio, VI ii 8.
7 Quintilian, Institutio, V xii 9.

8 Martin, Peregrination, B5 v.
9 Quintilian, Institutio, V xi 37.
10 Bristow, R., Demaundes to bee Proponed of Catholickes to the Heretickes (1576; [England, 1596-97]), C5 r.
11 Persons, Conversions, ii 53 (second signature series).
12 NT, Bii r.
13 Persons, Conversions, ii 51 (second signature series).
14 Persons, Conversions, ii 365-366.
15 Wright, T., A Treatise, Shewing the possiblitie... of the reall presence (Antwerp [England], 1596), R2 r.
16 Soarez, Rhetorica, 246.
17 Quintilian, Institutio, V x 11.
18 Persons, Conversions, iii 10, 16 (first signature series).
19 NT, Biii r.
20 Canisius, Summe, *4 r.
21 Campian Englished, 155.
22 Verstegan, 'Triumphe of feminyne Saintes', Odes, E6 r, E7 r.
23 ad Herennium, III vi.
24 Puttenham, 'Arte of English Poesie.' Smith, Essays, ii. 43.
25 Luis, Of Prayer, bi v.
26 Persons, Conversions, iii 40 (first signature series).
27 Allen, Defence, C7 r-v.
28 Allen, XII. Priests, av v. My underlining.
29 Allen, Defence, C8 r.
30 Evans, 'Rhetoric', 249.
31 Bossy, Community, 12, 415.
32 Persons, letter to Agazzari, 8/81. CRS xxxix (1942) 83.
33 Gee, Snare, G3 v-G4 r.
34 Ascham, Schoolmaster, 68.
35 Southwell, Supplication, 60.
36 Quintilian, Institutio, V vii 16.
37 Southwell, 'I dye without desert,' Poems, 48.
38 Persons, Conversions, ii 239 (first signature series).
39 Nowell, A., A Catechisme or First Instruction, trans. T. Norton (London, 1570), intro. F.V. Occhiogrosso (New York, 1975), Aiii r-v.
40 Persons, Conversions, i 3*2 r.
41 D., T.H., Nine Rockes, B2 r.
42 NT, Siii v.
43 Harding, T., An Answere to Maister Iuelles Chalenge (Louvain, 1564), Vi v.
44 Persons, Directorie, a2 v.
45 Persons, Conversions, ii 1 (first signature series).
46 Allen, XII. Priests, aiii v.
47 Bristow, Briefe Treatise, B6 v.
48 Luis, Memoriall, 7 (second signature series).
49 Alphonso, Breefe Methode, A6 v-A7 r.
50 Persons, R., The Warn-word to Sir Francis Hastinges Wast-word [Warn-word] ([Antwerp], 1602), L14 r.

51 Augustine, The City of God [De civitate Dei] [DCD], trans. J. Healey (1610; Edinburgh, 1909), i 315.
52 Persons, Conversions, iii 19-20 (second signature series).
53 Clancy, Papist Pamphleteers, 153.
54 Persons, Conversions, ii 26 (second signature series), ii 228 (first signature series).
55 Persons, Conversions, i 3*5 r.
56 NT, 3Miii r.
57 Quintilian, Institutio, VII iii 14.
58 Alfield, Campion, B2 v.
59 Persons, Conversions, i 101.
60 Allen, Nicols, Aiv v.
61 Persons, Conversions, ii 11 (second signature series).
62 Alfield, Campion, E2 v; Munday, A., A breefe aunswer made unto two seditious Pamphlets [Breefe aunswer] (London, 1582), D7 v.
63 Alfield, Campion, B1 v.
64 Southwell, Supplication, 40.
65 Allen, Defence, title page.
66 Allen, XII. Priests, aiv v; Cecil, W., A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners (London, 1583) [A]iii r.
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73 Southwell, Short Rule, A10 v.
74 Alabaster, W., The Sonnets of William Alabaster, ed. G.M. Story and H. Gardner (Oxford, 1959), 13.
75 Corthell, R., '"The secrecy of man": Recusant Discourse and the Elizabethan Subject.' English Literary Renaissance xix (1989), 272.
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77 Pounde, T., 'The Cheerer', in MS only. Guiney, L., Recusant Poets (London, 1938), 182.
78 Augustine, DCD, i 17.
79 Martin, Peregrination, B5 r,*B8 v. Following Augustine, DCD ii 336.
80 Martin, Peregrination, D8 r.
81 Harsnet, Impostures, KK2 r. The use of miracles for public relations purposes was not simply a Catholic foible. On the Protestant side, Elizabeth's healing through the king's touch was being cited as proof that the 1570 excommunication of Regnans in excelsis had failed to take effect (Thomas, K., Religion and the Decline of Magic (London, 1971), 195).
82 Martin, Peregrination, C5 r.
83 Allen, XII. Priests, Diii r; Worthington, Martyrs, B5 r.

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85 Martin, Peregrination, A6 r-v.
86 Manual of Prayers, B5 r (first signature series).
87 Martin, Roma sancta, 27.
88 Munday, A., The English Romane Life (London, 1582), ed. P.J. Ayres (Oxford, 1980), 61.
89 Southwell, Short Rule, F5 r-F6 r.

Chapter 6: Hagiographies as examples to clarify the faith.

This chapter asserts that hagiographies act as standard forms, which indicated what a saint was likely to do. It suggests that the purpose of the hagiographies is to urge the reader to imitation. Thus, although they share the aspect of display with demonstrative rhetoric, they do not share its distaste for action. The chapter goes on to discuss how such display is to be read; images are seen as referential rather than sensuous.

Saints as chriae.

Rhetorics of the period, displaying an epistemology which regards the general as more clear than the particular, are less at home with the technique of induction than with classification. This is typified by the success of Ramist logic and rhetoric, which is a matter of display rather than discovery, since it plans that generals should be learnt before specifics. Sixteenth-century rhetoric manuals treat examples more as items which clarify a previously acknowledged general law than as part of induction, helping to work towards new knowledge. As Puttenham says, 'no kinde of argument in all the Oratorie

craft doth better perswade... then example, which is but the representation of old memories'.1

Quintilian feels that since illustrative rhetoric concerns itself with display rather than evidence, display can be enhanced by a semblance of proof, though this need not be argued too closely. Similarly, for the ad Herennium 'examples are set forth, not to confirm or bear witness, but to clarify... [By] example we clarify the nature of our statement, while by testimony we establish its truth'.2 Of course, display need not be inimicable to proof, but it does have different concerns. Being illustrations of what a holy life and death should be, reported martyrdoms were more concerned to be memorable and effective in stirring the audience to emulation than to be truthful. Sidney's 'feigned example' has as much force to teach and probably more to move than a true one, since it was adapted to the audience.3 Since Augustine himself had used quotations from the poets in De civitate Dei, even religious authors could excuse the pious use of fiction.

Recusant authors were thus at liberty to mould their material affectively. They were also trained to do so. Composition of chriae on the qualities of the good man, the bad, the old, the young, was one of the earliest school exercises (exemplified by Richard Rainolde's redaction of Aphthonius's progymnasmata, in The Foundacion of Rhetorike

of 1563). This was training in thinking of the probable rather than the observable for each character described, which Sidney called framing 'the example to that which is most reasonable' for 'an example only informs a conjectured likelihood'.4 Categories of experience are imposed on, not formed from, the texts read. This is an extension of 'notebook reading' which extrapolated points which had already been valued, before a text was read. This was extended to the Jesuit lecture style, the teacher giving prelections or commentaries on what should be noted from a passage before it was read.

Helen White calls such shaping in hagiography, an extension of the 'logical probability' of how a saint was likely to act. Having decided that an execution is a martyrdom the author decides on how the martyr would behave, being a man imbued with God's grace, and then describes him doing so. However, in recusant texts such an extension goes beyond the unconscious hagiographical 'evolution' which White charts, where a saint's story mutates through official notices by the interrogators, those of eyewitnesses, reports of these reports, historical and then imaginative romances, ending at last in flat forgery.5 The recusant authors are neither ignorant of the facts nor dependent on imagination; on the contrary, they are very close to the real scenes of execution. They do not rely on these, however. What is being communicated is a hieratic form:

elements of real action are there for display purposes only.

This liberty allows Southwell to depict Margaret Sackville to her half-brother the Earl of Arundel in Triumphs Over Death, published in 1596. As he extolls her life and character, not only does Southwell admit that he has never met her but also that he thinks it was not necessary to have met her, to be able to imitate her in the text and in life. Like a grain of dust inside an oyster, the real Margaret produced a set of perfect characteristics which can be written about. Since everyone knows of her example, there is no need for the woman herself to be present.6 When Janelle criticizes the temperate tone of the Triumphs as 'a preposterous adaptation of the classical mood to religious ends' in showing too little personal sorrow, he fails to understand what is being mourned.7

The hagiographies resemble standard forms of service, where the martyr's name is substituted for 'N'. In one manuscript of Southwell's 'Decease•release', the lines 'Alive a Queene, now dead I am a Sainte, / Once N: calld, my name nowe Martyr is' have the name 'Mary' written over 'N'; in another manuscript, they have 'Anne', the name of James's wife who was reputed to have died a Catholic.8

For example, there are two topoi which are observable in all recusant hagiographies: the good humour with which the martyrs meet death and the learning with which they confute the arguments of ministers sent to them. Worthington shows John Rigby teasing members of the Sessions which try him.

> What are you that will sweare?... I am a man: but what more?... At which his replie (not able to forbeare laughter) I said: Sir what can I be more then a man?.

When gibberish is quoted to him on the pretence of it being a Catholic prayer in Latin, Rigby is 'not able to forbeare laughter', saying 'for myn owne part, though I understand Latin, I do not understand what you said. Wherat al the bench laghed with me for companie'.9 Alfield and Allen praise Campion for his gentle ways with his gaolers, and elaborate on his 'joyfully comming to receive his reward and crown'.10 As examples of true resolution, Persons choses martyrs who rejoice to be captured: Polycarp plays a game of hide-and-seek with his pursuivants before offering himself to martyrdom (when he is sure that he has fled long enough to escape the sin of spiritual pride).11 Recusant hagiographers call signs of fear in the martyrs, malicious rumours started by the Protestants. Alfield's printer (possibly Stephen Vallenger) publishes the true report because he fears that, as with reports about Everard Hanse's death, there would be attempts to 'diminish the honour of their resolute departure & Martirdome, as that M Campion was timerous and fearfull, & that M Sherwin died a

protestant'.12 Allen denies that Shert fearfully caught hold of the rope as the cart was drawn away, saying this was merely an instinctive response. Of the fourteen martyrs, the only martyr whose life Allen describes apart from Campion is Cottam, who is shown as anxious to be captured and so earn his martyr's crown. Cottam is also the only one of Allen's twelve martyrs who appears to hesitate over the offer of life in exchange for him recanting.

The second major topos used to describe the martyrs is the way they are credited with learning. Alfield says proudly that they 'fight with word & not with sword' and notes 'M. Elmers' folly in suggesting that if 'a Notebooke or two of [Campion's] felowes [was] taken from him, he had nothing in him'.13 Thomas Sprot and Thomas Hunt are so well able to confute Protestant scholars brought in to argue with them that

> the Magistrats commanded the Ministers to hold their peace. And in steed of their babling, prosecuted their owne farre stronger arguments, of fetters, halters, and butchers knives.14

Alfield apologizes that Briant was only a B.A., but insists that his ignorance did not harm his faith.

Of course, Campion receives most of such praise.

> From rack in Tower they broght him to dispute,
> bookeles, alone, to answere al that came,
> yet Christ gave grace, he did them all confute...
> they thought it best to take his life away,

because they saw he would their matter marre,
And leave them shortly nought at al to say.15

Allen describes how clergy disputed with Campion three times in the Tower but failed to move him, while Alfield promises to publish these glorious disputes when he has the means. Even Anthony Munday

> wyll not denie, but that this good irreligious Campion, handled every cause with a smoothe and cullorable countenance, beeing verie present and quick to him selfe, in Sophistical conveyances, and farre set deepe pointes of Logique.16

Campion's skill is not wholly apocryphal. Two future recusants, Campion and Bristow, were chosen out of all the scholars to welcome the Queen to Oxford in 1566.

These two topoi enhance the impression of individuals in control of their own deaths. Laughter shows a degree of disengagement and self-control. These Catholics are not the ignorant, frightened and superstitious mass that Protestant publicity would have them be. Neither are they bold, seditious and desperate. Instead, the martyrs are strong, debonair and charming individuals, choosing to suffer for the faith. This element of triumph comes out in Louise Guiney's collection of published and unpublished recusant verse. All those writers who were not on the mission look backwards to before the Reformation, plaintively sighing with William Blundell:

> The time hath beene we had one faith
> and all trode right one antient path...
> The time hath beene preists did accorde
> in exposition of gods worde...
> The time hath beene the sheepe obey'de...

The time hath beene...

The few writers in Guiney who were missioners (Southwell, Henry Walpole and the poets in Alfield's Campion) sound victorious and active; they are in control. Only two days before his death, Walpole exults in the 'River of pleasure sea of Delight', the 'princlie palace royall court' which he will be summoned to.17 At the conclusion of Campion's martyrdom, the Alfield poet cries:

> religion ioyed to see so mild a man,
> men, angels, saints, and al that saw hym dye,
> forgot their grief, his ioyes appeard so nye.18

In Southwell's 'Decease release' reclines a dignified Mary Stuart:

> My skaffold was the bedd where ease I founde,
> The blocke a pillowe of Eternall reste,
> My hedman cast me in a blisfull swounde,
> His axe cutt off my cares from combred breste.19

The predominant opening image of the martyrs is of a glass or spectacle: 'this short relation here exhibitid', 'a lively Image of resolute martirs', 'lanterns of piety', 'a light and lanterne, a paterne and exawple [sic] to youth, to age, to lerned, to unlerned, to religious, and to the laytie of al sort'.20 Christ himself is likened to an image in a looking-glass, 'begotten by Gods only beholding himselfe' and more substantial than the shadows of saints.21 Verstegan uses this 'spectacle' metaphor to describe 'Visions of the worlds instabillitie'. He sees a theatre before him, hung with black and fit to display some tragedy (a context far from the gloomy apocalypses of

Estella and Granada).22 The stage metaphor is picked up sardonically by Harsnet:

> every person may appeare in his owne proper colours, the devill in his, and the devils charmers in theyrs, that every part may be considered, how well it hath been plaied, and what actor hath best deserved the plaudite or suspendite... come and see it set out, in the sacred robes out of the holy wardrop from Rome...23

The faculties of administration of the sacraments and of spiritual guidance which the priests could offer as priests were considered less valuable than this imagery, this publicity gained by their deaths. Thus, Persons can remark that if the martyrs' lives 'had been prolonged to their hundredth year they could not have benefited their cause as much as has their short life, but glorious death'.24 Henry More approvingly details how Henry Walpole, when captured in the first week of his mission, was offered a means of escape. He asked his superior in Britain, Richard Holtby, whether he should accept. Holtby answered that the cause would be better served if Walpole was not seen to be fleeing from martyrdom.25

The effectiveness of these exemplary scenes is enhanced by dramatization. Peter Holmes believes that the historical trials became showcases for the propaganda effort of both sides. They were one of the few times in which a mission priest would have the opportunity to speak openly to a large British audience.26 In the texts, adding to the

impression of live drama, authors intervene in court proceedings as though present. The latter months of Conversions report many trials through direct speech. Persons, in the undignified (though theologically correct) position of defending the Marian persecutions, interposes in these scenes to ensure we do not admire Protestant martyrs too much. There are three participants in the following interchange: Winchester, Lambert and an indignant Persons intervening in the last phrase, speaking from under Winchester's elbow:

> the Bishopp of Winchester added a place or two in confirmation... whereunto (saith Fox) Lambert answered that he doubted... which is a ridiculous answere yf yow marke yt.27

Persons is venomous in his interpolations at the trials of Latimer and Ridley, since both the latters' good humour on these occasions predisposes the audience to like them, and Persons can sense their Catholic interlocutors losing position. In exasperation, he recounts the answers of women at trials:

> for no man of wisdome will imagine (I weene) that Alice Driver, though she were nevere so prachant & forward in heresie, and bold through the pride therof, could make such a conference of her selfe, with such learned men as [were against her].28

Petulantly aware that the Church side of the debate has lost the sympathy of the reader, he concludes that Foxe has discredited himself since it is improbable that a woman could make such wise answers. (This reverses John Bale's praise of the witty answers by Anne Askew and other

Protestant female martyrs: because a woman was unlikely to be able to respond so well, it must have been God putting the words into her mouth).29

Sufferers are not just there to be watched, they watch too. Ralph Sherwin, standing with his eyes closed in the cart, asks if 'the people expect that I should speake?' As executions progress, authors observe the reaction of the crowd. Allen weighs up the audience at Campion's trial, attended by many who are not doubtful of the issue but of the way the jury will vote, given Campion's appeal. Worthington notes that the 'people going away muttered much at the crueltie used in the execution' of Rigby.30 Audience reaction is necessary inside each text, where miracles such as the fortitude of the martyrs need an audience to verify that God is working outside the natural order. This reaction is then made valuable outside the text; the reader is edified in the same way as the audience within the work has been affected. De civitate Dei sets the precedent for regarding the audience as an integral part of the miracle. Augustine chides Innocentia for concealing a miracle cure and regrets that these 'are not so famous, nor so fastened in the memory by often reading, that they might not be forgotten'.31 As in the meditations, the reader is simultaneously within the scene as an audience with Mary and the Magdalen, and also outside the text as the reading audience.

Yet if hagiographies are there to engage the reader, one would expect much more of a dramatic effort to be made. As Quintilian says, deliberative prose has failed if 'the judge merely feels that the facts on which he has to give his decision are being narrated to him, and not displayed in their living truth to the eyes of the mind'.32 The works usually start with some dramatic effect but this soon drains away, leaving all the theatre of a catechism. Despite the liberal use of stage metaphors and the construction of a dramatic framework, authors of the hagiographies are as reluctant as meditation authors to free their examples of godliness into independent action. In Marie Magdalen, Southwell cannot leave Mary or Christ to speak for themselves. In Bristow's Demaundes, a debate is set up between a heretic and a recusant. Rather than allowing a conversation to develop between the two, Bristow heavily orchestrates the speeches: 'ask them if they... and if they have then you say...' In Persons's Conference About the Next Succession of 1594, two lawyers discourse about genealogy tables and hold dry discussions on the royal prerogative. At each chapter-end Persons gestures towards creating a scene, abruptly and coyly suggesting the lawyers take a walk or have lunch. He is just as heavy-footed in introducing a description of the college at Valladolid in a letter purporting to reply to an exiled friend, who ignores the exigencies of his own situation to

enquire earnestly about the fate of a little-known college in Spain.33 Such texts gratefully abandon any vestiges of drama when they plunge into the main theme. An impression that they document living scenes has been created, they have no need to further entertain the reader.

In their question-and-answer formats, the catechisms are prime examples of such attenuated attempts at drama. Most catechisms do not accost the reader in the direct manner of the start of Ledisma's catechism: 'Are you a Christian?' 'Yea.'34 They are inspecific in their questions: 'what is a Christian?' 'A Christian is...' Nonetheless, the reader is invited to mimic the knowledge of the disciple answering the master in the catechism, until he is able to vie with the disciple in knowledge. A dramatic shell is being used to promote such close imitation of the pupil that the barrier between the part of reader and disciple breaks down and the shell becomes redundant. The idea of self-fashioning through such imitation is discussed in the following chapter.

In summary, the writers of hagiographies and catechisms minimize dramatic particularity and action. This emblematic (rather than theatrical) quality may not just be confined to recusant texts. Linking sententia and drama, George Hunter has adapted Rosamund Tuve's perception that general laws are contained in the specific instances given

by sixteenth-century metaphor. Hunter sees Elizabethan drama as unified by morality rather than consistency of character; in other words, general moral principles are exemplified by characters.35 In the same way, writers of hagiography particularize universal truths for effect by turning the lessons learnt from the martyrs' deaths into absorbable epitomes of wisdom. They are not concerned with making the portraits living but polished and portable. Trial and death scenes are sketched, where the martyrs do only what they are expected to. These are motivated and made coherent by an ethical framework shared by reader and author.

The chapter so far has dealt with the effects of a rhetorical handling of hagiography on the audience, but it also had some effect on its subjects. Manipulating saints as examples induces a less than respectful attitude to them in some authors. Southwell strikes the right note, advising the reader to use reverent familiarity with his guardian saint. He personalizes the saints, can even see they have faults but feels these may profit us as a warning.36 At the other end of the scale, Bellarmine views the saints distantly, as a spiritual treasury to be applied to when needing the grace to resist temptation. It is the socially ill-at-ease Persons who looses his balance in addressing this august group, trying to stir up a brawl in heaven. Persons comes very near to flattery in his

dedication of the third volume of Conversions to the 'glorious Company of English Sainctes'. Fumbling with the idea of omnipotence, he mutters that he does not have to remind them of the 'injury' of being thrust from their feast days by Foxe. He is simply reminding himself that they should feel indignant enough to answer the prayers of Catholics in Britian - and blight the upstarts.37

There appears to be no link between recusant texts and the sort of romantic hagiography epitomized by the thirteenth-century Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, which ran to over 150 editions in Latin and English before 1532. This was a collection of the lives of saints, Biblical stories and short treatises about Christian festivals, disposed according to the Church year. White thinks it was popular as a combination of classical encomium and Celtic wonder-tale. However, the recusant texts are certainly not 'a religious Arabian Nights Entertainment for every day of the year', which could be enjoyed with a clear conscience.38 It is true that recusant authors acknowledge a pleasure to be gained in the 'gratefull variety both of tymes, men, and affaires' of the liturgy of saints.39 Moreover, the element of the legendary, as summed up by Auerbach, is present in sixteenth-century hagiographies.

> All cross-currents, all friction, all that is casual, secondary to the main events and themes, everything unresolved, truncated, and uncertain... has disappeared.40

However, the romance has gone. These are not exciting stories of supernatural victories over the laws of nature or the powers of evil. Everything happens as one would expect. A small group of troublemakers gets hung by a strong, determined government. In Southwell's 'I dye without desert', the sense of a fairytale gone wrong hangs over the poem as it did the disciples at Pentecost:

> For right is wrong'd, and vertue wag'd with blood,
> The badd are blissd, god murdred in the good.41

The victory is purely moral and without heartwarming concessions to earthly concerns. New iconograhpic traditions have come into place, for the new saints and the new messages of discipline and rigour which Trent communicated.

Moreover, the reader would not be likely to relax of an evening with a text whose possession could make him suffer like the hero. Indeed, there were literary martyrs. William Carter was executed in 1584 for printing Catholic works, Thomas Alfield in 1585 for distributing Allen's Defence. Campion's very last speech was primarily concerned with an (unsuccessful) attempt to clear someone who had been caught with one of his books.

To show that romance is deliberately downplayed in recusant texts before 1603, it is useful to contrast with them the thoroughly romantic Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges

Priest written by his brother John and published in 1614. John commands his 'mournful muse' to sound out the 'doleful accident' of Edmund's death. This is not the note of triumph noticeable in most hagiographies. We hear of Edmund's special childhood; born with a tooth in his head; fond of gazing ~~of~~ at the heavens; the armies that fought in the sky as he watched; his young manhood and conversion, and finally, his death and subsequent miracle-working.42 This work is actually concerned with the martyr at the centre of it. Edmund is not passed over for the political and devotional capital which can be made out of his execution (and from the point of view of an Allen or a Persons, there could be little else to be made out of a ministry which ended within a few months of Gennings being landed in Britain).

This section has elaborated on the lack of drama in the illustrative function of examples of Christian fortitude. The next section asks whether there is what seems like the obvious link between hagiography and epideictic rhetoric.

Hagiography as demonstrative rhetoric.

Cicero subordinates the role of the topics in epideictic rhetoric to that of supporting forensic and deliberative orations. Demonstrative rhetoric is concerned with the

goods of fortune, of physical attributes and of qualities of character. Although they acknowledge that demonstrative rhetoric is a separate genus causae, the ad Herennium and Institutio oratoria follow Cicero in dealing with the bulk of its features under deliberative rhetoric. They divide the latter between the expedient and the honourable. Good fortune and physical advantage are merely touched on, as part of securing an advantage under the honourable in deliberative orations. The honourable is further divided by the ad Herennium into the praiseworthy and the right, because 'although the praiseworthy has its source in the right... if praise accrues, the desire to strive after the right is doubled'.43

It is mainly qualities of character which are dealt with under the heading of the right. That is to say, character has been dealt with as internal and fundamental (the right), whereas body and fortune are seen as valuable if noticed by others (the praiseworthy) and not worthy in themselves. For the classical rhetorics, the valued qualities of character are virtues of proportion. They 'rest on our judgement and thought: wisdom, justice, courage, temperance, and their contraries'. Moreover, Quintilian emphasizes that 'praise awarded to external and accidental advantages is given, not to their possession, but to their honourable employment'.44 So virtue has the double meaning of a power or quality under the right, and

the correct use of fortune or physical attributes under the honourable.

Thus, Soarez splits the four qualities of virtue listed by Quintilian and the ad Herennium (wisdom, courage, justice and temperance) into two types: virtue in learning and virtue in action. The former combines prudence and wisdom. Wisdom is an unfocused virtue, a knowledge of the truth or falsehood of things human and divine, while prudence is a more specific knowledge of things to be sought and avoided. Both are served by dialectic and rhetoric, which sort, more or less briefly, the true from the false. Virtue in action, however, is what is aimed at by deliberative rhetoric, comprising the other three qualities of virtue: courage, justice and temperance.45 For Soarez, the truly virtuous speech is one that stirs to action, the deliberative speech.

The manuals have discussed the topics of demonstrative rhetoric as supporting deliberative rhetoric, so their hierarchy of presentation puts virtue in action over virtue in learning, and both virtues over external goods. Yet Harry Caplan, in his translation of the ad Herennium, feels that

> whereas in both deliberative and judicial causes the speaker seeks to persuade his hearers to a course of action, in epideictic his primary purpose is by means of his art to impress his ideas upon them, without action as a goal.46

The contradiction between Caplan's view and the actual presentation of the classical rhetorics can be explained by demonstrative rhetoric's refusal to display open intent. As Quintilian says, 'wherever the orator displays his art unveiled, the hearer says, "The truth is not in him",' and his purpose is frustrated.47 In demonstrative rhetoric the suspicion of intention which spoils the effect is absent, leaving it free to extol agreed norms of society. These become valued by an auditor and therefore he will act. This purpose for epideictic rhetoric excuses its use for Plato and his excuse is repeated by many Renaissance theorists, anxious to attribute morality to art.

So do the rhetorics believe that there can be such a thing as pure display, a demonstrative oration? The difference between the genera causae in the manuals does not lie in purpose, since all are equally bound on persuasion. As Terry Eagleton says, rhetoric sees

> speaking and writing not merely as textual objects, to be aesthetically contemplated or endlessly deconstructed, but as forms of activity inseparable from the wider social relations between writers and readers, orators and audiences.48

Nor does it lie in subject, since demonstrative rhetoric is used as a topos for deliberative and judicial rhetoric. The difference lies in the style only, in the degree of concealment which the causae use. In one, the aim is manifest, in the other, latent. Suspicion of effort and intent would seem reasonable from a Protestant point of

view but redundant from that of a Catholic. Cooperation with grace is possible, hagiographies can openly show their subjects' efforts and be equally unreserved about exhorting the reader to emulate them.

All this suggests why there is no direct alignment between demonstrative rhetoric and the recusant hagiographies. Their subject is not a display of godliness, innocent of intent on the reader's morals. As Loarte says, while they are 'grateful' because of their variety (and so are useful for reading when one does not feel devout), they are, more importantly, 'lively paterns of christian perfection' which are to be read actively, 'committing some spiritual poynt to memorie, which thy soule may amongst thy other busines, nourishe and comfort her self withal'.49 The texts are not there to praise saints themselves unless this admiration reflects incidentally on the value of the testimony. This is one reason why Gennings's Life of his brother looks so out of place.

Soarez suggests that demonstrative rhetoric is 'more appropriately designed for gently directing the movements of the soul than for persuading and convincing'. Admiration of another's character is seen as a mild and reasonable emotion, much like ethos. Such a concept could war with the display aspect of epideictic rhetoric, the brilliance of which is designed to arouse the passions. De

partitione helps resolve this problem by suggesting that panegyric 'does not establish propositions that are doubtful but amplifies statements that are certain, or advanced as being certain'.50 So because one is invited to admire qualities which one already approves of, the intellectual struggle of discerning the right is irrelevant and persuasion not unnecessary. Dispassionate but intense emotion can occur in the listener.

Only the display aspect of demonstrative rhetoric is prominent in the hagiographies. As Session twenty-five of the Council of Trent emphasized, thinking with images is natural and not idolatrous. Thus, in his appendix to Canisius's Summe of Christian Doctrine, Garnet notes that

> it is necessarie that evrie one whilest he understandeth in this life: forme him selfe a phantasie or likenesse of that thing which he understandeth in his imagination.

This being so, Garnet goes on to question why should one not use palpable images. Both physical image and thought about the divine are merely shadows of the reality, the latter is no more real than the former. Indeed for Garnet pictures 'help us to doe that which our own imagination must needs doe, though not so perfectly without the Image'.51 This parallels the recusant texts' belief in their ability to express devotion in words; they are happy to communicate in man-made signs. The hagiographies and

meditations realize that they present - and can only present - portraits, not pictures.

Although this seems to lay recusant texts open to Protestant charges of idolatry, there is actually a great deal of uniformity between the way the two sets of authors regard images. For Catholic authors, images have a cognitive function: texts do not dwell on their sensuous aspect. Public rather than private meanings are promoted. Trent has a austere view of physical images: 'all sensual appeal must be avoided, so that images are not to be painted or adorned with seductive charm'. Moreoever, they must not suggest that they can do more than signify (certainly not depict) the divine. The physical is charged with meaning as a system of signs. Trent encourages the consumer of the images to see that their meaning lies in interpreting these pictures: 'the honour showed to them is referred to the original which they represent'.52

This recalls the way in which relics are handled, where real martyrs are dissolved by form or Southwell's friends become mnemonic symbols for virtues. It occurs in the meditations, where Christ's body is dismembered and some pious meaning attached to each limb. Bellarmine explains that images do not show what a thing is in itself but what properties it has or what effects it works, when spiritual things are being depicted.53 Luis warns against not

reading the images correctly, not referring them to their purposed meaning but consuming them grossly. This is the idolatry of literal interpretation:

> not that in hell theise thinges are altogether so materially donne, but that by them we might in some manner understande somewhat of the varietie and multitude of the paines.54

Again, Caddy's recantation throws the charge of idolatry back onto the Protestant critic. Because they take the Word too literally, the 'plaine carnal men and Idolaters' lack proper, referential, reading skills, 'writhing the sacred words to their own erronious and damnable sect against the proper nature and plaine sense'.55

The frequent controversy over the visible Church expresses a belief that communication can take place. Campion's third reason for remaining a Catholic is that 'the name of the Church [Calvin] subtilly retayneth, the thing itself by defining he utterly overthroweth'. Calvin does this by withdrawing the Church 'from all sensible apprehension (like to Plato's Idea) [and] do expose her to the sight of some few men'. Campion points out that this contradicts the palpable nature of Salvation through the Incarnation.56 Garnet fumes that

> Calvin dreameth out a Church invisible, and manifest onely unto the eies of God. Of this Church if you desire to be, you may easely dreame it: but then are you not of the trew Church, but of a dreamed Church... as the trew Church of God is visible it selfe: so is the union therwith visible.57

These ideas run counter to Foxe's preface addressed to the 'True and Faithful Congregation of Christ's Universal Church', that

> like as is the nature of truth, so is the proper condition of the true church, that commonly none seeth it, but such only as be the members and partakers thereof.58

Conversions challenges Foxe's project to create a Church out of his 'Dreaming Imagination... about the fall of the Roman Church... as he lay on his bedde upon a Sonday in the morninge'. As Persons says innocently, Foxe's 'greatest difficulty seemeth to be about the tyme and causes. To witt, where, or when, or how, or upon what occasion, [the Roman Church] perished or vanished away'.59 Persons stoutly defines the Church as 'a society not of Angells, spirits or soules departed; but of men and women in this life'. He accuses Foxe of defining his Church in opposition to the Catholic faith only: 'one Collyns therfore belongeth to the holy company of saincts, for that he was condemned by the Bishop of Rome'.60 The preface to Campian Englished turns the argument against the Established Church. Since it contains Zwingli the swashbuckler, Luther the dissipated monk, Calvin the stigmatical, it is 'no wonder if [the members] be constrayned to vaunt of their Church... as lying in a perpetuall obscuritie'!61

The difference between the two camps is more than the necessity of maintaining that the apostolic succession need not be visible to be able to claim authority (though it is true that the English mission is endlessly defined in letters and the books as reflecting the early Church, because of the stress on maintaining a visible succession). More importantly, the recusant camp believe that communal perception of the truth is possible. A visible Church is a sign of tradition or communal memory, more authoritative than any private interpretation of a text.

Solipsistic reading practises cause Protestant authors to further restrict the usefulness of images. For them, images should not be hung in places whose ethos would cause us to forget the element of fiction in the image and collate it with what we think is real. The two great ducts of lay instruction in the Anglican Church, the Book of Homilies and Nowell's catechism, emphasize that while images are not wrong in themselves, the context in which they are placed can make them so. They should not be displayed in churches, for instance. Margaret Aston has suggested that Protestant unease with images made catechisms a peculiarly suitable form for Anglican devotion, since it used a schematic form of 'self-examination... at the bar of the decalogue'. She demonstrates how the revelation of the Scriptures, entailing pictures and events, is reduced to diagrams of

relationships and laws in Thomas Rogers's Ramist presentation in The English Creede of 1585.62 Protestant critics further note that images should not be used in devotion because their meaning can be exhausted. As Peter Martyr says

> let the idiot or unlearned returne as oft as he will unto a picture, it will alwaies tell one thing: and if any doubt happen unto him, while he beholdeth the same, it will never answer anie thing for resolving thereof.63

This Protestant fear is partly expressed as a suggestion that the emphasis on the visible is a determination to keep the laity ignorant. John Gee, speaking with someone who uses an image to help prayer, remarks that since one can never grasp what Christ was like it is foolish to use an image of him.64 Recusant authors have to admit that an over-familiar image does degenerate into an organizing device for new material provided by the reader, when he dwells on the mysteries of faith.

However, confident that they can continue to provide sufficient annotation for the correct reading to take place, the hagiographies and catechisms carry on using images. In the illustration of the tenth commandment on the following page, while hell's goods are sensual representations of a female devil's gold and wine, heaven's goods are only represented by a verbal symbol hovering above. The Christian Directorie points out that the



'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours goods.' D3 r in R. Bellarmine, A Shorte Catechisme... with the Images (npp, 1614).

Scriptures were preceded by the visual examples of Christ's actions:

> for that his divine wisdome did easily foresee, that deedes have much more force to persuade then wordes, he did set forth this doctrine most exactly in the example of his owne life.65

One of the things for which Persons praised his lay helper, George Gilbert, was financing the present-day martyrs' figures (designed by Pomerancio) painted at the church of the English College at Rome.66 These were copied in the hagiographes such as the Theatrum, and overshadow the texts in a reader's mind. They must partially account for the popularity of the non-English works.

The last two chapters have suggested that saints' lives act as examples. Firstly, they 'prove' that the faith is true by being the constituents of inartificial proof, both as witnesses of good ethos and as physical indications of God's power. Secondly, hagiographies have been shown to act as examples to make an apprehension of the faith clearer and more impressive, though they do this in a static rather than dramatic fashion. Hagiography has been divided from demonstrative rhetoric in purpose. Both have designs on the reader, but recusant hagiography has no need to conceal its relationship to deliberative rhetoric. Finally, the link between image and communication in the texts has been asserted, beyond the sensual aspect.

In the Directorie Persons links the two genres of catechism and hagiography by a eulogy on martyrs who have lived out his recommendations, entitled 'Examples of True Resolution'. The next chapter will look at this fashioning of a saint by recusant catechisms.

1 Puttenham, 'Arte of English Poesie.' Smith, Essays, ii 41.
2 ad Herennium, IV iii 5. The ad Herennium does, however, contradict itself by following Aristotle in warning that examples in deliberative rhetoric require a greater degree of historical veracity than the two other causes, because as a rule the future resembles the past.
3 Sidney, 'Defence', 89.
4 Sidney, 'Defence', 89.
5 White, Saints, 17.
6 Southwell, Triumphs Over Death, xvi, 21.
7 Janelle, Southwell, 237.
8 Southwell, 'Decease release', Poems, 47.
9 Worthington, Martyrs, A5 r, A7 r.
10 Alfield, Campion, B4 v; Allen, XII. Priests, dv r.
11 Persons, Directorie, Qq7 v.
12 Alfield, Campion, A2 r.
13 Alfield, Campion, G1 v, A2 v.
14 Worthington, Martyrs, F4 v-F5 r.
15 Alfield, Campion, E2 v-E3 r.
16 Munday, Breefe aunswer, C1 v.
17 Guiney, Recusant Poets, 287, 264.
18 Alfield, Campion, F2 v.
19 Southwell, 'Decease, release', Poems, 47.
20 Alfield, Campion, A2 r, B3 v. Alfield says that Campion quoted 1 Cor.4 on the cart.
21 Bellarmine, Ample Doctrine, B3 r.
22 Verstegan, 'Visions of the worlds instabillitie', Odes, H1 r.
23 Harsnet, Impostures, B2 r.
24 Persons, letter to Agazzari, 1/3/82. CRS xxxix (1942) 133.
25 More, The Elizabethan Jesuits, 265.
26 Holmes, Resistance, 60.
27 Persons, Conversions, iii 189 (first signature series).

28 Persons, Conversions, iii 258 (first signature series).
29 Beilin, Eve, 30.
30 Allen, XII. Priests, evii v; Worthington, Martyrs, C1 r.
31 Augustine, DCD, ii 339-340, 344.
32 Quintilian, Institutio, VIII iii 62.
33 Persons, R. and others, A Conference About the Next Succession ([Antwerp], 1594), 121; Persons, Valliodolid, A2 r. It may be that Persons distrusted the effect of any sort of drama. Despite the importance of establishing good relations with the Roman Curia for funding reasons, there were no plays produced at the English College between 1598 and 1610 while Persons was its Rector.
34 Ledisma, The Christian Doctrine, A2 r.
35 Hunter, G., 'The Use of Sententia in the Tragedies of Senecca.' (Diss: University of Oxford, 1950).
36 Southwell, Short Rule, F2 v; 'Saint Peters Complaint.' Poems, 75.
37 Persons, Conversions, iii *2r ff.
38 White, Saints, 28. The Golden Legend is a translation of the thirteenth-century Legenda aurea, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine. It is a collection of the lives of saints and Bible characters.
39 Persons, Conversions, i 2*8 v; Southwell, Short Rule, F3 v.
40 Auerbach, E., Mimesis. The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), 19.
41 Southwell, 'I dye without desert', Poems, 48.
42 Gennings, J., The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges Priest [Geninges] (St. Omers, 1614).
43 ad Herennium, III iv.
44 Quintilian, Institutio, III vii 13.
45 Soarez, Rhetorica, 187 ff. Surprisingly, neither Soarez nor Protestant writers on rhetoric such as Cox include religious fervour as one of these virtues.
46 ad Herennium, note to III vi. My underlining.
47 Quintilian, Institutio, IX iii 102.
48 Eagleton, T., Literary Theory (Oxford, 1983), 206.
49 Loarte, Exercise, L6 r.
50 Cicero, De partitione, xi 71:
51 Canisius, Summe, Mmi v-Mmii r. Comment by Henry Garnet.
52 'Trent 1545-1563', trans. P. McIlhenny and J. Coventry. Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils (London, 1990), ii 775-776.
53 Bellarmine, Ample Declaration, I1 r.
54 Luis, Memoriall, 45.
55 Allen, Nicols, D1 r.
56 Campian Englished, 66.
57 Garnet, An Apology Against the Defence of Schisme ([England, 1593]), 91. This text is another of Henry Garnet's 'place' texts, bringing together material from the

Fathers and Church Councils to prove that it is not lawful to attend heretical services.
58 Foxe, J., The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe (London, 1563), ed. J. Pratt (London, 1877), i xix.
59 Persons, Conversions, i 459, i 439.
60 Persons, Conversions, i 290, iii 196 (both first signature series).
61 Campian Englished, 67-68.
62 Aston, M., England's Iconoclasts (Oxford, 1988), 347, 454.
63 Martyr, Common Places, Mmvi r.
64 Gee, Snare, C3 r.
65 Persons, Directorie, Qq3 v.
66 CRS iv (1907) 113.

Chapter 7: Catechisms: auditing the self.

This chapter looks at the skill of self-creation displayed in the recusant catechisms. The self is described by these texts, against the examples given in the hagiographies. Catechisms provide a dramatic script which starts as theatrical and ends by being absorbed through the pressure of repetition; once again, memory is important in moral formation. Finally, the chapter turns to examine the active reading process entailed in such self-definition. This technique is characterized by the texts as female, with the figures in the meditations exemplifying ~~of~~ good reading habits.

Describing the self.

Luis's project in A Memoriall of a Christian Life echos those of sixteenth-century courtesy manuals.

> Some there have bene, which beinge affectionated unto the bewtie of eloquence have emploied themselves to frame a perfit orator, takinge him from his childehode, and leadinge him through all the steppes and degrees of that facultie, until they have brought him unto the highest perfection of the same. Others have endeavored after the like sorte to forme a perfecte prince, others a capitaine, others a courtier...
> Nowe of this are we right well assured, that emonge all the thinges of this world, there is nothing of greater price and estimation, nothinge more excellente & divine, than a perfecte Christian.1

In the recusant catechisms there are no belittling, romantic ideas about an innate genius in man which cannot be controlled. The authors write as though each reader can fashion himself, building up a spiritual body by devotional exercises. This gives the catechisms a hopeful tone, as they put such dealing within the reach of every member of the laity. The reader does not need to be chosen, his own wish to pray is sufficient; he does not need any special ability, the manuals will give him all the technical knowledge he needs.

Creating a 'perfecte Christian' depends on being aware of oneself as a mutable subject: such internal scrutiny is not the prerogative of Protestants. In the Resolution of Religion of 1603, the Catholic Richard Broughton sees the powers of memory, understanding and will as distinctively human because they are self-conscious.

> Not only the understanding understandeth, and knoweth it selfe to knowe... but the will it selfe is reflected upon it selfe, willing itself to will, and the memory above it selfe, remembring that it did remember; which it is impossible for any corporall, or sensible and corruptible power to doe. [For instance, the] hearing heareth not it selfe to heare.2

In Henry Constable's 'Spiritual Sonnettes', written after Constable became a Catholic around 1590, God sets the supreme example of reflection on himself in the Trinity:

> when on thyself thou dydd'st reflect thy mynde,
> thy thought was God, which tooke the forme of thee.3

Self-definition is the most exciting aspect of the catechisms - they ask you who is God, who are you, who do you want to be - and then tell you, in a disconcertingly simple way, how to be it (a 'Breefe Methode or Way Teaching all sortes of Christian people, how to serve God in a moste perfect manner' or a 'Memoriall of a Christian life, wherein are treated all such thinges, as apperteyne unto a Christian to doe, from the beginninge of his conversion, until the ende of his perfection').

Richard Lanham describes reshaping someone by describing them to themselves as

> the center of a nominalist view of rhetoric, a new definition of persuasion. One thinks of it as changing the opponent's mind. This is hard to do; this is the philosopher's way. Far easier - here sophist and Madison Avenue are one - to change his self. To redefine him so that he will do what you like, spontaneously, hypnotically, by desire.4

Such change occurs by the way something is said: the subject of the text becomes an occasion to allow the form to do its work on the real subject, the reader. By insisting that people act in a certain way, catechisms force a change of self. As Southwell says, 'outward signes do feed the inward distemper'. Put into the reading situation as a learner, the reader becomes the rules which he learns: the catechisms are a means of processing him as he works through the text. Thus for Southwell, the chief rule in conversation is 'alwaies to forsee and provid my selfe against the occasions, that by every company are

likely to be offered me'. He manufactures a correct demeanour before he enters society: 'in countenance, I must avoide an unstayed kind of variety and often change; keeping as neere as I may one setled tenour therof', 'my speach ought not to be so much, as to make me be noted for talkative', 'I must also take heed of affected speach, and impertinent ceremonies', apparel 'must be handsome & cleane, & as much as may be, without singularity'.5

The process is exemplified in hagiography, where the martyr is constantly bringing himself into line with his own text, composing himself to read his own devotional work about how a saint would act. Descriptions of a martyrdom carefully show that this was the crowning point of an already virtuous life. Hagiographies are written as arts of holy living not holy dying, which, although concentrating on the moment of execution and not on preparations for it, imply a previous course of self-martyrdom. Thus, Southwell's printer sees martyrs such as Southwell

> first to have killed their passions, before they be killed by persecutours; first to have bene exercised in a spirituall conflicte of mortification, before they be tried in the fornace of Christian Confession; first to have become their own butchers, before they be delivered to the hangmans shambles.6

Since the martyrdom is one of self-will, physical execution is unnecessary. C.N. praises John the Beloved for standing at the foot of the Cross to suffer with Christ, 'a Martyr

in life, in minde, in will, but not in death'. Although nothing actually harms Verstegan's Tecla,

> Yet shee a martyr is estem'd,
> That martred was in mynde.7

A self created by this rhetorical 'theory of personality types, a taxonomy of impersonation' would not be, for Lanham,

> naive and bubbly. Rhetorical man is an actor; his reality public, dramatic... From birth, almost, he has dwelt not in a single value-structure but in several... He makes an unlikely zealot.8

However, this could only apply to a reader's own values before he reads the catechism. The recusant's role created by the book is as real and strong as the actor because the part has been divinely appointed, the beliefs of the Church are absolute. Paradoxically, by stepping out of his own reality and into one constructed by the Church, the reader receives an access of assurance and stability, not relativism. As any fundamentalist piece of literature will seek to do, the catechisms impose their own reality over that of the reader. This is Auerbach's definition of the role of religious literature and in particular, the Scriptures.

> Far from seeking, like Homer, merely to make us forget our own reality for a few hours, it seeks to overcome our reality: we are to fit our own life into its world, feel ourselves to be elements in its structure of universal history.9

The encompassing and uncompromising format of recusant catechisms removes the threat of an answer by the reader: blunt question and answer does not invite a re-evaluation of the subject by him. He is lulled by the rhythm of the piece into waiting quiescently for the right answer from the author. The catechetical form's sententious discourse gives its statements the 'reality' and solidity of an object which is extra-textual. Statements by the catechisms appear to be made without author, or at least to be from an author who has, as much as the participants in the catechism's questions and answers, been constructed by the form of the text.

This concept of a role which is more dependable and correct than the self may explain why meditations like Estella's Contempte of the World, Scupoli's Spiritual Conflict and Garnet's Christian Renunciation prepare one to become a martyr by urging self-renunciation. Garnet's 'rooted hatred even to [one's] own life and soul' helps fulfil 'the necessary obligation to suffer martyrdom when otherwise God might be offended'. Scupoli says the reader 'aspiring to the top of so great perfection, must use force with thy selfe, and couragiously overcome thy owne will'.10

In some texts, the recusant notion of the self appears in flight from itself. Exclaiming that 'sinnes-selfe I an growne', I.C.'s Magdalen becomes owlish in her desire for

solitude when she passes through streets where women 'monster-like me to their children show'. Luis wonders if he has

> defaced so much as laie in me al the holie misterie of thy Incarnation? Thou hast made thy selfe man to make me a God: and I (lovinge myne owne vilenes) have made my selfe a beaste, & the sonne of Satan.11

As the Manual of Prayers ruminates,

> I have lost thee, & also my selfe by inordinate love that I have had to my selfe, and [only] in seking of thee againe, I have found bothe thee & mee.12

In many of Southwell's poems, people abuse traditional identities. The virtues of courage in men or chastity in women are denied by their holders. The sequence of poems on St. Peter starts by demanding 'how can I live, that have my life deny'de?', while the longer 'Saint Peters Complaint' enjoins him to 'Flie not from forreine evils, flie from thy hart', since it has yielded not only to fear but also to feminine garrulity, 'a maidens easie breath'.13

Valuing this alienation from the self means that the worth of a good action comes from its degree of strangeness or pain. This, says Breefe Collection, is why God takes greater delight in our service than that of the angels:

> because man doth not only serve God of love as the Angels doe: but also with laboure & paine, which they doe not.14

Such 'labour and paine' is required to complete nature. Authors sketch a mirror image of the reader's present spiritual state. He is urged to practise those virtues

which are directly contrary to the temptations he suffers.15 In the same way as the hagiographies use images and deny sensuousness, the catechisms urge introspection and destroy the self.

This paradox parallels that which Stanley Fish finds in Protestant seventeenth-century literature. He sees tension between the artist producing work by his awareness of self and the dissolving religious personality which struggles to put God at its centre. Fish expands on this to show Herbert's recognition that to take up an individual moral stance, in undoing the self as centre and even undermining its products, including literary work, is presumptuous. An endless regression is set up, as the moral self creates itself by fleeing from itself.16 However, Fish's views can only be applied where a desire for virtue is the result and not the cause of salvation in each soul. There is no such thing as the presumption of a moral stance in recusant catechisms.

The drama of 'creating yourself' is balanced in the texts by a recognition that error occurs in man's works. John Chandos widens the term 'recusant' to include all those who were suspicious that a new rationalization, which placed man in control of his own actions and thoughts, could also lead to a break-down in an externally-conceived morality.17 The claim that the conscience was inviolable is

controverted by the Catholic authors. Clancy suggests that in Reasons Why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church, Persons showed himself the first English recusant writer of the sixteenth-century to support the supremacy of the individual conscience. However, this ignores the fact that the text only talks about a well-regulated conscience, one which obeys the commandments of the Church.18 Its exceedingly mild side-note, that 'Actes of religion [are] not to be enforced', is followed by the brisk 'Heretiques maye be enforced'.19 Catechisms are the other half of a dialogue between self and conscience, and conscience, Southwell says, is God's permanent presence within the soul.20

There is a certain gracelessness in brooding on one's own plans for perfection. Such emphasis on the will, where the participants in the catechisms attempt to change it, can seem shallow and closed to outside experience. We have all shared Augustine's tremulous excitement of feeling we are on the very edge of perfect comprehension:

> my teacher in rhetoric at Carthage, and others too... used to speak of [Aristotle's Ten Categories] with their cheeks puffed out with conceit, and at the very name I gasped with suspense as if about to read something great and divine,

and we have all been disppointed when we find something that will not fit into this scheme.

> Thinking that absolutely everything that exists is comprehended under the ten categories, I tried to conceive you also, my God, wonderfully simple and

> immutable, as if you too were a subject of which magnitude and beauty are attributes.21

The effect of this categorical thinking has been seen in the meditations, where amplification inventories rather than explores material. Here in the catechisms, it seems that a conscientious reader has only to learn the given answers and there will be no aspect of faith which will be beyond him. While this is reassuring, it produces two problems. It encourages the false belief that a boundary to every subject is in sight. Moreover, in the interest of naming all parts of a subject the hierarchical ordering necessary for comprehension can be lost, since all areas of knowledge are given equal value.

Despite these reservations about human error and about limiting subjects, no recusant text believes that it is impractical to attempt to invent yourself. They echo Quintilian, who insists that such invention is not dependent on divine afflatus but on human effort:

> so long as we do not lie back with eyes turned up to the ceiling, trying to fire our imagination by muttering to ourselves... but turn our thoughts to consider what the circumstances of the case demand, what suits the characters involved, what is the nature of the occasion and the temper of the judge.22

That one is able to act, is implicit in the confidence of the very first sentence of Loarte's Exercise:

> what thing he ought first of al to doe, that purposeth to beginne a newe life, and to spende his time henceforth sincerely in Gods service.23

Despite the statement made in Session six of Trent, that grace can work without help, Jesuits continued to hold the Molinist belief that human effort was essential (and therefore possible) to render grace efficacious. Struggle between this order and the Dominicans, who supported Trent's view, continued until 1607 when papal decree suspended further writing on the topic, rather than settling the dispute. The texts which appeared in English in this period all take the hopeful, Jesuit line.

A craft and not an inspiration is how Alphonso de Madrid's popular Breefe Methode, sees the pursuit of salvation. The translator starts briskly: 'Sainct Ambrose saith, that ignorance of the order & manner how to woorke, greatly troubleth the qualitie of our meritt'. He dismisses the fathers and turns to Aristotle for support: 'the Philosopher in his Metaphysicks affirmeth, that mankinde livethe by arte: in which place he semeth by this propertie to distinguish man from unreasonable creatures'.24 Eschewing an apocalyptic conversion experience which is initiated from outside, catechisms use the image of steps to perfection. The Nine Rockes To Be Avoided, of those which Sayle towards the Port of Perfection explains that this step arrangement of its material is primarily to aid the memory. The effect of navigating one-by-one past the rocks of vainglory, sensuality or self-love gives a do-it-yourself aspect to

this manual. Such an impression is shared by Martz, who sees one element of the popularity of meditations in the period being that they cultivate the 'basic, the lower levels of the spiritual life... not, properly speaking, a mystical activity, but a part of the duties of everyman in daily life'.25 Similarly, E. Allison Peers concludes that Of Prayer is concerned 'with the ordinary, rather than the exceptional Christian, its emphasis on method, and its use of the imagination'.26

Romantic, spontaneous devotion is set aside in favour of a sound business plan and shrewd commercial sense. Estella thinks it is profitable to 'suffer a little for godssake, and thereby to lyve after in happines for ever'.

> He is a foole that passeth many a day in payne, & many a night without rest, throughe the continuall payne of his teeth rather then he will abide a shorte payne in the taking out of the rotten tooth that greeveth him.27

Garnet sets up scales: Christ, 'for one brittle and transitory life, either despised or lost for his name, will repay an eternall and most happy immortality'.28 J.A. Moore noticed the same thing about Luis's Of Prayer:

> scientific principles of measurement caused him to weigh sins and to suggest that their atonement could also be weighed... Granada even worried about mystical consolations lest they be considered a reward for virtue rather than a spur to future virtue.29

Persons comments that the especial way we injure God in mortal sin is by deliberately weighing him against the pleasures of evil.30 The texts' harsh treatment of

martyrdom as plain duty and not an act full of merit is subsumed into these commercial metaphors: to suffer martyrdom is to recompense Christ. Such trading metaphors were also present in the way the missioners regarded their work. Bossy characterizes their situation as

> the priest as a 'merchant' doing 'business' with 'customers', a commercial traveller for an old-established firm offering to the householder, in competition with new and vigorous rivals, a commodity for whose consumption there was a limited demand.31

Their letters between themselves use commercial images; Southwell, for instance, asks Persons to see if he can unload any of his wares at the home of Southwell's family.32

Prayer becomes less like contemplative rhapsody before the Paraclete and more like a business meeting with the boss, considering beforehand who the reader is to meet, what he should say, what aim for, what give up. Southwell reminds himself to 'always enter upon prayer as being about to treat of some entirely new affair with Almighty God'.33 Indeed, L.B. Wright argues that

> since the attainment of worldly success was closely linked in middle-class thinking with the virtues which also lead to a comfortable assurance of heaven,

such trading ethics permeated every area of behaviour literature.34 Such an attitude flatteringly reverses the position which the reader was in when he meditated. Now he is a merchant in control - not a debtor in trouble.

So when the catechisms and rules for life come to fashion a saint, they make it a grand occasion for self-control. Southwell grimly urges the reader to

> perswade him selfe, that when he hath setled his mind seriously to follow this buisnes, hell it selfe and all the enemies of God and mans soule will conspire against him.35

Luis also gives the reader a sense of gathering his forces together.

> He then that ernestlie, and with al his hart desireth to take in hand this so greate an enterprise (in comparison of which, al that is under heaven, is to be esteemed as nothing) the summe of al that he ought to doe, consisteth in one onlie thing, to wit, that a man haue in his mind a most stedfast, and determinate purpose, never to commit anie mortal sinne.

He collapses into flabberghasted erotesis over what can be gained or lost, in not striving in this great affair.

> Is there any witte or Iudgement in this worlde? Have men their right senses? Doe they understande what theise wordes do importe? Or are they peradventure persuaded that theise are onlie fables of Poetes?36

Most hagiographies agree with Southwell when he exalts the sufferings of the recusants by a comparison with the 'intollerable torments' of the early Church martyrs. Typically, it is only Persons who is less enthusiastic: their torments were 'farre exceeding any that [God] layeth upon us in these later times, though we complayne much more then they did'!37

An element of the heroic was even encouraged amongst the missionary students. Each student lived the drama of being

a potential martyr. Persons describes the atmosphere of the English College at Valladolid. The students come over

> with that determinacion, to stand and dy in the Catholique cause, & this in such sorte as they seeme to have nothing in their myndes from the first hower of their vocation and resolution, unto the tyme they retourne home againe for execution of the same, but the Imprisonments, tortures, and martyrdomes of Ingland.38

This is confirmed by Anthony Munday's description of the way the meals at the English Roman College in 1579 were accompanied by readings from church hagiographies, which had been expanded to include saints martyred in England in the 1570s.39 English students at the college at Rome were admitted on condition that they swore to promote the misson, searching their consciences to see whether they could withstand torture. College plays were written about martyrs of the past and present; the students became accustomed to acting in this role.

Using Stephen Greenblatt's term, how does Catholic 'self-fashioning' work? Martz concludes his study of sixteenth-century meditations with a discussion of the element of imagination and self-discipline in morality. He approves a view of Yeats which combines these two qualities, seeing active virtue as theatrical and consciously dramatic, and to be distinguished from the passive acceptance of a current code.40 Meditations, hagiographies and catechisms use external means of persuasion which are constructed by the senses. The reader pulls himself into the parts

provided by their scripts. These rules are made into full scripts by the rules for life or casuist manuals, and Holmes has described such manuals as seeking

> to decide beforehand as many difficult cases of conscience as possible, so that there need be less reliance on the... untutored conscience.41

In her study of Protestant casuistry, Margaret Slights touches on Catholic Latin casuist manuals of the period. She feels sixteenth-century Protestantism damns them for concentrating on action rather than on the moral quality of the man acting, and for moving between God and his people, making the simple truth obscure. They were merely 'a complicated system of ratiocination designed to show men how to avoid their clear moral duties'.42 This judgement misses the creative aspect of the actions which are the focus to these rules of life: they recognize a symbiosis between a subject and his actions. While the Aristotelian's end of life is to act, not just be a certain sort of person, the very aim of a catechism is to try and create this certain sort of person by these acts.43 Gestures or acts change the nature of the person performing them; they are meaningful and not merely done, as Martz suggested of the morally strenuous culture of Protestantism, to preserve the sanity of the elect.

Since an act itself has effect, confession details acts. Luis emphasizes that it is not enough

> for a penitent sinner to Confesse to his Ghostlie Father in a generall sorte, that he is a sinner: but he must also Confesse unto him all his deadlie sinnes in particular wise.44

There are no morally neutral acts. Southwell convinces himself that

> if there be one single houre in which I neither do nor suffer anything for the love of God, I am not leading the life of a true religious.45

His Spiritual Exercises, a set of notes made by him before joining the mission, make frequent reference to formal decisions to become a Jesuit, or continue his novitiate, or offer himself for the mission. Southwell does not hurtle into these states of life with joyous abandon.

As has been said, pre-written rules divide the reader from experience by placing a premium on theory. They can be mechanical, dictated from a superior attitude which considers it has measured all human response, that it need not adapt itself to the present audience. This is why the rhetorics feel that it is difficult to teach by rules. Quintilian says that

> if the whole of rhetoric could be thus embodied in one compact code, it would be an easy task of little compass: but most rules are liable to be altered by the nature of the case [and by] circumstances of time and place.46

This attitude is not simply one of smug self-deprecation, produced by rhetoricians to seem artless and so, convincing. They worry that rules reverse the order of experience, in being expository summaries rather than

participatory experiences. This is why catechisms are rhetorically problematic: they are deductive and abstract, moving inflexibly downwards from theory to experience. They are the Ramist handbooks of faith, which cannot be adapted to the time or the audience. What more hostile a situation for rhetoric could be found?

And yet, Catholic catechisms do see rules as productive. In them, the analytic element becomes a trellis frame to encourage and organize experience. They contain fossilized situations, little dramas ready to be received by an audience and played out in real life. They ask the reader to consider what he should do when confronted by a sacrament or a heresy or a temptation. The essence of seeing the catechisms rhetorically, therefore, lies in understanding that as rules they point towards their embodiment: these examples of true resolution. As Gennings says, the lives of saints are published to 'stirre us up to imitate them'.47 The subject matter of demonstrative rhetoric may be in the past, but it operates in the present by arousing admiration and a wish for emulation. This is the point at which rule of life catechisms come into play. The publisher of Southwell's Short Rule advises the reader to

> fashion thy life & manners according to these devout rules which are a most perfecte mirror of his godly life and in so doing thou maist happely attaine thy selfe also to the like crowne of glory.48

These are the dynamic examples of Peter Martyr: 'we should imitate and use them... allow and commend those things which we perceive have beene doone by excellent men'.49 Catechisms' links with hagiography make them creative signs and not simply references to a reality beyond them. They are more instructions on how to imitate the good than abstracts on how the good have behaved.

So the relationship between the genres of catechism and hagiography is that between rhetorical thesis and hypothesis. If the life of a saint is an example of divinity in one man, catechisms are useful as 'case divinity' which shows how eternal principles can be extrapolated from human situations. Effectively, each catechism is an external conscience, drawn out by imitating the reasoning of one inward conscience and then aimed at teaching another. The Ignatian Exercises reify the conscience in this way, encouraging the exercitant to map out on paper the sins of the day. As Fraunce says,

> Art, which first was but the scholler of nature, is now become the maystres of nature, and as it were a Glasse wherein she... may washe out those spottes and blemishes of naturall imperfection.50

The gap between those Renaissance educators advocating a system of learning by analysis and subsequent synthesis and those supporting learning the classics by imitation - that is, by catechism and by hagiography - is probably not as

wide as it seems. Some, like Ascham, prescribed imitation of the great authors through close reading, tanning by walking in the sunlight of their style. Imitation, 'a faculty to express lively and perfectly that example which ye go about to follow', is natural since 'all the works of nature in a manner be examples for art to follow'.51 Ascham is echoing Aristotle's belief that imitation is natural to man from childhood, one of his advantages over the lower orders being this, that he is the most imitative creature in the world, and learns first by imitation.52

Yet this technique is not so dissimilar from the second group, those who followed Ramus in requiring examination of the general principles exemplified by a text, before close reading of it. Both parties require the learner to analyze passages from the writer to be imitated before synthesizing the rules of grammar and style exemplified in the passage, in a piece of writing by the learner himself.

Moreover, the resemblance between the two parties goes deeper, in that

> the imitator ought to study not only his Latinity but his resources of wisdom and factual knowledge, and most of all his virtues of conduct and character.53

This view, from Gabriel Harvey's Cambridge lectures commending Ramus, accords perfectly with Ascham's. The reader attempts to reproduce not just Cicero's prose but also his abilities, derived from education and experience.

For both Ramist and Aristotelian, imitation may be expounded in treatises on literary education but fundamentally is about reproducing the persons of the classical authors and not their works. Such mimesis starts where the external is made internal - the opposite of the Romantic view. It is a serious miming, which depends on a reader's participation to enact what he reads about. It is in this context, as Farrell noted, that Jesuit schools encouraged the emulation of other pupils as a fruitful method of learning by being.54

The art of imitating the actions of saints removes the qualifier from Aristotle's statement in the Rhetoric that 'that which has become habitual becomes as it were natural...'55 Close imitation actually creates a likeness to the example, since the element of theatricality in imitation dissolves under the pressure of repetition. I.C.'s Magdalen exclaims that 'from custome we another nature take', accusing herself of being 'partner' in her own sin by repeating it.56 The Confessions show Augustine wrestling with the idea of habit and self-creation. 'The consequence of a distorted will is passion. By servitude to passion, habit is formed, and habit to which there is no resistance becomes necessity'.57 Repetition or habit is as important in the catechisms as in the rosary texts, although here, the res is not given but to be formed by rules.

Habit depends on the ability of the memory to absorb an example which is proposed by the imagination. Peacham traces the presence of memory in metaphor, necessary if man is to conceive of God. 'Memorie is the principall efficient of a Metaphore... which as it possesseth the formes of knowen things, so is it readie at all times to present them to mans use.' At the same time, 'so infinite and incomprehensible is the nature of Almightie God, and mans capacitie of so small a compasse, that no one attribute of God can be conceived by mans weake understanding without the helpe of earthly images'. In other words, devotion depends on memory.58 The physical pictures given by the meditations and hagiographies bring down the intellectual to sensible things and so strike the memory more strongly. The hermit introducing Alphonso's pilgrim knight to the spiritual life sees original sin take away a taste but not an ability to act correctly. We overcome this distaste by mingling God's grace and 'good habits of vertues which we may plant in our soules, by diligent exercise of our superior powers', that is, our understanding and will. When it comes to how these are to be exercised, Alphonso arrogates great power to imagination, suggesting that to will to will something requires a change in the image one has of it.59 Moreover, the retention of images is not the only important moral feature of memory. For Puttenham, past actions are not

just a record of men's actions but of God's providence. One must ponder before acting on this providence, for 'experience is no more than a masse of memories assembled'.60 In absorbing past experiences as though one's own, character is created. Learning, in this context, is vital.

Good reading habits.

An ability to reuse what has been read forms the distinction between the book and the student. This mastery was important because of the danger that the reading material would overcome the reader. Meeting a text was an occasion; not just something which was slipped into accidently as if one saw the written word all around. Francis Meres anxiously warns that 'as they that are wise do not forthwith drinke out of every fountaine... so it is not safe to read every booke' and 'as it is safe to lie uppon the hearbe Tryfolie, because serpentes cannot abide to come neare it: so wee shoulde be conversant in those books, in which no infection is to be feared'.61 Over a quarter of Mere's similies for reading depict books as fearsome linguistic monsters, waiting to pounce on effeminate readers.

Perhaps this is why a cannibalistic reading technique was encouraged by the notebook culture of sixteenth-century schools. The reader stood outside the text, sufficiently distanced from its message to be able to gut it for gobbets to be digested into other texts. Such a process allowed the host text even less integrity than the endless system of intertextual reference sponsored by twentieth-century semiotics. The individual's own conceptual framework was imposed on any text he read.

This is demonstrated by the easy way Catholic texts were cannibalized by Protestants. H.S. Bennett estimates that nearly half of all books produced by the licenced presses during this period were devotional manuals or books of religious controversy. However, these included very few Protestant meditations, and Bennett believes that some recycling of recusant texts took place.62 Thus, the recusant texts may have a wider circulation and so a little more influence than critics have hitherto appreciated.

The truth of Bennett's view is borne out by the triumph with which Catholic writers announce yet another book of meditations or rules for life. For instance, in Nicols Allen animadverts on those who burnt the Imitatio Christi and Luis's Of Prayer, which he thinks were targeted because the Protestant religion had no such books of devotion. They burned books of

> contemplation, meditation and instruction of Christian life and manners, conteining no dispute of religion at al... Assure your selves that they cannot abide such bookes of al others, knowing that devout praier onely, penaunce and amendement of life, will easily bring men from their pretended Religion... Neither, if you marke well, shall you ever finde that the learned of the Protestants writ or treat of any such argument.

Persons's preface to the Directorie makes the same point.63 Indeed, one of the most famous conversions in literature, that of Robert Greene, was bruited as due to the Directorie. In his Repentance, he takes up the book when sick and realizes

> the miserable state of the reprobate, what Hell was, what the worme of Conscience was, what tormentes there was appointed for the damned soules... that there was nothing but feare, horrour, vexation of mind.64

This is exactly (if sensationally) how Persons wanted the book to be used: a confessional scene induced by reading at home.

Bennett is also corroborated by the anxiety with which the Protestant authors repudiate suggestions of devotional poverty. Richard Rogers can only deny what

> the Papists cast in our teeth, that we have nothing set out for the certaine and daily direction of a Christian, when yet they have published (they say) many treatises of that argument,

and say that devotional aspects of the Protestant texts exist, though scattered throughout catechisms.65 Edwin Sandys is uneasily aware that the Catholics

> conceive to have so surpassed theyr opposites that they forbear not to reproach unto them theyr povertie, weaknesse, and coldnesse in that kind as being forced to take the Catholicks books to

> supply therein. Which as on this side it cannot be altogether denyed to be true.66

Lewalski agrees with Rogers, on the basis of a number of seventeenth-century meditation works she lists. However, since none of her authors are of the Elizabethan period, her assumption that 'the polemical assertions of Parsons and others to the effect that contemporary Protestants borrowed Roman works because they could not produce their own be greeted with some scepticism' must itself be considered groundless for the period before 1600.67

Not that this trade was one way: Catholics used licenced press productions, despite the danger to their souls which Martin points out in the preface to the New Testament. The restrictions on reading which have been described in the chapters on meditation were doubled by the Church for heretical texts. Such reading was not always done with reprehensible curiosity. The probate inventory of Stephen Vallenger, prosecuted for helping publish Alfield's Campion, shows that the closest Vallenger was able to get to acquiring works by his English Catholic contemporaries was the Bunny version of the Directorie and Fulke's edition of the Rheims New Testament.68 In the same way, the first publication of Campion's letter to the Lords of the Council was in Meredith Hanmer's The Great Bragge and Challenge of M. Champion a Iesuite in 1581.69 Catholics must have been particularly grateful for William Fulke's 1589 refutation of the Rheims translation of the New Testament. The Text

of the New Testament... by the Papists... Whereunto is Added the Translation... Used in the Church of England reprints the entire recusant translation, including annotations, in parallel with that of the Established Church. Peter Milward describes the complaint of the publisher in the third edition of Thomas Cooper's attack on the mass, of 1562. Cooper was answering an anonymous defence of the institution and had injudiciously included a copy of the treatise in his own work. Recusants, sniffed the publisher, were buying up the edition, tearing out Cooper's pages and keeping the Catholic defence!70

Such trade was helped by the fact that the new men of the Counter-Reformation, such as Persons, Campion and Martin, all had extensive links with Protestantism before becoming Catholic. As Bossy notes, they would have shared a frame of reference with their adversaries.71 This is evident in the ease with which they use peristrophe, a figure which repeats but changes an opponent's arguments and which is the tropical equivalent of cannibalism. This ranges from Munday's skit on hagiographical verses at the end of Alfield's Campion, to the concordance-style, line-on-line answer which Southwell gives to the 1591 Proclamation in An Humble Supplication. Thus, Persons is quick to tabulate the ways in which fact can be manipulated when he analyses Hastings's replies in the Warn-word's 'Third Table of Certaine Notorious Shifts, Slieghtes, Deceits and

impostures'. Heretics pass over major points in silence, answering only the easy ones. If a point cannot be ignored, a general answer is made and then Hastings passes on as though a full answer has been given. When they have been convicted of an error, heretics do not clear themselves but accuse the Catholics of the same fault. Reasons of state are alleged to explain why no proofs are given. Catholic texts are misquoted and other authorities are given either without exact references or have selective quotation applied to twist their sense. Irrelevant matters are discussed and internal contradictions in the argument ignored. And finally, of course, Persons accuses heretics of plain lies.72 These charges are a list of the methods of strengthening a weak position, which Quintilian gives in advising on debate.73

Persons adds two further accusations to those in the Warnword, when commenting on Bunny's changes in the preface to the Directorie. Bunny 'maketh many divisions and subdivisions, every thing running therin by couples, wherin he is so fertile and abundant, as by methode he confoundeth al memorie' (possibly a reference to Ramist methods of dividing a subject). Moreover, Bunny has added parentheses to change the meaning of the Directorie, giving this credence by stuffing the margin with the names of authors (something Persons does himself in the Catholic side of the calendar given in Conversions).74 It is interesting that

when the Directorie describes the false proof of the heretics, it does so in terms of the parts of rhetoric. Their doctrine is changeable, for it is 'in the invention, iudgment, and memorye of the sectarye himselfe'.75

The Bunny-Persons controversy has been discussed by White, Bennett, Southern and Janelle. As chapter two described, in 1582 Persons extended Loarte's Exercise of a Christian Life into The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to resolution, since Loarte's work did not appeal to those who had not yet made an election to lead a Christian life. This book was popular and in 1584, Edmund Bunny, the vicar of Bolton Percy, produced a Protestant version of the text, Perused, and accompanied now with a Treatise tending to Pacification. Bunny had 'taken the pains, both to purge it of certain points that carried either some manifest error, or else some other inconvenience with them'. He mentions other texts, such as the Imitatio Christi, which Protestant divines have purified from traces of Catholicism, 'leaving out the corruption of it, and taking onlie that which was sound'. Persons responded angrily to this in his revision of the text of 1585, his Christian Directorie: 'he maketh me speake after the phrase of Protestants', and again, 'M. Buny maketh me to speake like a good minister of England'. Catholic and Protestant versions continued to be produced into the following reign. Bunny's rejoinder was confined

to a contemptuous pamphlet which claimed that the Directorie had indeed been made safe for reading by his improvements, the Briefe Answer, unto those idle and frivolous quarrels of R.P. against the late edition of the Resolution of 1589.76

However, none of the critics mentioned have examined the three versions of the Directorie, to see how each text reacted to the others (Janelle claimed to have compared the two versions, but his statement that 'they are identically the same' is incorrect. The 1585 Directorie even gives the page numbers to the Bunny alterations).77 Although, as my introduction noted, the thesis will not be dealing with the effect of Protestant texts on recusant devotions, it is worth noting that here is another struggle over possession of meaning, one which parallels that over vernacular translation of the Bible.

Bunny's preface explains his alterations of three things in particular: replacing Catholic theological terms with their Scriptural equivalents; removing authorities which Persons has quoted where Bunny thinks they add nothing to the argument, and changing points which do not agree with the truth. Bunny uses the term 'purged', which Persons takes up indignantly ('which he termeth purged'), as he has purged the author from the text. The reader, Bunny, has claimed responsibilty for the meaning, against Persons's

belief that the meaning of a text lies in the author's intentions. Bunny has restored a fallen text, finding 'the paradise within'. As Persons says, when Bunny 'can not accommodate the matter ether by changing the wordes, or by putting in a parenthesis; then maketh he oftentimes certaine annotations in the margent', keeping the words but changing their meaning.78 It would be interesting to explore this trope of cleansing the text of its author, in relation to the habit of notebook or extrapolatory reading, which removes the irrelevancy of context.

Bunny was not alone in recognizing the potential of Catholic texts. Richard Loomis has analysed the 1620 Barrett version of Southwell's Short Rule, printed by licenced press and removing the explicitly Catholic elements of the text. However, Loomis's study was for bibliographical purposes only.79 Moreover, no-one yet has dealt with the numerous adaptations, frequently reprinted, made by Francis Meres and Thomas Lodge of Luis de Granada's work: The flowers of Lodowicke of Granado, Granados devotion, The conversion of a sinner, Of Prayer, The sinners guyde, Granados spirituall and heavenlie exercises. There is room for study on the symbiosis that existed between these Catholic and Protestant works.

Against such a cannibalism, imposing its own cognitive architecture on the texts being read, recusant authors

commend a quite different active reading habit to their audience. A reader must be humbly submissive in approaching devotional texts. He is to be silent and obedient to the text's meaning. Perhaps 'she' would be more appropriate, since the listening figure inside each meditation is most often female, and the reader is expected to model his reception on hers. This may be why the more lyrical writers in Guiney's Recusant Poets describe their souls in female terms. Lines like Constable's 'let my soule mayd chaste, passe for a Mayde' or 'lyke a woman spowse my sowle shalbee... betrothed to goddes sonne above' run through this collection.80 The Catholic reading experience is gendered.

The chapter on meditations described how authors kept refocusing on the characters in the scene. They put speaker, subject and audience on a merry-go-round which produces models of prayer. An author speaks in his own person about God to the lay reader; an author prays about the reader to God; 'God' describes the author to the reader. However, there is never, ever a model of a reader speaking about either himself, God or the author. It would not be impossible to show a reader's response and prayer in the text: there are figures inside each meditation scene which stand in for those of us outside. Such figures could have prayed about the author or to God in the reader's place. This does not happen: lay members, readers, are

expected to watch but not to pray. Meditations and hagiographies ask the reader to dispose herself in front of the work, waiting like a meek wall-flower to be picked up by the text's eloquence or subject. In other words, the texts' reference points are used by the reader rather than him furnishing his own. He is to absorb authors whole: 'not so much [keeping] Nizolian paper-books of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation (as it were) [devouring] them whole', says Sidney.81 The categories which the catechisms use are those on which the reader is expected to form his concept of self: the decalogue and the theological virtues.

For instance, Southwell surrounds Mary Magdalen with reasons why Christ's body has not been stolen: surely some particles of flesh would have stuck to the sindon if it had been ripped away by human hands? What are the angels doing there if this was merely the death of a man? Eventually, he gives up, asks the angels to answer her and calls Mary a typical woman to want the proof of her eyes when he has offered such conclusive evidence!82 Such 'male' deductive reasoning is typical of the catechisms and Southwell is impatient of Mary's wish for independent points of reference. He emphasizes that satisfying this desire is no longer possible for his readers, who are encouraged to take on the catechisms' proofs as they stand.

The texts recommend this reading technique for everyone, not just women alone. Dedications of the works are rare and cannot tell us much about the intended audience of the texts. However, the conventual withdrawal into booklined 'cells' was necessary for all recusants, even though in a secular context these circumstances for reading were confined to women. Where the recusant read, just as much as how he read, seems to parallel female reading experience of the period. Further study could put to use (in determining where and who read the texts) the wealth of historical and bibliographical sources which have been unearthed by scholars of recusancy. The responsa scholarum have been cited as proof that the texts were read as part of the mission effort. Details of who owned these works could be gained from probate documents and library catalogues of the period. Seizure lists made by pursuivants could also be useful. Not only could this research throw light on my suggestion that the the reading technique (rather than the expected reader) was gendered, but it also may confirm the writers' expectation that there was a double audience for their texts, and that the Protestant element of it used them for devotion as much as for polemic purposes.

Returning to the way facts are marshalled through another's mind and are not given to be judged on by the reader himself: William Allen is sceptical of private

interpretation, quoting what Lawrence Caddy said at his recantation:

> it was the property of al hereticks to abuse, wrest and wring [Scriptures], to whatsoever themselves list, and particularly to the private sence of every secte maister, ech one for his owne erronious doctrine and the condemnation of his fellowes.83

(This was not a peculiarly British concern: the Council of Trent's fourteenth and eighteenth sessions had dealt with 'petulant spirits' who wrested the canon of Scripture their own way, as evidenced by the compilation of the Index librorum prohibitorum in 1557). The first three of Campion's Rationes decem for remaining in the Catholic Church centre on the ill-judged reading techniques of sectaries who concentrate on private interpretation. At his trial, Alfield points out that he is being condemned because the jurors are refusing to read in context the words of Allen's True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques.84 In other words, because the writers trust words they link signs to their public rather than private exposition.

That recusant authors acknowledge a 'common word', the possibilty of communication dependent on another's understanding, is evident when they discuss the position of church-papists. For Garnet, going to an heretical church is a-moral in itself but must be regarded as immoral because Protestants have determined it to be a gesture signifying consent to the Church of England. 'That is the

meaning of wordes and signes and actions, which either their own nature or the common use of men hath imposed, not that which your selfe would intend'.85 Persons repeats this argument, in Reasons Why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church: 'goynge or not goeyng to the Church, is made a signe now in England distinctive, betwyxt... a Catholicke, and a Schismatyke.' Moreover, 'what doth make a thing to be a proper and peculier signel but the iudgment and opinion of men?'86 Even while he defended equivocation at his trial, Southwell accepted Lord Justice Popham's concept of communication: 'we are men, and no Gods, and cane iudge but accordinge to theire outward actiones and speeches, and not accordinge to there secrette and inward intentiones'.87

At the same time, the wish to justify equivocation was heightened by the need to save priests, as valuable spiritual resources for the recusant community. They were not just simple men whose honesty was being tested; it could be argued that a greater spiritual gain would be made out of their being kept alive through equivocation than bearing witness to the faith by death. Thus, the doctrine of equivocation developed 'wayes how to conceal a trewth without makinge of a lye', according to Garnet's treatise on it.88 Mental reservations were not sinful if a 'reasonable' man would remain undeceived by them, regardless of whether the interlocutor was actually so. To achieve this, the concept of equivocation splits statements

into four types: propositions can be made mentally, vocally, physically or by a mixture of the three. The latter type allows modification of outright statements, as Southwell's trial shows. He had told Anne Bellamy, who later betrayed his hiding place to pursuivants, that 'yf uppon her othe, shee were asked whether she hade seene a Priste or not, she might lawfully say not, though she had seen one, keepinge this meaning in her mynd, that she did not see any, with intent to bewray him'.89 The conditions imposed before it was necessary to ensure that the other party understood the speaker were onerous. This person had to be a lawful superior, with authority over the speaker and in the subject being examined; he had to proceed according to a just law and could only expect an unequivocable answer if the matter was important.

This theory of communication parallels that of the Family of Love, to whom Persons gave the same degree of prominence as papists in Reasons Why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church.90 Enabled by doctrine (not just necessity) to assign their own meanings to church ritual, they transcended not only questions of discipline but also questions of doctrine. Janet Halley suggests that 'the conditions of meaning are themselves a terrain of political struggle' in the identity of the members of this sect. She puts forward church papists as another group who assigned

their own meaning to public statements, though the suggestion was repudiated by Catholic writers.91

The impossibility of any sort of exchange of meaning when equivocation is believed in was emphasized by the nervous reiterations of the 1606 Oath of Alleigance:

> these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or... secret reservation whatsoever.92

There is a contradiction between the way recusant authors talk about equivocation and their belief that the public aspect of communication outweighs the private, when advising readers not to attend schismatic services. Such a contradiction is resolved by recognizing that the audience which recusant texts have in mind is divine rather than human. 'Neyther skylleth it that the partye to whom I speake understandeth not that which I reserve... for at the least God understandeth the speech of the mynde', says Garnet.93 Propositions are completed and therefore made true or false by God, so that real-time, actual communication with persons around the speaker is secondary. Moreover, what is actually said to them takes second place to why it is said and to whom.

The chapters on meditation showed how the reader's gaze is controlled, reducing the multi-valent text to one. Since, as Martin says of the New Testament,

> all take not the holy Scripture in one and the same sense, because of the deepenes thereof... there may almost as many senses be picked out of it, as there be men,94

the Church enforces interpretative submission. This chapter also has shown how the values of the catechisms are to be taken on by the reader. The recusant texts themselves tell the reader how to approach them. Luis's Memoriall enjoins the reader to avoid 'sleightie or negligent careles running over of books, without dewe weyghinge of the same'. In fact, spiritual reading is exactly like meditation, 'except that Meditation doth staie it selfe somewhat more in things'.95 Persons says that 'it must not be donne in hast, nor (as the fashion is) for curiositie onlie, to reade three or fower leaves in one place, & so in an other'.96 On holy days, says Southwell,

> in steed of my worke I must bestowe those daies in reading good bookes, hearing sermons, and such like godly exercises, not lightly runing over them, thinking it enough to have red or heard good things, but pawsing upon such thinges as move my affection, & printing them well in my mind & memory.97

This is a generous reading; one where the reader allows himnself to be absorbed by the subject.

This very generosity may have caused the Ratio studiorum to impose stringent safeguards on the use of drama in Jesuit schools. As W.H. McCabe has shown, drama was valued for its role in animating language learning, providing good publicity for the schools and imparting some moral instruction. Yet the Jesuits felt that the latter depended

on suitable parts being offered to the boys. All plays were to exclude female roles and concentrate wholly on edifying themes.98 The order credited drama with great power to change the players, who would find it difficult to separate the text from themselves.

In conclusion, this chapter has followed the fashioning of a saint by using the rules of catechisms. These can be cooperated with by the reader, who is not wholly dependent on an outside initiative to change himself. At first, the devotional self is seen in flight from itself in the catechisms. On these razed foundations of self, actions and rules outline, as scaffolding, a desired character; one which eventually gets built-in permanently by the effects of memory and repetition. The mode of reading which produces this absorption is described by the texts in terms of female reading techniques and is generous, valuing the text more than the reader. The following chapter, the conclusion, draws together these two features - a positive concept of rules and an active reading technique - and applies them to all recusant devotional texts of this period.

1 Luis, Memoriall, 1-2 (second signature series).

2 Broughton, R., The First Part of the Resolution of Religion (1603; Antwerp [England], 1603), 20.
3 Constable, 'To God the Father', 'Spirituall Sonnettes', 183.
4 Lanham, R., The Motives of Eloquence [Motives] (New Haven, 1976), 14.
5 Southwell, Short Rule, B6 r, B7 r, B5 v-B6 v.
6 Southwell, Short Rule, a6 v.
7 C.N., Our Ladie, F4 r; Verstegan, 'Triumphe of feminyne Saintes', Odes, D7 v.
8 Lanham, Motives, 4.
9 Auerbach, Mimesis. The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, 15.
10 Scupoli, Conflict, A8 r.
11 Luis, Memoriall, 139.
12 Manual of Prayers, F3 r (first signature series).
13 Southwell, 'Saint Peters Complaynte', 'Saint Peters Complaint', Poems, 29, 76, 81.
14 Breefe Collection, A6 v.
15 For example, Canisius, Summe, S5 v; Southwell, Short Rule, D7 v.
16 Fish, S., Self-Consuming Artifacts. The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature (1972; Berkeley, 1974), 156 ff.
17 Chandos, J., 'Recusant Poets of the English Renaissance.' The Month iii (N.S.) (1950), 5.
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77 Janelle, 'English Devotional Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', 160. I have checked the first of the alterations which Persons lists in the 1585 Directorie against the 1582 Exercise and Bunny's adaptation. 'Those which attend in the Catholique Churche, to deale with soules in the holie sacrament of confession' [L4 v] becomes 'those which are known to be skilful, and to deal so sincerely withal, that others disburden their consciences unto them for their comfort' [O6 v].
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Chapter 8: Conclusion.

My thesis started by asking if it was possible to divine a recusant theory of rhetoric, from the practice of Catholic secret press authors of the late sixteenth century. It ends by reviewing the main themes from each of the chapters. Recusant meditations, catechisms and hagiographies have a number of these in common: they believe that communication is possible; that what is communicated is a text which is privileged over the reader and that this text can be read from events and people, not just print. The thesis concludes that a rhetorical recognition of subject, speaker and audience is fundamental to the concepts which the texts share.

First, however, I should note several sources on which the argument has not drawn. It has looked at the practice of the recusant authors and the precepts of their schoolbooks, but this study could be extended to the arguments of the Catholic rhetoricians. For instance, Luis de Granada, who produced the Ecclesiastica rhetorica in 1576 which ran into nine editions, and Diego de Estella, whose De ratione concionandi of the same year received eight editions.1 It would be especially useful to find out if these rhetoricians share Soarez's unease over sucessful oratory which must use deceit. Are they able to reconcile the

recusant wish to restrain a reader's freedom to interpret discourse and the rhetor's need to see his text from an audience's point of view? On this point, Shugar's insight that Tridentine rhetorics are concerned with the emotional effect of rhetoric on the audience could be followed up by a precise study of their methods. These rhetoric manuals could also be related to educational theory, in the same way that I have related recusant practice.

Further recusant sources exist. The thesis has concentrated on printed work, not using the large number of manuscript devotional commonplace books and versions of martyrdoms which were compiled in the late sixteenth century. Polemic and dogmatic texts could be examined, before a final conclusion is reached about the degree of rhetoric in recusant writing. Placing these texts against the context of British devotional writing as a whole would also be useful, given that while studies like those of White have eschewed dealing with recusant texts, they have also admitted the degree of borrowing by Protestant authors. Such study could take account of the areas where Catholic literature is indebted to Protestant in its turn, especially in the area of catechisms, where the impetus for this analytical form was given by Lutheran catechisms, and in that of hagiographies, which responded to Foxe.

Turning to what the thesis did discuss: the first chapter on meditations looked at them as self-persuasive orations. Deliberative rhetoric is used by the meditator to sway his own will. Material for meditations is presented for effect and not for questioning, being organized in terms of time spent in prayer. The chapter following this explored the way texts find such material. Rhetorical amplification and memory techniques are used to allow the meditator's mind to centre on the subject for long enough to assimilate it. The two chapters on hagiographies pointed out that this deliberative rhetoric is supported by topics from epideictic rhetoric, so that the hagiographies provide examples of true resolution for the meditator to aim at. These saints' lives describe what should be and not what is, and are dependent on a formal manipulation of ethos. Such formalism means that the images of these saints are not presented as sensual but communicative, needing to be interpreted. The final chapter showed how these images can be created in the reader, by using the dramatic scripts given in the catechisms. This type of self-formation comes by absorbing the texts through a submissive reading technique - and so the argument comes full circle, back to the meditations.

All three genres recognize that communication is possible. The effort of prayer comes from man; when he is silent it implies an unwillingness to work for God. The meditation

authors believe that they can speak to God without presumption, because the human voice is only one action of praise. It would seem that they do not see any problem in speaking to man either: church-papists are excoriated partly because of the scandal which they give to recusants, but mainly because they give a sign of consent to the Established Church, a sign which is understood by Protestants. This confidence that meaning can be exchanged does not suggest that it is. The doctrine of equivocation warns that the main recipient of discourse is God. Moreover, the texts see his communication back to man through themselves as more valuable than the reader's comprehension. In other words, recusant writers see the text which is being disseminated as a script which is more important than the reader. A work like the Rheims New Testament censors the reader by not including translations of important words in the Scriptures, lest it breed error. Another example of this is the way that Latin collections of prayers give English paraphrases rather than translations, so that their sense is transmitted as a temporary measure which can be revised if necessary.

The reader is to absorb this hierarchy of God over text over reader, and recreate the work in himself. Catechisms give him a dramatic script which he is to use as an exoskeleton, taking on its points of reference for his own. As the meditations showed, this is not difficult to do in

prayer. The reader flies from himself, constructing instead a self which is modelled on the saints and the rules of the catechisms. Repetition habituates him to his new role, actions becoming less theatrical each time he reads the text. He need refer less and less to both catechisms and meditations, as the work is consumed.

These devotional texts are not confined to the printed page, the world outside is to be seen as a supplementary preacher to the recusant works. There are many examples of this: images of saints are not to be tasted but interpreted; martyrs become texts themselves; relics are not just bones but proofs of the constancy of the saints; pilgrimages can be made in the mind; people remind one of virtues; small daily household acts remind one of prayers. Far from being idolatrously literal in their interpretation of this world, as their Protestant critics exclaim, these Catholic writers urge readers constantly to relate it to its creator.

As the thesis has examined certain techniques of rhetoric - inventio, memoria, amplificatio, the use of examples to prove and to clarify - these themes about communication have become apparent, in each of the three devotional genres. Thus, this study has used the practice of rhetoric to create literary analysis. However, the conclusion must

reverse this, and ask if rhetoric has helped to create these themes.

Each of the devotional practises has centred on the reader knowing who his audience was, what he was speaking about and how he wanted to present himself in speaking, that is, has considered the speaker, subject and audience described by the ad Herennium and the Institutio oratoria, Cicero and Soarez. However, recusant communication is with God: other audiences are accidental. Moreover, what the Catholic speaks about is fixed: the Church has limited his expository freedom, so that the materials of his faith are true commonplaces. That leaves only one thing which is flexible - the speaker - so Catholic devotional works aim at altering him. This is not the author of the printed text, but the reader himself. Recusant writers have put each reader in the authorial position. They have urged him to use rhetoric on himself. Since he engrosses the text so thoroughly, he becomes the author and the text becomes the way he lives. The reader persuades himself to the good.

Thus, like Evans, Caro, Crane and Oxley, I see rhetoric as at the very centre of these devotional works. It is an attitude which is far from critics who see rhetoric in such texts as simply decorative; where, for instance, Luis de Granada

> seems to have delighted in following the rhetorical rules of the Ancients... it was always interesting to him to see how many figures he could use in elaborating a single fact.2

It is equally far from the bleating critics of my introduction, who see rhetoric as emasculating strong prose and even religious fervour.

So there is rhetoric in the recusant texts. It is not an anaemic or polite way to gild wearisome duties of devotion. Rather, in these sixteenth-century recusant texts, the rules of rhetoric create a new character for the speaker, acting like trellis-work to support this growth. Any orator can do this for himself, not waiting for a spirit to choose to aid him. This makes the texts be concerned with profit, their authors grubbing for souls. Believing that the individual can craft his own character and helping him to do this without principle, on principle, recusant rhetoric is irresistibly attractive.

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2 Switzer, R., The Ciceronian Style in Fr. Luis de Granada (New York, 1927), 149.

Appendix 1: The rhetorical education of recusant writers.

The introduction suggested that the self-conscious use of rhetoric in Catholic texts was founded in the writers' education. This appendix shows where the authors were educated and what rhetorical manuals they were likely to have used. I have confirmed or corrected information in Gillow's Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, consulting Anstruther's dictionary of secular priests and a recent monograph by Bellenger giving the place of ecclesiastical training of the missionary priests, and also lists of alumni from Oxford and Cambridge.1 Education which went beyond the level where rhetoric would have been learnt has not been stated, unless these further degrees are the only ones noticed by the biographers. Included are all those writers examined in the thesis who were directly connected with the mission, divided between authors who produced original texts and compilers or translators:

Writers.

Thomas Alfield (secular priest): Eton. King's, Cambridge (1568). B.A. (1572), age twenty.

William Allen (secular): educated at home. Oriel, Oxford (1547). B.A. (1550), age eighteen.

Richard Bristow (secular): educated at home. Exeter College, Oxford (1555). B.A. (1559), age twenty.

Richard Broughton (secular): Pembroke College, Cambridge (1577-83), age sixteen to twenty-two. No record of degree taken.

John Bucke: nothing known.

Robert Chambers (secular): English College, Rheims (1582-92), age eleven to twenty-one.

Henry Garnet (S.J.): Winchester School (1567-73), age twelve to eighteen. Did not attend university.

John Gennings (Order of Friars Minor): probably at Lichfield grammar school with his brother Edmund. No university records. At the English College, Rome (1598-1600), age twenty-two to twenty-four.

Philip Howard (lay): educated at home (tutored by Gregory Martin). At St. John's, Cambridge (1576) and awarded an honorary M.A., aged 19.

Gregory Martin (secular): St. John's, Oxford (1557). B.A. (1560), age unknown.

Robert Persons (S.J.): Stogursey grammar school. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford (1564-66) then Balliol, Oxford (1566-68). B.A. (1568), age twenty-two.

Robert Southwell (S.J.): Douay (1576), age fifteen, then Paris (probably to the Jesuit College de Clermont) in 1577. At English College, Rome (1578-80), age seventeen to nineteen.

Lawrence Vaux (secular): possibly Manchester grammar school.2 Queen's and Corpus Christi, Oxford, before taking orders (1542), age twenty-three. No record of degree taken.

Richard Verstegan (lay): at Christ Church, Oxford (1565-69), age fifteen to nineteen. Refused to take the Oath of Supremacy and left without a degree.

Thomas Worthington (secular): Brasenose, Oxford (1566). B.A. (1570), age either sixteen or twenty-four.

Translators and Compilers.

Stephen Brinkley (lay): nothing known.

George Cotton: nothing known.

George Flinton (lay): nothing known.

John Gerard (S.J.): at Douay (1577-80), age twelve to fifteen. Jesuit College de Clermont, Paris (1580-81), age sixteen.

Richard Gibbons (S.J.): when went to Louvain University (1570), age twenty-one, took only philosophy, so must have made his humanities studies in Britain. No university records.

Richard Haydock (secular): no university records. At Douay (1573-77), age twenty-two to twenty-six.

Richard Hopkins (lay): St. Alban's Hall, Oxford (1563), age seventeen. No record of degree taken.

The majority of these writers were instructed in Britain until their late teens, that is, well past the stage when they would have learnt rhetoric. This confirms a suspicion of J.X. Evans that such timing was encouraged because the students'

> matriculation in England was no small benefit to the colleges abroad, for it reduced the educational and financial burdens of the seminaries at a time when both faculty and funds were hard to obtain.3

Only three of the group studied in the thesis were primarily educated by Church institutions: Chambers, Southwell and Gerard. Thus, this appendix will start by looking at rhetoric in British school curricula, before turning to the Catholic schools.

In looking at the place of dialectic in sixteenth-century universities, Lisa Jardine points out that a third of the trivium, grammar, was expected to be studied before the student came up. Facility in mathematics, logic and rhetoric was the basis for the B.A. course, in preparation for the more serious studies of the philosophies.4 However, some rhetorical theory was also usually prepared for in schools, even before the student went up, so it is

to sixteenth-century schools that one should turn first for information on rhetorical education. T.W. Baldwin has described from two sources the education given in Elizabethan schools of the period: pedagogical works of advice and, where they survive, curricula of schools themselves. The latter use the ad Herennium and Institutio oratoria as guides to theory, at first when the pupil is first learning about inventio and elocutio, and after as a means of analysing the rhetoric of the poetry, history and orations which make up the curricula. In other words, these basic rhetoric manuals (sometimes supplemented by the De partitione) are used initially as rules for composition of themes and orations, then as aids to literary criticism. As Baldwin says, statutes of schools tend to name the authors which were read rather than the rhetorical guides to them, 'but in five out of the six cases where oratorical texts are mentioned at all Cicero's rhetoric, or ad Herennium, is specified'; three of these five schools also include Quintilian in their curricula. He cites the grammar schools at Bury St. Edmund's, Rivington and Norwich, and the cathedral school at Durham which use these two authors in this way.5 Baldwin's evidence is less meagre than it looks, since he is able to connect groups of schools together to produce similar probable syllabi for schools like Paul's, Eton and Winchester.

As Baldwin points out, educational theorists sponsored this use of Quintilian and the real and pseudo-Cicero. Thomas Elyot's Governour of 1531 lets the pupil around the age of fifteen reflect on the philosophy of rhetoric, with Quintilian and the De partitione as guides.6 John Sturm's treatise on education of 1538, De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber, employs the ad Herennium to guide the learner through the first stages of elocutio, before he moves on to using De partitione when analysing literary texts.7 Quintilian is yielded an equal place to Cicero in literary formation, by William Kempe's The Education of Children of 1588.8 For Erasmus, composition of the epistle and the theme is learnt by consulting Aphthonius and Cicero's Topica, and the oration is made with the help of Cicero and Quintilian.9 Such syllabi were not confined to schools. It seems unlikely that any home tutor would brave the expectations of parents and pedagogues, to produce a curriculum for his pupils which ignored authors regarded as the bed-rock of rhetorical ability.

The majority of recusant authors spent some time at one of the universities. When the student passed on to Oxford or Cambridge, rhetoric continued to form part of his work. Elizabethan statutes of both universities required the undergraduate to spend his first year in rhetoric, based on a study of the practice of Cicero and the theory of Quintilian, Hermogenes and Aristotle. M.H. Curtis has

warned that statutes can only give a partial picture of the studies actually carried out in the universities, since they take no account of the competing system of education offered by the colleges' lecturers and the students' own tutors.10 Nonetheless, statutes do offer a guide to the sort of standards in rhetoric which a student would be expected to attain, even though through college-based means.

The education of the three students who did not go to British institutions was based on the Ratio studiorum. This is a set of rules and methods of teaching to be employed in Jesuit schools, also used by the English College at Rheims and Douay.11 It was drawn from the Society's experience of their first school at Messina (a success from its inception in 1551) and Ignatius's description of educational practices in the Constitutions. The Ratio underwent extensive testing and revision by all the Jesuit Provinces between 1586 and its final version in 1599; the latter version became binding on all Jesuit schools from then on. It is possible, therefore, to be definite about the texts which Southwell, Gerard and Chambers would have studied. The penultimate, fourth class used Soarez and De partitione to lay a foundation for eloquence. The fifth class aimed at a perfect command of language by studying the philosophy of rhetoric and its use in the classic authors, with Quintilian, Aristotle and

Cicero as guides. The thorough way in which these texts were assimilated is attested in that each Jesuit was expected to be able to teach the humanities (fourth) class himself, at the end of this education.12

In conclusion, it would seem reasonable to assume, as this thesis has done, that the recusant writers did know the rhetorical theorists it has cited: Quintilian, Cicero and, for those educated under the Jesuit system, Soarez.

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2 Vaux, Catechisme, viii.
3 Evans, 'Rhetoric', RH x (1970), 249.
4 Jardine, L., 'The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge.' Studies in the Renaissance xxi (1974), 44, 50.
5 Baldwin, T.W., William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke [Shakspere] (Urbana, 1944), ii 70, i 299-300, i 349, i 417, i 413.
6 Baldwin, Shakspere, ii 17; Elyot, The Boke Named The Governour, 72-74.
7 Baldwin, Shakspere, ii 25-26; Sturm, J., De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber (Argentorati, 1557), D2 r.
8 Baldwin, Shakspere, i 197; Kempe, W., The Education of Children (London, 1588), Di v.
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10 Curtis, M.H., Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), 86-87, 101.
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12 Farrell, Education, 344-345, 235; Society of Jesus, Ratio atque institutio studiorum societatis Iesu (1599; Rome, 1606), H4 v. I2 r.

Bibliography

Section A. Primary works.
1. Rhetorical texts.
2. Meditations and devotional texts.
3. Catechisms and 'rules of life'.
4. Hagiographies and anti-hagiographies.
5. Other primary texts (Protestant and Catholic).

Section B. Secondary works.

Note: conjectural publishing dates and names are those suggested in AR and are indicated by square brackets.

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Textual apparatus, abbreviations and illustrations

A.

The following printing conventions have been changed: long 's' has been replaced by 's'; contractions and ligatures have been expanded; the use of 'vv', 'v' and 'u' has been modernized.

B.

Abbreviations used include:

AR	Allison, A.F. and Rogers, D.M., A Catalogue of Catholic Books... 1558-1640.
CRS	Catholic Record Society.
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia.
npp	no place of printing.
npn	no printer's name.
NT	Rheims New Testament.
RH	Recusant History.
ERL	English Recusant Literature, 1558-1640 series of facsimiles.
[ ]	conjectural publishing dates and names as suggested in AR.

C.

Illustrations are:

following p.23, titlepage to W. Haddon and J. Foxe, Against Ierome Osorius (London, 1581);

following p.199, Ki r in R. Verstegan, Theatre des Cruautez des Hereticques (Anvers, 1588);

following p.234 and p.138, D3 r and G6 v in R. Bellarmine, A Shorte Catechisme... with the Images (npp, 1614).